

STUDI VENEZIANI



FONDAZIONE GIORGIO CINI
SAN GIORGIO MAGGIORE · VENEZIA

★

Direttore scientifico:

GINO BENZONI

Segreteria e Redazione scientifica:

ISTITUTO PER LA STORIA DELLA SOCIETÀ E DELLO STATO VENEZIANO
FONDAZIONE GIORGIO CINI

Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore, I 30124 Venezia,
tel. +39 041 2710227, fax +39 041 5223563, storia@cini.it

★

Registrazione del Tribunale di Pisa n. 9 del 10.4.1985

Direttore responsabile:

GILBERTO PIZZAMIGLIO

STUDI VENEZIANI

N. S. LXVII (2013)



PISA · ROMA
FABRIZIO SERRA EDITORE
MMXIV

Amministrazione e abbonamenti:
FABRIZIO SERRA EDITORE
Casella postale n. 1, Succursale n. 8, I 56123 Pisa

Uffici di Pisa:
Via Santa Bibbiana 28, I 56127 Pisa,
tel. +39 050 542332, fax +39 050 574888, fse@libraweb.net

Uffici di Roma:
Via Carlo Emanuele I 48, I 00185 Roma,
tel. +39 06 70452494, fax +39 06 70476605, fse@libraweb.net
www.libraweb.net

★

A norma del codice civile italiano, è vietata la riproduzione, totale o parziale (compresi estratti, ecc.), di questa pubblicazione in qualsiasi forma e versione (comprese bozze, ecc.), originale o derivata, e con qualsiasi mezzo a stampa o internet (compresi siti web personali e istituzionali, academia.edu, ecc.), elettronico, digitale, meccanico, per mezzo di fotocopie, pdf, microfilm, film, scanner o altro, senza il permesso scritto della casa editrice.

Under Italian civil law this publication cannot be reproduced, wholly or in part (included offprints, etc.), in any form (included proofs, etc.), original or derived, or by any means: print, internet (included personal and institutional web sites, academia.edu, etc.), electronic, digital, mechanical, including photocopy, pdf, microfilm, film, scanner or any other medium, without permission in writing from the publisher.

© Copyright 2014 by Fabrizio Serra editore, Pisa · Roma.
Fabrizio Serra editore incorporates the Imprints Accademia editoriale, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, Fabrizio Serra editore, Giardini editori e stampatori in Pisa, Gruppo editoriale internazionale and Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali.

Stampato in Italia · Printed in Italy

★

ISSN 0392-0437
ISSN ELETTRONICO 1724-1790

SOMMARIO

Presentazione	15
---------------	----

VENEZIA E IL MEDITERRANEO

JEAN-CLAUDE HOCQUET, <i>Avant-propos. Venise, carrefour d'un monde qui avait changé</i>	19
---	----

I. La guerre

RUTHY GERTWAGEN, <i>Venice, Genoa and the fights over the island of Tenedos (late fourteenth and early fifteenth century)</i>	35
LOUIS SICKING, <i>Selling and buying protection. Dutch war fleets at the service of Venice (1617-1667)</i>	89
KATIA OCCHI, <i>Commercial networks from the Alpine valleys to the Mediterranean: the timber trade between Venice and Malta (16th-17th centuries). First researches</i>	107

II. Transferts de population, acculturation, spiritualité

ERSIE C. BURKE, «...to live under the protection of your serenity»: <i>immigration and identity in early modern Venice</i>	123
DIANA GILLILAND WRIGHT, <i>The Kladas affair and diplomatic relations (1480-1485)</i>	157
DAPHNE LAPPA, <i>Religious conversions within the Venetian military milieu (17th and 18th centuries)</i>	183
IGOR ŠIPIĆ, <i>The cult of St. Lucy. Venetian context and influence along Eastern Adriatic</i>	201

III. Développement économique, rivalités commerciales, progrès scientifique

FLORENCE FABIJANEC, <i>Entreprendre sous le pouvoir vénitien. La compagnie des Matafarić de Zadar durant la seconde moitié du xv^e siècle</i>	231
GERASSIMOS D. PAGRATIS, <i>Venice, her subjects and ships. Continuity and discontinuity in Venetian mercantile and maritime policy and its impact on the shipping of the Ionian islanders during the 16th century</i>	253
VERA COSTANTINI, <i>Fin dentro il paese turchesco: stabilimento della scala di Spalato e potenziamento delle reti mercantili e diplomatiche veneziane nell'entroterra bosniaco</i>	267

JEAN-CLAUDE HOCQUET, <i>Une controverse sur les confins, Venise, Muggia et les salines de Trieste (XIV^e-XIX^e siècles)</i>	283
TONI VENERI, « <i>Theatrum Venetae negotiationis per Mediterraneum</i> »: mise en cadre del viaggio (1524-1598)	351
RUTHY GERTWAGEN, <i>Conclusion. New insights to the study of Venice and the Mediterranean</i>	383

NOTE E DOCUMENTI

FABIEN FAUGERON, <i>Du bon usage du marché dans une congrégation religieuse du XV^e siècle à Venise: les «spese di bocha» de S. Giorgio in Alga</i>	387
GABOR MIHALY TOTH, « <i>Ponderar diligentemente li costumi dei grandi</i> ». Cultura dell'informazione in una relazione sull'Ungheria quattrocentesca con un diagramma da un codice bodleiano	433
CARLA BOCCATO, <i>Una guaritrice processata dal Tribunale del Sant'Uffizio di Venezia nel Seicento per eresia ed esorcismi</i>	453
ROSSANA VITALE D'ALBERTON, <i>Dalle memorie settecentesche del Magistrato alla Sanità, il complesso ruolo del Lido tra naviganti, pellegrini e soldati</i>	479
SERGIO BALDAN, <i>Valentino Panciera Besarel: due opere dell'artista bellunese a S. Giorgio Maggiore</i>	529

RECENSIONI

FEDERICA PARCIANELLO, <i>Documentazione e notariato a Venezia...</i> (M. Pitteri)	553
<i>Studi ... in onore di Giovanni Zalin</i> , a cura di Giuseppe Gullino et alii (M. Pitteri)	555
GIUSEPPE DEL TORRE, <i>Patrizi e cardinali...</i> (M. Pitteri)	557
ALESSANDRO MARZO MAGNO, <i>L'alba dei libri...</i> (M. Zorzi)	570
<i>Stampa meretrix...</i> , a cura di Franco Pierno (M. Zorzi)	571
LUCIA NADIN, <i>Migrazioni e integrazione ... albanesi a Venezia...</i> (M. Simonetto)	574
<i>Giavera del Montello una chiesa e la sua comunità...</i> , a cura di Francesca Cavazzana Romanelli et alii (M. Pitteri)	575
DONATO GIANNOTTI, <i>Della Repubblica fiorentina</i> , a cura di Théa Stella Picquet (L. Faggion)	582
CLAUDIO POVOLO, <i>Il movente. Il giudice Bernardo Marchesini...</i> (G. Pellizzari)	584

DARIA MARTELLI, <i>Polifonie. Le donne a Venezia nell'età di Moderata Fonte...</i> (T. Plebani)	590
Prezenicco. <i>Una comunità nella storia</i> , a cura di Edi Pozzetto (M. Pitteri)	597
Paolo Sarpi. <i>Politique et religion en Europe</i> , éd. Marie Viallon (G. Trebbi)	602
<i>Liturgie di violenza lungo il Lago. Riviera del Garda tra '500 e '600</i> , a cura di Claudio Povoło (M. Pitteri)	607
DANILO GASPARINI, <i>Serenissime campagne ... della Terraferma veneta</i> (M. Pitteri)	611
<i>L'impegno e la conoscenza. Studi ... in onore di Egidio Martini</i> (D. Tosato)	619
GIULIA VERTECCHI, <i>Il «masser ai formenti in Terra Nova»...</i> , a cura di Filippo Pedrocco, Alberto Craievich (A. Zannini)	620
ANTONIO COLBERTALDO, <i>Storia di Caterina Corner regina di Cipro...</i> , a cura di Daria Perocco (G. Pellizzari)	622
PAUL SCHEUERMEIER, <i>Il Veneto dei contadini 1921-1932</i> , a cura di Daniela Perco et alii (M. Pitteri)	630

PRESENTAZIONE

A VOLTE i periodici possono – agli occhi degli utenti – apparire un po' bizzarri, un po' anomali. È il caso di «Studi Veneziani», il cui numero LXV, i lettori lo ricorderanno, è stato massicciamente occupato dal lavoro di François-Xavier Leduc sulle smanie del denaro del patriziato marciano. Un effetto da montagna russa rispetto al LXIV e al LXVI, ossia al numero precedente e a quello seguente. Quest'ultimo, i lettori l'avranno notato, è ridisceso alla normalità. E ora il LXVII. Anche questo – sia pure meno vistosamente del LXV – costituisce un'eccezione, nel senso che al posto degli «Studi» ci sono gli Atti di un Convegno svoltosi, ancora nel maggio del 2010, a Smirne (Izmir), avendo per coordinatori Jean-Claude Hocquet e Ruthy Gertwagen. Ne son sortiti i testi qui pubblicati e, in più, l'argomento ha sollecitato ulteriori contributi incorporati anche questi negli Atti. E ciò nella convinzione che la mediterraneità sia imprescindibile all'intendimento della storia di Venezia e che la presenza della Serenissima sia una costante ad alto tasso connotativo nel Levante mediterraneo e, anzi, per il Mediterraneo tutto, in età medievale e moderna. A monte del Convegno, naturalmente, *La Méditerranée...* di Braudel. Nel decidere di pubblicare gli Atti in «Studi Veneziani», è a Braudel che s'è pensato e, anche, a Tenenti. Di quest'ultimo amicissimo il direttore del periodico, il quale direttore dell'amicizia approfittava con un costante ricorso al suo consiglio. Ora Tenenti non c'è più; ma vien da dire che l'iniziativa di far campeggiare, in questo numero, Venezia e il Mediterraneo – nella tensione dei conflitti, nella circolazione delle merci e delle idee, nelle trasmigrazioni delle genti e delle credenze – l'avrebbe senz'altro approvata, anzi caldeggiata.

GINO BENZONI

VENEZIA E IL MEDITERRANEO

A cura di Jean-Claude Hocquet, Ruthy Gertwagen

AVANT-PROPOS.
VENISE, CARREFOUR D'UN MONDE
QUI AVAIT CHANGÉ

JEAN-CLAUDE HOCQUET

LE thème retenu *Venise et la Méditerranée* présenté aux lecteurs des «Studi Veneziani» ne visait pas à renouveler l'histoire de la Méditerranée, ni celle de Venise, il apporte cependant des vues nouvelles sur certains aspects méconnus de cette histoire et la variété des thèmes traités contribue à un enrichissement historiographique et c'est bien là l'important. On peut classer les communications sous trois rubriques.

LA GUERRE

D'abord la guerre maritime pour le contrôle des accès aux marchés des grains et aux terminaux des routes caravanières ou pour conserver les escales indispensables à la navigation et aux avitaillements, la guerre implique deux belligérants mais des alliés interviennent dont l'apport peut être décisif, ainsi des flottes hollandaises qui offrent à Venise de briser le blocus espagnol pendant la guerre de Gradisca déclenchée pour mettre un terme à la piraterie uscoque. La guerre profite aussi à des tiers, ainsi les Ottomans, elle achève d'en ruiner d'autres, tel le *Basileus*.

Il était impossible d'aborder le thème sans traiter de l'hostilité de Gênes, mission dévolue à Ruthy Gertwagen, co-responsable du recueil, qui a choisi l'exemple de la guerre de Tenedos, sans examiner les faits militaires, mais en concentrant son attention sur les clauses du traité de paix arbitré par le comte de Savoie, afin d'illustrer l'importance de l'île dans le dispositif maritime respectif des deux ennemies. Les intrigues génoises contribuèrent à renforcer la dépendance des empereurs à l'égard des Ottomans qu'elles réinstallaient à Gallipoli. Le contrôle de l'île de Tenedos ne fut pas le seul motif de la guerre puisque le traité de paix incluait une clause interdisant aux deux belligérants de fréquenter le port de Tana durant deux ans, les deux républiques continuaient donc, après la fin des hostilités, à se disputer le

contrôle du commerce de la mer Noire. En 1380 les Génois s'étaient emparés du littoral mongol de la Crimée, y compris des quartiers vénitiens dans les ports de Soldaja, Calara et Provosto; présents à Caffa ils pouvaient continuer de commercer avec Tana et interdire aux Vénitiens l'accès au port du Don. Les Vénitiens, fidèles à leur politique de disposer en permanence d'au moins deux terminaux en Orient, compensèrent la perte en renforçant leurs liens avec les mamlûks de Syrie-Égypte. La perte de Tenedos ruinait vingt années d'efforts de Venise pour acquérir un point d'appui proche de Constantinople et capable de concurrencer les positions génoises dans les détroits. Tenedos offrait un port de relâche aux nefes qui ne pouvaient emprunter les étroits chenaux coupés de ponts de Négrepont, trop éloignée à huit jours de navigation de Constantinople, les considérations de ravitaillement en eau douce justifiaient de disposer d'une autre escale. Venise avait obtenu Tenedos de l'empereur pour prix de son alliance contre les Turcs. Venise avait un autre motif d'inquiétude: lors de la guerre avec Byzance, Gênes s'était aussi emparée des ports byzantins du delta du Danube et avait ainsi la haute main sur les exportations de grains. Venise, loin d'être expulsée de la Méditerranée orientale, renforça son contrôle sur les lignes de navigation au débouché de l'Adriatique grâce à l'acquisition de Corfou et de Durazzo. Elle obtenait le contrôle de point-clés et escales qui jalonnaient la route maritime conduisant à Constantinople et à la mer Noire. On voit combien était cruciale la question du ravitaillement en grains de la métropole et décisive la nécessité de disposer d'escales sur les grandes routes maritimes.

Faire la guerre impose de disposer d'armes, des marchands d'armes sont toujours prêts à offrir leurs services aux divers belligérants. L'introduction de l'artillerie lourde sur les vaisseaux transforma profondément la guerre sur mer entre 1500 et 1650. Elle conféra un avantage décisif aux voiliers qui achevèrent de supplanter galées et galères en Méditerranée. En 1617, signale Louis Sicking, Venise s'adressa pour la première fois aux puissances maritimes du Nord, l'Angleterre et les Provinces Unies, pour louer des vaisseaux marchands convertis pour la guerre. Jusqu'au milieu du xvii^e siècle, on resta fidèle à la pratique médiévale de transformer les navires de commerce en les armant pour la guerre. Le voilier à gréement complet qui s'était développé dès le milieu du xv^e siècle constituait encore l'essentiel des escadres hollan-

daïses au xvii^e siècle. Les canons de fonte, plus lourds mais beaucoup moins chers, supplantaient à bord les anciens canons de bronze et la Hollande se donnait une puissante industrie d'armement. Les Hollandais ont ainsi pu louer leurs navires armés, équipés et garnis d'équipages aux puissances étrangères. Parmi celles-ci, Venise fut privilégiée. En effet durant la guerre de Gradisca qui devait mettre un terme à la piraterie uscoque, Venise affronta aussi les forces des archiducs d'Autriche et de leurs alliés espagnols établis en Sicile et à Naples. La Hollande et Venise se trouvaient avoir même ennemi, les Habsbourg de Vienne et Madrid. La guerre n'était pas seule à favoriser un rapprochement entre les deux Républiques marchandes. Dès les années 1590, la pénurie et la disette qui avaient sévi dans le bassin méditerranéen avait incité Venise à acheter des grains aux Provinces-Unies et, à partir de 1614-1616, l'échange d'ambassadeurs prépara l'alliance conclue en 1619. La trêve de Douze Ans inaugurée en 1609 allégeait l'effort de guerre hollandais et libérait des moyens que les États Généraux pouvaient mettre à disposition des puissances étrangères. Cette politique préparait au renforcement de la présence des marchands hollandais sur les marchés méditerranéens orientaux. Au total, de 1617 à 1619, trois flottes hollandaises équipées pour combattre aux côtés des forces vénitiennes arrivèrent dans le nord de l'Adriatique avec des troupes, surtout des mercenaires allemands. Elles avaient déjoué ou forcé la surveillance espagnole dans le détroit de Gibraltar ou en Adriatique. Durant la guerre de Candie, Venise enrôla encore des vaisseaux marchands armés venus de Hollande et d'Angleterre, qui lui permirent de résister pendant un quart de siècle à la puissance ottomane. Mais ces navires avaient fait leur temps et les puissances du Nord (Suède et Danemark) commençaient à construire des voiliers uniquement destinés à la guerre. En 1667, l'Arsenal de Venise entreprit de construire son premier vaisseau de ligne.

Si Venise achetait ou louait les services de bateaux hollandais dans la première moitié du xvii^e siècle, à la même époque elle fournissait en bois de marine l'Ordre de S. Giovanni de Jérusalem replié à Malte, comme le minutier du notaire Fabrizio Beacian en a conservé la trace pour les années 1597-1621. Le receveur du prieuré de l'Ordre installé à Venise avait pour mission de procurer la matière première aux chantiers de construction surtout siciliens auxquels l'Ordre passait commande de navires. Déjà avant 1580 Venise livrait 30% des achats de

bois et de fer de l'Ordre, mais ce mouvement cessa au cours de la décennie 1620, car les bois méditerranéens furent supplantés par les fournitures apportées par les navires du Nord de l'Europe. Les bois des Alpes étaient convoyés à Venise par flottage sur les rivières équipées de 'gares des bois', de scieries hydrauliques et de barrages. Trente-huit compagnies dans lesquelles figuraient des hommes d'affaires nobles qui approvisionnaient aussi l'Arsenal vénitien contribuèrent aux ventes de bois au prieur de l'Ordre. Elles procédaient aux coupes de bois en territoire vénitien mais aussi dans les bassins versants des torrents Brenta, Piave et Cordevole sous juridiction des comtes de Tirol et des évêques de Bressanone (Katia Occhi).

TRANSFERTS DE POPULATION, ACCULTURATION, SPIRITUALITÉ

La guerre, omniprésente à la fin du Moyen Age, provoquait des déplacements de population et Ersie Burke a examiné l'émigration grecque, noble ou populaire, à Venise après la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs et les raisons du choix de Venise comme foyer d'accueil. L'émigration se poursuit durant tout le xvi^e siècle et aboutit à un établissement permanent et à la création d'une communauté dotée d'une église et d'une *scuola* ou confrérie. La situation de ces réfugiés n'était pas facile et une source éclaire les relations entre la cité-État et les migrants: les pétitions adressées aux autorités et la réponse de celles-ci, sous forme de concessions, jugements ou grâces. Venise fut un État généreux pratiquant le *public welfare*, accordant des pensions pour services rendus ou pour indemniser des dommages, personnels ou commerciaux. Ces pétitions sont une mine d'informations sur l'attitude des réfugiés à l'égard de l'État dont ils attendaient justice, arbitrage, emploi et le vivre dans les temps difficiles. Elles visaient une faveur. Elles étaient présentées au Collège qui les déclarait recevables et les dirigeait alors vers la magistrature compétente avant qu'elles ne fissent retour au *Pien Collegio* qui approuvait le choix du magistrat et en précisait les conditions. La proposition était ensuite inscrite à l'ordre du jour du Sénat. Ces pétitions étaient le fait de réfugiés qui avaient tout perdu en fuyant et en rompant les contacts avec leur patrie. Les immigrants volontaires gardaient au contraire des liens familiaux ou commerciaux. Les réfugiés étaient des travailleurs qui essayaient de se procurer un revenu régulier, par un emploi rémunéré dans un office ou sur les chantiers publics. Les pensions versées étaient réversibles

à la veuve ou aux orphelins. Les femmes étaient moins nombreuses à pétitionner, elles laissaient faire le mari ou le frère, n'avaient pas de mérite militaire à faire valoir, maîtrisaient mal l'italien. Les veuves de guerre intervenaient davantage et elles racontaient alors l'histoire de leur mari. Généralement les femmes demandaient un subside transmissible à leurs enfants et certaines libéralités engendraient des sinécures héréditaires. Une agence des *Rason vecchie*, les *Cinque Savii sopra Napolitani et Malvasiotti* (réfugiés de Nauplie/*Napoli di Romania* et de Monemvasia), était chargée de distribuer les pensions. Après 1570, des Cypriotes demandèrent des faveurs analogues en se réclamant d'aïeux venus de Nauplie, mais l'État ne montrait plus la même bienveillance envers les habitants des colonies perdues à l'issue des dernières guerres turques, moins de gens cherchaient à fuir vers Venise et surtout l'économie vénitienne n'était plus aussi florissante qu'en 1540. La guerre de 1538-1540 se termina par des négociations, celle de 1571 par une capitulation, les Ottomans faisant des milliers de captifs réduits en esclavage, dont l'État ou de simples particuliers (*buoni christiani*) finançaient le rachat. L'État ne compensait plus les pertes matérielles comme après 1540, assistance et piété l'inclinaient à racheter les captifs. L'Auteur avance une dernière raison pour cette différence de traitement, Nauplie et Monemvasia étaient des colonies militaires hébergeant de nombreux *stradioti* grecs ou albanais et leurs chefs, beaucoup choisirent de continuer à servir Venise qui les rapatria avec leurs familles ou les envoya dans d'autres colonies. Leur fournir aide et travail était un moyen de préserver à la fois la paix civile et une force militaire. L'étude met en valeur la mutuelle dépendance qui liait le pétitionnaire et l'État, la loyauté et la fidélité des Grecs répondant à la sagesse et à la gloire de la chrétienne République.

Diana Gilliland Wright éclaire les rapports quelquefois tendus entre ces soldats grecs, soldats perdus après une défaite, et les autorités vénitiennes qui n'avaient aucun désir de se laisser entraîner dans une nouvelle guerre avec le récent vainqueur. Pourtant Venise témoignait de mansuétude à l'égard de cette population. Le *capetan* grec Krokodēlos Kladas entama une guerre privée contre les Turcs dans la péninsule moréote de Mani à la fin de l'année 1480. Cet aventurier reçut rapidement le renfort de Thodoros Bua venu de Nauplie. Les autorités vénitiennes locales s'employèrent à apaiser la révolte. Lorsque Mehmed II descendit en Morée en 1460, les grandes familles lui firent soumission.

Les Kladas entrèrent dans le système féodal ottoman et reçurent en fief (*timar*) le château de Vardounia. Quand éclata la longue guerre de 1463-1478, Venise leva des mercenaires grecs ou albanais, et parmi eux les valeureux frères Kladas dont le château passa ainsi dans les mains vénitiennes. Krokodēlos qui commandait des bandes de 50 à 150 hommes payés avec le butin razzîé, était capable de repousser une attaque turque sur son château. Au retour de la paix (25 janvier 1479), Venise s'engagea à restituer à Mehmed ce qui lui avait appartenu avant les hostilités – le brillant diplomate Giovanni Dario fut chargé de procéder à la délimitation des nouvelles frontières avec Sinan Beg, représentant personnel de Mehmed – cependant elle offrit refuge aux Kladas à Coron, mais ceux-ci n'acceptaient pas de voir leur château retourner aux mains turques et se révoltèrent. Les provéditeurs vénitiens de Coron et de Modon mirent leur tête à prix et envoyèrent des excuses à Constantinople. Des échanges de correspondance et des pourparlers entre Vénitiens et envoyés de Mehmed s'efforcèrent d'aplanir les difficultés soulevées par la révolte grecque. Venise étudiait les moyens de ne pas livrer la femme et les enfants de Kladas aux Turcs qui les réclamaient, ils étaient sous bonne garde à Coron, éludait-elle. Elle savait qu'une telle livraison heurterait les sentiments des *stradioti*, dont 3 à 5.000 avaient rejoint la rébellion. Elle rapatria la famille Kladas en Italie sans soulever de protestations du *sançakbeg*. La conduite des officiers vénitiens n'était pas toujours aussi empreinte de sagesse et de générosité et le gouverneur de Nauplie Bartolomeo Minio dénonça le comportement brutal et humiliant du provéditeur général de la flotte, Hieronimo Morosini, à l'égard des vétérans. Chose étrange chez ces révoltés menacés par les troupes turques envoyées en renfort, ils demandaient aux voïvodes ottomans d'intercéder auprès des administrateurs vénitiens pour obtenir leur pardon. Il revint à Dario, de nouveau à Constantinople, d'apaiser les querelles surgies avec les turcs en Morée. Venise ne vit pas d'autre solution que d'envoyer les chefs de bande et les *stradioti* combattre Ferrare, une solution consistant à faire supporter par d'autres un problème politique qu'on n'a pas pu résoudre. La correspondance de Dario et de Minio sur laquelle s'appuie l'étude de Diana Wright montre comment on passait du statut de soldats à celui de bandits quand cessait le service et que ces hommes sans emploi conservaient leurs armes. En 1517 le traité vénéto-turc comporta une clause qui autorisait chacun des partenaires à punir les déserteurs de l'autre camp coupables d'exactions.

A mi-chemin de l'histoire militaire et de l'histoire religieuse, Daphne Lappa, après avoir dépouillé les archives de la *Casa de' Catecumeni*, a choisi d'étudier les conversions au catholicisme romain de mercenaires musulmans ou, plus rarement, juifs, recrutés dans les armées vénitiennes aux ^{xvii}^e et ^{xviii}^e siècles. Ces mercenaires qui tenaient garnison dans les villes de la Terreferme ou dans les îles Ioniennes avaient été recrutés dans l'arrière-pays des cités vénitiennes de Dalmatie, soit en Bosnie, en Albanie ou en Péloponnèse et dans les îles de l'archipel égéen intégrés par la conquête dans l'Empire Ottoman, c'est-à-dire dans des zones de contact entre les cultures ce qui créait une certaine familiarité avec la religion de 'l'autre'. Certains venaient aussi des côtes d'Afrique du Nord, d'Andalousie et d'Anatolie, de terres qui jamais ne furent vénitiennes. Dans les compagnies vénitiennes d'infanterie ou de cavalerie légère ces musulmans combattaient aux côtés de mercenaires chrétiens dont ils partageaient le mode de vie et les peurs lorsqu'ils se trouvaient avoir à combattre le même ennemi, le plus souvent les soldats ottomans. Ce voisinage permanent favorisait le rapprochement religieux et n'avait rien d'exceptionnel dans les armées du temps. Le milieu mercenaire constituait un terrain privilégié pour les conversions. Les officiers chrétiens et les chapelains de l'armée, lorsqu'ils avaient détecté des éléments laissant présager une possible conversion à la foi chrétienne, envoyaient ces soldats à Venise où des Jésuites avaient institué dès 1557, sur le modèle romain, une 'maison des catéchumènes' dont les desservants dirigés par un prieur procédaient à une enquête pour déterminer le degré de sincérité de ces hommes, éventuellement mesurer les pressions dont ils avaient été l'objet, écarter les fraudeurs qui trouvaient là le gîte et le couvert pour quelques mois. Ces fraudeurs étaient des grecs orthodoxes se faisant passer pour musulmans, des schismatiques, non des infidèles. L'Auteur rapporte les histoires de ces catéchumènes souvent nés dans des couples mixtes, père musulman, mère chrétienne, élevés dans la religion du père, obligés de raconter leur histoire, leur vie passée, et leur désir de devenir chrétiens qui témoignaient de leur sincérité. Ces histoires individuelles de conversion s'inscrivent parfaitement dans le thème de ce recueil, souvent ces soldats de fortune ont erré autour de la Méditerranée, à bord de navires pratiquant la course ou dans les compagnies de mercenaires chargées de la protection de l'Empire, ils ont été faits prisonniers, sont devenus esclaves de propriétaires chré-

tiens avant d'acquérir leur liberté en entrant au service de Venise. Ces pérégrinations ont aussi préparé leur conversion en provoquant une sorte d'indétermination religieuse favorable à la réception d'une foi nouvelle.

La religiosité du monde maritime a fait l'objet de deux contributions. Le culte de sainte Lucia était présent à Venise, Spalato et dans les localités du golfe du Quarnero, en des lieux marqués par une forte tradition maritime (Igor Šipić). Les attributs de Lucie étaient deux symboles de lumière (*lux*) une chandelle de cire et ses yeux, énucléés aux ciseaux lors de son martyre (après une vision de sainte Agathe qui lui aurait dit: «Lucie, tu es lumière!»). Son culte, précoce en Sicile et à Rome, se répandit rapidement en Italie centrale avant d'atteindre Venise. L'île de Hvar (l'antique Pharos) possédait dès le *xv^e* siècle une église dédiée à sainte Lucie dans la vieille ville, de même Pola sur le site d'un ancien temple romain. En Istrie quinze localités, surtout situées au bord de mer, seraient dotées d'une église à sainte Lucie, de même que l'île de Pag à Košljun. Le culte de sainte Lucie devint un culte vénitien à l'instar des cultes de s. Marco et de s. Rocco. Sa fête coïncidait avec le solstice d'hiver qui marque l'allongement du jour. La sainte, détentrice de la sagesse divine, éponyme de la «lumière», protégeait des maladies oculaires. C'était à ce titre qu'elle intervenait dans la navigation où une parfaite vision des vigies était un facteur essentiel de la sécurité du navire et de l'équipage. De nombreux ex-voto marins sont des plaques d'argent où figure un œil, témoignage de l'importance de la vision dans la vie et le destin des marins, marchands ou pèlerins circulant sur les routes maritimes. Marco Antonio de Dominis qui se rendit justement à Spalato en 1602 et y devint archevêque y écrivit un traité sur la vision et le rapport entre lumière et obscurité.

DÉVELOPPEMENT ÉCONOMIQUE, RIVALITÉS COMMERCIALES, PROGRÈS SCIENTIFIQUE

Ces différentes études ont insisté sur le poids de la guerre, sur la complexité des relations avec les populations grecques et sur la fidélité de celles-ci qui n'avaient aucun désir de vivre sous l'autorité ottomane, sur l'habileté diplomatique de Venise soucieuse de ne pas envenimer des rapports déjà tendus avec le sultan, sur l'humanité de son attitude à l'égard des réfugiés, sur l'équilibre des pouvoirs au sein de l'ad-

ministration vénitienne où un subalterne pouvait mettre en cause le comportement d'un officier supérieur. Quatre relations rompent avec ce climat guerrier et tournent les regards vers la vie économique des territoires vénitiens riverains de l'Adriatique et de la mer Ionienne, son débouché en Méditerranée.

Les actes de la famille Matafarić conservés aux Archives d'État de Zadar (Croatie) montrent comment la noblesse de Zadar a converti ses activités après le retour de la cité sous la domination vénitienne en 1409. Le monopole vénitien a dépouillé les nobles de leur principale source de revenus, le sel et les salines. La noblesse a dû abandonner le commerce du sel et les fermes d'impôt et elle a fondé des compagnies associant nobles urbains et descendants de marchands italiens immigrés et installés dans les villes dalmates pour l'exploitation des ressources agraires des campagnes insulaires, l'élevage des moutons et le vignoble, dont les produits, la viande et les fromages, étaient destinés au marché local. La compagnie de Matafarić employa jusqu'à vingt-deux éleveurs (bergers). Malgré la modestie de ses ressources, limitées à l'exploitation de quelques terroirs villageois autour de Zara et dans les îles Kornati, la compagnie s'inscrivait dans le circuit des échanges qui unissait les territoires vénitiens, de Corfou à l'Istrie et à l'archipel dalmate, voire à la métropole Venise qui importait les fromages salés de brebis tandis que la viande fraîche approvisionnait les boucheries de Zara. L'ancien patriciat de Zadar a perdu sa prééminence au bénéfice d'une nouvelle classe marchande et bourgeoise dont l'investissement dans l'exploitation du sol répondait aux objectifs de la politique vénitienne de mise en valeur des territoires du *Stato da mar* (Florence Fabijanec).

Après 1530, la crise politique et économique qui secouait la République obligea à faire une plus grande place aux sujets et aux étrangers dans la vie maritime de Venise (Gerassimos D. Pagratis). Grecs, Turcs, chrétiens renégats, Arméniens, Ragusains et Juifs commencèrent à s'affirmer sur les marchés de la Dominante. La marine marchande ionienne a participé à cette croissance durant le siècle. Venise encourageait le commerce maritime de ses sujets, indispensable au ravitaillement des territoires et de la métropole de même que les relations interrégionales entre les îles jusqu'en Crète, elle interdisait leur participation directe au commerce avec l'étranger. Armateurs et marins crétois avaient pourtant noué dès la fin du xv^e siècle des rela-

tions directes avec l'Angleterre pour l'exportation des vins de malvoisie. Beaucoup s'étaient établis à Constantinople devenue la base de trafics avec les Pays du Nord, la Pologne notamment. Le retrait des nobles vénitiens du commerce maritime provoquait des tensions sur la place et conduisait à un assouplissement des mesures protectionnistes. Dans cette conjoncture les Grecs offraient leurs services pour importer les grains turcs dans les ports italiens. Ils conservaient des relations étroites avec leurs compatriotes vivant dans l'Empire Ottoman et avec ceux établis à Venise. Les Grecs ottomans favorisaient l'entrée dans l'Empire des Grecs vénitiens, souvent des réfugiés qui gardaient le contact avec leur cité d'origine, Nauplie, Monemvasia, Modon ou Coron. La guerre de Chypre qui coûta à Venise la moitié de sa flotte ouvrit la Méditerranée orientale aux marines de l'Europe du Nord-Ouest. Au ^{xviii} siècle les actes de navigation promulgués par les Anglais exclurent les Grecs des relations maritimes directes avec l'Angleterre. L'Auteur choisit ensuite de tracer la carrière de trois personnages emblématiques de l'activité maritime ionienne, l'armateur et capitaine au long cours Matteo Vergi courant les mers, engagé dans plusieurs sociétés commerciales et habile à utiliser les primes liées à l'importation des grains turcs, Constantinos Sicuros, qui en 1555 possédait une *nave* en commun avec Ahmet Pasha, commandée par un autre musulman, le *reis* Mustafa, spécialisée dans le transport de grains à Venise, Marcos Samariaris réfugié de Modon et établi à Zante, assez riche pour posséder un bloc d'immeubles à Venise même à la fin de sa vie. La relation contribue à réviser le point de vue traditionnel d'une métropole imposant un joug sévère à ses colonies et les maintenant dans un état d'arriération économique. Les plus dynamiques des insulaires conduisaient de brillantes affaires internationales et savaient se ménager des places de premier plan à Venise même.

Vera Costantini examine aussi les conséquences de la perte de Chypre qui risquait de marginaliser la puissance vénitienne réduite à un État régional. Le patriciat réagit selon le schéma éprouvé du monopole, du rapport privilégié avec l'Empire Ottoman, garanti par la proximité et la continuité territoriale. Seule l'Adriatique pouvait tenir ce rôle et au port de Spalato fut dévolue cette fonction du maintien du rôle international de Venise. En établissant sur la côte dalmate un port franc satellite de l'*emporio realtino*, les Vénitiens rêvaient d'y attirer les marchandises de l'arrière-pays balkanique jusqu'à Edirne

et Istanbul. L'institution de l'échelle (*scala*) de Spalato répondait à un double objectif: contrer les Anglais qui avaient fait de Livourne leur escale en Méditerranée et renforcer les itinéraires terrestres comme antidote à l'aggravation des activités corsaires sur mer. Le succès de l'opération dépendait de la bonne volonté ottomane, du choix des Turcs de convoier le commerce balkanique vers Spalato plutôt que vers Raguse. Ce bon vouloir turc imposait à Venise d'adopter une conduite diplomatique qui ménageât les intérêts turcs et la susceptibilité du sultan. Venise pouvait compter sur un solide réseau d'agents aguerris, de marchands, d'actifs entrepreneurs au cœur de l'Empire et sur ses marges, de personnages en qui elle pouvait placer sa confiance comme le juif sépharade Daniele Rodriga. Elle souhaitait que la création de l'escale passât pour une initiative personnelle des marchands, ce qui au surplus ménageait les susceptibilités des uns et des autres et évitait de soulever une controverse politique qui aurait attisé la concurrence des États riverains et fortifié l'axe Ancone-Raguse et ses annexes, Maqarsqa et les ports de la Neretva. Cependant le baile à Istanbul intervenait pour demander que soient réprimés les actes de banditisme sur les routes des Balkans, ou poursuivies la construction d'infrastructures, caravansérails et ponts ou encore la délivrance de laisser passer, sans jamais mentionner la *scala* de Spalato. L'axe vénitien jouissait d'avantages incontestables par rapport à son rival pontifical, d'abord celui d'avoir un accès direct aux marchés continentaux, notamment allemand, ensuite de desservir un grand foyer industriel, Venise elle-même. Avec la création de la *scala* de Spalato, Venise s'affranchissait de la tutelle de la Sainte-Ligue, tournait le dos à ses anciens alliés et transformait ses voisins ottomans en partenaires commerciaux, à ses yeux les plus capables en temps de crise de contribuer à relancer les trafics puisqu'ils contrôlaient les itinéraires traditionnels du commerce vénitien en Orient. La nouvelle ligne des trafics reposa sur une collaboration étroite entre des groupes sociaux hétérogènes et nouveaux sur la scène internationale, interprètes vénitiens, marchands bosniaques musulmans, fonctionnaires ottomans et marchands sépharades.

Il était difficile de faire le tour des relations nouées par Venise avec le monde méditerranéen sans aborder la question des sels ni celle, fondamentale, de la souveraineté sur l'Adriatique, son Golfe, avec toutes ses implications, diplomatiques ou écologiques. L'auteur a ren-

versé la perspective et examiné la politique de Venise vue de Trieste, un petit port local étroitement surveillé par son puissant voisin solidement installé sur le littoral si proche de l'Istrie. Un dessin commenté de Valvassor (fin du ^{xvii}^e siècle) décrit le système technique et hydrologique des salines et leur fonctionnement dans l'espace intertidal, le nord de l'Adriatique étant soumis à un régime de marées biquotidien qui à Trieste peut atteindre une amplitude de 1 m à 1,50 m. Les salines de Trieste ont connu deux phases d'expansion, au cours des années 1330 puis après 1560. Les rendements demeuraient très faibles et les Triestins étaient constamment obligés d'étendre leurs salines dans un mode de production qui compensait la faiblesse du rendement par l'extension des surfaces, mais l'étroitesse de la plaine côtière au pied du Carso leur imposait d'établir les nouvelles salines en mer par création de véritables polders. Au début du ^{xvii}^e siècle, incapable de disposer de plus de trois mois de réserve pour approvisionner l'arrière-pays immédiat, Trieste envisageait d'importer du sel romagnol. La géographie historique des salines porte témoignage de l'évolution des rivages, d'une lente élévation du niveau marin depuis l'époque romaine et d'un remblaiement anthropique récent qui répond aux besoins de l'urbanisation, de l'industrialisation et du développement portuaire. Sur les salines de Trieste comme de Muggia, sa voisine sous autorité vénitienne, les sauniers étaient des métayers dont la condition se dégrada rapidement à l'époque moderne, leur rétribution fixée à l'origine dans un bail à moitié passa au ^{xviii}^e siècle sous les 20% du produit récolté. Les propriétaires s'en tiraient mieux car ils avaient des biens dans plusieurs salines. L'extension des salines de Trieste en mer modifiait l'environnement (détournement des fleuves, crues, ruissellement des eaux douces en nappes), la construction de digues repoussait le torrent vers le sud au détriment du territoire de Muggia suscitait des conflits répétés avec Venise qui renonça à intervenir contre sa rivale protégée par les archiducs et l'empereur Habsburg qui y établirent un port franc (1719). Trieste fit alors venir du sel de Barletta en Pouille. La souveraineté de Venise sur son Golfe s'en trouvait bafouée. Les oscillations de la production à Muggia (1721-1750) reflètent les variations climatiques, mais le déficit permanent avait des causes structurelles, techniques et sociales. La politique volontariste de l'Office du sel vénitien encouragea une timide reprise à la fin du siècle dans toute l'Istrie. L'Autriche au contraire, qui disposait du beau sel blanc des salines

alpestres, s'employa à mettre un terme à l'activité salinière de Trieste quand les traités de 1815 lui eurent donné tous les territoires de la République. Après quelques essais infructueux de conversion dans la pisciculture et les matériaux de construction, il fallut attendre la seconde après-guerre pour que le gouvernement militaire anglo-américain encourageât la naissance d'un conglomérat industriel et portuaire qui s'est établi sur des terrains remblayés par-dessus les anciennes salines vénitienne ou triestine des basses vallées de l'Ospo et du Rosandra (Jean-Claude Hocquet).

Les aspects intellectuels, scientifiques ou spirituels n'ont pas été négligés, comme en témoigne l'étude très neuve de Toni Veneri qui a choisi de rappeler les progrès et les missions dévolues à la cartographie à travers la figure et les travaux de Giovanni Battista Ramusio, le concepteur des cartes géographiques de la Méditerranée qui ornent la Salle des Cartes du palais ducal, aidé par des cartographes de renom, tel Zorzi de Modon qui avait terminé en 1541 une carte de la Méditerranée médiane centrée sur les deux péninsules italienne et moréote et sur les deux mers, Adriatique et Egée, afin de mettre en évidence l'empire maritime de Venise et le théâtre de ses opérations commerciales et diplomatiques dont l'aboutissement restait Constantinople. Ramusio avait pour plus proche collaborateur Giacomo Gastaldi qui, en 1548, avait publié une *Geografia* en édition de poche, conçue par conséquent pour un usage quotidien et pratique, qui recomposait le découpage de Ptolémée afin de placer Venise comme limite nord-occidentale de la *Dalmacia nova tabula* et Constantinople à la fois limite sud-orientale de *Polonia et Hungaria nova tabula* et nord-orientale de la *Gretia nova tabula*. En 1559, Gastaldi reçut commande du Sénat d'une grande carte en quatre feuilles de l'Europe sud-orientale achevée en 1560 et dont les limites étaient marquées à l'ouest par Venise, par Vienne au nord, Constantinople à l'est et Candie au sud, soit les trois grands centres politiques de la zone et Candie la grande possession maritime de Venise. Une carte de Forlani publiée l'année de Lépante affichait explicitement l'objectif militaro-stratégique de la cartographie et précisait que les routes conduisant aux principaux ports de l'Empire Ottoman étaient aussi celles par lesquelles l'*armata cristiana* gagnerait le cœur de la machine de guerre ottomane pour la détruire. La carte publiée par Camocio en 1574 montre comment Constantinople pourrait être prise en tenailles par une escadre venue

par les routes maritimes et par des troupes arrivées par la route qui, de Raguse, traversait la péninsule balkanique, la carte ménageait une colonne à droite pour indiquer les étapes et les distances de ces deux itinéraires. Cette conception dynamique de la carte-itinéraire aboutit à une structure minimale et rapidement codifiée qui privilégiait la représentation des îles et aboutissait dès 1528 à Venise à l'*isolario* de Benedetto Bordone, conformément à une tradition florentine qui trouve son origine dans le *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* de Buondelmonti, œuvre d'un homme du continent incapable de souligner les relations maritimes entre les divers éléments de l'Archipel, à la différence de Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti qui avait publié à Venise dès 1485 un *Isolario* qui accompagnait chaque île d'une description versifiée pour signaler les distances, les hauts fonds, les écueils et les abris. Quand le graveur padouan Antonio Pigafetta entreprit de représenter les navigations de Magellan, il le fit sur le mode de l'*isolario* et plaça sans hésitation la zone comprise entre Venise et Constantinople au centre du livre, encadrée par les îles atlantiques et celles des mers orientales. Cette vision d'un monde insulaire qui pouvait se prévaloir de l'autorité de Strabon trouva consistance dans la vision de Tommaso Porcacchi qui représentait Venise comme un empire sans prince et par conséquent à l'abri de la tyrannie, «splendeur de la Chrétienté» et victime de la formidable expansion turque, Porcacchi dressait un parallèle avec Rome, passée du statut de seigneur du monde, palais de l'honnêteté et de la sagesse, à (un réceptacle de) l'ignorance, du vice et de la barbarie. Dans les éditions successives considérablement enrichies, Constantinople occupait toujours une place de choix, mais elle avait cessé d'être dominée par Sainte Sophie qui avait cédé la place au sérail du Grand Turc, sommet de la puissante machine impériale ottomane. Camocio privilégiait dans sa cartographie les territoires sous domination vénitienne, les rencontres armées entre Vénitiens et Turcs et les forteresses maritimes devenues l'élément le plus caractéristique du paysage, Lépante formant l'axe du recueil publié en 1574. La fin du siècle renouait avec une tradition illustrée à la fin du *Quattrocento* par la fameuse *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* de Bernhard von Breydenbach publiée à Mayence en 1486. Le *Viaggio da Venetia a Costantinopoli per mare e per terra, et insieme quello di Terrasanta* de Giuseppe Rosaccio connut plusieurs rééditions et reprit le *topos* de Bordone, Venise, cité circulaire au milieu des eaux, microcosme du grand continent de la terre au milieu du grand Océan.

Douze relations pour étudier les relations de Venise avec la Méditerranée ont surtout mis l'accent sur le monde égéen, tant les relations de la Grèce, de la Roumanie disaient les Vénitiens, étaient étroites avec la République de Venise. Pendant cinq siècles, la durée couverte par le recueil, l'intérêt s'est déplacé, de Tana et Tenedos à la fin du xiv^e siècle, aux îles Ioniennes, Zante et Corfou, à Trieste au xvi^e siècle aux portes mêmes de l'ancien duché, que les archiducs, bien aidés par les Génois, avaient arraché à Venise à l'issue de la guerre de Tenedos. On voit combien les horizons vénitiens se sont rétrécis, ce dont témoigne aussi l'invention de l'escale de Spalato dont l'objectif était de capter le commerce balkanique des produits de l'élevage et des matières premières. Venise n'a jamais négligé ces productions, la mise en valeur d'îles déshéritées comme les Kornat balayées par la bora contribuait à son ravitaillement. Ces douze relations montrent aussi les changements intervenus dans l'historiographie et les préoccupations des historiens: il y a un demi-siècle, elles auraient fait une large place aux navires, à leur voilure, peut-être à leur tonnage, aux routes maritimes, aux produits du grand commerce, aujourd'hui elles privilégient les hommes, marchands, religieux ou soldats, leurs activités, leurs difficultés, leurs croyances, les transferts de population, la réception de 'l'autre'. Ce déplacement de l'intérêt est favorisé par l'exploitation de sources jusqu'à une date récente négligées: les déclarations dûment enregistrées des exilés grecs qui pétitionnent ou les confessions des candidats naguère 'infidèles' au baptême, autant de micro-histoires personnelles ou familiales souvent dramatiques. La guerre continue en effet d'être omniprésente avec ses peurs, ses captifs, ses réfugiés et ses malchanceux réduits en esclavage, elle introduit en Méditerranée des renforts inattendus, les vaisseaux hollandais qu'on avait pris l'habitude de considérer comme des 'intrus', alors que Venise a besoin de l'aide de la jeune puissance calviniste pour faire pièce à ses puissants voisins catholiques, dans le même temps où elle dispose encore d'un monopole des livraisons de bois de marine à l'Ordre de Malte. L'esprit de croisade n'est jamais très loin, ou ne serait-ce pas plutôt la nécessité de maintenir des liens commerciaux avec les uns ou les autres, l'Empire Ottoman voisin ne pouvant pas devenir le client exclusif. Trois relations insistent sur les rapports étroits qui unissent les populations des lambeaux de l'Empire et montrent une Venise atten-

tive à récompenser ceux qui se sont battus pour elle, à leur maintenir un niveau de vie décent, à protéger les mercenaires défaits, à veiller au salut de leur âme auquel œuvre une institution fondée par les Jésuites. Venise se voit comme une île, un monde insulaire isolé au centre du monde nouvellement exploré et, simultanément, à la marge du monde chrétien. Entre ces empires aux cultures et aux religions diverses, des passeurs accomplissent des missions indispensables, car ils ont des parents, des amis, des correspondants de part et d'autre de frontières fluctuantes et mal fixées, je veux parler des Grecs et des juifs et Venise utilise admirablement leurs compétences et leurs réseaux. Finalement ce que je retiens de ces contributions multiples, c'est que la Sérénissime ne fut pas l'insupportable dominatrice intolérante qui opprimait des peuples conquis et des religions minoritaires, elle savait faire sa place aux initiatives des uns et des autres, même à celle des sujets, à une époque où le libéralisme n'avait pas triomphé et où son champion, l'Angleterre, imposait des actes de navigation qui excluaient les étrangers du commerce maritime et n'étaient pas si éloignés des vieux monopoles vénitiens et de la revendication de souveraineté sur la mer.

I. LA GUERRE

VENICE, GENOA AND THE FIGHTS OVER THE ISLAND OF TENEDOS (LATE FOURTEENTH AND EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

RUTHY GERTWAGEN

IN 1377 a war broke between Venice and Genoa over the island of Tenedos that lies at the entrance to the Straits of the Dardanelles in N-E Aegean Sea (MAP 1). In the framework of the renewal in March 1376, with a delay of one year, of the treaty that had run its five-year course between Venice and John V, the Byzantine emperor and the original owner of the island, the emperor ceded Tenedos to the Venetians. The Genoese, who endeavored to annul the completion of the pact, released Andronicus IV, John's V rebellious son, from his prison and assisted him to depose his father and to be coroneted as an emperor. In return, Andronicus promised to give the Genoese the island of Tenedos. Nevertheless, when the Genoese of Pera came to accomplish their claim, the inhabitants of Tenedos, who were the deposed emperor's supporters, resisted to them and delivered the island to the Venetians. The Venetians fortified the island and nominated Donato Tron as governor (*captain*), replaced three month later by Antonio Venier. Venice's rejection to deliver Tenedos to the Genoese of Pera on behalf of the Byzantine emperor, on the pretext that Andronicus was an usurper, and the events that resulted from Venice's refusal were the immediate cause to the war of Tenedos. In 1379 the war was shifted by Genoa to the Adriatic Sea, to Chioggia, the outpost of Venice on the Adriatic. To besiege Chioggia (1379-1380), Genoa joined forces with Hungary, the rival of Venice for the control of Dalmatia in the Eastern Adriatic Sea and with the enemies of Venice in its hinterland, on the *Terraferma*. After Chioggia had been conquered for a short time by the allies, Venice eventually won the maritime siege. On the other hand, maritime incidents that continued between Venice and Genoa in the Adriatic and Liguria seas until March

1381 ended without any clear victory by either side.¹ With the mediation of Amadeus VI, the count of Savoy and John's V cousin, Venice and its rivals signed in Torino, in August 1381, a peace agreement. The Pact of Torino was formulated by the count as a compromised version, after each of the parties had submitted its requests to him.

The Pact of Torino that concerns the N-E Mediterranean forced Venice to hand over the island of Tenedos in two month to the count of Savoy, the arbitrator, to transfer the local inhabitants, eventually to the islands of Crete and Negroponte and to destroy its fortifications. Venice had to guarantee the carrying out of this clause by depositing 150,000 *fiorini* to either Bologna, Pisa, Ancon or Florence that eventually agreed to. Both Venice and Genoa were permanently prohibited from using the island, including for merely anchorage. Both were forbidden for two years to sail to Tana, in the Sea of Azov, in the N-E of the Black Sea.²

The aim of the present paper is three folds: to pinpoint the meaning of the articles of the above-clause, while highlighting the importance of the island of Tenedos in the maritime layout of Venice and Genoa. We will see that holding, and alternatively losing, the island had a different meaning for each of these maritime powers, with bearing on the policy concerning their maritime commercial activity in the N-E Mediterranean. Furthermore, the implications were not only limited to this area but included the Adriatic and Ionian Seas as well. This paper also provides a fresh and more accurate profile, than the one

¹ For the background of the war of Tenedos and the anti-Venetian coalition till the Pact of Torino, see R. CESSI, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, Firenze, Giunti Martello, 1981², pp. 327-330; S. ROMANIN, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, Venezia, Filippi, 1972³, III, pp. 186-214; F. THIRIET, *Venise et l'occupation de Ténédos au XIV^e siècle*, in IDEM, *Etudes sur la Romanie greco-vénitienne (X^e-XV^e siècles)*, London, Variorum reprints, 1977 («Collected studies», 60), no. II, pp. 220-228; F. C. LANE, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, pp. 190-196; Lane detailed the war at Chioggia; B. KREKIĆ, *Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and the War of Tenedos/Chioggia (1378-1381)*, in IDEM, *Dubrovnik, Italy and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages*, London, Variorum reprints, 1980 («Collected studies», 125), no. VI, pp. 2-3; IDEM, *Le relazioni fra Venezia, Ragusa e le popolazioni serbo-croate*, *ibidem*, no. IV, pp. 395-398. Surdich only emphasizes the Genoese claim to the island owing to Andronicus' promise: F. SURDICH, *Genova e Venezia fra tre e quattrocento*, Genova, Bozzi, 1970, p. 26. On the background for John's V renewal every five years the Pact with Venice see D. M. NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice, A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 309-312.

² For the complete list of clauses of the Pact of Torino, see ROMANIN, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 214-216. This paper will relate to mainly those clauses that discuss the island of Tenedos and the N-E Mediterranean.

made up till now, of the various geopolitical systems and political powers involved in and affected by these violent conflicts.

READING INTO THE ARTICLES OF THE PACT
OF TORINO REGARDING THE ISLAND OF TENEDOS

Just at first glance of this Pact, one cannot ignore the complete overlooking of the Byzantine emperor, the original owner of the island of Tenedos. It was highly likely due to John's V vassalage status under the Ottomans since late 1372 or early 1373, a status shared in 1376 also by his usurper son, Andronicus IV. In fact, in 1376 the Ottomans, manipulated by the Genoese, helped Andronicus to depose his father, in return for Gallipoli in the N-E Dardanelles, in addition to Andronicus' vassalage obligation.³ It should be noted that the Ottomans had conquered Gallipoli in 1354 and lost it as a result of a Crusade in 1366, headed by the same Amadeus, the arbitrator of the Pact of Torino, who must have grown personal sensitivity to the increasing power of the Ottomans in the N-E Mediterranean on expense of Constantinople. One could argue that Amadeus deliberately demanded Venice to deliver him the island of Tenedos and not to the Byzantine emperor his cousin, in order to prevent its fall, like Gallipoli, to the Ottomans. In other words, the Byzantine emperor was no more considered an independent political figure.

Another intriguing article concerns the inclusion of Tana in N-E of the Sea of Azov, in N-E Black Sea. Tana was the most important reloading port in the N-E of the Black Sea for the Far Eastern commodities and for south Russian products that formed the core of the international trade to Northern Italy, Southern, Central and N-W Europe. In contrast to the previous war between Venice and Genoa, the third Genoese war/the war of the Bosphorus (1351-1355), Tana was not the declared target of the war of Tenedos. The third Genoese war had not ended either with a clear-cut victory of either side.⁴ The article regarding Tana in the Pact of Torino, however, proves that the war of

³ On John's V subordination to the Ottomans see J. W. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, New Brunswick (NJ), Rutgers University Press, 1969, pp. 18-22 and notes 42, 46. Regarding the circumstances of 1376, see *ibidem*, pp. 29-31; G. T. DENNIS, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387*, Rome, Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1961, pp. 37-38.

⁴ On the third Genoese war see M. BALARD, *A propos de la bataille du Bosphore: l'expédition génoise de Paganino Doria à Constantinople (1351-1352)*, «Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et de civilisation byzantines», IV, 1970, pp. 431-469.

Tenedos was not only for the possession of this particular island, but over the control of the above-mentioned international trade that was at the core of existence of both Venice and Genoa and the reason for the violent conflicts in the Eastern Mediterranean.

It should be pointed out that by 1380 the Genoese had accomplished the conquest of the shore of the Mongol Peninsula of Crimea, including the Venetian quarters in the local port towns of Soldaja, Calara and Provosto. The Mongols had to acknowledge their territorial losses by the peace treaties they signed with the Genoese in 1380 and later, in 1381 and 1387. In other words, the Genoese could have bypassed the interdiction to sail to Tana for two years and could trade with Tana through their colony in Caffa, whereas the Venetians were excluded completely from this region. In fact, the Pact of Torino enabled the Genoese to achieve their goal since the 1270s, to prevent Venice to reach the important port of Tana. Backed by the Pact of Torino, the Genoese sent vessels to Vosporo and Matrega that controlled the entrance to the Sea of Azov to prey for and catch those Venetian ships that might have violated the prohibition. In both cities the Genoese had a consul.⁵ The only ports the Venetian could trade in the Black Sea on the morrow of the Pact of Torino were Varna and Anchialos along the Bulgarian coast in the South-West and Trebizond, on the southern coast.⁶ Economically and prestigiously speaking, the detention of Venice's trade with Tana caused the *Serenissima* severe losses. Venice tried to soften the blow by initiating heavy investments in Mamluk Syria and Egypt, where the Genoese had already been strongly established, by demanding in 1382 from the Mamluk Sultan to found a Venetian colony in Damietta in Egypt. Furthermore, Ven-

⁵ IDEM, *Gênes et la mer Noire (XIII^e – XV^e siècles)*, «Revue Historique», 252, 1, 1983, pp. 44, 47-49; IDEM, *La Romanie génoise, (XI^e – début du XV^e siècle)*, Gênes-Rome, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1978, 1, pp. 150-162; S. PAPACOSTEA, *Quod non iretur ad Tanam: un aspect fondamental de la politique génoise dans la mer Noire au XIV^e siècle*, «Revue des Etudes sud-est Européennes», XIV, 2/1, 1978, pp. 201-203 and note 3, pp. 214-215. In contrast to Nicol, who completely ignores the geopolitical shifts in the Northern Black Sea and endows the Venetians unrealistic abilities to overcome this clause: NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice*, cit., pp. 321-322.

⁶ S. P. KARPOV, *L'Impero di Trebizonda Venezia Genova e Roma 1204-1461, rapporti politici, diplomatici e commerciali*, Roma, Il Veltro, 1986, p. 108. Along with Trebizond Stöckly mentioned also Provato near Caffa in the Crimea, however there is no evidence for this: D. STÖCKLY, *Le système de l'incanto des galées du marché à Venise (fin XIII^e – milieu XV^e siècle)*, Leiden-New York-Köln, Brill, 1995, p. 11. On the resume of the commercial line to the Black Sea and the route followed by the *Romania* convoy in the Black Sea see *ibidem*, pp. 111-112.

ice increased the number of the merchant galleys sailing to Alexandria and especially to Beirut. The rate of the leasing of these galleys exceeded those sailing to the Black Sea.⁷ The hard blow Venice suffered to its commerce in the Black Sea was sharpened by the clause that concerns the complete neutralization of the island of Tenedos.

As much as the neutralization of the island of Tenedos sounds logic, to root away the cause of the war, it practically endowed a diplomatic victory to Genoa regarding several aspects. First, the Genoese achieved their goal to deprive Venice of the island. Second, Venice's legitimate possession of Tenedos was denied, while at the same breath, the Genoese aggressiveness, expressed by deposition of John V, the legal Byzantine emperor, to win the island for themselves was, even if unconsciously, acknowledged by the Western powers, not directly involved in the war and that were represented, one could say, by Amadeus the count of Savoy and the arbitrator between Venice and Genoa.

The Genoese were in no delay to audaciously take advantage of this clause of the Pact. They suggested being those to destroy, on their account, the fortifications of the island.⁸ On the face of it a generous offer to remove the heavy financial burden involved in such an operation from Venice, who had suffered, as well as Genoa itself, of a severe economic and financial crisis as a result of the war.⁹ It is highly likely that Genoa wanted a foothold in the island to take it over. Genoa's real aim must have been transparent and, therefore, was denied by Amadeus.

Although failing this time, Genoa demonstrated persistence to reach this goal. Benedetto delle Torre, the overseer Genoa sent to Tenedos to witness the island's submission by Zanachi Mudazzo, the Venetian governor (*baiulus*) of Tenedos, to Amadeus' delegate, uttered this aim explicitly. Benedetto whispered at Mudazzo's ear that by the moment the Venetians deliver Tenedos, the Genoese will take it over and punish the local inhabitants that had collaborated with the Venetians. Mudazzo reported about it in writing in January 1381/1382

⁷ E. ASHTOR, *The Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1983, pp. 111-126. ⁸ SURDICH, *Genova e Venezia*, cit., pp. 26-27 and p. 27, note 9.

⁹ Regarding Venice, see R. C. MUELLER, *Effetti della guerra di Chioggia (1378-1381) sulla vita economica e sociale di Venezia*, «Ateneo Veneto», xix, 1981, pp. 27-41. Regarding Genoa, see S. EPSTEIN, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1996, p. 233; Epstein wrongly indicates that Genoa won the island according to the Pact of Torino, and that it promised not to fortify the island.

to the Metropolis, suggesting to the *Serenissima* not to hand over the island and to blame him for refusing to do so. In addition he wrote on the garrison's refusal to leave the island, since its salary had not yet been paid, as well as on the locals' refusal to depart.¹⁰ At the same time Mudazzo wrote to Amadeus, count of Savoy, asking him not to let the island of Tenedos to fall to the hands of the Genoese, suggesting himself as governor on behalf of the count.¹¹

One can safely claim that Mudazzo's fear of the Genoese was not without ground.¹² Past experience proved that the Genoese took all means to achieve their aims, while violating instructions of the highest authorities in the Western world. A famous case was the conquest in 1346 of the island of Chios by a Genoese fleet, commanded by Simone Vignosi that had originally been on its way, on papal mission, to Caffa in the Northern Black Sea to protect the Christian mission against the Mongols. Vignosi decided to deviate from his original mission and to take over the island of Chios in order to prevent its temporal use as a logistic base by the Crusade, headed by the Pope, to defend Smyrna in Asia Minor against the Turks. The Venetians provided the naval aid for this Crusade.¹³ Vignosi's pretext was that the moment the Venetians had put a foothold on the island, it would have been difficult, if possible at all, to make them leave Chios after accomplishing their goals. In other words, Vignosi acted in the same way he feared the Venetians might have. One could claim that Vignosi acted on his own. Nevertheless, Genoa, the Metropolis, did not order him to give the island back; in other word, his operation was approved. No real punishment action was inflicted by the papacy against Vignosi or

¹⁰ This was a letter that Mudazzo wrote to the Venetian Senate 11 January 1382, explaining why he will not deliver the island to Amadeus' delegate. I'll return below to this important issue: ASVE: *Libri Commemorativi*, lib. III, ff. 56-57.

¹¹ SURDICH, *Genova e Venezia*, cit., p. 29 and note 19.

¹² In contrast to Surdich, who argues that Mudazzo's real motives for his letter to Venice not to deliver the island were his contacts with the Turks: *ibidem*, p. 28 and note 17; Surdich, however, fails to say that the Turks Mudazzo had contacts with were those of Phoea in Asia Minor, who provided him and the people of Tenedos with food; the Ottomans should be ruled out of this case. On the contacts between Mudazzo and these Turks reported, as we shall see below, p. 362, no. 92, three Venetian nobles arriving to Ragusa from Crete, where they had received this information.

¹³ BALARD, *The Genoese in the Aegean (1204-1453)*, cit., p. 161; IDEM, *La Romanie génoise*, cit., I, pp. 69-73; my interpretation of Vignosi's motive to take over the island is different from Balard's, who infers from the consequences to explain the original tactic.

Genoa, although Vignosi's *manœuvre* caused difficulties to the papal against Smyran expedition, while not accomplishing his original mission commissioned by the papacy, to go to Caffa. Supported by the Metropolis, Vignosi's action predicted a change in Genoa's tactics, *i.e.*, to exclude Venice from the international trade system in the N-E Mediterranean by violent and illegal, so to speak, dispossession of territories from their legal owners; in the case of Chios it was the Byzantine Empire; in the case of Tenedos, it meant deposing John V, the legitimate emperor.

The resolution of the Venetian Senate regarding the instructions given in October 1381 to Pantaleone Barbo, the ambassador to John V, the Byzantine emperor, on renewal of the treaty, which had run its five-year course, supports all the above-said arguments. Pantaleone Barbo was forbidden to discuss Tenedos with the emperor.¹⁴ Since the Pact of Torino ignored the emperor, forecasting such a possible issue for discussion implies suspicion of Genoese involvement. Eventually Venice's refusal to hand over Tenedos to the emperor, on the pretext that the Pact of Torino forbade it, led to the emperor's declination to renew the afore-mentioned treaty.¹⁵ Ironically, this was the same emperor, who originally had ceded Venice the island in 1376 and was, because of his action, deposed by the Genoese. In 1381, due to new circumstances, he must have acted under Genoese pressure that used all presumptuous means to win the island.

These events convinced Pantaleone to support Mudazzo's refusal to deliver the island to Amadeus' delegate.¹⁶ The Venetian Senate resolution made on November 14, 1381 points to the senators' decision to follow Mudazzo's idea and to blame him for not yielding the island. The Venetian ambassadors to Genoa on 13 March 1382 were accordingly instructed how to discuss the new situation.¹⁷ The Genoese, however,

¹⁴ ASVE: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 37, f. 21r.

¹⁵ NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice*, cit., p. 322; Nicol only laconically refers to the renewal of the treaty. The analysis of the whole scene is mine.

¹⁶ In contrast to Surdich, who argues that Mudazzo was motivated only by the will of the Islanders that refused to leave the island and chose him as their leader; Surdich's claims that Pantaleone's protest against Mudazzo's move was vague and that he was, therefore, punished when the whole issue was resolved, is speculative: SURDICH, *Genova e Venezia*, cit., p. 28 and note 15. As we shall see later, Venice used all scheming means, Pantaleone so called punishment included, to keep holding the island.

¹⁷ ASVE: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 37, ff. 31r-33r, 14 Nov. 1381; f. 57r, 10 Mar. 1382.

who must have been alert to Benedetto's delle Torre whispered declaration, did not buy Venice's excuse and criticized the Venetians for not having intended to begin with to meet their obligation to hand over the island of Tenedos nor to pay the pledged money. According to the Genoese, it was typical to Venetian behavior «...due to the famous Venetian contempt to others, which they [the Venetians] wrap by what they call justice». In addition, Genoa required Florence to pay the pledge of 150,000 *fiorini* in six month.¹⁸

Thiriet argues that the Venetian Senate did not support Mudazzo for a long time and publically declared him as mutineer. The canceller Caresini and the doge Michele Morosini, two politicians with experience in foreign affairs, Thiriet argues, initiated this change of attitude. Morosini had been one of Venice's delegates that negotiated the Pact of Torino and one of the delegates sent to Genoa, still in early 1382 to explain the delay in the execution of the clause regarding the island of Tenedos. According to Thiriet, the new policy resulted from Venice's exhaustion after the war of Tenedos and consequently its reluctance to end with another war.¹⁹ Thiriet also argues that until mid 1383 Venice invested all efforts in taking over the island from Mudazzo, however, then the *Serenissima* changed its opinion regarding the destruction of the island's fortifications and the evacuation of its local population. Thiriet relies on Antonio's Veniero, the new Venetian doge, suggestion to the Senate in June 1383 on issues to be discussed in Genoa. The ambassadors had to emphasize the island's importance to navigation to N-E Mediterranean, therefore it was essential to make it a stronghold for Christianity. A bare island might facilitate its capture by the Ottomans.²⁰

¹⁸ The Genoese protest is quoted by one of the Venetian Senate's versions of the reply to Genoa, discussed in April: *ibidem*, f. 71r, 8 Apr. 1382; Surdich, who ignored these documents, erroneously argued that Genoa sincerely believed Venice's excuses for the following four month later as well, until May 1382: SURDICH, *Genova e Venezia*, cit., p. 31 and pp. 31-32, note 26. The references, however, that Surdich refers to, deal with the incident the Venetian mission encountered in Genoa, defending Florence for not having paid the pledge. This argument is reasonably argued by G. Bolognini, cited by Surdich himself in the same note 26, but whom Surdich rejects.

¹⁹ THIRIET, *Venise*, cit., p. 232; Roberto Cessi, a most prominent scholar on Venice mentioned laconically that there is no way that Venice supported the resurrection: CESSI, *Storia*, cit., p. 331.

²⁰ THIRIET, *Venise*, cit., pp. 234-235 and p. 235, note 1; in this note Thiriet also introduces Sanudo's explanation that the Ottomans might use it as a base to invade Greece: IDEM, *La*

As we shall see later, Thiriet, who only used part of the doge's suggestion, pulled it out of its chronological and circumstantial context. The Venetian documents prove to the opposite *i.e.*, to Venice's consistent scheming efforts to detain as long as possible the deliverance of the island of Tenedos. The present paper argues that for Venice, who suffered of a deficient geopolitical layout in N-E Mediterranean, holding the island of Tenedos was the core of its existence as a reloading port in the N-E Adriatic to Southern, Central and N-W Europe for the international commerce from the Far East through the Black Sea and for Black Sea local commodities. For Genoa, who enjoyed an auspicious layout in N-E Mediterranean, holding the island only was to inflict a deadly blow on Venice's role as a reloading port for the international commerce conducted in the Black Sea, by depriving the Venetian commercial convoys anchorage at Tenedos. It is, therefore, necessary to pinpoint the importance of the island in each of the communes' geopolitical layout along sea routes in N-E Mediterranean. We will see that, in contrast to Genoa, Venice has a history of twenty year efforts before the war of Tenedos to acquire the island. Furthermore, since the late 1360s Venice made efforts to get another place in N-E Mediterranean, close to Constantinople, to challenge the Genoese advantageous position near the Byzantine Capital and *vs* the Black Sea.

THE POSITION OF THE ISLAND OF TENEDOS ALONG NAVIGATION ROUTES IN N-E MEDITERRANEAN

Several factors combined to create favored trunk routes for long-distance voyages in the Mediterranean: geography, including topography and the configuration of the coasts; meteorological conditions, including prevailing winds; oceanographic characteristics, especially the direction and strength of currents; and technological limitations, especially those of ships and the necessity to provision mainly with water.²¹ The last 'Venetian' port of call for Venice's commercial con-

Romanie vénitienne au moyen Age, le developpement et l'exploitation du domain colonial vénitien (XIII^e-XV^e siècles), Paris, de Boccard, 1975, pp. 353-355; Cessi was the first to suggest the same view: CESSI, *Storia*, cit., p. 334.

²¹ On a detailed discussion on this subject with examples regarding navigation from the Western Mediterranean and the Adriatic to the Levant through the Aegean and *vice versa* in the twelfth-sixteenth centuries: R. GERTWAGEN, *Harbours and Port Facilities along the Sea Lanes to the Holy Land in How They made War in the Crusader Period*, ed. by J. Pryor, Burlington (VT), Ashgate, 2006, pp. 95-116.

voys and the military fleet in the Northern Aegean aiming towards the Dardanelles was Negroponte (modern Evia) in the Northern Aegean Sea. Because of the particular navigation conditions in both channels of Negroponte due to winds and currents regime, especially their peculiarity near the town of Negroponte, as well as due to shoals and sand banks, the town of Negroponte was not quite often the final port of call especially for the merchant ships. These vessels did not proceed north-eastwards of the town of Negroponte, by crossing the bridges that connected the island and the mainland, into Oreos channel to continue via the Sporades islands in the N-E Aegean *versus* the Dardanelles. The bridges, one of which was made of stone, prevented the commercial ships to cross, since they, in contrast to galleys, could not remove the mast and the sails. On those occasions that the galleys did cross, to sail to the N-E Mediterranean, they returned backwards through the southern channel of Negroponte, Petalioi channel. Then, passing by the harbours of Karystos or Castrì at the S-E of channel, they sailed northeastwards through the straits of Doro.²² (MAP 2) That was the route taken by the Venetian war galley, of a *trireme* type, that carried Cyriac of Ancona from Chalcis/Negroponte to Chios, in 1443 via the Cyclades islands. Cyriac wrote about his voyage to the Byzantine emperor on the board of *trireme* off Oreos. The *trireme* must have sailed into the Oreos channel as part of its original mission to pursue pirates in the Aegean. The *trireme* then turned back and sailed down the channel of Petlioi and thence, to Chios. From the island of Chios Cyriac intended to reach Constantinople on board of a safer vessel.²³ He probably meant a merchant sailer/*cog* or a merchant galley, since most likely he did not wish to go through a similar voyage, conditions he must have experienced, while sailing from the Cyclades towards the island of Chios. The voyage towards the N-E

²² There were two bridges at the Negroponte at the time. For detailed discussion on the bridges, the shoals and their treatment in the Venetian period, and on the particular navigation conditions in both channels of Negroponte, with the relevant bibliography and documents, see EADEM, *Does Naval Activity – Commercial and Military – Need Artificial Ports? The Case of Venetian Harbours and Ports in the Ionian and Aegean till 1500*, «Graeco Arabica», IX-X, 2004, pp. 170-172 and notes 29-30.

²³ CYRIAC OF ANCONA (Ciriaco d'Ancona, 1391-1452), *Letters and Travels*, ed. and transl. by E. W. Bondar with C. Foss, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 2003, p. 9; on the *trireme* type see F. C. LANE, *From Biremes to Triremes*, in IDEM, *Venice and History, Collected Papers*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966, pp. 189-192.

Aegean was made against prevailing north easterlies, the Etesian or Meltemi winds.

The moderate Etesian reaches the force of 2-4 knots but at noon in spring and autumn it reaches 5-6 knots. During the winter month, between November and March as well as during summer time, it reaches 7 knots. When the Etesian reaches 6-7 knots it causes strong storms to descend from the mountains. These might reach the force of 8 knots in Doro strait, along the southern shores of the island of Andros, in the strait of Keos or Zia, and between the island bearing the same name and the southern arm of Petalioi gulf. Then the force of the currents coming from the Dardanelles increases, and they are particular strong, five knots, in the strait of Doro, in the narrow channel that separates between the islands of Andros and its southern neighbour, Tinos, and in the wide channel that separates the island of Mykonos and the island of Ikara at its south.²⁴ These must have been the navigation conditions that the Ottoman fleet met while sailing in July 1470 from Negroponte, after having conquered the city. The fleet sailed via Doro strait towards Chios.²⁵ In the fourteenth and fifteenth century the sailing ships (*naves*) and the various types of *galleys*, merchant and war alike, found it difficult, despite of the improvements at the early fourteenth century of their hulls design and rigging, to sail against prevailing winds and contrary currents. The various types of galleys could indeed make their way by rowing, but then, they were in danger of being swept by the waves and sinking. This danger was attributed to their low freeboard, which prevented them heeling too far. The galleys would have found the waves of 0.5-1 meters challenging and waves of 1.2 beyond their capabilities.²⁶ Descriptions of various voyages in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of both commercial (*naves* and big *merchant galleys*) and military (*galeae*) ships,

²⁴ *The Black Sea Pilot*, London, Hydrographic Department under the authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, 1969¹¹, vi, pp. 85-86; *Mediterranean Pilot*, London, Hydrographic Department under the authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, 1987¹⁰, iv, pp. 9, 214, 251.

²⁵ *Annali Veneti dell'anno 1457-1500 del senatore Domenico Malipiero ordinati e abbreviati dal Senatore Francesco Longo con prefazione e annotazione di Agostino Segreto*, «Archivio Storico Italiano», vii, 1, 1843, pp. 50, 56, 60.

²⁶ J. PRYOR, *The Geographical Conditions of Galley Navigation in the Mediterranean*, in *The Age of The Galley, Mediterranean Oared Vessels since Pre-Classical Times*, ed. by R. Gardiner, J. Morrison, London, Conway Maritime Press, 1995, pp. 209, 213.

including horse carriers, show that with the blow of moderate winds in the N-E Mediterranean, it required the various vessels around six days and nights to reach the Dardanelles from S-E Petalioi channel at Negroponte. The Genoese fleet commanded by Paganino Doria reached the island of Chios in October 1351 after four nights and days. Amadeus', the count of Savoy, fleet reached the island of Lesbos from Negroponte in August 1366, after five days and nights. In moderate winds the war and merchant galleys sailed, like the *naves* with only sails, to save the energy of the rowers. Another day and half were required from the island of Chios to the mouth of the Dardanelles. The *navis* that carried in 1403 Roy Gonzales de Clavijo, the Spanish ambassador, to Samarkand reached after 36 hours the island of Tenedos, near the mouth of the Dardanelles, from the island of Chios.²⁷ (MAP 1). Moderate contradictory winds were, however, not common. One could, therefore, safely estimate that the average time to arrive from Negroponte to the Dardanelles was eight days and nights.

Re-provisioning with food and mainly fresh drinking water was indispensable. Food was vital for energy to *manœuvre* heavy rudders and large Latin sails of the war galleys and the merchant galleys of all size and of the sailers of *chocha* type and even more so, for galley oarsmen to maintain high levels of exertion. Ship's biscuit provided glucose and was the basis of seamen's diets. This also included vegetables or legumes, which provided B vitamins and minerals, and onion and garlic, which contained vitamin C and B complex, anti-oxidants, anti-dermatomycosis and anti-viral, and minerals. Wine softened the hard biscuits and ameliorated the taste of the food. Water, however, was the main fuel, due to the sweating and exposure to salt water both on sailers and war ships.²⁸ Benedetto Cotrugli insisted in his *opus*, *De navigatione*, compiled in 1464-1465, on the importance of water as elementary necessity for the mariners. Although being a merchant from Ragusa, Benedetto Cotrugli specifically states that he quoted

²⁷ BALARD, *A propos de la bataille du Bosphore*, cit., p. 440. On Amadeus' fleet voyage see K. M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant, (1204-1571)*, Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1976, I, p. 298; Attia wrongly indicated that it only took Amadeus' fleet two days to reach Gallipoli from Negroponte: A. S. ATTIA, *The Crusade in The Later Middle Ages*, New York, Kraus Reprint Corp., 1965, p. 388; *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand A.D. 1403-6*, transl. with notes by C. R. Markham, New York, Burt Franklin, 1970, pp. 25-27.

²⁸ GERTWAGEN, *Harbours and Port Facilities*, cit., p. 96.

the mariners, who served on Venetian ships, on board of which he sailed.²⁹ Rowers, however, required the hugest amount of water. An experimental run, rowing a vessel at speed for four hours from Crete to Santorini in the s-w Aegean Sea, revealed that an oarsman needed one litre of water per hour. Food in the late medieval and early Renaissance periods did not contain these qualities. During the summer month in the Mediterranean, the water supply dwindled away very quickly. Summer was the period of the Venetian *muda* to Romania and Constantinople. The big merchant galleys of the fourteenth and fifteenth century could only carry fresh water for one week and the war galleys only between four to seven days.³⁰ While one can only assume that big merchant galleys would have sacrificed the water on account of merchandize, it is very likely that during wartime the war galleys carried less quantity of water, since then, maneuverability considerations were on expense of water. Furthermore, since efforts invested by the rowers and mariners during war time was double, say the least, then in peace time, it was crucial for the various types of galleys of the fourteenth and fifteenth century to make a port of call before arriving, and certainly, before entering the Dardanelles to re-provision with fresh drinking water.

Making a port before entering the Dardanelles was vital also due to the local difficult navigation conditions. When the Etesian reaches force of 2-4 knots, the northern currents in the straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles reach, due to their narrowness, the force of 2.5 to 3 knots; when the force of the winds reaches 6-5 knots the force of the northern currents in the narrow straits reach 5 knots. Such a current, after crossing the Dardanelles, runs fiercely to the south-east, west and south-west of the Aegean, west and south-west to the island of Tenedos. The rate of the northern current, whose origin is in the Black Sea, is the greatest during the season when the rivers discharge the greatest volume of water, due to the throwing of the snow, and the increasing force of the northerlies. This happens usually during

²⁹ *Il trattato De navigatione di Benedetto Cotrugli (1464-1465). Edizione commentata del ms. Schoenberg 473 con il testo del ms. 557 di Yale*, a cura di P. Falchetta, «Studi Veneziani», n.s., LVII, 2009, p. 102; Cotrugli mentions the water issue as part of the qualities of a good harbor. On Cotrugli, his *opus* and his sources, see *ibidem*, pp. 15-65.

³⁰ J. PRYOR, *Geography, Technology and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean 649-1571*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 5, 75-84; IDEM, *The Geography Conditions*, cit., p. 210; DOTSON, *Economics and Logistics of Galley Warfare*, in *The Age of the Galley*, cit., pp. 219-220.

spring and summer, the conventional sailing seasons. Such navigation conditions pose even today obstacles to boats under sail and to low powered yachts and the more so for the various medieval vessels due to their hull design and rigging.³¹ A modern navigation instructions book for yachts recommends to such vessels, especially to low powered ones of seven ton powered by 17 H.P. diesel, but also to those with powerful engines, to plan carefully the entrance into the Dardanelles, via the SE of the straits and then to proceed northwards following the Asiatic coast to avoid the strong northern current in the mid-straits channel and along the European side. Only on the return journey a yacht can follow the European coast to take a full advantage of the northern current.³² One can safely claim that vessels only propelled by sails or oars must have followed this same route, *i.e.*, passing by the island of Imbros, N-E to Tenedos (MAP 1). The above-mentioned Ruy's Gonzales de Clavijo description illustrates realistically the difficulties met by the *navis* that carried him, while sailing from the island of Lesbos on October 1st 1403 towards the Dardanelles and their crossing *versus* Constantinople against the Etesian and the northern current. The northeasterly that strengthened in mid-day dropped the sails of the ship into the water and pushed the vessel backwards to the island of Lesbos, where it anchored for four days. On October 6th, at dawn, the vessel set sail again, and taking advantage of the moderate Etesian, it doubled its speed and arrived almost at the south of the island of Tenedos, when the wind reached force of six knots. The ship could hardly make safely a shelter in a bay at the eastern side of the island. They had to anchor for fifteen days in this bay, where they provisioned with water and fire wood, till the storm calmed down. On the sixteenth day the ship re-set to the straits of the Dardanelles, taking advantage of the *Poyraz* light N-E breeze, and it arrived at the island of Imbros, where it had to anchor for 36 hours, since the wind totally calmed down. Only the following morning, with the blow of the 'right wind' according to de Clavijo, which was the following west-south-western wind, could the vessel cross the Straits northwards.³³ Since, however, the island of Imbros was arid, it was only used for anchorage if there

³¹ *The Black Sea Pilot*, cit., vol. VI, pp. 42-43, 85-86.

³² R. HEIKELL, *Turkish Waters Pilot, A yachtsman's guide to the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts of Turkey with the Island of Cyprus*, Huntington, Imary Laurie Norie & Wilson, 1989³, p. 30.

³³ *Ruy de Gonzales de Clavijo*, cit., pp. 25-27.

was no other choice, *i.e.*, difficult navigation conditions at the mouth of the Dardanelles, or for visiting purposes. The above-mentioned Benedetto Cotrugli specifically emphasized that water was one of the important qualities of a good harbor, a quality that the island of Imbros lacked.³⁴

The west-southern-west wind is common in the Aegean during the months of winter and autumn, and it causes to storms during October, February and March. As long as it blows strongly and for a long time, it can change the direction of the strong northern current entering the Aegean through the straits of the Dardanelles, to weaken its force and to enable this way the vessels to cross the strait northwards.³⁵ In November 1351, at the eve of the war of the Bosphorus, the south-westerly assisted the espionage vessel of the Genoese fleet that was commanded by Simone Lecavella, to sail directly from the island of Chios to south-west of Gallipoli peninsula in the Dardanelles, within only 12 hours. This, however, was an exception. The main Genoese fleet, commanded by Paganino Doria that sailed from the island of Chios towards Constantinople, anchored in the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos, before crossing the Dardanelles. The fleet that mainly comprised merchant galleys, adapted for war requirements that were propelled by sails for long distance voyages,³⁶ must have been detained in these islands, like de Clavijo's ship 24 years later, due to the strong Etesian and northern current.

It should be also noted that anchoring at Tenedos was imperative on the reverse way as well, although then the voyage was made with the following Etesian and the northern currents. When Amadeus VI, the count of Savoy, returned from Gallipoli, at the north of the Dardanelles, the island of Tenedos was the first port of call he made after leaving the straits, in spite of the moderate northerly and the northern currents. From there he sailed directly to Negroponte, which he reached after five days.³⁷ The anchorage at Tenedos was particularly vital when the force of the northerly and the northern current was

³⁴ *Il trattato De navigatione di Benedetto Cotrugli*, a cura di Falchetta, cit., p. 102.

³⁵ *The Black Sea Pilot*, cit., VI, p. 39.

³⁶ BALARD, *A propos de la bataille du Bosphore*, cit., pp. 452, 462-463; Doria took advantage of these anchorage to levy taxes in the island of Lesbos and to capture four Greek-Byzantine boats at Tenedos.

³⁷ SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, cit., I, p. 302 and note 164; his fleet included horse carriers.

strong. When the afore-mentioned vessel that carried de Clavijo anchored, before making the straits of the Dardanelles in October 1403, at the island of Tenedos due to a northern storm, a ship coming from Gallipoli found also a shelter at the island.³⁸

3. GENOA'S AND VENICE'S SEA ROUTES IN N-E MEDITERRANEAN

It should be pointed out that sailing to the N-E Mediterranean required very often the anchorage at the islands of Chios and Lesbos before reaching the island of Tenedos or Imbros at the mouth of the straits. This was the route indicated by the navigation instructions guides of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, as well as of the modern ones.³⁹ This was the route taken by Venetian merchant galleys, the *Romania* convoy, going from Negroponte to Constantinople, after Venice had possessed the island of Tenedos.⁴⁰ These islands were frequented by Venetian war galleys as well. In 1398, 1400/1401, 1402, 1406 and 1416 the Senate instructed the Venetian naval fleet (the fleet of the Adriatic) to sail to Chios and Lesbos to reach for information on the Ottomans, if they intended to leave Gallipoli in the Aegean, as well as to track after their intentions regarding Constantinople and the Venetian *muda* of Romania that had to pass by Gallipoli on its way from Constantinople to the Aegean.⁴¹

³⁸ Ruy de Clavijo de Gonzales, cit., p. 26.

³⁹ *Il Compasso da Navigare, opera italiana della metà del secolo XIII*, a cura di B. R. Motzo, Cagliari, Università di Cagliari, 1947, p. 56; *The Book of Michael of Rhodes A Fifteenth Century Maritime Manuscript*, I, Facsimile, ed. by D. McGee, Cambridge (MA)-London, The MIT Press, 2009, p. 444, fol. 206a and p. 450, fol. 209a; II, ed. and transl. by A. M. Stahl, transcript. by F. Rossi, p. 578, fol. 206a and p. 596, fol. 209a. *Portolan Parma – Magliabecchi*, in *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kartographie und Nautik*, hrsg. von K. Kretschmer, Berlin, E. S. Mittler und Sohn, 1909, pp. 326-327. *Mediterranean Pilot*, cit., III, p. 21.

See the indicative and instructive Piero Falchetta's detailed discussion on the character, authenticity and limitations of the early modern portolans: P. FALCHETTA, *The Portolan of Michael of Rhodes*, in *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, cit., II, ed. by P. O. Long, pp. 193-210. As I have already discussed it elsewhere, I don't refer to the portolans as recommendations for planning a course but as a source for information on what to expect once a course was taken: GERTWAGEN, *Harbours and Port Facilities*, cit., pp. 101-102.

⁴⁰ ASVE: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 44, ff. 107r-108r, 19 June 1399; reg. 45, ff. 44v-45v, 22 Nov. 1400.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, reg. 44, ff. 44v-45v (13 June 1398); reg. 45: f. 47v, 23 Apr. 1491; reg. 46, f. 40r-v, 28 Aug. 1402; reg. 47, f. 60v, 24 July 1406; *ibidem*, *Duca di Candia*, b. 1, no. 6, f. 27v, 3 Febr. 1415. S. N. KONSTANTINOS, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age*, Athènes-Paris, Ekdoseis V. N. Grigoriades, 1880-1890, I-II, pp. 15-16, no. 233, 11 Febr. 1400/1401.

Since mid-fourteenth century the islands of Chios, Lesbos and Imbros were in Genoese possession. Since 1351 the Genoese Mahona controlled permanently the island of Chios. Furthermore in 1355, the Genoese Francesco Gattiluso married, due to his help to the Byzantine emperor, the emperor's sister and received as a dowry the island of Lesbos.⁴² Although governed by Genoese, these islands were not real colonies directly answering to Genoa and quite often than not, they have put their own interests *a priori* to the Metropolis.⁴³ Nevertheless, considering a mutual rival like Venice that might endanger their commercial profits, playing according to Genoa policy was also the interests of the Genoese at Chios and Lesbos. That meant an obstacle to the Venetian navigation to the N-E Mediterranean, for Venetian vessels were not allowed to anchor. The above-mentioned Venetian vessels that anchored at Chios and Lesbos on the way to the Dardanelles could, however, only do it when Venice and Genoa were on good terms.

During war time, it should be stressed, the disadvantage of the Venetian geopolitical layout in the N-E Aegean was the most prominent. After the conclusion of the battle at the Bosphorus straits in 1352, the Venetian fleet retreated to the island of Crete to recover and re-provision in order to resume their combat against the Genoese in Pera, a plan that, as above-mentioned, was never accomplished.⁴⁴ The discussions in the Venetian Senate in 1431 regarding the attack on the island of Chios considered again the island of Crete as a base for the regrouping of the Venetian fleet, its manning and equipping before sailing off for their mission in the N-E Aegean.⁴⁵ In both crucial events regarding planning an attack in the N-E Aegean Negroponte was not considered as an option for a military base. This is not surprising, due to the above-mentioned difficult navigation conditions in both sides of the gulf of Negroponte.⁴⁶

⁴² BALARD, *La Romanie génoise*, cit., I, pp. 82, 123-126, 168-175; IDEM, *The Genoese in the Aegean (1204-1453)*, «Mediterranean Historical Review», 4, 1989, p. 161.

⁴³ Regarding the character of the government in Chios till its submission to Genoa's direct control see PH. P. ARGENTI, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island, 1346-1566, Described in Contemporary Documents and Official Dispatches*, Cambridge, At The University Press, 1958, I, pp. 106-146.

⁴⁴ M. MERCÈ COSTA, *Sulla battaglia del Bosforo (1352)*, «Studi Veneziani», 14, 1972, pp. 205-206.

⁴⁵ ASVE: *Duca di Candia*, b. 1, 14, f. 2v, 20 Sept. 1431. ARGENTI, *The Occupation of Chios*, cit., II, pp. 402-403, doc. 20, 20 Sept. 1431.

⁴⁶ GERTWAGEN, *Does Naval Activity*, cit., pp. 170-172.

Coming back from the Dardanelles in late autumn and in winter, either in October or November, the time of the return of the *Romania* merchant convoy from the Black Sea and Constantinople, or of the Venetian fleet that retreated from the Bosphorus in winter 1352, both merchant galleys and war galleys were doomed to confront the south-south-western storms that are common in the Aegean at this season. One could assume that the voyage was eased with the replacement of the southerlies by the following *meltemi*, since then the wind that pushed the vessels forward. One could also assume that the vessels would have reached the northern channel of Negroponte, Oreos channel (MAP 2) thence to the city of Negroponte. Nevertheless, at such times the force of the northern currents reaches force of 2.5 knots, a force which was difficult for the various types of galleys to handle, due to the narrowness of Kriteri and Oreos northern channel of Negroponte. The vessels had, therefore, to sail sw towards the straits of Doro, thence to enter Petalioi channel the southern channel of Negroponte. That was the motive for the Senate's instruction that the *Romania* merchant convoy makes a port at Negroponte only once, usually on the way to Constantinople and the Black Sea.⁴⁷ Since Negroponte could not have provided the Venetian naval fleet with a logistic base already in 1351/1352, and since the Byzantine emperor had reluctantly to let the Genoese Mahonna to get in 1351 a permanent hold on the island of Chios, the Venetians tried to acquire in October 1352 the island of Tenedos from the Byzantine emperor for only the duration of the third Genoese war/the war of the Bosphorus. Unfortunately Venice failed, and resuming the attack of Pera from Crete was never put in practice, as above-mentioned.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ F. THIRIET, *Les itinéraires des vaisseaux vénitiens et le rôle des agents consulaires en Romanie gréco-vénitienne aux XIV^e-XV^e siècles*, in *Le genti del mare Mediterraneo*, a cura di R. Ragosta, Napoli, Pironti, 1981 («Biblioteca di storia economica», 5), p. 595. Thiriet, who only refers to the instructions but not to the motives behind, merely related to the fourteenth century. For further references that discuss particular situations in this century and in the fifteenth century see: ASVE: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 38, f. 144v, 8 July 1384; f. 48v, 22 July 1384. Reg. 40, f. 39r: 22 July 1386. Reg. 41, f. 97v, 24 July 1390. Reg. 44, f. 13r, 15 July 1397; f. 14v, 26 July 1397; ff. 44v-45r, 13 June 1398; ff. 107v-108r, 19 June 1399; f. 118r, 24 July 1399. Reg. 46, ff. 93v-94r, 20 July 1403. *Ibidem*: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 1, ff. 107v-108r, 17 July 1442, f. 110v, 27 July 1442. In 1415 the convoy had to stay at Negroponte and to protect the place against Turkish incursion until the arrival of the Venetian fleet of the Adriatic: SATHAS, *Documents inédits*, cit., III, pp. 125-127, no. 679.

⁴⁸ The leasing agreement is in *Diplomatarium Veneto-levantinum (sive acta et diplomata, res venetas graecas atque Levantis illustrantia, a.1351-1454)*, ed. by G. M. Thomas, New York, B.

4. THE OTTOMANS AND THE SEA ROUTES IN THE N-E MEDITERRANEAN

Another emerging actor since the mid-fourteenth century in the N-E Mediterranean that had a bearing, although indirect, on the issue of Tenedos were the Ottomans. Until late fourteenth century the Ottomans, it should be pointed out, did not own a naval fleet that could form a maritime threat. The significance and strength of the Ottomans was their territorial possessions in the Sea of Marmara and in the Dardanelles, which they achieved through conquests on land of those powers that possessed those strategic ports of calls. In the Sea of Marmara the Ottomans held several islands close to the S-E Asian coast: Imrali, the Princes islands, Paşalimanı and Marmara (MAP 3). The Ottomans took over these islands in 1345-1346, as a result of their land conquest of Maritime Bythania, whose northern border extended along the east coast of the Sea of Marmara, as well as a result of their occupation of the Turkish emirate of Karesi, whose northern border extended along the eastern coast of the Dardanelles.⁴⁹ In the Dardanelles the Ottomans accomplished their complete control of the northern entrance of the straits in the 1350s due to two successful acts. First, their possession since the 1340s of Lapseki on the Asiatic side and the second, taking over Gallipoli, along the European side of the straits opposite Lapseki. The Ottomans capture of Gallipoli peninsula took place with troops sent overland from the fortress of Tzympe further to the north, which had been conquered in 1352. An earthquake that occurred in 1354 brought about the destruction of the site itself of Gallipoli and its immediate repopulation with Ottoman nomad settlers⁵⁰ (MAP 3).

Franklin, 1965 («Research and Source Works Series», 112), I, 17-18, no. 8; on the reason for the failure of this transaction, see THIRIET, *Venise*, cit., pp. 222-223; for the circumstances that lead to Genoese permanent hold on Chios see above, note 42.

⁴⁹ I. BELDICEANU-STINHERR, *La conquête de la Bithynie maritime, étape décisive dans la fondation de l'État ottoman*, in *Byzance als Raum zu Methoden und in Halten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*, hrsg. von K. Selke, F. Hild, J. Koder, P. Soustal, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000, pp. 21-36; E. ZACHARIADOU, *Histoires et légendes des premiers ottomans*, «Turcica», xxvii, 1995, pp. 65-75; H. İNALCIK, *The Ottoman Turks and the Crusades, 1329-1451*, in *A History of the Crusades. The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, ed. by H. W. Hazard, N. P. Zacour, Madison (WI), University of Wisconsin Press, 1989, VI, p. 231; C. IMBER, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650*, New York, Palgrave, 2002, p. 9.

⁵⁰ On the circumstances that lead to establishment of the Ottomans in Tzympe and Gallipoli see H. İNALCIK, *The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age 1300-1600*, transl. by N. Izkowitz,

During northerlies both Gallipoli and Lapseki provided shelter; although during strong northerlies the modern navigation guide for yacht recommends to go from Lapseki to Gallipoli, since only in that part of the Straits the force of the winds is weaker than on the Asiatic side. At Gallipoli the rate of the current is only between 1-1.5 knots.⁵¹ In other words, entering the Dardanelles the vessels followed the Asiatic coast until Lapseki, then via Gallipoli they sailed among Marmara islands and along Marmara Asiatic coast versus Constantinople. The Marmara group of islands: Imrali, the Princes islands provide shelter from storms on their southern coasts or when the north winds become strong. The islands of Paşalimani and Marmara of the Marmara group, protect the Asiatic coast from the northern current, when its force increases by the strong Etesian.⁵² This favored sea route was controlled by the Ottomans since mid fourteenth century.

Indeed, during the third Genoese war Ottoman-Venetian relations were cold, say the least, in sharp contrast to the warm Ottoman-Genoese relations, due to wrong Venetian tactics and underestimation of the Ottomans.⁵³ It is hard to believe that the Ottomans would have attacked Venetian vessels taking this sea route. Nevertheless, not welcoming Venetian vessels inside the ports of call en route, or letting the Genoese harassing Venetian vessels in them or nearby would have similarly hardened Venetian navigation.

5. VENICE, THE OTTOMANS, SCUTARI, TENEDOS AND PERA

Venice's attitude towards the Ottomans changed by 1360s. The turn point was the failure in 1359 of Christian naval attack, led by Hospitaller and Venetian vessels, on Lapseki, N-E of the Dardanelles straits. The Christians were defeated on land, not by Ottoman vessels.⁵⁴ Ven-

C. Imber, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973, p. 9; IDEM, *The Ottoman Turks and The Crusaders, 1329-1451*, in *A History of the Crusades*, cit., VI, pp. 229-235; N. OIKONOMIDES, *From Soldiers of Fortune to gazi warriors: the Tzympe Affair*, in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. by C. Heyhood, C. Imber, Istanbul, The Isis Press, 1994, pp. 239-247.

⁵¹ R. HEIKEL, *Turkish Waters Pilot*, London, Imary Laurie Noire & Wilson, 1992², p. 36; *The Black Sea Pilot*, VI, cit., pp. 43, 85, 96-97.

⁵² *The Black Sea Pilot*, cit., VI, p. 45.

⁵³ Venetian Ottomans relations until early fifteenth century in the frame work of geopolitical shifts in the N-E Mediterranean including Venetian-Genoese and Genoese-Ottomans relations, are discussed in detail by R. GERTWAGEN, *Venice's Policy towards the Ottomans in the Midst Fourteenth and first Half of the Fifteenth Centuries*, «Thesaurismata», in print.

⁵⁴ SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, cit., I, pp. 236-237.

ice's participation might be the major reason for the cold attitude the Venetian embassy that Venice dispatched in March 1360 to Murād, the Ottoman emir, to congratulate him on the conquest of Adrianople in 1359/1360 and the transfer of the royal seat to this city, met.⁵⁵ Since at the same time, between 1360-1362, Venice watched helplessly the Genoese harassments of its merchants in Pera and the Black Sea, due to lack of any logistic base in the area to react, the Venetian Senate voted in favour of the Byzantine emperor's appeal in 1362 to establish a coalition against the Ottomans, under one condition that was *sine qua non* – the receipt of the island of Tenedos.⁵⁶ Venice undoubtedly intended to make the Island a logistic frontal base to its fleet not particularly against the Ottomans, the Crusade against whom was only used as a pretext to gain Tenedos, as much as against the Genoese.⁵⁷ Another condition that Venice stipulated for participation in the coalition was that Genoa should invest identical military efforts in this union.⁵⁸ A similar tactic the Venetians used in requiring the collaboration of the king of Cyprus in the league, in order to distract him from the intention to conduct a Crusade against Egypt; a move that might have harmed Venice's commerce in the Mamluk Levant.⁵⁹ The Genoese, however, who did not intend to impede their relations with the Ottomans, declined the appeal to join the union. The Byzantine Emperor, conscious of these political moves, retreated from his intention to cede to the Venetians the island of Tenedos.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ A. FABRIS, *From Adrianople to Constantinople: Venetian – Ottoman Diplomatic Missions, 1360-1453*, «Mediterranean Historical Review», 7, 2, 1992, p. 157. Unfortunately the Author ignores the circumstances for this mission; he discusses also the problem regarding the dating of the Ottoman conquest of Adrianople: *ibidem*, note 6.

⁵⁶ NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice*, cit., p. 300 and note 2; F. THIRIET, *Una proposta di lega anti-turca tra Venezia, Genova e Bisanzio nel 1363*, «Archivio Storico Italiano», CXIII, 1955, pp. 325-326; BALARD, *La Romanie génoise*, cit., I, p. 86.

⁵⁷ In contrast to NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice*, cit., pp. 299-300, and to THIRIET, *La Romanie génoise*, cit., p. 173; Venice intended to lease the island for a considerable payment: T. BERTELE, *I gioielli della corona bizantina dati in pegno alla repubblica veneta nel sec. XIV e Mastino II della Scala*, in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1962, II, pp. 91-101; THIRIET, *Una proposta*, cit., p. 325.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 323, 332.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 324 and note 9. If at the beginning Venice agreed, however, with great hesitancy, to provide the Crusade with transportation, it immediately redrew. Instead the Senate ordered the Venetian naval fleet to follow the King's of Cyprus moves: ASHTOR, *The Levant Trade*, cit., p. 89.

⁶⁰ SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, cit., I, p. 239 and note 71; NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice*, cit., p. 300. Regarding Genoa's attitude towards this Crusade, see BALARD, *La Romanie génoise*, cit., I, p. 85. On other factors that failed this union and the refusal of John V to cede the island of Tenedos to Venice, see THIRIET, *Una proposta*, cit., pp. 326-327.

Shortly afterwards, the Ottomans themselves changed their attitude towards Venice, by offering the *Serenissima* Scutari, in N-E the Sea of Marmara (MAP 3), in return for Venice's refusal to take part in the Crusades against them, the one led by the king of Hungary and the second, by Amadeus, count of Savoy.⁶¹ Venice agreed to the terms, undoubtedly, due to its failure in 1362 to obtain the island of Tenedos from the Byzantine emperor.

Given the precarious status of the Venetians in Constantinople, emphasized by the necessity to renew every five years the treaty with the Byzantine emperor, Scutari that faced Constantinople along the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmara, could have endowed the Venetians prestigious strategic advantages. As a Venetian post it would have counter-balanced at close hand the independent Genoese quarter of Pera and neutralized the Genoese involvement in the Byzantine inner affairs in Constantinople. At the same time it would have monitored the Genoese relations with the Ottomans, to prevent them to manipulate the Ottomans against Venice. Furthermore, Scutari could have been used by the Venetians as a close front base to the Black Sea, providing the Venetians with a possibility for much more rapid and efficient reaction to whatever Genoese actions against Venice's commercial activities in this area. One has to bear in mind that it was only a year earlier, in 1365, that the Genoese had conquered Soldaja from the Mongols, thus expanding the Genoese hold along the southern coast of the Crimea.⁶² Scutari with the island of Tenedos would have enabled to disconnect the linkage between Genoese Pera and the Genoese islands in the N-E Aegean. On the other hand, Scutari was not a substitute for the island of Tenedos at the entrance of the Dardanelles.

At the end of the day, however, Venice failed to win Scutari, since the Venetians, finally joined the expedition against the Ottomans, lead in 1366 by Amadeus count of Savoy. The incentive was most prob-

⁶¹ G. I. BRATIANU, *Les Vénitiens dans la mer Noire au XIV^e siècle après la deuxième guerre des Détroits*, «Echos d'Orient», xxxiii, 1934, pp. 156-158; I accept Bratianu's dating of Amadeus' Crusade that contradicts SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, cit., I, p. 312; FABRIS, *From Adrianople to Constantinople*, cit., p. 15, and Heyd's, who also gives other motives for Venice's refusal to participate in Amadeus' Crusade: W. HEYD, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen age*, Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1959, I, p. 517.

⁶² BALARD, *La Romanie génoise*, cit., I, pp. 150-162; IDEM, *Gênes et la mer Noire (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)*, «Revue Historique», 280, 1, 1983, pp. 48-49.

ably Genoa's participation that caused the Venice's illusion that this time, deprived of any Genoese assistance in N-E Mediterranean, the Ottomans might be defeated by the Crusaders. Indeed, the Crusaders succeeded in obtaining Gallipoli and in taking over fortresses along the Asiatic coast of the Dardanelles. The Ottomans, however, despite their weak position, retreated from their offer to Venice concerning Scutari. The Venetian rejection to Amadeus' of Savoy appeal to assist defending Gallipoli did not change the Ottomans' mind either.⁶³ At the end of 1366 or early 1367 Venice appealed unsuccessfully to the Byzantine emperor to obtain the island of Tenedos.⁶⁴ This failure led the Senate's resolution to instruct the Venetian ambassador that was sent to the Byzantine emperor for renewing the treaty with Venice, which had run its five-year course, to negotiate also with Murād to purchase Scutari. Although this mission was eventually not carried out, it indicated a new Venetian tactic that meant adaptation to the Genoese method to consolidate by all means the Venetian position in the N-E Mediterranean on account of the Christian world as well.

On the other hand, acting on both fronts could have also been used as a pressure on John V, the Byzantine emperor, who suffered badly from the Genoese of Pera interference in Byzantine political internal life. Indeed, this Venetian tactic urged John V to renew in 1369, during his sojourn in Rome, his treaty with Venice, although in one year delay,⁶⁵ and in 1370, during his stay in Venice, to suggest to the Venetians, by his own initiative, to purchase the island of Tenedos. Unfortunately Andronicus IV, John's V eldest son, who replaced his father during his absentee, refused to carry out the transaction, as a result of the pressure of the Genoese of Pera.⁶⁶ In retrospective, the

⁶³ Bratianu's view on the Ottomans refusal to cede Scutari to Venice is convincing: BRATIANU, *Les Vénitiens*, cit., p. 168, in contrast to SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, cit., I, p. 312 and note 191. Regarding Venice's assistance to Amadeus' Crusade, in addition to ships, see *ibidem*, pp. 294-295 and nos. 51, 52; In contrast to Zachariadou, who claims that Venice was reluctant to join the Crusade, due to her good relations with the emir Murād I, E. ZACHARIADOU, *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and The Emirates of Mentesche and Aydin (1300-1415)*, Venice, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Post-Bizantini, 1983, p. 70.

⁶⁴ THIRIET, *Una proposta*, cit., p. 327; O. HALECKI, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome. Vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défense de l'Empire d'Orient, 1355-1375*, London, Variorum reprints, 1972, p. 146 and note 2.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 222-226; FABRIS, *From Adrianople to Constantinople*, cit., p. 158. The Author, however, does not indicate that the mission to Murād was eventually not accomplished.

⁶⁶ SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, cit., I, pp. 312, 317-321; R.-J. LOENERTZ, *Jean Paleologue à Venise (1370-1371)*, «Revue des Études Byzantines», xvi, 16, 1958, pp. 226-228.

Genoese interference on this occasion predicted their interference in 1376 and pinpointed the feeble position of Venice due to its lack of any strategic site to balance Genoese Pera, either Tenedos or Scutari. Paradoxically, due exactly to this motive, the Venetians, on their side, did not deteriorate their relations with the Byzantine Emperor following his son's misconduct.

Nevertheless, the Venetians refused to assist John V to release himself from his subordination, since late 1372 or early 1373, to the Ottomans, in spite of the Pope's appeal in February 1374 to Venice, and notwithstanding the emperor's new promise to give the island of Tenedos to Venice in return.⁶⁷ Venice's suggestion, after rejecting the emperor's appeal, to pay for the island by abolishing, the aforementioned, Byzance's debts to the *Serenissima* since 1343, also met John's V refusal.⁶⁸ The Venetian Senate's resolutions in 1374 pinpoint the strategic significance of such a loss.

On 14, 17 and 18 July 1374, the captain of the Venetian fleet was instructed to dispatch one of the galleys to the island of Tenedos thence to inspect the water zone inside the Dardanelles straits, if there was any danger from the Ottoman-Byzantine vessels to the Venetian merchant galleys sailing to Constantinople and the Black Sea. From the straits the same galley had to proceed to Constantinople to track after the Genoese galleys of Pera, to inspect if there was any danger to the

⁶⁷ BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, cit., pp. 11-14 and notes 28, 30. Regarding John's V subordination to the Ottomans, see above, note 3. On the significance and implications of John's V act, see N. NECİPOĞLU, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins Politics and Society in the Later Empire*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 29. On the Pope's appeal to Venice see HALECKI, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome*, cit., pp. 290-291 and pp. 390-391, doc. 27.

⁶⁸ The emperor also refused in 1375 to renew his treaty with Venice that had run its five-years course: BERTELÈ, *I gioelli*, cit., pp. 129-130 and p. 176, doc. 32. One should notice Nicol's self contradicted arguments. At first he claims that due to Venice's instruction to send the jewels to Constantinople, Venice received the island of Tenedos: NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice*, cit., p. 309 and note 4. On the other hand, Nicol argues that the Venetian Senate's instruction conditioned the dispatch of the jewels by the receipt of the island: *ibidem*, p. 316 and note 1; Balard also indicated that John V delivered the island to the Venetians in 1372: BALARD, *La Romanie génoise*, cit., I, p. 87. Balard claims to rely on Thiriet, who himself does not say this: THIRIET, *Venice*, cit., p. 225; Balard also claims that John's donation of Tenedos to the Venetians in 1372 motivated the Genoese of Pera to support Andronicus' mutiny against his father in 1373, although the few sources that relate to this event tell about a treaty between Andronicus and Murād's son, and the rebellion of the two sons against their fathers: BALARD, *La Romanie génoise*, cit., I, p. 87 and note 285; since the Venetians did not get the island of Tenedos in 1372, Balard's claim regarding the Genoese share in this rebellion is speculative, let alone without any supportive documents.

Venetian commercial convoy to Tana, and to look for the best way to co-operate with the Bulgarian despot of Dubrovitçe.⁶⁹ These resolutions undoubtedly point to Venice's complete absence as an active actor in this scene of occurrences. In fact, these resolutions, as we shall see below, reflected a certain state of mind. To understand this argument, a short background of the events they relate to is crucially needed.

In 1374 Murād, the Ottoman emir, performed with John V, the Byzantine emperor, a joint Ottoman-Byzantine naval demonstration in the Sea of Marmara.⁷⁰ Very likely this naval demonstration was aimed to send a message to the Christian West headed by the Pope. Since 1372 the Pope made efforts to organize a Crusade against the Ottomans and discussed, in his letter to John V in June 1373, to free the Byzantine emperor from his subordination to the Ottomans since late 1372 or early 1373. In the framework of these endeavours, the Pope tried in vain in early 1374, as above-mentioned, to enroll Venice's naval aid.⁷¹ Highly likely the Ottoman emir intended to dispatch a message to the Christian West regarding the Byzantine emperor's full collaboration, although undoubtedly enforced, with the Ottomans. Thus Murād aimed to avoid Papal and Western expedition, like the one of Amadeus of Savoy in 1366 that cost the Ottomans the loss of Gallipoli in the N-W Dardanelles. One can safely claim that the Ottomans must have been aware of Venice's turn down of the Pope's and the byzantine emperor's appeal to join the Crusade and the strategic loss that Venice suffered due to its move. Having said that, how could one explain the above-mentioned Venetian Senate's resolutions?

The combined naval Ottoman-Byzantine demonstration must have caught Venice by surprise. Deprived of a nearby strategic outpost in the region, such as Tenedos, to follow developments close at hand,

⁶⁹ HALECKI, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome*, cit., p. 301 and note 4; DENNIS, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica*, cit.; THIRIET, *Venise*, cit., p. 225; Thiriet's claim that only on that occasion did John V permit the Venetians to anchor at Tenedos is invalid.

⁷⁰ HALECKI, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome*, cit., p. 301; DENNIS, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica*, cit., p. 35; IMBER, *The Ottoman Empire*, cit., p. 32; ZACHARIADOU, *Trade and Crusade*, cit., p. 70.

⁷¹ Regarding John's V subordination to the Ottomans, see BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, cit., pp. 18-22 and notes 42, 46. On the Pope's appeal to Venice see HALECKI, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome*, cit., pp. 290-291 and pp. 390-391, doc. 27. On the significance of John's V offer to Venice see NECİPOĞLU, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, cit., p. 29.

the Venetians were short of constant reliable information. Time was crucial; first of all, since the Venetian convoy, as above-mentioned, was on its way to Constantinople and the Black Sea. Time was also crucial for rapid reaction of all sorts to whatever event.

Furthermore, the Ottomans were not the only power that was aware of Venice's afore-mentioned moves in 1374 and lack of logistical base in the N-E Mediterranean; so were the Genoese. It is very likely that Venice feared that the Genoese would take advantage of the absence of any nearby Venetian logistic base to balance Genoese Pera in order to pursue their goal and deprive the Venetians from any possibility to trade in wider areas in the Black Sea than its northern section, for example with Bulgaria. Bulgaria was an essential market for the wheat trade in the western Black Sea.

On the morrow of the of the War of the Bosphorus, the Third war between Genoa and Venice (1351-1355), the Genoese had conquered three former Byzantine ports in the mouth of the Danube, along the sw shore of the Black Sea: Vicina, Kilia and Licostomo that were commercial centres for wheat trade. The focal commercial activity moved from Byzantine Vicina to Genoese Kilia, rich with vast fertile wheat fields. The Genoese thus cut the Venice off an important source of wheat in the Black Sea.⁷² Taking over the Bulgarian despot Dubrodič's monopoly over the wheat trade between Europe and the Black Sea, was the Genoese next target. Since the 1360s the Genoese of Pera and of Caffa pushed further their violent conflicts against the Bulgarian despot that evolved into a real war during the years 1372-1375. The despot asked then for Venice's help and the *Serenissima* willingly joined alliance with him. If the Genoese had succeeded, Venice would have been completely cut off the wheat trade in sw Black Sea.⁷³

⁷² S. PAPACOSTEA, *De Vicina à Kilia. Byzantins et Génois aux bouches du Danube au XIV^e siècle*, «Revue des Etudes sud-est Européennes», xvii, 1, 1978, pp. 73-76; IDEM, *Quod non iretur ad Tanam: un aspect fondamental de la politique génoise dans la mer Noire au XIV^e siècle*, *ibidem*, xvii, 2, 1979, pp. 215-216. See Niculescu's discussion on Vicina, Kilia and Licostomo during the Genoese period: A. NICULESCU, *Vénitiens et Génois, acteurs de la colonisation dans les Pays roumains et aux bouches du Danube aux XIV^e-XV^e siècles*, in *Le partage du monde, échanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée Médiévale*, éd. par M. Balard, A. Ducellier, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998, pp. 237-241.

⁷³ PAPACOSTEA, *Quod non iretur ad Tanam*, cit., p. 216; M. BALARD, *Gênes et la mer Noire (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)*, «Revue Historique», 270, 1, 1983, p. 50; G. I. BRATIANU, *Les Vénitiens dans la mer Noire au XIV^e siècle après la deuxième guerre des Détroits*, «Echos d'Orient», xxxiii, 1934, p. 159.

Furthermore, if the Genoese had taken over the Bulgarian dominion in the s-w Black Sea, the whole Venetian commerce in the n-w Black Sea would have been at stake, since all these s-w Black Sea port cities were, beyond their mercantile importance, also necessary ports of call for the Venetian commercial convoys to Tana, due to the local complex navigational conditions.⁷⁴ Thus the Genoese might have achieved their goal that aimed at eliminating the Venetian commerce in the Northern Black Sea according to a policy, which they had already formulated in 1270 to prevent the Venetians to reach Tana.⁷⁵

In the 1370s, Tana in the Sea of Azov was the only commercial centre where the Venetians could obtain the spices that reached the Black Sea from the Indian Ocean, because of their failure to establish a regular trade route between Tabriz, in n-w Iran along the trade route that lead from the Indian Ocean through the Persian Gulf, to Trebizond, on the Southern Black Sea. Furthermore, problems that burst out in 1372 between the Venetians and the emperor of Trebizond led the Venetians to threat in 1375 to leave their local quarter.⁷⁶ In order, therefore, to counteract Genoa's efforts in the s-w Black Sea, the above-mentioned 'espionage' galley was instructed in July 1374 to find the best way to collaborate with the Bulgarian despot.

Based on the above-said, one could safely claim that the Senate's instructions in July 1374 demonstrated hysteric even paranoid Venice's state of mind. One has also to bear in mind that in 1374 the Venetians had to quit the island of Cyprus as well and left it to the Genoese.⁷⁷ In other words, in the mid-1370s the Venetians found themselves in danger of being excluded by the Genoese from key ports of the international commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Venetian Senate's resolutions a year later prove Venice's change of tactics by employment of aggressive approach, as an ultimate move to prevent the complete collapse of its commercial activity in the n-e Mediterranean.

Due to John's V refusal in 1375 to renew in time the treaty, which had run its five-year course, and due to above-mentioned problems

⁷⁴ *The Black Sea Pilot*, cit., VI, pp. 32-36, 48-51.

⁷⁵ See above, note 5.

⁷⁶ KARPOV, *L'Impero di Trebizonda Venezia Genova e Roma*, cit., pp. 93-95.

⁷⁷ D. JACOBY, *The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century*, in IDEM, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion*, Southampton, Variorum reprints, 1989, no. VIII, pp. 167-171.

with the emperor of Trebizond, the Venetian Senate appointed the same year a special committee to check on Venice's position in Romania, *i.e.*, Constantinople and the Black Sea, more precisely Trebizond, as well as in Ottoman Turkey. The committee, however, recommended different actions for each of the areas. Regarding the emperor of Trebizond and the Byzantine emperor of Constantinople, all diplomatic gloves were removed. The galleys had to display a menacing naval demonstration until Venice achieved its purposes. The character of this embassy was accordingly emphasized by the title of the person, who stood at its head, that was 'admiral'. The embassy reached its goals both in Trebizond and Constantinople, and the Venetians also won the island of Tenedos as a gift.⁷⁸

At the same time the 'admiral' also negotiated with Murād to obtain Scutari in return for presents that equaled 400 hyperpers. On this occasion the 'admiral' wore the hat of a pure ambassador. The embassy, however, failed in this mission, most probably, due to two merged Ottoman considerations. Letting the Venetians have two nearby bases, Tenedos and Scutari, now that the Ottomans gained power in this area, would have increased too much Venice's strength. Moreover, Scutari could have been used by the Ottomans as a bargaining card with Venice, for whatever might happen in the future, as it indeed did in 1384.

It should, however, be stressed that the fact that the Venetian Senate dared to dispatch a fleet of ten galleys into the Dardanelles that could have been interpreted in a sensitive time, if there had been one, as an act of aggression proves clearly that the Venetians eventually realized that the Ottomans did not aim the demonstration in 1374 against them. On the contrary, the fact that the Venetians were afforded the opportunity to cross the Dardanelles with such a force proves the Ot-

⁷⁸ For another view regarding Venice's difficulties to renew the Pact, see BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, cit., pp. 23-24; Nicol claims that the grant of the island of Tenedos to the Venetians was a surprising act, since the island had not been included in the original Pact between Venice and Byzantium; The fact that the head of the Venetian embassy had the title of an admiral and not an ambassador proves that the delegation had the mandate to negotiate the subject matter: NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice*, cit., p. 312; Nicol unfortunately ignores the fact that the island had originally been, as above-mentioned, offered to the Venetians in Venice in 1370, but that the agreement was not put into effect. The admiral had to take care of realizing the crucial issue to Venice. Furthermore, Nicol's inference to the title of the head of the Venetian delegation contradicts the fact, indicated right below in the text, that the same admiral had an ambassador's mission to Murād. Regarding Trebizond. See above, note 76.

tomans' welcome of Venetian presence, up to a certain point that concerned Venetian possession of Scutari. It should be also noted that the Ottomans did not exercise any action to protect, so to speak, the Byzantine emperor, their vassal against the Venetian naval force. One could, therefore, claim that the relations between the Ottomans and the Venetians in the 1370s were good. Nevertheless, more often than not, being manipulated by the Genoese, the Ottomans, although not intentionally, eventually harmed the Venetians. A prominent example is the incident that led to the war over Tenedos between the Genoese and the Venetians. As above-mentioned, the Ottomans' assisted Andronicus in 1376 to depose his father, John V the Byzantine emperor, in return for Gallipoli. The Ottoman interference, however, eventually helped the Genoese to declare John's V endowment of the Island of Tenedos to the Venice as illegitimate.

The events we looked at that took place during twenty years, since the early 1350s, prove the Venice's persistent efforts to gain a foothold in N-E Mediterranean primarily in the island of Tenedos, and if possible also in Scutari, as a defensive move against the Genoese. These meddled through Pera in the political affairs in Constantinople and in the Sea of Marmara. Holding a front base in the island of Tenedos would have facilitated the Venetians to deteriorate at close hand any manipulative moves the Genoese of Pera might exercise on the Byzantine emperor and mainly on the Ottomans that unintentionally would have caused harm to Venice's position and commerce in the N-E Mediterranean.⁷⁹

Another evidence to sustain this argument concerns an episode that took place at the eve of the end of the war of Tenedos-Chioggia, after Genoa's defeat in 1380 at Chioggia that failed its endeavour to devastate Venice at its threshold in the Adriatic. This event regards the peace treaty signed in early May 1381 between Murād and the Genoese. A month earlier, in April, the joined Ottoman-Venetian siege on Pera had been removed, albeit a Venetian-Ottoman collaboration through this war. The collaboration started in 1379 with the Ottomans' help to John V, the deposed emperor, to regain his throne. Signing a peace

⁷⁹ In contrast to Thiriet, who wrongly claims that the Venetians took over the island of Tenedos due to the dangerous situation in the Dardanelles, caused by both the Genoese and the Ottomans: THIRIET, *Venise*, cit., p. 225. Thiriet completely ignores all the events in 1370s and their significance, described by the current paper.

treaty with the Genoese in May 1381, it should be emphasized, was not due to Murād's change of attitude towards Venice. It was, very likely, due to the realization that the Venetians failed to gain a clear and cut victory over the Genoese in the Ligurian Sea, where naval clashes between the two sides continued since the Genoese defeat in Chioggia in June 1380 until Spring 1381. Furthermore, there was no Venetian substantial presence in Constantinople, after the Venetian naval fleet had left in 1380 for Chioggia, to persuade the Ottomans not to make that move. In any event, on the morrow of the Genoese-Ottoman peace treaty in early May 1381, the Genoese signed a peace treaty with the emperor, John V; both sides declared loyalty to the Ottomans that was reaffirmed with the ratification of the Byzantine-Genoese Pact in 2 November 1382. The treaty between the Genoese and John V paved the way for the peace to be signed at the end of May 1381 between John V and his rebellious son, Andronicus. The treaty also paved the way to John's V reluctant recognition of Andronicus, the Genoese *protégé*, as well as Andronicus' sons as legitimate heirs to the throne, on expense of Manuel, his loyal son.⁸⁰

These were the most important Genoese achievements. First, the Genoese successfully removed the threat of the Ottomans as enemies and deteriorated the Ottoman-Venetian alliance against them. Second, the Genoese regained the previous prestigious status of their quarter of Pera that enabled them to continue to interfere in the internal life of the Byzantine throne in Constantinople, as well as to navigate for their own benefit the Byzantine external affairs, first of all towards the Venetians. Equipped with excessive self-confidence, the Genoese demanded Amadeus, while negotiating the Pact of Torino, to deny the Venetians anchorage in Constantinople on the pretext that they might stir conflicts between the Genoese and the Byzantines. The request was denied.⁸¹ Furthermore, the fact that the Pact of Torino conditioned that the treaty signed between the Genoese and John V, the Byzantine emperor, will respect the Venetians' right to move without any restrictions in the Byzantine territories without

⁸⁰ DENNIS, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica*, cit., pp. 41-44; see also NECIPOĞLU, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, cit., p. 127. The thorough effects of these events will be discussed below.

⁸¹ HEYD, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, cit., I, p. 525.

being harmed by the Genoese,⁸² clearly illustrates that the Genoese regained prestigious status in Constantinople, in contrast to the precarious one of the Venetians.

Furthermore, one could safely argue that it is highly unlikely that Murād would have taken any action against the Genoese of Pera, if they might have occupied Tenedos albeit the Pact of Torino, all the more so since the issue at the time was not of Ottoman interest. Certainly the Byzantines would not have interfered. The way for the Genoese to take over the island, on account of the violation of the Pact of Torino, was thus paved.

In light of these occurrences one should examine the Venetian Senate's attitude towards Mudazzo, the Venetian *bailo*, while questioning the sincerity of the above-mentioned suggestion, made by the Cancellor Caresini and the doge Michele Morosini, to declare Mudazzo as a mutineer.⁸³ A careful reading of the resolutions regarding the full accomplishment of the articles of the Pact of Torino concerning the island is, therefore, needed, if tiresome. While on the surface they often seem identical, a careful perusal shows significant variations. More often than not, scholars have intended to ignore these shifts and erroneously treated Venice's policy as constant.

VENICE'S POLICY REGARDING THE EXECUTION OF PACT OF TORINO'S ARTICLES

The examination of the resolutions of 4 April 1382, 2 May 1382 and, May 7 1382 reveal that the Venetian Senate was divided into two groups of senators, who suggested different responses to Genoa's accusation a month earlier that Venice had not intend from the start to carry out the Pact's of Torino article concerning the island of Tenedos. The responses also dealt with Genoa's request from Florence to pay the pledged money.⁸⁴

On April 8 the group, led by Fantino Giorgi (Fantin Zorzi), suggested to employ the aggressive tactic for defense. It, accordingly, suggested

⁸² SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, cit., I, p. 332.

⁸³ See above, note 19.

⁸⁴ On the circumstances see above, pp. 41-42 and notes 17, 18. It should be pointed out that Thiriet ignored these resolutions and that related to the one of April 22 continuing with August 1382, to all of which I'll refer below. He, therefore, failed to analyze Venice's policy: THIRIET, *Venise*, cit., pp. 232-233.

to blame Genoa for accusing Venice on intentional and pre-planned scheme not to deliver the island albeit Venice's readiness, despite its victory at the war, to hand over the island of Tenedos. The ambassadors, who had to demand Genoa's apology, had also to achieve the Genoese consent to postpone the destruction of the island's fortifications for another two years, without changing the amount of the pledged money. In case of Genoese refusal, the ambassadors had to demand to involve Amadeus, the count of Savoy, as an arbitrator. The fact that these senators instructed the ambassadors to immediately return to Venice, the moment they felt they were about to be arrested by the government in Genoa,⁸⁵ clearly points to the Venetian transparent final goal, to keep holding the island of Tenedos.

The other group, headed by Andrea Barbarigo, suggested only to respond to Genoa's intention to demand Florence to pay the pledged money in six month. In addition, Barbarigo's group suggested to employ conciliatory tongue, to point to Venice's sincere intentions to keep up the Pact of Torino and the peace treaty, while introducing Venice, in the spirit of Caresini's suggestion, as a helpless victim to unexpected circumstances, *i.e.*, Mudazzo's mutiny. Indeed, this group adapted Caresini's suggestion to declare Mudazzo a mutineer.⁸⁶ By employing such a tactic, these senators tried to reach twofold aims. One to gain the sympathy of the various powers involved directly and indirectly in the Pact, and thus to win the original goal to keep holding the island. The other aim was to prevent Genoa to enforce Florence to pay the pledged money. It turned out, post factum, that Florence had given Venice back the pledged money as a token of its faith in Venice's sincere intentions to carry out all articles regarding the island of Tenedos. Genoa's request from Florence to pay the pledged money will put it in a difficult financial situation, while publically exhibiting Venice's incredibility.⁸⁷

Barbarigo's group won after the second vote with, however, a small majority. Two days later, on 10 April the Senate voted to send delegates to Florence to inform the local government on Venice's dia-

⁸⁵ ASVe: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 37, f. 71r, 8 Apr. 1382.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 72r, 8 Apr. 1382. Surdich, it should be indicated, completely ignored Barbarigo's group, and at the same time referred to Fantino's Giorgi without any relevant authentic reference: SURDICH, *Genova e Venezia*, cit., p. 30.

⁸⁷ On Florence's returning the pledged money to Venice, see *ibidem*, p. 27 and note 11.

logue with Genoa, following Barbarigo's group suggestion, and to ask Florence not to declare that the pledged money was not at the Florentines' hands.⁸⁸ Venice delegation to Florence must have successfully accomplished its task, since only after the Genoese had confiscated Florentines commodities in Genoa, in May and later, in August, did the Florentine government confess in September on not having at its possession the pledged money.⁸⁹

Furthermore, following Barbarigo's group suggestions, the Senate discussed the instructions to Giovanni Memmo, the captain of the Venetian naval fleet and to Carlo Zeno, the elected new *bailo* and captain of Negroponte. Both individuals had to command with additional two *provisores* the naval expedition to Tenedos. The declared aim of the expedition was to persuade Mudazzo to deliver to Venice the island in return for pardon to him and to the local inhabitants, who sided with him. In case Mudazzo refused to collaborate, the expedition had to take the island by force, including involvement of siege or a violent attack. The expedition could use for its mission any required budget, whose amount, however, was not indicated.⁹⁰

On face value, one could claim the Venetian Senate indeed initiated practical means to evacuate the island of Tenedos. On the other hand, identical instructions had already been delivered to the captain of the Venetian fleet and to Carlo Zeno, a month earlier, on 24 March 1382;⁹¹ the repetition, however, proves that they had not been carried out. The fact that the repetition took place after the above-mentioned Genoa's accusation of Venice's pre-planned violation of the Pact of Torino, speaks for itself.

Furthermore, the fleet did not leave Venice a month later as well. Two different sources of information that arrived at Ragusa in May 1382 reported on the delay. One was Andrea Contarini, who arrived

⁸⁸ ASve: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 37, f. 68, 10 Apr. 1382.

⁸⁹ On the confiscation of Florentine commodities in Genoa one could learn from Venice's treatment of the issue at the end of May or early June: *ibidem*, f. 85r, 7 June 1382. I'll refer below to the context. It should, however, only be pointed out, that Surdich argues that at first Florence refused to discuss with Genoa the payment of the pledged money, on pretext that Venice's intentional violation of the Pact of Torino could not be proved: SURDICH, *Genova e Venezia*, cit., p. 32 and note 27.

⁹⁰ ASve: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 37, f. 37r, 8 Apr. 1382. Surdich indicated a wrong date, 22 Apr. 1382: SURDICH, *Genova e Venezia*, cit., p. 30 and note 21.

⁹¹ ASve: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 37, f. 64r, 24 Mar. 1382.

in Ragusa from Venice on May sixth. The second source of information was provided by three Venetian nobles that reached Ragusa from Crete two days later. Contarini claimed to have left Venice four days before the departure of the naval fleet and that Carlo Zeno took salaries to the Venetian garrison working with Mudazzo.⁹² Contarini indicated in addition that no new instructions were issued concerning the departure of the merchant convoys to Constantinople and Trebizond, due the piracy conducted by the people of the island of Tenedos. These had captured a vessel of merchants of Ancona, redeemed later by their Metropolis. On board of that ship were Genoese that were, however, returned unharmed to Pera by the people of Tenedos.⁹³

The above-mentioned three Venetian nobles that reached Ragusa from Crete also reported on this piracy. According to them the people of Tenedos had raided a Venetian vessel and the Venetians, therefore, considered them enemies. The Venetian nobles also reported that the Turks of Phoea assisted the people of Tenedos by providing them with victuals.⁹⁴ Caresini's chronicle, it should be pointed out, also condemned Mudazzo because of his contacts with the Turks.⁹⁵

One, could safely argue, that the real purpose for Carlo Zeno's departure to Tenedos was to cut off the piracy. The Venetian Senate justly feared that the piracy might provide Genoa with pretext to initiate reprisals that might have lead to a new war, although Mudazzo and his men made efforts not to harm Genoese merchants. All the more so, Venice denounced piracy against its own citizens. Death was the penalty for piracy. It had to be abolished at any cost. Nevertheless the Venetian senators hoped that the money, which Carlo Zeno had to bring with him according to the resolution of April 8 would solve the problem. In contrast to the original statement that the money was for the operation to take the island by force, it was, in fact, aimed for the salaries of Mudazzo's garrison. As above-mentioned, Mudazzo

⁹² B. KREKIĆ, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au Moyen Age*, Paris, Mouton, 1961, pp. 42-43 and p. 222, note 358.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 222-223, note 360.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁵ SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, cit., I, p. 235 and note 230; THIRIET, *Venise*, cit., p. 235, and note 2. The Codex Morosini that, among others, relies on Caresini laconically indicated that Mudazzo's rebellion lasted so long due to the Turks' assistance, not necessarily the Ottomans: *The Morosini Codex*, ed. by M. P. Ghezzi, J. R. Mellville-Jones, A. Rizzi, Padova, Unipress, 2000, II, pp. 158-159.

had already in January 1382 informed the *Serenissima* that his people had not yet received their salaries.⁹⁶

One can safely assume that the Genoese knew that Carlo Zeno had not left for Tenedos in April and that they also were suspicious of his mission. Genoa was certainly informed on the piracy conducted from Tenedos by their merchants that were victims as well as by the Genoese of Chios and Pera. Mistrusting Zeno's mission Venice's sincerity, Genoa requested Florence in April to deliver to Genoa the pledged money.⁹⁷

The Genoese move led to two motions in the Venetian Senate on May 2 1382 for guidance of the Venetian ambassadors in Genoa concerning the tactic to convince the local government to cancel the request of the pledged money. Barbarigo's group suggested taking action in two parallel spheres. One was in Genoa, where the Venetian delegates had to insist on Venice's major efforts to carry out its obligations according to the Pact of Torino. The fact that Carlo Zeno had already left to Tenedos with the amount of money to get the island to Venice's possession proves the Venice's sincerity. In case the Venetian ambassadors in Genoa reached dead end, then another move should be initiated without, however, informing the Genoese. Venice should approach Amadeus count of Savoy, to implore him to arbitrate in this matter and to sentence in favor of Venice. In case the count would refuse, the ambassadors in Genoa had to persuade the local government to plea to Amadeus' arbitration.⁹⁸

Fantino Giorgi's group added to the previous suggestion a bold demand from Genoa to give Venice extension of one to one and a half year, beginning in May 1382, to take the island from Mudazzo. Since the ban on sailing to Tana, imposed by the Pact of Torino, had to end in August 1383, the motive behind this suggestion was too transparent and, therefore, it failed in favor of the previous one.⁹⁹

One could safely argue that albeit its direct and harsh tone, Fantino Giorgi's group shared identical aim to Andrea Barbarigo's. Both groups of Venetian senators, as proved by the so far resolutions and evidence, thrived to detain as long as possible the evacuation of the island of Tenedos, in order to eventually achieve a permanent hold

⁹⁶ See above, note 10.

⁹⁷ THIRIET, *Venise*, cit., p. 232, note 1.

⁹⁸ ASVE: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 37, f. 37v, 2 May 1382.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 76r, 2 May 1382.

on the island. The groups only varied in the tactics to be employed, in the ways of response to Genoa's protests and accusations, on the one hand, and on the other, to Florence.

It should be pointed out that due to Amadeus's rejection of Venice's plea on the one hand, and on the other, the danger that Genoa was about to take action either against Venice either against Florence, Fantino's group changed drastically its tactic. It suggested that the Venetian ambassadors in Genoa should beg for winning Venice minimum of one year to two years at the maximum for taking over the Island from Mudazzo, and to persuade the Genoese to keep permanently the pledged money.¹⁰⁰ In other words, if up till then the policy was to keep the pledged money both with the island of Tenedos, this group suggested to give away the 15,000 *florini* in return, so to speak, for keeping the island.

In May 1382 Florence demanded Venice the pledged money for its deliverance to Genoa, due to the above-mentioned confiscation of Florentine commodities in Genoa. Genoa's move that meant rejection of the suggestion made by Fantino Giorgi's group, led five members of this group, however, without Fantinos Giorgi himself, to return to the tough attitude. On May 4, the doge wrote a personal letter to the Florentine Commune informing on the dispatch to Tenedos of armed galleys with the *provisores*, headed by the above-mentioned Memmo and Zeno, to solve the problems so that the island would be submitted to Amadeus or to his delegate, according to Venice's original intention regarding the execution of the Pact of Torino.¹⁰¹ Regarding, however, the pledged money, three versions of response to Florence were put to motion on June 7. One to denote Genoa for the confiscation of Florentine commodities, which Venice considered illogical; the second was to justify Venice's acts up till then regarding the island of Tenedos. The third version emphasized that the Venetian Senate was expecting until the end of the month good news from Tenedos. This suggestion must have referred to Memmo's and Zeno's declared mission a month earlier, according to which the *Serenissima* expected them to take over Tenedos from Mudazzo. Although, one has to bear in mind that the resolution was issued in order to abolish the pirati-

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 77, 7 May 1382.

¹⁰¹ G. Müller (a cura di), *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente Christiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno 1531*, rist. anast., Roma, Società Multigrafica Editrice, 1966, p. 127, doc. LXXXIX.

cal activity, not to deliver the island to Amadeus, the count of Savoy. These senators, therefore, suggested calming down Florence by indicating that following Memmo's and Zeno's successful mission Genoa will give the Florentines back the confiscated commodities. In case Memmo and Zeno should fail, these senators suggested compensating Florence without, however, indicating how.¹⁰²

A month later, on July 8, the Venetian Senate discussed for the first time practical means to take over the island from Mudazzo. The suggestion that won and was accepted as a resolution was made, among others, by Fantino Giorgio and Carlo Zeno, following Zeno's report after his return from Tenedos. The resolution dealt with recruiting of soldiers and, with the resources. Carlo Zeno was elected as the leading person; due, however, to sickness, he was replaced by Fantino Giorgio, whose mission was to take the island by force, and who was endowed with civic and criminal jurisdiction on the soldiers coming with him and on the Island's inhabitants.¹⁰³

Giorgio's election on July 9 as a substitute to Carlo Zeno to lead the operation is intriguing, if one bears in mind that he had originally been the head of the senators' group that boldly stated their attitude against the evacuation of the island. On the face of it, it looks like the *Serenissima* has changed its attitude that meant verbally carrying out the articles of the Pact of Torino. In reality, it is highly likely that Giorgio's election was a smoke screen for Venice's evasion to evacuate the island of Tenedos.¹⁰⁴ Part of this Venetian tactic, one should see in the resolution made the same day, August 9, to deprive Enrico Dandolo of his commandment on the galley and to put him on trial. Enrico Dandolo was the captain of a galley that had been recruited in Crete and sent to Tenedos, according to the resolution of November 11 1381, to join Pantaleone Barbo to help Mudazzo to deliver the island to the count of Savoy and to return to Venice. Dandolo was accused of freeing Mudazzo, despite the explicit Senate's instruction to bring him in chains to Venice. The fact that originally there had not been any resolution in 1381 concerning Mudazzo's imprisonment, and that his resolutions was, as indicated below, only issued in August 1382, sus-

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, f. 58r, 7 June 1382. Leonardo Dandolo, another member of the group, suggested a much more radical idea that failed.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, f. 93v, 8 July 1382; f. 94r, 9 July 1382; f. 94v, 9 July 1382.

¹⁰⁴ In contrast to SURDICH, *Genova e Venezia*, cit., p. 3.

tains our argument regarding Dandolo's punishment. Furthermore, when finally put on trial, Dandolo, as we shall see below, was accused on a different charge.¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, although Fantino Giorgio had to leave for Tenedos right after his election on the July 9, he only left on 17 August, *i.e.*, five weeks later.¹⁰⁶ Four days before his departure, on August 13, the *Collegio*, headed by the doge Michele Morosini, suggested to take over Tenedos at all costs, even if it meant a war and to start judicial process against Mudazzo.¹⁰⁷ The contrast to the general Venetian Senate's tactics up till then is striking. One has, however, to bear in mind that, Morosini had been with Caresini the negotiators of the Pact of Torino and later an ambassador in Genoa. Both of them feared the outcomes of Venice's evasion to carry out its obligations regarding the island of Tenedos. The appearance in Venice of two ambassadors from Florence that declared that the Genoese had on 2 August confiscated once again Florentine commodities in Genoa, since Florence had not given Genoa the so called Venetian pledged money,¹⁰⁸ must have influenced the *Collegio*'s proposal. One could safely claim that knowing well the Genoese mentality, Morosini, feared that Genoa will take concrete actions against Venice itself. The *Collegio*'s, resolution, headed by the doge Morosini, on 13 August, it should be pointed out, was put to five motions and was only accepted after the fifth. During all the votes the decrease of the number of the supporters and absentees was evident in contrast to the increase of the numbers of the opponents. On the fifth vote, however, a radical turnover occurred. The resolution was approved by majority of fifty five against eleven dissentient votes and nine abstentions. One could safely assume that after an inner fight, the *Collegio* headed by the doge managed to lead Venice to initiate sincere actions to carry out the *Serenissima*'s obligation regarding the island of Tenedos, according to the Pact of Torino. As a result, the Senate's resolution, on August 14, changed Fantino Giorgi's original mission.

The new resolution, practically made three days before his delayed

¹⁰⁵ ASve: Senato-Misti, *Secreta*, reg. 37, f. 95v, 9 July 1382.

¹⁰⁶ On Fantino Giorgi's date of departure to Tenedos one can learn by the letter written to Genoa, two days after his leaving: *ibidem*, f. 103r, 19 Aug. 1382.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, ff. 104r-105r, 14 Aug. 1382.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, HEYD, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, cit., I, p. 523, note 5. On Morosini and Caresini, see above, note 19.

departure for Tenedos on August 17, forbade him to pardon Mudazzo. Furthermore, Giorgi had to put on trial all those who had sided with Mudazzo and, therefore, were considered traitors and mutineers against Venice. Their sentence was to be used as a future lesson to others. The resolution also left to Giorgi's judgment if it was necessary to send an embassy to Murād to appease him with presents.¹⁰⁹ The Venetian Senate also dispatched a letter to Genoa five days later, on August 19, which detailed Fantino Giorgi's date of departure, the equipment, the recruited manpower and the war galleys going with him on the one hand, and on the other, the dealing with Mudazzo's issue and the people that had assisted Mudazzo to be delivered in chains to Venice to be put on trial.¹¹⁰

Interestingly, on 26 January 1383 the Senate responded to the Byzantine emperor about his request of the island. Given the fact, as above-said, that the emperor had been overlooked by the Pact of Torino, and that previous requests, made by the emperor in 1381 and in 1382, were denied by Venice, the emperor's request is intriguing. As above-mentioned, it is highly likely that the Genoese initiated this approach. One has to bear in mind that it was only on November 1382 that the Byzantine-Genoese Pact of May 1381 was ratified. As above-mentioned, according to this Pact, John V had reluctantly recognized Andronicus, the Genoese *protégé*, as well as Andronicus' sons as legitimate heirs.¹¹¹ The Venetian Senate response to the emperor sustains the argument concerning the Genoese involvement, since it relates directly to the Genoese. The Senate conditioned a positive response on two terms. One that Genoa will cancel all Venice's obligations regarding the island. One could safely assume the senators meant the destroying of the fortifications and the evacuation of the inhabitants. Furthermore, the senators requested refunding Florence in case it had already paid some amount as part of the pledged money. The senators must have meant to the Florentine commodities in Genoa.¹¹² Why bothering to respond to the emperor? One could safely claim to prevent as much as possible the jeopardizing of the renewal of

¹⁰⁹ ASve: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 37, ff. 1-4r-105r.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 110v, 19 Aug. 1382.

¹¹¹ See above, note 80.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, f. 130v, 26 Jan. 1382. I am using the modern calendar not the Venetian, according to which the new year started in March. Regarding the Florentine confiscated goods by the Genoese, see above, note 89.

the five years course Byzantine-Venetian. Furthermore, the Venetian Senate must have considered that the Genoese would reject the proposals, thus failing diplomatically the Genoese manipulation to get the island.

If indeed the Genoese urged the Emperor to request the island from the Venetians, it means they did not buy the sincerity of the *Collegio's* suggestion, headed by the doge Morosini, on 13 August and of the Senate's resolution a day later. It also meant that the Genoese found the inner conflicts in the Senate, expressed by the number and character of the votes, as phony. The Genoese might have considered these resolutions as a smoke screen to appease both Genoa and Florence for the delay of Fantino Giorgi's departure to Tenedos. One has to bear in mind that originally Giorgi had to leave in July and finally, he left a month later after the above-mentioned modification of his original mission. In other words, Genoa was convinced that Venice's refusal to hand over the island of Tenedos was persistent. The following will sustain this argument about Venice's attitude.

On 20 February 1383, the Venetian Senate agreed with a majority of 72, against nine dissentient votes and one abstention, to ratify, in contrast to previous resolutions, Fantino Giorgi's request to pardon Zanachi Mudazzo, in excuse of diminishing the expenses required by such an action and the dangerous complications that Mudazzo's imprisonment might have caused to.¹¹³ One cannot deny the feebleness of these motives, since Mudazzo had lead the 'mutiny' against the Metropolis, and Venice was very strict about mutineers. All the more so, since his supporters were eventually put on trials. These included, in addition to above-mentioned Pantaleone Barbo and Enrico Dandolo also Mudazzo's grandson with identical name of Zanachi Mudazzo, and Giacobbe Vicerano, one of the Venetian galleys' captains that had been sent with Barbo to Tenedos. The resolution to pardon Mudazzo, notwithstanding the suspicion that such a move might provoke especially to the Genoese, undoubtedly proves the Venetian Senate's support of Mudazzo during the whole time.

On 17 April 1383 three of Mudazzo's supporters were put on trial: Barbo, Dandolo and Vicerano. The causes for the charges won small support and finally, the suggestions to the imprisonment of Dandolo

¹¹³ ASve: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, f. 130v, 20 Febr. 1382.

and Barbo were rejected. One should point to the low numbers of voters regarding Barbo in comparison to the other accused persons. Interestingly, no suggestion was made for Vicerino's imprisonment, in spite of the charge against him – submission at Tenedos of the galley he commanded to Mudazzo. Vicerino's punishment was the deprivation of commandment on any Venetian commercial galley.¹¹⁴ One could safely claim that these were spectacle or staged trials. In other words, since the Venetian Senate did not consider Mudazzo's conduct as a mutiny, there were no assistants to be punished for actions that had not taken place.

Mudazzo's grandson, bearing identical name, it should be indicated, was never put on trial. Indeed, the Venetian Senate had instructed the Venetian government of Crete, Mudazzo's homeland, to confiscate his possessions, to imprison him, his wife and children and to send him to Venice, to put on trial for helping his grandfather's mutiny at Tenedos. Nevertheless, due to the Venetian rector's of Hania in Crete claim to Mudazzo's innocence, the Venetian Senate retreated from its previous resolution and instructed at the end of April to release Mudazzo and his family and to give him back his possessions.¹¹⁵ One could only wonder if the accusation and punishment of the grandson was not a smoke screen for pardoning the original Mudazzo.

Genoa, it seems, did not buy all these declared trials. As it was evident, since September 1382, that Venice had not submitted to Florence the pledge money, Genoa seized and confiscated in April Venetian vessels as well. At the end of April or early May 1383 Venice dispatched to Genoa a notary, Nicholas of «Clugia» (Chioggia), to negotiate the release of a Venetian «galeazza» captured in April and the goods that had been on board.¹¹⁶

This, however, was not the only mission of the Venetian delegate. The *Collegio* informed him on the alliance (*liga*) negotiated by Genoa and Hungary. The Venetian ambassador had to discuss this sensitive

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 48-48v. These pages contain separate discussions on the verdicts concerning each of the accused.

¹¹⁵ On the details of the charge against Mudazzo, the grandson, one can learn by the claim to his innocence: *ibidem*, f. 47v, 31 June 1383.

¹¹⁶ The confiscation of the «galeazza» and the notary's mission are indicated in the letter of appointment given on 12 June and related to right below to additional two delegates sent to Genoa: *ibidem*, ff. 43v and 44r, 4 June 1383. It should be pointed out that this volume contains disorder in paging.

subject with the Genoese regime emphasizing not only that Venice desired sincere and peaceful relationships with Genoa, as the treaty of Torino ordered, but also its willingness to enter into «brotherhood alliance» («fraternal») with Genoa.¹¹⁷ Genoa, it seems, started to make efforts to revive the maritime branch of the league in the Adriatic that it had headed against Venice to besiege Chioggia in 1380. Genoa's and Hungary's collaboration, always against Venice it should be pointed out, go back to the 1350s. The efforts to revive this league are not accidental. Since 1382, as I have discussed it at length elsewhere, Venice and Genoa started, separately, negotiations to take over the island of Corfu, at the Northern Ionian and Southern Adriatic Seas. Corfu was an obligatory port of call along the sea lanes connecting both Mediterranean basins and along the sea lanes leading to and from Venice to both basins. Since July 1382 the individual that held the island was Carlo III of Durazzo, who had also joined forces with Genoa in the war of Chioggia. Nevertheless, Carlo III evenly negotiated with each of these sea powers. Venice, however, enjoyed an advantage, since it had been invited by a major group of the Corfiot population to take over the island. Realizing Venice did not intend to hand over the island of Tenedos, the Genoese decided to open another front, to blockade Venice's sea lane either in the Adriatic with Hungary's help, or by occupying the island of Corfu.

It should also be noted that on the same day 4 May 1383 that Venice dispatched a notary to Genoa, the Venetian Senate also decided, for the first time publicly, to send an armed galley to Corfu in response to the original request by the pro-Venetian group in the island. The galley was literally meant to prevent the fall of the island into 'other hands'. In addition to the alliance between Hungary and Genoa, it also concerned the arrival of a Genoese fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean, discussed on the same meeting of the Venetian Senate.¹¹⁸ Since, as above-said, Corfu was an obligatory port of call along the popular sea lane connecting both Mediterranean basins, the Genoese apparently believed that they would avoid suspicion that they were

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*: *Liber Secretarum Collegii*, 1382-1385, f. 49r, 4 May 1383.

¹¹⁸ The subject matters of the 4 May 1383 were re-discussed in the Senate on 23 May 1383: *ibidem*: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 38, f. 35v. On the struggles of Venice and Genoa over the island of Corfu and the other political powers involved see R. GERTWAGEN, *The Island of Corfu in Venetian Policy in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century*, «International Journal of Maritime History», xix, 1, 2007, pp. 181-210.

planning aggression against the island. In the aftermath they could have justified their action by claiming that they were forcing the Venetians to honor the Pact of Torino. In other words, the Venetians had every reason to believe that if the Genoese had occupied Corfu, Venice's protests would have fallen on deaf ears, as it had not yet handed over Tenedos. The Venetian galley was thus sent to deter the Genoese threat. Considering the above-said, one could safely claim that the afore-mentioned *Collegio's* instruction to the Venetian delegate in Genoa to declare Venice's willingness to enter into «brotherhood alliance» («fraterna») with Genoa, undoubtedly sounds cynic.

Genoa's response is unknown. On 12 May, however, the Venetian Senate ordered to dispatch another two ambassadors to Genoa. These had to acquit both Venice and Florence of the fine and punishment resulted from the delay of the evacuation of the island of Tenedos, to demand all documents written by the Genoese government regarding the pledged money during Mudazzo's mutiny and afterwards, to demand money restitution to Florence, in case it had already paid the pledge or part of it, and to point to Venice's readiness to pay for tearing down the fortifications of the island, although that had been Genoa's obligations according to the Pact of Torino. The ambassadors had to invite a Genoese overseer to be present during the destruction operations. If Genoa had rejected these suggestions, the ambassadors had to point to Venice's readiness to submit the island to a third side, approved by Genoa, who would have to handle the pulling down operations. These last suggestions that had in fact been the original stipulations of the Pact of Torino were now conditioned by releasing Venice and Florence from all Venice's obligations according to the Pact of Torino, the pledged money included, the moment the destruction operations on the island had started. The Venetian delegates had also to require three month period, starting with the time of arrival of the third side in Venice, to complete the evacuation operation of the island.¹¹⁹

These missions followed the suggestions made on the same day, 4 June, by the *Collegio*, headed by the doge Antonio Veniero.¹²⁰ The suggestions, in fact, are only with slight difference from the original

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 29r, 12 May 1383. Due to disorganized paged volume, this document was put later than the previous antedated: f. 43, 6 June 1383.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*: *Liber Secretarum Collegii*, 1382-1385, ff. 15r-16v, 4 June 1383.

article of the Pact of Torino regarding Tenedos. Practically these assignments demonstrated once again Venice's scheming to gain time without paying any fines for the delay; however, on the contrary, to be refunded on what Genoa had already taken by confiscating both Florentine and Venetian ships and goods on account of the pledged money. One has only to bear in mind that in a three-month period the probation to trade with Tana in the N-E Black Sea, according to the Pact of Torino, was about to be expired. Venice wanted the island of Tenedos at its hands at that moment. This argument is sustained by the suggestion made independently by the doge during the last session of the Senate on 4 June, and which he had not put for previous discussion with the *Collegio*.

The whole doge's new suggestion deals with three topics. One was the arguments against destructions of the fortifications of the islands and the evacuation of the local islanders: in order not to cause dissatisfaction to God and the whole world; in order to provide safe navigation to these areas against the Ottomans, who themselves might have taken over the island and fortify it. The other topic of the suggestion provided a so called creative solution: to deliver the island to the Byzantine emperor, providing that nor Genoa nor Venice would, eventually, take it from the emperor. In case of violation, both communes would be doomed for heavy fines. The third topic was the idea that if the Genoese declined his new suggestion, the ambassadors should sign with them on the clauses included in the original suggestions made by the *Collegio* and introduced to the Senate.¹²¹ Since Antonio Venier has been the second *baiulus* of Tenedos, nominated in June 1376, he must have had an experience of the navigation conditions in the N-E Mediterranean and acknowledged the strategic location of the island along them. Nevertheless, his statement that the Ottomans were the threat to be beware of, albeit Venice's good relations with them, sounds suspicious. Let alone the involvement of the Byzantine emperor, all the more so after Venice itself had turned down in 1381 and 1382, as above-mentioned, the emperor's request to the island, while risking the refurbishment of the traditional five-years course treaty with him. The Genoese, who urged the emperor to make their move, were very much aware of the motive behind Venice's refusal.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 38, f. 47r, 4 June 1383.

The threat of fines, suggested by Venier, sounds cynic, since Venice itself did not respect the payment of fines. One could only wonder about Venier's suggestion that he practically pulled out of his sleeve the last moment as an addendum. It, however, reflected a transparent tactic to suspend the deliverance of the island by re-opening the discussions on the subject. Venier's third topic, *i.e.*, to ensure Genoese signature on the other suggestions made by the *Collegio* supports this argument; such a signature would have formed a breakthrough for a future pressure to get their signature on the Venetian doge's *addendum*. Venier must have pre-supposed the feebleness of his suggestion and, therefore, proposed to open it with a religious slogan to gain the Christian world's support. Indeed, Venier was the first one suggesting to put on table all cards of Venice's sincere policy that denied its obligation, according to the Pact of Torino, to evacuate and handing over the island of Tenedos.

Nevertheless, Venier's suggestion was dangerous. First, it could jeopardize the afore-mentioned good relations with the Ottomans. The Venetians could not afford such a risk, all the more so after the Genoese-Ottomans treaties in 1381 and 1382. Second, the suggestion would have insulted Genoese intellect. The senators ignored, therefore, the doge's addendum and did not put it to discussion, when the Senate's resumed at the end of the month its meeting on the delegation to Genoa.¹²²

The meeting on 30 June discussed Genoa's demand to see the written assignment of the two Venetian ambassadors, according to the above-mentioned resolution of 5 June 1383. The Venetian senators pointed to the danger in submitting anything in writing.¹²³ Such a move, undoubtedly expressed Venice's real policy to which it will be liable to and eliminated its possibility for retreating or negotiation. Turning down Genoa's request meant Venice's public statement not to respect its own suggestions.

On 7 July the Senate discussed again the possibilities to gain six month time, without paying any fine and getting refunds. The failure of the suggestions point to the Venetian Senate's acknowledgement that it was no more possible to try to fool Genoa.¹²⁴ Eventually at the end of August and early September, the Venetian Senate

¹²² *Ibidem*, f. 47r, 6 June 1383.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, f. 51r, 30 June 1383.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 53v, 8 July 1383; f. 54r, 8 July 1383 (two resolutions).

approved for the first time the practical moves for tearing down the island's fortifications and the evacuation of its settlers.¹²⁵ The approval was enacted after a contract had been signed in Genoa on 13 August, between the Genoese and the Venetians.¹²⁶ By April 1384 the whole operation had been accomplished. On 14 April 1384 Venice requested from Genoa an official document acknowledging Venice's standing up to its obligations according to the Pact of Torino at the presence of a Genoese overseer. The Genoese document had also to include Genoa's obligation to refund Florence for what had been confiscated from her on account of the pledged money by the Genoese, since the time of Mudazzo's mutiny.¹²⁷ Genoa, however, did not provide Venice with the document according to the *Serenissima's* request in May and June 1384.¹²⁸

Only in February 1385 Florence received a document that included the Genoese overseer's testimony on the accomplishment of the demolishing operation of all constructions on the island. The testimony itself was written on the shore at the harbor of the island of Tenedos, where a warehouse had stood before its demolishing. The whole Genoese document included all the events since the Pact of Torino, beginning with Venice's and Genoa's obligations. The document referred explicitly to the Venetian Senate's proposal of June 4 regarding its ambassadors' to Genoa mandate, which Genoa approved, clearly acknowledging that the cause of the delay of Venice's execution of the Pact of Torino was Mudazzo's mutiny.¹²⁹ On July 1384 according to the Genoese calendar and 1385, according to the Pisan calendar, Genoa submitted an official document to Florence regarding the refund for all Florentine and Pisan confiscated goods on account of the pledged money that Florence had to give Genoa, until Venice had accomplished its obligations according to the Pact of Torino.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 65r, 29 Aug. 1383; f. 67r, 1st Sept. 1383; f. 67r-v, 1st Sept. 1383.

¹²⁶ One can learn on the contract from the official Genoese document to Florence, after the accomplishment of the whole operation: Müller (a cura di), *Documenti*, cit., pp. 128-135, doc. xc, 12 Febr. 1385; here, p. 132; I'll refer below to the character of this document and other issues it deals with.

¹²⁷ ASve: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 38, f. 113r, 14 Apr. 1384. Three month earlier the island's inhabitants were transformed to Crete and Negroponte: THIRIET, *Venise*, cit., p. 236 and note 2.

¹²⁸ ASve: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 38, f. 130r, 22 May 1384.

¹²⁹ Müller (a cura di), *Documenti*, cit., pp. 128-135, doc. xc.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 135-142; The editor only dated the document according to the Genoese calendar *i.e.*, 7 July 1384, whereas on p. 142, the document explicitly says that according

It should be noted that the delay by Genoa in the deliverance of the above documents to both Venice and Florence was not accidental. In March 1384 an Ottoman delegation came to Venice, for the first time one should add, to ask for Venice's alliance against the Genoese, in return for Scutari.¹³¹ A mission that unfortunately failed, since the Senate could not afford a new war against Genoa that might have caused Venice, in addition to heavy financial burden, also the hostility of the Western powers and the loss of Tenedos.¹³² Nevertheless all these diplomatic contacts point to Venice's good relations with the Ottomans and that they were not the danger, whom Venice might have faced by leaving the island of Tenedos, as claimed by Thiriet, Cessi and Surdich.

As much as frustrating it must have been, the failure to win Scutari did not entirely cloud Venice's big achievement, *i.e.*, officially holding the island of Tenedos by the time of the resume of the trade with Tana in August 1383 and for eight month later. One could safely claim that in contrast to its diplomatic failure to Genoa on the morrow of the war of Tenedos-Chioggia, expressed by the Pact of Torino, the scheming policy of Venice for two years and five month has completely succeeded. Genoa failed to obstacle Venice's trade in the N-E Mediterranean and especially with Tana.

CONCLUSION

Tiny as it is, the island of Tenedos was the cause to the last bloodshed wars between Venice and Genoa in the N-E Mediterranean. In late

to the Pisan calendar the year should be 1385. This dating is also logical according to the sequence of events.

¹³¹ ASVE: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 38, f. 107r, 16 Mar. 1384.

¹³² *Ibidem*, f. 114v, 14 Apr. 1384 and f. 112v, 1st July 1384; reg. 39, f. 112v, 20 July 1385. See the discussions of Heyd and Fabris on the subject matter: HEYD, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, cit., II, p. 260; FABRIS, *From Adrianople to Constantinople*, cit., pp. 159-160. The discussions in April and July 1384 regarding Murād did not concern Turkish attacks on Negroponte and customs concessions on grain and alum, as argued by Luttrell, since these were connected to the Turkish emirates of Aydin and Menteshe: A. LUTTRELL, *Latin Response to Ottoman Expansion before 1389*, in *The Ottoman Empire (1300-1389) Halcyon Days in Crete A Symposium Held in Rethymnon 1-13 January 1991*, ed. by E. Zachariadou, Rethymnon, Crete University Press, 1993, p. 128 and note 52. On piracy from Aydin and Menteshe see *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca: Documents for the History of the Peloponnese in the 14th and 15th Centuries*, ed. by J. Chrysostomides, Athens, Porphyrogenitus, 1995, p. 62, no. 29 and note 2: in this case the Turks were commissioned by the duke of Athens and from them, Venice required compensations.

medieval scale this war was unique in two aspects. First, by the marine and terrestrial zones it eventually occupied: N-E Mediterranean, the Adriatic Sea and Venice's hinterland; second, by the political powers it involved; beyond Venice and Genoa there were, the Ottomans, even for a short time, in the N-E Mediterranean and in the Adriatic, Hungary and Dalmatia as well as Ferrara and Aquileia on the Italian mainland. Shifted to Chioggia, the front port town of Venice in the Adriatic, this war almost cost Venice its physical existence.

The importance of the Island of Tenedos is derived from combination of factors: geographic location at the entrance to the Dardanelles, the navigation conditions in the N-E Mediterranean, topographic assets – protected anchorages – and abundance of running water. These last two factors endowed the island much better advantages than the island of Imbros to its N-E, which was an obligatory port of call before entering the Dardanelles. Due to the favourable Genoese geopolitical layout in the N-E Aegean since the 1350s, *i.e.*, possession of the islands of Chios and Lesbos as well as the independent quarter of Pera at Constantinople, the Genoese enjoyed a considerable advantage over the Venetian geopolitical layout, in which the island of Negroponte was the most frontal post in the N-E Aegean. The island of Tenedos by itself had, therefore, less importance to Genoa than to Venice. Nevertheless, the fight over the island was not merely on the island itself but over controlling the international commerce between the Black Sea, Southern, Central and Western Europe, which was at the core of existence of both Genoa and Venice, each thrived to be the sole European reloading port for this trade. A major part of achieving this goal was by dominating the sea lanes to this area, along which the island of Tenedos played a key role as an obligatory port of call.

It should be stressed that neither Genoa or Venice intended to actually blockade the entrance to the Dardanelles by positioning patrolling galleys or overtly harassing each other vessels going by the island of Tenedos. Such a situation could have caused permanent wars. Genoa and Venice alike could not economically afford it. Nor would the Christian world have allowed a constant war in this area with the growing threat of the Ottomans.

One could safely claim that by holding the island of Tenedos and only by denying the Venetians the anchorage, Genoa would have achieved with 'nature's help' similar results in blockading the straits.

The contrary winds and currents and the thirst would have enforced the war galleys to stay at Negroponte until favourable navigation conditions. Contrary winds and currents and the thirst would have slowed down the advancement of commercial convoys or might have forced them to turn back to Negroponte. In other words, losing Tenedos would have prevented the *Serenissima* to effectively react to the abuse of its both status and commercial activities in Constantinople and mainly, in the Black Sea.

Such a situation might eventually have enforced the Venetians to accept Genoa's stipulations in return for anchoring permits to anchor at Tenedos. One only has to bear in mind that in the late 1340s Venice suffered a similar experience: in 1348 the Genoese took over from the Byzantines the straits of Hieron at the north of Bosphorus straits, and allowed both Venetian and Byzantine ships to enter the Black Sea only with special permits. Moreover, the Venetians and Byzantines had to pay for those permits. This incident was one of the motives for the Byzantine emperor to join forces with the Venetians against the Genoese in the third Genoese war, the war of the Bosphorus (1351-1355).¹³³

Historians are not allowed to rely on 'what if'. Nevertheless, one could safely presume that the past experience of Hieron straits anecdote, after the Genoese 'robbing' the island of Chios, only two years earlier, in 1346, as above-mentioned, left the Venetians with fresh memory. These events along with other facts detailed by the current paper certainly highlight the motives behind Venice's efforts to hold the island of Tenedos. For the *Serenissima* it meant preventing Genoa from achieving its goals, *i.e.*, depriving Venice's access to Constantinople and mainly to the Black Sea, otherwise Venice would have shrunk into a Mediterranean marginal commercial power.

The political negotiation that followed the end of the war proved that eventually victory lies not at military success, especially if it was not a clear and a cut one. Furthermore, peace treaties' stipulations could have been bypassed and cancelled by diplomatic craftiness. With brilliant scheming diplomatic *manœuvres* Venice succeeded to

¹³³ HEYD, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, cit., II, p. 198. In fact combination of violent actions made by the Genoese of Pera, the last of which were their destruction of the fleet built by the emperor and their attack on Constantinople in 1349, to prevent the emperor to regain possession of both Hieron straits and the island of Chios and Phocaea, stimulated the emperor to join forces with the Venetians: BALARD, *La Romanie génoise*, cit., I, pp. 76-80.

officially keep the island of Tenedos a considerably period after the resume in August 1383 of the trade with Tana, the important international commercial centre at the N-E Black Sea, that was at the core of the fights between Venice and Genoa since the 1270s. Venice also cunningly succeeded to detain the destruction of all buildings and fortifications on the Island, as well as the evacuation of its inhabitants for one year and eight month.

Furthermore, the Venetian documents of the late fourteenth century and early fifteenth refer to Tenedos, a bare island of constructions and local population, as an anchorage for Venetian commercial convoys naval fleets bound to Constantinople and the Black Sea, since at least 1387,¹³⁴ albeit the probation of the Pact of Torino imposed on both Genoa and Venice. In March 1397 Venice tried an audacious move and applied to Genoa to accept its suggestion to fortify Tenedos against the Ottomans, in order to prevent them from conquering the island. Such a move points to Venice's possession of the island and to the *Serenissima's* trial of a scheming policy to overtly declare it. The use of the Ottomans' threat was logical, especially after the defeat of the Crusade at Nicopolis in 1396. Indeed Venice renewed its relationships with Bayezid, the new Sultan in 1390. Nevertheless the Sultan did not keep up with his promises and no exchange of embassies between the two powers took place between 1392 and 1402.¹³⁵ Although no belligerent situation prevailed between the two powers, the renewal of close relationships between the Genoese of Pera and Bayezid, already in 1389, worried the Venetians. Let alone the Genoese of Pera insistence to pursue these contacts albeit the contradiction with Genoa's formal policy that became extreme towards the Ottomans, after Genoa's subordination to France in 1397. Venice's effort to take advantage of the internal unstable political situation in Genoa that lead to Genoa's subordination to France, to get formal recognition of the *Serenissima's* hold of Tenedos, by getting the permit to re-fortify it in 1397, failed.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ STÖCKLY, *Le système de l'incanto*, cit., pp. 109, 111, who only refers to 1387 and wrongly indicates it was an exception. Surprisingly she claims that the island was marginal along the navigation route.

¹³⁵ FABRIS, *From Adrianople to Constantinople*, cit., pp. 163-165.

¹³⁶ THIRIET, *Venise*, cit., p. 241 and note 3. My interpretation differs from that of Thiriet and from that of A. D. ZAKYTHINOS, *L'attitude de Venise face au declin et à la chute de Constantinople*, in *Venezia centro di Mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli xv-xvi)*, *Aspetti e problemi*

At the end of the fourteenth century and early fifteenth, the struggles between the Venetians and the Genoese over sea lanes in the Eastern Mediterranean reached a high level, and they became overt also in the Ionian (on Corfu at the north-east and on Zonchio-Navarino, in the south-east) and in the Southern Adriatic (on Durazzo). By winning these places, Genoa would have blocked Venice's exit to the Eastern Mediterranean and would have enforced the *Serenissima* to deliver the island of Tenedos. Venice who faced once again a danger for its survival, succeeded in failing Genoa in 1387 to obtain Durazzo and won the place for itself in 1392. Four years later, at the end of 1402 early 1403, Venice officially purchased also the island of Corfu.¹³⁷

At the same year, the Venetian Senates discussed the purchase of Gallipoli in the N-W Dardanelles, profiting of Bayezid's defeat to the Mongols in late 1402. By the possession of Gallipoli in addition to Tenedos on the one hand, and on the other, the defeat of the Ottomans, Venice could achieve for the first time a complete control on the sea lanes leading from the N-E Aegean to Constantinople and the Black Sea. Eventually such a step was never realized. Nevertheless the Venetians successfully and cunningly failed the Genoese fleet's scheme move to take over Gallipoli in 1403. On its way to the S-E Mediterranean, the Genoese, head by Marshal Boucicault, offered the Byzantine emperor to escort him from Italy to Constantinople. Shortly later the Venetian failed the Genoese attack on the Mameluck Levant. The embittered Genoese failures culminated in the Venetian victorious attack in late 1403 on the Genoese fleet at Sapienza, south-west of Methoni, thus failing the Genoese to take over Zonchio-Navarino north to Methoni, in the S-W Peloponnese. It was the first violent confrontation between the two powers since the end of the war of Tenedos-Chioggia. Nev-

a cura di H.-G. Beck, M. Manoussacas, A. Pertusi, Firenze, Olschki, 1977, I, p. 67. Surdich rightly claims that Venice deliberately ignored the logical Genoa's counter offer to deliver the island of Tenedos to the Pope; he, however, did not explain why: SURDICH, *Genova e Venezia*, cit., p. 41, note 46. On Pera, the Ottomans and the tough attitude of 'French' Genoa towards Pera see BALARD, *La Romanie génoise*, cit., I, pp. 96-100.

¹³⁷ R. GERTWAGEN, *The Contribution of Venice's colonies to its naval warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Fifteenth century*, in *Mediterraneo in Armi* (secc. XV-XVIII), ed. by R. Cancilla, special issue of «La Rivista Mediterranea», 2007 («Quaderni Mediterranei Ricerche Storiche», 4), pp. 122-130. In 1386 the Venetians only gained the town of Corfu and strategic sections in the north of the island: EADEM, *Corfu*, cit., pp. 181-210.

ertheless the Pact of Torino was renewed between the two powers in March 1404.¹³⁸

The Genoese, who did not give up, involved other political entities to achieve their aims regarding Zonchio and Tenedos. In the Ionian they enlisted to their side local forces of Genoese origin in the Morea and in N-E Aegean, the Genoese were assisted by the Order of St. John (the Hospitallers), who tried cunningly to take over the island of Tenedos in 1403. All these efforts failed.¹³⁹ Furthermore, due to rumors in March 1405, that turned to be false, that the Byzantine Emperor had intended to fortify Tenedos in collaboration with the Genoese of Pera, the Venetian Senate ordered to send the captain of the Adriatic with the fleet of the Adriatic to take over the island overtly. Eventually, Venice's determination won, and the treaty with Byzantium that was renewed in 1406 included a clause that said: «regarding the island of Tenedos, nothing will be said at present, but the issue will be detained as long as the treaties between us persist».¹⁴⁰

One could safely claim that the above-clause was a silent admission of Venice's possession of the island of Tenedos. In 1415 the captain of the convoy returning from Tana wrote in Tenedos to the Metropolis on the Ottomans' preparations of a big fleet in Gallipoli in the Dardanelles for attacking Venetian ships. Two copies of the letters were sent to Venice, carried by two commercial ships of *navis* type, one of which arrived at Candia, Crete.¹⁴¹ In 1425 the island of Tenedos was mentioned explicitly in relation to Genoese threat. The Venetian *naves* sailing to Romania had to sail to Methoni or Corone in s-w Peloponnese, to wait there for the instructions of the captain general of the Venetian fleet. Then they had to sail in a convoy, accompanied by a special *navis* armed against pirates, due to the presence of Genoese galleys in the N-E Mediterranean, to Tenedos thence, to Gallipoli.¹⁴² One could only assume that the acquisition of Zonchio-Navarino by the Venetians in 1423 had a direct impact to this hostility on sea. Six years later, the island of Tenedos was mentioned again in a direct relation to the Genoese, during the Venetian naval fleet's attack in 1431

¹³⁸ My interpretation of the battle at Sapienza is different from the conventional: see EADEM, *The Contributions*, cit., pp. 131-136.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 136.

¹⁴⁰ THIRIET, *Venise*, cit. (the English translation is mine).

¹⁴¹ ASVE: *Duca di Candia Lettere Ricevute*, b. 1, no. 6, ff. 27v-28r, 28 Nov. 1415. STÖCKLY, *Le système de l'incanto*, cit., p. 111.

¹⁴² *Ibidem*: *Senato-Misti, Secreta*, reg. 55, f. 107r, 2 Apr. 1425.

on the island of Chios, in the frame of the war between Venice and the duke of Milan. Genoa, at that time was subordinate to Milan. The Genoese government of Chios, the *Mahonesi*, had to prevent Venice from taking advantage of this new situation to build any fortified construction on the island of Tenedos that would be an overt declaration of Venetian occupation of the island. The Genoese naval retaliation on Venice's *Stato da Mar* in the Aegean eventually ended successfully and, a peace was signed between the two rivals in 1435.¹⁴³

By keeping the island of Tenedos, until its fall in 1453 to the Ottomans,¹⁴⁴ as well by the acquisitions of strategic locations in the Southern Adriatic and the Eastern Ionian, Venice turned to be, at the end of the day, the ultimate winner over Genoa, while the *Serenissima*, retained, in contrast to its hereditary rival, its political and stable independence.

¹⁴³ The *Signoria* of Genoa wrote to Murād II, the Ottoman Sultan, on 31st October 1431, a letter, asking for his help to achieve this aim: ARGENTI, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese*, cit., I, p. 181 and n. 2; on the maritime confrontations and the peace agreement see *Ibidem*, pp. 174-188; L. BALLETO, *Chio dei Genovesi tra rivolta Maonese, corsari catalani ed attacchi veneziani*, «Anuario de Estudios Medievales», XXIV, 1994, pp. 485-489.

¹⁴⁴ THIRIET, *Venise*, cit., p. 238.

SELLING AND BUYING PROTECTION.
DUTCH WAR FLEETS
AT THE SERVICE OF VENICE
(1617-1667)*

LOUIS SICKING

For money the Dutch would serve the devil.
MAURITS VAN NASSAU, prince of Orange¹

INTRODUCTION

It is well known that the introduction of heavy artillery at sea played a major role in the transformation of warfare at sea roughly between 1500 and 1650. Whereas galleys were the first ships to take advantage of the use of heavy artillery, in the long run sailing ships became the preferred ships for maritime warfare. Perhaps the most spectacular consequence of the slow and difficult but eventually successful adoption of broadside artillery on sailing ships was the return of the sailing vessel for warfare in the galley-dominated Mediterranean in the early modern era.²

Venice well represents this development. In 1499 the government-

* This paper was originally presented at the third Mediterranean Maritime History Network Conference at Izmir, 4-7 May, 2010. I am indebted to Hielke van Nieuwenhuize for his comments on an earlier version of the article published here.

¹ Expression by prince Maurits van Nassau, stadholder of Holland and Zeeland: «en de Hollanders zouden voor geld den duivel dienen» (P. GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano: resident van de Serenissime Republiek van Venetië in Den Haag, 1616-1623*, The Hague, 1913, pp. 232-233, note 4).

² Between around 1500 and 1580 galleys had gained a major advantage relative to sailing ships: N. A. M. RODGER, *The Safeguard of the Sea. A Naval History of Britain*, 1, 660-1649, London, 1997, pp. 207-208; J. F. GUILMARTIN, *Gunpowder and Galleys: changing Technology and War at Sea in the Sixteenth Century*, New York, 1974, p. 59; IDEM, *Guns and Gunnery*, in R. Gardiner, R. W. Unger (eds.), *Cogs, Caravels and Galleons. The Sailing Ship 1000-1650*, London, 1994, pp. 139-150; J. F. GUILMARTIN, *Galleons and galleys*, London, 2002, pp. 114, 118; J. GLETE, *Warfare at Sea, 1500-1650. Maritime Conflicts and the Transformation of Europe*, London-New York, 2000, pp. 22, 27-28; R. Gardiner, J. Morrison (eds.), *The Age of the Galley. Mediterranean Oared Vessels since Pre-Classical Times*, London, 2004; P. C. RAHN, *The Galleon*, in Gardiner, Unger (eds.), *Cogs, Caravels and Galleons*, cit., pp. 98-114.

owned war fleet of Venice, which was maintained by the State in times of peace, had included a few very large sailing ships designed for war by shipwrights of the Venetian arsenal. But in the sixteenth century the building of such vessels had stopped. The arsenal then built only galleys. Next to its own galleys Venice also hired converted merchantmen. In 1617 they hired them for the first time from the Dutch and the English, who since the end of the sixteenth century entered the Mediterranean for commercial ends.³ It soon became routine for both Venice and other powers to lease Dutch and English ships for their wars – a clear indication that these ships were now considered sufficiently effective for warfare next to galleys in the Mediterranean.

Historians as Fernand Braudel and Frederic Lane have recognized the role of the Dutch and the English in the re-introduction of the sailing ship for Mediterranean warfare in the early modern era.⁴ From 1617 until 1667, when the Venetian arsenal built its first ship-of-the-line, Venice regularly hired converted merchantmen for warfare from the Dutch and the English. How were the Dutch able to sell or rent out entire war fleets to foreign powers like Venice and why were they willing to do so? Of what importance was this possibility for Venice? The aim of this paper is to put the Dutch contribution to Venetian warfare at sea in the Mediterranean in the seventeenth century in a broader perspective and to emphasize the continuing role of converted merchantmen for warfare beyond the Middle Ages into the Early Modern Era, even after the introduction of the gun port. More importantly, it will be argued that the rise of the State did neither in all cases nor immediately give rise to a domination of naval warfare by permanent navies consisting of purpose-built warships. Thus a con-

³ F. C. LANE, *Venice. A maritime Republic*, Baltimore-London, 1973, p. 412; J. R. BRUIJN, *Varend verleden. De Nederlandse oorlogsvloot in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1998, p. 31; GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 224-269. On the Dutch and English presence in the Mediterranean see F. BRAUDEL, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, 9th imprint, Paris, 1990, vol. 2, pp. 315-320, 325-329, 341. More recently for the Netherlands: M. C. ENGELS, *Merchants, Interlopers, Seamen and Corsairs. The 'Flemish' Community in Livorno and Genoa (1615-1635)*, Hilversum, 1997; M. VAN GELDER, *Trading Places. The Netherlandish Merchants in Early Modern Venice*, Leiden-Boston, 2009.

⁴ BRAUDEL, *Méditerranée*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 334-347; J. I. ISRAEL, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740*, Oxford, 1989 (repr. 1992, pp. 100-101), revised Braudel on Dutch commercial expansion in the Mediterranean; LANE, *Venice*, cit., pp. 385-386, 407-408; ENGELS, *Merchants*, cit., and VAN GELDER, *Trading Places*, cit., pp. 73-74 hardly paid any attention to the deliveries of war supplies and war ships from the Dutch Republic to Venice.

tribution can be made to the much-debated question of the extent of efficiency and effectiveness of the Dutch admiralties, responsible for transforming merchant vessels into warships.⁵ Furthermore this article will hopefully contribute to bridge two existing historiographical gaps: the one between medieval and early modern naval historiography and the other between Mediterranean maritime history and the history of the Atlantic and North Sea.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ARMED MERCHANTMEN FOR NAVAL WARFARE

In spite of the development of purpose-built sailing warships, the practise of converting merchant vessels for war, which had been an important characteristic of medieval naval warfare in the Atlantic and North Sea, remained important until around the middle of the seventeenth century.⁶ The introduction of the heavy gun at sea did not end the phenomenon of the flexible fleets, that is merchant fleets that could be used as war fleets, in the case of sailing vessels. On the contrary, the development of the sailing ship from the full-rigged ship of the fifteenth century – the three master which combined the Atlantic and northern square sail with the triangular lateen sail of the Mediterranean – to the ‘relatively homogeneous type of seventeenth century sailing gun-armed ship’, gave new opportunities for combinations of cargo-carrying and fighting power.⁷ The merchant fleet of the Netherlands remained therefore a major tool for naval warfare.

Although several initiatives were taken in the Dutch Republic to develop new ship types suitable for naval warfare in the shoal-filled home waters, essential during the Dutch Revolt, as well as for the open sea, which resulted in a nucleus of specialized warships around

⁵ The best recent discussion is to be found in J. GLETE, *War and the State in Early Modern Europe. Spain, the Dutch Republic and Sweden as Fiscal-Military States, 1500-1660*, London-New York, 2002, pp. 162-171.

⁶ E.g., R. A. STRADLING, *The Armada of Flanders. Spanish Maritime Policy and European War, 1568-1668*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 165; K. FRITZE, G. KRAUSE, *Seekriege der Hanse*, Berlin, 1989, p. 54; L. SICKING, *Neptune and the Netherlands. State, Economy, and War at Sea in the Renaissance*, Leiden-Boston, 2004, pp. 370-373, 378-381. It is revealing in this connection that in the late Middle Ages the French word ‘navy’ referred to a body of ships. Depending on the context it might mean the whole merchant fleet of a country: RODGER, *The Safeguard*, cit., p. 117.

⁷ For a description of this development see GLETE, *War and the state*, cit., pp. 28-31.

1621,⁸ the majority of ships in Dutch war fleets continued to be transformed merchant vessels until shortly after the middle of the seventeenth century.⁹ The Dutch could boast upon a long tradition in this respect. Their large merchant fleet represented an enormous naval potential. In 1536 the States of Holland claimed explicitly that it was thanks to the large merchant fleet of Holland that emperor Charles V had more ships available than the kings of Portugal, France and England put together.¹⁰ Holland's fleet expanded rapidly in the remainder of the sixteenth to become the largest merchant fleet in Europe and possibly in the world in the seventeenth century, surpassing that of Spain.¹¹

But this was not the only element of importance to explain the continuing importance of merchantmen for naval warfare in the early modern era. The introduction of cast-iron guns around the middle of the sixteenth century, made it economically possible to arm ships on an unprecedented scale as guns of cast iron were much cheaper than bronze. At the same time important improvements were made in truck carriage design and foundry practice. Cast-iron guns were considerably heavier than bronze pieces which threw the same weight of ball but cost only about a third or a fourth as much. The disparity increased in time until the cost of iron ordnance had fallen to an eighth of that of bronze in England in the 1670s.¹²

A massive international trade in cast-irons guns developed, in which the Dutch played a particularly important role. In the words of contemporaries, the United Provinces became 'the arsenal of the world' thanks to the development of an important arms industry which man-

⁸ L. V. MOTT, *Iberian Naval Power, 1000-1650*, in J. B. Hattendorf, R. W. Unger (eds.), *War at Sea in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Woodbridge-Rochester, 2003, p. 114; D. GOODMAN, *Spanish Naval Power, 1589-1665. Reconstruction and Defeat*, Cambridge, 1997; M. DE JONG, «Staat van oorlog». Wapenbedrijf en militaire hervorming in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden, 1585-1621, Hilversum, 2005, pp. 64-70.

⁹ J. R. BRUIJN, *Mars en Mercurius uiteen. De uitrusting van de oorlogsvloot in de zeventiende eeuw*, in S. Groenvelt et alii (eds.), *Bestuurders en geleerden. Opstellen over onderwerpen uit de Nederlandse geschiedenis van de 16de, 17de en 18de eeuw, aangeboden aan prof.dr J.J. Woltjer bij zijn afscheid als hoogleraar aan de Rijksuniversiteit Leiden*, Amsterdam, 1985, pp. 97-106; BRUIJN, *Varend verleden*, cit., p. 97; F. SNAPPER, *Oorlogsinvloeden op de overzeese handel van Holland, 1551-1719*, Amsterdam, 1959, p. 38.

¹⁰ SICKING, *Neptune*, cit., pp. 359-360.

¹¹ R. W. UNGER, *The Tonnage of Europe's Merchant Fleets 1300-1800*, «The American Neptune», 52-54, 1992, pp. 255-257, 260-261.

¹² RODGER, *The Safeguard of the Sea*, cit., pp. 213-214; GUILMARTIN, *Guns*, cit., p. 149.

aged to assure and regulate the supply of raw materials, like iron from Sweden and saltpetre from the Indies, and which produced not only for the Dutch market but also for export. By 1650, cast-iron ordnance had become the standard means of defence afloat, although bronze ordnance did not entirely disappear.¹³

Thanks to broadside gun ports and cast-iron guns a ship could carry much more guns. Depending on its size the sailing gun-armed ship which developed in the seventeenth century had one or two and exceptionally three complete battery decks. Besides, guns continued to be mounted under the quarter-deck and in the forecastle. When guns became cheaper gun ports were placed closer to each other so that even more artillery could be mounted on sailing ships. This stimulated the trend towards big and heavy ships.

Thanks to their enormous maritime potential and the establishment of an inland arms industry, the Dutch were not only able to equip war fleets for the defence of their territory, their maritime commerce and their fisheries in Europe, but also to effect overseas expansion despite having to compete with larger powers such as Spain, England and France. Furthermore, the Dutch potential for turning merchant ships into warships was not limited to Dutch naval warfare but also advantageous for the naval warfare of foreign powers. Between the 1610s and the 1660s the Dutch, and to some extent the English, hired out armed merchantmen with guns and crews to Venice, France, Portugal, Denmark-Norway and Sweden. One of the most well known examples is the war fleet which the Dutch arms trader Louis de Geer hired on behalf of Sweden to strengthen its navy in 1643 for an attack against Denmark. More occasionally the Dutch also delivered warships to the Ottoman Empire, Tuscany, Malta and the king of Morocco. This happened mostly in periods of war when it was crucial to mobilize as much naval power as possible. Thus converted merchantmen continued to be of importance for these States. They were often used as a temporary extra-force in combination with permanent navies.¹⁴

¹³ GUILMARTIN, *Guns*, cit., pp. 149-150; DE JONG, «*Staat van oorlog*», cit.

¹⁴ GLETE, *Warfare*, cit., pp. 31, 109, 128; BRUIJN, *Verleden*, cit., p. 31; DE JONG, «*Staat van oorlog*», cit., p. 123. On the Dutch fleet for Sweden F. BREEDVELT-VAN VEEN, *Louis de Geer, 1587-1652*, Amsterdam, 1935, pp. 153-197; and most recently J. GLETE, *Swedish Naval Administration, 1521-1721. Resource Flows and Organisational Capabilities*, Leiden-Boston, 2010, pp. 439-440.

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT:
THE RAPPROCHEMENT OF TWO REPUBLICS

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Venice, one of the flourishing maritime Empires of the medieval Mediterranean, had been reduced to a regional power under military threat from different sides. The Habsburgs were their main opponents. The *Serenissima* had to defend itself against archduke Ferdinand of Austria in a war fought over the commercial monopoly in the Adriatic Sea in 1615. Shipping from and to Venice was attacked by the Uskoks, enterprising pirates around Senj in the archipelago belonging to the Austrian Habsburgs.¹⁵ Furthermore Venice faced increasing hostility from the Spanish viceroys of Naples and Sicily who supported privateering. Most threatening were the reigns of the independently operating duke of Osuna, viceroy of Sicily (1611-1616) and subsequently of Naples (1616-1620), who challenged Venice's pretended control of the Adriatic. Osuna assembled a fleet of sailing ships cooperating on several occasions together with royal Italian galleys, against Venice. Finally Venice had to defend itself against attacks at sea from the great centres of privateering and piracy like Algiers, many other North-African ports, and Malta.¹⁶

It was therefore no surprise that Venice sought rapprochement to other opponents of the Spanish-Austrian Habsburgs, like the Dutch Republic. Since the 1590s, when Venice had started buying grain in the Netherlands because of shortages due to bad harvests in Italy, friendship had grown between the two Republics. The States-General had assigned a consul in Venice in 1614. Two years later the Venetian resident Christofforo Suriano arrived in The Hague. The relations between the old and the new Republic had culminated in an alliance in 1619. But already before the conclusion of the treaty the States-General had given permission to levy troops to fight in the service of Venice and to export gunpowder, fuses, and cannonballs to the threatened Republic.¹⁷

¹⁵ C. W. BRACEWELL, *The Uskoks of Senj. Piracy, banditry, and holy war in the sixteenth-century Adriatic*, Ithaca-London, 1992, pp. 4-5, 199-209.

¹⁶ P. W. KLEIN, *De Trippen in de 17^e eeuw. Een studie over het ondernemersge-drag op de Hollandse stapelmarkt*, Assen, 1965, p. 283; GLETE, *Warfare*, cit., pp. 107-109; LANE, *Venice*, cit., pp. 398-399; GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 1, 73.

¹⁷ KLEIN, *De Trippen*, cit., p. 284; M. VAN TIELHOF, *The «Mother of all trades». The Baltic*

After the conclusion of the Twelve Years Truce with Spain in 1609 the States-General ordered the Dutch admiralties, especially the one at Amsterdam, to support the construction of fleets of several allies or potential allies by selling and renting out ships and by offering loans. This was a new kind of activity. It became possible because the admiralties did not need all their warships anymore and reduced their fleets. Dozens of ships were sold to merchants. Enormous amounts of ordnance returned to the arsenals which were no longer used for the maintenance of the reduced fleets. During the Twelve Years Truce, the admiralties, next to their regular activities like the maintenance of the blockade of the Flemish coast and the convoying of merchantmen against piracy, supported Dutch entrepreneurs with artillery and crew members to acquire new and permanent positions at the markets around the Eastern Mediterranean. This contributed importantly to Dutch commercial expansion in the Mediterranean, especially the trade in valuable goods, the so-called rich trade. This trade needed protection, which could be delivered by the admiralties.¹⁸

The admiralties needed permanent suppliers to guarantee a regular deliverance of war materials. These merchants in arms not only had good contacts with the regions from which the raw materials came for the manufacturing of arms. They also managed to consolidate their positions as deliverers of arms, gunpowder, cannonballs and other ammunition. These permanent suppliers could count on support of the admiralties, which enabled them to develop new businesses in new markets. Some of them organised, in close cooperation with the admiralties and the States-General, the selling and renting of ships to foreign powers. A good example of this phenomenon was the consortium of merchants, amongst whom Elias Trip and Louis de Geer, which rented out ships that were to support Venice in 1617 and 1618.¹⁹

Grain Trade in Amsterdam from the Late 16th to the Early 19th Century, Leiden-Boston-Cologne, 2002, p. 37; GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 5, 188-189; VAN GELDER, *Trading Places*, cit., pp. 48-65; ENGELS, *Merchants*, cit., pp. 50, 55; R. E. J. WEBER, *De beveiliging van de zee tegen Europeesche en Barbarijsche zeeroovers, 1609-1621*, Amsterdam, 1936, pp. 121, 157-158; J. C. DE JONGE, *Nederland en Venetië*, Den Haag, 1852, p. 61.

¹⁸ GLETE, *Warfare*, cit., p. 109; DE JONG, «*Staat van oorlog*», cit., pp. 122-123, 125-126; ISRAEL, *Dutch primacy*, cit., pp. 96-98.

¹⁹ DE JONG, «*Staat van oorlog*», cit., pp. 89-90. See also H. VOGEL, *Arms production and exports in the Dutch Republic, 1600-1650*, in M. van der Hoeven (ed.), *Exercise of Arms. Warfare in the Netherlands, 1568-1648*, Leiden-Boston-Cologne, 1998, pp. 200, 208.

DUTCH SHIPS FOR VENICE (1617-1619)

In 1616-1618 three Dutch fleets were equipped to support Venice: two fleets transported troops from the Netherlands to the *Serenissima*, a third fleet was equipped as a war fleet to serve Venice, although it transported troops as well.²⁰

Lacking troops of their own the Venetians had turned to the Dutch for help in 1616. One of the practical considerations to turn to the Netherlands being that transport of troops over sea was possible. This may have contributed to the decision of the Venetian Senate to send an envoy to The Hague.²¹ The States-General approved an agreement between Johan Ernst, count of Nassau-Siegen (1582-1617),²² and Venice in whose service the count, thus acting as a *condottiero*, was to raise a force of 3,250 men in the United Provinces and Germany and transport them to Venice in Dutch ships hired for the purpose.²³

By the end of November 1616 these troops had embarked in a fleet of 16 hired merchantmen and were waiting for a fair wind to sail. In December the king of Spain wrote to Osuna to intercept this reinforcement but this came to nothing, for although unfavourable weather kept the Dutch ships from sailing until 2 March 1617, which gave the Spaniards plenty of time to get ready, the ships met no opposition either in the Straits of Gibraltar or at the mouth of the Adriatic. The first ships reached Venice on 4 April, the rest followed soon after.²⁴ This could not prevent that a Neapolitan fleet crossed the Adriatic, capturing ships and cutting the vital lines of supply and communication between the Venetian lagoon and its army in Istria, including the troops of the count of Nassau-Siegen.

The second Dutch fleet, of eleven ships transported a force of 3,000

²⁰ They can be followed in R. C. ANDERSON, *Naval wars in the Levant*, Liverpool, 1952, pp. 89-91, 95-96, 101, and, in more detail, in GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit.

²¹ GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., p. 12.

²² Stadholder Maurits van Nassau was his uncle and godfather. His brother, Johan Maurits, was governor of Dutch Brasil. The text of the States-General's approval: DE JONGE, *Nederland*, cit., pp. 412-414.

²³ GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 18, 21; ANDERSON, *Naval wars*, cit., pp. 89-91; P. BURKE, *Venetië en Amsterdam. Een onderzoek naar elites in de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1991, p. 46; DE JONGE, *Nederland*, cit., pp. 65-68.

²⁴ GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 35-41, 46-47, 60-61; ANDERSON, *Naval wars*, cit., pp. 89-91; DE JONGE, *Nederland*, cit., p. 69.

men recruited in Germany under command of count George Lode-wijk van Levenstein for the Venetian service to assemble at Delfzijl. It set sail on 30 October 1617. This fleet too seems to have reached Venice without opposition half January 1618, with about 200 soldiers having died on the way of diseases.²⁵

For the third fleet preparations started in 1617. It was to be a fully equipped war fleet that was to oppose Osuna's. It consisted of twelve fully armed and manned converted merchantmen, which varied in size between 340 and 720 tons. These were really big ships, belonging to the segment of greatest possible merchant ships available in the Dutch Republic. This makes perfectly sense in the Mediterranean context where big and heavily armed ships were needed. A regiment of 1,080 soldiers under command of colonel Carel Huyn van Amsteraedt was also on board. Melchior van Kerkhoven became the admiral of the fleet thanks to his ability to speak French, Spanish and Italian. The ships were supplied for ten months. They left the Texel roadstead in May 1618. They had been equipped in a period of five months time. The total rental price of the fleet was 840,000 guilders. On its way to Venice, on 24 June, near Gibraltar, a Spanish fleet tried to hold the Dutch squadron which had been joined by eight merchantmen. The Spanish suffered heavy losses and had to give up. Five ships were kept in Venetian service until July 1619, the other seven until October. Except for the encounter with Spain, the fleet's actions were limited to crossing the gulf.²⁶

HOW TO GET SHIPS FOR WAR: ARREST, RENT, ACQUISITION

It does not seem to have been easy for clients with military goals on the market of ships to get them for a good price. This was at least the experience of Johan Ernst van Nassau, in spite of his good relations, when he approached the Amsterdam ship owners for the transport of his troops to Venice. The ship owners in Holland's major city formed a closed front offering him 'as one man' to rent out ships for 8,000 to 9,000 guilders per ship whereas the count had expected to rent them

²⁵ ANDERSON, *Naval wars*, cit., pp. 95-96, 100; GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 201, 203, 217-218, 220, 224.

²⁶ BRUIJN, *Varend verleden*, cit., p. 31 incorrectly states that the fleet was meant to fight the Ottomans. GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 252, 260-261, 268, 273, 283, 286. DE JONGE, *Nederland*, cit., pp. 85-87.

for 6,000 guilders. It was only thanks to support of government institutions and by addressing ship owners in Rotterdam and Enkhuizen that Nassau succeeded to go around the Amsterdam consortium. The cartel seems to have been an important characteristic of the Dutch market for armed merchantmen. In 1645 when Venice wished to hire such ships again, Amsterdam ship owners again offered their ships together, with one person, Pieter Trip, as their spokesman.²⁷

In order to get ships public authorities could arrest them. This is exactly what Venice did when Osuna's fleet disrupted the city-State's vital maritime connections. In these circumstances, Venice's own warships being too few to suffice for operations against Osuna, the city-State had decided in March 1617 to seizure all ships present in its harbour including all Dutch merchantmen present. In spite of a formal protest by Gillis Ouwerx, the Dutch consul, he acted as a middleman which resulted in contracts between the skippers of five Dutch ships and the Venetian government concerning the conditions of the use the vessels. These conditions were favourable for the Dutch. The booty to be gained would be equally shared between the skippers and the crew on the one hand and the Venetian Republic and the soldiers on the other. The skippers would receive the rent in periods of two months beforehand. Artillery and ammunition would be delivered for free. The skippers had to deliver a security bond in return. Ships and victuals would be exempted from taxes. The contract would last for six months with a possibility for Venice to prolong it for two more months.²⁸ In June 1617 another general arrest of ships in Venice followed, this time including eleven ships of the third fleet. Again, after pressure from the Dutch consul, Venice accepted to contract two of the arrested ships, stating that the others were not fit for war. The arrest of the ships that were not contracted was lifted only after Osuna's fleet had left the gulf. All the time Venice had not dared to confront its opponent, which managed to capture two richly loaded galleys whose losses were estimated at 1,200,000 ducats.²⁹

²⁷ KLEIN, *Trippen*, cit., pp. 285-286; GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 25-26; IDEM, *Tropen lichten en schepen huren in de dagen van Frederik Hendrik*, «Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde», 5th ser., 5, 1918, pp. 173-218.

²⁸ GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 74-76; LANE, *Venice*, cit., p. 412; KLEIN, *De Trippen*, cit., p. 286.

²⁹ GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 74-77, 81-82; LANE, *Venice*, cit., p. 412; KLEIN, *De Trippen*, cit., p. 286.

These arrests of merchantmen were quite common.³⁰ Genoa, Naples and Livorno also made use of the services of Dutch ship owners in this way. If the conditions were favourable the ship owners did not necessarily protest. It could be a profitable business. More than that, some ship owners equipped their merchantmen for war hoping for some power to rent them. As long as they were paid they did not care against whom their ships had to fight. This became apparent with the preparation of the third Dutch fleet for which the Venetian government had ordered its resident in the Netherlands to organize in 1617. The States-General had promised him their support in his negotiations to rent ships from Amsterdam ship owners. This was crucial as these ship owners had also been approached by a representative of Osuna who wished to equip a Dutch war fleet as well. This put the ship owners in an excellent position to play off the two opponents against one another. This situation was only avoided because the States-General demanded the admiralties to issue a ban on the delivery of ships to foreign powers without their prior knowledge.³¹

Whether or not it came to a contract or whether or not damages were paid when ships were arrested by public authorities who needed them, depended on the circumstances. After the Venetian arrest of the ships for the troops under Nassau-Siegen, the ship owners in Holland, amongst whom government officials, addressed a protest to the States-General. Pressure was put on the Venetian resident Suriano, who was told that government officials had shares in the arrested ships. All this was to no avail. This is hardly surprising. In fact, when the ships for Nassau's troops were equipped in the Netherlands, Suriano had already informed the Venetian government that some of them were fit to be converted for warfare. He mentioned captain Pack, a former pirate, pardoned like many others by the States-General, who was well experienced on how to convert merchantmen for war. When a letter of protest of the States-General arrived in Venice, the arrest of the remaining ships had already been lifted, and they had

³⁰ Since the Middle Ages. For an interesting case-study on the possibilities this offered for skippers see M. KOWALESKI, *Warfare, shipping and crown patronage. The economic impact of the Hundred Years War on the English Port Towns*, in L. Armstrong, I. Elbl, M. M. Elbl (eds.), *Money, Markets, and Trade in Late Medieval Europe. Essays in Honour of John H.A. Munro*, Leiden-Boston, 2007, pp. 233-254.

³¹ KLEIN, *De Trippen*, cit., pp. 286-287; GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 74-75, 232-233; DE JONGE, *Nederland*, cit., p. 88.

left the port without any compensation being paid.³² In risky business one sometimes had to take a loss.

Previously, the alternative of buying ships had been considered. Already in November 1616 a ship owner from Amsterdam had approached the Venetian resident in The Hague and advised him not to rent the ships he needed but to buy them and to insure them. The States-General also gave this advice in 1617 when Suriano was preparing the war fleet of twelve ships. According to the mentioned ship owner it would be an even better solution for Venice to officially declare war to Spain and to give out commissions for privateering to Dutch skip-pers. But such an adventurous line of thought, fitting well in the business mentality of the young Republic at the North Sea which very creation had been triggered by a bunch of privateers – the Seabeggars, was no option for the cautious Mediterranean city-State.³³

Interestingly, in 1617, when Suriano had been commissioned by his government to acquire a Dutch war fleet of twelve heavily armed ships, he first tried to get war ships directly from the admiralties. This plan did not materialize as the States-General had just decided to equip a war fleet against North-African privateers and pirates.³⁴ The admiralties did play a crucial role however for Suriano's war fleet. The States General commissioned them to hire the twelve ships for Suriano. The admiralties of Amsterdam, West-Friesland, and Rotterdam had to equip five, four, and three ships respectively. As in Rotterdam and West-Friesland not enough ships were found to be fit for the task the admiralties here had to acquire some ships in Amsterdam like the Amsterdam admiralty. Both the ship owners and the three admiralties acted in close cooperation which resulted in uniform contracts except that the required rent per ship varied depending on its size, the number of canon and the size of the crew.³⁵

The States-General had to stand surety for both ship owners and crews. One of the ships, the *Emaus*, belonged to Elias Trip. The ship of 200 last (or 400 tons), and armed with 24 iron and 4 stone pieces of artillery was estimated at a value of 37,000 guilders. The monthly rent would be 2,400 guilders. After 22 months of service Trip received

³² GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 75, 78-81.

³³ *Ibidem*, pp. 75, 225, 229; KLEIN, *De Trippen*, cit., p. 286.

³⁴ KLEIN, *De Trippen*, cit., pp. 286-287; GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 227-228.

³⁵ GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 231, 232.

52,800 guilders freightage. This was not a bad result indeed for a ship valued at 37,000 guilders!³⁶ The advice to Venice to buy ships instead of renting them made sense in this respect. It should be kept in mind however that a period of rent of nearly two years was highly exceptional. In 1619, Suriano rented one more ship, the *Gulden Leeuw*, without interference of the admiralties. In a letter to his government he wrote that if he were to rent another fleet in the future he would do so without the admiralties as it was faster, easier and cheaper. In spite of this criticism, Suriano would never have been able to conclude his deal concerning an entire fleet without support from the States-General and the admiralties. As we have seen, the States-General had to stand surety for payments by Venice to the ship owners. The admiralties had to provide for artillery, which amounted to a total value of 125.000 guilders. This institutional support was essential not only to guarantee deliveries of ordnance but also to get round trusts of ship owners or at least to get lower freight rates.³⁷

The Dutch economic historian Peter Klein was right in his conclusion that the Dutch ship owners were the real winners of the third fleet. Venice did not really take advantage from the war fleet of twelve ships as its actions remained limited to crossing the Adriatic without purpose until the ships were dismissed, partly in July, the rest in October 1619. He is too pessimistic however when asserting that generally these converted merchantmen did not perform well as war-ships as the skippers, often co-owners, did try to avoid the risk of being molested as much as possible.³⁸ Contemporaries were aware of risk avoiding ship owners. To avoid this defensive behaviour contracts could be adapted or independent captains could be put in command of ships. This was the case with the fleet equipped by Louis de Geer for Sweden in 1643.

The use by Venice of sailing vessels from the Dutch (and the English) for warfare in the Mediterranean was an innovation in 1617.³⁹ The late naval historian Jan Glete even gives Dutch (and English) ships hired by Venice the honour to have fought in the Adriatic in Venetian service to fight Osuna's fleet, which he considers to be «the first Medi-

³⁶ KLEIN, *De Trippen*, cit., p. 288.

³⁷ GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 26, 232, 239, 244, 257-258.

³⁸ KLEIN, *De Trippen*, cit., pp. 286, 288; compare GEYL, *Christofforo Suriano*, cit., pp. 240-242.

³⁹ LANE, *Venice*, cit., p. 412.

terranean contest where gun-armed sailing ships were the main combatants»,⁴⁰ The Spaniards and Papalists considered it outrageous and being likely to spread heresy. It nevertheless soon became routine. In the later Turkish wars for instance both sides rented such ships.⁴¹ Around the Mediterranean, as along the Atlantic and Baltic shores, the Dutch Republic built up a reputation as supplier of warships – that is converted merchantmen for war – to other countries.

Generally it is well accepted in recent research that using converted merchantmen for warfare at sea remained very common in the Atlantic until the 1650s and could be both efficient and effective.⁴² In this respect a distinction may be made between the Mediterranean on the one hand and the Atlantic and the Baltic on the other. During the war between Sweden and Denmark in the 1640s it became clear that converted merchantmen could no longer effectively fight big purpose built war ships. At the battle of Listerdyb at the west coast of Jutland in May 1644 Dutch armed merchantmen hired by Louis de Geer were severely damaged by the heavy artillery of purpose-built Danish war ships. The actions at Listerdyb foreshadowed the demise of converted merchantmen in battles against specialised war ships. The so-called separation of Mars and Mercury indicating that merchant vessels could no longer be effectively used for warfare was one of the main lessons of the first Anglo-Dutch war of 1652-1654.⁴³ As the Dutch armed merchantmen used in the Mediterranean were much bigger than those of de Geer's fleet at Listerdyb – this was the case for both the ships Venice hired in 1617 as again in 1645, the converted merchantmen in Venetian service may still have been effective for warfare against purpose built ships.

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

Galley remained in use in the Mediterranean in the seventeenth century. They retained their tactical utility, they continued to grow larger

⁴⁰ GLETE, *Warfare*, cit., p. 109 refers to the battle of Ragusa that took place in November 1617. I have not found any evidence that Dutch ships from the fleets discussed in this article participated in that encounter. In fact, the second and third fleet only arrived in Venice in 1618.

⁴¹ LANE, *Venice*, cit., p. 412. For more details KLEIN, *Trippen*, cit., pp. 289-291.

⁴² See for instance GLETE, *Warfare*, or L. SICKING, *Naval warfare in Europe, c. 1330-c. 1680*, in F. Tallett, D. J. B. Trim (eds.), *European warfare, 1350-1750*, Cambridge, 2010. For an old reference DE JONGE, *Nederland en Venetië*, cit., p. 85, note 2.

⁴³ GLETE, *Warfare*, cit., p. 128; IDEM, *Swedish naval administration*, cit., p. 167.

and more powerful but the number of galley fleets declined, as well as the number of galleys per fleet.⁴⁴ Venice hiring converted merchantmen for warfare in the Mediterranean in 1617, was a first indication that these ships were now considered sufficiently effective for warfare next to galleys. This had become evident during the Venetian-Ottoman war over Crete (1645-1669). Venice, a regional power, was able to fight this very long war with the Ottomans, thanks to its ability to hire armed merchantmen from the Netherlands, including crews and officers. To counter Northern European sailing ships the Ottomans hired Dutch and English armed merchantmen themselves, although with less success than Venice.⁴⁵ Thus new technology for naval warfare found its way from Northern Europe to the Mediterranean.

Between 1617 and 1667, when Venice built its first ship-of-the-line using an English warship as a model, armed merchantmen represented an important element of a transition in naval warfare in the Mediterranean. Venice having armed merchantmen at its disposal in this period was the result of combinations of diplomatic cooperation between the Venetian and Dutch Republics and cooperation between private parties, like Elias Trip, and public institutions, especially the admiralties. Dutch *condottieri* in Venetian service, like Johan Ernst van Nassau-Siegen, played a crucial role both in the complex process of military preparations as in assuring cooperation with Venetian forces once in the *Serenissima*.

All parties involved took advantage of this kind of business of buying and selling protection. For Venice it offered the opportunity to get a new means for naval warfare in the Mediterranean at its disposal when it was not yet able to build sailing war ships itself. In spite of all the difficulties experienced in 1617-1619 Venice returned to hiring armed merchantmen in 1645.⁴⁶ By then it had become a usual business in the middle sea to hire and use such ships with guns and crews for waging war next to galleys. For Dutch ship owners it must have been a profitable business being in line with the risky seafaring commerce in valuable goods in the Mediterranean. For the Dutch admiralties it offered a welcome opportunity to use the weapons in their stores, that had become redundant after the conclusion of the Twelve Years

⁴⁴ GUILMARTIN, *Galleons*, cit., pp. 125, 211.

⁴⁵ GLETE, *Warfare*, cit., p. 109.

⁴⁶ G. HANLON, *The Twilight of a Military Tradition. Italian Aristocrats and European Conflicts, 1560-1800*, London-New York, 1998 (repr. 2003, pp. 154-155).

Truce. It is clear that private and public interests in the Dutch Republic working closely together, encouraged and strengthened by the fact that several individuals combined business activities with public functions, greatly facilitated the equipping of armed merchantmen for Venice.

Retrospectively the hiring of armed merchantmen between 1617 and 1667 allowed Venice to survive the last phase of its transition from a medieval maritime empire to a regional power facing threats from both the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires and all kinds of private violence from North African and other privateers and pirates, like the Uskoks.

How are the Dutch war fleets in Venetian service to be considered *vis-à-vis* Charles Tilly's model on the role of coercion and capital in the development of European States which classifies Venice and the Dutch Republic as mercantile Republics which followed the 'capital-intensive trajectory' with substantial concentrations of capital but with weak, intermittent armed force? Jan Glete has rightly criticized this model indicating that the Dutch Republic invested large amounts of capital both in warfare on land and at sea, and created complex institutions and organizations like the admiralties and its naval stores. Therefore the 'capitalized-coercion trajectory' in Tilly's model seems more fitting with Dutch historical reality.⁴⁷ In his study of the Dutch arms trade Michiel de Jong has shown that the admiralties during the Twelve Years Truce did have the opportunity to support all branches of Dutch merchant shipping massively with the enormous quantities of redundant ordnance and thus to reduce protection costs of merchants and skippers considerably. Instead the admiralties used their means to recover financially, to continue the blockade of Flanders, the usual convoy activities and some specific branches of merchant shipping like the Levant trade.⁴⁸ In other words the violent activities of the admiralties were not exclusively motivated according to a capitalist logic, that is by profit. This evidence supports Glete's criticism of Tilly.

However, apart from *raison d'État*, that is supporting Venice against a common enemy, the support for the *Serenissima* must be seen in

⁴⁷ CH. TILLY, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992*, Cambridge (MA)-Oxford, rev. edn. 1992 (repr. 1993, pp. 53-54, 56, 59-60); GLETE, *Warfare*, cit., pp. 62-63.

⁴⁸ DE JONG, «*Staat van oorlog*», cit., p. 126.

close connection to Dutch commercial interests in the Mediterranean of which ships, arms and other war materials formed an integrated part. If one thing has become clear from the Dutch fleets supporting Venice in 1617-1619 it is that public and private parties and means were completely tied together. Dutch *condottieri* in Venetian service used private and public military means from the Netherlands partly financed or backed by Dutch public institutions like the States-General or the admiralties. This not only leads to the evident conclusion that the concept of 'State monopoly of violence', so often used in connection with State formation, does not represent early modern historical reality. It also shows that the Dutch Republic and Venice were capable of enhancing their state power thanks to private means like merchantmen that were converted for war. This was the usual business in the young Republic of Northern Europe continuing a medieval tradition. It was not unknown to the old Republic of Southern Europe either. In fact, Venice had had its own flexible fleet of merchant galleys which could be converted for war becoming so-called great galleys. For two centuries these had enabled Venice to maintain a vast maritime Empire, but with the introduction of the heavy gun around 1500 their importance for warfare was reduced to the advantage of the speedy war galley. This separation of Mars and Mercury concerning galleys in the Mediterranean, announced the end of Venice as a maritime Empire. It gave an advantage to great powers like the Ottoman Empire and Spain, which could eventually concentrate more purpose-built war galleys than Venice, although the Republic managed to seriously enhancing its fleet of war galleys.⁴⁹ Before the separation of Mars and Mercury concerning sailing vessels took place almost one-and-half century later, Venice took advantage of the flexible fleets of sailing ships of Northern Europe. This phenomenon of hiring converted merchantmen from the North for warfare in the Mediterranean may have lasted only for a few decades, it is an important expression of the fact that know how of warfare at sea had by the seventeenth century reached a superior level in Atlantic Europe. If the possession of a standing navy is a sign of modernity, Venice had one of the first modern navies of Europe, since 1301 to be precise. By occasionally enhancing its fleet with converted merchantmen be-

⁴⁹ LANE, *Venice*, cit., pp. 362-364.

tween 1617 and 1667, it could be said, Venice temporarily returned to a medieval way of equipping war fleets. Thus the Venetian example illustrates that the distinction between medieval and early modern naval history hides more than it explains.

Thanks to their huge merchant fleet the Dutch had an enormous military potential available which allowed them in combination with the possibility to raise capital, men and arms to equip entire war fleets both for proper use and for use by others willing to pay for them. These fleets of converted merchantmen were both efficient, that is cheaper than purpose-built ships, and effective during the first half of the seventeenth century.⁵⁰ With these flexible fleets of armed merchantmen the Dutch Republic realized its rapid maritime commercial growth and overseas expansion, while it allowed Venice to oppose both the Habsburg and Ottoman powers in the Mediterranean. The one selling protection, the other buying, both thought they were gaining in doing business in war fleets.

⁵⁰ In this respect, GLETE, *War and the state*, cit., p. 166 puts too much emphasis on the role of permanent navies and purpose-built war ships. Compare SICKING, *Naval warfare*, cit., pp. 257, 262-263.

COMMERCIAL NETWORKS
FROM THE ALPINE VALLEYS
TO THE MEDITERRANEAN:
THE TIMBER TRADE BETWEEN VENICE
AND MALTA (16TH-17TH CENTURIES).
FIRST RESEARCHES*

KATIA OCCHI

THIS contribution examines the trade in timber for construction and for shipbuilding which was sent from Venice to Malta during the years between 1597-1621. The results of the study were taken from a survey of 51 notarial protocols of the Venetian notary public Fabrizio Beacian who worked in the city between 1594-1633.¹ This source

ABBREVIATIONS:

ASVE Archivio di Stato di Venezia

NA Notarile Atti

ASVI Archivio di Stato di Vicenza

* I would like to express my thanks particularly to Carmel Vassallo of the University of Malta for the invitation to participate at the 3rd Mediterranean Maritime History Network Conference in Izmir, Turkey, 4-7 May 2010, and to the editors of the volume by Jean-Claude Hocquet and Ruthy Gertwagen. I would also like to thank Joy Avery for the translation, and Antonella Vecchio and Elisabetta Lopane from the Bruno Kessler Foundation-ISIG in Trento for administrative support in relation to my research to Venice. And finally, thanks to the staff of the State Archives of Venice.

¹ ASVE: NA, notaio Fabrizio Beacian, b. 560, cc. 313r-315r, 418r-419v; b. 561, cc. 15v-16v, 290v-292r, 349v-350v; b. 562, cc. 416v-417r; b. 564, cc. 310r-311r, 347r-348v, 621v-625r; b. 568, cc. 415r-416r, 426v-428v; b. 569, cc. 87v-88v, 103r-105v, 172v-174r, 201r-202r, 202v-203v, 260r-261v; b. 570, cc. 121r-122r, 266r-267v, 318v-320r, 497r-498v, 530r-532r; b. 571, cc. 50v, 257r-258v, 86v-88v; b. 573, cc. 209v-210v, 26r-27v; b. 575, cc. 329r, 422v-423r; b. 576, cc. 192, 192r-v, 29r-30r; b. 576, cc. 40v-43r; b. 577, 1605/II, cc. 264v-266v; b. 578, 1606/I, cc. 186r-189r, 46v-48r; b. 580, cc. 362r-364v, 413v-414v; b. 582, 1608/I, cc. 202v-204v, 390r-391r, 117r-118r; b. 583, cc. 199v, 199v-200r; b. 584, cc. 85v-86v, 184v-186r, 74r-75r; b. 585, cc. 148v-150v; b. 586, cc. 625r-626r; b. 587, cc. 361v-363v, 45r-46r; b. 589, cc. 95v-97r, 386v-397r; b. 590, cc. 53r-54r, 201v-202v; b. 591, cc. 48r-49v; b. 592, cc. 175v, 568r-v, 170v-172r, 172v-175r, 388r-389v; b. 594, cc. 218r-220r, 220r-v; b. 595, cc. 81r-82r; b. 596, cc. 153v-155r, 313r-314v, 315r-316v; b. 598, cc. 151r-152v, 210r-213v; b. 600, cc. 233v-235v; b. 601, cc. 101r-102v; b. 602, cc. 51r-52r, 151r-152v, 153r-155r; b. 604, cc. 459r-460v; b. 607, 1620/II, cc. 228v-229r, 229, 229r-v, 229v-230r; b. 608, 1621/I, cc. 133v-134r, 185v-186r.

contains a copy of payment receipts issued by the merchants to the person responsible at the priory of the Order.²

The purchase of timber was one of the most important jobs of the receiver as is also documented in an instruction dating from the 1670s.³ Although for the large construction ship works the order of Malta made use of different European arsenals (most importantly the arsenals of Syracuse, Messina and Naples), ever since medieval times, the island had had an active arsenal at Birgù, where during the 15th century, it produced galleys. These works absorbed raw materials both for new ships as well as for repairs, the latter of which required extensive quantities as a result of the dangers of war and other maritime activities of the period. In order to cope with the demands of the fleet, the *Congregazione delle galere* (Congregation of the galleys) and the *Fondazione per le galere* (Foundation for the galleys) were founded in 1596. Their task was to raise capital from the incomes of the commands to maintain the ships and naval equipment. From the 16th century onwards, the order progressively imposed also on the *Cavalieri* at least once during their lifetime the expense of the construction of a galley, which would be built in a shipyard of their choice.

We already know that for the supply of timber, Malta was entirely dependent on imports, mostly from Sicily and Calabria, from where

² The years looked at correspond to the management of Leonida Loschi (1597-1598), Orazio Langosco (1599-1602), Giovanni Malvicini (1602-1605), once again Leonida Loschi (1605-1610), Baldissera Guinigi (1611-1618) and Antonio Scalamonte (1620-1621). For this history of the order of Malta and its role in the Mediterranean cf. A. BROGINI, *Malte, frontiere de Chrétienté* (1530-1670), Rome, École française de Rome, 2006 («Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome», 325), to which I refer also for its vast bibliography on the subject. For the priory of the order of St. John in Venice see V. MALLIA-MILANES, «Guardando la loro uscita dalla storia»: Venezia e l'Ordine ospedaliero di S. Giovanni alla fine del Settecento, «Studi Veneziani», n.s., XLIII, 2002, pp. 389-398; IDEM, *The Hospitaller Receiver in Venice. A Late Seventeenth-Century Document*, «Studi Veneziani», n.s., XLIV, 2002, pp. 309-326. For the role of the order in the Mediterranean wars cf. IDEM, *L'Ordine dell'Ospedale e le spedizioni antislamiche della Spagna nel Mediterraneo. Dal primo assedio di Rodi (1480) all'assedio di Malta (1565)*, in B. Anatra, G. Murgia (eds.), *Sardegna, Spagna e Mediterraneo. Dai Re Cattolici al Secolo d'Oro*, Roma, Carocci, 2004, pp. 111-124.

³ MALLIA-MILANES, *The Hospitaller Receiver in Venice*, cit., p. 326 publishes the instructions by a receiver of the order to his successors, whom he invites to pay attention to measures, weights and prices because the merchants «obligano a pigliare quello che vogliono dare, nel prezzo poi dimandano spropositi massi [sic] ne' bordonali di larese di circa piedi 50 e di once 12, che sono li più desiderati in Malta e scarsi da trovarsi in Venetia» («[are] obliged to take what they want to give, but they demand very high prices especially for larch beams of about 50 feet and 12 ounces, which have the greatest demand in Malta and are difficult to find in Venice.»).

both raw and finished timber was imported. Delivery was made either directly to Malta or alternatively to the port of Messina, where the Maltese ships had direct access to the timber. Messina was also a point of reference for the purchase of wood charcoal used for burning. Between 1570 and 1600, Sicily covered 80% of commercial relationships with Malta, but also Venice had its own role, most importantly with regard to construction materials for naval ships. Between 1574 and 1580 Venetian timber and iron suppliers covered 29.7% of the total imports. Starting in the 1620s, the role previously played by Venice was overtaken by the north-western European markets and Malta followed the general developments in the Mediterranean, where the invasion by northern European commerce disturbed the equilibrium of markets on either side of the Mediterranean which had existed for centuries, and accelerated the downfall of the traditional powers of Southern Europe.⁴

The protocols of the notary Fabrizio Beacian are particularly rich in information on the priory of St. John of Jerusalem in Venice, because he was «nodaro di questa città et cancelliero in esso priorato».⁵ From this data we can deduce information about the number of timber merchants operating in Venice, their geographic origins, the dimensions of the export trade in timber towards one of the main destinations of the Mediterranean about which we currently only know thanks to brief information.⁶ In addition to timber, the purchases made by the priory also refer to wax, iron, nails, silver, red lead (lead oxide), white lead, turpentine, copper, reams of paper, glass and sugar. But the largest part of the supplies was building timber which, for example in 1599 constituted 46% of the expenses of the priory (2799 ducats against 5987 ducats, including customs, loading and insurance expenses).⁷ To undertake these journeys, the receivers hired entire ships, sometimes paying in advance, sometimes paying a deposit as stipulated by the

⁴ BROGINI, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-87, 146-148, 350-356.

⁵ ASVE: NA, notaio Fabrizio Beacian, b. 561, cc. 455v-456v, Venezia, 31 Oct. 1597.

⁶ For a further discussion on the Venetian body of notaries cf. M. P. PEDANI FABRIS, *Veneta auctoritate notarius. Storia del notariato veneziano (1514-1797)*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1996. For the use of notary sources, see L. FONTAINE, *L'activité notariale (note critique)*, «Annales ESC», 48, 1993, pp. 475-483, and the monograph *Nouvelle approches de la documentation notariale et histoire urbaine. Le cas italien (xvii^e-xix^e siècle)*, «Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome», cxii, 1, 2000, *Italie et Méditerranée*; as well as L. Faggion, A. Mailloux, L. Verdon (éds.), *Le notaire, entre métier et espace public en Europe viii^e-xviii^e siècle*, Aix-en-Provence, Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2008 («Collection le temps de l'histoire»).

⁷ ASVE: NA, notaio Fabrizio Beacian, b. 564, cc. 222v-224v, Venezia, 13 Apr. 1599; b. 565, 1599/II, cc. 31r-32v, Venezia, 16 Aug. 1599.

agreement, at other times paying upon receipt in Malta. The costs for hiring the ships vary between 350 and 1,300 Venetian ducats. From the year 1609 onwards, the captains were all Flemish or Dutch (from the Netherlands).

But before going any further into the analysis of the data pertaining to timber, it is befitting to make a few preliminary remarks about the timber market in Venice in the modern period. In the Republic many interests were centred on wood (either for construction or firewood) and their derivatives (charcoal), not only because of the environmental characteristics of the Capital, but also because it was the manufacturing centre for many trades (weaponry, furnaces, forges, glass-makers and mints).

At the beginning of the 1600s, the *Stato da Terra* counted a population of more than 1,750,000 inhabitants including Istria and Dogado (two territories of *Stato da Mar*), with a very high energy demand. In the city, the timber needs were not only sustained, but also differentiated: in a similar manner to the Arsenal (for which a number of woodlands were reserved) and the private shipyards, broken down into domestic needs, building, artisan's workshops and industry: oak for the ships, larch and fir for construction, beech and other types for firewood.⁸

In addition to the needs of Venice, there were also those of the city and the districts of the *Terraferma*. Thanks to the waterways which connected it to the Republic of Venice in a swift and competitive manner, the Alpine hinterland constituted an important reserve for these raw materials from the Middle Ages to the 19th century.⁹

⁸ PH. BRAUNSTEIN, *De la montagne à Venise. Les réseaux du bois au xv^e siècle*, «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome», c, 1988, pp. 761-799. G. Caniato, M. Dal Borgo (a cura di), *Dai monti alla laguna. Produzione artigianale e artistica del Bellunese per la cantieristica veneziana*, Venezia, La Stamperia di Venezia, 1988; D. Perco (a cura di), *Zattere, zattieri e menadàs. La fluitazione del legname lungo il Piave*, Feltre, Castaldi, 1988; G. Caniato (a cura di), *La via del Fiume. Dalle Dolomiti a Venezia*, Sommacampagna (VR), Cierre, 1993; K. APPUHN, *A Forest on the Sea. Environmental Expertise in Renaissance Venice*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

⁹ G. M. VARANINI, *Richter tirolese, mercante di legname, patrizio veronese. L'affermazione socio-economica di Nicola Saibante da Egna*, «Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione», iv, 1995, pp. 191-219; F. BIANCO, *Nel bosco. Comunità e risorse forestali nel Friuli di età moderna (secoli xv-xx)*, Udine, Forum, 2001; A. PETIZIOL, *Mercanti e traffici del porto di Latisana tra 1560 e 1630. Evidenze notarili*, tesi di Laurea, rel. Prof. G. Corazzol, Università degli Studi di Venezia, a.a. 2001-2002; G. CANIATO, *Commerci e navigazione lungo il Brenta*, in A. Bondesan et alii (a cura di), *Il Brenta*, Sommacampagna (VR), Cierre, 2003, pp. 255-272; C. LORENZINI, *Scambi di frontiere. Comunità di villaggio, mercanti e risorse forestali nell'alta valle del Taglia-*

At the beginning, Venice had ample forestry estates at its disposal, divided into State, communal or private woodlands. These were of greater dimensions than other Mediterranean cities, but the pressure exerted upon them resulted in impoverishment of these woodlands, which caused the authorities to turn to the Alps and Pre-Alps: the woods of Cadore, of the Patria of Friuli, and the Venetian foothills. Already in the times of the 1440s, the conditions of the areas of provenance showed themselves to be extremely grave, so grave as to induce the Venetian authorities to adopt various administrative and legal measures, culminating in the years 1568-1569 with the registration of all the oaks on the nearside of the Mincio, and to extend this later to beeches and conifers.¹⁰ In addition to the development of an abundant and varied legislation, and an administration which was in certain aspects very innovative, (registration of woodlands, notwithstanding the limits of their being kept up-to-date, and technical-administrative structure which was reformed after the event in 1797), Venice had constructed a vast supply system for the city, differentiated and complex: a mechanism for the provision of different types of wood (firewood, charcoal, wood for carpentry and manufacturing, which were partially different) and therefore an apparatus to coordinate and regulate the flow; all the more because, other than for fiscal reasons, from the beginning of the 1500s, in addition to heavy duties, *la Dominante* also obliged subjects to transport all commercial wood to the port of Venice and receive supplies exclusively at that point.¹¹

An obligation which was often ignored, as is documented by evidence from the boats from Burano and Caorle. Furthermore, there were the

mento fra la seconda metà del Sei e la fine del Settecento, tesi di Dottorato, Università degli Studi di Udine, a.a. 2003-2004; K. OCCHI, *La «corsa al legno». Scambi commerciali tra Altopiano e pianura in età moderna*, in P. Rigoni, M. Varotto (a cura di), *L'Altopiano dei Sette Comuni*, Sommacampagna (VR), Cierre, 2009, pp. 253-269.

¹⁰ R. VERGANI, *Le materie prime*, in *Storia di Venezia*, vol. XII, *Il mare. La fabbrica delle navi*, a cura di A. Tenenti, U. Tucci, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991, pp. 285-312.

¹¹ For forestry legislation cf. A. DI BÉRENGER, *Saggio storico sulla legislazione veneta forestale dal sec. 7. al 19.*, Venezia, Libr. alla Fenice G. Ebhardt, 1873; F. BIANCO, A. LAZZARINI, *Forestali, mercanti di legname e boschi pubblici: Candido Morassi e i progetti di riforma boschiva nelle Alpi Carniche tra Settecento e Ottocento*, Udine, Forum, 2003; A. LAZZARINI, *La trasformazione di un bosco: il Cansiglio, Venezia e i nuovi usi del legno (secoli XVIII-XIX)*, Belluno, Istituto storico bellunese della Resistenza e dell'età contemporanea, 2006; IDEM, *Boschi e politiche forestali: Venezia e Veneto fra Sette e Ottocento*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2009; APPUHN, *A Forest on the Sea*, cit.

pontifical and Apulian boats which found a way around the Venetian laws and went directly to Latisana, the main port on the Tagliamento river, in order to unload oil, salt, cheese and fish and to load timber.

The factors which were the most important influence in activating this flow of traffic were economic and geographical, whilst the existence of the political and administrative boundary was secondary. These only gained significance in certain periods and circumstances. In fact, the quantity of imports from other states was enormous: Tyrol, the ecclesiastical principality of Trento, and Carinthia. The area was a so-called 'supra-regional unity' whose development was formed by the integration of the Alpine region and the town markets.¹²

The transport was based on the waterways: only the rivers and streams offered the real possibility of transporting timber, heavy and voluminous merchandise, whose costs of transportation overland would have been prohibitive. Considerable quantities of merchandise also arrived by sea or along the internal routes of the canals running parallel to the coast, both in a legal and illegal manner. Oaks for shipbuilding, coming from the Montello and other woodlands on the plains and the Trevigiana and Friulian hills, also came from Istria and the island of Krk/Veglia, from the Illyric coast under the rule of Austria and, from the port of Ravenna.

In order to manage the movement of resources from the mountains to the plains, it was necessary to reorganise the entire hydrographic system of the *Terraferma* to enable the transport of the timber, more than the other merchandise, and to integrate it with the maritime transport systems. The question involved both the economy as well as territorial control, and determined the mode of penetration into the hinterland by the Venetians, as a result of the search for timber and minerals, even before the acquisition of land in the more fertile areas.¹³

Between the 15th and 16th centuries, the Venetian patricians assumed an important role in controlling and managing the timber market, integrating the mountains into the commercial circuits of the capital, and weaving a thick network of relationships with local operators, who acted as mediators with the communities, acquiring the

¹² K. OCCHI, *Boschi e mercanti. Traffici di legname tra la contea di Tirolo e la repubblica di Venezia (secoli XVI-XVII)*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2006.

¹³ About the success and limit of integration between Venice and the Mainland cf. A. ZANNINI, *Un'ecomito? Venezia (XV-XVIII sec.)*, in G. ALFANI, M. DI TULLIO, L. MOCARELLI, *Storia economica e ambiente italiano (ca. 1400-1850)*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2012, pp. 100-113.

rights to cut down the woods, engaging workers, and managing the sawmills and depots.

With the passing of the centuries, the patricians were partially substituted, using different methods in different zones, from large local entrepreneurs and foreigners, who had taken over or created companies, installing them in strategic marshalling points for this traffic where there were sawmills and depots for the timber. This network of routes, almost all built around Venice, lasted a long time, for the most all of the 19th and partially into the 20th century, in spite of the modernisations to the more important trans-Alpine communication routes such as route Alemagna and later on the inauguration of the railways.¹⁴

In the mountainous hinterland of the eastern Alps along the principal waterways of the Adige, the Brenta, the Piave and the Tagliamento, small districts for woodworking took root over the centuries, which have not yet been accurately analysed, where the ownership of the facilities was partly in the hands of an urban class of business people who had settled there.¹⁵ These workshops were generally near the main ports. With reference to the Brenta the *industrial* area best known was north of Bassano where between 1531 and 1712 there were approximately 50 hydraulic sawmills in operation. The key area for the Piave river was at Perarolo di Cadore where in 1820 there were 120 sawmills active on the 150 sites along the course of the river. Along the Trentino-Tyrolean section of the Adige river, however, as far as current studies have shown, there are no strategic points for the timber industry, as it has also been shown for the other rivers, but this does not seem to be a result of technological factors. The facilities, in communal ownership, were distributed according to the needs of the local communities in

¹⁴ A. LAZZARINI, *Le vie del legno per Venezia: mercato, territorio, confini*, in M. Ambrosoli, F. Bianco (a cura di), *Comunità e questioni di confini in Italia settentrionale (xvi-xix sec.)*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2007, pp. 97-110.

¹⁵ G. CORAZZOL, *Cineografo di banditi su sfondo di monti. Feltre 1634-1642*, Milano, Unicopli, 1997; M. VIGNAGA, I Petricelli. *Una famiglia di mercanti di legname seguita sulle carte dei notai. Fonzaio 1580-1660*, tesi di Laurea, rel. Prof. G. Corazzol, Università degli Studi di Venezia, a.a. 1998-1999; B. SIMONATO ZASIO, *Taglie, bóre doppie, tre quarti. Il commercio del legname dalla valle di Primiero a Fonzaio tra Seicento e Settecento*, Rasai di Seren del Grappa, Comune di Fonzaio-Ente Parco di Paneveggio Pale di S. Martino, 2000; G. BERNARDIN, *Un territorio di frontiera tra la contea del Tirolo e la Repubblica di Venezia. Storie di uomini e comunità nella valle di Primiero nel Quattrocento*, tesi di Dottorato, Università degli Studi di Udine, a.a. 2009-2010, pp. 232-255.

small *nuclei* throughout the valleys. At the beginning of the 19th century, there were approximately 60 in the whole region.¹⁶

The enormous quantity of finished and semi-finished wood that reached Venice was absorbed by the local market: partly by the Arsenal shipyard, partly by the private *squeri* (*gondola* repair shops) and another part was destined for exportation across the Mediterranean. In the mid-1500s the reports by the functionaries of the archduke of Austria show that the Kingdom of Naples, Apulia, Sardinia and Malta were common destinations for sale, to which should also be added Alexandria in Egypt, which already in medieval times «was the destination of the most important commercial routes for building timber», routes already documented from the 10th century onwards, and which secondary literature shows to be still active in the 18th and 19th centuries.¹⁷

But now let us look at the data collated in the registry of notary deeds at Venice. As said at the beginning, the receipts preserved in the notary protocols give some information on the traffic leaving for the ports of Malta during a period of 24 years and make up for the lack of company accounts.¹⁸ From 1599 until 1613 these refer to quantities of different assortments and their prices, sorted according to each merchant. From 1614 until 1618 the data show quantity and type of timber and the relative prices, but they are not sub-divided per merchant insofar as the receiver used a so-called *mezzano* (middleman) for

¹⁶ G. FABBIANI, *Appunti per una storia del commercio del legname in Cadore*, Belluno, Tip. Benetta, 1959; M. AGNOLETTI, *Commercio e industria del legname fra XIX e XX secolo nell'Italia nord-orientale: aspetti tecnici e scelte imprenditoriali*, in G. L. Fontana, A. Leonardi, L. Trezzi (a cura di), *Mobilità imprenditoriale e del lavoro nelle Alpi in età moderna e contemporanea*, Milano, CUESP, 1998, pp. 31-45; IDEM, *Aspetti tecnici ed economici del commercio del legname in Cadore (XIV-XVI secolo)*, in S. Cavaciocchi (a cura di), *L'uomo e la foresta, secc. XIII-XVIII, Atti della XXVII settimana di studi dell'Istituto internazionale di storia economica «F. Datini» di Prato*, 8-13 maggio 1995, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1996 («Atti delle settimane di studi e altri convegni», 27), pp. 1025-1040; IDEM, *Segherie e foreste nel Trentino. Dal Medioevo ai nostri giorni*, S. Michele all'Adige, Museo degli usi e costumi della gente trentina, 1998; OCCHI, *Boschi e mercanti*, cit., pp. 66-76.

¹⁷ J. ANGERER, *Die Waldwirtschaft in Tirol vom volkswirtschaftlichen, sozialen und geschichtlichen Standpunkte beleuchtet*, Bozen, Promperger, 1883, p. 8; VERGANI, *Le materie prime*, cit., p. 289.

¹⁸ The documentation always refers to the two ports of Malta, the choice of which was made by the *Sacra Religione*: cf. e.g., ASVE: NA, notaio Fabrizio Beacian, b. 569, cc. 48v-49v, Venezia, 22 Oct. 1601; cc. 260r-261v, Venezia, 24 July 1601; b. 595, cc. 81r-82r, Venezia, 10 Sept. 1614.

their purchases. From 1620 the payment receipts are again made out individually, but it is no longer possible to measure the type and prices of the materials sold for which we only have the price.

Let us look at the first data. There are 38 companies organised as fraternities which supply the priory of Venice during a period of 24 years (TAB. 1). They have workshops along the shore of the historical port of *Riva delle Zattere* and of the *Fondamenta Nove*, areas of the city where these businesses were set up. The imports sold amount to the sum of 52,788 ducats, but more than 20,000 of these pertain to a single company. We could say that this was the regular, trusted receiver at Venice, and it is not a coincidence that, in other documents, this supplier also appears to be a financier of the priory.

TAB. 1. Companies supplying the priory of Venice (1597-1621).

Company	Residence	Timber price (ducats)	Business with Arsenal (1594-1621)
Zuliani Andrea di Pietro	VE, S. Barnaba, alle zattere	20,648.22	×
Maccarini Daniele, eredi	VE, S. Zuanepolo	3,358	×
Jacobi Nicolò	VE, alle zattere	3,074	
Bovio Zuane	VE, Barbaria delle Tole	3,063	×
Vaschini Deffendi di Pietro	VE, S. Francesco	2,605.6	×
Nordio Vincenzo	VE	2,218	×
Bonsegno Giacomo <i>qm</i> Franc ^o		1,918.6	
Nordio Lazaro di Bortolamio	VE, S. Zuanepolo	1,709	×
Venago Zuandomenego di Francesco	VE, S. Zuanepolo	1,542.3	×
Cavagnin Giacomo	VE, Madonna dell'Orto	1,132.8	
Zuliani Andrea-Nordio Vincenzo	VE	1,077	
Mazoldo Defendi	VE, S. Francesco	1,013.3	
Someda Gio. Batta	Tirol, Primiero	958.1	
Malipiero Ottaviano, patrizio	VE	931	
Maccarini Giacomo eredi		639	
Colombo Pietro <i>qm</i> Lorenzo	VE, Madonna dell'Orto	610	
Contarini Pietro, patrizio	VE	548	
Morosini Francesco, patrizio	VE	500	
Mazzoni Marco <i>qm</i> Antonio	Valstagna (VI)	467	×
Merlo Giacomo <i>qm</i> Pietro Ant ^o	VE, ai Gesuiti	440	
Maccarini Bortolo		410	
Bianchini Antonio	VE	386	×

(segue)

Company	Residence	Timber price (ducats)	Business with Arsenal (1594-1621)
Saler Michiel		350	
Campelli Zuane q. Giacomo	VE, S. Zuane Polo	318	
Riccoboni Riccobon	VE, alle zattere	302.6	
Da Mosto Valerio, patrizio	VE	283	×
Campelli Francesco	VE, S. Zuanepolo	270.12	×
Moro Bernardin <i>qm</i> Antonio		240	
Morosini Silvestro, patrizio	VE	230	
Genova Bartolomeo	VE, alle zattere	220	
Valle Zuane	VE, S. Sofia	218	
Zuliani Pietro	VE	203.3	
Merzari Antonio	VI, Valstagna	200	
Purin Bortolamio	Fonzaso (BL)	197	×
Maccarini Antonio	VE, S. Zuane Polo	185	×
Marsoni Paolo		165	
Bianchini Antonio-Ferini Cosmo	VE, alle zattere	109.5	×
Nordio Vincenzo e Lazaro	VE	112	

The group of suppliers consists of 5 patrician Venetians, (Ottaviano Malipiero, Piero Contarini, Francesco Morosini, Valerio da Mosto and Silvestro Morosini) who deal with 4.7% of the imports; these data confirm the interest of the patricians in the timber market as has already been demonstrated. They operate both individually and by means of agents, as well as in the companies of other merchants from this list.

Only two of these families (da Mosto and Malipiero) appear to supply the Arsenal¹⁹ and in 1597, both are amongst the subjects obliged to pay custom duties for transport through the barrage across the Piave river, known as the *cidolo*. The Morosinis operated along the Piave and the Cordevole and had business with the archduke of Austria with regard to commissions in Val Pusteria and along the tributaries of the Brenta river.²⁰

¹⁹ ASVe: *Patroni e provveditori all'Arsenal*, b. 539, 5 July 1594; 5 Aug. 1594; 1st Sept. 1594; 16 Sept. 1594; 26 Sept. 1594; 6 Oct. 1594; 19 Oct. 1594; 20 Oct. 1594; 3 Nov. 1594; 29 Nov. 1595; 26 June 1595. This refers to Valerio da Mosto and Alvise Malipiero. About the Arsenal: Tendenti, Tucci (a cura di), *Storia di Venezia*, vol. XII, *Il mare. La fabbrica delle navi*, cit.

²⁰ About the patricians in the Tyrol Alps cf. K. OCCHI, *Mercanti di legname tra la contea del Tirolo e la repubblica veneta. Un capitolo di storia sociale ed economica dei secoli XVI-XVII*, tesi di Dottorato in Storia della società europea (XII ciclo), Università degli Studi di Milano, a.a. 1999-2000, pp. 18-30. List of merchants and patricians in FABBIANI, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-10.

Of the remainder, one is a mediator of the receiver, 24 merchants are proprietors or heirs in the commercial companies operating in Venice, 3 companies have shareholders from the above list of merchants and finally, 5 are unknown. 14 of these merchants are also suppliers to the Venetian Arsenal, as can be seen from the documentation of «Patroni e Provveditori all'Arsenale», and the assortments provided are the same: logs, sections (ranging from 5×5-10×12 cm and between 2.5 and 6 m), beams (of up to 24×27 cm of varying lengths), used in the manufacture of galleys both for mercantile or fighting purposes.²¹

If we extend our research to other Venetian documentations, the deeds show that 20 businesses existed with workshops along the course of the Piave; amongst these, 6 also worked along the Cismon-Brenta. Only 2 worked exclusively on the Cismon-Brenta; one operated both on the Cismon-Brenta and the Adige and one, in addition to operating in the traffic via Piave towards Venice, and via Cismon towards Padova, was also operating on the Cellina and the Tagliamento. 13 of these 24 businesses were not only active in the cutting of wood in the hinterland, but also carried on business in other areas, both in Tyrol and the regions under the rule of the bishops of Bressanone and of Trento, that is to say along the tributaries of the Brenta, Piave and Cordevole (TAB. 2).

TAB. 2. Companies and rivers where the merchants were active (1597-1621).

Company	River	Foreign areas
Zuliani Andrea di Pietro	Piave	×
Maccarini Daniele, eredi	Cismon, Brenta, Cordevole-Piave	×
Jacobi Nicolò	Piave	
Bovio Zuane	Cismon, Brenta, Cordevole-Piave	×
Vaschini Deffendi di Pietro	Cordevole	
Nordio Vincenzo	Cordevole, Piave	×
Bonsegno Giacomo <i>qm</i> Franc ^o	—	
Nordio Lazaro di Bortolamio	Cordevole, Piave	×

(segue)

²¹ ASve: *Patroni e provveditori all'Arsenal*, b. 539, 9 Mar. 1594, 4 Apr. 1594, 21 Apr. 1594, 7 May 1594, 5 June 1594, 17 June 1594, 21 June 1594, 30 June 1594, 12 July 1594, 6 Aug. 1594, 15 Aug. 1594, 18 Aug. 1594, 19 Aug. 1594, 26 Aug. 1594, 23 Sept. 1594, 12 Dec. 1594, 17 June 1598; b. 540, 19 Jan. 1617, 8 Jan. 1618, 25 Febr. 1618, 12 Nov. 1618; 16 Apr. 1620; 6 July 1620, 1st Dec. 1621.

Company	River	Foreign areas
Venago Zuandomenego di Franc ^o	Piave	
Cavagnin Giacomo	Piave	
Zuliani Andrea-Nordio Vincenzo	Piave	×
Mazoldo Defendi	—	
Someda Gio. Batta	Adige, Cismon, Brenta, Padola, Piave	×
Malipiero Ottaviano, patrizio	Piave	
Maccarini Giacomo eredi	Cismon, Brenta, Cordevole	×
Colombo Pietro <i>qm</i> Lorenzo	—	
Contarini Pietro	Piave	
Morosini Francesco, patrizio	Vajont, Piave	×
Mazzoni Marco <i>qm</i> Antonio	Adige, Cismon, Brenta,	×
Merlo Giacomo <i>qm</i> Pietro Ant ^o	—	
Maccarini Bortolo	Cismon, Brenta, Cordevole	×
Bianchini Antonio	Piave, Cellina, Tagliamento	
Saler Michiel	—	
Campelli Zuane <i>qm</i> Giacomo	Piave	
Riccoboni Riccobon	Piave	
Da Mosto Valerio, patrizio	Piave	
Campelli Francesco <i>qm</i> Santin	Piave	
Moro Bernardin <i>qm</i> Antonio	—	
Morosini Silvestro, patrizio	Cismon, Brenta, Cordevole-Piave	×
Genova Bartolomeo	Piave	
Valle Zuane	—	
Zuliani Pietro	—	
Merzari Antonio	Brenta	
Purin Bortolamio	Brenta	
Maccarini Antonio <i>qm</i> Antonio	Cismon, Brenta, Cordevole	×
Marsoni Paolo	—	
Bianchini Antonio-Ferini Cosmo	Piave, Tagliamento	
Nordio Vincenzo e Lazaro	Cordevole, Piave	×

The current research shows that during the same period, 6 of these businesses had sawmills in the *Terraferma*, both in the area around Venice and other areas (TAB. 3). Part of them belonged to the so-called «global merchants» who dealt with the entire cycle of production: acquisition of the rights to cut wood or leases of woodlands from the mountain communities, skidding of timber from the forests, transport, processing (to transform the tree into the various products requested by the end-user) and finally the sale. For companies of this type, it was usual to be active on more than one site, which in some cases also corresponded to the sites of the sawmills. Also some entrepreneurs in their business with the receiver in Malta reproduce this type of model and in effect the stations of the various facilities are as follows: the Mazzonis

owned 2 on the Brenta and 2 on the Cismon and were, most importantly, suppliers of the Padovan market;²² Bartolomeo Purin rented 2 at the Merlo along the Brenta;²³ Venago had 4 sawmills on the Piave situated in Cadore,²⁴ the Maccarinis had 1 at Fonzaso on the Cismon and 1 on the Cordevole.²⁵ Antonio Bianchin owned 1 at Fonzaso on the Cismon, 2 at Ansogne and 2 at Perarolo on the Piave; 1 in Carnia was under the jurisdiction of Tolmezzo;²⁶ Vincenzo Nordio had 2 on the Piave: 1 at Sedico and the other at Ospitale of Cadore.²⁷ In the districts outside the boundaries there were another 6 (4 on the Adige, 1 on the Brenta and 1 on the Cismon) of the 15 sawmills belonging to the Italian Tyrol merchants Someda (6 on the Cismon, 3 on the Piave).

TAB. 3. Hydraulic sawmills of the timber merchants trading with Malta along these rivers (1583-1628).

Company	River Adige	River Brenta	Creek Cismon	Creek Cordevole	River Piave	River Tagliamento
Nordio Vincenzo					1 Ospitale di Cadore	
					1 Sedico	
Venago					4 Cadore	
Zuandomenego						
Someda G. Batta	3 Lavis	1 Caldonazzo	6 Fonzaso		3 Perarolo di Cadore	
	1 Calliano					
Mazzoni Marco		1 Valstagna	2 Fonzaso			
		1 Oliero				
Bianchin Antonio			1 Fonzaso		2 Ansogne 2 Perarolo	1 Carnia
Purin Bortolamio		2 Merlo				
Maccarini			1 Fonzaso	1 Oregne		
Antonio						
Total	4	5	10	1	13	1

²² Wherever not otherwise specified, the data are provided by OCCHI, *Boschi e mercanti*, cit., pp. 73, 75, 183-184.

²³ ASvi: notaio Gio. Antonio Crassi *qm* Martino, b. 787, 1595, cc. 51v-52v, Valstagna, 8 Apr. 1595.

²⁴ ASve: x *Savi alle Decime, Condizioni di Decime ed altre imposte straordinarie*, b. 660, no. 1277, 1617.

²⁵ CORAZZOL, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

²⁶ ASve: NA, notaio Pietro Leonardo Leonardi, b. 8039, cc. 262r-263v, Venezia, 28 Sept. 1627; notaio Giovanni Draghi, b. 4975, cc. 400v-402v, Venezia, 25 Oct. 1628.

²⁷ ASve: x *Savi alle Decime, Condizioni di Decime ed altre imposte straordinarie*, b. 660, no. 1394, 1617.

The data on the subject of the distribution of the workshops and the ownership of the sawmills of the companies looked at show us that the receiver of the Order of St. John had dealings with the most important merchants operating in Venice at the end of the 16th century and this leads us to think that Malta was only one of the overseas markets in which they had business.

Finally let us look at the data in relation to the prices of these products. It is commonly accepted that the price of timber during the *Ancien Régime* grew continuously: this is shown by the sparse information existing for Genoa, France, England, Danzig and Spain. This phenomenon is also relevant for the derivatives, such as wood charcoal and ash.²⁸ However, there are no data available for Venice and therefore it is of some interest to examine these payment documents which enable us to add another piece to the puzzle of the prices of timber which were being charged in the city between 1599 and 1618, even if there are certain limits determined by the sources, since only rarely are the lengths given precisely in Venetian feet, but the cross-section is expressed in inches). Let us see what it is possible to reconstruct. These transactions only deal with construction timber. There are 5 different types of semi-finished for building and maritime use: boards of larch and white fir, larch beams (*bordonali*) of 11 or 12 m, for which the price varied based on the cross section but not on the length. Another assortment of squared timber were the sections (*murali*), most importantly the *cadorini*, although it is not known whether this refers to a type of timber or the geographical provenance and finally, the larch logs (*rulli*). Boards and sections were sold by the hundredweight (*centener*), the beams and logs had unit prices.

The charges made to the receiver for the purchase of the raw mate-

²⁸ For Britain see C. M. CIPOLLA, *Storia economica dell'Europa preindustriale*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1994⁵, pp. 264-265. For France: M. DEVÈZE, *La vie de la forêt française au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, SEVPEN, 1961, II, pp. 353-383. For Danzig see M. MALOWIST, *L'approvisionnement des ports de la Baltique en produits forestiers pour les constructions navales aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, in M. Mollat (éd.), *Le navire et l'économie maritime du Nord de l'Europe du Moyen Âge au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, SEVPEN, 1960, p. 36. For Genoa and Spain: M. CALEGARI, *Legnami e costruzioni navali nel Cinquecento*, in *Guerra e commercio nell'evoluzione della marina genovese tra XV e XVII secolo*, Genova, Università di Genova, 1970, II, pp. 95-96. For Venice: F. C. LANE, *Navires et constructeurs à Venise pendant la Renaissance*, Paris, SEVPEN, 1965, pp. 261-263. For the charcoal price in Venice see R. MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen and Traders. The world of the Guilds in Venice and Europe, c. 1250-1650*, Totowa (NJ), Barnes & Noble Books, 1987, pp. 101-102.

rials show that in the course of little more than 15 years, the prices of larch boards underwent an increase of 28%. Table 4 shows the average prices (expressed in Venetian lire) for 3 chronological periods. Also the average cost per hundredweight for batches of white fir increased by approximately 28% (TAB. 4, col. 2). The difference in price for batches of larch and white fir is that larch was about 30% more expensive.

The price of larch logs increased moderately as can be seen in Table 4, col. 3, amounting to approximately 12%. Beams made of high-quality materials such as larch, and for reasons of uniformity we have excluded smaller beams, experienced the most severe increase of the equivalent of 38%, as can be seen in Table 4, col. 4. The sections showed an increase of 16%, as illustrated in Table 4, col. 5 (average price in Venetian lire).

TAB. 4. Prices of construction timber in Venice (1599-1618).

	Board of larch	Board of white fir	Larch logs (<i>rulli di larice</i>)	Larch beams (<i>bordonali di larice</i>)	Sections (<i>murali</i>)
	Col. 1	Col. 2	Col. 3	Col. 4	Col. 5
1599-1603	39,3	27,9	15,5	40,7	47
1606-1610	45,8	32,8	16,7	48,9	44,8
1611-1618	50,4	35,8	17,5	56,5	54,6

This list of prices acts as a validation of the data in our possession for other parts of Europe, as mentioned above. The upwards trend in the price of timber in Venice is also confirmed by the costs charged from the Arsenal, which are recorded in the *Patroni e Provveditori all'Arsenale*. Since, however, the documentation is not continuous, it is difficult to make a reconstruction that would cover more than just a short period.

II. TRANSFERTS DE POPULATION, ACCULTURATION, SPIRITUALITÉ

«...TO LIVE UNDER THE PROTECTION OF YOUR SERENITY»: IMMIGRATION AND IDENTITY IN EARLY MODERN VENICE

ERSIE C. BURKE

...I came to understand that I could not select a place more suitable and convenient to men of my own Greek background. Though nations from almost all over the earth flock in vast numbers to your city [of Venice], the Greeks are most numerous of all: as they sail in from their own regions they make their first landfall in Venice, and have such a tie with you that when they put into your city they feel they are entering another Byzantium.¹

CARDINAL BESSARION, 1468

WHEN cardinal Bessarion bequeathed his library of Greek and Latin works to the *Serenissima* his aim was to find a home for the collection. That he chose Venice, rather than Rome where he lived, says much about his perception of the former city. For Bessarion and other Byzantine exiles Venice represented a bastion against further Ottoman encroachment in the Mediterranean. It was the West's most eastern looking city so it understood the East. It was well known for its social and religious tolerance which it extended to the many foreigners who worked and lived there. Bessarion knew of this reputation which his letter, in the form of a panegyric, implied. Other Byzantine patrician and humanist exiles shared his belief in the Myth of Venice since many of

¹ From cardinal Bessarion's letter accompanying the deed of donation of his library to Venice, transl. by M. Lowry, in D. Chambers, B. Pullan (eds.), *Venice: A Documentary History 1450-1630*, Oxford, 1992, p. 358.

them had chosen the city as their home after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The thousands of *popolani* Greeks who immigrated there from the late fifteenth century onwards held similar views though articulating them in Bessarion's style would have been a problem for most. Beyond this shared view of the *Serenissima*, however, there was nothing in common between Byzantine noble exiles and the Greek speaking population of Venice. Yet it was these immigrants, not the handful of nobility and humanists, who laid the foundations for and built the structures of a permanent Greek presence which we can still see today. It was these people who made up the city's largest community of subject people. The artisans, sailors, merchants and their families who immigrated to the city from her Greek speaking territories did so because Venice was 'their' imperial Capital, the only political culture they knew and identified with. By the late fifteenth century and during all of the sixteenth, Greek immigration was constant and settlement became permanent. What, if anything, did the Greeks of Venice think of their place within the *Stato da Mar*? How did they perceive and understand Venetian rule over their *patrie*? Did they have thoughts about the nature of Venetian policies, law and justice? In short, what did Venetian Greeks think of Venice and what did Venice think of them?

This article examines the relationship between Venice and its Greek subjects, and the way Greek immigrants became incorporated into Venetian life. The focus is the sixteenth century because it was not only the period of greatest migration, it also saw the creation of a formal community with its own church and *scuola*. The sources that best shed light on the relationship between the immigrant and the State are petitions submitted by Greeks and the State's response in the form of gifts, awards and rewards (*gratie*). Unfortunately diary keeping (*ricordanze*), that characteristic Florentine habit, was not shared by Venetians or Greeks, so we are deprived of the migrant's more personal thoughts and experiences. Instead we must rely on more public forms of expression to gain an understanding about how people saw themselves in a Venetian context. Some of these sources are not as reliable and nowhere near as personal as *ricordanze*, but taken altogether and seen in the context of migration they offer insights into the relationship between the State and its subject people. To date there has been little focus on petitions and awards except where they impacted on the formal community, that is the Greek church of S. Giorgio dei Greci and the *scuola* of S. Nicolò dei Greci or to privileged

groups, their activities and their impact on the community. Studies on immigration experiences of the popular classes focused almost exclusively on refugees from the territories that fell to the Ottomans, and many of these carried a nationalist interpretation that is quite out of place in pre-nationalist societies. In the sixteenth century the community was divided almost equally between refugees, that is those who fled the Ottoman takeover of their homelands, and voluntary immigrants, those whose *patrie* remained part of the *Stato da Mar* until the fall of the Republic.² The sources clearly show there were other, more complex reasons why people moved to Venice and that in most cases, this movement was voluntary. Simply argued, documentation of a more personal nature allows us to get a better understanding of the Greek immigrant identity in the early modern period.

Venice, for all its faults and weaknesses, was a generous State. Whether by design or accident, she did her best to fulfil her obligations to all her subjects at home and abroad. The thousands of monetary awards, high, middling and low positions, licences and honours she dispensed annually were in recompense for personal or commercial losses, in the interest of public order and morals, and in recognition of loyal service, good works, real need and bravery. They were certainly not seen as charity which was the responsibility of *scuole*, religious houses, hospitals, orphanages, other lay and religious institutions, individuals and families. The State handed out pensions and stipends, employment and other emoluments, and like everyone else, Greeks regularly asked for and received some of these benefits. The system was not faith or class-based so patricians, *popolani*, rich and poor used it. It was open to anyone living in Venice and her territories: Venetians, subject people and foreigners. In September 1572 five Turkish merchants asked for assistance because they found themselves in difficult straits. They were in Venice, separated from the man they worked for (the Sultan's *dragomanno*), who was in Verona; they did not say, but their goods may have been sequestered during the Lepanto war and had not yet been returned to them. The five faced the prospect of a cold winter and little cash; they requested warm clothing

² Over 90% of Greek immigrants came from the territories of the *Stato da Mar*. In the sixteenth century refugees came from cities and islands such as Negroponte, Modon, Coron, Napoli di Romania and Monemvasia and Cyprus. Voluntary immigrants were from Crete and the Ionian Islands. The spread was 48% refugees and 52% voluntary immigrants: E. C. BURKE, *The Greek Neighbourhoods of Sixteenth Century Venice, 1498–1600*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Monash University, 2004, pp. 47–50.

and blankets to tide them over the winter, at least until the authorities allowed them to return to their homes.³ The petitioning process could be quick, but was usually lengthy, with the longest delays occurring when requests reached the final stage in the Senate. The Turkish merchants had been waiting nearly two years for their goods to be returned. Similarly, in a petition lodged in June 1575, Costantino Maurici complained that he had not yet received compensation for the tools he lost while helping fight the fire that engulfed the Ducal Palace in 1574 and, as he pointed out, it had been over a year since he had put in his original request.⁴ Subject people had a long tradition of petitioning and receiving awards and honours from the State. In many, but by no means all cases, the authorities responded favourably.

In short, the State looked after public welfare in the form of work and pensions. It recognised the efforts of the *popolo* who had served it in one capacity or another – as soldiers, sailors, castellans or fire-fighters to name a few occupations. The military class, both officers and enlisted men, received promotions, public offices, titles, land, dowries for orphaned daughters, pensions for widows and positions in the regiments for its sons, cousins and nephews. In the interests of law and order and to keep large numbers of men and women employed so they did not turn to crime, it meted out work to the unemployed and dowry money to orphaned girls. Men and women were assigned

³ Asve: *Collegio, Risposte di dentro*, fz. 5, ff. 86r-86v, 25 Sept. 1572: «Suplicano reverente-mente alla bontà, clementia, et benignità di Vostra Serenità cinque poveri Turchi signori de Mahamut Bey ch'è in Verona, che ritrovandosi in questa Città noi signori di lui, senza aiuto ne subsidio alcuno, se non de quelli dodici soldi soli, che habbiamo dalla liberalità di Vostra Serenità che ne fanno tenuemente per il viver è, in questi tempi calamitosi et pieni de penuria, che ritrovandosi noi cinque poveri Turchi nudi de drappi, et senza camise, veste, ne schiavina per il dormire, et istando el tempo del freddo, Vostra Serenità sia contenta per pietà et misericordia, à laude dell'omnipotente Iddio, farne questa elemosina che à noi cinque poveri signori de Mahamut Bey Dragoman del Signor Turcho ch' è, al presente ritento in Verona, siano fatte camise, veste, per l'inverno, et calze et schiavina da dormire, accio non moriamo da freddo nel cuore dell'inverno, et possiamo passar la nostra vita fina che piacerà à nostro Signor Iddio, et alla Clementia di Vostra Serenità di liberarne et lasciarne andar à casa. Così facendo, resteremo obbligatissimi à Vostra Serenità et pregheremo, come facciamo, di continuo nostro Signor Iddio, ch'illumini la mente del nostro Signor Turco, à desister dalla guerra ch'ha mossa à la Vostra Serenità contra ogni dovere, et goder quella pace ch'ha goduta suo padre et avo, 60 anni et più con universal beneficio et utile della nation Turchesca et della Republica Christiana». On the same day another group of Turkish merchants living in Venice made a similar request. Like their Verona compatriots, their goods had been sequestered because of Lepanto.

⁴ *Ibidem*, fz. 6, f. 13, 5 June 1575.

often lowly paid positions in the various magistracies in the city or one of its dependencies. Mothers and other relations of young, orphaned women asked for allowances towards the girls' dowries, to allow the women to enter a good marriage and to remove the temptation or need to prostitute themselves. What Greeks wanted, what they received, and whether or not their needs were different from other people's are some of the issues examined here.

PETITIONS

Greek petitions are rich sources of information. They illustrate that Greeks participated in petition writing with as much enthusiasm as other Venetians, and did so whether they lived in the city or one of its possessions. Because many supplicants prefaced their requests with detailed descriptions of their family's sometimes very long history of State employment as soldiers, tax-collectors, castellans and other public officials, we have detailed, though often embellished accounts of the ties between the individual and the State. Petitions also provide considerable information about occupations, working conditions, hardships, poverty, lost wealth, past, present and, hopefully future glories. They inform the reader about the way people saw themselves, their co-workers, family and friends, their community and city. Whether they were protesting their innocence for some real or imagined crime or requesting financial assistance, the petitions and the decisions arising from them provide an insight into the issues that concerned people as they went about their daily lives. More importantly, petitions reflected a particular view of the State, even if at times it was an exaggerated one; that it was the institution to which all people could turn for justice, arbitration, employment and relief in difficult times.

The purpose of petition writing was to win a favour. This practice was common throughout the early modern period in Italy and elsewhere. All petitions were first presented to the College (*Collegio*), which was made up of the doge and his secretaries. The College, a sort of clearing house, accepted or rejected petitions. If a petition was worth further attention, it was dated and copied before being sent to the appropriate magistracy. From there it passed through a series of offices where it was read and closely examined again and voted on before being sent to the full College (*Pien Collegio*), which approved it or

not and added any amendments or special conditions. The decisions of the *Pien Collegio* were then entered into the Senate's calendar to be voted upon. After this vote, petitioners received their reward.⁵ Greek petitions did not differ in content or purpose from those submitted by other people. The most common requests were for financial assistance in the form of pay rises, access to pensions, employment or licences to trade in State monopolies like cereals and salt. The State used the treasuries of its own magistracies as well as those of the subject cities to finance the awards. In the period 1563-1600 ninety-two Greek men and women living in Venice submitted 110 petitions. Tables 1 and 2 are summaries of Greek petitioners and their requests.

TAB. 1. Greek petitioners 1563-1600.

The supplicants	
92 petitioners submitted 110 petitions	
15 applicants were women (see below)	
9 people petitioned two or more times	
Women supplicants (15)	
11 from Napoli di Romania	
1 from Cyprus	
3 did not give place of origin	
12 were widows	
3 did not state marital status	
Background	
52 supplicants were or had parents and/or grandparents who had been refugees	
17 came from colonies that remained part of the <i>Stato da Mar</i>	
4 were from cities in the Ottoman Empire or Northern Italy	
19 did not indicate place of origin	
Homelands	
(73 people provided place name; *indicates territories lost to Ottomans)	
Napoli di Romania:	33*
Cyprus:	11*
Candia:	8
Corfu:	6

⁵ Petitions from people living in Venice and its closest mainland territories are classified in the series *risposte di dentro*, while those from the more distant territories of the *Terraferma* and the Empire *da Mar* make up the series *risposte di fuori*. Both series start in the early 1560s; some petitions before 1563 are located in the *filze* of various Senate registers.

Malvassia:	4*
Modon:	2*
Braccio de Maina:	2*
Zante:	2
Cerigo:	1
Other:	4
Place of origin not provided:	19

TAB. 2. Breakdown of requests.

Request	No. of Supplicants
Position in a State office	38
Compensation	20
Licences	16
Justice Matters	8
Pay Rises; Pensions	6 of each
Inventions	5
Arbitration; Request to purchase land	4 of each
Citizenship <i>de intus et extra</i>	2
Request to claim inheritance	1

A greater number of refugees than voluntary immigrants used the petitioning system. This should not come as a surprise since refugees arrived with little money and less support from family back home – if they had any that is. Voluntary immigrants, on the other hand maintained close commercial and social contacts with family, friends and associates in their *patrie*, in many cases working closely with them and visiting frequently. For refugees, especially working class ones, this was not an option, even after Venice restored relations with the new rulers. They had little money and anyway, many had left their possessions behind when they fled. Where this involved property, they lost their ownership rights because they could not afford to redeem or maintain lands and buildings from a distance. Given that most of the community was working class anyway, it is not surprising then that so many refugees turned to the State for favours.

The overwhelming majority of supplicants came from the maritime and artisan classes. Their main concern was to secure employment through the public service or to receive licences to work legally as artisans or merchants, or to secure rights to purchase property outside Venice; actually to obtain any kind of work that guaranteed a regular income. A few people complained about the loss of wages

and pensions or delays in payment, indicating the fragility of their financial situation. Sometimes payments were delayed because of the gap between the approval of an award and the date payment commenced. Unfortunately, the bureaucratic wheels of State did not move as quickly as people's real or perceived needs. There were also compensation claims based on property and goods lost or damaged, bills for the reimbursement for work undertaken on behalf of the State, and requests for the restoration of concessions lost through no fault of the holder. After the fall of Cyprus many petitioned for compensation and remuneration either because they lost access to a lucrative market, or were enslaved and had to buy their freedom, or because the island's offices and positions they once held or were paid from had disappeared. A case in point is that of the Calauro family. In 1546 Nicolò Calauro was awarded ninety ducats *per annum* because he was a refugee from Napoli di Romania. The money came out of the treasuries of a number of subject cities, including a chancery in Nicosia which contributed thirty-six ducats annually. Nicolò died in 1569 and the gift went to his wife and children. Damiano was the eldest of Nicolò's children and had the responsibility of caring for his two unmarried sisters, a brother, his mother as well as his own family. And he was thirty-six ducats short. In a petition lodged on 29 March 1571, Damiano Calauro asked for the restoration of the thirty-six ducats through another office.⁶ Greek demands then, were similar to those made by others, be they Venetians or foreigners. The overriding concern was access to an award that provided employment and an income or, failing that, a small pension. The small number of requests for pensions however, indicates that people either did not live long enough to require some assistance later in life or they had other means of support like savings or family. In any case, a State award was no guarantee of continuing income mainly

⁶ Damiano writes in his petition: «Ma de piu essendosi aggregato a miserabil perdita della infelicissima città de Nicosia son restanto anco privo delli ducati 36 all'anno concessarmi *ut supra* pel viver et sostegno nostro» (ASve: *Collegio, Risposte di dentro*, fz. 4, f. 126, 29 Mar. 1571). Nicolò Calauro's gift is *ibidem*: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 29, f. 155r, 17 Febr. 1547: «A ser Nicolò Calauro sia concesso in vita soa, et doppo la morte soa a dona Antonella sua moglie, et a Damian, Januli et Marieta soi figlioli ducati nonanta all'anno, cioè ducati vintiquattro sopra la cancellaria di Mestre, ducati dodeci sopra la cancellaria di Capo d'Istria, ducati trentasei sopra la cavallaria de Nicossia, et ducati disdotto sopra la contestabelaria di Crema»; the second Calauro daughter was born after 1547.

because so few petitions were successful, especially when supplicants came from the 'lower orders'.⁷

Male supplicants outnumbered females by a huge number and this was the case with all petitions, not just Greek ones. In general, more men than women petitioned and did so more frequently; in fact none of the multiple supplicants in Table 1 were women. The differences then in petition writing and submission were gender-based, not ethnicity based. Why did so few women ask for favours? Many already had access to privileges and awards through their fathers, brothers and husbands, so they did not need to seek favours in their own right. There was a cultural expectation that women would be looked after by other family members, even though the census of 1592-1594 showed that many, many women supported themselves and lived alone.⁸ Some immigrant women might have believed they did not have strong claims because they had no or few historical connections to the Republic. Men on the other hand, described in vivid detail their own and their ancestors' links to the Republic. A few women did this too, but most related the stories of their men, and then, almost as an afterthought, added their own. Finally, Greek women might have been less inclined to petition because many did not speak Italian and even those who did often left it to men to ask for favours on their behalf. This numerical discrepancy between male and female supplicants extended to the granting of awards. Between 1546 and 1548 seventy-three people from Napoli di Romania and Monemvasia received compensation for the loss of properties, monies and livelihoods following the Ottoman conquest of the two cities. Among women only

⁷ Bob Davis found that among *arsenalotti* petitions in the first half of the seventeenth century, less than half (40%) were granted and that success increased the higher up the socio-economic scale one went: «Overall, around 40% of all Arsenal petitioners actually saw their *suppliche* granted by an award (*gratia*) of the Senate during the years of this study. Different sorts of petitioners had different expectations of success, however, ranging from only around 30% for petitions awarded to rank and file *arsenalotti*, to 40% for outsiders seeking to enroll, to nearly 50% for worker managers of all types, to an almost 80% success rate for the *suppliche* of the Admiral and four principal foremen.» (R. DAVIS, *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal: workers and workplace in the preindustrial city*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991, p. 189).

⁸ This was especially true in the poorer parishes like S. Martino, next to the Arsenal. The census books of that parish are replete with widows living on their own or with one other person who was not part of the family: Archivio Curia Patriarcale di Venezia: *status animarum*, b. 3, fz. 7 (S. Martino). The Greek census is located separately at the back of the census book.

twenty-five, or 34% received awards, even though the gender balance among this group of immigrants was fairly even. On a broader scale (and excluding the 1546-1548 gifts), in a random selection of 140 people who received awards between 1520-1600, only twenty-seven (19%) were women, and all but six of these were married or widowed. The low numbers did not mean there were few women in need. If anything they indicate a lack of confidence in asserting claims, an unfamiliarity with the petitioning process, and a social and cultural world that defined women's status through their men.

When Zuana Fontana asked for assistance, she spoke of her husband's achievements and her own losses in support of her claims. The family, Nicolò, Zuana and their three children left their native Napoli di Romania in 1541. Nicolò faithfully served the State as a soldier in the company of the *capo dei stratioti* Francesco de Nassin. He fought in Candia and elsewhere for over forty years. His death left the family without any means of support, prompting his widow to request that a portion of Nicolò's salary be transferred to her to provide for the family, which at the time of the petition (Dec. 1568) had grown to eight: «... [my husband] died leaving me the poor supplicant his wife with the burden of a large family of three children, that is one boy and two girls and the wife, and children, of my son in the greatest calamity and poverty ... [I wish] to have a favour ... of three ducats a month from the provision that the aforesaid my late husband had...».⁹ Zuana's petition did not go into minute details about Nicolò's career, but focused instead on both his and her own misfortunes; in fact, hers was one of the few petitions that told her story, not his. For the loss of her homeland had a serious impact on Zuana in a very personal way: she had to abandon her dowry which was mainly in real estate when she fled: «I left in Napoli ... houses and land ... estimated at 330 ducats, a good portion which was part of my dowry [and] these aforementioned possessions sustained all of our family».¹⁰ Now wid-

⁹ asve: *Collegio, Risposte di dentro*, fz. 3, f. 257r, 19 Dec. 1568: «... [mio marito] vienne a morte. Lasciando me povera supplicante sua consorte ad carico di numerosa fameglia di tre figliuoli, cioè un maschio et due femine et la moglie, et figliuoli del detto mio figliuolo in grandissima calamità et povertà ... [voglio] haver una gratia ... di ducati tre al mese della provisione che haveva il preditto q. mio marito...». At the time of his death Nicolò was earning seven ducats a month.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*: «...lascio a Napoli tante case et terreni che ... stimati ducati 330 buona parte de'quali erano la dote mia, sopraditta quali beni sostentavano tutta la nostra fameglia».

owed and needing to support her extensive family, Fontana turned to the State for assistance. The conditions that led Zuana Fontana to ask for help highlight the precarious position of refugee women, the difficulties they faced and how, in truth, they deserved the rewards some eventually received. When they fled their homes, refugee women lost the rights to their properties, a financial disaster no matter how meagre the income from these this might have been. While refugee men also lost possessions, the world of commerce, trades and seafaring beckoned, but women had fewer job opportunities and they received lower wages. Simply put, women did not have the same choices as men. Dislocation, the loss of a good part of their dowries and income, children to care for, widowhood, and little or no family for support, left many destitute. They got some relief from the Greek *scuola* and other civic and religious charities, but the State provided better, long-term security. This is why they did their best to secure pensions, licences and other incomes for themselves and their families. And to do so they told the stories of their men, and where possible their own to strengthen their claims. So it is not surprising that there were many other women like Fontana. Another Naupliot, Marina Petrucina, claimed she left behind many personal items when she and her family went to Venice. In 1541 the Senate awarded her an expectancy of six ducats a year. Forty years later, she petitioned again, this time for an increase to five ducats a month, and a guarantee that the gift would pass to her son after her death. She based this on precedence, that the State had always been generous to Naupliot families.¹¹ The third account is of a woman and her daughter, like Fontana and Petrucina refugees from Napoli di Romania, widows (in the case of Catherina) and in need of an income. On 31 January 1547 the Senate awarded the recently vacated post of custodian (*guardian*) of the Ghetto to Catherina Cathario and her daughter Lucretia.¹² Ghetto custodians were always Christians and it was their job to enforce the regulations the State imposed on the residents. They were the only Gentiles allowed

¹¹ *Ibidem*, fz. 7, f. 260, 23 May 1584: «...suplico che la si degni conciedermi un'espettativa de ducati 5 in circa al mese ... iuxta la parte del 1541, et sia mesa in nomine di detto mio figliuolo doppo la mia morte ... suplicar a piedi Suoi, et conseguir qualche officio, comme hanno fatto tutti gl'altri Napolitani...».

¹² «A dona Catherina Cathario da Napoli di Romania sia concesso in vita soa, et di Lucretia sua figliola il luogo di guardian in ghetto ultimamente vacato.» (*ibidem*: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 29, f. 146, 31 Jan. 1547).

to live within the Ghetto's walls. At some stage Lucretia married a mariner, Francesco Cipriotto, and had two children, Antonio and Alvise. Francesco was killed, possibly at Lepanto (1571) and Lucretia died in the plague of 1576. In July 1580 a much older Catherina Cathario submitted a petition asking her grandsons be allowed to succeed her as *guardiani* of the Ghetto since, as their mother's heirs, by rights the position should be theirs rather than be opened to competition. This was granted, but a time limit was placed on the award: the two men could only keep the position for twenty years. But ten years later, on 29 January 1590, Antonio and Alvise submitted their own petition in which they asked that the award be extended for their lifetimes, as it had been for their mother and grandmother.¹³ Petitions like these three reinforce the importance of the dowry for women's financial security and how, in many cases, it made the difference between a life of poverty and one of survival. Deprived of this vital source, it is not surprising that women turned to the State for support, not only for themselves but for their children. All women's petitions basically dealt with the same issues: the need for income-generating offices and the right to pass these on to their children. In every petition, the women asked a favour for themselves and their families; no female supplicant asked for something for herself alone.

Men's petitions differed from women's in that they covered a wider range of issues. Men requested pay rises, pensions, employment, compensation, justice, and licences to trade or to practise a trade. Once again, money matters, or the absence of adequate income, were uppermost in people's minds. Male supplicants provided family histories, highlighting the many years (or generations) of service to Venice, no matter how far in the past these might have been. In August 1580 Gregorio Cuscutelli applied for a broker's licence on the grounds that in 1404 the State had obliged an ancestor named Ianni to serve on its galleys. In return, the family received a vineyard and the right to build windmills on an island called Santo Abbato. These gifts earned the Cuscutelli a solid income for many generations and they

¹³ The petition asking for the extension of the gift to Cathario's grandchildren is *ibidem*: *Collegio, Risposte di dentro*, fz. 6, f. 342, 14 July 1580. The grandsons' petition is *ibidem*: *Collegio, Risposte di dentro*, fz. 9, f. 241, 29 Jan. 1590. Alvise and Antonio pleaded poverty. The Ghetto position would give them and their families an injection of extra funds. Both men were caulkers and worked in the Arsenal. Most likely they did not want to let a position with a good income slip out of family hands.

prospered until the day Napoli di Romania fell. Canachi, Gregorio's father, was enslaved and sent to Constantinople and the family had to raise 450 ducats to ransom him. In the meantime the family moved to Venice with the other Naupliots. Following his father's death, Gregorio submitted his petition, pleading for a licence because he did not want to be fined for working without one.¹⁴ Vincenzo Argitti recounted the more recent service records of his grandfather and great-uncle and how their bravery inspired both his father, uncle and himself to follow in their footsteps and become mariners. During the war of 1538-1540 Vincenzo and his uncle Zorzi smuggled provisions into their native Napoli di Romania which was then under siege; Zorzi was killed and Vincenzo was captured by the Ottomans and 'put to the oars' an unhappy experience which lasted some twenty months. He was released by the *provveditor* Contarini and for the next two decades served on various fleets. At the time of his petition (1563) Vincenzo was an old man and all he wanted, he said was a position for one of his sons so the family of nine (he had seven children) could make ends meet.¹⁵ Several men appealed for forgiveness for a crime, or the restitution of their rights after serving their sentences, or for justice to prevail. Baldisera Mustachi claimed that he had been wrongly arrested and sought the right to clear his name, while Pollo Sardela, having completed his sentence, asked for permission to resume his place as shipwright in the Arsenal, a position he had lost when he was convicted of striking a woman (he maintained he had done no such thing).¹⁶ All petitioners, regardless of sex, shared common features. Besides work, people requested compensation for expenses incurred in the service of the State. Manoli Maurici asked to be reimbursed for his contribution to the Cypriot war effort. Giacomo Caravella had agreed to transport 300 soldiers to Candia on behalf of the State, something which cost him dearly he claimed, especially as he would have earned more if he had filled his ship with merchandise.¹⁷

¹⁴ *Ibidem*: Collegio, *Risposte di dentro*, fz. 6, f. 352, 12 Aug. 1580.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, fz. 1, f. 28, 7 Febr. 1563.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, fz. 4, f. 145, 15 May 1571 (Mustachi) and fz. 5, f. 218, 10 Sept. 1574 (Sardela).

¹⁷ Manoli Maurici and Giacomo Caravella's petitions are in the same folder: *ibidem*, fz. 4, f. 257, 14 Jan. 1572 (Maurici) and f. 139, 24 Apr. 1571 (Caravella). Maurici had incurred expenses while outfitting and cargoing a ship for the captain general of the fleet in 1569; the goods were intended for the forces in Cyprus. Caravella transported troops in April 1570. To speed up the process he agreed to pay for their transport rather than wait for the

Others turned to the State for justice and to settle personal and public disputes. Arrodami Conte asked the courts to restore to her family her late husband's stipendiary award which his brother had illegally taken. By rights this was meant for Arrodami and her children. Thomaso Papadopulo da Cipro was accused of deflowering a young woman, but he said he was at sea at the time of the incident and the real culprit set him up by using his name. Thomaso maintained his innocence («mi trovo innocentissimo») and sought to clear his good name (he was successful). The sisters Thomasina and Isabetta Clada asked for an arbiter to settle a property dispute in Cephalonia which had turned nasty.¹⁸

Elites had a different, more equitable relationship to the State. For a start, their connections to Venice went back much further than those of their *popolano* compatriots. As well, some of their work (the military class for example) involved greater risk. They regularly came into contact with high public officials, but at the same time, they had greater responsibilities. And they earned larger salaries and rewards. Like everyone else they were quick to give elaborate descriptions of their family history in support of their requests. Thomaso Musachio's father, grandfather, uncles and cousins were all *capi dei stratioti* in Venetian service. His grandfather and two uncles were killed fighting the French in Brescia during the wars of the League of Cambrai. Musachio's father had fought in Cyprus and Thomaso and his cousins were now the third generation of Musachio men to serve the Republic.¹⁹ The Nassin were citizens, fief holders and councillors to the *rettori* of Napoli di Romania from at least the 1390s. In his petition of 1579, Zuane Nassin recalled how in the last 150 years his father Nicolò, his grandfather Zorzi, his great grandfather Fiorino, and a great uncle Nicolò, count and knight, had loyally served the *Serenissima* as fighting men and public officials. By 1430 Fiorino's deeds were such that the doge Francesco Foscari had heard of them. In 1518 the *rettori* of Napoli di Romania elected Count Nicolò *sopracomito* of a galley and in 1529, following the count's death the position went to Zuane's

money to come through the relevant office. Officials rented the entire ship so Caravella could not take any of his merchandise with him.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, fz. 4, f. 179, 1st July 1571 (Conde); *ibidem*, fz. 5, f. 64, 7 Aug. 1572 (Thomaso Papadopulo da Cipro); *ibidem*, f. 9, f. 48, 18 July 1589 (the Clada).

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, fz. 5, f. 17, 8 Apr. 1572.

grandfather Zorzi and from him to Nicolò, Zuane's father.²⁰ Nor did elite women hold back on their family stories to support their requests. Speranza Paleologo's father and husband, both from Napoli di Romania, served as *capi dei stratioti* in Cyprus. Her husband, Andrea Rondachi, died early, in 1556, and she was left to raise their three children. Her father, the *cavalliero* Giovanni Paleologo was killed at the siege of Nicosia; Speranza and her daughter were enslaved and spent time on the island of Scio. Eventually they were ransomed and the family moved to Venice. Speranza lost all her properties in Cyprus and her only income at that time was a Venetian benefice she inherited from her father's estate which, she said, was not enough to live on. She asked for an expectancy of five ducats a month and supported her request with the family's history traced back to its origins in Napoli di Romania: its wealth, the loss of so many of its men during the siege of that city (where two of her father's brothers died), the continued enslavement of her sons Piero and Thodaro in Constantinople, and the double blow of losing two homelands, Napoli di Romania and Cyprus.²¹ In 1582 Elena Manessi introduced herself in this manner: «...I Elena, the only daughter of the late captain Demetri Manessi ... say it is one hundred years and more that those of [my] aforesaid family toil in the service of this Dominion...». From there Manessi proceeded to describe the exploits and bravery of the Manessi in the defence of the Republic. She began her story with Martin who commanded troops in the Morea and Northern Italy in the late fifteenth century. There are several similarities between Paleologo and Manessi. They came from the same *patria*, all the men in their families were *capi dei stratioti*, and both women were personally affected by the events of the Cyprus war. Manessi's story was as tragic as Paleologo's. In the 1560s her father had fought hard to stop the sale of Dulcigno to the Turks; this was part of the terms of a treaty between Venice and the Ottomans. For this he earned the anger of the Sultan's representative, the Pasha of the Sea who enslaved Manessi's father and brothers and put them to the oar. Somehow father and sons found themselves in

²⁰ *Ibidem*, fz. 6, f. 287, 27 May 1579: «Non è meraviglia se Nicolò padre di me Zuane Nassino già da Napoli di Romania, Zorzi mio avo, Nicolò conte palatino, et Fiorino mio abavo siano stati di continuo per le fidelissime sue servitù per stare a Vostra Serenità honorati dalla sua munificentia in quelle occasioni che l'hanno ne soi bisogni suplicata».

²¹ *Ibidem*, fz. 5, f. 288, 21 Oct. 1574.

Nicosia on the eve of the siege. Then, «wanting to show that in his heart he still served Venice...», Demetri Manessi and his sons fought the «enemies of Christ», but all three lost their lives, leaving the already widowed Elena without husband, father or brothers and with responsibility for several children. In her petition she asked that the company of foot soldiers (*fantaria*) that used to be under her father's command should be restored to her and her children, the idea being that when her sons came of age they could take command of their grandfather's company, and in this continue the Manessi tradition of public service.²²

The *suppliche* show how dependent Venice was on her colonial subjects to perform important work on both land and sea. At the same time, individual stories illustrate the close ties between petitioners, their families and the State. When it was possible to do so, supplicants highlighted their personal connections to powerful men who could, if necessary, provide patronage and support. Besides the *provveditor* Contarini who freed him from the Ottoman galley, Vincenzo Argitti named three other patrician commanders he served with. Vincenzo Livo da Corfu worked as a shipwright on a number of galleys, as his father did before him. He listed the seven patrician commanders he served under, the length of service with each as well as other important men he could call upon to testify in his favour: «The Most Illustrious Ser General Donato and other diverse illustrious gentlemen who found themselves on these galleys [Livo served on] and set themselves

²² *Ibidem*, fz. 7, f. 110, 21 Apr. 1582: «Tanto è stata fidelissima, et benemerita del questo Illustrissimo Dominio l'antiquissima fameglia Manessi ... Io Elena unica figliuola del q. capitano Dimitri Manessi, ...gli dico che sono da cento da piu anni, che quele de detta fameglia sudano al servitio de questo Dominio ... ma perché nel consulto della vendita de Dolcigno mai volse conseguire à vendersi à nemici ma continuare nella devotione de Vostra Serenità fui fatto schiavo con due figlioli dal gran Bassà da Mar, et porto in galea al remo, dove trovandosi il giorno felice nella Nicosia [et] volendo mostrare che' ancor serva cui nel cuore, il nome Venetiano, così incarserati scemerlo offende per i nemici de Christo, dove fui da essi finalmente amazzato con detti figliuoli». Manessi's petition is very long, covering the history of the family's service starting from 1496. Her recollection of the prowess, activities and sacrifices of the Manessi is supported by Sanuto who recorded the family's service in his diaries: M. SANUTO, *I Diarii*, I, 52; III, 487-488, 496; IV, 369, 624; V, 992; VII, 319; IX, 364, 503; X, 264, 416; XI, 413; XII, 319-320; XXVIII, 492; XXXI, 335; XLV, 396; LVII, 662-663. Another branch of the Manessi is commemorated in an icon in the church of S. Giorgio dei Greci. The brothers Zuane and Zorzi Manessi commissioned the icon and dedicated it to the church on 21 April 1546. It hangs on the right wall just inside the entrance. The relationship between the brothers and Elena's branch is unclear.

to give witness [to Livo's bravery and devotion] ...». ²³ The supplicants seemed to be saying: 'My forefathers and I were deemed good workers by your noble men and you should judge me on the basis of their opinion. Trust me like they did and grant me my request'.

Furthermore, the *suppliche* contain important information about the work people did and the extent to which many Greeks depended on the State for their livelihood. Petitioners gave their name, place of origin and the names of any and all members of the family who at one time or another served Venice in some capacity. Most included a detailed and somewhat evocative account of their family's history, the focus of which was to prove close links to the *Serenissima*. By analysing the language of the petitions we begin to understand how supplicants related to the State. Much of this language was, of course, taken from set phrases common to all petitions and exaggeration was the rule rather than the exception. Very few people composed petitions themselves; even elites preferred to use scribes because they knew which phrases to use, they did not make grammatical errors and they did not use dialect or informal speech. ²⁴ At the same time, we should not take this to mean that feelings expressed were empty phrases, merely a means to an end. The language reinforced the supplicant's devotion to their family through the recollection of family history. It reflected love for one's *patria* and the blessings of living under Venetian rule, particularly in petitions from people whose homelands were no longer part of the *Stato da Mar*. So in one sense the language expressed the supplicant's 'Venetianess' by creating a glorified (Venetian) past and linking it to the supplicant's decision to immigrate to the imperial Capital rather than living under a political authority which was neither Christian nor Venetian. The 1583 petition of Piero, son of Dimo Caravella of Corfu, provides a good example of this Greco-Venetian duality. The first half of Piero's lengthy petition listed the ways he and his

²³ *Ibidem*, fz. 1, f. 28, 7 Febr. 1563 (Argitti) and fz. 10, f. 245, 17 Aug. 1598 (Vincenzo Livio).

²⁴ DAVIS, *Shipbuilders*, pp. 191-192. Arsenalotti used scribes because many of them were illiterate. Davis says that even literate shipbuilders used scribes because they could write well and knew grammar and correct usage: «...scribes were aware of the grammar and usages expected for such formal writings [as petitions]: they could be counted on to avoid dialect expressions or the kinds of spellings based on Venetian pronunciations to which even literate masters were prone; indeed, even patricians might employ a scribe if the petition were important enough».

father had served Venice. Dimo was a sailor on the galleys commanded by the *provveditor* Pesaro and he was killed during the war of Napoli di Romania; his service and the sacrifice of his life had instilled in Piero a strong sense of duty («...leaving in me, his son, an exemplary record of good service and glorious death for this illustrious state»), and this led Piero during the last war (Lepanto), to enter Venetian service. In his desire to serve the State, Piero put thoughts of family, home and wife aside, wishing only to earn the gratitude of the *Serenissima*. Now, forty-three years after his father's death and twelve years after his own active service had ended, a poor Piero was forced to beg for a minor position in a magistracy, not for himself, but for his four children, or at least in the name of one of them so that the family could support itself. He ended his petition by reiterating his faith in the State's sense of fairness, which had manifested itself in its gratitude for the blood he and his father had spilled. Should his request be granted, Piero promised to spend his remaining days «...exalting this most felicitous republic». ²⁵ Using this type of language was intentional, the belief being that the College looked more favourably upon those who praised the Republic and could prove long and continuous service to it. Stamati Corogona di Malvasia (Monemvasia), who for forty years fought for the *Serenissima*, recounted his years of service in detail: his duties, his strengths (he was, by his own admission, a brave horseman), where he served (Monemvasia, Cerigo and Candia), and with whom (most recently he had been in the service of the *capo dei stratioti* Demetri Chatello). Because Stamati was now «...a poor old and loyal servant...» he requested a pension of four ducats a month to live out the remainder of his days. ²⁶ Hieronymo Magagnati too used the example of his father to support his request. He described him as «...a loyal and devoted servant of the state all his life who ultimately

²⁵ Asve: *Collegio, Risposte di dentro*, fz. 7, f. 247, 25 Jan. 1583. «... [Dimo] havendo lasciato a me suo figliuolo esemplar memoria di ben servire, et gloriosamente morire, per questo Illustrissimo Stado ... [io] posponendo ogni pensiero di casa, moglie, figliuoli, e di me stesso de acquisitarmi la gratia della Serenità Vostra ... acciò io povero devotissimo suo servitor senta questa consolatione che il mio sangue resti remunerato dalla Serenità Vostra restando io in perpetuo obbligo di spender il rimanente de' miei giorni in servitù sua et pregar di continuo con la mia fameglia il Signor Dio per la esaltatione di questa felicissima Repubblica alla cui buona gratia humilamente mi raccomando.»

²⁶ «...povero vechio et fidel servitor...» (*ibidem*, fz. 6, f. 190, 22 Oct. 1577).

died at the time of the war in Cyprus in the service of this most Serene Dominion...». ²⁷

The language of the petitions was constantly interspersed with terms such as loyalty, bravery, sacrifice and service, as if somehow it was necessary to remind the reader again and again of the historical links between supplicant, ancestors and State. This reliance on repetition, memory and connection often produced the desired effects. To what extent then, were such sentiments heartfelt and to what extent were they part of the process of petition-writing? The flowery language was certainly part of the process. The recollection of the years of service was also essential because it helped to establish the supplicant's credentials and provided justification for the request. So was exaggeration. Gregorio Cuscutelli might have emphasized the dire financial condition his family found themselves in, but he supplied little information about how they managed to survive from the time they arrived in Venice in 1541 to 1580 when he put in his petition. That was forty years without (supposedly) State assistance. Was Gregorio working as an unlicensed broker all that time? He did not say, but in all probability he was (it was a fairly common practice). The magistracy that reviewed his submission must have had some reservations because his *suppliche* never got past the first reading. Today this type of writing seems out of place but that does not mean we should completely dismiss stories told or feelings expressed as simply as means to an end. To a certain extent people trusted the State to deliver work, justice and compensation, especially when the State itself called on its people to provide goods and services. There was an element of truth then in the belief (an aspect of the Myth of Venice), of a caring State; hence it was in the supplicant's best interests to use the myth to his or her advantage and in the authorities' interests to reinforce the myth through positive action and favourable results. Proclamations of loyalty did not go unrecognised, and for many they paid dividends. The Greeks had been asking for favours even before they moved to Venice. They were prepared to seek satisfaction through the system because they were part of it, and had been so for such a long time. Otherwise, they would not have made the effort to recall in detail their histo-

²⁷ «...fidelissimo et devotissimo servitor...» (*ibidem*, fz. 7, f. 56, 28 July 1581).

ries of service, of which they were proud, and which mattered in the eyes of the authorities. A further indication that they were an integral part of the Venetian world was that they had no hesitations about petitioning as individuals rather than as a group. Indeed, the only petitions on behalf of the community were ones dealing with church and *scuola* matters. The majority of requests then were concerned with personal, not corporate issues.

The petitions show that Greeks from all socio-economic backgrounds used the system to satisfy their claims and to ensure that rewards would, as much as possible, be held in the name of the family into the next generation. But the relationship between themselves and the authorities was not one-sided. If nothing else, the petitions illustrate how much Venice depended on its subjects. To construct and man ships. To make clothing and furniture and fix shoes. To build and maintain roads, fortresses, arsenals and mills, as well as paint and decorate homes and public buildings. And finally to produce foodstuffs like oil, grains and cereals, fruits and vegetables, and transport them throughout the empire and beyond. At the same time, they are proof that after more than a generation in Venice, subject people continued to rely on the public purse, licences and public service positions, again reflecting habits and patterns established a long time ago in their homelands. The recognition of the loyalty and service of this diverse group of people was the State's way of acknowledging their permanence. Venice was a multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural city, a place of immense wealth and dire poverty. Space was limited and the maintenance of law and order was a nightmare at the best of times. One of the ways the city's patrician rulers could ensure law and order was to give the *popolo* a sense of belonging. To the Venetian authorities, the Greek inhabitants provided many essential services. They had a long and continuous history of residency. The more recent immigrants acknowledged and accepted Venetian rule. Venice was home to most, a haven to many, the 'mother country' to others. With the establishment of permanent institutions in the latter fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and through the participation in the formal and informal bodies which constituted Venetian daily life, the Greeks demonstrated their commitment to the *Serenissima* and the latter responded in kind.

THE STATE AS BENEFACTOR

Gifts became official when they were entered into the Senate's calendar. Entries contained the original request followed by the Senate's decision as well as the votes for and against granting the award. The decision also specified how long the individual or family could hold the gift, and in some cases, the duties expected from the holder and conditions under which the gift was allocated. The most common length was for the lifetime of the recipient. In many instances this was extended to include children and other close family members, but only if the original holders had satisfactorily performed their duties. In this way, awards often became family sinecures, passing from one generation to the next. The Eugenio family arrived in Venice in 1470, immediately after the fall of their native Negroponte. In 1472 Manoli Eugenio received a licence from the Salt Office which allowed him to sell a fixed amount of salt. After his death in 1492, this licence was extended to his widow and two sons, Demetri and Zuane, and after their mother's death the brothers inherited her portion. In 1531 and again in 1535 the Senate reaffirmed Demetri and Zuane's right to the licence and increased the amount of salt they traded. At some stage the licence became a hereditary pension because in his 1549 will Demetri Eugenio left his half to his children Nicoletto and Agnesina.²⁸ At least three generations of the Litino family were *gastaldi* of the Fondaco dei Turchi and, as we saw earlier, Caterina Cathario's grandchildren retained the family post as *guardiani* of the Ghetto.²⁹

²⁸ *Ibidem*: *Senato, Terra*, reg. 28, f. 140r-v, 4 June 1535: «Fu concessa per questo Consiglio del 1485 a 15 Marzo al fidel, et benemerito dal stato nostro Il q. Manoli Eugenio de' primarii cittadini de' Negroponte et dapoi un firmata per ditto Consiglio dal 1492 a 19 Fevver alla moglie et figlioli dal detto q. Manoli in vita loro per la fede, et meriti sui verso il stato nostro, provisione de mozetti 3 de 5 all'anno alla Camera de Corphu, la qual provisione li continuo fino al 1499... Volendo poi la Signoria nostra servirse de' detti sali da Corphu fu adi 7 Agosto 1531... L'anderà parte, che per autorità de questo Consiglio, remanendo ferma et valida la sopraditta deliberation fatta nel Collegio nostro del Sal nelli 7 Agosto 1531 sia de cetero in loco de li 500 mozetti de sal, agli hanno li figlioli del anteditto q. Manoli Eugenio dall camera nostra de Corphu datoli in vita sua...». In his will, Demetri Eugenio stated: «Item voio che Nicoletto et Agnesina mei fioli habiano et havere debiano quella parte et portion della pinsion che si scode al officio del sal, como appare per lo accordo fatto tra mi et Zuane mio fratello». The will is *ibidem*: *Notarile, Testamenti*, Agostino Pellestrina, b. 768, 125, 1st May 1549. Recipients did not have to do any work to earn a pension.

²⁹ For the Litino family and the Fondaco dei Turchi see E. C. BURKE, *Francesco di Demetri Litino, the Inquisition and the Fondaco dei Turchi*, «Thesaurismata», 36, 2006, pp. 79-96.

In some cases however, the awarding magistracy designated how monies had to be used. When the Senate provided for the widow and children of the late *capo dei stratioti* Manoli Clada, it specified how the money was to be distributed. The younger sons, Nicolò and Thodaro got their father's salary (forty-eight ducats a year) and the girls, Marulla, Regina and Anzola received fifty-six ducats towards living expenses and their dowries. Clada's oldest son Piero was awarded his own command and a salary of thirty-two ducats a year. The widow did not receive anything in this instance, the assumption being that she would be looked after by her sons.³⁰ The military class were, not surprisingly, very successful petitioners. Their requests were seldom rejected unless they were too outlandish. As long as they were reasonable though, officers and enlisted men had a very good chance of getting what they wanted. In any case, it would have been pretty hard for the State to turn down the men who risked their lives in its defence. This favourable attitude included not only soldiers, but their families as well. The Clada award is but one example. After the *capo dei stratioti* Michali Rali was murdered in Venice in June 1517, his mother Theodora applied for a pension for herself, her daughter Chiara and Michali's two children. According to Sanuto there was no need for a ballot as the family had a well established reputation.³¹

No other source better illustrates the State as benefactor than the gifts handed out to men and women from Napoli di Romania and Monemvasia. These awards were not based on need; they were meant to compensate people for losses incurred when they abandoned the two cities in 1541.³² Between February 1547 and June 1548 alone, the

³⁰ ASVE: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 21, f. 164r-v, 15 Dec. 1529: «L'anderà parte che de la provisione, havea el dicto q. Domino Manoli Clada, qual era de ducati xxii per paga siano dati alli doi figlioli mascoli viz. Nicolò et Theodoro, Marulla, Regina et Anzola figliole femine per sustentatione loro, et maridar de li figliole ducati 14 per paga a page quatro all'anno da esserli pagata de la Camera de Candia deli danari deputati al pagamento de simili provisionati. A Piero veramente figliol mazor resti la compagnia cum ducati 8 di provision per paga dommander el servira in queste parte à page octo all'anno, et quando landera in levade cum licitia de la Signoria Nostra habia solamente page quatro all'anno da la predicta Camera de Candia».

³¹ SANUTO, xxiv, 432: «Fu poi leto una suplication di la mare, sorela e due fioli di Michali Rali, capo di stratioti, fo morto in questa terra da albanesi, stratioti etc., havia provision ducati 25 per soi meriti. Posto darli ducati 8 a la camera di Padoa in vita loro etc. Et non fo compita de balotar, per certo garbujo posto».

³² The preface to one entry of gifts reads: «Essendo sta preso per il Senato Vostro alli 16 Marzo 1543 di concieder alli fidelissimi nostri da Napoli di Romania, et Malvassia per premiarli delli loro meriti, et recompensarli delli beni che hanno abbandonato in esse

Senate distributed thousands of ducats worth of pensions, positions in the civil and military service, licences, land and compensation to this select group of eighty-seven individuals representing thirty-eight families. The greater number of concessions went to Naupliots; there were only four recipients from Monemvasia, which was a very small city in comparison to Napoli di Romania. The spread among wealthy, middle class and working class recipients was fairly even. In most families between one and three people shared an award. Elite families were very well represented, two more so than others: six branches of the Mormori (twelve people) and three of the Cuvli (ten people) received awards. Between two and three members from other well-known Naupliot families like the Cavopenna, Calauro, Sumachi and Agiopanditi also received gifts.³³ However well connected the elites might have been though, the State attempted to address the needs of as many people as possible. The office or committee in charge of distributing gifts was the *Cinque Savii sopra Napolitani et Malvasiotti* (people from Monemvasia). Its purpose was to keep records of requests made and gifts distributed. As well there was a section or agency dedicated to Naupliots and Monemvasians in the *Rason Vecchie*, one of the two State taxation and financial magistracies. This was called the *Officio delle Rason Vecchie sopra Napolitani et Malvasiotti* and it may have been responsible for the computing of fees and monies paid to recipients in the 1547-1548 lists.³⁴ None of the awards were handed out lightly; petitioners' claims were closely examined and, as we shall see, the Senate did not hesitate to rescind favours based on fraudulent claims. Both offices were still active in the second half of the century, although they handled very few new requests by then. Most of the ones they addressed were submitted by those refugees from the

cite...» (ASve: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 29, f. 139v). These 1547-1548 gifts were only one of many meted out to Naupliots and Monemvasians from 1542 onwards.

³³ The gifts are in *ibidem*, ff. 41v-42r, 105v-106r, 139v-140r, 155r, 167v-168r, 177v-180r.

³⁴ The committee went under several similar names. It was also called the *Cinque Clarissimi Nobili sopra Napolitani et Malvasiotti*, *Cinque Savii sopra Le Espeditore de Napolitani et Malvasiotti* and *Cinque Nobili sopra Napolitani et Malvasiotti*. There is a strong possibility that the committee and the agency were one and the same or two parts of one section within the taxation magistracy. There are no specific references to these committees in either da Mosto or the guide to the Venetian State Archives, but descriptions of the work of both offices can be gleaned from the accounts of recipients and from information about the function of the *Rason Vecchie* (A. DA MOSTO, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, Roma, Biblioteca d'arte, 1937, pp. 139-140).

Cyprus war whose original homelands were either Napoli di Romania or Monemvasia. For example, Speranza Paleologo and Elena Manessi based their claims on their families' original homeland, Napoli di Romania and precedence, that is, the State awards of the 1540s. At the end of the century the two offices were mainly reviewing gifts claimed by the children, grandchildren, and close kin of the original recipients. By then most gifts had become family sinecures and would remain so into the seventeenth century.

It was not normal for the State to be so open-handed with its subject people. There is, for example, no similar show of generosity displayed towards Cypriots thirty years later, or with earlier refugees in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the people from Modon, Coron, Negroponte and Lepanto. One reason was that fewer people from the latter cities and islands migrated *en masse* to Venice. Many of the Negropontians and Modonites who survived the destruction of their homes in 1470 and 1500 fled to the other Greek-speaking Venetian colonies. Because Coron surrendered without a fight (it was said the inhabitants looked across the bay and saw the smoke from the burning Modon and decided to cut their losses), the city and its inhabitants were spared destruction and enslavement, and many stayed put. Cyprus was different. Most Cypriots lived in the countryside and tilled the soil and they showed little attachment to the regime or their own feudal landlords; besides the peasantry did not normally immigrate to urban centres, especially ones as far away as Venice.³⁵ As well, by the 1570s, when Cyprus was lost, the Venetian economy was not as strong as it had been in the 1540s as a result, among other things, of the constant Ottoman wars. These differences between 1541 and 1571 go some way towards explaining differing attitudes towards rewarding immigrants, especially refu-

³⁵ Kenneth Setton offers a negative of Venetian rule not only in Cyprus but in the sea Empire as a whole: «The doge and Senate were always advising and instructing, investigating and commanding their colonial officials, who served for two or three years in office, returned home, and were usually sent elsewhere. They rarely stayed in one place long enough to acquire an adequate understanding of its needs and resource. From Cyprus to Crete, Corfu to Sebenico, Venetian administration was inefficient and wasteful. It was also corrupt; on the whole it had always been corrupt. As one reads the documents, it is pleasant to find instances of superior competence, even in a ship's carpenter.» (K. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1984, vol. IV, p. 927).

gees. There are other reasons though. The 1541 war ended in a negotiated settlement; the Ottomans gave the Venetians and any locals who wished, the time to gather up records, documents, personal belongings, relics and even church bells before departing from Napoli di Romania and Monemvasia. Once in Venice people received compensation for personal losses.³⁶ Cyprus was a long and costly war resulting in great destruction and total capitulation. The Ottomans enslaved thousands of men, women and children. The State, the Church and private individuals stepped in to help families ransom loved ones; for example, to expedite matters the Senate on 10 March 1571 set aside 1,000 ducats for the ransom of Cypriots enslaved after the fall of Nicosia.³⁷ People's stories contained vivid accounts of enslavement and redemption, often at the hands of private individuals. Filippo Emanuel spent two years in Constantinople before he was ransomed for 100 ducats by a merchant named Marco Antonio Stringha; Alvise Rosso, wounded during the battle for Nicosia was nevertheless enslaved and taken to Constantinople where he remained for eight years before being freed by good Christians (*buoni Christiani*); Speranza Paleologo and her daughter won their freedom because a merchant, Antonio Armeso of Malvassia paid their captor.³⁸ A group of Cypriot sailors was liberated at Lepanto when the victorious Christian forces found them working as galley slaves on

³⁶ Marianna Kolyva and Erriko Moatsou followed some branches of Naupliot families to Crete after 1541. Families with branches in Venice and Crete included the Mormori, Lefcaro, Sagomala, Malaxos, de' Medici and Nassin. As well there were large numbers of *capi dei stratioti* clans as well as soldiers with their families. The officer class had family and kin in Venice, the Terraferma, Dalmatia and other parts of the sea empire; these included the Paleologi, Nassin, Masarachi, Chatello, Spilioti and the Vurci (Burci) clans. M. KOLYVA, E. MOATSOU, *Apokatastasi Nauplioton kai Monemvasioton Prosfigon stin Kriti to 1548* [*The Re-Establishment of Naupliot and Monemvasian Refugees in Crete in 1548*], «Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbucher», 1983, pp. 375-453. The movement of these families between Crete and Venice was constant. The names listed above, as well as those of non-military families who made Crete their main residence appeared regularly and over long periods on the membership registers of the *scuola* di S. Nicolò dei Greci.

³⁷ ASVE: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 40, f. 5r, 10 Mar. 1571: «...il Senato ... a dare in elemosina ad essi miserabili schiavi sino alla summa de ducati mille delli danari della Signoria Nostra...». For the role of the Roman church in securing the freedom of those enslaved after the fall of Cyprus see R. DE COLLEBERG, *Litterae Hortatoriae accordées par les papes*, «Epetiris», xi, 1981-1982, pp. 13-167.

³⁸ ASVE: *Collegio, Risposte di dentro*, fz. 5, f. 200, 29 Sept. 1573 (Emanuel); fz. 9, f. 247, 29 Jan. 1590 (Rosso); fz. 5, f. 288, 21 Oct. 1574 (Paleologo).

Ottoman ships.³⁹ After 1541 the State chose to compensate Naupliots and Monemvasians. In the case of Cyprus, it chose to liberate rather than compensate. That is not to say that few Cypriots immigrated before the war. The number of arrivals was low but steady in the first half of the century and then increased markedly immediately before and after 1570-1571. Napoli di Romania and Monemvasia were completely different, registering an incredibly low number of immigrants before 1540 followed by a surge in 1541 and barely a trickle after that. Such immigration patterns are reflected in the membership rolls of the Greek *scuola*.

The question remains: was the State unusually generous to Naupliots and Monemvasians, and if so, why? The answer to the first part of the question is «yes»; after that it gets complicated. There were genuinely difficult cases, people who authorities believed deserved a helping hand to get established or to make their lives a little bit comfortable. Naturally this was so with many other immigrants, locals, foreigners and subject people. What distinguished Naupliots and Monemvasians was the breadth of the gifts and the nature of the relationship between themselves and Venetians. Diana Wright and Monique O' Connell have highlighted how often colonial administrators in the sea Empire depended on the cooperation of locals who acted as interpreters, go-betweens, and secretaries. Most governors' terms were for two, sometimes three years, whereas their assistants came from the local area. These men knew more about the territory than Venetian officials, and in Napoli di Romania and Monemvasia there was much to be done. Monemvasia's location meant it was one of the most strategically important towns of the sea Empire. Napoli di Romania was less so until the loss of Negroponte in 1470 when it became «the most important land of our state in the Levant».⁴⁰ Local demands often clashed with Ottoman wishes, and some of the governor's most pressing duties included maintaining good relations with the Ottomans while placating local people, especially the *stratioti*. For the military class was both a blessing and a curse; *stratioti* defended the Republic's sea territories but they were also capable of stirring up trouble.⁴¹ These Greek and Albanian clans lived in and around Napoli

³⁹ *Ibidem*, fz. 5, f. 263, 5 May 1574.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 10, f. 19v.

⁴¹ The Klada uprising of 1480 seriously threatened the peace between the Ottomans and

di Romania and Monemvasia; in fact the two cities supplied the bulk of the *stratioti* and *capi* regiments. The thought of thousands of unhappy or dissatisfied armed commanders and men must have kept a Venetian administrator awake at night. Consequently, the State treated them, their families and by extension their (non-military) compatriots favourably. But loyalty was a two-way street and when Venice left the Morea in 1541 very few military men transferred their allegiance to the sultan, choosing instead to uproot their families and go wherever Venice sent them. The situation in the Morea then was different from other territories. Finally, the one-off arrival in the Lagoon of a huge number of dispossessed people presented a problem for the authorities. The issue of law and order was always paramount in the minds of the ruling class, and one way of insuring civic peace was to provide work for as many people as quickly as possible. This included posting men and women to territories outside the city and stationing *stratioti* in the remaining sea territories; awards as gifts from a grateful State. With a little imagination these were transformed into symbols of the unbroken bonds between a benevolent Republic and its people.

The State also bestowed knighthoods and other privileges (*privilegi*) in recognition of deeds beneficial to the Republic. There were several ranks of privilege, ranging from lower honours (*equestris dignitatis* and *privilegium comitatum*) to the highest award, the knighthood of St. Mark (*Cavalieri di San Marco*).⁴² These honours were given to men who had excelled in their profession. Greek recipients included mainly *capi dei stratioti* and men of letters. Costantino Paleocapa, a scholar and teacher of Greek received his award in 1573 in recognition of his scholarship.⁴³ Andrea Londano worked mainly as a dealer in manuscripts, printed books and artwork, and taught Greek as well.

the Venetians. It required a quick response and shrewd diplomacy on the part of the Venetian governor at Napoli di Romania to avoid drawing the Ottomans into a war against the Venetians. The uprising, its causes and consequences is in D. GILLILAND WRIGHT, *Bar tolomeo Minio: Venetian Administration in 15th-Century Nauplion*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Washington DC, The Catholic University of America, 1999, pp. 139-169, and EADEM, *The Kladas Affair and Diplomatic Relations: 1480-1485* (forthcoming publication).

⁴² The order of *Cavalieri di San Marco* was the highest award that the Republic reserved for its own and subject people.

⁴³ ASve: *Senato, Privilegi*, reg. III, f. 18r-v, 10 Dec. 1573.

Demetrio Paleologo di Teodoro became a Knight of St. Mark in May 1554 in recognition of his years of service as a commander of *stratioti*.⁴⁴ Other military men received knighthoods following decisive victories in wartime. Zorzi Renessi received his in 1571, Zuan Lascari in 1574 and Nicolò Lusi in 1593.⁴⁵ Renessi became a Knight of St. Mark for the valour he displayed in the recent war against the Turks in Dalmatia; Lascari received the lesser title of *equestris dignitatis* for bravery in the same war and Lusi was commended for his efforts in successfully expelling pirates that had been threatening Cephalonia. Knighthood conferred certain privileges. At their investiture, the knights of St. Mark wore special ornamental clothing, gold belts or sashes and stockings, shoes and spurs. They were allowed to carry swords and other weapons as a sign of their rank.⁴⁶ The awards were only open to men, although women could and did use the feminine form of the title (*cavaliera*) to announce their husbands' status and their own elite station.⁴⁷

Venice might have been a generous State but at no time was its munificence a given. Decisions were based on a close examination of the authenticity and merits of petitioners' claims. This process was time consuming and thorough which explains why decision-making was slow and most requests were rejected. Nevertheless, some claimants managed – for a while at least – to fool the authorities. Petitioners who lied or were not completely forthcoming about their circumstances had their awards amended or rescinded. Two cases illustrate how authorities handled fraudulent claims. In February 1548 Petrisa Mascarogni, a widow from Napoli di Romania was among the recipi-

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*: *Cancelleria Inferiore*, Privilegi dei Cavalieri di San Marco, fz. 174, f. 5, 21 May 1554.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, fz. 174, f. 28, 15 Jan. 1571, and *Senato, Privilegi*, reg. III, f. 11, 15 Jan. 1571 (Zorzi Renessi); ff. 18v-19r, 10 Apr. 1574 (Zuan Lascari) and f. 61v, 12 Sept. 1593 (Nicolò Lusi).

⁴⁶ «...et gli havemo conceduto autorità di portare la cintura, la spada, l'armi, li spironi, le veste, et tutti gl'altri ornamenti militari, et di goder tutti li honori giuriditioni, libertà, et privilegii, che appartengono alla vera militia, et alla dignità de cavaliero» (from the decree bestowing a knighthood on Zorzi Renessi: asve: *Senato, Privilegi*, reg. III, f. 11, 15 Jan. 1571).

⁴⁷ The title was used by Isabetta Cuvli, the wife of Andrea Londano. Her family was among the richest Greek merchant families in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Members of the family referred to Isabetta as «la cavaliera»: *ibidem*: *Notarile, Testamenti*, Federico Figolin, b. 382, 166, 29 Febr. 1599 and 7 Aug. 1607 (the will of Gratosia Cuvli, Isabetta's sister); *ibidem*, Giovanni Figolin, b. 440, 257, 27 July 1595 (the will of Cecilia Dolfin, Isabetta Cuvli's aunt).

ents of the Senate's generosity; she was given a lifetime position in the Customs House (*Dogana da Mar*), for herself and her two children Helena and Nicolò.⁴⁸ In January 1549 the Senate amended the award because, in the meantime it had learned that Petrisa's late husband Zuane had a son, Soteriano, by his first wife. Petrisa's petition said nothing about a stepson. Soteriano did not contest his step-mother's claim because he was not in Venice at the time. The Senate also learned (we do not know how, they did not say) that Helena was not Zuane's child but Petrisa's daughter by another man and that she was born in Corfu, not in Napoli di Romania. Soteriano, on the other hand, not only had two Naupliot parents, he was born in that city. Consequently, Soteriano replaced Helena as one of the three recipients of the gift. The Senate chose to amend the gift in favour of Soteriano not only because he was his father's legitimate son but also because Petrisa had based her claim on her late husband's long service on the galleys. This meant that any children born of Zuane were entitled to a share of the award. The issue of Helena's birthplace was significant, as well as the fact that she was illegitimate and her father was not a Naupliot. Therefore, she could not qualify for a gift. The Senate did not deny Petrisa and Nicolò their due, but instead amended the award in favour of Zuane's first born son. Poor Helena. Her illegitimacy and Corfiot birthplace had cost her. Yet her mother was not punished for submitting fraudulent claims; perhaps the omission of Helena and public humiliation as a result of her deception was enough punishment.⁴⁹

The second case also involved a Naupliot. In July 1542 Michali Psara won a position in the Customs House. The concession was in his name only, but upon his death it would pass to Alexandro, his son by

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 29, f. 42r, 11 Febr. 1546 m.v.: «A Petrissa Mascarogni sia concesso in vita soa, et di Nicolò et Helena sui figlioli, il luogo di capitaneo delle barche dalla Dohana da Mar vacato per la morte de Marco di Michiele».

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 147v, 31 Jan. 1548 m.v.: «Et perchè sotto di xi Febraro passato fo con questo Consilio concesso a Petrissa Mascarogni da Napoli per li meriti, et beni soi, et del q. Zuane suo marito, et a Nicolò, et Helena soi figlioli il luogo di capetanio delle barche della Dohana da Mar, nella qual concessione non fo fatta mentione alcuna di Soteriano Mascarogni figliolo primogenito del prescritto q. Zuane con la prima moglie, per esser stato detto Soteriano all'hora absente, et essendo la prescritta Helena nata di un'altro padre à Corfu, et non a Napoli la qual per ciò non puol conseguir alcun beneficio... La disposition delli parti, et ordini nostri però sia preso che in loco della detta Helena, la qual s'interdi esser esclusa, sia posto in ditta concessione il soprascritto Soteriano, il qual habbia a participar per terzo in detto officio con Petrisa et Nicolò soprascritti».

his first wife Violante. In a notarial document dated 18 November 1547 his present wife, Marieta, alleged that Michali received his award by presenting an estimate of his wealth based on his own and Marieta's properties in Napoli di Romania. But since neither Michali nor Alexandro were present at the siege of the city, whereas Marieta was, she felt it only fair that Zorzi, hers and Michali's son should be entitled to a portion of the concession after Michali's death. The situation must have created considerable tension within the Naupliot community because two well-respected men, Canachi Cuvli and Marco Calauro, were asked to mediate and witness the division of the award into three parts: one third to Marieta and one third each to Zorzi and Alexandro.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, Psara's troubles did not stop there because five months later this arrangement was overturned when the authorities learned that Alexandro was not Michali's legitimate son. The poor lad was excluded from the award altogether, which now went to Marieta and Zorzi after Michali's death.⁵¹ The Mascarogni and Psara cases illustrate several key issues, among them the futility of lying, the fragile status of illegitimate children, and the State's determination to right a wrong in the name of the injured party. More importantly, they make it clear that awards were not given lightly; that in fact, the authorities took care to closely examine the hundreds

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*: *Notarile, Atti*, Agostino Pellestrina, b. 10642, ff. 263v-264r, 18 Nov. 1547: «...dona Marieta al presente moiere del ditto ser Michali ... lei essersi ritrovata con ditto suo figlio nello assedio de Napoli et che ditto suo marito fece fare la stima deli beni proprii di essa dona Marieta et parte deli beni de lui ser Michali, et con quella stima hebbe il preditto officio che fu messo in nome de lui ser Michali et del dito Alexandro suo fiol, quali non si trovarno nello assedio predicto ... messer Marco [Calauro] et messer Canachi [Cuvli] aldite le parte con il consenso et presentia sua hano terminado in questo modo, che tuta la utilità del officio sopraditto de fante alla Dohana, sia et essere debia divisa et partita in tre parte equale una dele qual sia dela preditta dona Marieta, e l'altra del preditto Zorzi suo fiolo, et l'altra sia de lui Alexandro fiolo del ditto Michali, et dela q. dona Violante...».

⁵¹ *Ibidem*: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 29, f. 167v, 20 Apr. 1548: «Et perchè l'anno 1542 a 25 di Luglio fo concesso à Michali Psara da Napoli di Romania uno luogo di fante alla Dohana da Mar in vita soa, et di suo figliolo Alessandro, il qual per la informatione havuta per li Cinque Nobili Nostri non è suo figliolo legitimo, ma naturale, havendo esso Michali nominato questo, et non Zorzi che è suo figliolo legitimo nato di Marieta Andronicipulo, però sia preso, et dechiarito, che in luogo del detto Alexandro, il qual debba esser escluso, sia posto esso Zorzi, et detta Marieta sua madre, la quale etiam ha lassati beni à Napoli di Romania, nel qual officio la detta madre, et figliolo debbano succeder dopo la morte del prenominato Michali...». Zorzi Psara kept the gift, and worked as a fante in the Customs House. Presumably would have inherited his mother's portion. Forty years later he asked for an increase in his wages: *ibidem*: *Collegio, Risposte di dentro*, fz. 8, f. 353, 12 July 1588.

of requests for assistance they regularly received. Furthermore, they would not hesitate to withdraw gifts won through cheating and lies. The message was clear: the State knew how to detect and punish dishonesty.

CONCLUSION

People used all sorts of devices to secure awards. In truth, only a fool would have submitted a request which did not, in some small way extol the Republic. Conversely the State would have deemed it thoughtless not to praise the supplicant when delivering its decision; in fact, I wonder how Venice, or any other place would have reacted to the emotion-free bureaucratic jargon which mars and confuses so many official proclamations today. Petitions and gifts should not be interpreted solely as expressions of 'warm feelings' between the supplicant and the State, but instead should be seen in the context of people's needs and the State's willingness (or not), to meet these. The most significant factor to emerge from this study is the relationship of mutual dependency between supplicant and State. Both sides used a language that deflected from this reality and put the relationship on a higher, more idealized plane. Hence the use of expressions laced with words like «sad», «unfortunate», «loyal», «faithful», «brave» (the Greeks) and «glorious», «wise», «fair», «most Christian», and of course «serene» when speaking of Venice. These terms were also widely used in reference to people's homelands. For Vincenzo Argitti, Napoli di Romania used to be «...my dear and sweet homeland...», while Gregorio Cuscutelli, Argitti's compatriot described life under the Venetians as «...living under the shade of Your Serenity». ⁵² Stamati Corogona called Monemvasia, now under Ottoman control «...my unhappy city and homeland...». ⁵³ For Dimo Politi da Corfu, Venice was «...a most regal and Christian Republic...», which he and his two brothers served and spilled blood in order to «...maintain and exalt the faith in Christ and to sustain the

⁵² Argitti: «...mia cara et dolce patria...»; Cuscutelli: «Fu del 1404 all'hora che gl'habitanti di Napoli di Romania vivevano sotto l'ombra della Serenità Vostra...» (see ASve: *Collegio, Risposte di dentro*, fz. 1, f. 28, 7 Febr. 1563 (Argitti) and fz. 6, f. 352, 12 Aug. 1580 (Cuscutelli)).

⁵³ ASve: *Collegio, Risposte di dentro*, fz. 1, f. 28, 7 Febr. 1563 (Argitti) and Corogona («...mia infelice città et patria ...»), fz. 2, f. 85, 11 Oct. 1566.

greatness of this most Catholic Republic». ⁵⁴ Similar expressions and sentiments are the centrepiece of the introduction to the *mariegola* of the *scuola* di S. Nicolò dei Greci: «[We] the Greeks are at all times good subjects, and loyal servants of this Most Holy State, and are exercised at every opportunity to the needs of Your Serenity, so on land as on the sea». ⁵⁵ At some point this form of expression seeped into personal usage, illustrating perhaps that these were not merely sentiments bandied about as a means to a practical end, but that for many they signified an indelible link between themselves, their *patria* and their new home. In this Greeks were expressing feelings common to all immigrant communities: a nostalgia and love for the homeland and an affection for the new place of settlement. However, unlike their compatriots who chose to immigrate, refugees could not (or did not want to) return to their homelands because they were no longer Venetian. The final account neatly captures what it meant to be a Greek in a Venetian context.

On 24 April 1544 the Greek merchant Zuane Carvuri visited his favourite notary, Agostino Pellestrina, and instructed him to prepare his will. At that stage Carvuri had been in Venice for nearly twenty years. Along with his family, siblings and in-laws, he had seen the writing on the wall for his homeland, Napoli di Romania and left early. Despite his many years in the city, Carvuri had not completely severed his ties with his *patria*; he retained patronage rights to a small church, San Salvador, which he intended to pass to his four children and instructed them to look after its upkeep: «And because I have at Napoli di Romania the small church of San Salvatore over which I have *ius patronato*, I recommend it to my children who ought to maintain it with charity...». And then he added: «...if the city of Napoli [di Romania] should ever come into the hand of Christians, I leave to this

⁵⁴ Asve: *Collegio, Risposte di dentro*, fz. 6, f. 263, 2 Jan. 1577: «...di questa egalatissima et Christianissima Republica ... et spazendo il sangue con doi miei poveri fratelli ... per mantener et essaltar la fede di Christo, et sustender la grandezza di questa Chatolichissima Republica...».

⁵⁵ Archivio Antico dell'Istituto Ellenico di Venezia: *Mariegola Vecchia*, reg. 219, f. 27: «...i Greci siamo in ogni tempo stadi boni, et fidelissimi servitori de questo Sanctissimo Stado, et exercitadi in ogni opportunità ai bisogni della Serenità Vostra, sì da terra, come da mare...». The *mariegole* were leather bound books that contained a *scuola*'s records of elections, decisions of its executive council and *catasto*. These books were kept by every *scuola*. Officials had to submit them to the officers of the *Provveditori di Comune* and the *Giustizia Vecchia*. It was the State's way of keeping *scuole* under supervision.

said church two bells which are being held by messer Nicolò Pelecapa...». ⁵⁶ There is no doubt to which Christian hand Carvuri wished to see his homeland returned. Like his parents and grandparents before him, Carvuri and many others knew and identified with only one Christian political authority, and that was Venetian.

Gifts cemented the bond between the individual and the State. Since the maintenance of law and order was of paramount importance, one way of achieving this was to ensure that as many people as possible, especially newly arrived immigrants, were gainfully employed. The intervention of the authorities probably eased community tensions created by the constant arrival of new people, so in that sense, by granting favours the State placed itself above community. In people's minds it became the source of justice, dispute resolution and employment. In truth, the Greek community could not have successfully absorbed large numbers of immigrants or helped them in finding a job or offered them compensation because it had neither the financial resources nor the infrastructure to do so. By assuming the responsibility for looking after its subjects, Venice helped sway the immigrant's loyalty towards herself.

⁵⁶ ASve: *Notarile, Testamenti*, Agostino Pellestrina, b. 768, 199, 24 Apr. 1544: «Et perche Io havea a Napoli di Romania una giesiola de S. Salvatore de laqual Io ne havea ius patronatus Io la aricomando ali mei fioli liquali la debino subvenire de qualche helemosina ad honore de Dio. Et se venisse mai la città de Napoli in mano de Christiani Io lasso alla predita giesia [S. Salvador] due campane lequal sono in man de messer Nicolò Pelecapa...».

THE KLADAS AFFAIR
AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS
(1480-1485)*

DIANA GILLILAND WRIGHT

AFTER a Greek *kapetanios* with a Venetian flag began a private war against the Turks in late 1480, there ensued five years of diplomatic efforts between the Porte and the *Signoria* to settle the affair and manage its subsequent effects in the Morea. A striking, though uneven, diplomatic record survives in formal documents, letters and a chronicle which provide extensive evidence for the mutual liking and even friendship between the Venetians and Turks involved who negotiated between and across levels of rank to deal with an issue on which they were agreed.

On 9 October 1480, the Greek *kapetanios* Krokodēlos Kladas led a band of at least a hundred and fifty horsemen from Koroni in a private war against the Turks in Mani.¹ Again, on 15 December, Thodoros Bua

* This paper is derived the first chapter of my forthcoming book *The Knight and Death: The Kladas Affair and the 15th-Century Morea*. Some of the original research was done on grants from the Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation in 1998 and 2003, and subsequent research to an NEH Fellowship to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for 2008-2009.

¹ The spelling of Krokodēlos varies widely in Greek texts: Venetian spellings have even more variation. I use the spelling in an inscription commemorating a fourteenth-century Krokodēlos – possibly his great-grandfather – donation to a church, in which the name Κροκόνη[λος] occurs alone. The spelling in much of the rest of the inscription is less than perfect. Published transcriptions of the inscription have been ‘corrected’. See D. Feissel, A. Philippidis-Braat (eds.), *Inventaires en vue d’un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance: III, Inscriptions du Péloponnèse*, «Travaux et Mémoires», 9, 1985, pp. 353-354; also G. STAMIRĒS, *Ἡ ἐπιγραφή τοῦ Κροκοντύλου*, «Πελοποννησιακά», 3-4, 1958-1959, pp. 84-86. A photograph of the inscription is found in N. ΜΟΥΤΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Ἀπὸ τὴν βυζαντινὴ, «Πελοποννησιακά»*, 1, 1956, pp. 129-202. For earlier records of the Kladas name see my Dissertation *Bartolomeo Minio: Venetian Administration in 15th-Century Nauplion*, Washington DC, The Catholic University of America, 1999, appendix 8. The Byzantine writer Mazaris made a pun of the name, treating it as «Crocodile» but he was the only one to leave a record of doing so, and he did so only once. It does not appear in any Venetian material. *Mazaris’ Journey to Hades*, Buffalo (NY), 1975, p. 84. Mazaris may well have done so in part

led thirty horse and more on foot from Nauplion to attack janissaries at Argos and join Kladas in the south. Local Venetian and Ottoman authorities cooperated to quell the revolt which soon spun off groups of bandits. The Ottoman governors of the Morea and Negroponte took armies to chase the rebels down. Retribution was severe: towns were burned, hostages taken.² Bua and Kladas split. In April, Kladas escaped to Italy, Bua was in chains, large groups of bandits were raiding in the Morea, and the remaining rebels were suing for peace.

THE KLADAS REVOLT

The precipitating event for the revolt was simple. Kladas and his supporters had lost their land in the peace settlement between Venice and the Ottomans, at the end of the war that had lasted from 1463 through 1478. When Mehmed II came to the Morea in 1460, Kladas held the family castle of Ag. Giorgios.³ Those archons and landholders who made voluntary submission to Mehmed were assimilated into the Ottoman system and given new land. Kladas was given the castle of Vardounia in upper Mani.⁴ Giorgios Sphrantzes explained, with a painfully bad pun:

After the Emir [Mehmed], as we have said, besieged Leontari and its envi-

because his Κροκοδείλος (probably the grandfather of the Kladas here) was paired with an Έλλαβοῦρκος, which contains 'swamp.'

² S. Magno, in K. Sathas (ed.), *Μνημεῖα Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας: Documents inédites relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, Paris, 1880-1890, vol. 6, p. 227 [hereafter Sathas, MAGNO]. The only sources for the Kladas event are Venetian. Transcriptions of most can be found in vols. 1 and 6 of Sathas, which can be downloaded at <http://tinyurl.com/2c4h6bp>. The originals can be read at <http://www.archiviodistatovenezia.it/divenire/home.htm>.

³ Ag. Giorgios is located south of Karitena, in the line of castles that once marked the border between the Despotate and the Principality of Achaia. The acquisition of the castle is told in the French version of the Chronicle of the Morea (although not in the Greek): J. Longnon (ed.), *Chronique de Morée: Livre de la conquête de la princée de l'Amorée, 1204-1305*, Paris, 1949, §§ 803-817, *passim*, in reference to an event in 1295, where the name first appears as Corcondille. The Kladas genealogy at this point is unsure. The *Livre d'or* seems not to know of him or this incident. *Livre d'or de la noblesse ionienne*, vol. 2, *Céphalonie*, Athens, 1926, première partie, pp. 153-154.

⁴ An account of Mani history which does a remarkable job of ignoring evidence: D. ROGAN, *Mani: History and Monuments*, Athens, 1973, p. 30 gives this unsourced version: «... the sultan was too occupied with subjugating other parts of Greece to pay much attention to Mani. He only attempted to bribe Korkodilos Kladas, the chief of the Maniots, with high honors but Kladas rebuffed all these attempts and remained a committed enemy to the Turks».

rons, he also besieged Agios Giorgios. Seeing this, Krokodylos, as his associates called him, made submission and handed over to the Emir both the *kastro* and his two sons. For them he received a gift of Loi or, rather Eloi, Eloi, that is, 'My God, my God, why did you not abandon him, too, being the instigator behind the aforementioned evils?'⁵

Sphrantzes never identified the aforementioned evils or how Kladas was the instigator, and one problem in this story is that the Kladas sons of this chapter had not yet been born, making it difficult for either to have been a hostage in 1460. If the person receiving the castle had been his father, Theodoros Kladas, Krokodēlos would have been close to thirty years old: Mehmed's hostages tended to be young, between the ages of seven and twenty.⁶

However, this is significant information as Kladas is the only Greek archon named in any contemporary source as receiving lands from Mehmed in 1460. There is an Ottoman cadaster from this period of which only a small part survives – primarily for Elis, Patras, Mouchli, and Kalavrita – which gives the names of sixty-two timariots. Of these, only six timariots appear to be Greeks, and they have the smallest timars – one or two villages which sometimes two of them share. The vast majority of timariots are Turks, with a very few Albanians, and one who may be Russian.⁷ The Kladas timar is exceptional if looked at in the context of the Ottoman landholding for which information does survive. On the other hand, it was awarded at the very end of

⁵ Sphrantzes is recalling the cry of Jesus on the cross in Mark 15.34: ἐλωϊ ἐλωϊ λεμα σαβαχθανί, which is conventionally translated as, «My God, my God, why have you abandoned me?». This is the only written mention of Kladas by a Greek: G. PHRANTZES, *Memorii*, 1401-1477. In *anexā Pseudo-Phrantzes: Macarie Melissenos, Cronica, 1258-1481*, ed. by V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1966, XL, 9: Τοῦ οὖν ἀμυρᾶ, ὡς δεδηλώκαμεν, δουλῶσαντος τὸ Λεοντάρι καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτό, ἐδούλωσεν ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἅγιον Γεώργιον. Ταῦτα γὰρ ἰδόντος τοῦ Κροκοντύλου εἰπεῖν οἰκειότερον, προσεκύνησε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἀμυρᾶν καὶ τὸ κάστρον καὶ τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ δέδωκεν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἔλαβε χάριν τούτων τοῦ Λωϊ, ἧ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐλωϊ ἐλωϊ, τουτέστι, θεέ μου, θεέ μου, ἵνα τὶ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸν προσεκατέλιπε, τῶν προλεχθέντων κακῶν πρωτεργάτην.

⁶ PHRANTZES, XXXVIII, 3 tells of Mehmed taking his 14-year old son. Ducas tells of Mehmed taking the Notaras sons: DUCAS, *Historia Turco-Byzantina* (1341-1462), ed. by V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1958, XL, 6. Theodoros Kladas apparently had five sons, so possibly the hostages – if there were hostages – were the younger ones.

⁷ This cadaster, identified as TT.d.10, has been most recently studied by G. ΛΙΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *A Study of the Early Ottoman Peloponnese in the Light of an Annotated editio princeps of the TT10-1/14662 Ottoman Taxation Cadastre (ca. 1460-1463)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, London, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2008, in press, [names of timariots, pp. 289-291].

Mehmed's travels in the Morea and he may have marked the conclusion of his successes with a grand gesture.

The Kladas lands of 1460 extended from the plain of Elos on the coast of the gulf south of Sparta, west to the mountains where the castle of Vardounia controlled the central pass⁸ – the Zygos, or the yoke connecting the eastern and western sides.⁹ Mehmed seems to have given Kladas a title, as in the letter he wrote to Venice protesting the raid, he identified Kladas as «re'is» («head») of the Zygos.¹⁰ The name is then invisible in the records for the five years after the collapse of the Despotate until the brothers appear in 1465 in Venetian service, leading *stratioti* in the war against the Ottomans. By that time, two brothers had already been killed.¹¹

Although fighting began in August 1463 with the Ottoman capture of Argos and subsequent attack on the Venetian army at the Isthmus of Corinth, Venice did not formally declare war until 28 July 1464, as part of a joint crusade effort with the papacy and Hungary. *Condottiere* Sigismondo Malatesta was appointed to lead the army which sailed in mid-August from Ancona. Plague came to the Morea in the Italian ships and within six months, more than two-thirds of the allied army was dead, and Malatesta was reported as having died. Most of the territory taken by Venice before the arrival of the army had been lost. With the deaths of several thousand Italians, it became increas-

⁸ It is significant that it was Sphrantzes who recorded this information, because he had a personal interest in the territory. In 1428, Constantine Palaiologos had received this particular landholding from his brother, despot Theodoros II who held it as guardian for the infant Nikolaos, son of the late *protostrator* Nikephoros Melissenos. The current *protostrator*, Leon Phrangopoulos was Theodoros' governor for the territory. Constantine appointed Sphrantzes as his governor, and after Sphrantzes' daughter Tamar was born in 1441, she was betrothed to young Nikolaos Melissenos, the heir to Elos: PHRANTZES, XVI, 7 e XXIV, 8; D. ZAKYTHINOS, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, Paris, 1932, vol. 1, p. 206.

⁹ J. Barbarigo, in SATHAS, vol. 6, no. 11, 15 June 1465 reported that Vardounia was in an area with an abundance of straw and water («habundante de strame, et aque») and frequently emphasized the strategic importance of the site [hereafter BARBARIGO]. «The castle ... is surrounded on three sides of often sheer rock faces of heights varying from 10 to 50 metres» (P. BURRIDGE, *The Castle of Vardounia and Defence in the Southern Mani*, in P. LOCK, G. SANDERS, *The Archeology of Medieval Greece*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 19-28: esp. map at p. 24 and cover photograph. He dates the castle before the 15th century, but does not seem to know the Kladas family or Barbarigo). G. KAPSALIS, *Βαρδούνια και ό τουρκοβαρδουνιώτες*, «Πελοποννησιακά», 2, 1957, pp. 91-140, and photographs says nothing about the Kladas but gives the later history of the area.

¹⁰ ASVE: *Atti diplomatici e privati*, b. 45 (*Liber Graecus*), f. 43v, 1356.

¹¹ *Ibidem*: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 8, ff. 46v, 50v. SATHAS, vol. 5, pp. 31, 33.

ingly necessary for Venice to hire Greek and Albanian *kapetanioi* with their bands to do the fighting. As *provveditore*, Jacopo Barbarigo, early discovered, «*isti paesani sint potentiores gentibus Italicis*», and shortly afterwards listed Kladas and his brothers among outstanding *stratioti* from five families whose employment by the Venetians would attract Greeks and Albanians currently in Turkish employ.¹² A few days after that, Barbarigo wrote more specifically:

The brave Ser Manoli Kladas and Krokodēlos his brother ... according to the information I have learned from many leading Italians and Greeks, and from what I have known in the short time I have been here, are indeed the most loyal servants of Your Signoria. They have never made excuse of weariness or of any danger, and they continue to hold the castle of Vordounia, near Mistra, the key to the Mani. They have lost their relatives in Your Signoria's service, and have sustained every labor and loss in your name.¹³

This was written as an introduction for Krokodēlos who was to go to Venice to petition for payment of back salary. Barbarigo wrote about the Kladas brothers a number of times and with some admiration, although, as the letters have come to us, he sometimes writes as if there are three brothers (Epifani, Manoli, and Krokodēlos), and sometimes two. Epifani, and several relatives had earlier been given *provisioni*, allowances so that they would be available for service when needed, and Barbarigo had to explain that the *provisioni* could not be paid because Venice had not sent any money. Their response, or challenge, was to give the castle of Vardounia – which they could no longer defend – to the *Signoria* and then bring in a string of prisoners.¹⁴ The *Senato* took special if inaccurate notice of the gift («*spectabilis Pifani Corcondili Clada primarii nobilis Amoree*»),¹⁵ and passed a resolution

¹² BARBARIGO, no. 28, 3 Aug. 1465.

¹³ IDEM, no. 32, 16 Aug. 1465: «I strenui ser (Manoli) Clada, et Crocondilo suo fradelo ... per la information ho havuta da molti principali Italicis, et Greci, et per quanto quelli ho conosciuto quel pocho tempo io me trovo qui, re vera sono stati fidelissimi servitori de la Vostra Signoria, ne mai se hano excusato faticha, ne peridolo alchuno, anzi continue conservato el castel de la Vardogna, è apresso el Misitra, e chiave de questo Brazo, in li servitii et da Vostra Signoria li sono manchadi di parenti morti, et ogni facticha sustenuta et dani per nome di quella».

¹⁴ IDEM, no. 39, 28 Aug. 1465: «Questi hano dato el Castel dela Vordogna ala Celsitudine vostra»; no. 40, 8 Sept. 1465: «Item Clida ha condotto a Corone Turchi 19».

¹⁵ ASVE: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 8, f. 46v, 27 Nov. 1465. SATHAS, vol. 5, p. 35. The motion refers to four brothers of Kladas who were killed in the war, «ut quatuor ex ipsis fratribus viriliter pugnando a Turcis interfecti fuerunt». A subsequent motion refers again to «Spectabilem

giving them 200 ducats and «robes» in appreciation for their gift. Epifani was appointed to govern from Vardounia on behalf of Venice, which he did until the area was taken by the Ottomans.¹⁶ Vardounia would provide an important provocation for the subsequent revolt.

Krokodēlos continued fighting for Venice, leading bands of fifty or a hundred and fifty *stratioti*, most of them paid by the loot they acquired. Loot will become important in this discussion. In 1476, he, Petro Frossini, and Giorgio Menaia were presented with 100 ducats each (the senior *kapetanios*, Petro Bua, was given 300), and they were all given «vestes».¹⁷ When the Ottomans came back across the Zygos in 1477, Krokodēlos pushed them back out and once again put the area under Venetian protection. One month after the issuance of Mehmed's declaration of the peace on 25 January 1478/1479, on the same day that the *Senato* learned of the peace, it instructed *Stato da Mar* officials to hand over any territories *not* in Venetian possession at the first of the war, and to maintain calm.¹⁸ That particular provision of the peace is very clear, and crucial for the events discussed here:

Further, the most illustrious Signoria of Venice will hand over to my Lordship the present fortresses and lands which were taken in the war from my Lordship, that is, in the parts of the Morea, except that the men in their authority may go wherever they want with whatever they have. If any want to remain in the present territories and fortresses they will have complete pardons, specifically, for every act, if they did anything up to now.¹⁹

Pifani Concordilo Clada» and his nephew Thome (ASve: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 8, f. 50v, for 20 Dec. 1465).

¹⁶ Y. KLADAS. *Ἀρχαῖα Ἱστορικά Γεγονότα τῆς Οἰκογενείας τῶν Κομετῶν Κλαδίων ἀπὸ τὰ 1366 μέχρι 1803*, Athens, 1872, p. 11.

¹⁷ «Vestes»: «robes» (ASve: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 10, f. 71). See BARBARIGO, no. 58 recommending Kladas, Bua, and others for *provisioni*. Petro Bua is frequently mentioned by Barbarigo as having written with information: the men of his status were highly literate.

¹⁸ ASve: *Senato, Secreta*, reg. 28, f. 150r, for 25 Febr. 1478/1479.

¹⁹ Ivi: *Documenti Turchi*, B1/2: «Ἐτη δαὶ ἡ παρῶν ἐκλαμπροτάτη αὐθ(εν)τηα βαινετί(ας) νὰ παραδοση πρὸς τῆς αὐθ(εν)τιαν μου. τὰ παρῶν κάστρι καὶ τόπος ἀττηνα ἐπάρθησαν ἐν τη μάχῃ ἐκ τῆν αὐθ(εν)τίαν μου, ἡγουν εἰς ταμέρι / τοῦ μοραίως. σοζωμαινου το ἡ ἀν(θρωπ)οι νὰ ἦναι εἰς τὴν αἰξουσην τῶν. να πηγένουσην ὁπόθ(εν) θέλουν, ἡγουν μαὶ ἡ τη ἄρα κ(αὶ) ἀν ἔχουσῇν. καὶ ἡ μὲν θελοῦν τηγες δε αν απομενοῦ[ν] εἰς τοῦς παρῶν τοποῦς καὶ κάστρη νὰ ἦναι καὶ αὐτη πάντα σημπαθημένη ἡγουν απο πάσαν αἰτηαν. Text and translation at <http://nauplion.net/1478-Peace.pdf>. Diplomatic edition and commentary in D. GILLILAND WRIGHT, P. A. MACKEY, *When the Serenissima and the Gran Turco made love: the peace treaty of 1478*, «Studi Veneziani», n.s., LIII, 2007, pp. 261-277, available at <http://independent.academia.edu/DianaWright>. The original document can be seen at <http://www.archiviodistatovenezia.it/divenire/ua.htm?idUa=39573>.

The present fortresses and lands, the lands *not* in Venetian possession at the first of the war were understood in the peace negotiations to include Mani and the Kladas castle of Vardounia.²⁰ Despite the fact that Kladas had held his lands as a direct gift from Mehmed and thus had committed treason against him, at this point he was free and clear. The provisions of the peace reclaimed his castle but pardoned him for treason. He took his family to live in Koroni where his discontent must have been well-recognized, and he was not the only one disappointed.

That summer, in 1479, Kladas with a group of *kapetanioi* from Koroni went to Venice to protest the treaty decision and the loss of their lands. The *Senato*, after stewing around about the problem, finally decided in September to keep a thousand on salary, provide a certain amount of food, and to make arrangements with Constantinople for them to be given lands in the surrendered areas.²¹

Inevitably able to chose the false economy, the *Senato* reduced the thousand to eight hundred and named three «*capi*, first among those who constitute our most loyal men», whom they wanted to hire for ten years service in the *Terraferma*: one of these Krokodēlos with 150 men.²² There was clearly continuing discontent and concomitant fear of trouble, because a year later, Krokodēlos and two other *kapetanioi* were invested as knights in the order of S. Marco. Stefano Magno reported: «On the 4th of September three *capi* of *stratioti* were knighted

²⁰ The actual date considered as the beginning of the war was never really specified. By the time of the formal Venetian declaration of war, 28 July 1464, the Turks had taken Argos twice (as of August 1463) and Venice had taken Mani. Mani was returned, Argos was not. Nor was Negroponte which was taken in August 1470. Negroponte was a special revenge action by Mehmed for the sack of Ainos, and somewhat outside the formal framework of the war.

²¹ ASVE: *Senato, Terra*, reg. 8, f. 61, for 15 Sept. 1479. SATHAS, vol. 7, no. 40. The *Senato* knew as early as April 1479 that something like the Kladas uprising was a possibility. SATHAS, vol. 7, no. 38, 27 Apr. 1479. See ASVE: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 11, f. 48, for 5 Oct. 1479. SATHAS, vol. 7, no. 41. ASVE: *Secreta*, reg. 29, ff. 153-154, for 8 Jan. 1480/1481. SATHAS, vol. 1, pp. 273-274. The theme of pacifying the *stratioti* becomes constant from here on in the administration of the Greek *città*.

²² ASVE: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 11, ff. 48-49, of 5, 19 and 25 Oct. 1480; SATHAS, vol. 7, nos. 4, 42, 43. It was perhaps this company of 150 which accompanied him into rebellion, though the *stratioti* remaining in Mani should be kept in mind. The act provided for salary and transport to Italy. Two weeks later, a similar document dropped Krokodēlos' name and added three others. He had probably refused to go.

by the Prince, and they were each given a robe of cloth-of-gold, and *provisioni* in the Morea». ²³ Kladas may have thought that such an honor actually meant something.

But shiny things for the natives has never been a reliable strategy. It was less than a week after that pleasing event that Giovanni Dario and Sinan Beg arrived in Koroni to negotiate the boundaries between Ottoman and Venetian territories with the aid of the *sançakbeg*, Suleiman Pasha, the *provveditori* of Koroni and Methoni, and Moreote Ottoman officials. Dario had negotiated the peace settlement with Mehmed, and had the high confidence of both sides. Having already spent a month at Nauplion and Monemvasia, Dario and Sinan Beg spent another month settling the ownership of various holdings in the Koroni and Modon territories. ²⁴ Kladas arrived

²³ Sathas, MAGNO, p. 220: «Adi 4 settembre per el Prencipe fatto fu chavaglieri 3 capi di detti Stratiotti, che erano stadi inel Brazo de Maina, et donatoli una vesta de pano doro per uno, a quali fù dato provision in la terra della Morea». Such a robe can be seen on the man in the center of the bridge, just beside the standard, in BELLINI's *Miracle at the Bridge of San Lorenzo*. About this order of knighthood, M. MALLET, J. HALE. *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice, 1400-1617*, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 196-197 say uninformatively: «There is little surviving information about this award, though it appears to have been given to middle-rank soldiers, and nobles who had given outstanding service. It may not actually have been an active military order ... Knights were given full-length cloth-of-gold robes lined with red silk». However, B. GIUSTINIAN, *Historie cronologiche dell'origine degli ordini militari* etc., Venezia, 1692, vol. 1, pp. 119, 122-123, 127 says: «Titolo conferito a vassali e sudditi, i quali, nelle pubbliche emergenze di guerra e di pace, o sparsero il sangue, o diffusero i propri sudori con impieghi fruttuosi. Dichiarati cavalieri con decreto del senato, e vengono conferiti col titolo dal doge in pien collegio... Questi però non usano habito alcuno particolare, non portano altro che la collana conferitagli, o semplice medaglia, nella quale resta espresso il leone alato col diadema... Non hanno obligazione di formare prove di nobiltà, riguardandosi quella sola delle degni azioni ... né sono tenuti a regola, né costituzione o statuti.» (my appreciation to Ben Arbel for this reference.)

²⁴ Sathas, MAGNO, pp. 219-220. Unlike Nauplion where possession fell neatly on either side of the territorial boundaries, landholdings of people in Methoni and Koroni were more scattered, with Venetian subjects holding land in Ottoman territory, and Turks holding land in Venetian territory. Four years later, Francesco Bragadin was instructed to identify lands that could be exchanged or given in compensation, to regularize the boundaries: SATHAS, vol. 1, p. 285. For a discussion of the boundary commissions D. GILLILAND WRIGHT, *After the Serenissima and the Grand Turco Made Love: the Boundary Commissions of 1480 & 1482*, in *550th Anniversary of the Istanbul University International Byzantine and Ottoman Symposium*, ed. by S. Atasoy, Istanbul, 2004, pp. 196-209, available at <http://independent.academia.edu/DianaWright>; D. WRIGHT, J. MELVILLE-JONES, *The Greek Correspondence of Bartolomeo Minio*, vol. 1, *Dispacci from Nauplion, 1479-1483*, Padua, 2008, nos. XXII, LXXVII, available at <http://nauplion.net/MINIO.html>. Sathas, MAGNO, p. 220 gives a list of lands held by people in Coron which were negotiated as part of settling the dividing line: about two-thirds of them ended up on the Turkish side. At least twenty names can be identified

home while the officials were still in Koroni, and found his knight-hood worthless.

That Mani was to belong to the Ottomans had never been in question at the diplomatic level: Dario and Sinan Beg had gone south to discuss boundary problems, but Mani was not considered a problem and the castle of Vardounia which Mehmed had given Kladas who had given it to Venice was in the Mani and its handover would have been taken for granted. Nothing happened about the acquisition of Ottoman land for the *kapetanioi* and *stratioti* that the *Senato* had mentioned but Sinan Beg's instructions did not permit him to discuss issues Mehmed had not authorized in advance. In the twenty months between the peace agreement in January 1479 and the commission's arrival in late September, a few Turks had moved into Mani, taking possession of their assigned fortresses and *timars*.²⁵ The encounter of Giovanni Dario and Kladas in Koroni must have made for an interesting confrontation and the finality of the boundary decisions must have precipitated the revolt.²⁶

As soon as the revolt was known, the administration at Koroni took the Kladas' family into custody,²⁷ and wrote to the *Signoria* in Venice, to the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, and to the administrations of other Venetian *città*.²⁸ They wrote the *sancakbeg* of the Morea and local Ottoman officials (with whom they had just spent a month in boundary negotiations) in apology, and sent messages to all *stratioti*

of landholders whose land was lost, but some kept theirs, the slight surviving evidence suggesting that those who kept their lands were Italians, whereas those who did not were Greeks and Albanians.

²⁵ Sathas, *MAGNO*, p. 221 reports a total of 11 timariots killed in Mani, plus the guards and castellan at the tower at Trigafoli and at Itylo.

²⁶ Kladas uprising should not have been a surprise, though apparently it was, even though the *Senato da Mar* knew eighteen months earlier that this kind of thing was a possibility: SATHAS, vol. 7, p. xxxviii, 27 Apr. 1479. ASVE: *Secreta*, reg. 29, ff. 153-154, for 8 Jan. 1480/1481; *ibidem*: *Senato da Mar*, reg. 11, f. 21. SATHAS, vol. 1, no. 187 suggests that Giovanni Dario met Kladas in Coron. Minio's description of Dario's stay in Nauplion shows that he met leading Greeks and citizens in the cities where he stopped: MINIO, no. 20. ASVE: *Senato da Mar*, *Secreta*, reg. 29, f. 151-151v contains Giovanni Dario's report to the *Signoria* on the territorial negotiations.

²⁷ There appear to have been a wife, two sons – Theodoros and Manuel –, and two brothers who did not participate. This was perhaps a strategic decision as it allowed them to remain where they might later be useful to him.

²⁸ *Magno* must have used administrative letters from Koroni for much of his account of the Kladas affair. His use of sources can be relied on: most of the material he used from Minio was quoted *verbatim*.

within the territory that they joined Kladas on penalty of their lives. Announcements were made of wanted-dead-or-alive and an award of 1,000 ducats was offered to anyone who brought Kladas in. Further messages were sent to Mani saying that Kladas had no Venetian support.²⁹

Venice and Constantinople had word of the revolt in less than a month, the *Signoria* on the first of November. On the 4th the *Signoria* noted that the Captain General was sailing to Koroni in the interests of stabilizing the region.³⁰ On the 5th, it sent instructions to the administration of Koroni, and a letter in Greek to the *sancakbeg*. By the 22nd of November, the administration of Koroni had sent an emissary to Nicolò Cocco and Batiste Gritti in Constantinople.³¹

Mehmed wrote the *Signoria* and Koroni on the 5th of November, after a letter from the *sancakbeg* of the Morea and a conversation with the *bailo*, Baptiste Gritti. It is an interesting letter,³² showing that Mehmed had received a low-key and careful report of the incident – the *sancakbeg*, Suleiman, had spent two and a half months with Giovanni Dario and would have known about the Dario-Kladas encounter – and that he completely absolved Venice of responsibility. The liberality of his attitude is striking. It is more interesting when he says that there were those who did know that such an event was going to take place («& secondo che dimostra par che anche de cio altri homeni haver indicio»). He has learned that Kladas' wife and children are in custody in Koroni. He is sending men down to get them and asks the *Signoria* to direct its people in Koroni to hand them over.

The *Signoria* received Mehmed's letter by the 8th of January 1480/1481, and that same day wrote him in response, saying again everything that Mehmed said the *bailo* had said, promising that Kladas would be executed, and repeating that the Kladas family were in custody.³³ The *Signoria* also sent letters to the *bailo* and *orator*, the captain-general and the *provveditore* of the fleet, and to the adminis-

²⁹ Sathas, MAGNO, p. 221. Kladas was flying the flag of S. Marco in his attacks in the Mani.

³⁰ ASVE: *Senato, Secreta*, reg. 29, f. 140, 4 Nov. 1480. SATHAS, vol. 1, p. 271.

³¹ Sathas, MAGNO, p. 222.

³² See Appendix for the text and translation of this letter, a working translation of the Greek original which has not survived: ASVE: *Atti diplomatici e privati*, b. 45, f. 1324: *Liber Graecus*, f. 43v, 1356.

³³ *Ibidem*: *Senato, Secreta*, reg. 29, f. 154v. SATHAS, vol. 1, p. 274.

tration of Koroni.³⁴ Everyone was sent copies of all the other letters, and Mehmed's, and was instructed to keep all the others informed of whatever was going on. The strongest concern in three of the four letters appears to be for the security of the Kladas family: «Ad regimen ... Coroni scripsimus ... ut huc mittant familiam Clade pro fugienda necessitate dandi illam in manibus Turci.» («Cerca la levata de Coron dela fameglia del Clada ... azo che il Turcho non habi caxon de perseverar in la dimanda di quella ... familiam autem suam, uxorem et filios subito mittito ad nos bene custodita ne fugere possint»). Concern intensified when Mehmed wrote the *Signoria* and Koroni on 31 December, again asking them to give the Kladas family to the *sancakbeg*.³⁵

The *Signoria* could not of course risk offending Mehmed, but it could not allow the Kladas family to fall into Turkish hands, perhaps less because of their personal safety, than because the administrations of the Greek *città* did not have the resources to defend against the *stratioti* uprising that would inevitably result.³⁶ Total numbers are not available, but by making use of *stratioti* numbers in the Barbarigo and Minio letters, it would appear that there was the potential for anywhere from three to five thousand *stratioti* to go into rebellion. Against them would have been the three hundred Italian soldiers stationed at Nauplion, probably that many between Methoni and Koroni, fewer at Monemvasia. Arrangements were made to transport the Kladas family to Italy and the topic disappears from the correspondence.³⁷

The first item the *Signoria* had decided on the 8th was to send Giovanni Dario back to Constantinople, because of his good relationship with Mehmed: «...quantum ob gratiam quam habebat cum domino

³⁴ The *bailo* was Baptiste Gritti, *orator* Nicolò Cocco, captain-general Vittorio Superantio, *provveditore* Hieronimo Morosini and Nicolò Contarini and Nicolò Navager were at Koroni.

³⁵ Sathas, MAGNO, p. 223.

³⁶ This seems much more likely, given the surrounding circumstances, than the fear of another war with the Turks, as Tiepolo and others assume. Mehmed's fleet was at the time besieging Otranto, he was not well, and the process of territorial negotiations had gone extremely well: M. TIEPOLO, *Greci nella Cancelleria Veneziana: Giovanni Dario*, in *I Greci a Venezia, Atti del convegno internazionale di studio*, ed. by M. Tiepolo, E. Tonetti, Venezia, 2002, p. 296.

³⁷ ASVE: *Senato, Secreta*, reg. 29, ff. 154v, 155. SATHAS, vol. 1, pp. 275-278. The Kladas family, and two of the leaders of the Nauplion revolt, were taken on board the galley commanded by Piero Trevisan, Minio's brother-in-law, on 13 February and taken to Venice. They were kept for a short period in Padua.

Turco, cum illis Bassa, et aliis de parte sua».³⁸ Also Dario had been at Koroni and knew the situation with Kladas, and «capere potuerit aliquam indignationem super persona sua» – «he would be able to take any indignation on his own person». Should he not be accepted by Mehmed – presumably because of his status as a non-patrician – the *bailo* would meed with Mehmed instead. Dario ultimately did not go to Constantinople.³⁹ The *Signoria*, in trying to handle this crisis, had not yet learned about the next crisis that was already upon them.

THE BUA REVOLT

In November, a month after the Kladas incident, the *provveditor general* of the Venetian fleet, Hieronimo Morosini, was visiting ports in Greece, moving counterclockwise, discharging 'excess' *stratioti* and *kapetanioi* and slashing contracted payments. Despite the fact that officials were instructed that if circumstances arose in which a decision not in keeping with the original mission was more appropriate, Morosini did not consider that the tension in the wake of the Kladas affair made the firings extremely unwise.⁴⁰ His instructions were based on the idea that with the peace settlement with Mehmed, there was no need to maintain the large fighting force of the last seventeen years. Morosini stopped first in Methoni and then Koroni – tense after the Kladas affair – holding a muster at each place. The process was brutal and humiliating. Nauplion's governor, Bartolomeo Minio, described how Morosini had acted in Nauplion:

The Magnificent Captain General, held a review ... through the bad information given for their advantage by those who were close to his Magnificence, ...many of the old and competent *stratioti* have been rejected and their appointments annulled, and other useless ones taken on.⁴¹ Mexa Busichi, a

³⁸ ASVE: *Senato, Secreta*, reg. 29, f. 154. SATHAS, vol. 1, p. 273. Dario had successfully negotiated the peace settlement with Mehmed, and was complimented by him in the text. He spoke Turkish as well as Greek, and his easy relations with Turks were described in MINIO, no. 22 and in letters from a subsequent *bailo* in Constantinople, Pietro Bembo: TIEPOLO, p. 304, note 240.

³⁹ TIEPOLO, p. 297, note 202.

⁴⁰ MINIO, no. 11.

⁴¹ IDEM, no. 23, 19 Dec. 1480: «El Magnifico misier Hieronimo Morosini proveditor de l'armata ... fece la monstra & despensò danari a questi stratioti. E perchè i ... per mala information data per quelli che era apresso la sua Magnificenza, che fo i capi, per suo particular beneficio, como la Vostra Sublimità con tempo intenderà, sono sta' repudiati & cassi molti stratioti dei vecchi et sufficienti & tolti altri inutili».

competent man, and personally more valuable than his other Busichi brethren ... was downgraded and listed as a simple *stratioto*. ... Elia Sagan, who was a *kapetanios* of the *stratioti*, a *provisionato*, and one of the old *stratioti* of this territory ... and his brother who was also a *kapetanios* and *provisionato* and others of his family have died in Your Lordship's service ... was not only discharged ... by the aforesaid Misier Hieronimo, but was also beaten.⁴²

Morosini seems to have fired more *stratioti* in Methoni, fewer in Koroni,⁴³ perhaps in response to the Kladas action, but Minio described the immediate results of his actions in Nauplion in his report to the *Signoria* four days after the event:

Thodoro Bua, who was angered by being stripped of his standing, but more because he is a man of unreliable and bad character, and has committed a number of other misdeeds here and in other places, and was endured and tolerated because of the condition of the times, quietly seduced a number of *stratioti*, the greater part of whom had been dismissed, and rose up on the 15th of this month, and fled with about 30 horse and a number of Albanian foot and *zagdari*.⁴⁴ He rode to Argos and took about 30 Turkish janissaries he found in the fields who were working there, and killed three, as the *disdar* at Argos wrote to me. He then left and went toward the Mani to join up with Kladas and attack the Turks.⁴⁵

⁴² MINIO, no. 72, 15 Febr. 1481/1482: «Mexa Busichi, homo sufficiente & de la sua persona più valente che i altri suo germani Busichei, è sta' despresiado et scritto per semplice stratioto ... Ilia Sagan, el qual fo capo de stratioti provisionado et dei vechi stratioti de questo territorio, chiamati Cambites, et suo fradello che fo etiam capo provisionado et altri suo parenti sono sta' morti in servicii de la Vostra Signoria, ...non solum fu casso de capo et provisionado et ridotto a semplice stratioto, ma etiam bastonado». This was written more than a year later, in explaining the need to pardon some of these *stratioti*.

⁴³ Sathas, MAGNO, p. 222.

⁴⁴ *Zagdari*: a low-caste category of soldiers; in Greek, τσάγδαρος. See MINIO, no. 23, note 115 for more. Here Magno miscopied his source and wrote 60 for the number of horse: Sathas, MAGNO, p. 222.

⁴⁵ MINIO, no. 23, 19 Dec. 1480: «Fra i altri Thodoro Bua, qual se agrevava esser sta' calla' de la sua reputation ma più tosto per esser homo de lezer et pessima condicion & ha comesso de li altri mesfatti de qui et altrove, & per la condicion dei tempi li fo comportadi et tolleradi **** cautamente ha seducto alcuni stratioti, la mazor parte de quelli sono sta' cassi, & levose a dì 15 de l'istante et è fuzito con circha cavalli 30 et alcuni pedoni Albanesi & zagdari. Corse ad Argos & prexe circha 30 Turchi ianizari trovati su la campagna che lavoravano & amazò tre, como me ha scritto el gisdari (over castellan) de Argos. De lì se parti et andò verso el Brazo de Mayna ad unirse con el Clada a i danni de Turchi». That Bua and his company could ride in reasonable security to Mani is an indication that Turks were thin on the ground in the Eastern Morea.

Minio put a price on their heads, took the main families into custody, issued his own statements of wanted-dead-or-alive, and wrote letters to Koroni, Methoni, and Constantinople, as well as to the *sancakbeg* and the Ottoman administrators of neighboring towns and areas. When ambassador Nicolò Cocco went to the Porte on another matter relating to left-over issues about the dividing lines, Mehmed had already learned about Bua from the *disdar* of Argos who had reported thirty rather than three janissaries killed, and refused to see him.⁴⁶

In early February, Ahmed Beg, the new *sancakbeg* arrived in the Morea. He stopped by Argos on the 14th and sent a messenger to Nauplion to introduce himself to Minio and reiterate the Ottoman desire for peace. He also sent Minio a letter from Mehmed, written in «Latin», for the *Signoria*.⁴⁷ Minio sent a gift of silver cups, blue cloth, and fresh fish, and arrangements were made for them to talk, after the *sancakbeg* returned from pacifying Mani, for which he had brought 200 cavalry and 2,000 others, including a special detachment of raiders.⁴⁸

The revolt itself soon began to disintegrate under Ottoman-Venetian pressure and conflict among the leadership. Many of the rebels evaporated from the areas being punished by the Turkish troops and reformed themselves in other areas as bands of looters. Minio took two actions in this regard, which were of diplomatic significance four years later. He categorically banned the rebels from Nauplion territory – thus making them, technically, bandits, and he prohibited the sale of loot within the territory. This did not discourage them, however. By the first of the following year, January 1481/1482, a large band just outside Nauplion territory, about 140 horse and 300 foot, was selling Turkish loot to Turkish buyers.⁴⁹ In fact the *subassi* of Corinth had bought 400 head of animals from them on one occasion, and the head

⁴⁶ Sathas, MAGNO, p. 224. Though, in fact, he was using the Bua affair as an excuse. Mehmed was more excited about Venetian slowness in paying the 100,000 ‘gift’ within two years as the peace settlement stated, which he needed for the Otranto effort.

⁴⁷ MINIO, no. 32, 19 Febr. 1480/1481. Minio said «Latin» but that term appears often in Venetian documents as meaning Italian or Venetian-Italian. This is exceptional in that Ottoman-Venetian correspondence was normally transacted in Greek in this period.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*; troops, MINIO, no. 31, 14 Febr. 1480/1481. Sathas, MAGNO, p. 223 reports this 2,000 as including 1,500 janissaries.

⁴⁹ ‘Turk’ is used in this paper as a political rather than a genetic term. Ottoman timariots and administrators in the Morea were Albanians, Russians, Serbs, and Greeks, as well as Turks from Turkey. Ahmed Beg had fairly good information on the bandits when he arrived, and told Minio there were at least 300 in the near mountains. MINIO, no. 72.

of a murdered *subassi* on another.⁵⁰ The various incidents of bandit activity in the South and North-East of the Morea required frequent communication between Minio and the *sancakbeg*, and between the administration at Koroni and the *sancakbeg*.

Ottoman retaliation for the Kladas affair had been swift. The issue of Morea-wide *stratioti* rebellion must have been their uppermost concern, as it was for the Venetians. As already mentioned, there were few Turks and fewer soldiers in Mani. Given the peace settlement, there are not likely to have been very many Turkish soldiers stationed in the Morea. In October 1463, in wartime, the same time of year as the Kladas revolt, there were fewer than 2,500 across the whole country.⁵¹ In fact, that the Kladas affair happened at all suggests that he thought he might actually succeed because there were so few Ottoman troops on hand – and that he might possibly expect *stratioti* support. Another indication of a low level of Ottoman troops is the fact that the Venetians felt completely secure in discharging most of their own *stratioti*.

The massive Ottoman response indicates an intention to stop further revolt before it could happen. Even before Bua rebelled, the *beglerbeg* of Romania had come into the Morea with a reported 6,000 troops. The new *sancakbeg* of the Morea, Ahmed Beg, brought 2,000 more. Ten men captured at Trigafoli where the rebels had killed the guards and castellan were sent to Constantinople where Mehmed had them «taiar a pezi».⁵² Anxieties on all sides were increased by reports in February 1481 of a large anti-Ottoman revolt in Albania. Kladas and Bua, meanwhile, split over control of the rebels. Bua, a cousin of Ismail Pasha of Karitena («they are all related», Magno said), wanted out and in early March asked Ismail about the possibility of a pardon. Ismail wrote to the officials at Koroni. Bua presumed pardon too soon and went to Monemvasia where he was promptly arrested.⁵³

⁵⁰ MINIO, no. 70, 16 Jan. 1481/1482; IDEM, no. 55, 8 Oct. 1481 and no. 63, 8 Nov. 1481 are particularly descriptive of the bandits' activity, as well as of his limitations in being able to deal with them. In letter no. 65, 18 Nov. 1481, the *subassi* of Corinth has complained about the bandits.

⁵¹ *Estratti degli Annali Veneti di Stefano Magno*, in *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. by Ch. Hopf, Brussels, 1966, p. 203: Acro-Corinth with 1,500, Mouchli with 200, Salmenikon with 50, Clarenza with 50, Kalavryta with 130, Arkadia-Kyparissia with 150, Mistra with 120 in the citadel, Nasopo (?) with 25, Patras with 150 in the citadel.

⁵² Sathas, MAGNO, p. 223.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 226.

In late March, in a new push against the rebels, Ahmed Beg and Ismail Pasha of Karitena took 3,000 troops and a levy of 10,000 from the Morea into Mani.⁵⁴ They divided their forces and pushed Kladas and his remaining supporters far south in the Mani, burning villages, firing the countryside, taking hostages. A ship from the *sancakbeg* of Negroponte arrived with more troops. A battle at Oitylo killed 700 Greeks and Albanians.⁵⁵ Kladas was pursued further south and in April, just as he was about to be captured, he escaped on a ship at Porto Quaglio belonging to Ferdinand II of Naples.⁵⁶

SETTLEMENT

Minio's letters on the Kladas-Bua affair describe the utter helplessness of any administrator, whether Turkish or Venetian, who took seriously his responsibility to maintain a certain level of law and order, and also illustrate the discontinuity within the Ottoman administration of the Morea. But it was the manifest unfairness on the part of Venetians that made Minio later push through Venetian acceptance of a pardon for the Kladioti. In February 1481/1482, fourteen months after the original Kladas action, Ahmed Beg met with Minio at the ancient fortress of Tiryns, three miles from Nauplion on the Argos road.⁵⁷

A year earlier, when Bua had asked Ismail Pasha about amnesty, Ismail had written to the administration at Koroni proposing the idea. Koroni received the letter on the 20th of March, and replied that they were unable to do this.⁵⁸ There the matter rested as far as Venice was concerned until a letter from Minio almost a year later, on 14 February. Here, at length, but much shorter than the original, is what Minio wrote.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*. Such are the numbers given in the reports. I am sceptical about the logistics of food, water, and feed for so large a number of horses, among other things, nor do I think it would have been feasible to draft 10,000 men from across the Morea.

⁵⁵ The number of 700 is intriguing: during the 15th century, 700 and 800 turn up continually in reports of Ottoman killings in battle. Eight hundred were beheaded at Tavia in June 1423. Seven or eight hundred were beheaded at Negroponte on 12 July 1471. Eight hundred were beheaded at Otranto on 14 August 1480. Eight hundred were beheaded at Modon 9 August 1500.

⁵⁶ This was not, I think, a coincidence, and I discuss its implications in my forthcoming book. The matter is much simplified here because it does not come into the surviving diplomatic material.

⁵⁷ Tiryns seems to have been uninhabited at this period. Elsewhere Minio writes of sending men over to Tiryns for stone for building and repairing walls at Nauplion.

⁵⁸ Sathas, MAGNO, p. 226.

His [Ahmed Beg's] *voivode* [Ismail Pasha?] ... has attempted to reconcile Mexa Busichi, *capo* of the band of the Kladioti, with others of his principal companions, and return him to the favour of the *sancakbeg*. On this matter, the *voivode* and another of the principal *subassis* ... also Albanian ... wrote and sent their letters to Piero and Duma Busichi, knights, cousins of this Mexa, which letters came into my hands because their owners brought them to me... It was his opinion, and he requested me to agree, that I should be willing to pardon the Kladioti, and accept them ... in the *terra*, because he on his side was pardoning them, and that he would write to the Porte and explain... I replied that it was not within my power to pardon such rebels... Nevertheless he repeated what he had said ... adding ... that if he, who was offended by the attacks committed in the land of his Lord and by the killing of his Turks, pardoned the Kladioti malefactors, and forgave all their offences and attacks, while I was not willing to pardon them, it would appear that we were willing for these people to continue doing harm and even worse... I said that I was willing to defer this matter for your consideration. ...the Busichei and other *capi* ... are to give assurances that they will not create any disturbances ... All four *capi* were willing to give such assurances...

So for further confirmation, I sent my *cancellier* with two citizens from here to the Kladioti ... and the *capi* and other principals of the Kladioti were appointed to give security on their side for all their company, and they took an oath to observe these assurances...

I would remind Your Excellency that ... the *sancakbeg* who is the injured party, asked me that I should pardon the Kladioti.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ MINIO, no. 72, 15 Febr. 1481/1482: «El voivoda de qual, che è de nationa Albanexe, parente de questi Busichei ... ha tempta ' de reconciliar Mexa Busichi, capo de la setta dei Cladioti, con altri do suo compagni principali & redur quelli a gratia del flamburaro. E sopra questo esso vaivoda et ono altro dei principal subassi ... etiam de nation Albanexe, scripseno et mandono sue lettere a Piero et Duma Busichi, cavalieri, germani del detto Mexa, le qual lettere me capitò in le mano che loro proprii me le apresentò... La opinion sua era, e cussi me pregava che io etiam assentisse, de voler perdonar a questi Cladioti & acceptar ... a la terra, però che lui da la parte sua li perdonava & che scriveria a la Porta che iustificheria el fatto al suo Signor... Io li resposi che non era de mia facultà de perdonar a tal rebelli... E pur lui replicava & pregava me volesse assentir a questo, azonzandome queste parole formalmente: che se lui che era l'ofeso per le danni commessi nel paese del suo Signor & per la occision dei suo Turchi perdonava a questi malfatori Cladioi & remetteva a quelli ogni ofesa & danno ... recusando io de volerli perdonar, pareria che ... fossemo contenti che questi vadano perseverando a far mal & pezo ... tandem li dissi che a sua contemplation io era contento de suspender questa cossa & spazar mie lettere a la Vostra Signore ... i Busichei ... facesse la segurità con questo ... [tutti capi] era contento de far tal segurità. Unde per più confirmation mandai el mio cancellier con do citadini de qui a i detti Cladioti dove, presente i capi predetti cavalieri e li principali del Cladioti con tutta la sua compagnia tutti consentienti... Aricordando a la Vostra Eccellenza che havendome rechiesto detto flamburar qual è sta ' la parte offesa covesse perdonar a i detti Cladioti...».

This was the same letter cited earlier in which Minio had described the humiliations inflicted by Hieronimo Morosini when he discharged the *stratioti*. There were seventy-seven men involved in this pardon, Greeks and Albanians, who had joined the Kladas action but who were not with the bandits. Minio followed this letter with another (no. 76) on the 23rd of March, the same day on which the first pardons were noted.⁶⁰ Other pardons were eventually granted, a few at a time.⁶¹

The issue disappears until a year later and the last of the Minio letters. A new *sancakbeg*, Suleiman Beg, arrived in the Morea and met with Minio at Tiryns on the 6th of March. Gifts were exchanged: two pieces of camel-hair cloth («de poco valore») from Suleiman and from Minio a piece of silverwork and five lengths of white cloth. When the *sancakbeg* expressed concern about the bandits, Minio told him that since the bandits were doing what they did on Turkish territory, he was at liberty to punish them as he saw fit. This was a formal concession on his part representing something of a new attitude, because as the bandits involved formally belonged to Nauplion territory, punishment by the *sancakbeg* could be considered a hostile act against Venetian authority. They drew up a written agreement, two points of which involved the bandits.⁶²

1. Any Greek or Albanian subject from Nauplion territory who entered Ottoman territory was to carry a *laissez-passer* marked with the seal of San Marco, and leave a signed pledge with Minio's *cancel-lier*...;

2. The families of the bandits were either to be banned from Nauplion territory, or to be transported to some island.

Probably nothing happened in regard to either of these provisions.

⁶⁰ ASVE: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 11, f. 137. Also SATHAS, vol. 7, no. LVI gives a list of names, which include a Kladas, mentions the Morosini firings, and refers to Minio's letter.

⁶¹ ASVE: reg. 11, f. 153, for example, pardons the four Busichi brothers as they (and thus their troops) were needed for the war of Ferrara. Clearly the *Signoria* felt it preferable to have them killing Italians than running rampant in the Morea. For a more detailed account of the pardons and individuals involved see WRIGHT 1999, ch. 4.

⁶² MINIO, no. 90, 25 Mar. 1483. This letter recounts another admirable incident of diplomacy. Suleiman informed Minio that Beyazid had ordered the destruction of Argos castle so that it could not be taken over by bandits. Minio protested on the grounds that its destruction would give a signal that the Ottomans had no interest in defending their holdings: this logic had been one of Ahmed Beg's arguments for pardoning the bandits. Beyazid relented and the castle still stands.

Minio's term of service ended the following month and his successor, from Dario's reports, was not likely to have followed through on them. Suleiman did suggest that he would start giving bandits safe-conducts to leave the Morea if he could not bring them under control in some other way, but he speculated that the problem would solve itself as Venice took away more and more *stratioti* for Ferrara, Friuli, and Cyprus.

This was not so. Just over a year later, in May 1484, Giovanni Dario was in Constantinople acting as ambassador for Venice to Beyazid II. He wrote:

Yesterday a slave from the Porte arrived here unexpectedly who brought several letters from the Most Illustrious Sultan... The third letter, which was addressed to me alone, contained complaints by the *sancakbeg* of the Morea about the many excesses perpetrated in the Morea by many *stratioti* and other subjects of Your Excellence, both from Nauplion as well as from your other *terre* in the Morea, and he sent me a good many papers in which are – all annotated, in order – 56 offences, including, among others, the insult and rebellion made in the Mani by Kladas and some of the *stratioti* from Nauplion in time past. He complained much about the said cases, saying they were not worthy of the good peace and friendship concluded [between us], and that he wanted the malefactors to be given into his hand or else that they would close the Porte.⁶³

...at present there have returned to the *terre* of Your Excellence some of those banned for the aforementioned excesses – that was the reason the former *sancakbeg* of the Morea ... requested and constrained the magnificent *messier* Bartolomo Minio ... that he would pardon them and receive them back into favor, because the said *flamburar* (who was the more offended and more powerful because of ending the great scandal) had done the same, and our *rettor* was reluctant to consent, and did something that he should not according to our laws.⁶⁴

⁶³ «Close the Porte» – cut off diplomatic relations.

⁶⁴ *Giovanni Dario: 22 Dispacci da Costantinopoli al Doge Giovanni Mocenigo*, ed. by G. Calò, Venice, 1992: no. 21a, 30 May 1484 [hereafter DARIO]: «Le suprauenuto hieri uno schiauo da la porta lo qual ha portado diuerse lettere de questo Ill.mo Signor... La terza lettera che se dreza a mi solo contien le querelle de flamborar de la morea de molti excessi perpetradi in la morea da molti stratioti et altri subditi de la Ex. v.ra: si da Napoli: como da le altre terre v.re de la morea et mandame un libretto de parecchi sfoy de carta: in li qualli sono tuti anotadi per ordinem .56. excessi et fra li altri etiam linsulto et rebellion fata per el clada et alchuni stratioti de Napoli en el brazo de Maine in quel tempo: et agreuando molto li ditti casi et digando non esser portamenti de bona paxe et amicitia conclude che li sia dato li mal-fator inelemanie or veramente che se sera le porte ... et se al presente son tornadi inele terre de la Ex. v.ra alchuni bandizadi per li excessi preditti lesta cason el flamborar

Minio's settlement and activities on behalf of order were clearly known to the Ottoman court and appreciated, but he had come to the end of his term of service and had been replaced a year earlier.⁶⁵ It is an indication of the friability of culture in the Morea that a change of governor could make such difference for such a wide area, even outside his area of administration. In early August, Dario commented on the desire for war of those from Nauplion («desiderio de la guerra de quelli de Napoli de Romania»)⁶⁶ At the end of September he wrote that the Sultan was much incensed about the situation and said that the Venetians ought to discipline their *stratioti*.⁶⁷ Dario was, as he had written earlier, personally inclined to quiet and greatly sympathized with the Ottoman complaints, but he responded to Beyazid that the Turks had more *stratioti* in their territory than did the Venetians, who behaved just as badly, and they were both afflicted with the same people. Beyazid said that he was right, but that lords had to punish the wrongdoers.⁶⁸

Dario's letters convey a sense of mutual trust and regard – as well as the same goals – and perhaps a view of an unexpected informality in discussion. Then two days later, Dario wrote of a meeting with the Lords Pasha («i Signori Bassa») in which one of them castigated him for the violence by «our people» in the Morea which had so depopulated and devastated the province that the Sultan considered it lost because he got no good out of it. The *paşa* went on to inform Dario that they knew the *Signoria* was not at fault, but the *rettori* of Nauplion and the citizens shared in the *stratioti* loot, and had in their houses the robes, the turbans, the swords, and other possessions of the murdered

passado de la morea ... ha pregado et constretto la M.cia de misser bertuchio minio che fu prouedador a Napoli che li perdonasse: et che li tollesse in gratia per che el dito flamburar che era plui offeso et plui potente per cessacion de mazor scandollo hauea fato questo medemo. et chel rettor nostro duramente a consentido et fato cossa che non doueua per le leze nostre». At that time Dario had been secretary to the *Signoria*, and had opened and read reports from the *Stato da Mar* to the *Signoria*. He has clearly read Minio's letter paraphrased above.

⁶⁵ *Rettor*: Pietro Vitturi *qm* Rainieri, Bartolomeo Minio's successor.

⁶⁶ DARIO, no. 24a, 5 Aug. 1484.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, no. 26a, 30 Sept. 1484.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, no. 21a, 30 May 1484: «io che son de natura quieta et de etade ormai in clinata a la quiete»; *ibidem*, no. 26a: «li repusi che elli haueuano molto plui Albanesi cha nui et che anche lor feuanu pu assai mal et che lor e nui erimo impazadi cum simel zente; me repuse che io diceua el vero: ma che i Signori erano hobligadi de punir li catiui».

Turks. The *sancakbeg* had been directed to «cut to pieces» any Venetian *stratioti* found in the Morea, and not to accept anyone who was not a merchant or 'original citizen' of the country.

Dario replied, as had Minio earlier, that they could do as they saw fit. All the *stratioti* were in it together, and related to each other. They were violent and lawless people, and God knew that our *rettori* had tried to discipline them many times but they always retreated to the mountains.⁶⁹ Then the Pasha said that the leader was Piero Busichi:

Piero Busichi is the commander of the thieves and is becoming rich from the system. And your *rettori*, as we have said, are complicit and also your citizens are involved. This seems an incurable disease, and a scandal between us.⁷⁰

This was a man well-known to the *Signoria*. Piero Busichi was one of four Busichi who had to have a special pardon for all their homicides so that they and their troops could be drafted for the Ferrara war. One of them, Mexa, had been humiliated by Morosini when he fired the Nauplion *stratioti* and had joined the Kladas revolt for a while, leading it after Kladas fled. Piero first appeared in Venetian records in 1473 when he was hired for 50 ducats a year and a robe worth 100 ducats, plus pay for 25 *stratioti*. When Ismail Pasha and Minio were trying to settle the Kladas revolt, he acted as go-between. Then the next year, at the time of the Ferrara draft, he had led a rebellion against Minio for more pay.⁷¹ He got it. Five hundred and forty *stratioti* had enlisted under him for Ferrara, and they were so successful (horrifying the Italians by taking heads and ears) that he was given a bonus of 8 ducats a head, in addition to the 12 he already had.⁷²

Two weeks later Dario wrote:

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, no. 27a, 2 Oct. 1484: «et quella prouincia era tanto depopolada et guasta che ora mai questo. S.or la reputaua per persa. per che no podeua hauer alchuna vtilita da essa ... et si sauemo ben che la Signoria v.ra non ha colpa de questo. ma li rectori vostri et li citadini che participa de le prede: et hano in casa le casache le sesse le spade et le altre cose di nostri turchi asasinadi».

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*: «Piero busichio capo de lari e culluj che ordena ogni cossa et fasse rico de questo. et li bostri rettori como ve hauemo ditto sono particip: et li citadini lichano: et quello me par un morbo incurabile et fara schandalo intra nui».

⁷¹ MINIO, no. 72, 15 Febr. 1481/1482; no. 79, 24 May 1482.

⁷² M. SANUDO, *Le vite dei Dogi*, ed. by A. Caracciolo Aricò, Rome-Padua, 2001, vol. 2, p. 368; WRIGHT 1999, p. 306 and note 135. Piero Busichi was back fighting on the mainland some years later. It was reported on 20 June 1496: «In campo morite Piero Buzichio capo di stratioti, homo famosissimo. Morite da febre. El qual era mancato a Troja dove amalato fue lassato.» (M. SANUDO, *I Diarii*, ed. by R. Fuldini et alii, Bologna, 1969, vol. 1, p. 225).

There was recently brought to the Porte, in a wheelbarrow, a *timariot* named Ciri Paşa, robbed and beaten by our *stratioti* just when he was leaving the Morea, as he said, and 100 ducats taken, and clothes and silk cloth, and other possessions, and the *paşas* ordered that he should be sent to my house immediately so I might see for myself the valor of our *stratioti*.

I responded to those who brought him that I deeply regretted the occurrence, which I did not know about, but I would be informed by them about the persons, so that they could be identified, and would write to Nauplion, and if the malefactors are there, they would settle the accounts and bring them to justice. They replied to me that the *paşa* said that the families of the malefactors were in Nauplion, enjoying his goods and those of others, and also they aided their husbands, who are always outside the borders, to break the law and worse, and finally that [the Ottomans] would make it so [the bandits] would never have repose. I, for my responsibility, have written the magnificent *rettor*⁷³ and given him information about the names of the malefactors and the stolen items, according to the man who was beaten, and I am informing Your Excellency.⁷⁴

In early November, Dario reported a letter from the «new» *provveditor* of Nauplion.⁷⁵ Whom Dario meant by «new» is unclear. If «new» referred to Minio's successor, it was Pietro Vitturi who had been in Nauplion for a year and a half. If he meant Vitturi's replacement, extant records indicate that Vitturi's successor, Alvise Loredan, arrived in late summer of 1485.⁷⁶ It is most probable, given Dario's reports of Vitturi's offences, that an administrator was sent from Methoni or Koroni to take over from him. A similar arrangement had been used

⁷³ *Rettor*: Pietro Vitturi, Minio's successor. 'Magnificent' was a conventional honorific and bears no implication of capability.

⁷⁴ DARIO, no. 29a, 16 Oct. 1484: «El fo apresenta questo zorni a la porta in sbarra uno timarato nominato Ciriabassa robado et stropiado da nostri stratioti insiando fuora de la morea como dice et toltoli ducati .100. et vest et pani de seda et altre massarie et li Bassa subito commandono chel me fosse mandato acaxa azio vedesse ad oculum le pordece di nostri stratioti: respusi a quelli che ma lano conduto che ami despiaxeua el caso occorso lo qual perho non intendeua. ma toria da lui information de le persone ca chel dice cognoscerle et scriueria a Napoli et se li mal fatori sono li se ministra raxon et iusticia: me resposeno che li Bassa dixeu che le famei di malfatori stano a Napoli et galdeno li bene de custuy et di altri et sustien etiam li maridi che stanno sempre defuora afarmal et pezo. et fin che se fara cussi non se havera mai reposso io per el debito mio ho scripto a quel M.co rector et datoli informacion de nomi di mal fatori et de le cosse robade secondo el ditto del stropiado et con anche noticia ala Ex. v.ra».

⁷⁵ DARIO, no. 30a, 2 Nov. 1484.

⁷⁶ CH. HOPE, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*, Paris, 1873, p. 384, in *Rulers of Venice Database*, eds. B. Kohl, M. O'Connell et alii, vers. 4.02, records 115-124.

in late 1478 when Minio's predecessor, Christoforo de Priuli, died in office and Leonardo Diedo, *capitano* of Koroni was assigned as *interim* governor.

Dario reported that the new *provveditor* had sent information about attacks and specific injuries, which seemed to indicate that matters were not as serious as the *paşas* had said and that the previous matters had been settled. The *paşas* accepted the letter – this also suggests that Vitturi had been removed – and said that they really needed to lay hands on a Mavromati who was pillaging the whole countryside, Venetian and Turkish. Dario assured them that they were free to do whatever they liked about the matter within Turkish territory, but that it would be a very dangerous act to enter Venetian territory to seize someone. The *paşas* directed that a letter be written to the *sancakbeg* that the Porte had taken action, and were content with the Venetian position. It is difficult to understand here just what had been accomplished, but Dario was, the *bailo* wrote, much loved by the *paşas*.⁷⁷

A final letter from Dario on the matter survives, dated 1st February 1484/1485 in which he has just received the *Signoria's* letter of 30 November responding to his letter of 4 October. Those two letters had nothing to do with the matter of the bandits, but it is useful to be reminded of the length of time involved in sending information and receiving instructions. He wrote:

About the matter of Piero Vitturi, nothing more is required because the matter has been concluded and settled... I have spoken to the *paşa* (Grand Vizier Daut Paşa) about it so that I was brought back into his office, so that when I arrived he praised Your Excellency everywhere and showed gratitude for the good that has been done.⁷⁸

That is where the topic of the diplomatic settlement of the Kladas affair ends in the sources. The matter of the bandits themselves was never really settled despite the regular removal of *stratioti* to the *Terraferma* and Cyprus, and their hire by other power. In addition to describing the processes of diplomacy for a variety of issues, the Minio-Dario letters offer a case study of the transition from soldiers

⁷⁷ TIEPOLO, pp. 304-305, note 245: «...molto amato alli bassa».

⁷⁸ DARIO, no. 36a, 1st Febr. 1484/1485: «Del fato de misser Piero Vituri non bexognaua pui altro. per che la cossa za era asettada e conza... Io ho parlato si fattamente ali Bassa che fo remesso al so officio et in zonta el lauda sumamente in ogni luogo la Ex. v.ra».

to bandits still seen in modern warfare – men without employment and released from military service with weapons.⁷⁹ The Venetian-Ottoman treaty of 1517 provided for each side to be able to punish offenders from the other side, formalizing the situation that Minio and Dario had both recommended – but at the same time an act from the Senato provided a 101-year safe-conduct for the bandit Paolo Caratola, a *kapetanios* in the *Terraferma*, so he might return home to Nauplion from which he had been banned for murdering Pasqual Gholemi who was already banned.⁸⁰

However, the irregular glimpses of diplomacy in the matter of the Kladas affair and the subsequent banditry indicate how important was the friendship between Ottoman and Venetian officials, as well as the importance of a shared objective. All the Venetian and Ottoman officials in the Morea, and Dario and officials from Constantinople had worked together daily for at least three months in various combinations and had come to know each other's personalities and abilities. Minio's reports of his first negotiations with Suleiman Beg, the *sancakbeg* in the Morea when he first arrived (and the one who had sent Mehmed such a reasonable report), show his tension in his first encounters with Turks, and how rigidly he held to his point of view.⁸¹ Minio's letters reveal over and over his conviction of his own rightness backed up by documentary evidence. In letter 22 he describes Dario's ease and manner of working with Turks, and it is quite sure that it was under Dario's wing that Minio developed the basis for his own fruitful relationships with Ottoman officials.

⁷⁹ This matter has been discussed at length in various publications for various periods. Most relevant here are perhaps M. BARTUSIS, *Brigandage in the Late Byzantine Empire*, «Byzantion», 52, 1981, pp. 386-409; P. COLLIER, *Civil War and the Economics of the Peace Dividend*, Center for the Study of African Economies, WPS/95-8, Oxford, 1995; K. HOPWOOD, *Bandits between grandees and the state: The structure of order in Roman Rough Cilicia*, in *Organized Crime in Antiquity*, ed. by Idem, Swansea (Wales), 1999, pp. 177-206; E. HOBBSAWM, *Bandits*, London, 1969 (repr. 2003), ch. four. It should be noted that where the Morea was concerned, there was rarely any distinction between acts of war and acts of banditry: the key difference being that in war *stratoti* were looting with permission.

⁸⁰ ASVE: *Senato, Mar*, reg. 19, f. 1. SATHAS, vol. 7, p. 119.

⁸¹ MINIO, no. 3, 29 Jan. 1479/1480; no. 5, 10 Febr. 1479/1480.

APPENDIX

Mehmed II to the *Signoria*, 5 Nov. 1480:⁸²

Sultan Mehmet dei gratia totius Asie & Grecie victoriosissimus Imperator & cetera, Serenissimo principi ac Excelentissimo dominio Venetorum etc.

Sapiate come el mio scervo Soleman Sangiacbei dela Morea me ha denotato per una sua lettera. che uno nominato Clada Greco el qual era stato Reais in el loco de Zigo è venuto in el temp de la pace & ha habitato in lo castro vostro de Coron con la soa fameia. & poi è andato & ha conturbato li homeni de Zigo & hano sublevato capo. & si hano occiso li mei Timareti che erano in quel luogo. & hano occiso lo subasi de Megalo Mania. & poi ha recogesto li homeni de quel loco & hano furato la torre de Trigefalo. & occiso li guardiani. & lo castellano de ditto castello. or el vostro ambasciatore è fatto de questo Clada securetato che sel se trovasse che mai el dicto facesse tradimento, over cossa mal fatta de prender lo & ligar lo cum ferri & mandar lo ala Vostra Signoria per tanto attenta la pace & amor che è tra voi & noi \ è cossa condeciente che uno simel ribaldo sia usito da loco vostro de Coron & cometter tanto male. è manifesto che la Vostra Signoria di cio non habia indition. ultra questo è stato dicto che li vostri de Coron hano prexa la familia del ditto & li fioli & lo haver & stano sequastradi. & secondo che dimostra par che anche de cio altri homeni haver indicio. or Io mando homeni a quele parte per prender lo. & cossi conviene che voi da la parte vostra comandati che providamenti sia preso & punir col se conviene acio che per altri non sia tal eccesso, attenta la pace & bona voluntate la qual è inter voi et noi. & cossi vogliati scriver ali vostri che la familia & li fioli del ditto Clada siano presi & dati ale mano del mia Zangiabei & che li debia mandar ala mia Porta. & che li vostri debia scriver per minu[to] de el fatto come fo intervenuto.

Scritta ala cancellaria de Constantinopoli adi .5. Novembrio .1480.

Sultan Mehmed, by the grace of God most victorious emperor of all Asia and Greece, etc., to the most Serene Prince and Most Excellent Signoria of the Venetians, etc.

Know that my slave Süleyman, *sancakbeg* of the Morea, has informed me by letter that a Greek named Kladas, who had the position of *re'is* in the ter-

⁸² ASve: *Atti diplomatici e privati*, b. 45, f. 1324: *Liber Graecus*, f. 43v, 1356, *Petit ut clada caput stratiotarum*. The letter shows a very literal rendition of its Greek original. A similar letter of the same date, to the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, is found in a collector's copy in the Biblioteca Marciana (= BNMVE): mss. lat., Cl. 14, no. 267, coll. 4344, *Re turbatione Cladorum*. The two differ slightly in spelling and in a few phrases.

ritory of Zygos and at the time of the peace came and lived in your *castro* of Koroni with his family, has gone out and roused the men of the Zygos and they have made him *capo*. They have killed my timar holders who were in the area, and they have killed the *subaşı* of Megalo Mani. Then he collected the men of the province and they fired the tower of Trigafoli and killed the guards and the castellan of the fortress. Your ambassador has now made a pledge that if it is found that this person has acted treacherously or done an evil deed, that [they] are to take him and bind him in irons, and send him to Your Signoria for such a great outrage to the peace and love which is between you and us. Is it decent that a rebel like this go out from your place of Koroni and commit such evil?

It is obvious that Your Signoria had no indication [of this]. Beyond this, it has been said that your people at Koroni have taken and confined his family and his sons. According to what is shown other men also had a hint of this. Now I am sending men to the area to take him. It is appropriate that you on your part give orders that he be taken, and punish those who came with him so that there not be such abuse by others, outraging the peace and good will which is between you and us; and that you write your people that the household and sons of the said Kladas are to be taken and given into the hand of my sancakbeg, and that he should send them to the Port. Your people should write in detail the matter as it happens.

Written at the chancery in Constantinople, 5 November 1480.⁸³

⁸³ My appreciation to Pierre A. MacKay for checking the translation and transcription.

RELIGIOUS CONVERSIONS WITHIN THE VENETIAN MILITARY MILIEU (17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES)

DAPHNE LAPPÀ

IN the summer of 1645, shortly before and right after the war over Crete broke out between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, seven Muslim men appeared before the prior of the Venetian *Casa dei Catecumeni*, the institution established to host and promote conversion to Christianity. They were all soldiers of the Venetian army. Six of them originated from the area of Ottoman Albania, and the seventh from Montenegro.¹ With the exception of Mehmet from Scutari (now Shkodër), who had arrived at the institution before the outbreak of the war and was catechized there for two months, the rest spent a very short time at the institution. Right after their baptism, all of them were sent to Crete in order to fight along with the Venetians and against the Ottoman army.

These seven men were not exceptional cases within the Venetian army, where Muslim men from the Ottoman Empire, and much more rarely Jewish men mostly from the Venetian Mediterranean colonies and the Ottoman Empire, were recruited for the infantry and light cavalry. And again, the Venetian army was not exceptional in adopting a cross-faith composition of its forces. As Ian Almond has argued, medieval and early modern armies recruited both Muslim and Christian men, especially within the region of the Balkans, but also in Anatolia and Andalusia, and even in battles as crucial as the Ottoman attack against Vienna, when Hungarian Protestants marched along the Ottoman army. This cross-faith composition of medieval and early modern armies presents, according to Almond, a palpable challenge to the constructed dichotomies of East and West or Muslims and Christians.²

¹ Archivio della Curia Patriarcale di Venezia [from now on ACPVE]: *Battesimi dei Catecumeni 1616-1676* [from now on BdC], c. 19r.

² I. ALMOND, *Two faiths one banner: When Muslims marched with Christians across Europe's Battlegrounds*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 2009.

Approached from such a vantage point, early modern armies can be understood as «contact zones», that is as «social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other».³ Yet, as Mary Louise Pratt illustrated, within these spaces of cultural encounter and mingling, interactions took place «often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today».⁴ Muslim along with the few Jewish soldiers recruited in the early modern Venetian army encountered daily this asymmetric power structure: they lived in a predominantly Christian setting, and frequently under circumstances of war that entailed danger and fear. This mercenary milieu constituted a privileged field for their religious conversion to Christianity. Their constant association and co-existence with Christians, enhanced by the circumstances of war as well as by the possibility of better employment prospects, rendered rather effective the more or less indirect pressure for conversion exerted from their Christian fellows and the military chaplains. Yet, as I will argue below, in order to better understand the conversion of these men to Christianity, there is also another factor that we need to take into consideration along with their asymmetric relationships within the Christian environment: their own backgrounds from geographical areas of «contact zones», such as Dalmatia, Bosnia and Albania, which entailed an already formed high level of familiarity with Christianity.

1. RELIGIOUS CONVERSION BETWEEN STRATEGIES AND TACTICS

Within the context of humanities and social sciences, religious conversion has been mostly seen, even if not deliberately, through the lenses of Christianity. That is, the questions posed in the disciplines of history, sociology and psychology were to a greater or lesser extent significantly influenced by the Christian tradition of religious conversion. Consequently, the notions and analytical tools used in these disciplines reflected the Christian perception of conversion: the desire to fit conversion into the two model conversion narratives, Paul's and Augustine's; the cardinal notions of sincerity or insincerity of con-

³ The concept of «contact zone» was introduced by M. L. PRATT in her article *Arts of the contact zone*, «Profession», 91, 1991, pp. 33[-40].

⁴ *Ibidem*.

version; the idea of transition from the old world to the new.⁵ And precisely on these criteria, conversions were judged sincere and complete or otherwise were reduced to economic factors and pragmatic choices.

Recent studies have widened the research concerning religious conversion, mostly through the use of concepts and tools from the fields of historical anthropology and cultural studies.⁶ Following this

⁵ Bibliography on religious conversion is simply huge. Within historical studies religious conversion has been primarily and intensely studied within the context of Jewish history and more concretely the Iberian *conversos*, focusing on the formation of their new identity and debating on the sincerity and commitment of their conversion to Christianity and on the concept of crypto-Jews that Cecil Roth introduced in the 1930s, see indicatively C. ROTH, *A History of the Marranos*, Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1932; E. RIVKIN, *The Utilization of non-Jewish Sources for the Reconstruction of Jewish history*, «The Jewish Quarterly Review», 48, 2, Oct. 1957, pp. 183-203; Y. BAER, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961; B. NETANYAHU, *The Marranos of Spain: From the late 14th to the Early 16th century According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources*, New York, American Academy for Jewish Research, 1966. In the following decades approaches multiplied moving beyond the figure of the Iberian *converso* and contributing to more nuanced and historicized views of conversion and self-definition in the Italian Peninsula as well as in the New World. These studies either stressed a more pragmatic approach on the part of converted Jews, often connected with economic interest, and a presumed religious neutrality, or gave emphasis on the duality of their condition and their facility in crossing religious borders and in cultural commuting, all of them elements considered typically modern. Yet occasionally the concepts of sincerity and commitment resurged in the discussion about religious conversion. See, indicatively, B. PULLAN, *A Ship with two Rudders. Righetto Marrano and the Inquisition in Venice*, «The Historical Journal», xx, 1, 1977; IDEM, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice 1550-1670*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1983; R. BONFIL, *Dubious Crimes in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Rethinking the Relations between Jews, Christians, and Conversos in Pre-modern Europe*, in M. Lazar, S. Haliczzer (eds.), *The Jews of Spain and the Expulsion of 1492*, Lancaster (CA), Labyrinthos, 1997, pp. 299-310; N. WACHTEL, *La Foi du Souvenir. Labyrinthes marranes*, Paris, Seuil, 2001. For approaches in sociology and psychology see indicatively J. A. BECKFORD, *Accounting for Conversion*, «British Journal of Sociology», xxix, 2, 1978, pp. 249-262; L. R. RAMBO, *Understanding Religious Conversion*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 1993, where the Author states that «I see 'genuine' conversion as a total transformation of the person by the power of God» (p. xii).

⁶ See, for instance, A. MINKOV, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans. Kisve Bahasi petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730*, Leiden, Brill, 2004; G. PLAKOTOS, *The Venetian Inquisition and Aspects of "Otherness": Judaizers, Muslim and Christian Converts (16th-17th century)*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2004; N. ROTHMAN, *Between Venice and Istanbul: Trans-Imperial Subjects and Cultural Mediation in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 2006; M. D. BAER, *Honored by the Glory of Islam. Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2008; P. IOLY ZORATTINI, *I Nomi degli Altri. Conversioni a Venezia e nel Friuli Veneto in età moderna*, Firenze, Olschki, 2008; T. KRSTIĆ, *Contested Conversions to Islam. Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford (CA), Stanford University Press, 2011.

line, religious conversion can be seen as people's reactions in the context of their everyday encounter with dominant systems, and more concretely as a *tactic* used by non-Christians for their integration into the Christian society. Michel de Certeau made a useful distinction between *strategies* and *tactics*, defining *strategies* as modes of acting pertinent to institutionalized power that «seek to create places in conformity with abstract models»⁷ and from these places to manage their dominant relationships with others, and *tactics* as the ingenious ways in which the weak make use of these spaces according to certain needs combined with the utilization of circumstances.⁸ Thus, approaching religious conversion as a process between the strategies used by the proselytization network in order to approach prospective converts and the tactics that non-Christian adopted in their confrontation with the dominant Christian society in order to divest themselves of their 'alien' status and create a new identity through which they could negotiate their inclusion in the dominant culture, would contribute in de-essentializing the whole process and render it a social practice and a mode of operating in everyday life⁹ that needs to be appropriately historicized and firmly placed within the social and cultural context it belongs – thus leaving behind quests for «sincere and complete religious conversion» and concepts that defined it as an exceptional experience and a fundamental decisive moment in individuals' biographies or a timeless and spaceless “totalizing enterprise”». ¹⁰

2. THE CASA DEI CATECUMENI AND ITS SOURCES

The present paper is based on the archival material from the Venetian *Casa dei Catecumeni*.¹¹ The establishment in Italy of houses for prospec-

⁷ M. DE CERTEAU, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984, p. 29. De Certeau used these terms that carry a polemological dimension, since, he maintained, it is within power relationships that «the battles or games between the strong and the weak» take place: p. 34.

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. xvii-xix, 37.

⁹ For the concept of the 'everyday life' see D. SCHILLING, *Everyday Life and the Challenge to History in Post-war France*. Braudel, Lefebvre, Certeau, «Diacritics», 33, 1, spring 2003, pp. 23-40.

¹⁰ K. MILLS, A. GRAFTON, *Introduction*, in *Conversion. Old Worlds and New*, Rochester (NY), University of Rochester Press, 2003, pp. ix-xvii.

¹¹ For the Venetian *Casa* see PULLAN, *The Jews of Europe*, pp. 243-274; G. Ellero (ed.), *L'archivio I.R.E. Inventari dei fondi antichi degli ospedali e luoghi pii di Venezia*, Venezia, IRE, 1987, p. 212; A. VANZAN, *La Pia Casa dei Catecumeni in Venezia. Un tentativo di devshirme cristiana*, in A. Destro (ed.), *Donne e microcosmi culturali*, Bologna, Pàtron, 1997, pp. 221-255; G.

tive converts or neophytes, that is recently baptized non-Christians, should be understood within the framework of the reform process that the Catholic Church broadly undertook after the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Indicatively enough, the first *Casa* was founded in Rome by a confraternity established by Ignatius of Loyola in 1543, the founder of the Jesuit order.¹² Fourteen years later, in 1557, some Jesuit sympathizers created a similar institution in Venice, inspired from and modeled on the one of Rome. The *Casa dei Catecumeni* were thus a consequence of this confessionalization era, and resulted from two major quests of the period: the quest for a highly homogenized society sharing conformity of religious doctrine and practice and the quest for a more centralized structure that would deal with poor relief.¹³ To these ends the *Casa dei Catecumeni* were established in Italian cities, endowing the process of conversion with a «hard institutional shell».¹⁴ These institutions assumed the task to organize, centralize, control and scrutinize this process, which up to then was performed rather unsystematically and lay on the involvement of the pious parishioners that allocated prospect converts in their own homes in order to provide them with the indispensable catechism before baptism.¹⁵

Documents from the Venetian institution can be roughly divided into two categories: those of a serial character dating from the seventeenth century, which mostly include baptism and neophytes registers, and those of a narrative character dating from the eighteenth century, which consist of the *costituti*, that is the depositions that prospective converts gave to the Prior of the Venetian institution

PLAKOTOS, *The Venetian Inquisition and Aspects of "Otherness"*, pp. 174-194; E. N. ROTHMAN, *Becoming Venetian: Conversion and transformation in the Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean*, «Mediterranean Historical Review», 21, 1, June 2006, pp. 39-75; ZORATTINI, *I nomi degli altri*.

¹² L. G. LAZAR, *Working in the vineyard of the Lord: Jesuit confraternities in Early Modern Italy*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2005.

¹³ See W. REINHARD, *Reformation, counter-reformation, and the early modern state: a reassessment*, «The Catholic Historical Review», 75, 3, 1989, pp. 383-405; B. PULLAN, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: the Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1971; IDEM, *Support and Redeem: Charity and Poor Relief in Italian Cities from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century*, «Continuity and Change», 3, 1988, pp. 177-208.

¹⁴ PULLAN, *Support and redeem*, pp. 195-196.

¹⁵ Archivio dell'Istituto di Ricovero e di Educazione (from now on AIRE): *Capitoli ed Ordini per il buon governo delle Pie Case de' Catecumeni a Venezia*, Venezia, 1788, p. 4. See also G. TASSINI, *Curiosità Veneziane*, Venezia, Filippi, 2009 (1st edn. 1863), pp. 154-155; PULLAN, *The Jews of Europe*, p. 255.

upon their arrival there. As it is well known, following Gayatri Spivak's famous article,¹⁶ much has been discussed about the possibility of actually discerning the 'subaltern's' voice within documents produced by a dominant culture. The eighteenth-century narrative documents of the Venetian *Casa dei Catecumeni* would qualify as objects of this critique, since they are indeed products of a dominant mechanism concerning the 'other'. Yet, they are the products of a double mediation. That is, on the one hand, they are the products of the undeniable mediation of the priests, the scribes or the interpreters who approached the people they saw in accordance with already constructed and probably stereotypical notions about Jews and Muslims and tried to fit the stories they heard into already existing religious conversion narratives.¹⁷ On the other hand though, these texts are also the product of the mediation of prospective converts themselves, who crafted their narratives within a dialectic of power *vis-à-vis* the religious authorities and in order to fit into the latter's expectations. For prospective converts, the way they presented their brief autobiography was part of the tactics they pursued in order to obtain their target and be accepted in the *Casa*. The stories they narrated were probably tailored to the prior's standards, as they perceived them, and presented a true or at least plausible story of their past life, which they sought to connect to their present desire to become Christians – emphasizing the continuity and coherence of their desire to convert in the past and present was a usual narrative strategy for stressing the sincerity of their desire and the firmness of their decision.¹⁸

One cannot thus deny that what it is ultimately possible to grasp from these miniature *life-stories*¹⁹ are fragments of the prospective converts' life, tailored to the converts' notion of conformity, and per-

¹⁶ G. SPIVAK, *Can the subaltern speak?*, in C. Nelson, L. Grossberg (eds.), *Marxist Interpretations of Culture*, London, Macmillan, 1988, pp. 271-313.

¹⁷ K. SIEBENHÜNER, *Conversion, Mobility and the Roman Inquisition in Italy around 1600*, «Past and Present», CC, 1, Aug. 2008, pp. 5-35.

¹⁸ P. FREDRIKSEN, *Paul and Augustine: Conversion Narratives, Orthodox Traditions, and the Retrospective Self*, «Journal of Theological Studies», 37, 1, 1986, pp. 33-34.

¹⁹ «Rather than 'life-history', we prefer the term 'life story'. By 'life story' is meant simply the story of someone's life. For our purposes, 'story' is preferable to 'history' because it does not connote that the narration is true, that the events narrated necessarily happened, or that it matters whether they did or not» (J. L. PEACOCK, D. C. HOLLAND, *The Narrated Self: Life Stories in Process*, «Ethos», 21, 4, 1983, p. 368).

ceived according to the usually normative notion of priests and notaries. Still, the content of these conversion stories cannot be discarded as merely discursive or confined to the sphere of fiction. Following their structure, two different levels of narrative must be distinguished: the narrative of the prospective converts' past and the narrative of their motivation for conversion. We are virtually in no position to discern the latter, since prospective converts' acceptance at the *Casa* depended exactly on the apt demonstration of their present determination and solid desire for the Christian faith, and its conformed wording. As far as the narrative of their past lives and deeds is concerned, since they were not a determinative factor for their acceptance, we can assume that to a large extent they represent a more or less true-to-life version. Yet, in any case the stories that prospective converts narrated had to be within the realm of possible and credible, otherwise they would be deprived of their convincing potency. From this viewpoint, the stories' accuracy, or even their truth or falsity, is of less importance, since they all had to be crafted with, at least, patches from stories that would somehow correspond to their contemporary reality. Let me give two examples. In July 1675 the Muslim Iusuf from the village of Gastuni in the Peloponnese, soldier in one of the mercenaries companies stationed in Padova, appeared before the institution's prior.²⁰ He said that he wanted to convert to Christianity and was accepted at the institution. After about a month Iusuf was discovered to be an impostor: in reality he was Zaccaria, a «Greco schismatico» originating from Crete. He was then presented before the Holy Office and then sent back to Padova. Several years later, in 1735, Giani from Candia again, a mercenary in Mestre, appeared at the institution.²¹ He said he was a Muslim and that he came from a family of mixed religion: his father was a Muslim and his mother a Greek Orthodox. Ten days after he was also discovered to be a Greek Orthodox. The prior noted that he pretended to be a Muslim in order to avoid for some time his duties as a soldier, and the same could have applied for Zaccaria as well.²² After that he was sent back to his mercenary company.

²⁰ ACPVe: BdC, 1616-1676, c. 82r.

²¹ AIRE: *Registri Diarii* [from now on RD], cc. 75v-76r.

²² Orthodox were not supposed to stay at the *Casa dei Catecumeni*. Conversely, sojourn in the *Casa* was permitted to non-Christians and included shelter and food. This could have been a good reason for Zaccaria and Giani to pretend being Muslims.

The interesting side in these stories is that both men did not invent an inappropriate identity, but an identity plausible enough to convince at first the institution's prior – indeed a significant number of Muslims soldiers appearing at the *Casa dei Catecumeni* originated from the Peloponnese, and many of them came from families of mixed religious background. It is in this sense that these stories, more or less accurate, fall within the limits of possible and can thus be used in our study of religious conversion.

3. THE CASES

Since the mid-seventeenth century, that is since the battle of Castro (1643-1644) that is considered Venice's last 'Italian' war, and throughout the eighteenth century, Venetian military policy observed a rather strict neutrality in the *Terraferma*, Venice's inner land. At the same time, the center of the Venetian military policy was transferred at sea. Secondary literature has divided this period into two more or less distinct periods. The first period covers the years between 1645 and 1718, when the Venetian *Stato da Mar*, that is the Venetian Mediterranean colonies in the Adriatic and the Aegean Sea, became the locus where the four Ottoman-Venetian wars were staged. Then, the period following the treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, when Venice lost hold of her colonies in the Aegean Sea, and till the end of the Venetian State (1797), is characterized by limited war activities and the transfer of the battlefield to the coast of the geographical area of Maghreb, mostly Tunisia and Algeria.²³ This distinction proves to be meaningful also for the Venetian *Casa dei Catecumeni* since it seems to correspond with a trend in the presence of the Muslim converts at the institution.²⁴ More concretely, until roughly few years after the end of the last Ottoman-Venetian war (1718), it is the great influx of Muslim captives of the war that populated the institution. The majority of them, after their baptism, became servants in Venetian houses, and only a small number among them were mercenaries. Reversely, during the

²³ P. DEL NEGRO, *Le istituzioni militari della Serenissima tra Sei e Settecento*, in *Società, economia, istituzioni. Elementi per la conoscenza della Repubblica Veneta*, vol. 1, *Istituzioni ed Economia*, Sommacampagna (VR), Cierre, 2002, pp. 139-140, 145-146.

²⁴ For the present paper I studied the following documents: ACPVe: BdC, 1616-1676, 1676-1693; *Registri dei Neofiti* [from now on RdN], 1676-1693, 1692-1734, 1734-1911; *Costituti* [from now on C], 1744-1762, 1779-1836. AIRE: RD, 1702-1718, 1705-1709, 1718-1725, 1725-1744.

next period, it is free Muslim men, often professional soldiers usually originating from the Balkans, who arrived there.²⁵

Recruiting Muslim men who were Ottoman subjects for the Venetian army was a continuous process happening in virtual agreement and knowledge of both sides and dating at least from the beginning of the sixteenth century.²⁶ These men were often already soldiers in the Venetian mercenary companies of both infantry and cavalry. Some of them had spent many years in the service of Venice without being baptized. In 1718 Suleiman, fifty years old from Banjalucka in Bosnia and at that time enrolled in the company of Andrea Gini stationed in Verona, said he had spent eighteen years between Dalmatia and Italy as a soldier.²⁷ In other cases, men that had peregrinated around the Mediterranean were baptized in Venice and then enrolled in the Venetian army.²⁸ This is the case of Mustafa from Tunisia, twenty-six years old, an adventurous story to tell. He was the son of a Tunisian man «di color bianco», and a woman from Algiers, «e perciò di color Moro». He was enslaved and then sold twice, first to a Muslim man in the Peloponnese, and then to a Muslim official in Arta. Due to the hard times that his master gave him, Mustafa finally decided to escape. He left Arta with the galley of the Venetian noblemen Balbi, who brought him to the island of S. Maura. Although Balbi had promised to conduct him to Corfu, while in S. Maura he tried to enslave him – «mi mise tre cadene sù d'un piede, e due sù d'un altro, e per quattro giorni non mi fù dato ne biscotto, ne aqua». But while in the galley, Mustafa met the corporal who was a converted Muslim and with his help he was finally liberated. He was then enrolled to a mercenary

²⁵ Between the years 1645 and 1718 around 1,170 Muslims, men and women, were catechized and baptized at the institution, while between 1719 and 1797 only 120.

²⁶ In the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Venetians were engaged in the war against the League of Cambrai, they seriously thought of using Muslim soldiers in a large scale, but did not realize it: see P. PRETO, *Venezia e i Turchi*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1975, pp. 36-53; M. E. MALLETT, J. R. HALE, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State*, Cambridge-New York, Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 317-318. In 1606 the *bailo* in Istanbul Ottavio Bon asked the permission of the Grand Visir in order to enroll in the Venetian army Muslim soldiers from the frontier areas: see PRETO, *Venezia e i Turchi*, pp. 55, 58.

²⁷ AIRE: RD, 1702-1718, cc. 19v-20r.

²⁸ Between the years 1645 and 1691 at least one hundred and seventeen Muslim men – already soldiers in the Venetian army or enrolled there after their baptism – got baptized at the institution. Among them only six were Jews. Unfortunately, due to the inconsistencies in the register-keeping it is not possible to give a total number of all the Muslim soldiers that reached the institution throughout the whole period under consideration here.

company with whom he reached Venice and the institution.²⁹ Among the soldiers of the Venetian army there were also some Jews, but their numbers were very limited.

The origin of these men varied only a little and the Balkans figure prominently among their places of origins for both the seventeenth and the eighteenth century: small villages and great cities from both the frontier areas, like Albania, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Croatia, from where Venice recruited her infantry and light cavalry with captains and men since the late fifteenth century³⁰ and where both Christians and Muslims lived in a certain proximity, as well as the central and south Balkans and from cities such as Sofia, Belgrade, Salonika or from the Peloponnese. A certain number also came from Istanbul as well as from the geographical area of Anatolia, while towards the turn of the seventeenth century some Muslim men from the region of Maghreb also appeared. The very few Jewish mercenaries that appeared at the institution generally came from Venice's Mediterranean colonies, from the Ottoman Empire (Istanbul and Salonika) or from other countries like Poland, Germany and Spain.

In order to reach the non-Christians, the Venetian *Casa* maintained a close-knit network. This network was mostly created and managed by the members of the governing body of the institution, but it also involved the Venetian parish priests as well as ecclesiastical authorities from Venice's colonies in the Italian mainland and the Adriatic, secular officials in Venice and the colonies, but also noblemen, generally devout parishioners and converts. All these people made possible the effectiveness of the institution and sustained its fame as one of the main places for conversion in the Italian and the broader Mediterranean geographical area. The outcome of this extended collaboration was a loose but at the same time a highly operative network that worked on four, and often intersecting, levels: the local Venetian, the regional of the Veneto, the Italian and the wider Mediterranean.

²⁹ AIRE: RD, 1725-1744, CC. 124v-125r.

³⁰ MALLETT, HALE, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State*, Cambridge-New York, Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 73, 80, 315, 317; G. PLAKOTOS, *Christian and Muslims Converts from the Balkans in Early Modern Venice. Patterns of Social and Cultural Mobility and Identities*, in R. Detrez, P. Plas (eds.), *Developing Cultural Identity in the Balkans. Convergence vs. Divergence*, Brussels, PIE-Peter Lang, 2005, p. 131. For the Venetian notion about Dalmatia in the eighteenth century see L. WOLFF, *Venice and the Slavs. The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment*, Stanford (CA), Stanford University Press, 2001, p. 26.

Through the maintenance of this network the institution aimed on a micro-level at approaching prospective converts and exerting effective and perpetual control over their lives after baptism. But on a macro-level the institution also aspired to the consolidation not only of the Christian faith, but also of the Venetian colonial power over its territories, by projecting «Venice's self-image as a Christian republic beyond its frontiers».³¹ Within this system, the various Venetian cities in the Adriatic, like Corfu, Spalato or Zante assumed an intermediary role, being somehow places of 'religious transit' within the itinerary of prospective converts towards the Venetian institution.

Beyond the always engaged members of the governor body, cardinal nodes within the part of this network targeting at the Muslim mercenaries were the *Savio alla scrittura*, who was the main administrative responsible for the Venetian army,³² the religious orders in Venice (mainly the Capuchins), the secular and religious officials of the cities where mercenary companies stationed in the *Terraferma*, as well as the captains, the military officers and the soldiers of the mercenary companies. Through this extended network, non-Christian mercenaries caught within this «nets of 'discipline'»,³³ reached the institution. In May 1663 a Capuchin monk sent the Jew Emanuel from Istanbul to the institution, while in September 1664 another Capuchin monk sent there the Muslim Mustafa, again from Istanbul.³⁴ In August 1703 Ali from Delvino (Delvinë) in Albania, twenty-eight years old, was brought at the *Casa* following the orders of the *Savio alla scrittura* Giovanni Battista Molin and accompanied by a sergeant.³⁵ In his baptism, which took place five months later, the godfather was the nobleman Alvise Molin, presumably from the same family. Few days later Umer from Scutari in Albania arrived there.³⁶ He was a soldier of the mercenary company of Francesco Soranzo and was sent to the institution by the *Capitan Grande di Padova*, nobleman Soranzo, and accompanied by Francesco Staverio, a soldier and convert himself, while his godfather at the baptism was the nobleman and member of the governing body of the institution Andrea Soranzo. In July 1706 the

³¹ ROTHMAN, *Becoming Venetian*, pp. 48, 57.

³² MALLETT, HALE, *The Military Organization*, pp. 255-256, 258, 281.

³³ DE CERTEAU, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, pp. XIV-XV.

³⁴ ACPVE: BdC, 1616-1676, cc. 56v, 59v.

³⁵ *Ibidem*: N, 1692-1734, c. 73v; AIRE: RD, 1702-1718, c. 6v.

³⁶ ACPVE: N, 1692-1734, c. 73v; AIRE: RD, 1702-1718, c. 7r.

Jew Cain Copio from Zante, who was a soldier at the castle of Lido, was brought at the *Casa* following the orders of the *Savio alla scrittura*, nobleman Pasqualigo.³⁷ In his case, the institution's prior went himself to Lido to collect Cain and bring him to Venice. In the same month Ali from Temesvar, twenty-one years old, reached the *Casa*.³⁸ He was a soldier of the «compagnia Brancovich» and was accompanied at the institution by one of his governors, the nobleman Michel Angiolo Schietti. After two months he was baptized and following the orders of the *Savio alla scrittura*, he was sent back to his company in Lido. Few months later, the twenty years old Mehmet from Anatolia, who belonged to the same mercenary company, was accompanied to the institution by his sergeant Francisco Lucanovich, and baptized.³⁹ In March 1707, Ali from Albania was brought at the institution by the captain of his company, conte Giovanni Battista Borrelli, who also became his godfather.⁴⁰ In April 1709, following the orders of the bishop of Rovigo, the mercenary Mehmet Ali from Albania, twenty-three years old, was brought at the institution by the priest of the church of Concordia, who later became his godfather.⁴¹ Several years later, in 1735, Mustafa from Athens, eighteen years old, escaped from his house and arrived to Padova, where he was somehow conducted to the house of the Dima family, «grechi da Cimara»: the father Vrana, was the captain of the mercenary company and his sons Martini and Giovanni were sergeants.⁴² It was the Dima family who brought Mustafa at the institution, and after his baptism he was enrolled in the cavalry.

These men usually did not stay long at the institution. In general, canon law prescribed a period of forty days as necessary for the prospective converts' catechism, but in the Venetian *Casa dei Catecumeni* the required period was significantly extended, reaching that of eight months.⁴³ Yet, in the case of mercenaries this was hardly ever respect-

³⁷ ACPVe: RdN, 1692-1734, c. 93r; AIRE: RD, 1705-170?, c. 24v.

³⁸ ACPVe: RdN, 1692-1734, c. 94r.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, c. 96r; AIRE: RD, 1705-170?, c. 34r.

⁴⁰ ACPVe: RdN, 1692-1734, c. 98r.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, c. 103v.

⁴² AIRE: RD, 1725-1744, cc. 82v-85r, 88v-89r.

⁴³ Concerning the baptism of prospective converts, it was stated in the institution's statute that the prior should «sopra tutto non abbia tanta premura di Battezzarlo, ma procuri che sia bene istruito nella Santa Fede, e nella Dottrina Cristiana, e quanto può coll'esercizio, e pratica, ricavi la sua intenzione, ed il perché si voglia far Cristiano, incul-

ed, since they had to go back to their companies rather soon. The above mentioned Mehmet Ali from Albania specified to the prior that the captain of his company gave him only three months in order to get the baptism.⁴⁴ Thus, Muslims and the few Jews mercenaries and prospective converts remained at the institution for an average of between two and five months. What's more, during wars, the urgency of the situation left no room for the indoctrination of the soldiers and prospective converts and the period of their catechism was seriously diminished. The cases of the initially mentioned six Muslim men that arrived at the institution shortly after the outbreak of the Ottoman-Venetian war were rather characteristic of this trend.⁴⁵ On the 22nd of July, about a month after the Cretan war had broken out and while the Ottomans were besieging the city of Chania, Mehmet from Valona (Vlorë), twenty-two years old, appeared at the institution. He was accepted there, baptized and then sent back to his company all in the same day. On the 23rd of August 1645, one day after the Ottomans occupied the castle and city of Chania, Giuzo from Monte Negro, twenty-two years old as well, appeared at the institution. A week later, on the 1st of September he was baptized and at the same day he left for Crete with the Venetian infantry. On the 30th of August 1645, four men from Cimara (Himarë) and Cuzzi (Kuç, on the north-east of Himarë) were accepted at the *Casa*. They were all baptized after four days, and they left for Crete a week later.

Yet, as already mentioned, under normal circumstances the time these men spent there was longer and the itinerary that they followed after baptism brought them in cities of the *Terraferma* where mercenary companies stationed, like Verona, Padova, Vicenza, Brescia, Salò, Legnago and Bergamo, Crema, Palmanova, Udine, Capodistria (Koper); some of them were later sent to the Levant. Those who were already serving at the Venetian army were sent back to their former posts, most probably now with better professional prospects.⁴⁶ Some of them also kept an on-going relationship with the institution, coming back and asking anew for their baptism certificates, or even for some financial help, like in 1731 when a Jesuit monk forwarded to

cando il Concilio Agatense, che non si battezzì alcun Catecumeno, se non passati Mesi otto per giusti prudenti, e santi motivi» (AIRE, *Capitoli*, p. 43).

⁴⁴ ACPVE: RdN, 1692-1734, c. 74v.

⁴⁵ All cases are in *Curia*, B2, c. 19r.

⁴⁶ PLAKOTOS, *Christian and Muslim Converts*, pp. 134-135.

the *Casa dei Catecumeni* the request of the «povero soldato Antonio Zonta», stationed at that time in Lido, for his certificate and «qualche elemosina». ⁴⁷

The eighteenth-century narrative documents can help us elucidate a bit more the choices of these men, mostly Muslims from the Balkans, who – converted to Christianity or not – fought along the Christian Venetians and against the Muslim Ottomans. For sure, the explanation cannot be found in the «confusion, incertitude, doctrinal ignorance» of the Balkan people, as it had been argued. ⁴⁸ Through these narrative documents we can identify at least two factors that would help us contextualize their choices. The first factor was the proximity and familiarity that Muslims and Christians originating from the Balkans had developed.

In 1746 Muzio Assani, a fifty years old Muslim from Albania appeared before the prior of the *Casa dei Catecumeni*. ⁴⁹ He said he was a soldier of the Venetian army ⁵⁰ and that he wanted to become Christian. The institution's prior followed the usual procedure and asked him more details about his origin and his family condition. Muzio said he originated from the village Cuzzi and that he was married to a Christian woman, and had four children alive: three girls, all married with Muslim men, and a son, married with a Christian woman and father of a Muslim boy. And then he explained: «In Cuzzi vi sono metà Turchi, metà e forzi più della metà Christiani [e] si costuma, che un Turco possi prender, et aver per Moglie una Christiana». At the end, he added that he was escorted to Venice to convert by the sergeant of his regiment, who was a relative of his – most probably, a converted Muslim as well.

This circumstance of ethnically and religiously mixed towns, villages and even families was not unusual in the geographic region of the Balkans, and precisely in the areas of Dalmatia, Albania, Bosnia and Croatia, from where the majority of mercenaries came, and dated back to the sixteenth century. At the beginning of the seven-

⁴⁷ AIRE: RD, 1725-1744, cc. 39v-40r.

⁴⁸ G. MINCHELLA, *I processi del Sant'Ufficio di Aquileia e Concordia per apostasia all'Islam contro i soldati della fortezza di Palma (1605-1652)*, «Metodi e Ricerche», 25, 2005, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁹ ACPVE: C, 1744-1762, cc. 12v-13r.

⁵⁰ Muzio belonged to the regiment of soldiers recruited from the geographical area of Albania, the *Reggimento Cimariotto*.

teenth century, when Marino Bizzi, archbishop of Bar, visited Albania and a part of the inland area of Dalmatia, he drew a similar image. He wrote of mixed villages and mixed village councils, of mixed marriages, which he presented, not surprisingly, only in terms of a bargain between the groom and the father, and of Christian religious ceremonies, where he presided, attended both by Christians and Muslims.⁵¹ For the village Kalivac near Vlorë, he even mentioned that there were sixty Christian households and ten Turkish, «which also contribute to maintaining the priest because almost all of them have Christian wives».⁵²

Several years later, in 1672, Evliya Celebi visited the area around Montenegro and noted the ease with which the residents of this geographical area, mostly occupied in the military profession, would alternatively provide their services to the Venetians and the Ottomans:⁵³

Half the mountains are called Montenegro and the other half Kelmendi. They are home of 47.000 infidel Albania musketeers. Formerly they were subject to Shkodër, but since the war of Crete they have gone over to the Venetian side and have departed to assist the fortress of Candia. On the Cape of Kelmendi are seven fortresses ruled by the Venetians. While the naval commanders are Franks (i.e., Venetians), the garrison soldiers are all Albanian infidels.

Evliya continued his trip and some years later, in 1670, he visited Southern Albania. He visited the adjacent districts of Vlorë and Dukat, from where, he noted, the Venetians and the Ottomans recruited respectively men for their armies. A bit further south, in the town of Gjirokaster, he also observed the common feasts where Muslim and Christians participated and lamented that Muslim people had adopted the bad customs of the 'infidels'.⁵⁴ In all, the image that both Celebi and Bizzi conveyed was that of a close cross-faith coexistence – not always peaceful, but surely close.

This proximity among Christians and Muslims in the Balkans is a

⁵¹ R. Elsie (ed.), *Early Albania: a reader of historical texts, 11th-17th centuries*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2003, pp. 77-129.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 108.

⁵³ R. Dankoff, R. Elsie (eds.), *Evliya Çelebi in Albania and adjacent regions (Kosovo, Montenegro, Ohrid)*, Leiden-New York-Cologne, Brill, 2000, p. 51; P. BRUMMETT, *Visions of the Mediterranean: a classification*, «Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies», 37, 1, 2007, p. 20.

⁵⁴ Dankoff, Elsie (eds.), *Evliya Celebi*, pp. 85, 143, 145.

recurrent theme in the narrative documents of the *Casa* as well. In 1751 Amet from Mostar, twenty-six years old, a merchant of textiles and clothes, said he maintained a little shop with a religiously mixed clientele. Near his shop there was a Christian Church, and Amet was always amazed by the reverence with which Christians treated the priest of the church; he also had often the chance to talk with him about religion and other issues.⁵⁵ The same familiarity with Christianity is described by Muslims who were born of a Christian mother, that is usually a slave who was bought by a Muslim man and later had children with him. Ibraim from Diyarbakir, thirty years old, who appeared at the institution in 1751, was a son of a Muslim father and a Christian mother. Himself, his brother and his father they were all soldiers at the Ottoman army, while his second brother had become a Christian and was at the service of the Imperial army.⁵⁶ Iusuf from the island of Kos, who reached the institution in 1754, was also the child of a mixed marriage. After spending sometime in the *Casa*, he escaped and it was later found out that he had gone to the church of San Giorgio dei Greci in order to be baptized there⁵⁷ – indeed, several Muslims originating from the Balkans, and thus having a certain familiarity with Christians, took refuge there.⁵⁸

The second factor that could help us understand the lives and choices of these men is a certain Mediterranean culture of peregrination, an experience that entailed a facility in transition and often some religious indeterminacy. In this direction, the story of the above mentioned Mustafa from Tunisia is rather telling. Another indicative story is that of Soleiman from Tripoli, thirty-one years old. He appeared at the institution in 1751, and said that he had been travelling for nine years in the Mediterranean: he firstly left Tripoli with a Neapolitan ship, and then travelled «or con Francesi, or co' Maltesi, or co' Svidezi e con gli Pugliesi sino al presente, e or con mercanzie, or in corso, or in qualità di mariner, or in qualità di pilota». What's more, before leaving Tripoli, he had been a soldier in the Ottoman army and had spent some time in Gerusalem «per guardia del S. Sepolcro», where he had

⁵⁵ ACPVE: C, 1744-1762, cc. 59v-60r. Amet was baptized a month later and then recruited in the Venetian army, in the regiment of the *Oltramarini*.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, c. 70v.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, cc. 102v-103r. He was indeed baptized there and most probably afterwards took a military career, since his godfather was captain Sotiris Dimitriou: see Archivio dell'Istituto Ellenico: *Atti di Battesimo*, 1702-1800, c. 141r.

⁵⁸ PLAKOTOS, *The Venetian Inquisition*, p. 176.

met a Catholic monk who first tried to convince him to convert to Christianity.⁵⁹

These two factors, the familiarity between Muslims and Christians in the region of Balkan, but also to a certain extent beyond it, and the rather widespread culture of peregrination, provide us with a fruitful context, within which religious conversion can be approached. For these mostly Muslim men, who were 'professional' warriors and 'professional' peregrinators, religious conversion was not a unique and life-changing experience, but an unexceptional and ordinary practice that they undertook when moving within the limits of the dominant Christian space, facilitated and sometimes enhanced by their already existing acquaintance with Christianity – an acquaintance often of a high degree, when they were of mixed religious background. This does not in any way imply that religion per se was of no importance to these men.⁶⁰ But in most of the cases, their religious conversion was not a declaration of faith, but a declaration of nominal adherence to a concrete religion, an act they had to perform due to the exigencies of life within the Christian culture – in other words, it was the choice they had to make within the «field of the enemy».⁶¹ Even religious authorities themselves, by undermining the importance of catechesis when dealing with these men, contributed in deconstructing the significance of the process of conversion, which themselves otherwise always tried to emphasize. From this point of view, asking whether these men's conversion was sincere or not, is somehow an unsuitable question to ask, a question that would not help us further understand these Mediterranean figures.

In some sense these two factors, cross-faith familiarity and the culture of peregrination, represented at least a part of the Eastern Mediterranean world, a world with increasing 'border porousness' since the late sixteenth century.⁶² If it is not easy to thoroughly chart the lines along which religious coexistence was crafted, through this image it is at least clear that within this region people did not perceive

⁵⁹ ACPVE: C, 1744-1762, cc. 66v-67r. Soleiman was baptized after several months and was employed «in the Venetian navy».

⁶⁰ ALMOND, *Two faiths*, p. 11.

⁶¹ The German statesman Bernhard von Bülow has expressed the distinction between strategies and tactics as follows: «strategy is the science of military movements outside of the enemy's field of vision; tactics, within it» (DE CERTEAU, *The Practice*, p. 212, note 14).

⁶² D. GOFFMAN, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 161.

those with a different faith as 'Others' altogether; on the contrary, their levels of familiarity at times were rather high. The Eastern Mediterranean, then, was to an important extent a shared world: its structure challenged the neat categorization of East and West, Muslims and Christians that was gradually devised since the late eighteenth century, and revealed a multitude of links still in need to be fully articulated.

THE CULT OF ST. LUCY.
VENETIAN CONTEXT AND INFLUENCE
ALONG EASTERN ADRIATIC

IGOR ŠIPIĆ

THE symbolic significance of the cult of St. Lucy among the nations with strong maritime tradition has been insufficiently explored. Along with the usual Christian-iconographic values, which the Church gives to St. Lucy according to the legend, her marked and frequent presence in the localities of the Eastern Adriatic coast, particularly in the region of Kvarner, in Split and in Venice, points to the tradition of worship which was developed on maritime basis, especially among the seafaring professionals. This research intends to contribute to an improved understanding of the background of the symbolism in the cult of St. Lucy and to indicate the topology of her appearance in strong maritime communities with matriarchal roots, and in the regions of the Middle and North-Eastern Adriatic, including Venice.

Hagiographic Church sources note that St. Lucy¹ lived in the third century in Syracuse, in Sicily. According to one legend, she was the daughter of the noble lady Eutychia, severely ill with an incurable illness, who urged her mother to the pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Agatha in Catania. St. Agatha appeared in a vision to Lucy and predicted her mother's recovery but also Lucy's martyrdom. Lucy then distributed her possessions to the poor, which infuriated her fiancé, who denounced her to the Roman authorities for being Christian. The guards came to take her away, but in the strength of her fate she stood immovable, although she was subjected to torture and hitched to a yoke of oxen. After that the proconsul ordered her to be burned. But the fire did not even touch her, and this impelled one of the soldiers to murder her with a dagger.² Another legend speaks of a self-

¹ Etymologically, her name shares the root with the Latin word *lux*, *lucis*, meaning 'light', from which derived the words such as *lychnus*, 'lamp', 'light', and *lychnuchus*, 'candle-stick'; one of the translated synonyms for the Latin word *lux* is 'eye-sight'.

² M. GRGIĆ, *Lucija. sveta* [Saint Lucy], Zagreb, in «Leksikon ikonografije liturgike i simboličke zapadnog kršćanstva», Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2000, p. 416.

inflicted injury with scissors³ and about a bridegroom who was in love with her eyes. Fearing that her eyes might lead him to evil, Lucy tore them out and sent them to the young man. Overcome with guilt and fascinated with the courage with which Lucy demonstrated her faith, he also became Christian.

Although in both legends, the one of St. Lucy and the one of St. Agatha, iconographic instruments (scissors, fire and especially the plate on which lie Lucy's eyes or Agatha's severed breasts) indicate the formation of the cults of two Sicily's martyrs, the iconographic framework of the cult of St. Lucy is characterized by a differentiation and linking of good and evil, light and darkness, life and death – the mediator of all mysteries. Iconographic characteristics suggest that the cult of St. Lucy was indeed a significantly esoteric cult, in which Lucy has become a symbol and 'a promise' of light. In numerous images she holds a martyr's palm tree leaf, also an attribute of St. Apollonia, who often appears together with St. Lucy, the latter frequently depicted with her neck pierced by a dagger. Her special attributes are a lit candle (tallow-candle) and her eyes of course, added as an allusion to her name (light-Lucy). The legend which had the purpose of interpreting these attributes occurred only much later. Sometimes, as less common cult attributes, a book, a chalice, or a shorter type of sword (*spada*) appear as well.

The earliest genuine record pointing to the cult of St. Lucy, and quoted by A. Amore,⁴ is undoubtedly the inscription found in 1894 at the cemetery of St. Giovanni in Syracuse. It is dated at the beginning of the fifth century and includes a mention of a certain dead Euschia. In the second half of the sixth century, also in Syracuse, a monastery dedicated to Lucy's name was noted in a letter by St. Gregorio Magno. The cult, however, did not remain restricted only to Sicily.⁵ It was

³ The altar pala in Fermo (Italy), *Stories of St. Lucy* [*Storie di Santa Lucia*], painted by JACOBELLO DEL FIORE at the beginning of the fifteenth century (Venice), represents Lucy's murder with a knife and the attempt of burning her at the stake, gradating the theme in a sequence of images.

⁴ A. AMORE, *Lucia*, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Istituto Giovanni XXIII della Pontificia Università Lateranense, Roma, Città Nuova, 1967, VIII, pp. 241-251.

⁵ St. Lucy has been celebrated in the San Marziano crypt in Syracuse, where there are paintings with her image dating from the twelfth century. There is another significant example of devotion to St. Lucy in the sailors' suburb of Naples, itself an ancient maritime centre, where every year on the first Saturday preceding her feast (13 Dec.) a silver bust of

certainly also introduced in Rome as early as the end of the sixth century, as written by the same Author and supported by a note from the biography of Leon III that speaks of an «oratory of St. Lucy» («oratorio sanctae Luciae»). Writing about the same pontiff in connection to another Roman monastery of St. Lucy, a certain St. Adelmo di Malmesbury noted that St. Gregorio Magno introduced Lucy's name, along with Agatha's, in *Canone della Messa*. As the oldest church in Rome dedicated to Lucy was built under the papacy of Pope Onorio I (625-638), it becomes clear that her cult started to spread throughout Italy during the fifth and the sixth centuries. Consequently, in the same period (sixth century) Lucy's name was introduced into the Canons of Milan and Ravenna.

Historical sources clearly show that in the early Middle Ages the worship of St. Lucy first spread across Sicily and then all over Italy and the Mediterranean.⁶ That is why it most often appears in Italian and Spanish art of the Renaissance, up until the late Baroque.⁷

the martyr, with many votive images, is carried in a procession to the church of St. Lucy. The legendary Neapolitan song *Santa Lucia* was created in this context.

⁶ The presence of the cult of Lucy has been extensively documented in Barcelona (Spain). In Portugal, a shrine of *Santa Luzia* is located on the famous gazebo above the town of Viana do Castelo, on the Atlantic coast, which can be interpreted as an attempt to use the position of the shrine as a symbolic 'lighthouse' to ensure a safe journey for the sailors and protect them against the 'dark forces' of the Ocean. The spread of the cult outside the circle of the Mediterranean, in the transoceanic countries under the Portuguese influence, is particularly evident in Brazil. Undoubtedly, this occurred due to Portugal's role as a world maritime power in the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries. Isolated oceanic islands, such as the Azores, where two parishes of the same name (Portuguese *Santa Luzia*) in two municipalities, Angra do Heroísmo and São Roque do Pico, worship the cult of St. Lucy are particularly interesting in this respect. On the Cape Verde islands, on the other hand, the only uninhabited island of the Barlavento group, today a nature preserve, also bears the name of this saint (*Santa Luzia*), as does a parish in the district of Funchal on the Madeira island. The frequency of the worship of St. Lucy on these small, isolated islands is attributed to a tradition that has maritime origin. The topology of the two locations on the east coast of Corsica, Santa Lucia di Moriani in the north and Sainte Lucie de Porto Vecchio in the south, support the opinion that Lucy's eponyms topologically occur on the coast or not far from it, which indicates the maritime basis of its symbolism. On the map *Italia XIII, New Tabula*, ed. by C. Ptolemy, S. Münster in 1540 in Basel, the toponym of St. Lucia, with a church, is drawn on the north-east coast of Sardinia. It is today a village which belongs to the municipality of Siniscola, populated by fishermen who originally came from the island of Ponza (also marked on the map, by the west coast of Italy), where a fortress-tower from the 16th century still exists. In this context we should also mention the church of St. Lucy located on the coastline near Portorož.

⁷ The most celebrated works depicting Lucia's martyrdom were painted by the great

On the west coast of the Adriatic there are two other historical-geographical areas, alongside Sicily, distinguished for their devotion to the cult of St. Lucy: one includes the regions of Marche, Abruzzo and Molise and the period of the early Middle Ages, and the other includes Venice at the peak of its sovereign government. On the east coast of the Adriatic, the devotion to St. Lucy – stronger and more frequent than on other locations, especially those inland – has been observed in the region of Istria, in the Croatian littoral and in Split. This of course does not exclude the presence of the cult in the continental areas. The cult simply figures there less prominently, and its presence is chiefly iconographical, without a dominant role in the veneration. However, the Syracuse origin of the legend, mentioned also by C. Fisković,⁸ becomes apparent in the logic of its expansion, related to the penetration of the compatible land and sea routes into the Adriatic.

We should not fail to mention the example of worship of St. Lucy in Montemitro (known as Mundimitar in Croatian), a small town in the Molise region of Italy, inhabited by the Croats who were fleeing from the Turks from the mid 15th century onwards. Popular tradition reports that it was them who brought the cult of Lucy to this narrow immigration area on the west coast of the Adriatic. The celebration of the patroness of the town also commemorates the day and place of the arrival of the town's founders to the site Selo, where a semi-circular chapel was built in the sixteenth century and dedicated «to the Virgin of Syracuse» («alla Vergine di Siracusa»). During the local holiday in May, a remarkably suggestive sculpture of the saint, its bust covered with votive (*ex voto*) gilded costume, is carried in a procession along the streets of the town, with many tourists and visitors joining the locals in the pilgrimage. This case points to a deep devotion to the cult of Lucy among the Croats, even in migratory movements, which is here directly related to the seafaring routes.

The main overland route on the west coast ran along the Apen-

masters, including G. B. TIEPOLO, *Last Communion of Saint Lucy*, Venice, The Saint Apostles church, the eighteenth century, M. MERISI da Caravaggio, known as CARAVAGGIO, *Burial of Saint Lucy*, Syracuse, Basilica of St. Lucy, seventeenth century, and numerous other artists.

⁸ C. FISKOVIĆ, *Humanizacija sred Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu* [Humanization inside the Diocletian Palace in Split], «Mogućnosti», 5-6-7, 1991, p. 391.

nine Peninsula connecting the lands of the ancient *Mare Superum* (the Adriatic Sea) and *Mare Inferum* (the Tyrrhenian Sea). Further north, towards Ascola Piceno and Ancona, this route named Via Flaminia (Flaminia route) was later valorised as *Praetorium Lauerianum* and confirmed in *Tabula Peutingeriana*.⁹ It is an ancient route through Apulia connecting, among others, three urban centres: Luceria (Lucera), Aecae and Arpi. From Ancona the land corridor continued north to Venice, and the maritime one continued east to Zadar. The route became especially prominent in the fifteenth century when it enabled pilgrimages to *The Black Madonna* of Loreto. The systematic influence of the transport corridors on the expansion and the frontiers of Christian iconography is indisputable, including their implementation in the religious customs of the populace.

Another Adriatic transversal route – reaching back to the time when Syracuse colonized the island of Vis (*Issa*), in the fourth century BC, and afterwards Stari Grad on Hvar (Pharos) – connected Puglia and the modern-day central Dalmatian towns situated between Sipont and Salona, whose harbours were 1,500 *stadia* distant from each other. It was known as the Trans-Adriatic route and was documented in the map *Itinerarium Maritimum*. It was in connection to this route that a church of St. Lucy was built in Stari Grad on Hvar in the late Middle Ages. J. Kovačić notes that a church of St. Vinko/St. Lucy was built along with the monastery of the third-order nuns, probably around 1500 AD, by the priest Nikola Barbeta who also built the church of St. Jerome. During the restoration of this church in 1873, its name was changed from the Dominican St. Vinko Ferrerski to St. Lucy (previously a co-patron) to whom worshippers continue the flock in traditional pilgrimage to this day.¹⁰ On the church altar, in the apse converted into the sacristy, as stated by Kovačić, there is a coloured stone statue of St. Lucy made in the Gothic tradition, 85 cm in height, thought to be the work of a local sixteenth century artist. The statue, formerly placed on the main altar, is mentioned by bishop Jurjević-Zorzi during his visit in 1637, and again by bishop Mi-

⁹ Traditionally, a strong trend of the worship of the cult of St. Lucy exists in Loreto and other places of the Marche region. In the church of St. Augustine in Ascoli Piceno there is a V. PAGANI painting *The Madonna of Loreto*, representing Saints Kosmas and Damian, Joseph and Lucy.

¹⁰ J. KOVAČIĆ, *Nekoliko podataka o starogradskim spomenicima* [Notes on the Old Town Monuments], «Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji», 34, 1994, pp. 357-381.

lani in 1645. Kovačić discovered and elaborated in detail another small church of St Lucia, dating from the nineteenth century, on the island of Hvar, in Vrbanj, between Stari Grad and Jelsa.¹¹

In late antiquity, both land and sea corridors led all the way to Istria, where Christianity arrived as early as the second century from Rome to the former Roman cities of Poreč, Pula, Rovinj, Umag and others. Christianity was brought to these regions by traders, clerks, soldiers, and also by explicit heralds of the faith. The latest archaeological research, undertaken in Pula at the site of the city library, confirms the presence of a relatively small single-nave church built on the remains of Roman baths. The church, with possible links to elements of church interior from late antiquity and from the pre-Romanesque period, is named after St. Lucy in historical sources. This has been noted by A. Starac, who cites as his source the historian P. Kandler and his work *Palazzo di Antonia in Pola (Conservatore, 850.1871)*.¹² However, an interesting fact is that a five hundred years old luxurious residential *domus*, burned in the fifth century, and most probably intended for the senatorial class, was located on the same site.

If the thesis about an early appearance of the church of St. Lucy in Pula, in the first wave of the replacement of the pagan cults with the Christian ones, gets confirmed, it will demonstrate the importance of the role of St. Lucy in the process of substitution of idolatrous worship of light, especially because she, as well as other saints, did not have the title of patron until the late Middle Ages.¹³ This will be particularly significant in the case of the Split cathedral, and may generate the idea of Lucy's appearance in the places of 'imperial' importance – if Kandler is right in his thesis that the Pula site is the location of the former imperial villa of Antonia Minor, mother of emperor Claudius.

¹¹ IDEM, *Župa Vrbanj na Hvaru [Parish Vrbanj on Hvar]*, «Služba Božja», 33, 1993, pp. 245-266.

¹² A. STARAC, *Antička Pula. Topografija i spomenici [Ancient Pula. Topography and Monuments]*, «Mitteilungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte», 2006.

¹³ This could be related to data obtained by Italian archaeologists and art historians, as reported by R. Tomić. During the research of older archaeological layers in the church of St. Lucy – a cult shrine – in the town of Salò on the shores of Lake Garda in Italy, iconography has been observed that refers to the attribution of the cult of Lucy which preceded the one of the late Middle Ages.

From the maritime aspect, however, it is important to underline that Pula's position is conditioned in particular by good anchorage and a safe port. Roman Iulia Pola Pollentia Herculanea was the largest and most important Istrian colony from late antiquity, founded in 46-45 BC in the place of an older *histrian* fort on the coastline forming a large bay, well protected from strong and dangerous southern winds. For that reason, it enjoyed the reputation of a safe anchorage since ancient times.

On the other hand, the depictions of St. Lucy in Istrian wall paintings, widespread throughout the peninsula, point to the longevity and tradition of the worship of her cult. According to the accounts of the Pula conservation professionals, the oldest wall depiction of St. Lucy in Istria is located in the church of St. Agatha near Kanfanar, on the wall beneath the triumphal arch.¹⁴ Some conservators believe that the cult of Lucy could explain why people used to scrape the lime from the eyes of the saints in the church, to use its powder as a remedy against eye diseases.

Many altars have also been dedicated to St. Lucy. Conservation practice provides evidence of such altars in Rakalj, Mutvoran, Lovran and Kastav, mentioned as early as the visitation of Francesco Bartiromo, the general vicar of the Pula diocese. Kastav altar was located in the church of the same name, and has been maintained by the Confraternity of St. Lucy.

In *Hagio-topography of Croatia* A. Badurina records the total of fifteen localities with the St. Lucy's titular in the diocese of Poreč and Pula, which may be attributed to the coastal inclination.¹⁵ Schema-

¹⁴ Although interesting, the fact that in Istria St. Lucy appears in pair with St. Agatha is not too much of a surprise considering the narrative of the original legend. On the other hand, St. Lucy also appears together with St. Apollonia. In the church of Holy Trinity in Hrastovlje, under the arcades on the south wall, St. Lucy is in the company with St. Apollonia and St. Agatha. In the two-apse church of St. Peter and St. Paul, on the wall of the shrine in one of the disassembled apses, St. Lucy is depicted together with St. Apollonia and most likely also with the Madonna. St. Lucy appears, with other female saints, on the window panels of the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Božje polje (Field of God) near Vižinade. Conservators' report of the Gothic art of painting, especially that under the influence of the Alpine cultural circle, such as workshops related to Vincent and Ivan from Kastav, point to a very early and traditional presence of the cult of Lucy in Istria, spreading from the coastal zone to the interior of the peninsula.

¹⁵ A. BADURINA, *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske* [*Hagio-topography of Croatia*], «Radovi Instituta povijesti umjetnosti», 27, 2003, pp. 305-310.

tism, however, of the *Church in Istria* by Marijan Bartolić and Ivan Grah, notes nine churches which still bear the name of St. Lucy. Two of them are parochial churches, in Skitača and in The Pazin Field. The oldest one of these churches, the one in Seline, unlike all others is dated prior to the sixteenth century.

Since there are no significant traces of devotion to the cult of St. Lucy on the eastern side of the Adriatic from the early Christian period to the present, the mention of such a trace by P. Vežić in his paper *Zadar at the Doorstep of Christianity, The Architecture of Early Christianity in Zadar and the Zadar area*, in the chapter *Along the waterway*, is of great importance.¹⁶ The Author locates an early Christian church of St. Lucy (fifth and sixth centuries) on the south coast of the island of Pag, in a place called Košljun, opposite the town of Pag and its port. Košljun is situated in a bay, of course, and in Vežić's opinion it was probably an ancient port («porat») or anchorage. The church is a single-nave building with a semicircular apse. The rarity of these finds of the cult points to the period when the earliest considerable medieval dispersion may have happened – the time of the Benedictine (up to the twelfth century) and then the Franciscan settlement in the Eastern Adriatic area.¹⁷ From the historical point of view, indicative of this was the position of the Benedictine Sisters in the Renaissance Benedictine monastery of St. Lucy, built in 1639 in Gorica, the protected historical area at the heart of the town of Šibenik. The Benedictine nuns have resided there from the very beginning, and were in charge of female youth education. They developed a distinctive worship of St. Catherine of Alexandria during the period of Napoleon's occupation of Dalmatia. At this time, the two other female Benedictine monasteries in Šibenik – St. Saviour and St. Catherine – were closed down, and the nuns from these monasteries moved to the monastery of St. Lucy, bringing the image of St. Catherine along.

The second, more pronounced wave of diffusion occurred during the period of Venetian expansionism, which began on the Eastern Adriatic coast with the purchase of Dalmatia in the fifteenth century,

¹⁶ P. VEŽIĆ, *Zadar na pragu kršćanstva, Arhitektura ranoga kršćanstva u Zadru i na zadarskom području* [*Zadar at the Doorstep of Christianity, Early Christian Architecture in the Zadar Area*], Zadar, 2005, pp. 205, 124.

¹⁷ The admiration of Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan order, for the Syracusan Virgin is well known in the Church tradition.

at the time when on both sides of the Adriatic many Italian masters created statues and polyptychs on the subject of the *Storie di Santa Lucia*. With this late medieval appearance of the cult, the presence of the cult of Lucy became notable in the area of the town of Zadar. Although not a single church dedicated to St. Lucy existed in Zadar, the altar palas with her image are widespread, as substantiated in the writings of R. Tomić¹⁸ and I. Petricioli.¹⁹ Among many photographs of lavishly illustrated paintings, the Authors present several important works: the altar pala depicting St. Lucy in the church of St. Jerome in Ugljan on the island of Ugljan, believed to have been painted around 1600; the altarpiece of St. Lucy in the collection of the Franciscan monastery of St. Michael in Zadar, likewise painted around 1600; and the altar of St. Lucy and a painting of the saint in the church of St. Simeon, dated between 1565 and 1568 and possibly rendered by the Italian artist Bernardino Ricciardi.

It is therefore extremely important to emphasize – and this is the case in other areas as well – that except for Venice none of the larger urban centres included in the research has a church with the titular of this saint, despite the marked strength of the cult. This phenomenon almost appears to be the rule within the cult, a fact that could further indicate its esoteric nature.

THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIEVAL VENICE ON THE SPREADING OF THE CULT OF ST. LUCY

The relics of the early Christian saints were massively purchased and transferred from the Middle East to Europe by maritime routes during the Crusades, the time of the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem and of the Holy Land. With the Muslim expansion, the trade, and even theft, of relics increased, with the transfer concentrating on Veneto, at the time when the Republic was undergoing a period of extraordinary economic growth thanks to the progress of its maritime affairs and its overseas trade. The writing of A. Amore, who establishes a historiographical link of such phenomena with the Venetian Republic, confirms this. With the purchase and transfer of the relics of St.

¹⁸ E. HILJE, R. TOMIĆ, *Umjetnička baština zadarske biskupije* [The Artistic Heritage of the Zadar Diocese], Zadar, 2006.

¹⁹ I. PETRICIOLI, M. DOMLJAN, P. VEŽIĆ, *Sjaj zadarskih riznica* [The Brilliance of Zadar's Treasury], Zagreb, 1990.

Mark the Evangelist, the Alexandrian saint becomes the main protector of the cosmopolitan power of the Venetian Republic. With the later transfer of the relics of St. Rocco, seized from the Romans in the fourteenth century, Venice seeks to reinforce its collection of eminent Christian martyrs. Regardless of the dubious credibility of the relics of St. Lucy, the genuineness of which science will never be able to confirm, those still kept in her baroque sanctuary have undeniable symbolic value.²⁰ The Venetians left behind only the relics of St. Nicholas of Myra. The citizens of Bari pre-empted them by transferring those relics to Bari in 1095.

Especially interesting is the case of the legendary transfer from Syria to Venice of the body of St. Simeon, whose casket is still kept in the church named after him in Zadar. On the left side of the casket there is a scene depicting a storm at sea being calmed down by St. Simeon. According to the legend, on its way to Venice the ship was struck by a great storm in the Adriatic Sea, and the sailors threw most of the ship's inventory and cargo into the sea in order to rescue the ship and the passengers. When they reached the saint's body, the storm suddenly ceased, and the ship arrived to Zadar, where the body of St. Simeon has remained ever since.²¹

²⁰ AMORE, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-252. According to A. Amore, it is impossible today to specify where Lucy's relics are housed because of two completely different and contrasting traditions, both of which are historically indisputable. The first, dated to the end of the tenth century, was included by Sigebert of Gembloux in the biography of the bishop Theodoric of Metz (Teodorico di Metz). It says that the bishop, arriving in Italy with emperor Ottone I, took away, along with numerous relics of saints, the relics of Lucy, located in Corfinium in the Abruzzo region. The transfer of either real or probable relics to Metz was also confirmed in the almanacs of the year 970. Amore believes that, if the bishop told the truth, it may be assumed that the relics were removed from Syracuse in 718, when the Sicilian governor Sergio, rebelling against emperor Leo III Isaurico, fled from Sicily to the territory of the Langobard king Romuald II of Benevento. The second tradition, continues Amore, is confirmed by Leone Marsicano and the Venetian chronicler Andrea Dandolo. The former writes in *Chronica Monasterio Casinensis* of 1038: «cumque maxima iam pars Siciliae recepta esset et Siracusana civitas capta, a sene quodam praefato duci (Maniace) mausoleum sanctae virginis Luciae proditum, eiusque sacrum corpus inde sublatum et in argentea theca cum omni reverentia positum Constantinopolim est transmissum». The latter describes the purchase of relics in Constantinople in 1204 by the Crusaders, including his famous ancestor the Venetian doge Enrico Dandolo, who had confirmed «Inventis similiter corporibus sanctarum Agathae et Luciae virginis, que Baxilius et Constantinus Augusti de Sicilia deferri Constantinopolim fecerent, dux, optentum corpus sanctae Luciae Veneciam in monasterium sancti Georgii mandavit, quod in ecclesia eius nomini dedicata repositum est».

²¹ D. KEČKEMET, *Naša stara pomorska ikonografija* [Our Ancient Maritime Iconography], «Pomorski zbornik», 1, 1962, pp. 553-591: 564.

In the Adriatic tradition, the cult of St. Lucy, along with the cults of St. Mark and St. Rocco, became a Venetian cult. Her feast day coincided, under the Julian calendar, with the winter solstice, the time when all agreements are accomplished and the end of the school year is announced. For that reason, the assumption that the cult of Lucy reached the cathedral of Split under the flag of the *Serenissima* in the fifteenth century seems quite realistic. At this time, as C. Fisković noted, Bonino di Jacopo of Milan (Bonino Jakovljević), a sculptor originally from Lombardy,²² built a late Gothic main altar in the cathedral of St. Domnius (St. Dujam), with ciborium, above which he placed a statue of St. Lucy with the symbols of her martyrdom (scissors and eyes). The dating was probably further supported by the fact that both St. Lucy and St. Nicholas were persecuted under Licinius and Diocletian.

The persecuted and murdered Christian martyrs of the third and fourth centuries were later canonized by the Church, proclaimed as saints and assigned the role of 'protectors' to suit the needs of the medieval iconographic imaginary. That is why Venice chooses for itself such protectors who will, by the synergy of their role, provide symbolic support to its sovereign economic progress, and who will also attract large masses of pilgrims to the relocated 'graves' of the saints. It is possible to conclude that the powerful medieval Venetian State had great impact on the hierarchical standing of the individual saints in the iconographic ranks, particularly in the Adriatic region. This choice above all meant selecting 'protectors' useful to Venice's economic interests and activities, in this case maritime affairs and trade.

Thanks to excellent trade and sailing links, the Venetians, bringing to the Northern part of Italy the relics of saints, provide symbolic protection for themselves, which will enable them to gain a social position at times superior even to that of the Roman pontificate itself.²³

²² FISKOVIĆ, *Humanizacija*, cit., p. 423. If this is really the work of the Milanese sculptor – who, according to P. Marković, «raises himself as a sculptor above the average level and becomes the most striking figure of the beginning of the 15th century» –, then the period of installation of St. Lucy's statue can be precisely dated to 1412-1429, when Bonino was working in Dalmatia. The most important among the many works attributed to him are those on the St. Jacob's cathedral in Šibenik, where the artist died of plague in 1429 (P. MARKOVIĆ, *Bonino da Milano – primus magister ecclesie nove sancti Jacobi*, «Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji», 39, 2002, pp. 207-225).

²³ This has also been confirmed by the statement «Venezia abbia esercitato una sorta di controllo artistico sui Paesi adriatici...».

St. Mark – the protector saint of the city of Venice, of its notaries,²⁴ and fields; St. Rocco – the protector saint of prisoners, and providing protection from plague, the deadliest epidemic of the Middle Ages; and St. Lucy – the eponym of light and the protector of eyesight. The three saints fit perfectly into a system of symbolic protection of a naval force such as Venice. At the time, strong maritime affairs formed the foundation of all State and economic power, and the doge was even also addressed as «Vaša Svjetlost» (literally «Your Luminosity»).

Like the symbol of St. Mark – a winged lion with The Gospel Book and a pen – whose powerful figure, reliefs and prints were spread throughout Dalmatia controlled by Venice, the central appearance of the cult of St. Lucy in Split also seems to have been associated with the global geostrategic orientation of the Venetian interests of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as part of its eternal rivalry with the Dubrovnik merchants for supremacy over the Adriatic.²⁵ In this respect, Split's position as a trade centre became radically strengthened, while Zadar remained an administrative centre.²⁶ Venetian increased interest in Split was above all the result of the well-established land trade routes, which led as early as the antiquity from Salona to Delminium, Naronia and further into the depth of the Balkan continent following the old Roman road across Trilj (known as Pons Tiluri) on the river Cetina.²⁷

From the moment when Venice became the absolute ruler of Dal-

²⁴ Notaries were an important and respected link in the legal system of strong maritime States in the Middle Ages due to their unique literacy and their unavoidable presence on ships.

²⁵ This might be the main reason why the cult of St. Lucy has not been more significantly developed in Dubrovnik and in the area under its control, manifesting the conflict of interests of two 'eternal rivals', two Adriatic naval forces.

²⁶ This influence was obvious on the Italian coast of the Adriatic too. «Pesaro, Recanati e Fermo, in particolare, vedono giungere da Venezia elaborati e sontuosissimi politici destinati alle più importanti chiese cittadine ... attestando una circolazione di dipinti e di artisti che segue anche le logiche dell'espansione commerciale ... nel corso della seconda metà del Trecento e nei primi decenni del secolo successivo, quando una nuova ondata di opere veneziane si diffonde nel bacino adriatico [...]. In molti casi furono gli stessi artisti a lasciare Venezia per impiantare nuovi ateliers in altre località adriatiche dell'una e dell'altra sponda...».

²⁷ In 1578 Daniel Rodriga, a Jewish Venetian merchant, proposed to the Venetian administration to build the so called *skela* in Split, which he accomplished in 1595, as part of the design and construction of the waterfront, the *lagzaretto*, custom office and (since the 5th of May 1599) the first bank.

matia (1420), a more substantial dispersion of the Venetian cult symbols across this area begins. A glaring example is the toponym of the islet of St. Mark situated between the island of Krk and the mainland. The Venetians changed its original name of *Omiš* to the name of their patron St. Mark in 1480, at the time when Ivan Frankopan relinquished the island of Krk to Venice.²⁸

The parallelism of the veneration of St. Lucy in the centres of the cult, consecrated dark underground places – the crypt of St. Mark in Venice, which lies below sea level, and the crypt beneath the Mausoleum of the present cathedral of Split, demonstrates that their functions during St. Lucy's feast day are identical. On these days, the crypts are opened and single-day candles are lit. However, unlike the circular ground plan of the crypt that traces the octagonal form of Diocletian's Mausoleum, the crypt beneath the Basilica of St. Mark has a far more dynamic structure, with the Greek cross shaped ground plan like the Basilica itself. According to the historical sources, in the Middle Ages the sick from the plague and other diseases would be put in quarantine in these crypts, which also served as a kind of a prison.

THE ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURE OF DIOCLETIAN'S MAUSOLEUM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULT OF ST. LUCY

During the construction of Diocletian's Palace (the third-fourth centuries) the cult of Mithra – in initiations of which, unlike those of the Kybele's cult, women were not allowed to participate – spread throughout the Mediterranean. This eastern cult, adopted from Persia in the first century, was particularly strong among merchants and soldiers, because it was associated with the themes of order and chaos, and light and darkness as the great forces of good and evil. One of Mithra's shrines was situated in Ostia near Rome. His mysteries took place in small underground chapels, so-called 'caves' which had a purpose to enable devotees to enter the kingdom of light. According to the myth, Mithra was a 'light force', born from a rock.

C. Fisković writes:

In his speech of flattery, held in Split in 1558, the Chancellor of the Split community Anthony Proculiano (Antun Prokuliano) says that the crypt of

²⁸ N. ŽIC, *Sveti Marko* [St. Mark], «Pomorska enciklopedija», VII, 1985, p. 625.

the mausoleum, which he considered a temple of Jupiter, is 'an empty underground space that actually looks like a beautiful cave, where Diocletian, according to those idolaters, had been receiving prophetic responses from Apollo, and in which there is a small but constant water source thought to possess a healing power'. It is possible to imagine that such a mention of the crypt could imply a link, however frail, between antiquity and Christianity.²⁹

B. Gavella also mentions that there was a spring inside the sanctuary of Asclepius in Athens that was found in the rocks and a cave under the Acropolis.³⁰ The Albanian site Butrint (ancient Buthrotum) is an identical case, where a temple dedicated to Asclepius near a sacred spring was mentioned as early as the sixth century BC. Like many other shrines, the crypt in Split also contains a natural spring as an iconographic constant.

Diocletian's superstition and his cultic worship of the god of sun are well known and were characteristic of all eastern rulers. Therefore, the crypt of the Mausoleum could have been an ideal place for the installation of the cult of St. Lucy during the sixteenth century. During this same century, highly significant for the city, a famous Italian architect and theorist, the *cinquecentist* Andrea Palladio (1508-1580) leaves the drawings of the Mausoleum and of the details of Diocletian's Palace. The map, preserved in the Library of The Royal Institute of British Architects in London,³¹ indicates that the crypt could have been systematically constructed underneath the Mausoleum, as the focal point supporting the idea of *life after death*, if the acroterion of the Mausoleum's semicircular dome coincides with the vertical axis of the crypt's arch – which proves to be right.³² In that case, the sarcophagus of the emperor was to be placed on the central axis of the Mausoleum's octagon, positioned in the east-west direction, with the headboard facing east. Both assumptions are currently supported by the majority of scientists.

J. Belamarić says about Split's history:

The early history of Split is detectable through the dialogue of pagan and Christian themes, the clash of ancient gods and medieval saints. In the Ca-

²⁹ FISKOVIĆ, *Humanizacija*, cit., p. 424.

³⁰ B. GAVELA, *Historija umetnosti antičke Grčke* [History of Art of Ancient Greece], Beograd, 1969, p. 198.

³¹ J. and T. MARASOVIĆ, *Dioklecijanova palača* [Diocletian's Palace], Zagreb, 1968, p. 4.

³² J. and T. MARASOVIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

thedral, the altar of St. Domnius, patron saint of Split, is formed by a sarcophagus from late antiquity depicting the Good Shepherd. Another, smaller sarcophagus, dating from the 13th century, was found inside the larger one, with a marble slab as its bottom side bearing barely legible remains of an ancient relief showing the ritual sacrifice of a bull. The Roman relief depicting a pagan sacrifice was obviously chipped conscientiously (without doubt thought to have been associated with Diocletian), and quite deliberately placed under the bone-relics of St. Domnius, the local martyr, thereby to witness the triumph of the saint over the pagan emperor, the Christian faith over the Roman rituals.³³

The bull was sacrificed during Mithra's initiations, and Diocletian restored the administration of the Empire to introduce order in Gaul (Gallia) and prevent the occurrence of usurpers (Mithra's quality),³⁴ which could be an important detail in establishing the purpose of the crypt beneath the Mausoleum.

If the crypt was really an initiation site for the worship of the cult of Mithra, it is even more likely that it was also a place of worship of Asclepius, in which, as a rule inside a cave, a spring appears as a symbolic mystical instrument. Therefore, if Cybele was a public deity of the privileged, it is possible to assume that Mithra might have been their secret mystical initiatory deity – a hypothesis disputed by J. Belamarić³⁵ who, nonetheless, states that the hypothesis is supported by some archaeologists.³⁶ Although Belamarić says that «since the Middle Ages St. Lucy has been venerated in the darkest part of the building», he omits to say which period of the Middle Ages he has in mind.

It is possible that when Constantine Porphyrogenitus writes in the tenth century about the crypt as a prison this is simply to support the

³³ J. BELAMARIĆ, *Split - od carske palače do grada (Split-From the Emperor's Palace to the City)*, Split, Grad Split, 1998, p. 6. The most substantial description of the sarcophagus, cited by many authors, was given by C. FISKORIĆ, *Novi nalazi u splitskoj katedrali [New Findings in the Split Cathedral]*, «Bulletin JA», 6, 1958, p. 2.

³⁴ J. Belamarić also emphasizes this opinion, despite the disagreement about the cult of Mithra.

³⁵ Belamarić thinks that the crypt was used for torturing Christians.

³⁶ «The mausoleum had a crypt which some archaeologists – wrongly – considered as being dedicated to Mithra, the god of sun, while the citizens of Split – according to the Byzantine emperor and writer Constantine Porphyrogenitus from the 10th century – thought that it was used as a dungeon in which Diocletian detained and tortured Christians. The crypt had a tectonic purpose, to support the upper floor, the cell. From the Middle Ages, St. Lucy, the patron saint of eye sight, has been worshiped in this darkest part of the structure.» (BELAMARIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 43).

idea of the presence of a torture chamber and thus, in the process of conflict between two incredibly vehement cult energies, stress even more the danger of paganism and reinforce the Christian faith of the community. As A. D. Nock says: «Christianity was left to democratize the mystery», for it also contained powerful myths, which people believed to be literally true.

Since Christianity originated in the pagan world, and the converts brought along with them the pagan beliefs and myths, the process of identity 'replacement' soon began. According to Toma Arhidakon (thirteenth century) it was as late as about 650 AD³⁷ that the archbishop John of Ravenna cleansed the Mausoleum of pagan deities, established the cathedral to which he brought the relics of the Salona's martyrs St. Domnius and St. Anastasius (St. Staš), and dedicated it to Mary's Ascension – the titular of the majority of late antique Dalmatian cathedrals. Other saints, like St. Martin and St. Theodore, patron of the Byzantine army, gained their place inside the Palace early (in the sixth century), in order to attract the residents of the Palace, as well as craftsmen and soldiers, to Christianity. In the fourteenth century, when a new authentic map of Split with the city's ground plan appeared, the Mausoleum of the most viscous enemy of the Christians was converted into a Christian cathedral of the late Middle Ages, and thus, through the legend of St. Lucy, the greatest theme of all time and of all world religions – the myth of the eternal relationship between darkness and light (life and death) was introduced rather late in the Middle Ages to substitute the former initiatory, or martyrs' crypt of Diocletian.³⁸ The idea of the synergetic substitution of the cults certainly provides possible methodological help in reaching the final conclusion about the crypt's purpose.

Although C. Fisković believes that the crypt of Diocletian's Mausoleum was dedicated to the saint of 'light' already in the fifteenth century, when her statue was set up above the ciborium, and her name was mentioned in the visitations of Dominis and Cosmi in the seventeenth century,³⁹ according to T. Marasović her inauguration in the crypt of the Split cathedral still cannot be reliably dated.

³⁷ BELAMARIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

³⁸ It is a well-known fact that areas and places named after St. Lucy in the Christian terminology mark the localities with especially radiant earth forces.

³⁹ M.-A. DE DOMINIS, *Izabrani radovi [Selected Works]*, Split, Lamaro, 2002, 1, p. 144. De Dominis probably refers to St. Lucy as well when he says that «sanctuaries are opened several times a year with lighted torches to attract greater respect».

A further statue of St. Lucy, which C. Fisković dates back to the fifteenth century,⁴⁰ is to be found in a church of the Conventual Franciscans in Split, in the heart of the old-town port Matejuška. It once stood inside the church, and then in the sacristy of the St. Francis' church. According to Fisković's description, it is a wooden statue, 0.97 m tall and 0.32 m wide. To this Gothic sculpture we can now add another wooden statue of St. Lucy, also placed in the church of St. Francis. Regardless of its insignificant artistic value, the statue clearly points to the tradition of veneration of St. Lucy in the Split port area. This fact is strongly supported by a copy of the layout of St. Francis' church and cloister made in 1764 by surveyor Petar Kurir, mentioned both by C. Fisković⁴¹ and A. Duplančić.⁴² The layout visibly shows that there was a chapel of St. Lucy in the church at the time, marked with the letters «S L» in the bottom left corner of the blueprint.

It is important to point out, since no records about it exist, that the figure of St. Lucy is nowadays worshiped in Split outside of the cathedral, in the Shrine Church of Our Lady, built in 1867 in Dobrić (FIG. 1). In that church there is a painting of St. Lucy, the origin of which has not been determined but is presumed to date from the time when the church was built.⁴³ This painting has to our knowledge never been published. As a personal vow or pledge, countless gifts have been dedicated to St. Lucy, the most significant among them being items made of silver – candlesticks, chalices and small votive tablets depicting the eyes. Unfortunately, it appears that the names of the donors have not been preserved. According to the local parish priest M. Čubelić, oral history confirms that these gifts came from the Split families with strong maritime tradition.

⁴⁰ C. FISKOVIĆ, *Drvena skulptura gotičkog stila u Splitu* [Wooden Sculpture of Gothic style in Split], «Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku», LI, za godine 1930-1934 [but 1940], p. 219.

⁴¹ IDEM, *Utjecaj Dioklecijanovog mauzoleja na kasnije graditeljstvo* [Influence of Diocletian's Mausoleum on Later Architecture], «Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku», LIII, za godine 1950-1951 [but 1952], p. 187.

⁴² A. DUPLANČIĆ, *Nekadašnje groblje kod splitskih konventualaca* [The Former Cemetery of the Split Conventuals], «Kulturna baština», XI, 16, 1985, pp. 45-47.

⁴³ Another painting of Lucy, also dating from the nineteenth century, is situated in the cathedral of St. Domnius, and is presented in the open space in front of the crypt every year during her feast.



FIG. 1. St. Lucy with votive gifts in the church of Our Lady's shrine in Dobrić in Split.

A strong concentration of the cult of St. Lucy in such a narrow area, along the east-west longitudinal line from the Peristyle, over Dobrić to the old-town port of Veli Varoš, where even Franciscans themselves kept their boats, points to the undeniable tradition of worship of the cult among the population traditionally linked to the naval, fishing, and even trading occupations.

In the close vicinity of Split, the veneration of St. Lucy has been

observed on the island of Brač – where a church of St. Lucy is located in a deep and well protected bay of Pučišća,⁴⁴ in Kaštel Štafilić – where a street, St. Lucy's Lane, was named after the church dedicated to her (eighteenth century),⁴⁵ and above all on the island of Drvenik Veliki in the waters of Trogir. On the occasion of an exhibition devoted to the votive gifts of Trogir and its surroundings which she organized, D. Radić writes that on this island, along with the pledges to St. George, St. Rocco and St. Nicholas, «many pledges have been given» to St. Lucy, mostly depictions of her eyes on silver votive tablets.⁴⁶ The Author documents her statements with a manuscript about the estate and inventory of the churches on the island of Drvenik and in Biskupija (a village in the parish of Oriovica), from 1884, kept in the archives of the parish of the Sacred Heart. However, the statue of Lucy that was housed in the church of St. Michael in Trogir until the Allied bombing of the town during the second world war, has since the demolition been kept in the church of St. Peter at the centre of the Trogir port.

Outside of the marine zone, in the hinterland of Split, a sporadic presence of the cult of St. Lucy has been observed. This is in a way confirmed by the opinion of S. Piplović, who, citing the work of Ante Soldo, describes the situation on the mainland, where no church in the Franciscan Province of the Most Holy Redeemer is named after St. Lucy, even though the province covers, aside from Split, the areas of Zagreb, Karin, Visovac, Šibenik, Knin, Sinj, Omiš, Imotski, Makarska, Živogošće, Zaoštrog and Sumartin on the island of Brač.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ A church with a remarkable altar pala depicting God the Father, Mary, St. Anthony and St. Lucy, was built by the naval families from Pučišća in 1563: K. PRIJATELJ, *Kulturni spomenici otoka Brača* [Cultural Monuments of the Island of Brač], «Brački zbornik», 4, 1960, pp. 161-247: 225.

⁴⁵ There is a strong presence of the cult of St. Lucy in Štafilić, as evidenced by a little church, a painting of St. Lucy and a more recent rendering of the saint (from 1925), made of solid walnut wood, 156 × 36 cm. For more than two decades, believers from other villages of Kaštela have been coming to vow to St. Lucy. The church of St. Lucy was built north of the Stafileo fort in 1712, and was first recorded by bishop Kačić in 1723. The altar pala, an oil painting of St. Lucy, St. Joseph, the Virgin Mary, Christ and an angel, also dates from the eighteenth century. As a votive offering to St. Lucy, in Štafilić there are twelve small votive tablets made of silver depicting the eyes of the saint: S. AČALIJA, *Župna crkva Bezgrješnog začeća Blažene Djevice Marije u Kaštel Štafiliću* [Parish Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kaštel Štafilić], Kaštel Štafilić, Muzej grada Kaštela, 2007, pp. 91-93.

⁴⁶ D. RADIĆ, *Ex voto-žavjetni darovi u Trogiru i okolici* [Ex Voto-Votive Offerings in Trogir and Its Surroundings], Trogir, 2005, p. 40.

⁴⁷ A. SOLDI, *Franjevačka provincija presvetoga Otkupitelja* [Franciscan Province of the Most Holy Redeemer], Split, 1979.

THE PRESENCE OF THE CULT OF ST. LUCY
IN THE CROATIAN LITTORAL

While churches dedicated to St. Nicholas appeared in Split very early on,⁴⁸ coinciding with the arrival of this cult to Bari, there are no known traces of construction of churches dedicated to St. Lucy prior to the placement of the saint's statue in the Split cathedral. However, records of her church(es) from around the time of the placement do exist, in particular on the island of Krk, the cradle of the Frankopans. Frankopans were associated with numerous European royal families, and their ancient lineage began with the count Dujam I in the twelfth century, when their first castle, Kaštel Gradec, was built in the centre of the island, between the glagolitic place Vrbnik and Risika. This indicates a likely influence of the counts-*wolves* – as the Frankopans have been referred to in Croatian literature for their readiness to use a sword to defend their possessions – on the topology of the saints in the area of Krk.

The earliest reliable trace of the cult of St. Lucy in Croatia exists in Baška on Krk, where a little church of St. Lucy is located, testifying clearly to the long-lasting tradition of the worship of St. Lucy by the Croatian coastal people in the regions under the domination of the Krk counts. According to the translation of the Baška Tablet (*Bašćanska ploča*), dating back to the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth centuries,⁴⁹ the Croatian king Zvonimir (d. 1089)

⁴⁸ The little church in Veli Varoš was dated as early as in the turn of the eleventh-twelfth centuries, whilst the little church on the south-east slope of Marjan was built as an endowment by the Split citizen Rako and his wife Elizabeta, and was donated to the abbey of Sustjepan in 1212.

⁴⁹ P. VEŽIĆ, *Arhitektura crkve i pregrade kora Svete Lucije u Jurandvoru* [*Architecture of the Church and Choir Stalls of Saint Lucy's Church in Jurandvor*], *Zbornik radova 900 godina Bašćanske ploče (1100.-2000.)*, Baška, 2000, pp. 165-186. The contemporaries Lujo Margetić and Pavuša Vežić write about the date of origin of the Baška Tablet. The latter dates the Tablet back to end of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and explains it with the knowledge he gained through the analysis of the architecture of St. Lucy's church in Jurandvor in Baška bay. Analysing the construction method and architectural elements of the church, Vežić suggests the possibility that it may be up to two hundred years younger than the current dating (end of thirteenth or early fourteenth century). Vežić interprets B. Fučić's estimation that the choir stalls, including Baška Tablet as its integral part, were built simultaneously with the church, but he nevertheless concludes that the Tablet, as an original *pluteus*, is much older and belongs to a previous early Romanesque church, as indicated by the floral motif in its upper part. The traces of re-carving indicate a possible conversion of the Tablet in the church of St. Lucy.

gifted a piece of land («ledinu») to St. Lucy: «I, in the name of the Father and the Son and of the Holy Spirit, I, abbot Drzhiha, wrote this concerning the meadow which Zvonimir, the Croatian king, in his days gifted to Saint Lucy...» («Ja, u ime Oca i Sina i Svetoga Duha, ja opat Držiha pisah ovo o ledini koju dade Zvonimir, kralj hrvatski, u svoje dane Svetoj Luciji...»)⁵⁰ According to another translation of the same source, the abbot Dobrovit built the present church of St. Lucy at the time when the prince Kosmati (Kuzma) ruled over the entire Krajina, including the island of Krk.⁵¹ This was the time when Venice established its authority on the island, around 1116. The very mention of Lucy's name already speaks about the presence of her cult on the island even before the creation of the famous Baška Tablet, so it can be assumed that there existed an older church with her titular on the same or close location.

The early Romanesque church of St. Lucy is actually placed in what is now the village of Jurandvor, although earlier sources located it in Baška, *i.e.*, in Baška bay. The church and the monastery (abbey), built on the ruins of a rustic villa (*villae rusticate*), were apparently founded by the Benedictines in the eleventh century, at the time when all other Benedictine abbeys on the Adriatic were set up as well. One source also mentions the benefits of the former abbey of St. Lucy which once was very rich («velika blagašica»)⁵².

The frequent presence of the churches of St. Lucy in the Croatian Littoral, traditionally an area of maritime professions, is not at all surprising. Alongside the church in Baška, *i.e.*, Jurandvor, another among the oldest churches, probably likewise an early Christian church (dating has not been reliably confirmed), is located on the site called Selo, between Omišalj and Dobrinj, near a local lake. Its ruins on the old road near Lug, now overgrown with thorns and *macchia*, show that the church was single-naved, correctly orientated, and had a semicircular apse. The walls, about 60 cm thick, now 1.5 m height on average, were built of non-layered, roughly carved, irregular pieces of limestone of varying sizes.

The earliest mention of the chapel of St. Lucy built above the city

⁵⁰ B. Fučić, *Terra incognita*, Zagreb, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1997, p. 115.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 121.

⁵² M. BOLONIC, I. ROKOV ŽIC, *Otok Krk kroz vjekove* [Island of Krk through the Ages], Zagreb, 1977, p. 390.

of Krk, on the main road leading to Baška, is also dated to 1424, so experts believe that its origin is possibly even early Christian.⁵³ Similar chapels would later be built along the Adriatic coast; thus a neo-style church with impressive Romantic characteristics was built in the nineteenth century by Don Ivo Šimunković, a famous descendant of a naval clan, as part of a family estate in Potomje, on the peninsula of Pelješac.

Outside the island, but within Kvarner, there is another location of special interest, the Kostrena municipality, where the Catholic Church was organized into two parishes: Roman Catholic parish of St. Lucy (founded in 1789), and Roman Catholic parish of St. Barbara (founded in 1839).⁵⁴ In Kostrena, Lucy's name is related to a church which in today's appearance dates from the eighteenth century according to an inscription in a stone slab above the door from 1714, dedicated by the count Adam Ratkaj, Bishop of Senj and Modruš. Many sources report that the chapel existed at that site as early as the fifteenth century. However, this earlier dating is still uncertain. The sailors from Kostrena have always made their vows in the church of St. Lucy, but also in the church of St. Barbara.⁵⁵

In view of the above facts, it is not surprising that the Brotherhood of St. Nicholas, organizing help for sailors, was established in Kostrena as late as 1869. The tradition of collecting alms the evening before St. Nicholas Day (Dec. 5), a day after the feast of St. Barbara – when the so called *sajači* go from house to house collecting alms for the most socially handicapped members of the naval families, to be

⁵³ In the bishop's palace in Krk there is a wooden polyptych of St. Lucy from the fourteenth century, the work of Paul Veneziano. With its original Gothic frame the work is of great heritage value and has been restored twice, once in Vienna and the second time in Zagreb.

⁵⁴ I. Strošić, *Religijski život, Kostrenske župe Svete Lucije i Svete Barbare* [Religious Life, Kostrena Parishes of St. Lucy and St. Barbara], Kostrena, 2000, p. 125.

⁵⁵ St. Barbara – the patron of artillery and troops and of accidental or sudden death – lived in the third century in Nicomedia, Diocletian metropolis in Asia Minor. Her feast is celebrated on the 4th of December. According to a legend from the seventh century, which has no historical foundation, Barbara was beheaded by her own father, who died afterwards, struck by lightning in a horrifying thunderstorm. Although her patronage over armourers and firearms was derived from the idea of sudden death, it should be recalled that dangers of sudden storms and lightning strikes are the most common motifs of votive paintings. Venerating St. Barbara, the peasants of Kastav invoke her help against thunder.

donated the next day – has been maintained until this day. The late appearance of that organization can thus be interpreted through a similar mission immanent in the cult of St. Lucy (and the cult of St. Barbara) in this region from the early Christian to the late medieval period. Whilst in the Kvarner Bay and across the Adriatic, the veneration of Our Lady of Trsat remains a constant in the maritime tradition, in Kostrena the presence of the cult of St. Lucy in the tradition of the local population never lost its fervour or disappeared. In 1724, a decree was even made banning the citizens of Draga and Kostrena, subjects of the Bakar manor, to bury their dead on Trsat or elsewhere without special knowledge of the Bakar *Kapitul*. After that, until 1855, when the town got its own cemetery, the residents of Kostrena Sveta Lucija who lived east of the church of St. Lucy buried their dead in Bakar and those who lived west of the church on Trsat.

The parish of Kastav also celebrates St. Lucy, as one of the last victims of Diocletian's persecutions, in the chapel at the Kastav cemetery. The custom of planting wheat on the day of Lucy's feast lives on as part of the pre-Christmas tradition of the people of Kastav. According to the legend, sprouted wheat stalks will shine by candlelight in their green sheen at Christmas, as her name introduces the great light of the Christmas night. This custom has been maintained in the tradition of the Croatian people in the Adriatic.

Highly significant information about the presence of Lucy's cult has been recorded in the town of Rijeka. Namely, the Maritime History Museum of the Croatian littoral in Rijeka keeps among its rich holdings a recently restored painting depicting St. Lucy. It is supposed to have been painted in the seventeenth century, and allegedly was acquired for the Museum from Trsat; however, this has not been confirmed, and thus the information is not reliable.

SYMBOLISM IN MEDIATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULT OF ST. LUCY IN THE ADRIATIC

Apart from the Votive Madonna, in the colourful plane of maritime iconography, St. Lucy often appears as well, as the holder of the divine wisdom, the eponym of 'light' and the protector against eye diseases, whose attributes – eyes and an oil lamp (candle) – were added as an allusion to her name meaning 'light' (Svjetlana). Consequently, the legend which had the purpose of interpreting these symbols only

appeared afterwards. From this point of view, the bipolarity of the cult of this 'self-effacing' but symbolically very effective saint reaches its fullest presence in the maritime communities with traditional matriarchal characteristics.

In the context of the following citation from a text by I. Stošić – that «Catholicism always emphasizes the social and communal dimension of faith that has been transmitted by tradition and mediated by religious symbols, sacramental practices and structures of the Church» –⁵⁶ we could interpret as the background to the symbolism of late medieval cult of Lucy the reflexivity of its contribution to people's economic activities, especially maritime affairs and trade as the pillars of economic prosperity. Until the invention of the telescope and binoculars, the role of the observers at the masts of ships was of extraordinary importance during voyage; this was why, among other things, eyesight played a key role in the safety of navigation.

Most cult shrines in the Adriatic were in fact created in towns with a high flow of trade. During the entire Middle Ages, the maritime trade routes were in their majority also pilgrim routes. A vow offered by Christians in their homeports for the 'protection' of sailors from storms, disease (especially plague) and darkness was a widespread phenomenon. The votive offerings for this purpose have been given ever since the antiquity; Pergamon artists had an especially strong acuity in their visual interpretation of man and his complex psychological states.⁵⁷ After the Roman era, the tradition of offering votive gifts to pagan deities continued in the Middle Ages through the inauguration of Christian 'patron' saints and has affected the Croatian coast as well. Besides votive paintings, which in the most direct way express the tragedy of suffering during severe storms, another group of gifts consisted of votive tablets, mainly minted from silver, which anatomically depicted diseased body parts. In all the churches along the Adriatic, wherever the style of votive paintings appears, a large number of silver votive tablets is to be found. An extremely large number of them represents an eye, which indicates a statistically high proportion of eye disease in the course of history. The appearance of these votive tablets together with the votive paintings is certainly a significant contribu-

⁵⁶ Stošić, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁵⁷ I. ŠIPIĆ, *Mediteran – Povratak u utrobu* [*Mediterranean - Return to the Womb*], Split, Bošković, 2007, pp. 226-232.

tion to the thesis that a systematic iconographic hierarchy was meant to protect traders and travellers from storms and diseases.

Death during voyage, as a constant of the Middle Ages, strikes the sailor on the high seas as well as in the port. In such circumstances, darkness may become a cause for phobias. It is interesting, therefore, to mention the Split period of Marco Antonio de Dominis of Rab (Markantun de Dominis Rabljanin). He moved to Split in 1602, where he became the archbishop of Split, receiving the title of primate of Dalmatia and Croatia at the end of 1602. The historians of Dominis' work know that he – also skilled as mathematician and physicist – wrote treatises on vision problems, dealing with the overall relationship between darkness and light. In his sermon held to Italians in London in 1617, in the chapel of the Mercieri (cappella detta delli *Merciari*), Dominis quoted St. Paul to enthuse celebration and joy for the news that «the night is over and the day has dawned, in mystical and spiritual sense; where miseries of the terrible, permanent and frightening but now past nights once were, now there are lasting and happy days which the never-setting sun has brought to us».⁵⁸

In the context of a thematic sermon on the relationship between darkness and light, Dominis points out the night as an «inconvenient time for travellers, if they do not want to get lost or fall somewhere». As the medieval orientation in space, including the open seas sailing was normally conducted with the help of 'primitive' astronomical instruments (astrolabe, compass) until the chronometric era (eighteenth century), it relied on the availability of the sun and the stars, which were only visible at night (except occasionally the North Star). Therefore, although rare, the night cruise in the open sea was constantly influenced by the 'evil forces' of darkness, and Dominis particularly insists on the metaphor of the ship and navigation, comparing «the navigation of the battling Church with the sailing of the ocean of this world, among thousands of shelves and thousands of reefs, whirlpools, rocks and sandbanks, with no land or coast in sight».⁵⁹ For that reason he will say, alluding to the differences between Reformed and Roman ships: «The one who navigates the deep sea, or sails in the middle of the night with a good compass, navigates with light and with all the necessary clarity during his entire voyage». Such ob-

⁵⁸ DE DOMINIS, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 136-137.

servation, together with the idea of a reformed Church, could have been primarily attributed to Venice, with its strong naval force, which Dominis supported when the Pope Paul V placed it under interdict in 1606. His writings on the incident have been found by Šime Ljubić in a Venice archive in 1869.⁶⁰

The characteristic of worshipping eyesight could certainly have been preceded by the veneration of the precious vital value of light against the frightful nothingness of the darkness at sea. Because of the light it spreads, the lamp was considered a symbol of wisdom and piety, although in the case of St. Lucy it refers to her vision of St. Agatha. According to the legend, appearing to Lucy Agatha said to her: «Lucy, you truly are the light!». ⁶¹ As a result, Lucy regularly appears in the iconography of western Christianity with other patrons of typically 'Adriatic' provenance, and her feast is celebrated on the 13th of December, as a Venetian song says, just when «the day gets longer than the night for the length of a rooster's leg». ⁶² Thus the Venetians suggest a symbolic relationship of the rooster with the lunar cycle, for its daily fourfold singing that announces the dawn marks the scheduled sunrise with reliable accuracy. Because of its multilayered importance, with dominant solar symbolism – symbolizing vigilance and announcing the arrival of the sun and day that replaces night – the rooster was an exceptionally venerated factor against the wicked influences of night, keeping the 'evil forces' away from the houses, so it was often placed on the chimneys, and on the peaks of church towers and cathedrals. ⁶³ The same probably counted for the figureheads at the prow of ships (*pulena*), especially the one kept in the Museum of the city of Trogir, thought to have been taken by the sailors of Trogir from a Turkish galley sunk in the battle of Lepanto in 1571. ⁶⁴

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁶¹ GRGIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 589.

⁶² FISKVIĆ, *Humanizacija*, cit., p. 424.

⁶³ J. CHEVALIER, A. GHERBRANT, *Rječnik simbola* [*Glossary of Symbols*], Zagreb, 1983, pp. 502-503. This is also connected with the role of psychopomp, in ancient times attributed to the rooster, which would go to the Next World to announce and escort the newly-deceased soul that will open its eyes to a new light, equated with the rebirth. Asclepius, the son of Apollo, was the god who, using his drugs, performed resurrections and transformations of divine rebirth on earth. He was a healer before becoming a god, and so it was believed that the rooster likewise cured diseases. Thus, in art the rooster often appears associated with Asclepius.

⁶⁴ V. GLIGO, *Koriolan Cipiko, O azijskom ratu* [*Koriolan Cipiko, On the Asian War*], Split, 1977; V. OMAŠIĆ, *Lepantska bitka 1571. i hrvatski pomorci* [*Battle of Lepanto in 1571 and the Croatian Sailors*], Zadar, 1974, pp. 131-150.

Eye disease was common throughout the ancient and medieval times, affecting particularly the priestly order because of the long and taxing work of rewriting scriptures by hand under inadequate light. It is almost impossible to imagine today any activity undertaken under such dire conditions, so it is understandable that the loss or weakening of eyesight, causing frequent diseases, required the saints' protection, as in the figure of St. Lucy.

The perceived compatibility of symbolism allows us to functionally link the protection of passengers with the protection from disease, especially because the saints themselves, as titulars 'acting' these roles, have common roots originating from the coast of Asia Minor.⁶⁵ Among them, in the paintings and sculpture of the medieval churches, the twins Cosmas and Damian (3rd century) often appear alongside Asclepius as patrons of physicians and pharmacists, and protectors against infectious diseases.⁶⁶ In church iconography they are frequently accompanied by St. Lucy, as has been observed on the west, Italian coast of the Adriatic. The church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Baška on Krk was built in the 15th century⁶⁷ at the place where the Baška tablet with the oldest Glagolitic mention of St. Lucy's name has been found.

CONCLUSION

Along the borders of the central and north Adriatic coast, topology points to several distinctly popular centres of traditional veneration of St. Lucy. The city of Venice, the city of Split and the Croatian littoral, with the narrower locations on the island of Krk and in Kostrena near the Bakar bay, have developed a tradition of worship of the saint who has been historically transformed from an ancient eponym with solar meaning to a humanized 'patron' of the eyesight diseases. The coastal families are probably predominant among those who have worshiped the name of St. Lucy in the Adriatic, as indicated by the topology of altar palas, statues, and early Christian and medieval churches along the Adriatic, built mostly on the locations important for the safety and regularity of sailing, i.e., in the vicinity of well-protected anchorages

⁶⁵ P. HORDEN, N. PURCELL, *The Corrupting Sea, A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford, 2000, p. 440. These Authors argue that there exist systematic ancient sea routes of the devotees, with the holy graves of the saints in the observed sites.

⁶⁶ FIŠKOVIĆ, *Humanizacija*, cit., p. 422.

⁶⁷ BOLONIĆ, ROKOV ŽIC, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

and ports. Consequently, the cult, as a symbolic 'lighthouse', often appears along the Eastern Adriatic coast, but in other localities of the Mediterranean as well (Italy, Corsica, Spain and Portugal). After all, it originated from the former colony of Corinth (734 BC), the maritime strong town of Syracuse, which has always had a huge penetrative influence on the Adriatic.

A distinctive feature of the topology of the cult of Lucy from the late antiquity to the glagolitic phase on the island of Krk (eleventh-twelfth centuries) consists in the construction of church buildings based on the principle of archaeological layers, *i.e.*, transgression. At the same time, the worship in the places of key importance (imperial Mausoleum, imperial baths), especially if crypts appear as well, may point to the replacement of esoteric cults in a long-term confrontation of the pagan and Christian energies, and subsequently to the early Christian Croatian characterization of the cult. It is possible that, following the Roman tradition, the cult of St. Lucy – in regard to its early dating – preceded even the Marian cult and represented the continuity of the deity of 'light', which was celebrated in Rome on 10th of December, three days before the feast of Lucia.⁶⁸

The assumption about the replacement of the cult is supported by the effectiveness of its early appearance, but also by its later medieval expansion in the areas along the Adriatic coast, especially in Istria, the Croatian littoral and Dalmatia. All this evidently indicates the sym-

⁶⁸ M. CH. CELLETTI, *Lucia*, in *op. cit.*, pp. 251-258. This opinion is based on the well-known time difference between the solstice under the Julian and under the Gregorian calendar. The folklore of the Roman martyr brings the accuracy of the legend into a direct connection with the 'shortest day' and long night of the solstice («...mentre la vergine siracusana, la cui festa cadeva, secondo il Calendario Giuliano, nel 'giorno più corto che si sia', diffonde lo splendore dei suoi occhi accecati sulla corrispondente lunga notte del solstizio»).

The fact that the deity of light was celebrated in Rome on the 10th of December should inevitably be compared with one of the major Jewish holidays – Hanukkah, which is celebrated every year on the 11th of December, commemorating the rededication of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem in 164 BC, after three-years struggles and persecutions during the Hellenistic king Antiochus IV Epiphanes. This event includes the legend of the *Menorah* which continued to burn in the Temple for eight days although there was only enough oil to burn for one day. Hanukkah is therefore also celebrated as the Festival of Lights. It doesn't necessarily mean that these two events are historically linked, but an impact of the winter solstice on the symbolism of light is obvious. Certain correlation positively exists between the three celebrations, and it is related to the changes caused by the introduction of the Gregorian calendar in 1582.

bolic distinctiveness of the cult as a potential paradigm of the economic interests of the financially powerful seafaring tradition of Venice. This is directly linked to A. Badurina's opinion that, except for its religious significance, the patronage of a saint always had a number of other psychological, cultural, socio-economic and even political impacts on an area and on the lives of people living in that area.

Because of its bipolarity and symbolic contemplativeness, the cult of St. Lucy can be topologically classified into a votive group of saints and the group of so-called 'holy doctors', who have been of particular interest for maritime professions. Therefore, within the hagio-topographic structure and for its iconographic symbolism, the cult has been until today traditionally largely present in the areas of maritime communities with strong matriarchal characteristics.

III. DÉVELOPPEMENT ÉCONOMIQUE, RIVALITÉS COMMERCIALES, PROGRÈS SCIENTIFIQUE

ENTREPRENDRE SOUS LE POUVOIR VÉNITIEN. LA COMPAGNIE DES MATAFARIĆ DE ZADAR DURANT LA SECONDE MOITIÉ DU XV^E SIÈCLE

FLORENCE FABIJANEC

LES activités économiques d'une compagnie zadaroise aux premiers temps du gouvernement vénitien peuvent être reconstituées grâce aux *Actes de la famille Matafar*.¹ Ce document fragmentaire contient au moins 54 folios, datés des années 1429-1475. Les feuillets les plus anciens (1429-1445) contiennent divers comptes-rendus de Šimun de Matafarić, père de Donat, aussi bien sur la vie politique à Zadar avant 1409, que sur les techniques de conservation du vin et autres réflexions éparses. Leur pagination est différente du texte central et inclut des feuillets isolés. Le gros du manuscrit représente le livre principal des comptes d'un patricien zadarois, Donat Matafarić, pour les années 1449-1475.² La famille Matafarić est brièvement présentée, ainsi que l'engagement économique des patriciens avant 1409, quand Zadar perdit son autonomie politico-économique et se trouva placée sous l'autorité de Venise. Le manuscrit éclaire les changements économiques qui affectèrent l'élite sociale et son adaptation à la nouvelle conjoncture.

LES ACTEURS DE LA COMPAGNIE

Les Matafarić (*de Mataphar, Matafarich*) appartenaient à l'une des vingt-cinq plus anciennes familles de la noblesse urbaine, dont l'arbre

¹ Zadar, Državni Arhiv (= Archives Historiques de Zadar, par la suite DAZD): *Spisi obitelji Matafar*, boîte 1, B. 1.

² Le manuscrit *Poslovna knjiga Donata Matafarića iz druge polovice xv. stoljeća* sera publié prochainement dans la revue «Starine».

généalogique remontait au XI^e siècle. Le rôle des patriciens se bornait à une action politique à l'intérieur des Communes. Néanmoins, à Zadar, Capitale de la Dalmatie au sein du Royaume de Hongrie-Croatie de 1358 à 1409, les ressortissants de la noblesse urbaine pouvaient accéder au rang élevé de chevaliers du roi. Parmi les chevaliers du roi Louis I^{er} d'Anjou, à la fin du XIV^e siècle figurait l'un des membres de la famille Matafarić, Mafej, qui fut également actif dans la vie économique de la ville.³ En plus de son engagement politique au début du XV^e siècle,⁴ la famille Matafarić acquit avec le temps de vastes propriétés foncières d'une superficie supérieure à 140 ha.⁵ Durant la dynastie angevine, les patriciens investirent de fortes sommes d'argent dans les sociétés commerciales (TAB. V), notamment dans les affaires de sel – branche primordiale de l'économie zadaroise –. En effet, jusqu'en 1409, l'exploitation et le commerce du sel des aires saunantes de l'arrière-pays et de la zone insulaire de Zadar, en particulier les salines de l'île de Pag, étaient aux mains de la noblesse urbaine, au sein de laquelle les Matafarić jouaient un rôle important. En 1401, Kolan, nommé *offitialis super sale communis* par la Chambre de Zadar percevait 90 ducats du patricien Ivan de Grisogonis pour prix d'1 *miliario* (≈ 8,1 tonnes)⁶ de sel communal. De même, en janvier 1403, les trois recteurs de Zadar, dont Gvido de Matafar, et deux officiers préposés à la vente du sel communal concluaient avec l'ancien preneur de bail de la Chambre du sel et du trentième, Juraj de Rosa, une société commerciale pour la vente de 50 *miliari* (≈ 405 tonnes) de sel. La Commune de Zadar y investissait 25 *miliarii* et Juraj de Rosa les 25 autres *miliarii*, pour une valeur totale de 2.500 ducats.⁷ A sa prise de pouvoir, la République de Saint-Marc récupéra d'une part le système angevin

³ En 1377, Mafej était un des trois officiers de la Chambre royale du sel et du trentième en Dalmatie («*offitialis regie camere salium et tricesime in partibus Dalmacie*»): B. GRBAVAC, *Zadarski plemići kao kraljevski vitezovi u doba Ludovika I anžuvina*, «*Acta Histriae*», 16, 1, 2008, pp. 89-116: 106. En juin de cette année, il autorisait deux drapiers zadarois à exporter 10.000 moggi de sel (810 tonnes) hors de Pag contre le paiement de la taxe d'exportation d'un montant de 800 florins – soit 8 florins le *centenario* de sel –: T. RAUKAR, *Zadarska trgovina selju u XIV i XV stoljeću*, «*Radovi filozofskog fakulteta, Odsjek za povijest*», 7-8, 1969-1970, pp. 19-79: 40.

⁴ Durant cette période, les membres de la famille furent nommés à sept reprises recteurs de la ville, honneur réservé à un cercle restreint de puissantes familles patriciennes.

⁵ T. RAUKAR, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću. Ekonomski razvoj i društveni odnosi*, Zagreb, 1977, pp. 56, 114-116, 124-125.

⁶ 1 *milliario* = 1.000 *moggio* et 1 *moggio* ≈ 81 kg: *ibidem*, p. 298.

⁷ RAUKAR, *Zadarska trgovina*, pp. 34-36; IDEM, *Zadar u XV. st.*, p. 216.

de la Chambre du sel et du trentième et soumit d'autre part entre 1409 et 1412 toute la production et la majeure partie du commerce du sel à son contrôle direct,⁸ ce qui obligea les patriciens à adopter une nouvelle stratégie économique. Le manuscrit étudié offre un aperçu de l'adaptation des patriciens et des autres acteurs économiques à la nouvelle donne.

Les investisseurs

La composition de la compagnie est révélatrice. D'un côté y figuraient deux ressortissants influents de la noblesse urbaine, Donat de Matafar et Koša de Begna, qui engageaient dans la société leurs propriétés foncières. De l'autre côté, Nikola Venturino-Pasini et Ivan Vielmo, représentants de la classe émergente des roturiers aisés apportaient les capitaux frais, c'étaient des descendants de marchands italiens immigrés à Zadar au cours de la seconde moitié du xiv^e siècle, période prospère de la cité. La répartition des gains est significative: les deux représentants de familles nobiliaires acquièrent chacun un tiers, tandis que les deux hommes d'affaires, issus de la classe sociale qui n'avait pas accès aux décisions politiques,⁹ se partageaient le tiers restant. Les

⁸ Sur l'histoire du sel de Pago et sa place dans l'économie de Venise, citons les travaux de J.-CL. HOCQUET, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, vol. 1, *Production et monopole*, vol. 2, *Voiliers et commerce en Méditerranée 1200-1650*, Lille, 1978-1979, 360 pp. et 740 pp.; du même, *Commercio e navigazione nell'Adriatico: porto d'Ancona, sale di Pago e navi di Ragusa (secc. XIV-XVII)*, Atti del Convegno storico sulle relazioni tra le due sponde dell'Adriatico nei secoli XIV-XIX, Senigallia, 1976, «Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche», n.s., 82, 1978, pp. 173-201; du même, *Poreč na sol u službi kolonijalne vlasti Venecije u Dalmaciji (15.-16. stoljeće)*, «Acta Historico-Economica, Časopis za ekonomsku povijest», 21, 1994, pp. 31-71, dont une version abrégée parut en français: *La fiscalité du sel au service du pouvoir colonial de Venise en Dalmatie (xv^e-xvi^e siècles)*, pp. 277-316, in M. Balard (éd.), *Etat et colonisation au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*, Lyon, 1989, 552 pp.

⁹ Les premières manifestations d'une volonté d'intervention politique dans la vie communale de la part de la bourgeoisie aisée de Zadar sont visibles après 1382, au moment de l'affaiblissement politique de la Couronne de Saint-Etienne. La classe aisée des roturiers commençait à avancer ses exigences propres, au prix, parfois, de la perte de la vie. La première véritable initiative d'un groupe politiquement organisé est la fondation en 1407 de la confrérie de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle (*Università dei Citadini et del Populo*), dont l'un des instigateurs était le marchand Grgur Mrganić. Celle-ci regroupait les notables non patriciens de la Commune (notaires, marchands, membres du clergé et riches artisans), dépourvus de pouvoir politique, pour faire pendant au Conseil *dei nobili*. Malgré leurs revendications, en 1432 le doge Francesco Foscari réitéra le droit exclusif des nobles d'être libérés du service des galères, puis face aux revendications trop politisée des membres de la confrérie, en 1457 les Vénitiens exigèrent une réforme de son règlement, dépouillé de toute revendication politique: S. F. FABIJANEC, *Društvena i kulturna uloga žadarskog trgovca u*

deux familles Vielmo et Venturino-Pasini coopérèrent durant plusieurs générations à d'autres activités commerciales.¹⁰

Autour de ce premier noyau gravitaient d'autres membres de ces familles, notamment les femmes, ou des partenaires temporaires pour des secteurs spécifiques des activités de la compagnie, tels que des vendeurs de vin, des taverniers, l'abbé de Nin, et d'autres, sans compter la participation d'une main-d'œuvre de journaliers et d'ouvriers sous contrat, de courriers et autres. Le document apporte encore d'autres renseignements sur les gestionnaires sous contrat des propriétés prises à ferme par les investisseurs.

Les éleveurs et les bergers

La gestion des possessions louées par la compagnie était confiée à des paysans autonomes liés par contrat aux preneurs du bail. Ces paysans étaient regroupés en une compagnie (*compania, brauaro ... chum li conpani*). Au cours des onze ans d'activité sur l'île de Kornat (Fig. 1), six éleveurs (*brauarii*) furent engagés pour des durées variables.



FIG. 1. L'archipel de Kornati avec l'île de Kornat.

La première année, la compagnie remet aux éleveurs l'équipement nécessaire à l'entreprise. Ainsi en 1456, Juraj Radinić, gérant de la zone ouest, obtint 2.412 têtes de petit bétail, neuf bœufs pour les labours, deux barques avec leur gréement pour le transport et encore divers outils et mobiliers (*masarie*), tels qu'une grande et une petite cloche,

xiv. i xv. stoljeću, «Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU», 22, 2004, pp. 55-120: 74-75.

¹⁰ Dans les années 1470, à sa mort, la maison d'Ivan Vielmo fut vendue 1.879 ducats; l'argent de la vente fut investi dans la société commerciale du petit-fils de Pasino Venturino-Pasini: RAUKAR, *Zadar u xv. st.*, p. 268.

des seaux et autres contenants pour mesurer, des ciseaux de tonte, tandis que Matula Testavita, de la zone est, obtenait 2.070 têtes de petit bétail, neuf bœufs et plus ou moins le même matériel.¹¹ Sur l'île, les éleveurs servaient d'intermédiaire entre les ouvriers agricoles, les bergers et les associés de Donat. Ils remettaient à ces derniers le bilan des affaires, les taxes, se fournissaient en outillage et distribuaient des revenus au sein de leur communauté. La concordance de certains noms de famille incite à penser que ces éleveurs engageaient aussi des membres de leurs familles comme bergers ou ouvriers.¹² Ils cautionnaient à l'occasion les dettes de leurs proches.¹³

Au nom de l'association des paysans sous contrat, les éleveurs acquittaient au moins deux taxes, l'*erbatigo*, droit d'herbage et de fenaison, et une taxe sur les animaux (à raison d'1 livre 4 sous par personne en 1461).¹⁴ Ils s'approvisionnaient en semence (*simenza*), achetaient les bœufs à la compagnie et d'autres ustensiles et outils de travail. L'approvisionnement en sel était essentiel au bon fonctionnement de l'élevage, les éleveurs achetaient de deux à trois seaux de sel au long de l'année, pour des montants variables. En 1459, l'éleveur Martin de la zone ouest, acheta au total pour 20 livres 8 sous de sel de décembre à mars, la plus importante acquisition.¹⁵ Le prix du seau, selon qu'il était ras ou comble, variait entre 8 et 24 sous, avec une moyenne de 16 sous.¹⁶ En plus de la conservation de la nourriture, ce sel servait à la salaison des fromages.

La principale source de revenus venait de la vente de fromages et de bétail aux bouchers zadarois. La communauté des éleveurs et bergers se partageait un quart des revenus de la vente des fromages, et un tiers de la vente des bêtes. Les montants variaient, en fonction de la production annuelle et selon le nombre de bergers engagés dans l'année. Les parts entre éleveurs et bergers étaient égales. Une partie infime des revenus provenait de la vente de la laine.

L'activité des bergers (*pastiri*) était en partie réglée par le statut communal de 1305, notamment pour ce qui concernait le travail dans les vignobles et l'attitude à tenir envers le bétail. Ces hommes étaient tenus de remettre à l'employeur, la compagnie en l'occurrence, une partie de la production, en argent ou en raisin, les frais de transport restant à leur charge. Dans le contrat d'embauche, les bergers avaient

¹¹ DAZd: *Spisi*, ff. 17v, 18r, 22v et 23r.

¹³ *Ibidem*, ff. 39r, 61v et 66r.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 46v.

¹² *Ibidem*, ff. 55v, 56r et 62r.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, ff. 57v et 67v.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, ff. 44v et 45v.

pour tâche de garder le petit bétail, le statut énumérant les responsabilités.¹⁷ Ils devaient rendre compte des revenus issus des bêtes envoyées en pâture, et le propriétaire pouvait leur réclamer trois fois par an le compte des productions laitière et lainière.

Au sein de la compagnie de Matafarić, on peut suivre l'activité de vingt-deux bergers, à savoir onze dans chaque zone, actifs sur des périodes variant de six à neuf ans. Au cours des onze ans du bail de Kornat, la compagnie embaucha régulièrement de nouveaux pasteurs. Comme les éleveurs, ceux-ci participaient aux frais (taxe sur les animaux, approvisionnement des navires, acquisition d'outils pour la viticulture). De plus, chaque berger payait une location bisannuelle de 2 livres pour un bateau. Leurs revenus changeaient d'une année sur l'autre (en 1463, ils gagnèrent seulement 14 livres 3 sous par personne, en 1465, 20 livres 14 sous), la dépense de location des navires représentait de 10 à 14% du revenu. Ils devaient aussi remettre une part de la production de vin et de fromage, acheter le sel, et obtenaient en retour une part des revenus de la vente des fromages et du bétail aux bouchers.

LES ACTIVITÉS DE LA COMPAGNIE

La ramification des acteurs de la compagnie se reflète aussi dans la diversité de leurs entreprises, dans l'investissement dans les affaires successives. On distingue trois périodes principales. La première concerne un projet de longue haleine. La compagnie prit à ferme deux possessions communales sur l'île de Kornat (*Santa Maria*, *Stomorin otoch*), une dans chaque zone, ouest et est, ou «hameau» (*caxal de Ponente*, *casal de Levante*), pendant onze ans (de 1455 à 1466). Au cours de cette période, elle investit essentiellement dans la production de fromages et la vente de bétail aux bouchers locaux. La seconde activité démarra en 1466, avec la signature d'un contrat à ferme avec l'abbaye de Saint-Ambroise à Nin d'une durée de cinq ans. En effet, depuis le début du xv^e siècle, l'évêque de Nin collectait les dîmes du district de Zadar et

¹⁷ Dans le cas où le berger perdait trois bêtes sur cent, il n'avait pas de compte à rendre au seigneur. Si le nombre de brebis ou de chèvres perdues était supérieur à trois, et s'il n'était pas en mesure de justifier la perte, il devait compenser de ses deniers. En cas de perte d'une vache, d'un âne ou d'une jument, il fallait les retrouver ou les payer à leur prix réel (*Statuta Iadertina*, eds. J. Kolanović, M. Križman, Zadar, 1997, livre III, § 76, p. 321; § 77, p. 323; § 78, p. 323).

le chapitre général de Zadar celles de l'aire continentale.¹⁸ Dès 1463, la compagnie paya à l'abbé 100 ducats au comptant pour la dîme des cinq années à venir et elle prit à charge la collecte des dîmes de deux villages, Blato et Briškane (FIG. 2), contre l'obligation de réparer l'église. L'entreprise était surtout orientée vers la production de céréales et de vin. Durant la même période, la compagnie des Matafarić acquit avec un autre membre de la famille une marciliane (voilier marchand) qui servit au transport de marchandises et de personnes. Durant les années 1470, l'activité de la compagnie s'orienta vers la location de terrains et de maisons possédés en copropriété avec l'archevêque de Zadar et les prêts d'argent aux particuliers.

Pour le bail de l'île de Kornat, l'investissement initial de 58,5 ducats permit l'acquisition de quatre navires pour le transport, entre l'île et Zadar, de bêtes de somme, d'un outillage agricole et de cloches de plusieurs tailles. Onze ans plus tard, le domaine entier fut vendu au patricien Grgur de Rosa pour 463 ducats.

Seule l'année 1467-1468 (TAB. 1) livre le détail de l'activité de transport commercial en Adriatique. Auparavant, en 1456 un grand voilier fut confié à Bartolomeo, un capitaine de Padoue qui fit le voyage de Corfou pour en importer les matériaux nécessaires à la construction d'un navire et les outils pour sa réparation. Les courriers de la compagnie naviguaient jusqu'en Marche et en Pouille. La société commercialisait des produits locaux et sa propre production, en premier lieu des céréales et du vin, tandis qu'elle importait des matériaux de construction d'Italie, d'Istrie et du Kvarner/littoral croate. Elle proposait aussi un service de transport aux pèlerins, notamment les *Romane*, vers la Marche et le sanctuaire de Loreto.¹⁹ Les entrepreneurs

¹⁸ RAUKAR, *Zadar u XV. st.*, p. 38.

¹⁹ En juillet 1488, le transport des pèlerins à Rome fut réformé. Des divergences opposaient les pèlerins venus de l'intérieur des terres à Zadar et les armateurs, le comte de Zadar Ettore Pasqualigo décréta seuls aptes au transport de pèlerins les navires d'au moins 300 setiers de jauge. Après affichage public de l'offre de service, chaque armateur avait trois jours pour déclarer au bureau du comte la capacité de charge du navire destiné aux pèlerins. Les formulaires dûment remplis avec le nom des propriétaires étaient mis dans un sac. Quinze jours avant le départ, trois sacs étaient constitués par ordre d'arrivée des déclarations et un système de tri déterminait l'ordre des départs. Les navires ne pouvaient transporter plus de 20 personnes et un cheval par centaine de setiers, le paiement du nolis n'excéderait pas 50 sous pour une personne et un ducat par cheval. Chaque navire était contrôlé par l'amiral qui rédigerait un rapport sur sa conformité. L'embarquement avait lieu au port de Zadar, tout fraudeur encourait une amende de 100 livres (*Statuta Iadertina, Reformationes*, § 134, pp. 621-623).

semblaient en bons termes avec le comte vénitien, ils transportaient ses chevaux à Venise. La marciliane était aussi utilisée pour l'exportation à Venise des fromages produits sur les domaines de la société. On manque de détails sur les revenus de cette activité. Le voilier était manœuvré par un certain Radovan qui, en 1461, gagna 12 livres 16 sous dans une vente de vin. Cinq ans plus tard, il embarquait du vin pour l'Istrie d'où il comptait rentrer avec du bois. Son salaire annuel peut être estimé aux alentours de 2 ducats, sans compter sa part du nolis, 2 livres par transport. En deux années, la compagnie gagna 25 ducats en 1467 et, grâce au transport de pèlerins, 32 ducats en 1468.

TAB. 1. Orientation des activités de transport (import-export)
en 1467-1468.

Mois	Transport	Origine ou destination
Février	vin	Istrie
Mars	orge	Split
Avril	pèlerins	Ancône
	orge	Šibenik
	les chevaux du comte	Venise
Juillet	bois	de Rab et d'Istrie
	tuiles	les Marches
	<i>Selbo</i>	des Marches
Septembre	pèlerins	Loreto
Octobre	tonneaux	?
	vin	de Ljubač
Novembre	papier	Venise
	chaux	de Venise
Décembre	bois	d'Osor

LA PRODUCTION ET LE MARCHÉ

Sur toutes les possessions de la compagnie et les terres prises à bail pour cinq ans (comme les terrains de la paroisse de Saint-Ambroise), la main d'œuvre libre et les serfs s'adonnaient à la culture des céréales et de la vigne et à l'élevage.

Les céréales

En dehors de la compagnie, Donat investit à titre privé dans des rentes foncières, selon la mode en usage parmi les patriciens; en 1453, il signalait

un contrat de tenure («ad pastinandum») avec le serf Jakov Pigluković de l'île d'Ugljan. Jakov s'engageait à labourer et à semer des terrains sur son île durant cinq ans et à remettre un quart de la récolte de céréales. Il élèverait également 50 têtes de petit bétail.²⁰

Le bail des deux zones de l'île de Kornat témoigne aussi d'un encouragement à la production de céréales et de féculents, mais les données sont partielles.²¹ Le bail de deux terrains de l'abbaye de Nin – à Blato et Briškane – livre des informations plus complètes. La main-d'œuvre y cultive huit types de céréales et de féculents: de l'épeautre («spelta»), de l'orge («orzo»), des haricots («grag»/«ciseri»), du seigle («segala»), du blé («grano»), de la fève («faua»), du millet («milio») et du froment («fermento»). La principale production est celle de l'orge (55%), suivi du froment (35%), à Briškane seulement l'épeautre.²² Certains de ces produits sont récoltés deux fois dans l'année, selon les périodes d'ensemencement («per siminare», «per simenca»).²³ En plus des céréales de type unique, deux mélanges différents sont également préparés. La *sumisica* serait une farine qui mêlerait divers types de céréales ou un mélange comprenant moitié blé de printemps et moitié froment (dont l'ensemencement donnait une meilleure récolte). L'autre mélange de céréales, la «mistura», comportait une composition variée: «de orzo, milio, sigala, de orzo e milio, dorzo e milio sigala e gran» ou encore «de orzo sigala e gran». ²⁴ La majorité de ces produits était destinée à la mouture, selon différents tarifs.²⁵

Les prix des céréales variaient selon les saisons (TAB. 2) au sein d'une même année. Noël constituait une échéance, à plusieurs reprises les bergers durent remettre des céréales avant ou après cette

²⁰ DAZd: *Spisi*, f. 3v.

²¹ Pour la seule année 1466, on sait qu'Ivan l'éleveur remit une production de 1.937 litres de blé, 1.479 litres de froment, 625 litres de céréales mélangées et 688 litres de fève. Toutefois, l'investissement initial et la superficie des terrains sont inconnus, ce qui interdit toute estimation de la rentabilité de l'entreprise (*ibidem*, ff. 83v et 85v). Un sac de froment contenait environ 6,5 quarts (135 litres), un sac de blé entre 6,888 et 7,4 quarts (143 à 154 litres) selon le remplissage du sac (*ibidem*).

²² *Ibidem*, f. 99v.

²³ *Ibidem*, ff. 35v, 42v, 46v, 47v, 58v et 68r.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 62v.

²⁵ La mouture de la *sumisica* coûtait 9 sous, celle de la *mistura* 10 sous (*ibidem*, f. 63v), celle de l'orge de 12 à 14 sous (*ibidem*, f. 34v, 35v, 39v, 42v). Les céréales sont conservées dans les *chasone* (*ibidem*, f. 18r, 23r), les éleveurs et pasteurs mesuraient le blé par quart (*quarta* - f. 18r), mesure de base pour les céréales (à Zadar, 1 quart = 20,83 litres: RAUKAR, *Zadar u xv. st.*, p. 298).

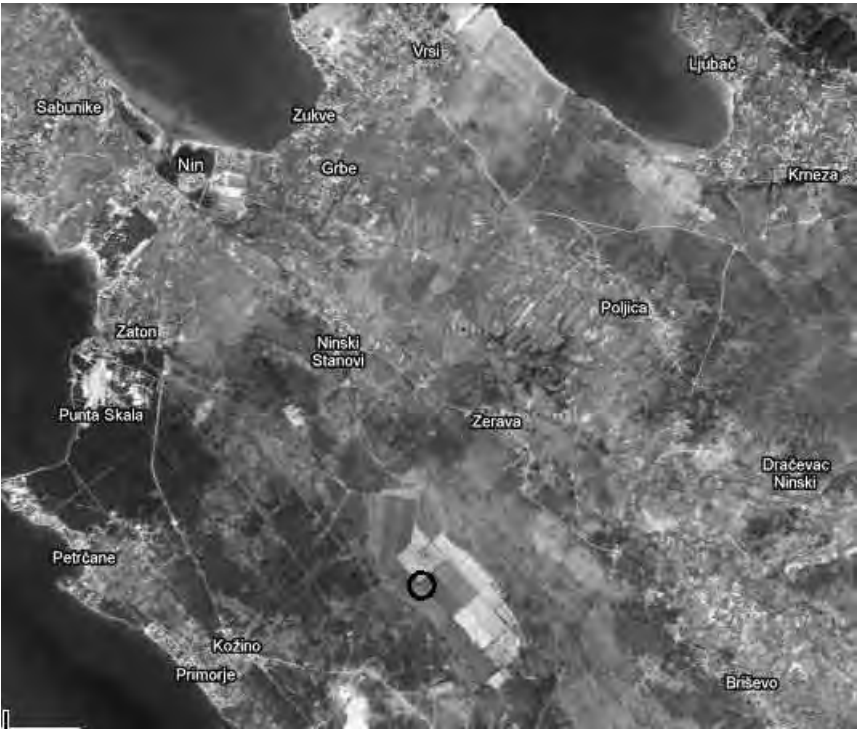


FIG. 2. Les aires de Blato et de Briškane (A), avec Nin et Ljubuč.

fête, le plus souvent pour les apporter au moulin.²⁶ Ainsi, le berger Bartol remit 6 quarts de *sumisica* «au prix qu’elle était avant la fête de Noël».²⁷

TAB. 2. Prix des céréales et féculents selon les mois (en sous/quart).

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Spelta	-	-	6,5-7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Orzo	9-11, 20	10-15, 20	12-13, 20	10-15, 20	-	-	-	-	10-12	10-12	10	10-15, 20
Grag/ ciseri	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
Segala	14	-	13	12		-	-	-	12	-	-	-
Sumisica	13, 19	14-16 19	-	-	12	16, 19	12, 16	12-13	12	12-14	13	13-14
Grano	17-18	27	15-16	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	16-17	16-18

²⁶ DAZd: *Spisi*, ff. 34v, 39v et 49v.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 56v.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Faua	-	25	15-16	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-
Mistura	14-15	14, 19	13-15, 18-19, 24	14, 18, 24	-	10,5	20-24	-	14, 20	13, 21	20	13, 20
Milio	-	-	13	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10, 14
Fermento	-	-	18, 28	19		17			19	30	18	16-17
Farina	-	-	-	-	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	-

Le froment était la céréale la plus chère, suivi de la fève et du blé, les préparations mixtes (*sumisica* et *mistura*) figuraient aussi parmi les produits chers. Les produits alimentaires bon marché étaient l'orge et l'épeautre. Les prix variaient aussi en fonction de l'offre et de la demande, ce qui retentissait sur les recettes et les dépenses de la compagnie, notamment sur le bail des terrains de l'abbaye de Saint-Ambroise à Nin.

La compagnie exploitait deux types de terrains : une terre allodiale, dont la parcelle (*zìgono*) mesurait de un à deux gognays²⁸ (entre 2.370 et 4.740 m²), et des terres prises à ferme. On peut conjecturer, d'après les calculs effectués par rapport à la production, que les terrains allodiaux à Briškane mesuraient environ cinq *zìgoni* (entre 10.773 et 11.850 m²) et ceux de Blato deux *zìgoni* (un peu plus de 5.000 m²). On peut estimer la production de ces deux terroirs à 1.645,57 litres de froment en juillet 1467, dont la moitié revint à Donat.²⁹ En septembre de la même année, à Briškane furent produits 1.083 litres de froment et à Blato, presque moitié moins, 520,75 litres,³⁰ au total 1.604 litres, légèrement moins que la récolte estivale. Toutefois, les facteurs politiques jouaient également un rôle. En juillet 1469, en raison d'une incursion ottomane, la production de froment chuta fortement, à Blato, à 291,62 litres et à Briškane à 1.249,8 litres. Un an plus tard, en juillet, la production de Briškane était réduite de près de moitié, à seulement 36 quarts (750 litres) de froment.³¹ A chaque fois, une moitié revenait à Donat et à la compagnie sous forme de rente.

En plus des terres allodiales, l'abbaye de Saint-Ambroise possédait d'autres terrains à Blato et Briškane, cultivés par des paysans libres (*vilani*), et dont la compagnie participait à l'exploitation.

²⁸ Le *gognay* mesure de superficie = 2.370 m² (RAUKAR, *Zadar u xv. st.*, p. 298).

²⁹ DAZD: *Spisi*, f. 99v.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 100r.

³¹ *Ibidem*, f. 105v.

Les données ne sont complètes que pour les années 1467 et 1469. En 1467, sur une superficie inconnue, à Blato furent récoltés 3.307 litres de froment, 5.842 litres d'orge et 1.062 litres d'épeautre. L'influence des raids ottomans («in tempo de Turchi») fut sensible dès 1469, la production déclina à 1.937 litres de froment et à 4.790,5 litres d'orge, tandis que la production d'épeautre disparaissait.³² En tenant compte des productions des *zigoni*, le total de la production de froment de l'abbaye de Saint-Ambroise atteignit 5.352,5 litres en 1467 et 3.187 litres en 1469. La compagnie qui en acquérait la moitié, obtint en 1467 5.597 litres de céréales et en 1469, 4.134,5 litres, dont la vente se poursuivait en automne et hiver 1467.³³ Cette année là, la compagnie vendit 4.020 litres de céréales (2.562 d'orge, 646 de froment et 812 de blé) à quinze clients différents, conservant pour son magasin sept quarts d'orge. Les céréales vendues au magasin semblaient destinées à la vente en gros, avec un prix au quart de 9 sous, tandis que d'autres clients en acquéraient à 10 sous. La compagnie vendait également du blé, produit non mentionné à Briškane et Blato (peut-être était-il compté à part). Les revenus de l'abbaye s'élevaient à 100 livres, les dépenses (y compris la taxe du vin) à 31 livres 8 sous $\frac{1}{3}$.³⁴ Néanmoins, on ne peut affirmer qu'il s'agit d'une activité lucrative puisque certains éléments manquent: les céréales servaient en outre de moyen de paiement.³⁵

Le vin

Propriétaires terriens, les Matafarić étaient engagés dans un secteur économique lucratif même après la prise de pouvoir par Venise: la viticulture et la production de vin. La valeur de la production des vignes était dix fois plus importante que celles des terres labourées et les propriétaires en tiraient de grands bénéfices. Ainsi, de 1430 à 1495, le bail de la taxe sur la vente du vin au détail (*datium vini ad spinam*), hormis des circonstances imprévues, était vendu autour de 520 ducats au début des années 1400, 720-730 ducats en moyenne, voire 842 ducats l'année 1495, année record. Durant le xv^e siècle, près de 15.000 hl de vin furent destinés à la consommation locale, à la vente au détail

³² *Ibidem*, ff. 99va et 105v.

³³ *Ibidem*, f. 100v.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 100r.

³⁵ En 1465 un ouvrier de Blato était payé avec trois quarts d'épeautre, un autre avec un quart de blé pour des travaux dans le vignoble (*ibidem*, f. 101r). En 1467, un navire chargeait de l'orge pour aller à Split et servir au paiement d'étoupe pour la réparation d'un voilier (*ibidem*, f. 104v).

sur le marché communal.³⁶ L'exportation du vin local était également développée: le vin de Zadar s'exportait à Venise,³⁷ vers la Croatie intérieure et vers d'autres ports de la côte, voire plus loin.³⁸ Le vin exporté en Italie servait de monnaie d'échange avec les céréales, il était également intégré au circuit d'échange avec les Valaques fournisseurs de produits d'élevage.

En dehors de difficultés météorologiques signalées par l'auteur du livre de comptes qui rapporte en 1462 que la mesure d'un contenant varie: «che sie mizura lo caratelo salua la mizura iusta piu o men quando se mizurara lo charatelo»,³⁹ le document éclaire certains aspects de l'organisation des travaux et des marchés.

Les statuts de Zadar du xiv^e siècle réglaient certains aspects des travaux viticoles,⁴⁰ dont on suppose qu'ils sont restés en vigueur un siècle plus tard. Quant à la localisation des vignobles de la compagnie, il n'existe que quelques mentions: Briškane, Ljubač, Blato et les terrains de l'abbaye de Saint-Ambroise à Nin, toutes, localités sur le continent.⁴¹

L'organisation interne de la compagnie des affaires vinicoles et le marché local

L'économie vinicole durant la période 1457-1465 était le plus souvent confiée aux employés de la compagnie, avant tout les pasteurs déjà engagés à Kornat. Selon le Statut, ces paysans remettaient au seigneur soit du raisin, soit du vin qu'ils acheminaient à leurs frais sur les barques jusqu'à Zadar. Certains versaient à Donat l'argent de la vente du vin. Les prix différaient selon l'année et selon la finalité de la vente. En 1464, les pasteurs Martin Murgašić et Ivan Stančić exportaient chacun un muid

³⁶ *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom 1409-1797, Prošlost Zadra* III, éd. T. Raukar, I. Petricoli, F. Švelec, Š. Perićić, Zadar, 1987, pp. 92-93.

³⁷ Dans les années 1470, Venise absorbait jusqu'à 87% des exportations de vin dalmate (J. VRANDEČIĆ, *Regio maritima: Dalmacija i Dubrovnik u ranome novom vijeku (1420-1797)*, in *Dalmacija, Dubrovnik i Istra u ranome novom vijeku*, éd. J. Vrandečić, M. Bertoša, Zagreb, 2007, p. 29.

³⁸ *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, p. 93, note 50.

³⁹ DAZD: *Spisi*, f. 64r.

⁴⁰ Le paysan qui acquiert une vigne en payant la taxe foncière ou engagé sur contrat, doit d'abord la tailler puis l'écimer deux fois par an, de préférence entre la Saint-Georges (23 avril) et la Saint-Pierre (2 juin). Des journaliers sont ensuite engagés une fois l'an pour le rognage, plus exactement un jour par *gognay* et pour creuser vingt-cinq fossés dans la journée: *Statuta Iadertina*, livre III, § 68, 315, et *Reformationes*, § 63, p. 563.

⁴¹ En septembre 1467, à Ljubač et Briškane étaient produits 6.080 litres de vin, à l'abbaye de Saint-Ambroise 2.080 litres (DAZD: *Spisi*, ff. 96, 99v, 100r et 101r).

de vin à Skradin à raison de 32 sous le muid, tandis que Bartol d'Amzan payait pour chacun des 4 muids 35 sous, mais à la revente, le muid valait 40 sous. En 1462, Toma Marković vendit à deux reprises le vin de la compagnie à l'équipage d'une galiotte, au prix de 28 sous le muid.⁴²

La compagnie possédait deux caves à vin, une dans la maison de Donat («in canava nostra in caxa») et l'autre dans un «chantier» («in canava nostra al canter»).⁴³ Elle collaborait aussi avec le tavernier Voško, qui mettait à sa disposition un dépôt pour le vin et louait aussi des emplacements pour la livraison temporaire des fûts aux acheteurs.⁴⁴ La clientèle (une dizaine de personnes, dont une femme: Katica Piška) venait à la cave commune. En novembre 1467, Donat et ses associés vendirent pour 393 livres 1 sou 199,5 muids (≈ 16 hl) de vin – à un prix moyen de 39 sous/muid.⁴⁵

La cave exerçait des activités complémentaires, ainsi la vérification des fûts: à une occasion, Voško mesura la capacité d'un *cavo* dans lequel il versa 14,5 muids de vin, les frais de mesure s'élevant à 16 deniers par muid, soit au total près d'une livre, tandis que la mesure du *cara-tello* est estimée à 19 1/3 muids. Enfin, les clients venaient à la cave avec leurs propres tonneaux, et bénéficiaient d'une réduction: ils payaient dans ce cas 38 sous/muid au lieu de 42 sous/muid avec le tonneau de la compagnie.⁴⁶

Le statut des personnes actives dans le commerce du vin était divers. Toutes les catégories sociales étaient représentées, vigneron, patriciens et membres du clergé.⁴⁷ Les viticulteurs et les petits producteurs vendaient d'abord leur vin aux propriétaires ou bailleurs des terrains, puis intervenaient les professionnels de la vente ou les membres de la noblesse urbaine pour le marché local, les femmes, surtout des

⁴² *Ibidem*, ff. 40, 49v, 76v, 78v et 101r.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, ff. 85v et 86v.

⁴⁴ Trois revendeurs, Juran Radenić d'Amzan, Petar de la baie de Saint-Etienne et Ivan Striganić de Molat prirent à crédit du vin auprès de Donat et l'entreposèrent chez Voško, promettant de rembourser Donat au prix de 42 sous le muid lorsque serait vendu le vin (*ibidem*, f. 87v).

⁴⁵ L'abbaye de Saint-Ambroise payait 30 sous le muid, Katica Piška 36 sous, Radoslav Buksola 44 sous/muid. Les services de transvasement du vin étaient aussi tarifés différemment: Radoslav Buksola paya 14 sous, à raison d'un sou par muid acheté, tandis qu'un paysan («uno della terra») déboursait 2 sous par muid transvasé, mais le prix d'achat initial était parmi les plus bas, 34 sous le muid (*ibidem*, f. 102v).

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, ff. 87r, 96v et 102v.

⁴⁷ Il s'agit de vigneron de Blato (f. 101r), des membres de la compagnie ou du collecteur de la taxe du vin, ser Ivan de Sali (f. 100r), ou encore de l'archevêque de Nin (*ibidem*, f. 97v).

veuves qui résolvait les affaires laissées en suspens par leur défunt.⁴⁸ La dernière étape de ce circuit du vin était l'exportation, pour laquelle les principaux acteurs étaient des entrepreneurs étrangers associés à des opérateurs zadarois.

Le commerce d'exportation du vin

Les données, rares, signalent l'approvisionnement de galées en par-tance⁴⁹ ou une expédition de proximité. Le capitaine du navire de la compagnie, Radovan, accomplit plusieurs voyages. En 1467, un trajet à l'île d'Osor dans le Kvarner rapporta un nolis de 30 livres dont 15 revinrent à Donat. Le vin et la chaux transportés à Osor servirent à acheter du bois de l'île. En une autre occasion, Radovan vendit en Istrie 6,25 muids (500 litres) de vin rouge («vino vermiglio») pour la somme de 12 livres 19 sous. Il rentra avec une cargaison de bois.⁵⁰ Le prix du muid dans le commerce de gros variait entre 28 et 40 sous, pour la vente au détail, il atteignait de 54 à 64 sous,⁵¹ taxe comprise, soit 6,5% à 6,8%, à quoi il convient d'ajouter le bénéfice du revendeur, le tavernier Voško ou Ganzarin et Miho Adaksin qui encaissaient entre 3,5 et 6,3%.⁵²

En résumé, la vente du vin était organisée à trois niveaux: la vente au détail dans la zone de production, le commerce de gros réalisé par les hommes d'affaires dans leurs caves ou par un tavernier associé, et l'exportation du vin par des marchands locaux et des patriciens qui louaient les services d'un transporteur. La rentabilité de l'entreprise peut être estimée pour l'année 1466-1467. La compagnie a en effet dépensé 487/488 livres pour la production et l'achat de vin et a gagné 660/661 livres, soit un profit brut de 35,5%.⁵³

L'élevage et ses produits

L'élevage du bétail occupait une place importante dans l'économie zadaroise. Dans la compagnie de Donat, sur le profit total, les éleveurs et les bergers de chaque zone de l'île de Kornat conservaient un

⁴⁸ Comme par exemple, la veuve Dobra (*ibidem*, f. 85v).

⁴⁹ En 1462, le pasteur Tomas Marković prit un tonneau de vin pour le compte d'un homme travaillant dans les galères (f. 49v), puis en 1467, un galérien acheta 9 muids de vin valant 18 livres 12 sous, au prix de 41 sous/muid (f. 87r).

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, ff. 36v, 73v, 74r, 76v, 78v et 79v.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, ff. 87r, 96r et 96v.

⁵² *Ibidem*, ff. 87r, 88r et 103r.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, ff. 85v, 86v, 87r et 88r.

quart (3/12),⁵⁴ les deux patriciens associés recevaient la moitié, les deux roturiers se partageaient le dernier quart. L'élevage de petit bétail («caui animali») engendrait deux activités lucratives: l'approvisionnement des bouchers auxquels étaient vendues les bêtes sur pied (la «ia-louina» ou «bêtes stériles») et la production de fromage («fermagi»), la laine servait à une confection domestique de vêtements. Mise à part l'affaire privée de Donat qui accorda en 1453 un contrat d'élevage pour l'une de ses propriétés,⁵⁵ deux ans plus tard, la compagnie achetait du bétail pour 406 livres 4 sous, et Donat déboursa 135 livres 8 sous. Le capital investi en 1455 dans l'entreprise atteignait 3.956 livres 2 sous, un tiers, 1.318 livres 14 sous, alla à l'achat de bœufs, de moyens de transport et d'outillage, 10% à l'acquisition de brebis et de chèvres.

L'entretien des bêtes suivait le rythme des saisons ponctué par les fêtes religieuses: les bêtes étaient envoyées au pâturage à partir de la Saint-Georges (23 avril), les autorités contrôlaient le mouvement des troupeaux sur les communaux de taille réduite. Avant le départ les bergers remettaient à la compagnie les fromages produits. La Saint-Martin (11 novembre) marquait la fin de l'agnelage.⁵⁶

TAB. 3. Prix de quelques bêtes (la tête).⁵⁷

Animal	Prix
Chèvre à lait (<i>pegora cum late</i>)	36 sous
Castrat	40 sous
Agneau (<i>anielo</i>)	16 sous
Chevreau (<i>caure</i>)	24 sous
Bœuf de labour (<i>bo de arari</i>)	4 ducats

L'animal le plus cher était le bœuf de labour suivi du bélier châtré et de la chèvre à lait, le prix de la brebis manque. En 1456, le cheptel comptait dans la zone orientale 2.123 bêtes, dont huit furent vendues aux Valaques, et 45 autres destinées à la dîme.⁵⁸ Quatre ans plus tard, la valeur moyenne d'une bête dans un troupeau de cent têtes atteignait

⁵⁴ Le plus souvent ils sont huit dans chaque zone (*ibidem*, en 1463, ff. 66r, 67r et, en 1466, f. 77r).

⁵⁵ Le paysan Jakov Pigluković gérait 50 têtes de petit bétail sur un terrain provenant de la dot de la femme de Donat en prenant soin de les abreuver dans la partie privée du marais limitrophe (*ibidem*, f. 3v).

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 69v.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, ff. 17v et 22v.

20 sous (une livre), ce qui peut servir de base pour le calcul de la valeur totale du bétail,⁵⁹ ou pour évaluer la taille du troupeau. En 1455, près de 4.000 livres étaient investies dans le bétail; cinq ans plus tard, le cheptel était estimé à 4.500 livres, malgré un vol de bêtes signalé en 1463,⁶⁰ l'accroissement témoignerait de la prospérité de l'affaire. En 1466, pourtant, la compagnie se débarrassa définitivement de l'élevage. En juin, les associés partageaient 450 bêtes avec les éleveurs et les bergers des deux zones au prix convenu d'une livre par animal, puis ils vendirent 453 bêtes à 22 sous aux bouchers (soit une recette de 498 livres 6 sous), enfin ils remirent 3.593 têtes de petit bétail à deux patriens, les frères de Rosa, pour le prix de 463 ducats d'or.⁶¹ Les associés avaient vendu au total 4.496 bêtes, soit le troupeau moyen des années précédentes, pour 3.818 livres 18 sous, à quoi s'ajoute le produit de la vente des équipements (voiliers, outillage, cloches) et des bœufs (362 livres 17 sous), soit une valeur brute de la propriété de 4.181 livres 15 sous. En 1455 la compagnie avait investi 3.956 livres 2 sous, en 1466 elle revendait l'affaire pour 4.181 livres 15 sous, en onze ans la valeur de la propriété avait augmenté de 5% et la production de fromages et de viande dégagé un revenu régulier.

Les fromages

La production de fromages prit une place primordiale dans les deux zones de l'île gérées par la compagnie. D'après la répartition des revenus pour les années 1458 et 1466, selon laquelle les investisseurs acquièrent deux tiers des revenus et les éleveurs et bergers le tiers restant comme le voulait l'usage («segundo la uzanca»),⁶² on peut estimer les quantités produites (TAB. 4).

Il s'agit d'une estimation, il faut tenir compte de facteurs comme la variation du nombre d'ouvriers engagés,⁶³ la taille du troupeau, les différences annuelles de lactation des brebis et des chèvres, outre l'absence de données chiffrées dans le manuscrit. Le calcul du revenu des bergers pour deux années (de départ et de fin d'activité) se fonde sur le seul compte-rendu des revenus de onze pasteurs établi par Donat.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 84v.

⁶⁰ Cette année là, 665 caprins et ovins et cinq bœufs disparurent (*ibidem*, f. 69v).

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, ff. 84v 88v, 89r.

⁶² *Ibidem*, f. 35r.

⁶³ En 1466, chaque pasteur acquérait un huitième du profit (*la otava parte* - f. 77r).

TAB. 4. Revenus des éleveurs et production totale de fromages
en 1458 et 1466.

Année	Zone de l'île	Gain / berger	Gain par part	Gain des bergers	Valeur du fromage	Quantité produite	En kilos
1458	Ouest	19 l 19 s	173 l 19 s	344 l 4 s	1.032 l 12 s	12.908	6.157
	Est	18 l 11 s	170 l 5 s			livres	
1466	Ouest	13 l 12 s	170 l 10 s	403 l	1.209 l	15.112 livres	7.209
	Est	18 l 12 s	232 l 10 s				

Le bilan était dressé à trois reprises («muda»): en mars, juin et août, une chèvre donnant jusqu'à plus de trois fois plus de lait au printemps et en automne et nettement moins en août. Par ailleurs, la date limite de remise des fromages est presque toujours fixée conformément au statut à la fête de la Saint-Georges («fin san Zorzi» - le 23 avril), le saint patron de la terre, des récoltes, de la végétation et du bétail. Au cours des neuf années de production, les zones est et ouest produisirent alternativement plus de fromages, même si globalement la zone orientale connut une production supérieure à six reprises.

Parmi la multitude de variables inscrites dans le manuscrit figure le poids du fromage. Article artisanal fait à la main et à l'aide d'un moule, le poids des fromages est changeant: la pièce pesait de 8,6 kg à 9,5 kg, voire de 5,9 kg pour la plus petite meule et 12 kg pour la plus grosse.⁶⁴ Le prix suivait ces variations de poids. Le prix du *decalatro* oscillait entre 16 et 17 sous, le prix de la meule variait entre 10 et 32 sous.⁶⁵ Un feuillet de 1463 signalait du fromage de chèvre.⁶⁶

Une partie des fromages était expédiée à Zadar par barque pour être entreposée dans la «boutique» («butiga») de Donat. Les fromages étaient salés pour une meilleure conservation et pour l'exportation; en 1457, l'éleveur Ivan acheta 3 livres 12 sous de sel «pour saler ses fromages».⁶⁷ Une grande partie de la production était dirigée vers le marché vénitien. En une occasion, Donat de feu Venturino-Pasini envoya à Venise un tiers de sa rente en fromages du hameau oriental, 2.939 kg. Une autre fois (feuillet sans date, avant le 26 mars), il expédia une première cargaison de fromages de 1.879 kg, puis le 30 avril, 154 fromages (1.150,5 kg). Simultanément, 1.060 kg de fromages de la zone ouest

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, ff. 44r, 69r et 81v.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 69v.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, ff. 69, 69v, 70v et 71r.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 44v.

furent expédiés à Venise, puis le 30 avril encore 892 kg. Les troupeaux de caprins et ovins de la compagnie à Kornat ont donné lieu à l'envoi de huit tonnes de fromages à Venise.⁶⁸

Entre 1460 et 1462 la compagnie conclut une affaire avec Luka Radinić d'Amzan pour la production de fromages en trois sites: Kobil rt, Gerbe et Sipčena.⁶⁹ Luka et ses associés, dont son frère, livrèrent contre argent toute la production à Donat et à Ivan Vielmo, chacun en recevant la moitié. Ainsi au printemps 1460, Luka remit 1.693 livres (808 kg) de fromage de Kobil rt, 453 livres (216 kg) de Gerbe et 338,5 livres (161,5 kg) de Sipčena, au total 1.185 kg. Donat lui paya 198 livres 16 sous au total à raison de 80 livres le *milliario*, Ivan en fit autant et l'éleveur gagna de la vente de ses fromages 397 livres 12 sous. Deux ans plus tard, Luka Radinić et son frère vendirent successivement 1.306,5 livres (623 kg) de fromage pour 180 livres 6 sous, puis 659 livres (314 kg) pour 126 livres 6 sous. Ils gagnèrent 306 livres 12 sous, à raison de 17 sous par *decalatro*.

L'approvisionnement des bouchers de la ville en têtes de bétail

Hormis 47 brebis et chèvres volées en 1456, emmenées jusqu'à Šibenik avant d'être restituées ou de la vente de quelques bêtes en 1462 à Osimo dans les Marches,⁷⁰ la part non destinée à la production de lait pour les fromages, de l'ordre de 100 à 290 têtes de petit bétail, servait à l'approvisionnement de Zadar en viande. Le livre compte le bétail sur pied en têtes («caui animali») ou en «bêtes stériles, abîmées, défectueuses» («ialouina»).

Cinq bouchers («bechari») sont cités: Miloš,⁷¹ Ivan,⁷² Rado,⁷³ Luka et Juraj.⁷⁴ En juin 1457, Miloš achetait cent têtes, puis l'année suivante, le Samedi-Saint, 195 bêtes – pour un prix non spécifié. Ivan acquérait 200 bêtes en juin 1463, à 26 sous par tête, soit 260 livres. Les bêtes étaient transportées de l'île à Zadar aux frais de la compagnie. En 1466, les bouchers Luka et Juraj, avec d'autres bouchers, leurs compagnons, achetèrent 323 chèvres et castrats dans la zone ouest et 130 chèvres de la zone est – soit 453 bêtes, au prix de 22 sous par tête. Le prix était

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, ff. 80v et 81v.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, ff. 22v et 60r.

⁷² *Ibidem*, f. 64v.

⁷³ La compagnie a vendu à Rado de la «ialovina» en juin 1460 (*ibidem*, ff. 35r et 38r).

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 88v.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, ff. 52r et 54r.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, ff. 18r, 18v, 23r et 24v.

inférieur à celui consenti par Ivan, mais les acquéreurs prenaient à charge le transport sur leurs barques.

Les recettes de la vente de bétail sont portées de 1460 à 1463.⁷⁵ En 1463, 290 bêtes étaient vendues au prix de 26 sous par tête. Le gain brut s'éleva à 377 livres (260 livres sur la vente de 200 bêtes de la zone ouest et 117 livres sur la vente de 90 bêtes de la zone est), dont il faut déduire les frais, le transport en trois voyages des animaux de l'île à Zadar, y compris la paye des marins, soit pour la zone ouest 1 livre 12 sous et pour la zone est 16 sous. Le gain net fut réduit à 280 livres 19 sous. Il fut divisé en quatre parts pour chaque zone, un premier quart étant partagé entre les huit éleveurs et bergers, le reste alla aux associés: $\frac{1}{4}$ aux frères Nikola et Koza de Begna, $\frac{1}{4}$ à Nikola Vinturino-Pasini et Ivan Vielmo, le dernier quart à Donat et maître Dujmo (probablement son demi frère).

La vente de troupeaux pour la viande était plutôt une prérogative du hameau ouest, tandis que la production de fromage était plus abondante dans la zone orientale. La part des bêtes destinées à la boucherie paraît moindre que celle vouée à la production laitière. En 1460, dans les deux zones, la vente des fromages produisait respectivement un revenu de 15 livres 10 sous et de 19 livres 6 sous, le bétail sur pied 8 livres 8 sous et 7 livres 8 sous. Les autres années, la part du troupeau à viande à l'ouest tourne autour de 35-36%, à l'est entre 19 et 20%.

Le prix des bêtes variait tout autant. La compagnie cédait à ses employés les bêtes à 20 sous la tête. Le bétail de boucherie dépassait ce prix: en 1460, 100 têtes de petit bétail étaient vendues au prix de 30 sous l'animal, en 1461, 50 bêtes de «ialouina», 25 sous, en 1463, la compagnie vendit 290 bêtes à 26 sous, en 1466, 453 animaux à 22 sous, en 1460 l'éleveur Juraj obtint pour 50 bêtes le prix le plus fort, 30 sous la pièce pour des animaux sains et jeunes, béliers châtrés («castruncini») âgés de deux («duanini») ou trois («tercanini») ans.⁷⁶ Le nombre de bêtes vendues variait, en 1463, 290 bêtes, en 1466, 323 chèvres et brebis de la zone ouest et 130 du hameau est furent vendues à 22 sous par tête, soit une recette de 498 livres 6 sous. Cette croissance semble coïncider avec celle de la production de fromages, plus importante à la fin du bail. Il semblerait aussi que les terrains furent vendus en 1466 aux membres de la famille de Rosa au moment où étaient atteints les meilleurs résultats.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, ff. 64v, 66r et 67r.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 58r.

CONCLUSION : LA PLACE DE LA COMPAGNIE
DANS L'ÉCONOMIE ET LA SOCIÉTÉ DE ZADAR

Les entreprises de la compagnie de Donat Matafarić, active une cinquantaine d'années après l'annexion de la ville au *Stato da Mar* de Venise, révèlent le changement social opéré dans le monde des affaires de la ville. La compagnie associait deux membres des plus importantes familles patriciennes et deux membres de familles marchandes roturières émergentes.

TAB. 5. L'évolution des investissements dans la *societas* et la *collegancia* au xv^e siècle.

Origine sociale des investisseurs	Investissement du capital (en livres)			
	Années	1390-1409	1409-1450	1450-1500
Patriciens		79.235	19.320	6.600
Marchands		36.144	116.400	127.730
Etrangers		28.793	7.263	1.240

Le Tableau 5 met en évidence le retrait de la classe nobiliaire du monde des affaires au profit de la classe marchande, et si quelques nobles se maintinrent sur le marché, tel Donat de Matafar, c'est grâce à leur faculté de s'associer à des représentants de la nouvelle bourgeoisie: les patriciens engageaient leurs biens fonciers et les bourgeois du capital mobilier.

Le monopole sur le sel instauré par Venise dépouilla de leur principale source de revenus les patriciens qui abandonnèrent progressivement l'achat de salines, dont le trafic décrut: en 1372 et 1392, 300 salines étaient prises à ferme (une saline valant 1,10 puis 0,98 ducat), tandis qu'en 1413, le nombre des salines chutait à 70 et leur prix à 0,23 ducat, puis à 66 en 1456, le prix remontant à 0,38 ducat.⁷⁷ Même les entrepreneurs roturiers, tel Grgur Mrganić, hésitaient à s'engager dans le commerce du sel.⁷⁸ A l'inverse des Matafarić, des de Begna et d'autres

⁷⁷ RAUKAR, *Zadar u xv. st.*, p. 215.

⁷⁸ Grgur Mrganić était un des rares marchands à continuer d'intervenir dans le commerce du sel. Son volume d'affaires était cependant plus restreint que celui des patriciens à l'époque angevine: en 1413 il en acheta 1.500 *moggi*, puis en 1437 4,5 *milliari*. Les seules traces d'exportation seraient une dette pour du sel signée par un Vénitien et les locations

familles nobiliaires qui se retranchaient dans les activités immobilières et la rente, les entrepreneurs roturiers émergeaient, ainsi la famille Venturino-Pasini, associée à la compagnie. En moins d'un demi-siècle, cette famille connut une ascension importante et se trouva à la tête d'un capital de 12.846 ducats en 1452.⁷⁹

Les investissements de la compagnie étaient résolument tournés vers le domaine agricole: production de vin, de céréales, élevage, l'extension du territoire fertile de Zadar étant l'un des atouts majeurs de la cité.⁸⁰ De fait, au cours du xv^e, puis tout au long du xvi^e siècle, les Communes dalmates privilégièrent l'exportation des produits locaux, absorbés en grande partie par le marché vénitien, avec des nuances: Split et Šibenik servaient de places de transit pour les marchandises de l'intérieur du continent destinées aux ports italiens de l'Adriatique, Zadar devenant le principal port d'exportation du bétail.⁸¹ A défaut d'exporter le sel, les partenaires proposaient opportunément un service de transport de pèlerins – activité jusque-là peu documentée.

Les activités ramifiées de la compagnie étaient la résultante d'une adaptation à la nouvelle logique commerciale imposée par Venise et les patriciens furent obligés de tolérer les 'parvenus' pour garder un semblant de pouvoir économique. Le livre de comptes de la compagnie de Matafarić révèle davantage les bouleversements sociaux opérés au milieu du siècle, car même si récession ou stagnation il y eut, les membres de la nouvelle bourgeoisie parvinrent au fil du siècle à dépasser le cadre local et à exercer des activités d'exportation hors de l'Adriatique, ce que devrait éclairer la consultation de nouvelles sources.

d'une «caraque» et d'une «marciliane» en 1440 pour des voyages à Drijeva à l'embouchure de la Neretva, Drijeva avait été le comptoir principal du sel de Pag à l'époque angevine (RAUKAR, *Trgovina solju*, pp. 62-63).

⁷⁹ En 1426, Pasin Julian Venturin signait un contrat d'importation de blé d'Albanie, tandis qu'après 1450, ses proches furent les entrepreneurs les plus en vue de la ville. Pasin acheta des navires, posséda des magasins à Zadar, prit à ferme des taxes communales. En 1452, Pasin Julian, Grgur Petrov et Julian de Pasino-Venturin, *merchadanti*, fondaient la *Compagnia dela botega* au capital de 12.846 ducats (IDEM, *Zadar u xv. st.*, pp. 266-267).

⁸⁰ Le *districtus* ou encore *comitatus* de Zadar s'est constamment élargi. A partir de 1409, Venise y ajouta les zones fertiles de Vrana et Novigrad, ce qui fit de Zadar la cité pourvue du plus large district continental de toutes les villes dalmates (IDEM, *Zadar u xv. st.*, pp. 37-51).

⁸¹ S. F. FABIJANEC, *Gli scambi economici sulla costa adriatica orientale nei xv-xvi secoli*, in *Raukarov Zbornik*, Zagreb, 2005, pp. 671-690: 684.

VENICE, HER SUBJECTS AND SHIPS.
CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY
IN VENETIAN MERCANTILE
AND MARITIME POLICY
AND ITS IMPACT ON THE SHIPPING
OF THE IONIAN ISLANDERS
DURING THE 16TH CENTURY

GERASSIMOS D. PAGRATIS

FOR Venetian merchants the sixteenth-century shipping has been associated with the transition from a phase characterized by the combination of State-organized and private trade to a phase characterized by the predominance of private trade, which became more evident from the third decade of the century onwards. However, the sixteenth century is distinguished too by the more active presence of subjects of Venice and foreigners in the maritime life of the State, for a number of reasons, associated with the crisis Venice was experiencing at an economic and political level, and with the increased competition the Venetians were facing in the Eastern Mediterranean. Due to these circumstances, many Greeks, Turks, renegade Christians, Armenians, Ragusans and Jews gradually began from the mid-sixteenth century to find their position in the markets of the Dominant City (*Dominante*), somehow taking their revenge – as noted characteristically by Traian Stoianovich – for the two-century-old commercial hegemony of Venice and Genoa in the economies of the Levant.¹

Studies on the maritime activities of Greeks in the sixteenth century, published in the last decade, have renewed research interest in this field, leading to the revision of the views of earlier scholars, who described Greek merchant shipping in the sixteenth century as an economic activity supported by a few boats, with which Greeks served local fishing and transporting activities, fearful of venturing beyond

¹ T. STOIANOVICH, *The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant*, «The Journal of Economic History», XX, 2, 1960, p. 240.

the safety of the coasts.² Our knowledge today permits us to propose a scheme configuring the growth and developmental phases of Ionian merchant shipping during the sixteenth century, which could serve as a framework for the incorporation of future research findings. Main sections of this scheme are: I. the qualitative and quantitative evolution of the phenomenon, and II. the analysis of the structural elements of the Ionian shipping enterprises.

QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE EVOLUTION OF IONIAN MERCHANT SHIPPING

In the maritime trade of Greek subjects of Venice in the sixteenth century, three main phases can be distinguished.

From 1500 to about 1540

In the first phase, the Venetians proved themselves capable of maintaining their past strength, despite the damage caused to their merchant shipping during the Italian wars on land and the clashes against the Ottomans at sea. There was, therefore, no reason for them to relax their strict protectionist commercial policy. They continued to encourage the maritime trade of their subjects, to the extent that it assured the food supply of their territories in the Levant, as well as the needs of the *Dominante* in foodstuffs and raw materials. At the same time, they maintained their ban on the direct participation of their subjects in foreign trade, especially in competitive markets of the Adriatic, with a few exceptions, such as the periodic licensing of subjects and foreigners to import certain monopolistic commodities (*i.e.*, cereals) to Venice.

The area where the Ionian merchants and ship-owners could move smoothly, uninhibited by these limitations and the continued interest shown by the Venetian nobles and bourgeois in the direct pursuit of international trade, were the local networks. Thanks to these networks, they could meet the nutritional needs of the regions of origin, while also nourishing the great Venetian trade. Exceptions to this rule include Corfu, as regards the Ionian islands, and Crete, as regards the rest of the maritime State of Venice, the so-called *Stato da Mar*.

² GH. LEONTARITIS, *Elliniki Emporiki Naftilia (1453-1850)*, Athens, Mnimon, 1981, pp. 37 ff. [in Greek].

In Corfu, the northernmost Ionian island, we can observe the growth, from the late fifteenth century until the fourth decade of the sixteenth, of a thriving merchant fleet that was active both at a local and an inter-regional level. This fleet linked the ships-owners' places of origin with their main suppliers, but also the Venetian possessions with the *Dominante*, and it also operated in places highly competitive to Venice, such as Ancona and the fairs of Lanciano and Recanati. Transactions of Corfiots in the markets of *sottovento*, as the Venetians used to call the Adriatic coasts of the Italian Peninsula, where maritime entrepreneurs of Corfu used to trade independently and/or in collaboration with Ottoman merchants, from the second decade of the sixteenth century, provoked the strong reaction of the Venetian authorities, which banned all such activities by threatening severe punishment of offenders.³ The gradual reduction in the capacity of the Corfiot merchant fleet seems to confirm the success of Venetian policy. At the same time, however, we can observe in the notarial deeds of Corfu a shift in the geography of the islanders' illegal sea trade to the North-African coasts, as well as some interesting agreements between ship-owners and merchants trading in the markets of *sottovento*, in order to share equally damages incurred from fines that would be imposed by the Venetian authorities if their smuggling were discovered. Typical of this kind of practices is the case of the ship-owner Andreas Borsis, who in 1548 agreed with Demetrius Contostavlos to carry on his behalf a cargo of acorns to Ancona and Ferrara, accepting to share equally any fines that might be imposed because of the illegal nature of the voyage.⁴

Crete seems to be another exception, thanks to exploitation of the demand for the famous malmsey (*malvasia*) wine. English interest in this product had led since the fifteenth century to the creation of a transport network to and from Old Albion, in which both English and Cretan captains were involved. From the early sixteenth century, merchants and captains from Crete acted as if they had achieved some sort of autonomy from the Venetian laws, as there is evidence from various sources (Venetian and English) that they were exporting local agricultural products not only to Eastern Mediterranean and Italian ports

³ G. D. PAGRATIS, *Trade and Shipping in Corfu (1496-1538)*, «International Journal of Maritime History», xvi, 2, 2004, pp. 175-177.

⁴ Archivio di Stato di Corfù (ASCO): *Notai*, Antonios Metaxas (M 180), f. 164r.

(Naples, Apulia), but also beyond the Mediterranean.⁵ Having established Constantinople as their base, where many of their compatriots were living, Cretans had set up in the early sixteenth century a thriving maritime entrepreneurial network through which malmsey wine was exported to cities in Poland and Moldova. In 1520, e.g., fifteen Cretan ships carried wine from Candia to Constantinople. The Capital of the Ottoman Empire absorbed part of this valuable product, while the remainder was distributed in Northern Europe, with the most important commercial centre established in Lvov (Poland), where between 1560 and 1603 forty Cretan wine merchants were plying their trade.⁶

Between 1540 and 1570

After the end of the third Ottoman-Venetian war, in 1540, and up to the war in Cyprus thirty years later, Venetian merchant shipping was not just stabilized with regard to its capacity and number of ships, but actually developed further. However, as Jean-Claude Hocquet has argued, this development was based largely on artificial media and especially on grants in return for building new ships, with which the Venetians sought to revitalize the moribund shipbuilding industry of their city, allowing ship-owners to pay off their debts by transporting salt to Venice.⁷

It is precisely in this period that the first serious cracks in the Venetian commercial construction are identified, a phenomenon strictly connected with the gradual withdrawal of Venetian nobles from direct involvement in maritime trade. This development led to increasing pressure for imports of foodstuffs to Venice and then to the relaxation of protectionist measures, such as those restricting trade by non-privileged entrepreneurs (see below).

The main cargo carried by these non-privileged entrepreneurs,

⁵ S. ALEXIOU, *Koinonia kai Oikonomia stin Kriti kata ton 16 kai 17 aiona*, «Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous», 10, 1974, p. 208 [in Greek].

⁶ B. ARBEL, *Riflessioni sul ruolo di Creta nel Commercio Mediterraneo del Cinquecento*, in *Venezia e Creta*, a cura di Gh. Ortalli, Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998, pp. 193-198. See also in M. GREENE, *Trading identities: The Sixteenth Century Greek Moment*, in *A Faithful Sea. The Religious Cultures of the Mediterranean, 1200-1700*, ed. by A. Hussain, K. Fleming, Oxford, Oneworld Publications, 2007, pp. 134-139.

⁷ See in J.-CL. HOCQUET, *Il libro "Creditorum Conducentium sale Cypro" dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, «Archivio Veneto», 108, 1977, pp. 43-81; IDEM, *Il sale e la fortuna di Venezia*, Roma, Jouvence, 1990, pp. 439-468.

with State permission, was grain. In seasons of repeated famine and bans on exports of cereals from the Ottoman Empire, Greeks took the opportunity to assume an important role in the transport of grain from the productive zones of the Eastern Mediterranean to the Italian ports. It was this transport that underpinned much of their commercial and entrepreneurial growth, many centuries earlier than was believed until recently. This trend is confirmed by the intensification of commercial transactions between Greek subjects of the Sultan and those of the doge in Venice and its possessions, where, since the mid-sixteenth century, they were founding consulates in order to serve their activities.⁸

Beyond the 'recruitment' of their merchant fleets to service Venice's needs, Greeks were involved in Venetian maritime trade from other places too. Thus, in 1558, 16 out of 59 captains of large Venetian ships, with a capacity between 300 and 720 tons. (500-1200 *botti*), were Greek. Some of them were also co-owners or owners of large Venetian ships, having exploited largely State grants for building the vessels. They profited from the possibility, offered periodically by the Venetian State, regarding registering ships built outside Venice as Venetian, or the functions of the free market.⁹

Between 1571 and early 17th century

The dynamic development of Ionian merchant shipping continued until the last third of the sixteenth century, thanks to a number of

⁸ For the institution of the commercial consul of Ottoman merchants see in M. OIKONOMOU, *O thesmos tou proxenou ton Ellinon emporon kata tin periodo tis Tourkokratias. To emporio tou Arhipelagous kai to elliniko proxeneio tis Venetias*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Athens, vols. 1-3, 1990 [in Greek]; G. D. PAGRATIS, *To Consulaton ton Mytilinaion stin Kerkyra (1548-1549)*, «Eoa kai Esperia», 4, 2000, pp. 22-45 [in Greek]; CHR. PAPACOSTA, *Oi emporikoi proxenoi sta Ionia Nisia: anagki kai skopimotita*, in *Proceedings of the Seventh Panionian Conference (Lefkada, 26-30 May 2002)*, ed. by D. and T. Sklavenitis, Athens, Etaireia Lefkadikon Meleton, 2004, vol. II, pp. 577-593 [in Greek].

⁹ Biblioteca del Museo Correr di Venezia: *Donà dalle Rose*, cod. 217, ff. 36r, 39r. The table is published by S. KAKLAMANIS, *Markos Defaranas (1503-1575). Zakyntios stixourgos tou 16ou aiona*, «Thesaurismata», 21, 1991, pp. 302-305 [in Greek] and comm. on by J.-CL. HOCQUET, *Gens de mer à Venise. Diversité des statuts, conditions de vie et de travail sur les navires (XIII^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, 18^e Congrès d'Histoire maritime, Naples, Pironti, 1980, in R. Ragosta (a cura di), *Le genti del mare Mediterraneo*, 2 voll., Napoli, Pironti, 1981: I, pp. 103-168. The Greek vessels, on the basis of their owners' names, were the *Curcumela* of Andreas Kourkoumelis, around 480 tons., and the *Vergi* or the *Santa Maria de Cassoppo* of Matthew Vergis, of around 540 tons.

key junctures: after the war in Cyprus and the battle of Lepanto, the Venetian merchant fleet had lost about 50% of its capacity, compared to the previous decades. Unlike the Venetian retreat, the French and the British gained a strong foothold in the Eastern Mediterranean, having received from the Ottomans commercial privileges (capitulations) in 1535 and 1581 respectively.¹⁰ Due to these circumstances, Venetian nobles thought that it was the right time to diversify their investments, paying more attention to investments in the land of *Terraferma*. The vacuum created due to this choice, combined with the acute needs of Venice for foodstuffs, at a time of frequent famine and increasing population in the whole Mediterranean, was a great opportunity for merchants and ship-owners with bigger incentives than the Venetians, such as foreigners and subjects of Venice.

Shortly before the sixteenth century ended, the Venetian authorities confirmed in 1597 that maritime trade had passed completely out of the hands of the Venetian entrepreneurs. At the same time, however, the Venetian Senate justified the need to keep the possibility of registering as Venetian, ships built outside Venice as follows:

Because nowadays [trade] has passed into the hands of our subjects, who are active in foreign countries, [since] the number of ships built in [Venice] is constantly decreasing. This phenomenon is due to the cost of shipbuilding in our city, which is prohibitive. This means that in future, few would attempt to build ships here, provided that costs [for the same services] abroad will remain lower than they are in Venice.¹¹

In this context, of 'settling' the once privileged professional occupation of the Venetians and the consequent rupture which became particularly noticeable in the seventeenth century between traders and the political elite of the city,¹² one could easily explain the specific role that a group of Greeks took over in the Venetian State. In the late sixteenth century merchants and ship-owners, mainly from Zante, active in trade with England, took advantage of the voids cre-

¹⁰ Capitulations were granted also to Dutch merchants in 1612. With these agreements, merchants from France, England and Holland paid at the ports of the Ottoman Empire 3% tax, while Venetians normally were paying 5% or more. See in LEONTARITIS, *Elliniki Emporiki Naftilia*, pp. 10-18.

¹¹ A. TENENTI, *Naufrages, Corsaires et Assurances maritimes à Venise 1592-1609*, Paris, SEVPEN, 1959, p. 19, note 78.

¹² U. TUCCI, *La psicologia del mercante veneziano nel Cinquecento*, in *Navi, mercanti, monete nel Cinquecento veneziano*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1981, esp. pp. 56-65.

ated in the Venetian transport networks and managed to maintain for some years an active trade connecting Venice and her dominions in the Levant with England. So, Greeks substituted the Venetians in a transitional period, in the interval between the onset of a serious crisis in the domestic shipping industry until the more active participation in Mediterranean trade of merchants and ship-owners from northern countries, such as England, France and The Netherlands.¹³ Islanders from the Ionian Sea (Soumakis, Samariaris, Metaxas *et alii*) had formed solid family networks and were conducting transactions funded both by English traders and by the Jews who settled in Venice after their expulsion from Portugal. These entrepreneurs were surrounded by a large number of secondary colleagues, and all operated within a dense maritime network, which was involved in exporting currants from Zante, Cephalonia and the Peloponnese to England, on Greek, Venetian and English ships. Greeks and Englishmen had entered into a powerful commercial alliance, treating Venice as the common enemy. The Anglo-Hellenic benefits of this short-lived partnership were mutual. In the early seventeenth century, the increased import taxes, levied by the English authorities on products carried to England by foreigners, led to the exclusion of the Greeks from direct trade between the Ionian islands and Old Albion.¹⁴

¹³ M. GREENE, *Beyond the northern invasion: the Mediterranean in the seventeenth century*, «Past and Present», 174, 2002, pp. 42-71 contested the accepted view that the 'northerners' prevailed in Mediterranean trade by the third decade of the 17th century, arguing that in the 17th century the Mediterranean was marked by the lack of a State able to impose its political and economic dominance, and so to replace the declining power of Venice. This power vacuum gave way to a state of anarchy, main symptom of which was raids both by Christians – orders of St. John of Malta and St. Stephen of Tuscany, and of Muslims, represented mainly by the corsairs of the Maghreb. At this time great benefit was gained by the Greeks, who used their dual status: on the one hand of Christians who should not be the target of other Christians, a position supported even by the Pope because Greek ship-owners were claiming to be 'united' with the Catholic Church since the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439), and on the other hand of subjects of the Sublime Porte, which allowed them to carry cargoes for Muslim traders who were unable to cross the Mediterranean for fear of Maltese ships.

¹⁴ M. FUSARO, *Commercial Networks in the Early Modern World*, in *EUI Working Paper HEC*, ed. by D. Ramada Curto, A. Molho, Florence, European University Institute, 2002, vol. 2, pp. 121-147; EADEM, *Les Anglais et le Grecs. Un réseau de coopération commerciale en Méditerranée vénitienne*, «Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales», 3, 2003, pp. 605-625; EADEM, *Coping with transition: Greek merchants and shipowners between Venice and England in the late sixteenth century*, in *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*, ed. by I. Baghdiantz McCabe, G. Harlaftis, I. Pepelasis Minoglou, New York, Berg, 2005, pp. 95-123.

STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS OF THE IONIAN SHIPPING ENTERPRISES

In the scheme described above there are two distinctive levels of action in the organization and function of Ionian shipping enterprises:

a) the local network linking Venetian possessions both with their hinterland, namely the Ottoman territories on the mainland opposite the islands (Epirus for Corfu, Aitolia for Lefkada and Cephalonia, the Peloponnese for Zante and Kythira), and the *Dominante*, and

b) the international commercial network of Venice, into which the islanders and other subjects were entering gradually from the mid-sixteenth century.

Local Networks

Our sources indicate the steady dominance of Greeks in local networks throughout the sixteenth century. With their small and medium-size vessels, Greeks of the Venetian possessions, whether working on their own account or executing orders for third parties, collaborated with producers and correspondents in the Ottoman territories. These Greeks distributed cargos that ensured the food supply of their regions of origin, as well as of Venice, to which they were carrying industrial raw materials too. On the other hand, the main Venetian commercial and maritime networks, which in the first phase had been relatively closed to the *Serenissima's* subjects, created from 1540 onwards more and more space for those who were ready to enter the forefront of Venice's international trade, due to their previously gained experience and knowledge in the local networks.

Changes analogous to the different levels of action of these enterprises are also identified in the geography of the maritime centers. So, the first phase, that of the dominance of the local networks, with the exception of Crete – to the extent that its inhabitants' performance in trade and shipping could be documented quantitatively –, belongs almost entirely to Corfu, especially as regards the inter-regional dimension of its maritime trade. Making the most of the island's geo-strategic importance, merchants and ship-owners from Corfu and Epirus, and, to a lesser extent, other Greek subjects of the *Serenissima* and the Sublime Porte, operating in the shadow of the 'privileged' Venetian trade, maintained their lively commercial traffic, bringing goods to

the port of Corfu from the western Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, and having as final destination the port of Venice.¹⁵

After 1540, Corfu's maritime trade was reinforced by the active presence of the Ottomans, whose final destination was the city of the doges. But while many Corfiots upgraded their enterprises, managing their affairs from the *Dominante*, the centre of gravity of Ionian shipping enterprises began to tilt slowly to the southern Ionian islands, mainly Zante. It should be noted that albeit the magnitude of the contribution of English capital that supported the merchant shipping of Zante, in 1501 both Zante and Corfu were designated compulsory ports of call for ships sailing to and from Venice. Moreover, refugees from Methoni and Koroni settled on Zante after 1500 and from Nafplion and Monemvasia, after 1540. The commercial and maritime role of Zante increased considerably in the last third of the century for one more reason: in 1572 began the final phase of fortification of the suburbs of Corfu, which lasted until 1588. The new fortified town was built around two fortresses and included much of the settlements which had been long established *extra muros* and the venues of private trading transactions, inevitably limiting the freedom of merchants and sailors, and at the same time the attractiveness of the port of Corfu.¹⁶

One Ionian man of the sea, who exemplifies the transition from the first level of action to the main commercial and maritime networks of Venice, is Matthew Vergis from Corfu.¹⁷ Thanks to the notarial archives of Corfu and Venice, we have been able to reconstruct a picture of his adventurous life and business career, since traces of his commercial and maritime activities span a remarkably long period of some sixty years (1511-1572). Until the 1540s, Vergis made numerous trips between Venice and the Eastern Mediterranean as skipper on small Corfiot vessels and also as captain on larger Venetian ships that transported cargos on behalf of the State. With his eight ships (fully or share owned) and other chartered vessels, and in the role of passive investor, he often participated in joint commercial and maritime enterprises, the so-called *syntrophies* in Corfu. The purpose of these

¹⁵ For the maritime trade of Corfu in this first phase see PAGRATIS, *Trade and Shipping in Corfu*, pp. 169-220.

¹⁶ See more in IDEM, *L'emporio di Corfù nel 16° secolo*, «Mediterranean Chronicle», 1, 2011, pp. 239-260.

¹⁷ See in F. MAVROIDI, *Symvoli stin Istoria tis Ellinikis Adelfotitas Venetias sto 16o aiona. Ekdo-sis tou defterou mitroou eggrafon (1533-1562)*, Athens, Notis Karavias, 1976, pp. 138-140.

enterprises was to purchase agricultural products such as: cereals from Albania, Epirus and Volos, corn from Volos, millet from Epirus, cotton and salt from Cyprus, and to sell in these areas manufactured goods, such as glassware, textiles, etc.¹⁸

Much of Vergis's wealth, and probably the original source of its accumulation, almost certainly resulted from his utilization of subventions from the Venetian State, in order to import grain to the city; he has been active in this field since 1524.¹⁹ To ensure the success of his business affairs, he had correspondents in Venetian and Ottoman ports, and had cultivated appropriate relations in the Ottoman bureaucracy. By these means he was able to influence local authorities to grant licenses for the export of cereals, violating the occasional bans on the export of grain, issued by the Sublime Porte.

Probably around the time of the end of the third Ottoman-Venetian war in 1540, Vergis decided to settle in Venice, from where he monitored his affairs, having set up a network of agents, based largely on the strength of family ties. From Venice he was able to effectively utilize opportunities such as State grants to build large ships. Thus, he secured the sum of 15,000 Venetian ducats to build his ship, the *Vergi* or the *Santa Maria di Cassoppo*, of a capacity of 540 tons. (900 *botti*). In order to pay off his debt to the Venetian government, his ship made nine trips to Cyprus and one to Spain's Ibiza between 1560-1569, loaded with salt for Venice.²⁰

As was a common method of capital formation in this period, Vergis channeled part of his money stock into the rental of public incomes. In 1541, through this system of tax farming, he undertook the collection of the tax called *gabella*, in Parga.²¹ In 1553, he took over the management of the Marcella feudatory in Corfu, jointly with his brother Alexander.²²

¹⁸ See analytically on Vergis in G. D. PAGRATIS, *Mattew Vergis: Merchant and Ship-owner from Corfu in Venice in the sixteenth century*, in *Proceedings of the Third Conference of the Heraldic and Genealogical Society of Greece (29 October-1 November 1998)*, Athens, E.G.E.E., 2001, pp. 589-593 [in Greek].

¹⁹ ASCO: *Notai*, Petros Spongos (S 146), f. 37r.

²⁰ J.-CL. HOCQUET, *Voiliers et Commerce en Méditerranée 1200-1650*, Lille, Presses de l'Université de Lille III, 1979, vol. 2, pp. 454, 580; IDEM, *Il libro "Creditorum Conducentium sale Cypro"*, pp. 43-81.

²¹ This tax was imposed on vessels entering or leaving the port of Parga: A. XIROUXAKIS, *I Venetokratoumeni Anatoli, Kriti kai Eptanissos*, en Athina, Foinix, 1934, p. 212, note 3.

²² PAGRATIS, *Mattew Vergis*, pp. 589-593.

Shortly before the fourth Ottoman-Venetian war (1570-1573), Vergis became involved in trade with England, sending there the *Vergi* or the *Santa Maria di Cassoppo*, thus opening the way for the Ionian islanders' activity in the English markets two decades later. But in 1569, as his ship was returning from Southampton to Venice, loaded with cloth, tin and salt, and with a predominantly Greek crew (16 out of 27 whose names we know), just before leaving the English Channel, it seized by Huguenots, who took it to the port of La Rochelle. Sustained efforts to release the ship, both by the Venetian authorities and by Vergis together with some of the best-known Venetian merchants of the time, to whom part of the cargo belonged, only succeeded after securing the assistance of Queen Elizabeth of England.²³

*The involvement of Greek subjects
in the international commercial network of Venice*

The course of Ionian merchant shipping in the sixteenth century, as discussed above, appears to be a process of progressive development. This impression is reinforced at another level: the internationalization of its operating conditions, with all that this term implies for the Greek subjects of a multiethnic Republic, who were moving incessantly in the sixteenth-century Mediterranean. From the shipping enterprises of Corfu, whose small and medium-size vessels ploughed the seas from the Adriatic coast and western Greece as far as Crete, and which raised funds primarily through the institution of *syntrophies*, we pass, in the mid-sixteenth century, to the gradual substitution of the Venetian ship-owners by subjects and foreigners, who with subsidies from the Venetian State undertook the transport of grain and salt on the *Serenissima's* behalf. At the end of the century the Ionian islanders exclusively conducted foreign trade with England, on behalf of themselves and of Venetians merchants.

The expansion of the Ionians' horizons from mid-century onwards, beyond exploiting conjunctures such as crises in Venetian merchant shipping, can be attributed to the qualitative improvement of their business methods and collaborations. It is clear from what is presented here that

²³ R. BROWN, *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice and in other libraries of Northern Italy*, London, H. M. Stationery office, 1890, vol. VII, pp. 441-447, 454-455.

the islanders were ready to seize those opportunities. In the field of finance, for example, Zantiots, thanks to their long acquaintance and co-operation with English merchants, were able to raise funds from them, while maintaining access to funding from Venetian Jews of Portuguese origin. The largest source of funds, in money and in merchandise, was the Ottoman market, with which both Ionian islanders and Venetians had close relations. The strengthening of these relations during the sixteenth century, which at legislative level is evident from numerous tax reductions, intended to make the Rialto market an attractive destination for goods from the Levant. Furthermore, it was equally important for the largest islands of the Venetian State, such as Crete, which, along with other smaller islands, such as Corfu and Zante, were seduced into cultivating crops whose products were attractive to the international markets, such as the vine for wine and currants; However, by doing so the islands' autarky in foodstuffs was undermined.

The success of Ionian shipping enterprises inevitably implied strong ties to the Ottoman markets. There is no example of a successful Greek merchant and ship-owner who was not involved in a well-organized network of correspondents and collaborators in the Ottoman East.

An instructive case is that of Constantinos Sicuros, a member of one of the families which were protagonists in the trade between Venice and the English ports in the late sixteenth century. In 1555, he owned jointly with Ahmet Pasha a large ship (*nave*), captain of which was also a Muslim, Mustafa Reis, specialized in transporting grain to Venice.²⁴ The Sicuros family's monopolization of the position of commercial consul of Peloponnesians in Zante, throughout the seventeenth century, and the utilization of this position to establish a thriving commercial enterprise,²⁵ may be indicative for the background of this collaboration. In any case, the business affairs of Constantinos Sicuros were not limited to the Eastern Mediterranean or Venice's trade with English ports. At a time of serious crisis for the Venetian shipbuilding industry, the brothers Mark and Agesilaos purchased or ordered the

²⁴ Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASVE): *Notatorio del Collegio*, reg. 29, 1553-1555, f. 142r.

²⁵ FUSARO, *Coping with transition*, p. 105; CHR. PAPAOKOSTA, *Consoli dei mercanti nel Levante veneziano*, in *Proceedings of the 2nd Mediterranean Maritime History Network Conference (Messina/Taormina, 4-7 May 2006)*, ed. by M. d'Angelo, G. Harlaftis, C. Vassallo, Messina, Istituto di Studi Storici «Gaetano Salvemini», 2010, pp. 417-430.

building of their ships in Danzig. It is also significant that in 1581 they claimed a State grant to build a ship of about six hundred tons (1,200 *botti*), in the northern Polish port, but failed to convince the Venetian authorities, who invoked probable problems that might be caused by the great distance between Venice and the area of construction.²⁶

Apart from international co-operation between Ionian entrepreneurs inside and outside the Mediterranean, in the fields of financing or shipbuilding, one other point that should be emphasized is the role of Ottoman Greek merchants and ship-owners in the development of Ionian merchant shipping. At a time when Venice's survival depended mainly on trade with the Levant, Greek Ottoman subjects facilitated the access of Ionian islanders to the lands of the Sultan. From studying economic biographies of merchants and ship-owners of Corfu and, especially, of Zante after the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, it becomes clear that many of them were incomers to the islands, either from the mainland or from former Venetian possessions, such as Methoni, Koroni, Nafplion and Monemvasia. All those settlers who came from Ottoman-ruled areas, rich in agricultural products and raw materials, usually kept systematic business contacts in their places of origin and often left behind in their homelands some of their relatives.

Marcos Samariaris, for example, although originally born in Zante, in the southern Ionian Sea, came from a family of refugees that had escaped Methoni in 1500 and settled on the island. Son of a five-children family, he had a sister married in Patras and numerous relatives in other parts of Peloponnese. As a ship-owner and grain merchant, Samariaris made effective use of his origin and of the geographical dispersion of his family in order to facilitate his business affairs. With the collaboration of his relatives, he was purchasing grain in the Peloponnese, which he then transported with his ships to Venice.²⁷ His brother Iakovos, also a ship-owner and merchant and probably his partner in business, was one of the richest members of the Greek Fraternity in Venice, the owner of many houses, farms and ships both in Zante and in Venice, where the family owned an entire block, the *corte Samariari*.²⁸

²⁶ ASVE: Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, b. 137, f. 50v. Cf. FUSARO, *Commercial Networks in the Early Modern World*, p. 133.

²⁷ MAVROIDI, *Elliniki Adelfotita Venetias*, p. 124.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 136-138.

The Samariari brothers' know-how of trade in the Levant and their acquaintanceship of the people involved in various stages of production and distribution of products, as well as of the finance of shipping enterprises, made them extremely useful to Venice. In this way the Greek entrepreneurs strengthened not only their position in their new home, but also the policy of the Venetians, who from the beginning of the century had supported the survival of their home-city and of the State by attracting Ottoman trade. The Venetian authorities rewarded some of them for their collaboration by conferring the status of Venetian citizen (*de intus et extra*), which guaranteed the holders the right to trade in the Levant as Venetians,²⁹ and by relaxing some of the prohibitions on their active participation in Venetian trade. So, after the mid-sixteenth century, Greeks, like other foreigners and subjects of the 'Most Serene Republic' had more opportunities to captain Venetian ships, to purchase large ships, to register as Venetian their ships constructed outside the city, and so on.

Thus, the line separating Greek and Venetian maritime entrepreneurs was gradually erased, a process which seems to have taken place silently, without any specific decision being taken to lift the earlier restrictions. Greek participation in the maritime life of Venice penetrated even deeper, with their active involvement in sectors supportive of maritime trade, such as insurance, shipbuilding, maritime cartography and, finally, the ascent of some Greeks to senior management positions in collective institutions, such as the chamber of Venetian merchants and ship-owners, which represented mainly subjects or immigrants 'recently naturalized' as Venetians. It was clear that for the Venetian ruling class direct maritime trade was no longer considered a 'decent' profession.³⁰

²⁹ One of the main preconditions for access to the category of *cittadini de intus et extra* was permanent residence in Venice for 25 years, or less, depending on the cash shortages of the Venetian State. CHR. MALTEZOU, *Paratiriseis sto thesmo tis venetikis ypikootitas. Prostevomenoi tis Venetias ston Latinokratoumeno elliniko horo (1305-1505 ai.)*, «Symmeikta», 4, 1981, p. 2; TUCCI, *La psicologia del mercante veneziano nel Cinquecento*, pp. 74-77. See also in M. P. PEDANI FABRIS, 'Veneta auctoritate notarius'. *Storia del notariato veneziano (1514-1797)*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1996, pp. 47-54. The main study on this field is A. BELLAVITIS, *Identité, mariage, mobilité sociale. Citoyennes et citoyens à Venise au xvr^e siècle*, Rome, École française de Rome, 2001.

³⁰ Well known is the case of the brothers Andreas and Iakovos Halikiopoulos, the first Greeks elected to the board of the Chamber of Commerce in Venice (*Capi di Piazza*). U. TUCCI, *I Greci nella vita marittima veneziana*, in *Proceedings of the Conference: I Greci a Venezia (Venezia, 5-7 November 1998)*, ed. by M. F. Tiepolo, E. Tonetti, Venice, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2002, pp. 243-255.

FIN DENTRO IL PAESE TURCHESCO:
STABILIMENTO DELLA SCALA DI SPALATO
E POTENZIAMENTO DELLE RETI
MERCANTILI E DIPLOMATICHE VENEZIANE
NELL'ENTROTERRA BOSNIACO

VERA COSTANTINI

NEL 1573, la stipulazione della pace tra l'Impero Ottomano e la Repubblica di Venezia permise che il traffico mercantile tra i due Stati riprendesse a pieno ritmo e in regime di legalità.¹ Nonostante il recente conflitto, il volume degli scambi non parve subire una contrazione, anzi, appena un decennio dopo la perdita di Cipro, l'ufficio dei *Cinque savi alla mercanzia* pianificava lo stabilimento di un consolato nell'isola, ormai provincia ottomana.² Tale ripresa, che manteneva il suo centro propulsore ad Aleppo, era dovuta soprattutto alla relativa brevità della guerra, che intervenne in un *trend* decisamente positivo per il commercio veneziano nel Mediterraneo sud-orientale.³ Gli ostacoli creati dal conflitto non avevano intaccato le reti mercantili preesistenti. Tuttavia, uno degli elementi che avevano determinato la fortuna veneziana nell'area era, appunto, il possesso coloniale dell'isola, che implicava una condivisione di doveri amministrativi, di scelte produttive e di organizzazione commerciale tra i due Stati.⁴ Venuta meno questa cooperazione, la ripresa successiva alla perdita di Cipro non fu, dunque, che una inerzia di localizzazione, dei cui limiti strutturali il governo della Serenissima era, del resto, pienamente consapevole.

¹ Durante l'intero periodo di ostilità le opportunità di traffico con Venezia, considerato illegale per le autorità imperiali, vennero ridotte considerevolmente e relegate in una dimensione di clandestinità: F. C. LANE, *Venice. A Maritime Republic*, Baltimore-London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973, p. 293.

² V. COSTANTINI, *Venetian Trade and the Boundaries of Legality in Early Modern Ottoman Cyprus*, in *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by S. Faroqhi, G. Veinstein, Leuven, 2008 («Turcica», xv), pp. 35-46.

³ LANE, *Venice. A Maritime*, cit., p. 292.

⁴ V. COSTANTINI, *Il sultano e l'isola contesa. Cipro tra eredità veneziana e potere ottomano*, Torino, UTET, 2009, p. 5.

Avvenuta in una peculiare congiuntura, quando cioè i porti e i mercati del Mediterraneo sud-orientale cominciavano a diventare meta ambita di nuovi attori commerciali, la conquista di Cipro accelerò la fine di un equilibrio, nel quale la Repubblica di Venezia figurava come *partner* privilegiato degli Ottomani e dunque più difficilmente suscettibile di subire la competizione altrui.⁵ A fine Cinquecento, insomma, la minaccia di marginalizzazione e il rischio di regredire al ruolo di potenza regionale erano diventati ormai problemi d'attualità, ai quali la classe dirigente veneziana doveva trovare al più presto una soluzione.

Questa si articolò sulla convinzione, ancora viva presso il patriziato, che il commercio internazionale dovesse riprendere secondo modalità quanto più possibile monopolistiche, fondate cioè su un rapporto privilegiato con l'Impero Ottomano, che, nel caso specifico, solo una contiguità geografica tra i due Stati poteva garantire. Di conseguenza, mentre Candia appariva sempre più legata a dinamiche destinate a ostacolare la realizzazione di pur coraggiosi progetti veneziani, fu l'Adriatico, l'ormai conteso *Golfo*, a divenire lo scenario della nuova, auspicata internazionalizzazione commerciale veneziana.⁶ In questo contesto storico, prese forma il progetto che coinvolse la città di Spalato e il sottile fazzoletto di terra che divideva questo lembo di *Stato da Mar* dal retrostante, sterminato *paese turchesco*: la provincia di Clissa (Kilis), di cui Spalato era la marina, l'entroterra bosniaco e tutti i Balcani, fino a Edirne, Istanbul e oltre.

Per quanto non precisamente endogeno alla classe dirigente veneziana,⁷ il progetto della *scala* di Spalato venne presto percepito come di primaria importanza per lo Stato, tanto più a partire dai primi anni del Seicento, quando una crisi strutturale cominciò a investire

⁵ Sulla competizione anglo-veneziana nel Mediterraneo si veda R. T. RAPP, *The Unmaking of the Mediterranean Trade Hegemony: International Trade Rivalry and the Commercial Revolution*, «The Journal of Economic History», xxxv, 3, 1975, pp. 499-525.

⁶ Massimo Costantini giunge a supporre una corrispondenza tra il declino del progetto dei galeoni di Candia e lo stabilimento della *scala* di Spalato (M. COSTANTINI, *I galeoni di Candia nella congiuntura marittima veneziana cinque-seicentesca*, in *Venezia e Creta*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi, Iraklion-Chanià, 30 set.-5 ott. 1997, a cura di Gh. Ortalli, Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998, pp. 230-231).

⁷ Il progetto venne inizialmente concepito dal mercante Daniel Rodriga (R. PACI, *La "scala" di Spalato e il commercio veneziano nei Balcani fra Cinque e Seicento*, Venezia, Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, 1971, p. 54).

l'economia del centro lagunare.⁸ Stabilendo sulla costa dalmata un porto franco satellitare all'emporio realtino, i Veneziani meditavano di attrarvi, provenienti da tutto l'entroterra balcanico, mercanzie destinate a partire per la Dominante in regime di monopolio, ovvero

mercantie che capiteranno ivi, così tratte da questa città nostra de Venetia, come che da paesi turcheschi fussero condotte a Spalato, alle qual mercantie sia dato il transito libero conforme a quanto consigliano li sopraddetti Savii alla Mercantia, [...] essendo obligati li conduttori delle mercantie che saranno tratte da questa città per Spalato mostrar le bollete a quei ministri a quali spetta di haver pagato qui in Venetia il datio, [...] ma siano obligate così le mercantie che saranno condotte da questa città con bolleta [nella] [...] doana de Spalato, come le mercantie che saranno condotte de paesi turcheschi, nella detta doana pagar al ministro che sarà deputato dalla Signoria Nostra quella imposizione ch'è dichiarita nella tariffa hora letta presentata dal [...] Rodriga et approvata per nome d'ebrei levantini et medesimamente da mercadanti nostri [...].⁹

Il progetto vedeva, insomma, in Spalato lo sbocco marittimo 'naturale' dell'entroterra balcanico e attribuiva alla Repubblica di Venezia, una volta di più, il ruolo di *partner* commerciale privilegiato di questa cospicua porzione di traffici internazionali.

Un'aura di novità pervade il progetto della *scala* in tutti i documenti veneziani che ne descrivono il processo di stabilimento. Definito come «nuova scala», «nuova strada» o più semplicemente «deliberazione», esso venne accolto come una risposta a nuove circostanze economiche e politiche, nelle quali i porti della Penisola italiana assumevano connotati sempre più liberistici, funzionali al ruolo di snodi di transito verso l'Oriente ottomano.¹⁰ Se l'Inghilterra poteva contare sulla 'sua' Livorno, Venezia avrebbe avuto la sua Spalato, riaffermando la propria egemonia marittima sul *Golfo* e investendo sulla generale tendenza a una terrestrializzazione delle rotte, conseguente alla recrudescenza del fenomeno corsaro.¹¹

⁸ R. T. RAPP, *Industria e decadenza economica a Venezia nel XVII secolo*, Roma, Il Veltro, 1986, p. 25.

⁹ Archivio di Stato di Venezia [d'ora in poi ASVe]: *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, I s., b. 162, parte prima (28 ott. 1577).

¹⁰ G. PAGANO DE DIVITIIS, *Mercanti inglesi nell'Italia del Seicento. Navi, traffici, egemonie*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1990, p. 134.

¹¹ A. TENENTI, *Venezia e i corsari 1580-1615*, Bari, Laterza, 1961, p. 196, e IDEM, *Schiavi e*

In realtà, lo stabilimento di porti franchi nello *Stato da Mar* non era una strategia affatto inedita: a Zante e Corfù venne concesso nel 1542 transito libero alle merci dirette a Venezia – le sole, che, teoricamente, avrebbero potuto lasciare le isole Ionie. Spalato era dunque ‘nell’aria’, potremmo dire, chiamando, per traslato, con il nome del centro dalmata, la politica da potenza mercantilista con cui Venezia, in controtendenza rispetto a tutti gli altri porti della Penisola, intendeva presentarsi alla nuova stagione commerciale del Mediterraneo.¹²

Evidentemente, questo progetto era destinato a scontrarsi con l’inimicizia di numerosi porti adriatici e degli Stati che per loro tramite miravano a esercitare una politica egemonica nella regione balcanica, prima fra tutti l’Austria. In queste loro mire marittime, gli arciduchi potevano contare su un’intera, varia compagine di sostenitori, che andava dal papa, il quale puntava a concentrare sull’asse Ragusa-Ancona una parte cospicua del commercio balcanico, alla Spagna, fino a Ragusa.¹³ Per tutta la prima metà del Seicento, i Veneziani furono dunque impegnati a difendere con ogni mezzo – militare, politico e perfino filosofico¹⁴ – la propria egemonia marittima in Adriatico, dalla quale il successo della *scala* di Spalato era direttamente dipendente: «[...] il titolo del dominio di vostra Serenità sopra il Golfo non è in alcun modo acquistato, ma nato con la libertà della Repubblica, aumentato e conservato con la virtù delle arme e spesa de tesori, e confermato per immemorabile consuetudine [...]» scriveva Paolo Sarpi, in una celebre *Scrittura* ove respinge le pretese pontificie per le quali il domi-

corsari nel Mediterraneo orientale intorno al 1585, in *Miscellanea in onore di Roberto Cessi*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1958 («Storia e letteratura. Raccolta di studi e testi», LXXII, 2), p. 174.

¹² «Val la pena di notare – scrive Richard T. Rapp – che i due porti minori di Livorno e Ancona iniziarono nel diciassettesimo secolo un fiorente traffico, grazie alla manovra deliberatamente effettuata da Inglesi, Olandesi e Francesi, di allontanamento dai porti più antichi. Motivo di questa scelta era la volontà di evitare gli alti tassi doganali, e di aggirare Venezia e gli altri intermediari mediterranei (mercanti, mediatori e spedizionieri) per entrare direttamente in contatto con i mercati turchi e balcanici» (RAPP, *Industria e decadenza*, cit., p. 26).

¹³ S. ANSELMi, *Ancona nel XVI secolo*, in IDEM, *Adriatico. Studi di storia, secoli XIV-XIX*, Ancona, Clua Edizioni, 1991, pp. 131-136.

¹⁴ P. SARPI, *Dominio del Mare Adriatico della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia*, Torino, Giappichelli, 2001, e A. TENENTI, *Il senso del mare*, in IDEM, *Venezia e il senso del mare. Storia di un prisma culturale dal XIII al XVIII secolo*, Milano, Guerini e Associati, 1999, p. 186.

nio veneziano sul *Golfo* era un «privilegio», accordato alla Repubblica dagli altri Stati rivieraschi.¹⁵

Un altro temibile avversario minacciava la stabilità della rotta tra Spalato e Venezia: gli Uscocchi, com'erano chiamati gli abitanti, dediti alla guerra di *corsa*, della regione che abbracciava il centro di Segna.¹⁶ Protetti dalla peculiare geografia frastagliata della costa nord-orientale dell'Adriatico, gli Uscocchi attaccavano di sorpresa le navi mercantili. Facile preda di interessi altrui, questi predoni divennero la mano armata dell'Austria, con il cui ceto dirigente, a partire dalla fine del Cinquecento, cominciarono a condividere il gusto di un'ostentata fede cattolica¹⁷ e del suo indispensabile corollario: la 'guerra contro i musulmani', intesa come l'espressione di mire espansionistiche ai danni dell'Impero Ottomano.¹⁸ Nel 1583, sostenuti dalle galere del viceré di Napoli, giunsero perfino a tentare un fortunato assedio della fortezza di Clissa (Kilis) che venne sconfitto anche grazie alla collaborazione veneziana.¹⁹

Il successo di questa «nuova scala» era, insomma, strettamente dipendente dal sostegno che avrebbe riscosso presso gli Ottomani, ov-

¹⁵ «[N]isuno può concedere dominio ad altri di cosa che non sia sua, et insieme è certo che né il papa né l'imperatore da Carlo Magno in qua [...] mai hanno avuto dominio né custodia di questo mare, né mai hanno tenuto armata in esso, dunque mai l'hanno potuto concedere ad altri. Laonde se vostra Serenità, che tiene questo dominio da Dio e da se stessa, dicesse averlo dal pontefice o dall'imperatore, si priverebbe di quello che è suo, e darebbe a loro quello che né hanno né mai hanno avuto.» (P. SARPI, *Scrittura seconda che tratta del titolo del legittimo dominio sopra il Mar Adriatico. 1612, 12 april*, in IDEM, *Opere*, a cura di G. e L. Cozzi, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1969, pp. 623-625).

¹⁶ Per informazioni sugli Uscocchi si veda TENENTI, *Venezia e i corsari*, cit., pp. 13-28; C. W. BRACEWELL, *The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1992; S. SMITRAN, *Gli uscocchi: pirati, ribelli, guerrieri tra gli imperi ottomano e asburgico e la Repubblica di Venezia*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2008.

¹⁷ «Una certa qual mistica di violenza pervadeva questa singolare società» scrive Alberto Tenenti in una illuminante pagina dedicata al rapporto degli Uscocchi con la religione cattolica (TENENTI, *Venezia e i corsari*, cit., p. 20).

¹⁸ «Tra il Cinque ed il Seicento, per un buon secolo, l'Europa è profondamente travagliata da conflitti politico-religiosi. [...] Ciononostante il vecchio contrasto fra Cristianità ed Islam non è sopito. [...] D]a un punto di vista strettamente europeo, dopo Lepanto la vita mediterranea non è avulsa e non diverge sostanzialmente da quella del continente. La lotta politico-religiosa ed economica non è meno intensa né meno vasta; non c'è angolo, quasi, del Mare Interno che ne venga risparmiato. Se si pone mente a ricercare le analogie fra quanto avviene nel Nord e nel Sud non si imbroccherà probabilmente una strada infruttuosa» (IDEM, *Aspetti della vita mediterranea intorno al Seicento*, «Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato veneziano», II, 1960, p. 4).

¹⁹ BRACEWELL, *The Uskoks of Senj*, cit., pp. 207-208.

vero, più precisamente, dalla scelta di questi ultimi di convogliare le mercanzie balcaniche su Spalato piuttosto che su Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Narenta (Neretva) o Maqarsqa. Questo fu il motivo che spinse il governo centrale veneziano ad accompagnare lo stabilimento della *scala* con l'apertura di una nuova stagione di rapporti con l'Impero Ottomano, riformulando le strategie di penetrazione economica nei Balcani da un lato e quelle di azione diplomatica a Istanbul dall'altro. Nell'intraprendere questa riformulazione, il governo veneziano poteva contare su reti già presenti e attive al centro e ai margini dell'Impero Ottomano. «[A] gionger delle presenti il nuovo bassà doverà esser gionto, et quanto si havesse operato col passato sarebbe neccessario rinovarlo con questo; però [...] vi commetteremo che dobbiate immediate mandar quelle persone che voi stimarete buone per condur a fine questo negotio»²⁰ scrivevano nel settembre 1588 i *Cinque savi* ai rettori di Zara, evidentemente alludendo a una cerchia di mercanti, imprenditori e mediatori che, indipendentemente dalla rispettiva nazionalità e confessione religiosa, vedevano nei rappresentanti del potere veneziano le autorità istituzionali in grado di proteggere la pace e i rispettivi interessi economici, al punto da diventarne ufficiosi emissari di fiducia. Analogamente, l'anno successivo i *Cinque savi* scrivevano che «oltre le particolari informationi che haverà da noi», il provveditore generale in Dalmazia «potrà servirsi nella trattatione di Daniel Rodriga e altri che più gli piacesse»,²¹ confermando, tra l'altro, la fiducia nelle capacità dei propri rappresentanti di scegliere le persone più adatte a condurre a termine un *negotio* di significativa rilevanza diplomatica per lo Stato veneziano.

In occasione di una controversia, sorta per uno scambio di prigionieri con Muştāfā, *şancaqbeyi* di Clissa (Kilis), «che, per via di sua madre, sorella del Gran Signore, è suo nepote, figliuolo di Piali Bassà, giovine d'anni 20 in circa, inesperto di governi, altiero e d'animo terribile», il conte di Spalato Marco Barbarigo operò sul piano tanto diplomatico che locale: tramite il bailo, fece arrivare al giovane sanzacco «un cochiume [*hüküm*, 'ordine'] del Gran Signore [...] con altre lettere ancora di sua madre», mentre racconta di aver adottato «secreti modi [...] negoziando [...] con lui per via d'interposte persone».²²

²⁰ ASve: *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, I s., b. 162, 27 set. 1588.

²¹ Ivi, 16 giu. 1589.

²² ASve: *Collegio Relazioni*, b. 72, 31 lug. 1586.

Del resto, che la strategia di penetrazione commerciale veneziana nei Balcani consistesse a fine Cinquecento nella riformulazione o, meglio, nel potenziamento di reti già esistenti è un argomento facilmente comprensibile, considerando la quantità e la qualità dei rapporti che la Repubblica aveva intrattenuto per tutto il secolo con la Bosnia ottomana. I quali rapporti erano talmente profondi da suggerire l'esistenza di una frontiera 'sfumata' tra i due Stati, superata – materialmente e metaforicamente – da innumerevoli occasioni di migrazione professionale, collaborazioni produttive e relazioni commerciali.²³ La prossimità geografica dell'emporio realtino aveva garantito a questa estrema provincia ottomana un ruolo strategico nel commercio internazionale, che venne ulteriormente rilanciato e investito di valori politici del tutto inediti con il progetto della *scala* di Spalato. Il declino che intervenne più tardi, nel corso della guerra di Candia, andò di pari passo con la decadenza veneziana e con l'avanzamento delle pretese coloniali austriache sull'intera regione.

La *scala* di Spalato non era solo «nuova», ma anche e soprattutto 'segreta', in particolare nella prima fase di stabilimento: i *Cinque savi* insistevano molto sulla necessaria «circonspettione» da usarsi nella trattazione con il pascià di Bosnia, che i loro emissari avevano il compito di sensibilizzare sulla possibilità di condurre a Spalato le mercanzie che giungessero al Serraglio (Saray, oggi Saraievo), «non intervendo in ciò il nome pubblico, ma solamente il beneficio di quei sanzacadì et de mercanti».²⁴ Il governo veneziano non doveva insomma figurare come promotore del progetto, che veniva piuttosto presentato alla stregua di una vantaggiosa opportunità commerciale, offerta da mercanti per mercanti. Causa e fine di tale strategia era probabilmente il non consentire che eventuali rivalità locali, all'interno del paese ottomano, venissero strumentalizzate politicamente da altri Stati, rivieraschi e non, fino a fare della concorrenza a Spalato una questione politica contro la Repubblica. I timori si concentravano sulla marina di Mostar, Maqarsqa, e, soprattutto, sullo scalo che le fonti chiamano «le bocche [del fiume] di Narenta», le cui attività, controllate dall'asse

²³ V. COSTANTINI, *Commerci ed economie nell'Adriatico d'età moderna*, in *Balcani occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia tra XIII e XVIII secolo*, a cura di Gh. Ortalli, O. J. Schmitt, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009, pp. 363-365.

²⁴ ASve: *Collegio Relazioni*, b. 72, 3 feb. 1588 m.v.

Ragusa-Ancona, risultavano in ultima analisi funzionali agli interessi pontifici in Adriatico.²⁵

Tale segretezza, tuttavia, non era una strategia esclusivamente locale: anche a Istanbul, il bailo chiedeva con insistenza di perseguire e condannare gli atti di banditismo nei Balcani, incoraggiava la costruzione di infrastrutture funzionali al transito carovaniero (caravan-serragli e ponti), sollecitava l'emissione di lasciapassare sulla tratta Istanbul-Clissa (Kilis), sempre tacendo il progetto della nuova *scala*. In una raccolta di ben 44 lettere imperiali, inviate tra il 1590 e il 1619 dal sultano a vari rappresentanti del suo potere in Bosnia ed Erzegovina e conservate, con l'annessa traduzione coeva, nel fondo del *Bailo a Costantinopoli*, il nome di Spalato occorre in una sola missiva, destinata al *sancaqbeyi* e al *qađi* di Clissa (Kilis): «il bailo veneziano ha mandato una petizione alla mia Soglia di Felicità, nella quale mi fa sapere che Mehmed Ağa [che nella traduzione del dragomanno compare come *Ibrahim Ağâ*], della provincia di Kilis, con i suoi fratelli e altri ancora, contravvenendo agli accordi di pace e amicizia, aggredisce con continue vessazioni gli uomini e sudditi di una città fortificata [*hişār*] chiamata *İsplit*, collocata nel territorio della Repubblica, mentre si recano a prestare servizio ai mulini e presso le riserve ittiche».²⁶

Nel fondo dei *Mühimme Defterleri*, che raccoglie ordini emessi dalla cancelleria imperiale, il nome di Spalato compare pure una sola volta, nel ventennio compreso tra il 1574 e il 1592: il 17 aprile 1577 il sultano scriveva infatti al *sancaqbeyi* di Clissa (Kilis) che alcuni abitanti di *Şārūmişa*, un villaggio posto sotto la sua giurisdizione, erano stati attaccati e presi prigionieri dagli infedeli di *İsplit*, una città fortificata posta in territorio veneziano, mentre si recavano alle vicine saline di *Būsence*.²⁷ Il sultano chiedeva il motivo di tale azione («*esir ettirmeğe sebeb nedir?*»), così apertamente contraria alla pace da poco stipulata. In ambedue i casi, Spalato, definita esclusivamente come «*hişār*», ovvero «città fortificata», viene citata in contesti puramente locali, del tutto estranei allo stabilimento della

²⁵ A. BIN, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la questione adriatica: 1600-1620*, Roma, Il Veltrò, 1992, p. 52.

²⁶ ASve: *Bailo a Costantinopoli, Carte Turche*, b. 250, doc. 6, 14/N/1013, 3 feb. 1605. Particolare curioso, che tornerà preso utile nel corso di questo articolo: trattavasi di una svista di traduzione o era proprio *Ibrahim* a molestare i sudditi della Repubblica?

²⁷ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi [d'ora in poi BOA]: *Mühimme Defteri* 30, *hüküm* 121, 28/M/985, 17 apr. 1577.

scala. Certo, il contesto di riferimento di entrambi i documenti non implicava la definizione di Spalato *in quanto* porto, ma rimane significativa l'assenza di fonti in cui la città in questione venisse citata per l'appunto in qualità di *iskele*, 'porto', come invece avveniva per Sebenico (Şebenik), Narenta (Neretva), Ragusa (Dubrovnik) e Castelnuovo (Növa).²⁸

Del resto, sono le fonti veneziane a confermare apertamente l'ipotesi per cui la Porta, del progetto di Spalato, sapesse, o almeno dimostrasse di sapere, poco o nulla. Nel 1589 i *Cinque savi* osservavano che per facilitare il transito di mercanzie e carovane sopra il fiume Citina, a mezza giornata di cammino da Spalato, occorresse sollecitare l'amministrazione ottomana alla costruzione di un ponte. Apparentemente, di tale sollecitazione si era già interessato Daniel Rodriga, il quale, di ritorno da un colloquio con il *şancaqbeyi* di Clissa (Kilis), aveva riferito «che non vi si porrà mano senza espresso comandamento della Porta». ²⁹ Occorreva dunque portare sul fiume «doi ponti sopra burchielle secondo l'uso d'Italia perché comodamente et con prestezza passino le mercantie et caravane». «La qual cosa» – continuavano i *Cinque savi* – «renderà anco minor pregiudizio alle cose pubbliche per quei rispetti che sono considerabili molto in questo proposito». L'allusione ai vantaggi di un non coinvolgimento diretto del potere centrale ottomano è qui evidente. Ancora più esplicitamente, nel sottolineare «il bisogno che ha questo negotio di trattatione et accomodamento con Turchi», i *Cinque savi* raccomandavano al provveditore in Dalmazia di servirsi di emissari «i quali come in nisuna maniera non doveranno interessare la pubblica dignità, ma trattare solamente tutto sotto nome de mercanti. Così l'istesso doverà fare il [...] Provveditor suddetto, il quale doverà dissimulare questa trattatione et negotio, ma concludere però et provvedere al bisogno nella maniera che giudicherà necessaria». ³⁰

Nello stesso documento i *Cinque savi* affrontarono l'annosa questione della sicurezza del sistema viario in territorio ottomano, giacché, a differenza della tratta Spalato-Salona (Şōlin), sulla quale le merci venivano «custodite da Noi», la sicurezza del percorso che da Salona conduceva a Saray era nelle mani della locale amministrazione ottomana.

²⁸ Si veda, ad es., ivi: *Mühimme Defteri* 24, *hüküm* 43, 16/Za/981, 9 mar. 1574.

²⁹ Asve: *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, I s., b. 162, 16 giu. 1589.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

Senza dubbio, occorre fare pressione affinché si procedesse a disboscare i territori per i quali serpeggiava la via carovaniera in questione, attività che, a dire il vero, il governo centrale ottomano pianificava a scadenza abbastanza regolare.³¹ Esisteva anche una «torretta antiqua», su un'isola chiamata *Castel Susuraz*, in territorio veneziano, dalla quale «possono esser scoperti in ogni occasioni et li Uscochi et ogni altra gente sino a Salona».³² Occorreva dunque insediare una guardia, che tenesse d'occhio le rotte terrestri e quelle marittime che da Spalato si dipartivano. Effettivamente, già nel 1582, il conte di Spalato Nicolò Correr aveva dato ordine a Michiel Blatiasseвич «ch'insieme con quattro soldati del capitano Zaulo [...] che da voi saranno assegnati dobbiate con barca trasferirvi al Castel Susuraz [...] né lassare che barca alcuna venga di qual si voglia luogo et per alcuna causa entri nella fiumara o rive intorno a Salona, ma quelle farete ritornar indietro et se ciò ricuseranno di far voi in tal caso usate quei modi che vi pareranno convenir perché restino d'andarvi».³³

Tuttavia, ogni fermento alle frontiere – soprattutto se implicava lo spostamento di uomini e armi («ādam ve yarāq») – metteva subito in allerta il governo centrale ottomano.³⁴ Occorreva dunque agire sempre con prudenza e, soprattutto, dimostrando di intervenire nell'interesse, comune ai due Stati, di preservare la sicurezza. «La fortezza che [i Veneziani] stanno costruendo e quella in corso di riparazione si trovano nel territorio dei Paesi ben Protetti [l'Impero Ottomano] o piuttosto entro la frontiera dei Veneziani?»³⁵ chiedeva nel 1579 il sultano a un suo funzionario di nome İbrahim Beý – forse identificabile nel futuro İbrahim Ağâ del 1604, molestatore degli Spalatini, probabilmente il solo in Bosnia che poteva fornire informazioni attendibili sui Veneziani.³⁶ Il 21 giugno 1581, in una lettera di istruzioni al capitano Lodovico Celio, il conte di Spalato raccomandava «che non dobbiate voi passar né permettere che li soldati vostri passino per qual si voglia causa oltre li confini nostri non andando sopra il territorio turchesco stando talmente nelli termini nostri unitamente per difesa di questi sudditi che per causa vostra o de soldati vostri non nasca disturbo

³¹ Si veda, ad es., BOA: *Mühimme Defteri* 26, *hüküm* 636, 6/C/982, 23 set. 1574.

³² ASve: *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, I s., b. 162, 16 giu. 1589.

³³ Dražavni Arhiv Zadar [d'ora in poi DAZ]: *Splitski Arhiv*, kutija 116, 10 giu. 1582.

³⁴ BOA: *Mühimme Defteri* 36, *hüküm* 510, 18/S/987, 16 apr. 1579.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ Si veda p. 274, nota 26.

alcuno con questi confinanti turchi, usando ogni destrezza per non venir seco alle mani con fatti o con parole». ³⁷

I *Cinque savi* indicavano nell'*emin* esattore dei dazi doganali di Narenta (Neretva) e nel *sancaqbey* di Duqa i potenziali più acerrimi oppositori del progetto, «quello come datiaro di quella scala et questo come patrone del paese per dove convengono passar hora tutte le mercantie, le quali mutando scala converanno tralasciar quel camino con interesse di quel sanzacado». ³⁸ Effettivamente, il passaggio di una carovana per un determinato territorio equivaleva a un'occasione di guadagno per molti, tra cui quei funzionari ottomani che si fossero aggiudicati l'appalto della relativa imposizione fiscale indiretta (pedaggi, dazi doganali eccetera). Come testimonia un registro contabile ottomano datato 1578, i dazi esatti per tutto l'anno solare sulla strada che divideva Clissa (Kilis) da Spalato, assieme alla rendita fiscale prodotta dalle vicine saline, fruttarono al tesoro provinciale 5.000 *aqçe*. ³⁹ Trattandosi, come spesso accadeva, di una unità fiscale (*muqāt'a*) composta, quanto alla natura dei cespiti fiscali di cui era costituita, appare di fatto impossibile attribuire un qualsiasi valore statistico a questa cifra. In tutto il Mediterraneo ottomano, la rendita fiscale delle saline, la cui produttività si concentrava nei mesi invernali, veniva spesso aggregata, in una sola 'unità' amministrativa, alla rendita fiscale delle dogane marittime, che al contrario registravano gli introiti più alti in primavera-estate. ⁴⁰ Questo espediente garantiva stabilità all'unità fiscale, la quale, in sede di bilancio, poteva così essere destinata a pagare spese che l'amministrazione doveva incontrare per tutto l'anno. ⁴¹ Inoltre, siccome le unità fiscali venivano generalmente date in appalto, la cifra riportata nei documenti è il risultato di una contrattazione avvenuta tra lo Stato ottomano e l'appaltatore, detto *mültezim* o *emîn mültezim*, e non lo 'specchio' fiscale di un'attività economica – ammesso che questo possa mai darsi. La somma si trova dunque qui citata al solo scopo di mostrare che già nel 1578, prima dell'effettiva partenza del

³⁷ DAZ: *Splitski Arhiv*, kutija 116, 21 giu. 1581.

³⁸ ASVE: *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, I s., b. 162, 16 giu. 1589.

³⁹ BOA: *Maliyeden Müdevver, defter* 706, 3/C/986, 7 ago. 1578, p. 15.

⁴⁰ Partendo da basi documentarie diverse e relativamente a un contesto storico pure diverso, Jean-Claude Hocquet conclude che «[i]l sale ha [...] accompagnato tutte le pulsazioni del grande commercio marittimo, il suo ritmo s'è improntato a esse; un ritmo proprio del sale non esiste: è subordinato al grande commercio» (J.-CL. HOCQUET, *Il sale e la fortuna di Venezia*, Roma, Jouvence, 1990, p. 552).

⁴¹ COSTANTINI, *Il sultano e l'isola*, cit., pp. 125 sgg.

progetto, l'imposizione fiscale indiretta esercitata sul percorso Spalato-Clissa (Kilis) e viceversa era ufficialmente riconosciuta dall'amministrazione ottomana come un cespite di guadagno fiscale, alla pari di altre rotte (si veda la Tabella 1). Questi 5.000 *aqçe* rappresentano dunque una quota, purtroppo non quantificabile, allo stato attuale della ricerca, del traffico mercantile altrimenti gravitante sull'ottomana Narenta (Neretva) o sulla cogestita Sebenico (Šebenik).⁴²

Per comprendere l'assetto amministrativo che governava i porti ottomani, basti prendere in considerazione un ordine inviato da Selim II al *beylerbeyi* di Bosnia il 9 marzo 1574. Poiché un gruppo di acquirenti (*tālibler*) aveva offerto la cifra colossale di quasi 4.000.000 *aqçe* annui per aggiudicarsi l'appalto (*iltizām*) dei dazi doganali da esigersi nei porti di Sebenico (Šebenik), Narenta (Nertova), Ragusa (Dubrovnik) e Castelnuovo (Nōva), il sultano chiedeva al pascià di rammentare ufficialmente che fosse proibito vendere ai mercanti stranieri alcuni generi, quali cavalli, cereali, proiettili, armi, cotone, cera d'api e cuoio. Probabilmente, alla luce di questa proibizione regolazionistica, gli acquirenti avrebbero riformulato l'offerta, considerando che sarebbe stata proprio la vendita 'a Occidente' di quei generi a generare profitti tali da garantire la corresponsione della cifra proposta.⁴³

TAB. 1. Unità fiscali (*muqaṭ'āt-i muteferriqa*) della provincia di Kilis, secondo una lista del 3/C/986, 8 lug. 1578.

Unità fiscale (<i>muqaṭ'ā</i>)	<i>Aqçe</i>
Dazi terrestri e marittimi della città di Šebenik (Sebenico)	20.000
Rendita fiscale delle saline ... e delle saline dette 'straniere' della città di Šebenik (Sebenico)	65.000
Dazi di transito della città di Šōlīn (Solona)	1.000
Dazi di transito della città di Trōğīr (Traù) e rendita fiscale delle saline dette 'straniere' della stessa città	1.500
Dazi di transito delle città di Īsplit (Spalato) e Kilis (Clissa) e rendita fiscale delle saline dette 'straniere'	5.000
Dazi marittimi e terrestri della città di Īsqrādin e Ostrovice	6.000
Dazi di transito della città di Nādin e della città di ...	1.000
Imposta sugli schiavi della città di Hlūni (Climno)	1.000
Imposta sugli ovini della provincia di Kilis (Clissa)	68.000

Fonte: BOA, *Maliyeden Müdevver*, defter 706, p. 15.

⁴² J.-CL. HOCQUET, *Saline et pêche en Dalmatie centrale au milieu du xvi^e siècle*, «Studi Veneziani», XLIX, 2005, pp. 113-128.

⁴³ BOA: *Mühimme Defteri* 24, *hüküm* 43, 16/Za/981, 9 mar. 1574.

All'opposizione dei funzionari rivali, si doveva, certo, contrapporre una sagace «circonspezione», ma anche il «negotio», un termine che sta qui a significare una trattazione al contempo politica e mercantile, nella quale i Veneziani vedevano come principali interlocutori il *şancaqbeyi* di Climno (Hlūni), il *şancaqbeyi* di Clissa (Kilis) e il pascià di Bosnia. Principale responsabile di tale negoziazione fu, in questa prima fase, il mercante sefardita Daniel Rodriga, che vantava numerose entrate nell'*establishment* ottomano della costa balcanica, dovute alla sua lunga frequentazione di Narenta (Naretva) e della stessa Saray.⁴⁴ Rispetto all'asse Ragusa-Ancona, la tratta Spalato-Venezia presentava numerosi vantaggi che promettevano di tradursi in un aumento dei profitti per i mercanti ottomani e veneziani intenzionati a servirsene e per tutti coloro che, con essi, in modi e forme diverse, avrebbero goduto di questa espansione commerciale.

Uno dei vantaggi principali era di natura logistica: a differenza della pontificia Ancona, Venezia consentiva alle merci un transito diretto ai mercati continentali, soprattutto tedeschi. Passando per Spalato, le merci ottomane evitavano almeno una mediazione, quella ragusea, altrimenti indispensabile. Inoltre, Venezia era anche un centro industriale di primaria importanza, produttore di generi esportabili, per quanto, nel medio termine, fu proprio il secentesco declino industriale della città lagunare a costituire l'elemento che ne decretò la progressiva marginalizzazione.⁴⁵ Al contrario, porti come Ancona e Livorno, per quanto contassero su un entroterra ben lungi dalla capacità di produzione industriale veneziana, ricevevano merci prodotte altrove e ivi condotte da mercanti inglesi, olandesi e francesi o da loro intermediari.⁴⁶

Tornando al «negotio» di Rodriga, il conte di Spalato Alvise Loredan faceva notare, già nel 1580, che il mercante sefardita non fosse probabilmente la persona più adatta a gestire lo stabilimento della nuova *scala*, giacché «non havend'esso da poter tenersi benevoli i sanzachi, cadì, vaivodi et tant'altri ministri turchi, ciascun di quali vorrà

⁴⁴ PACI, *La scala di Spalato*, cit., pp. 49-50.

⁴⁵ RAPP, *Industria e decadenza*, cit., p. 27.

⁴⁶ F. TRIVELLATO, *The familiarity of strangers: the Sephardic diaspora, Livorno, and cross-cultural trade in the early-modern period*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 2009, p. 107.

sempre mangiar la sua parte et ben spesso si cambiano et fa bisogno di rinovar le vivande, sempre occorrerano degli impedimenti». ⁴⁷ In questo passaggio, ancora più che altrove, ben si comprende che non di corruzione si tratta, categoria cui spesso, strumentalmente, alludono le fonti veneziane nel parlare dell'*establishment* ottomano, ma non per questo adatta alla comprensione storiografica di fenomeni assai più complessi, come, in questo caso, la spartizione di quote di profitto mercantile. Inoltre, utilizzando la metafora del «bisogno di rinovar le vivande», Alvise Loredan illumina un *pattern* dell'amministrazione ottomana dei Balcani, quello per cui un funzionario, quand'anche giunto a conclusione il suo mandato, non abbandonasse generalmente la quota di profitto garantitagli dalla carica che ricopriva. Quest'ultima, in altri termini, spesso legittimava chi la deteneva ad assumere un ruolo economico locale di primaria importanza, foriero di uno *status* sociale duraturo.

Spartizione di un utile mercantile era dunque il *negotio* nei Balcani, un'attività per la quale si rendevano necessarie capacità imprenditoriali, doti linguistiche e relazionali specifiche, oltre che un controllo delle correnti di traffico, su cui Daniel Rodriga non poteva forse più contare. Il 1580 fu effettivamente l'anno che segnò l'allontanamento da Spalato e dalla politica veneziana del mercante inventore della *scala*, il quale aveva investito gran parte dei suoi capitali nella costruzione dell'edificio della dogana. ⁴⁸ Scrive Renzo Paci che «[i]l progetto della *scala* era però tanto profondamente rispondente alle nuove esigenze della politica economica veneziana che neppure la momentanea sconfitta del Rodriguez poteva riuscire a farlo accantonare». ⁴⁹ Infatti, se in un primo tempo l'allontanamento di Rodriga coincise con un momentaneo declino del progetto, nel 1589 la *scala* venne fatta ripartire con maggiore determinazione, per altro anche grazie al rinnovato impegno del suo inventore, di ritorno dalla Bosnia.

Indipendentemente dall'importanza del mercante sefardita e della rete commerciale che faceva capo a lui, la decisione veneziana del 1589 di investire con decisione nello stabilimento della *scala* portò a una serie di conseguenze politiche ed economiche di rilievo che avrebbero

⁴⁷ ASVe: Collegio Relazioni, Secreta, b. 72, *Relatione, fatta alla Serenissima Signoria, della città di Spalato per il Clarissimo Messer Alvise Loredan, fu del Clarissimo Messer Lorenzo, fu Conte et Capitano in essa città*, 1580.

⁴⁸ PACI, *La "scala" di Spalato*, cit., p. 53.

⁴⁹ Ivi, p. 54.

spinto il governo della Serenissima ad adottare una linea di condotta assolutamente innovativa: per la prima volta, Venezia si emancipava dall'ombra della Lega Santa, riconoscendo, proprio negli ex alleati di Lepanto, i veri nemici nel *Golfo* e negli Ottomani vicini – mercanti, funzionari e mediatori bosniaci – i *partners* commerciali che soli, in tempo di crisi economica, potevano garantire alla Repubblica un ruolo di prim'ordine nei traffici e, conseguentemente, nella politica internazionale dell'epoca. Venezia, caso unico nel panorama politico della Penisola, ribadiva la propria autonomia economica e politica e sosteneva una nuova rotta a uso di mercanti, ben comprendendo che fosse questo gruppo etnicamente eterogeneo di dragomanni veneziani, mercanti bosniaci musulmani, funzionari ottomani, commercianti sefarditi a costituire il futuro dei traffici internazionali.

«Il bailo veneziano ha mandato un suo emissario alla mia Soglia di Felicità, il quale mi ha detto che Cenazin, uno dei loro dragomanni in servizio presso la mia Dimora, già in possesso di firmano imperiale, è destinato a venire dalle vostre parti per sbrigarvi alcune faccende», scriveva il sultano Ahmed I a tutti i *şancaqbeyi* e i *qādlı* insediati nelle principali località sulla strada da Istanbul a Clissa (Kilis).⁵⁰ Per la sicurezza propria, dei suoi uomini e degli affetti personali di ciascuno del suo seguito, Zanetin – così si chiamava il dragomanno – riceveva lo speciale permesso di montare un cavallo, di portare arco, frecce, spada e speroni e perfino di inturbantarsi di bianco (*āq şarınub*). Inoltrarsi nei Balcani travestito da militare ottomano decorato piuttosto che in abiti borghesi da commerciante straniero era senza dubbio un'idea efficace, considerando la quantità di mercanti morti ammazzati su quelle stesse strade. Non chiunque si prestava al travestimento: arco e spada occorreva saperli usare, o per lo meno portare e, soprattutto, per poter essere veramente scambiati per un militare ottomano, bisognava saper parlare il turco, abilità che, immaginiamo, certo non mancava al dragomanno Zanetin, traduttore ufficiale della Repubblica di Venezia presso la Sublime Porta. Il firmano non rilascia particolari sulle faccende (*huşūş*) da sbrigarsi sulla tratta Istanbul-Clissa (Kilis); di certo, la meta ultima del viaggio per il quale Zanetin si apprestava a partire non era la sede del più occidentale *sanza*cco del Gran Signore, ma Spalato, e di lì, forse, Venezia.

⁵⁰ ASve: *Bailo a Costantinopoli, Carte Turche*, b. 250, doc. 12, 14/N/1013, 4 feb. 1605.

UNE CONTROVERSE SUR LES CONFINS,
VENISE, MUGGIA
ET LES SALINES DE TRIESTE
(XIV^E-XIX^E SIÈCLES)*

JEAN-CLAUDE HOCQUET

LES anciennes salines de Trieste et Muggia, aujourd'hui situées en territoire italien, furent au temps de leur activité soumises à deux dominations différentes: Trieste relevait des territoires archiducaux des Habsbourg depuis la fin du xiv^e siècle, avant que le Traité de Vienne ne l'accordât à l'Autriche en 1815, Muggia fut vénitienne jusqu'à la chute de la République en 1797 et devint à son tour autrichienne en 1815 comme l'Istrie et la Dalmatie où Venise avait réussi à conserver les salines de Capodistria, Piran et Pago, trois territoires entrés dans les jeunes Etats de Slovénie et de Croatie. L'activité salicole se poursuit à Piran et à Pago.

1. LE SYSTÈME TECHNIQUE DES SALINES

1. 1. *Les salines de Trieste à la fin du xvii^e siècle selon Valvassor*

Comme tout salin maritime, les salines de Trieste et de Muggia obéissaient à des contraintes physico-chimiques qui leur imposaient un plan en trois dimensions où l'élévation des différents bassins jouait un rôle fondamental. La côte septentrionale de l'Adriatique jouit de conditions favorables à une telle activité grâce au climat, aux lagunes et aux marées.

* Au terme d'une recherche conduite à Venise (Archivio di Stato) et à Trieste (septembre 2010-janvier 2011), je tiens à remercier le Dott. Adriano Dugulin, direttore area cultura e civici musei di storia e arte, Mesdames Grazia Tató et MariaCarla Triadan (Archivio di Stato), Renata Zorovich et Gabriela Norio (Archivio Diplomatico), Messieurs Roberto Scignari (Biblioteca Civica), et Marino Vocci (Museo del Mare), M.lle Anna Krekic (Museo Sartorio). Ma reconnaissance va aussi à la Soprintendenza Archeologica del Friuli-Venezia Giulia, à la Dott. Nicoletta Poli et au Dott. Luigi Fozzati, surintendant de la direction de l'archéologie du Friuli-Venezia Giulia.



FIG. 1. Les salines de Trieste et de Muggia selon Valvassor.¹

Les salines: «près de la ville, on produit beaucoup de sel et les salines sont disposées comme sur le dessin». Valvassor a dessiné un schéma très didactique des salines occidentales de Trieste (FIG. 1):

A. Grande et épaisse muraille de grosses pierre posées à sec, digue (*agger*, *arzere*) opposée aux tempêtes pour protéger les installations saunantes des intrusions d'eau de mer ou des crues fluviales. Elle entoure le périmètre de la saline, elle est renforcée du côté de la mer ou du fleuve. En 1768, au bourg voisin, à Muggia il fallut la surélever en apportant des pierres et de la terre, à raison d'un chariot (*carro*) par pas de longueur. C'était une grosse dépense d'entretien, et si la digue était mitoyenne de plusieurs salines, la dépense était partagée entre les propriétaires (appelés *consorti*). L'ouverture d'une brèche dans la digue requérait une intervention d'urgence «per chiuder il rottachio» à grands frais: ainsi la moitié de la dépense aux digues (l. 42 s. 16) d'une petite saline de 12 *cavedini*.

B. Porte ou vanne, dispositif empierré appelé *calio* dans lequel cou-

¹ P. G. Parovel, A. Tasso-Jasbitz (éds.), 1689 – *Trieste Lubiana e la Carsia di Johann Weichard Valvassor*, Trieste, Mladika, 1995, ont publié «Trieste - 1690».

lisse verticalement dans des feuillures une porte de bois ouvrant sur une petite chambre à l'avant (*camarela*) pour faire entrer l'eau de mer dans le *morario*. Le *calio* est ménagé dans la digue maîtresse, c'est le point sensible du dispositif d'admission des eaux salées dans la saline, son entretien est coûteux, d'autant qu'il faut le reconstruire à chaque printemps. On le détruit en effet après la récolte pour donner libre passage à l'eau de mer dans le *fondamento* qui reste ennoyé tout l'hiver pour dissoudre les sels résiduels et purger la saline. Il suffisait d'aménager le marais salant sous le niveau des plus fortes marées pour obtenir le remplissage de toutes ses parties par gravité, la vidange se faisant à marée basse. Dans ce système technique, l'eau de mer admise par le *calio* décante dans le *morario*, elle commence à chauffer et à se concentrer, elle devient saumure (*muria* ou *mora*), les cristallisoirs ou *cavedini* sont à la partie la plus basse du marais, le *morario* à la partie la plus haute, ainsi l'eau circule partout par gravité. La circulation interne est réglée par de petites vannes. Tout le progrès pour améliorer le rendement de la saline a consisté à allonger les parcours de l'eau et à différencier les bassins d'évaporation pour disposer d'eau à des degrés de concentration allant en augmentant. Au terme du parcours l'eau était introduite dans les *servitori* ou *scaldatarii*.

D. Les canaux par lesquels l'eau circule de façon ininterrompue dans la saline selon une technique progressivement élaborée et perfectionnée au cours du Moyen Âge, afin d'éliminer les sels inutiles en utilisant les plages de cristallisation des chlorures sous l'action de l'évaporation. Les hommes ont divisé les grands bassins initiaux. Vases et boues en suspension ont été éliminées par décantation dans le *morario*. L'eau passait ensuite dans les cobiers où précipitaient les carbonate et sulfate de calcium puis dans des bassins plus petits encore formant la saline proprement dite où cristallisait le NaCl.²

C. Petites digues de terre ou d'argile enfermant les chenaux et en-

² Rappelons les étapes de la cristallisation fractionnée des chlorures dans un salin (mesures prises à la sortie des bassins). La densité de la saumure est mesurée en degrés Baumé, du nom de l'inventeur de l'appareil de mesure à la fin du XVIII^e siècle.

TAB. 1. La cristallisation des sels.

	Volume (litres)	Densité	Degré Baumé	Précipitation de sels
Eau de mer	1.000	1,025	3°5	Néant
Morario/vasière/	476	1,059	7-8°	CaCO ₃
Corbuli/cobiers/	200	1,125	13-16°	CaSO ₄ 2H ₂ O
Servidori/nourrices	112	1,209	25°	NaCl (sel)

tourant chacun des bassins, appelées *secondalia* (*segondali*), elles étaient bordées de palissades de planches maintenues par des piquets, périodiquement ce matériel était rénové.

N. Les *servitori*, dans un système d'aires saunantes, chaque cristallisateur, pour disposer en permanence de saumure saturée, est accolé à un bassin réservoir.

E. Une *salinara* (saunière), la cultivatrice des salines, prend l'eau salée dans le canal et la verse dans les *servitori*; elle utilise une pelle suspendue à un trépied (*zornador* ou *zorno*) pour épargner sa peine et travailler plus rapidement.

M. Les *cavedini* forment la saline proprement dite où le sel cristallise. La solution très concentrée qui entre dans ces *cavedini* contient ensemble les chlorures de sodium et de magnésium en solution. Pour empêcher le magnésium de précipiter, on récolte le sel dans l'eau ou on expulse les eaux mères qui ont déjà précipité leur sel. La solution adoptée est sous l'étroite dépendance du climat et de la météorologie. Dans le nord de l'Adriatique, les étés ne sont pas uniformément marqués par le beau temps sec et ensoleillé, l'air peut être envahi de masses d'air humide (les *scirocchi pluviosi*) qui bloquent l'évaporation, des orages éclatent fréquemment. Pour éviter la destruction par la pluie du sel qui avait cristallisé, les sauniers pratiquaient une récolte fréquente, journalière ou tous les deux jours, ce qui n'était pas sans conséquence sur la taille de l'exploitation et sa consistance.³ Pour obtenir cette récolte, il faut en effet abréger les délais d'évaporation déjà ralentis la nuit en introduisant la saumure en couche mince, pour avoir peu d'eau à évaporer, et surtout il faut garder les eaux mères surchargées en MgCl (chlorure de magnésium) dont le pouvoir de catalyse accélère la cristallisation du NaCl, sans les laisser s'évaporer, sinon la précipitation du MgCl endommagerait le NaCl. Ce système de récoltes multiples imposait de récolter le sel dans l'eau, c'est-à-dire dans les eaux-mères et de renouveler la provision de saumure saturée avant même d'entreprendre la récolte pour éviter la totale évaporation de l'eau dans le cristallisateur, ce qui aurait brûlé la récolte de sel. Le plancher du cristallisateur est donc tenu sous eau, il est très meuble, le saunier n'y entrait pas pour prendre le sel. Il travaillait sur le bord, ce qui déterminait la taille du bassin et celle de l'outil, le *gavaro*, au

³ J.-CL. HOCQUET, *Chioggia, capitale del sale nel Medioevo*, Chioggia, Il Leggio, 1991, pp. 126-129.

long manche de frêne auquel était fixée une planchette de 80 cm sur 15 cm de hauteur, avec lequel il récoltait le sel. La longueur du manche imposait ses dimensions au *cavedino*, soit 6 pas environ de côté, y compris la largeur des diguettes qui en faisaient le tour et sur lesquelles se tenait le saunier. Dans ce système à récolte permanente et aléatoire durant la belle saison, les exploitants permanents étaient des métayers à part de fruit, qui ne maîtrisaient certes pas les processus théoriques de la cristallisation fractionnée des chlorures, mais leurs observations empiriques leur avaient permis de surmonter ces inconvénients et la transmission héréditaire de ce savoir constituait un bagage technique suffisant pour faire du sel.

F. Une saunière (*salinara*) rassemble le sel en tas.

I. Les *fosses de la saline* sont des trous ronds, des puits profonds, écrit Valvassor, de la taille d'un homme, soit de 1,50 à 2 mètres et du diamètre d'un mètre, où on conservait l'eau salée *macerata* pour faire le sel (elle a une fonction analogue à la levure dans la panification, précisait Valvassor). L'autre eau salée (saturée) parvenue dans les cristallisoirs est aspergée avec cette eau-mère et donne le vrai sel. Ces fosses ou puits sont un emprunt aux techniques dalmates. De Pago (dans l'archipel de Zara), dont le vocabulaire des marais salants semble d'origine slave, les Vénitiens introduisirent cette technologie dans les salines de l'Istrie quand ils voulurent moderniser les installations de Piran. En 1376, ils accordaient à un habitant du lieu, Georges de Segna, licence de «fabbricar et sodar XXI cavedinos et totidem servitores et corbolos opportunos ad consuetudinem Pagi». ⁴ Lorenzo Vitelleschi notait l'importance de ces *pozzi*: «aux angles des salines (du nord de la Dalmatie), dans les *cavedini* sont creusés des petits puits dits conserves dans lesquels sont entreposées des saumures saturées

⁴ IDEM, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, vol. 1, *Production et monopole*, vol. 2, *Voiliers et commerce en Méditerranée 1200-1650*, Lille, Presses Universitaires, 1978-1979: *ivi*, vol. 1, pp. 116-117; IDEM, *Innovations techniques, climat, politique économique et fluctuations de la production du sel en Méditerranée*, «Comptes rendus du 99^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes», v, «Sciences», 1976, p. 60; J.-CL. et J. HOCQUET, *Le vocabulaire des techniques du marais salant au Moyen Âge. Contribution à une étude comparée des termes en usage sur les côtes de l'Adriatique et de l'Atlantique*, «Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École française de Rome», LXXXVI, 2, 1974, p. 550. V. LAGO, *Memorie sulla Dalmazia*, 2 voll., Venise, 1870 a traité des salines de Pago: vol. 2, pp. 404-410; enfin le manuscrit des Archives de Raguse/Dubrovnik (DAD 187 RO, Br 48): *Notizie storiche e statistiche del circolo di Ragusa compilate dall'ingegnere circolare Lorenzo VITELLESCHI*, Ragusa, 1827 apporte de précieuses informations sur la fonction de ces 'puits'.

(issues de la récolte de l'été précédent). En aspergeant avec ces saumures les cristallisoirs lorsqu'ils commencent à cristalliser, on favorise la formation des cristaux (*granitura*)». ⁵ Cette saumure sursaturée constituée d'eaux-mères que leur densité empêche de se mêler aux eaux plus légères, favorise par catalyse la précipitation du sel et sa granulométrie. Il est inutile que les fosses soient profondes, il fallait à Muggia au XVIII^e siècle les regarnir partiellement avec des vases prises en d'autres bassins, pour réduire leur capacité.

K. Tas de sel.

L. Grand rouleau en pierre pour compacter le fond des bassins.

O. Vannes ou ouvertures dans les digues pour la circulation de l'eau salée d'un bassin à l'autre.

H. Petits édifices (*casa, casetta, appentis*) pour abriter le sel.

G. Montre comment on récolte le sel.

P. Indique la mer.

1. 2. *Caractères originaux du «fondamento de saline» à Trieste*

Un protocole de la *Suprême Intendance Commerciale* (mars 1772) qui visait à restaurer les salines de Trieste s'ouvrait sur des «réflexions et informations nécessaires à [sa] compréhension». ⁶ Plusieurs des trente-huit alinéas présentent un intérêt technique.

1. Le fonds des salines employé à la culture et production du sel est divisé en *fondamenti*, eux-mêmes divisés en *cavedini*.
2. Les *cavedini* ont une égale ou quasi-égale extension; par contre l'extension des *fondamenti* n'est pas égale; certains comprennent six et d'autres jusqu'à 24 *cavedini*.
3. Le *fondamento* est un fonds entouré de fossés et canaux qui le séparent d'un autre fonds, c'est aussi une réunion de *cavedini* qui à l'origine appartenaient à un seul propriétaire.
4. Au cours des temps l'union des *cavedini* a conservé le nom de *fondamento* bien que la propriété du *fondamento* eût été divisée entre plusieurs patrons appelés *consorti*.
5. Dans les *cavedini* dont la propriété est divisée, le patron du fonds assume la direction et l'administration entière.

⁵ VITELLESCHI, p. 118.

⁶ Trieste, AD: *Sale e Saline, documenti dei XVI-XIX secc, Protocollo commissionale sulla riparation delle saline di Trieste, marzo 1772* (D 512).

6. Les travaux et opérations qui relèvent du domaine public sont:
- a - Le lit des torrents voisins des salines, ils sont trois à Zaule et un à Servolo, non équipés et restés sauvages ils étaient inadaptés à convoyer les eaux de la montagne qui submergeaient les canaux entourant les salines et dévastaient la récolte aussi bien que le fonds.
 - b - Le lit du canal qui mettait en communication mutuelle les salines et la mer était inadapté et son embouchure gênait l'écoulement des eaux qui se maintenaient à une hauteur qui ne favorisait pas leur évacuation, les eaux de pluie s'accumulaient dans les salines. Le protocole (§ 29B) insiste sur l'équilibre qu'il faut savamment maintenir dans un *fondamento*: ce canal qui assurait la double (réciproque) communication entre la saline et la mer doit être entretenu en permanence: en 1772 la hauteur d'eau de mer maintenue dans le canal empêchait l'évacuation des eaux pluviales tombées sur la saline.
7. Les particuliers veillaient à la conservation des fossés du pourtour, des digues extérieures et intérieures, à l'introduction commode de l'eau marine, au libre écoulement de l'eau de pluie, à la nature du fonds tenu propre et apte à cristalliser le sel.

L'installation d'un marais salant exigeait des connaissances en hydraulique. Valvassor avait compris le fonctionnement et les diverses parties d'une saline et dessiné un schéma à visée didactique qui pourtant ne signalait pas un second circuit de l'eau, celui d'évacuation des eaux de pluie tombées l'été ou des eaux hivernales qui ont ennoyé les salines, par des canaux également équipés de vannes, qui rejettent les eaux douces à la mer lors de la marée basse. Ces canaux appelés *libador*, du verbe *libare* = 'écoper', sont un élément essentiel de la saline car l'eau douce est néfaste à la formation du sel. Le *libador* est alimenté par de petites rigoles appelées *zovel* qui écrètent les eaux douces à la surface du *cavedin* et les portent au *libador*. C'est encore la différence de densité des eaux plus légères et restées en surface qui permet leur évacuation. Il existe donc deux circuits de l'eau de sens inverse: l'un transporte la saumure jusqu'aux cristallisoirs, l'autre évacue à la mer les eaux de pluie et de ruissellement. Chacun de ces circuits dispose de sa propre pente sur des surfaces souvent supérieures à plusieurs hectares et de son ouverture. Il faut encore compter avec le fleuve proche qui, grâce à l'alluvionnement fluvial de limons fins, a con-

struit la plaine tapissée de sédiments imperméables sur lesquels sont établies les salines et qui fut autrefois la grande voie de transport du sel vers l'intérieur.

On appelait à Trieste *fondamento* ce qui était à Chioggia une *salina*. Dans la lagune de Venise, les sauniers créaient de vastes *fondamenti* de 20 à 70 salines couvrant plusieurs dizaines d'hectares, chaque saline comptant elle-même de 20 à 30 cristallisoirs ou davantage encore.⁷ Ceci était un trait original de la Lagune, non observé à proximité, ni à Cervia ni à Piran. Au regard du vaste *latifondium* de Chioggia, les salines de Trieste étaient de petite taille, des microsalines pourrait-on dire, de 6 à 20 *cavedini*, et qui formaient hyperboliquement des *fondamenti*. Les *cavedini* sont de taille égale, d'un *fondamento* à l'autre, mais leur nombre varie et les *fondamenti* sont par conséquent de superficie inégale.

Le texte signale un phénomène capital qui permet le renversement par gravité des fonctions du canal. À marée haute, le flux apporte l'eau salée, le reflux emporte les eaux douces: le balancement des marées à Trieste atteint fréquemment une amplitude de 1 m à 1,50 m.⁸ Si le renversement biquotidien de ce mouvement naturel est bloqué et ne parvient plus à assumer ces deux fonctions inverses, il faut dés-obstruer l'embouchure du canal pour favoriser le libre passage des eaux et leur mobilité.

Remplissage et vidange des salines par les marées entraînaient trois conséquences:

1. Le coût de fonctionnement était réduit, il n'était pas nécessaire d'utiliser des moyens artificiels mus par des mules faisant tourner des roues de noria ou des vis d'Archimède pour pomper l'eau, ce qui est indispensable sur les salins méditerranéens.

2. Ceci imposait d'aménager les salines dans l'espace intertidal, à une hauteur comprise entre le niveau des hautes mers (pour le remplissage) et le niveau des basses mers (pour la vidange). Le point limite est représenté par la limite extrême des marées hautes de syzygie.

⁷ Dimensions des salines à Chioggia (en pas et pieds) in J.-CL. HOCQUET, *Chioggia, capitale del sale*, cité, p. 183; les mesures des salines in IDEM, *Métrologie, cartographie et écologie de la lagune de Venise. Les salines et l'œuvre "contrastée" de Wladimiro Dorigo*, in *Castrum VII, Zones côtières et plaines littorales dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen Âge: défense, peuplement, mise en valeur*, Rome, 23-27 octobre 1996, Rome-Madrid, École française de Rome, 2001 («Collection de l'École française de Rome», cv, 7), pp. 553-556.

⁸ B. BENUSSI, *Manuale di geografia, storia e statistica del Litorale, ossia della Contea di Gorizia e Gradisca, della città immediata di Trieste e del margraviato d'Istria*, Pola, Bontempo, 1885, pp. 4-5.

3. Et ceci réduisait les espaces aptes à héberger des marais salants à une étroite bande côtière de terrains alluviaux imperméables, plats ou susceptibles d'aplanissement.

1. 3. *Perfectionnements techniques et exploitation des salines à Muggia au temps des Lumières*

Les experts envoyés par les provéditeurs au sel de Venise pour étudier *in situ* les travaux à faire aux salines de Muggia afin d'en améliorer les rendements apportent d'utiles éclaircissements techniques: les digues internes (*segondali*) à la saline sont maintenues par des pieux, des piquets et des planches. La grosse digue maçonnée qui délimite le périmètre de la saline et la protège de la mer ou des torrents, doit être surélevée en plusieurs de ses parties, il faut apporter des chariots de pierres et de terre pour consolider par exemple 33 pas de digue, à raison d'un chariot pour un pas, et il en faut davantage au *calio* où se manifeste une pression plus forte de l'eau. Il est indispensable de fermer les brèches qui se sont ouvertes dans la digue. Aucune saline de Muggia ne peut faire l'économie de ces lourds travaux. De même il faut recreuser les *morari*, en exporter les vases qui en s'accumulant réduisent l'admission d'eau de mer et privent le saunier de réserves. Il faut aussi procéder à l'excavation du fossé qui achemine la saumure aux différents bassins et fait le tour des installations au pied de la digue maîtresse. Ces experts recommandaient encore d'allonger les cristallisoirs de quatre pieds chacun, les aplanir, relever le niveau du *zovel* et le resserrer, sinon, trop bas, il emportait aussi les eaux saturées. Les vases enlevées au *morario* et au fossé permettent d'aplanir et niveler les planchers des bassins. Pour favoriser la circulation de la saumure entre les bassins, il était judicieux de relever le sol des cobiers (*corbi*) pour qu'ils servent en eau les *servidori*. En certaines salines, il fallait créer ou recreuser le *libador* appelé aussi *contrafosso delle acque dolci*. La circulation des eaux exigeait un savant aménagement des pentes: il était inutile de disposer de premiers bassins trop profonds qui emprisonneraient inutilement les eaux à un niveau inférieur à celui des canaux et *cavedini*. L'expert vénitien, compétent en hydraulique, prêtait une grande attention «à aplanir le sol des *moreri* (ou) à rehausser le sol des *corbi* trop profonds», il recommandait de relever le *zovel*, la rigole qui entaille la rive du *cavedin* pour expulser les eaux de pluie. Une canalisation trop creuse risquait d'emporter aussi les eaux saturées,

c'est-à-dire la promesse de récolte. Tous les travaux préconisés donnaient lieu à chiffrage, à l'évaluation de la dépense. Les 900 *cavedini* de Muggia exigeaient un investissement de 19.272 livres 17 sous, qui, converti en monnaie d'or effective, représentaient 2.409 sequins 2 gros.⁹

Un document de 1768, rédigé par un employé de l'Office du sel de Venise, peut-être un provéditeur au retour de la tournée d'inspection imposée par le capitulaire de l'Office,¹⁰ bien informé de la situation des salines d'Istrie, apporte d'autres informations sur la situation à Muggia, où le travail aux salines était une tâche exclusivement féminine, trait original de l'économie du sel où les femmes étaient généralement confinées aux tâches peu qualifiées, telle le portage du sel dans des paniers hissés sur la tête, l'homme se réservant les tâches plus gratifiantes du gouvernement des eaux et du tirage du sel des *cavedini*.

Les salines de Muggia sont défendues de la haute mer par une digue de rochers entretenue aux frais de la communauté qui forme un corps séparé du «syndicat» des sauniers. Pour cet entretien et autres travaux la communauté reçoit un huitième de tout le sel récolté. Les salines sont traversées par le fleuve Ospò. Les *fondamenti* sont 64, et le nombre de *cavedini* est de 900.

Bien que chaque *fondamento* possède une maisonnette, à la différence de Capodistria où seulement deux ou trois en sont pourvus, ces maisons ne sont pas habitées durant le temps de la récolte, comme cela se fait à Piran, elles servent uniquement à abriter le sel de la pluie avant son transport dans les magasins publics.

Les salines sont cultivées exclusivement par les femmes de Muggia qui se rendent aux salines chaque matin et rentrent chez elles le soir, ce qui fait une grande perte de temps.

On pourrait améliorer la culture des salines avec quelques mesures:

- que les hommes travaillent aux salines avec leurs femmes
- que durant le temps de la récolte toute la famille habite dans les cabanes
- qu'il soit prohibé aux sauniers de Muggia d'aller travailler sur les salines de Zaule
- que soit introduit l'usage des fosses qui conservent les eaux-mères, comme on fait à Capodistria et à Piran, pour augmenter la taille des cristaux de sel et les récoltes,

⁹ ASVE: *Magistrato al Sal* [Provveditori], b. 394, *Muggia*, quadernetto n. 2, 1768, c. 2r: *bisogni delle saline di Muggia rilevati sul luogo nel mese di giugno, nell'occasione della visita fatta dal pubblico matematico [...] insieme colle rispettive opere, che si rendono necessarie per ben restaurarle, et accrescere il loro frutto*. Pour les monnaies de compte, nous abrégeons livre et sou en l et s.

¹⁰ J.-CL. HOCQUET, *Le Saline dei Veneziani e la crisi al tramonto del Medioevo*, Roma, Il Veltro, 2003, chap. IX, *L'Ufficio del sale*, p. 278.

- que l'on passe à la culture des salines dès le début de la bonne saison, sans attendre,
- surtout, si leur sel dans des *cavedini* bien gouvernés n'est pas de qualité inférieure à celui de Capodistria, qu'il leur soit payé au même prix.¹¹

2. LES PHASES DE L'EXPANSION DES SALINES À TRIESTE

2. 1. *La première expansion au XIV^e siècle*

Le 23 octobre 1333, des Toscans établis à Trieste, les Agolanti qui se livraient au commerce du fer du Frioul et des draps, ainsi qu'au prêt d'argent, propriétaires de salines comme quelques autres Toscans,¹² remirent en location «ad laborandum ad medietatem» à Pietro, saunier, deux salines à Servola. Pietro s'engageait à recruter une personne qui travaillerait les salines d'avril à la Saint-Michel et à lui fournir les outils. Le sel serait divisé par moitié.¹³ Simultanément, ils confiaient à Andrea de Chioggia deux salines dans la même *contrada* de S. Sabba, aux mêmes conditions. Le 18 novembre 1333, ils donnaient encore en location

¹¹ ASVE: *Magistrato al Sal*, b. 394, Muggia, quadernetto n. 2, 1768. Le cahier est signé de Michiel Girolamo Maffioletti, «pubblico perito». Le 3e cahier établi par le même signale le nom du «matematico» Rossi et tient le compte précis des travaux qui ont porté le nombre des *cavedini* de 886 à 932, utilisé 6.289 planches et coûté 19.240 livres. Le compte se termine avec l'examen des «Signori presidenti del consorzio de Sali». Ce Maffioletti était probablement un proche parent de Giovan Maria Maffioletti, professeur public de mathématiques et d'architecture navale à l'école de l'Arsenal de Venise et qui a laissé un superbe plan coloré de l'Arsenal: G. BELLAVITIS, *L'Arsenale di Venezia. Storia di una grande struttura urbana*, Venezia, Cicero, 1983 et 2009², pp. 158, 168-169, le plan est daté de 1798.

¹² F. COLOMBO, *Gli Agolanti a Trieste. Vicenda di una famiglia fiorentina nel XIV secolo tra esazione del credito e mercatura*, in *Gli Agolanti e il castello di Riccione*, Rimini, Guaraldi, 2003, pp. 301-313. Sur l'intérêt porté par les marchands florentins aux salines de l'Adriatique: T. RAUKAR, *Zadarska Trgovina solju u XIV i XV stoljeću*, «Radovi filozofskog fakulteta, Odsjek za povijest», 7-8, 1969-1970, pp. 19-79.

¹³ Trieste, AD: *Vicedomineria*, βC-βE1 (= VCD), 9, c. 72r; 10, c. 13r. Les *visdomini*, institués en janvier 1322 par une addition au statut de 1318, «ufficialmente per contrastare le cattive intenzioni di coloro che realizzavano documenti falsi si riveleranno uno dei migliori sistemi escogitati dalle classi dirigenti per tenere sotto stretto controllo tutta la vita cittadina. Erano due, nominati dal Consiglio comunale tra i notai di maggior esperienza, provenienti da famiglie che esercitavano la professione notarile da generazioni. Il ruolo del *vicedomino* era di controllare la quasi totalità dei contratti economicamente rilevanti, dovendo garantire la correttezza dell'atto e la sua validità. Erano in grado di influire direttamente sugli atti privati, erano presenti alla redazione degli strumenti successivi, ufficialmente con funzione di garanti, potevano però influire sulla redazione materiale, sulla sua composizione, quindi sul trasferimento di patrimoni e sull'assegnazione dei lasciti» (D. DURISSINI, *Economia e Società a Trieste tra XIV e XV secolo*, Trieste, Deputazione di storia patria per la Venezia Giulia, 2005 («Fonti e studi per la storia della Venezia Giulia», s. II, «Studi», x), pp. 57-60.

à Pietro de Fiume et à Ivano et Pietro de Pago, deux «laboratores» de saline en friches («in bareto», non exploitées) dans la *contrada* de Servola, voisins d'autres salines de propriété des mêmes et de la mer, afin qu'ils les remissent en culture selon les méthodes en usage à Pago. Les Agolanti, propriétaires, payaient aux *conduttori* 80 livres di *piccoli*, dont 40 d'avance et 40 au terme de la location, quand six prud'hommes seraient appelés pour juger la qualité du travail. En cas de jugement positif, les métayers seraient reconduits pour une année. Daniela Durassini conclut: «Les contrats conclus par les Agolanti sont adaptés au type de travail exigé par les salines. Ils sont confiés à des travailleurs experts, ils sont brefs mais suffisants pour couvrir le cycle entier de la production de sel [...] et en général ils sont enclins à consentir à l'exploitant de cultiver les salines selon l'usage de sa région d'origine». En fait ce type de contrat précaire annuel imposé au travailleur servait surtout les intérêts des patrons et la clause qui accordait libéralement au saunier de travailler selon les pratiques de sa région d'origine montre des Toscans établis à Trieste soucieux d'y développer la production de leurs salines en attirant des sauniers étrangers venus de Chioggia ou de Pago invités à conserver leurs techniques jugées plus productives.¹⁴ Un dernier contrat prévoyait la transformation en saline d'un terrain inculte en bord de mer. Les salines étaient un investissement profitable pour des marchands qui voulaient diversifier leur patrimoine et en mettre une partie à l'abri des accidents du commerce et de la navigation. La politique de restriction drastique de la production imposée par les Vénitiens à Cervia en Romagne au cours des années 1330 n'avait pas échappé aux clairvoyants marchands toscans.¹⁵ Venise avait en effet imposé la cessation de la production de la saline romagnole et créé les conditions favorables au développement de la production hors de ses frontières pour répondre à une demande non satisfaite.

2. 2. *La seconde expansion après 1560*

L'autre phase d'expansion des salines de Trieste se produisit après le milieu du xvi^e siècle et l'impulsion vint encore d'un entrepreneur im-

¹⁴ Sur la licence accordée en 1376 à Georges de Segna pour construire à Piran 21 *cavedini* «à la mode de Pago» (HOCQUET, *Le Sel et la fortune de Venise*, cité, I, p. 202).

¹⁵ IDEM, *Monopole et concurrence. Venise et le sel de Cervia du xii^e au xvi^e siècle*, «SV», 15, 1975, pp. 21-133. Les Toscans étaient alors présents dans toutes les salines des deux rives de l'Adriatique et très intéressés à l'activité financière engendrée par les affaires de sel.

migré. Vers 1560, un personnage très actif, Tullio Calò né dans une famille de marchands des environs de Bari, arriva à Trieste et, à peine établi, obtint en 1561 la concession de créer des salines sur des atterrissements du Rosandra et les étendit ultérieurement.¹⁶ D'autres salines furent construites en mer en 1577-1578 par les Bonomo, les Marenzi, les Giuliani et par Calò.¹⁷ Pour installer les salines, Tullio Calò avait d'abord construit une *palafitta*, un pilotis, afin de renforcer la résistance des digues et créer un obstacle à l'onde marine, puis «jeté des rochers sur la *secca* pour en consolider le fonds», mais le podestat vénitien de Muggia fit arracher les pieux (1563).¹⁸ En 1578, quand Venise ravagée par la peste était trop affaiblie pour réagir, Calò, les Marenzi, les Giuliani et les Bonomo construisirent d'autres salines à Zaule en mer, ils jetaient de pleins chariots de terre et de rochers sur les bas-fonds de l'embouchure du Rosandra.¹⁹ La construction de nouvelles salines mobilisait une abondante main d'œuvre: le 18 juillet 1578, Tullio Calò n'avait pas terminé l'aménagement des salines commencées plus d'un an et demi auparavant et entamait déjà de nouvelles constructions. Quelques jours plus tard, le 21 juillet, le podestat de Capodistria informait le doge que «à ce jour, en plus des barques qui apportent les roches et la terre, jusqu'à 50 hommes par *fondamento* travaillent à la construction». ²⁰ Une véritable émulation gagnait les notables de Trieste: le 19 août 1578, Gabriel Marenso, noble de Trieste, puissant personnage, lieutenant de la ville, avait commencé à couler par le fond des rochers pour faire un *fondamento* dont il amarrerait les digues nouvelles à un *fondamento* de saline qui appartenait à Ludovico son frère et qu'il étendrait dans la mer qui en cet endroit était aussi haute que là où les Giuliani avaient aménagé leur propre *fondamento*.²¹

Les Triestins entamaient une course à la mer pour implanter leurs salines sur la ligne de rivage afin qu'elles soient toujours bien approvisionnées en eau salée. La difficulté était connue sur les côtes de l'Istrie et un rapport du conseil des propriétaires de salines de Piran signalait: «La règle veut qu'avec les marées les plus hautes on serve les salines élevées dans les quartiers de Lera et Fontanigge, avec les marées

¹⁶ G. BORRI, *Le Saline di Zaule e la vertenza austro-veneta per i confini (sec. XVI-XVIII)*, «AM-SIA», n.s., XVIII, 1970, pp. 115-172, certainement la meilleure étude sur la question: *ibidem*, p. 125.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 137-138 et pp. 157-158.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 156.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 126.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 139-140.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 157.

plus faibles les salines placées en dessous»,²² ce qui impliquait la même rigoureuse discipline dans le partage de l'eau qui prévalait dans les systèmes d'irrigation agricole. C'était une situation bien connue sur tous les rivages où les marais salants les plus éloignés de la mer, dits 'de basse charge' sont les moins prisés, ceux 'de haute charge' sont en effet aisément remplis par des marées de faible coefficient. La question de l'eau c'est-à-dire la difficulté d'accès à l'eau salée, entraînait la faiblesse des rendements des salines. Le provéditeur vénitien Zaccaria Bondumier calculait le rendement des 1537 *cavedini* de Muggia à un peu plus de trois mille *moggia*,²³ soit une production annuelle de 1.600 kg de sel au *cavedin*, une misère. Avec des rendements aussi faibles, les Triestins avaient constamment besoin d'étendre leurs salines dans un mode de production qui compensait la faiblesse du rendement par l'extension des surfaces. Un élément contribuait à la faiblesse de ces rendements, jusqu'au début du XIX^e siècle l'aménagement des salines privilégia les cristallisoirs, tandis que par la suite on accrut les surfaces de concentration qui procuraient une eau bien chauffée, concentrée et abondante aux *cavedini*.

2. 3. Les salines publiques

Les salines de la communauté de Trieste situées à l'ouest de la cité à la porte de Riburgo étaient louées «à moitié» selon des contrats annuels. Le 1^{er} janvier le hérault communal criait sur les escaliers du palais et aux lieux habituels la mise en location de ce bien public et les

²² A. APOLLONIO, *Una cittadina istriana nell'età napoleonica: Pirano 1805-1813*, «Atti del Centro di ricerche storiche di Rovigno», XXIII, 1993, pp. 9-122, document du 26 mars 1807, rédigé par le *Collegio dei XX dei Sali* (Archivio Storico di Pirano: *Periodo Francese*, b. 4), *ibidem*, pp. 89-98; IDEM, *Le saline di Pirano e la loro importanza nei secoli passati*, in *El sal de Piran*, Piran, ed. Il Trillo, 2000, pp. 7-34.

²³ Le provéditeur utilise la mesure vénitienne du muid, soit un rendement au *cavedin* inférieur à 2 muids. Le muid vénitien de sel de Muggia pesait à l'entrée en magasin 821 kg, inférieur au muid de sel de Piran ou Capodistria: HOCQUET, *Métrologie du sel*, p. 422, in IDEM, *Anciens systèmes de poids et mesures en Occident*, Londres, Variorum reprints, 1992 et le setier de Muggia (au muid de 13 setiers), 63 kg, p. 423. Le rendement annuel du *cavedin* était égal à 1,60 tonne. Les études de métrologie istrienne consultées indiquent les équivalences suivantes: *Uno staro* = 1,35 *Metzen* de Vienne et 16 1/20 *Metzen* = 12 *stara venete* (KANDLER, *Metrologia Istriana*, pp. 198-199, in *Indicazioni per riconoscere le cose storiche del Litorale*, Trieste, Tipografia del Lloyd, 1855). *Uno staro triestino* = 1,34 *Metzen* (BENUSSI, cité [note 8], p. 236). L'Istrie, Trieste et Venise partageaient un même système de mesures du sel. Le setier de Trieste et Muggia empli de sel, pesait 63 kg.

candidats étaient invités à se présenter devant le seigneur de Trieste.²⁴ Le travail commençait au 1^{er} avril et pouvait se prolonger au delà de la Saint-Michel «si les autres salines [continuaient de] faire du sel». La communauté fournissait tous les outils et équipements et les travailleurs lui livreraient la moitié de la récolte.²⁵ En somme les contrats d'exploitation établis par la Commune et par les particuliers étaient analogues. La communauté encourageait l'expansion de la production de sel et la création de salines dans le district en promettant une subvention aux constructeurs qui recevraient dix sous de gros une fois la saline terminée.²⁶ Les candidats déposeraient une garantie, ils s'engageraient à mener à bien les travaux d'aménagement dans un délai de trois ans et à faire de grandes salines selon la coutume. La Commune concédait des marais en bordure de mer, le concessionnaire maintiendrait à perpétuité ces salines en état de produire, il livrerait à la Commune un setier de sel en application du droit du «sexterium».²⁷ S'il refusait d'honorer cet engagement, il ne recevrait pas la prime de 10 sous. Cette politique favorable au développement de l'économie salinière encourageait aussi les propriétaires à remettre en état leurs salines à Zaule et Garizoli.²⁸

Le sel récolté était conduit dans la ville avant la fête de S. Giusto (3 novembre), patron de la cité, ou emmagasiné dans des maisons hors les murs à proximité des portes de Riborgo et de Cavana.²⁹ En janvier 1326 le podestat vénitien Zanini Contarini ordonna aux citoyens de Trieste qui à S. Clemente dans le district de Muggia possédaient des salines qui avaient appartenu à Ottobono Spinuli de conduire tout le

²⁴ Domenico Rossetti entreprit d'écrire une vaste *Tecnomia triestina* au début du XIX^e siècle, dont il ne réalisa qu'une partie, l'histoire des salines de Trieste, qui fut publiée à la fin du siècle par un descendant sous le titre *Delle Saline di Trieste. Considerazioni sulla loro storia e legislazione*, «AT», s. II, XVII-XVIII, 1891-1892 et XIX-XX, 1894-1895, ensuite rassemblée en un volume unique par Domenico Rossetti, nobile de Scander, même titre, Trieste, Caprin, 1895. Nos références sont extraites de cette dernière édition, *Delle saline di Trieste*, p. 76, doc. XII.

²⁵ Rossetti: «Et laborantes habere debeant medietatem tocius salis orti in ipsis salinis anno quo laborabunt, et alia medietas remaneat comunitati tergesti, et laborantes habere debeant a comuni omnes ordegnos et preparamenta (sive massaricias) necessaria pro laborando ipsas salinas».

²⁶ ROSSETTI, cap. XIII, pp. 78-79. En 1329 au temps du podestat vénitien Zanino Contarini, on renouvela la prime de 10 sous de gros pour la construction de nouvelles salines (*ibidem*, p. 90, cap. XXX).

²⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. XIII: «et dare debeat comuni rectum sextarium de sale».

²⁸ *Ibidem*, cap. XXVIII, p. 88.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, cap. XV, p. 80.

sel récolté à Trieste et non à Muggia, sous peine d'une amende de 10 livres. Ceux qui étaient assujettis au paiement du 'sixième' («sextarium») devaient l'acquitter sur les digues des salines.³⁰ Ceux qui exploitaient des salines en métayage, à moitié ou pour une autre part, devaient aller aux salines avant le 1^{er} avril, y demeurer jour et nuit, exercer leur métier sérieusement et honnêtement aussi longtemps que l'on ferait du sel, durant tout ce temps ils étaient exempts de garde dans la cité.³¹

Ferdinand, roi de Hongrie et de Bohême, archiduc d'Autriche, rappela que son père l'empereur Maximilien avait concédé et assigné à Dominico Burlo, questeur et exacteur du «quarantième» (une douane de 2,5%), ces salines publiques situées près des murs de la ville pour un cens annuel de 24 ducats, mais si Burlo et ses héritiers versaient en une fois au trésor 480 ducats (soit 20 annuités), ils se rachèteraient et seraient exempts du cens, Domenico Burlo profita des difficultés du Trésor et versa le montant du rachat, il reçut ainsi en toute propriété, le 25 août 1530, les salines à perpétuité, libres de toutes charges.³²

2. 4. Qualité et mesures du sel à Trieste

Le sel des salines de Trieste était-il de médiocre qualité et les récoltes suffisantes? Des expertises opérées en 1776-1777 livrent des éléments de réponse,³³ mais pour en saisir la portée, il faut au préalable clarifier la question des mesures du sel (TAB. 2).

TAB. 2. Les équivalences des mesures du sel
entre Barletta, Trieste, Venise et Vienne.

Origine du sel	Mesure nette et radée (misura ben rasata netta di tara)	Livres et lots de Vienne 1 livre = 32 lots
Barletta	1 cablo salle Barletta a palla batuta ³⁴	113.19
Vienne	1 mezen misura di Vienna salle Barletta a palla corrente	112.8
Trieste	1 mezen misura Triestina salle paesano a palla corrente,	80.25

³⁰ *Ibidem*, cap. xxxi, p. 91.

³¹ *Ibidem*, cap. xxxvi, p. 93.

³² *Ibidem*, cap. xli, pp. 96-97.

³³ *Ibidem*, docc. LV-LVI, pp. 127-129.

³⁴ Sur les procédés de mesurage du sel, «à pelle battue» ou «à pelle courante», appelée aussi «à pelle volante», HOCQUET, *Métrologie du sel*, cité, pp. 416-417. Le premier à attirer l'attention sur ces savantes pratiques fut Z. HERKOV, *Mjere hrvatskog primorja s osobitim osvrtom na solne mjere i solnu trgovinu*, Rijeka, Historijski Archiv u Rijeci i Pazinu, 1971 («Posebna Izdanja», 4), p. 228.

Origine du sel	Mesure nette et radée (misura ben rasata netta di tara)	Livres et lots de Vienne 1 livre = 32 lots
Vienne	1 mezen misura di Vienna salle paesano a palla corrente,	97.10 ½.
Barletta	100 cabla salle di Barletta a palla batuta	99 mezen a palla cor- rente
Trieste	100 mezeni misura Triestina salle paesano a palla corrente	84 mezen, funti 72 lotti 16
Trieste	1 setier = 1 setier (de sel) de Venise	82,61 litres
Vienne	1 Metzen	61,496 litres
Muggia	1 moggio vénitien de sel à la saline = 13 setiers = 26 minots	821 kg
Barletta	1 carro de sel de Barletta = 22 à 22 ⅔ setiers vénitiens ³⁵	1863/1929 kg

Il faut rigoureusement comparer les mêmes mesures emplies de façon identique, ici la mesure de Vienne emplie de sel de Barletta ou de sel de Trieste appelé «sel du pays [*sale paesano*]», à pelle courante et rasée. La mesure de Vienne ainsi emplie contenait 112 livres ¼ de sel de Barletta et seulement 97 livres 10 ½ de sel triestin, soit un écart de 14 livres 19 lots ½ ou 8,181 kg³⁶ (13%). Acheter une mesure de sel de Trieste apportait au client 13% de sel en moins que s'il avait acheté du sel de Barletta. L'office pouvait légitimement minorer le prix d'achat aux producteurs du sel de Trieste de 13% par rapport au sel de la Pouille, à supposer que les deux sels eussent été de qualité semblable.

2. 5. Une production incapable de répondre aux besoins du marché

Le 2 juin 1608 le nonce apostolique à Graz, Giov. Battista Salvago, écrivit à Rome au secrétaire d'État, le cardinal Borghese, que le baron Galler, camérier impérial, rentré d'une mission à Venise où il n'avait

³⁵ J.-CL. HOCQUET, *Manuels de marchand, poids et mesures du sel en Méditerranée (1300 - 1650)*, in Idem (éd.), *Une activité universelle. Mesurer et peser à travers les âges*, Actes du vi^e Congrès international de métrologie historique (= «Acta Metrologiae», iv), «Cahiers de Métrologie», 11-12, 1993-1994, p. 112.

³⁶ J. CHR. NELKENBRECHER, *Nouveau manuel des monnaies, poids, mesures, cours des changes, fonds publics, etc. à l'usage des banquiers, négociants et industriels*, Paris, Guillaumin, 1867, p. 686 indique le poids de la livre de Vienne (560,012 g) et sa composition (1 livre = 32 lots). Le *Metzen* viennois avait une capacité de 61,496 litres, ce qui permet de calculer le poids volumétrique (densité) des deux sels. Le sel de Barletta a un ps (poids spécifique) de 1,022, celui de Trieste était réduit à 0,886.

pu obtenir une baisse du prix du sel des Vénitiens, aurait souhaité acheter du sel pontifical de Cervia dans les ports romagnols de Cesenatico et de Rimini. Le baron devait repartir à Venise pour emprunter de l'argent, les finances archiduciales 'se trouvant à sec'. Un an plus tard, les négociations avaient progressé et le nonce dévoilait le plan autrichien au cardinal: un adjudicataire avait conclu un marché décennal avec l'archiduc pour fournir Trieste, Fiume, Gorizia et les alentours de sel vénitien pris en Istrie. Il verserait au trésor archiducal 40 sous par *staro* et vendrait aux consommateurs au prix de 7 livres. Il estimait la capacité du marché à 200.000 *stara* par an, d'où le prince pourrait tirer 80.000 florins. Le nonce restait réservé sur ce marché, il savait que les Vénitiens vendaient le sel à 3 livres. Comment triompher d'une telle concurrence? Le nonce précisait que Trieste ne pouvait fournir trois mois de sel à son arrière-pays, la Carniole.³⁷ Le projet de marché du sel de Cervia, à peine caressé, avait été abandonné à cause des difficultés qu'il soulevait vis-à-vis de Venise dont les relations avec la papauté étaient à peine apaisées après le sévère conflit de l'Interdit, et des cités istriennes sous son contrôle. Il souligne la faiblesse de la production à Trieste et l'incapacité de celle-ci à se substituer au monopole vénitien.

3. GÉOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE DES SALINES

Giusto Borri observait que «la ligne de côte se présentait [au temps de Rome] autrement de l'actuelle, la mer se poussant beaucoup plus profondément dans les vallons de l'arrière-pays».³⁸ La zone apte à l'aménagement de salines s'accrut au cours des siècles sous l'effet du dépôt naturel d'alluvions et de sédiments et de l'action des hommes qui construisaient des digues, creusaient des canaux, transformaient des marécages et bonifiaient ainsi de nouveaux secteurs. Ces deux facteurs, naturel et humain, favorisèrent l'expansion de l'industrie salinière et le perfectionnement des installations.

³⁷ M. PREMROU, *Documenti vaticani sulle saline triestine, 1608-1610*, «AT», s. III, vol. XVI, 1930-1931, pp. 181-198 n'a pas publié le dossier complet de la correspondance en matière de sel entre le nonce apostolique à Graz et le cardinal Borghese, pour organiser la vente à l'Autriche de 200.000 setiers de sel de Cervia en 1609: T. FANFANI, *Il Sale nel Litorale austriaco dal xv al xviii secolo. Un problema nei rapporti tra Venezia e Trieste*, in *Sale e Saline nell'Adriatico, secolo xv-xx*, éd. par A. di Vittorio, Napoli, Giannini, 1981, pp. 157-237: 188, note 77.

³⁸ BORRI, *Saline di Zaule*, cité, pp. 115-116.

3. 1. *Evolution de la ligne de rivage*

Les altitudes de six sites archéologiques romains sur la côte nord-est de l'Adriatique ont été mesurées par rapport au niveau marin actuel. L'interprétation de leur hauteur en rapport avec le niveau de la mer au temps de leur édification informe sur les changements relatifs de l'équilibre entre mer et continent. La côte du golfe de Trieste et de l'Istrie est une zone de subsidence qui depuis l'époque romaine s'est abaissée de -1,50 m. La mesure de l'élévation de ce premier marqueur (la subsidence) doit être corrigée par l'amplitude des marées qui ont ici les plus hautes valeurs de toute la Méditerranée (jusqu'à ~1,8 m, mesuré depuis 1890 par le maréographe de Trieste), amplifiées par la variabilité météorologique et le régime des vents dans un bassin fermé, opposées aux valeurs (max ~0,45 m) observées en Méditerranée. A la pointe de Stramare, au nord de Muggia, le niveau de la mer se serait élevé de $+1,60 \text{ m} \pm 0,60 \text{ m}$ (amplitude moyenne de la marée),³⁹ les murs romains se trouvent à -1,60 m.⁴⁰ Ces variations du niveau marin sont d'origine eustatique (globale), glacio-hydro-isostatique et enfin tectonique (facteurs locaux). Cumulée, la somme de ces trois composantes a produit une élévation du niveau marin de ~0,75 mm/an depuis 2000 ans (= +1,5 m), qui a provoqué un déplacement de la ligne de côte. Le contact terre/mer aurait cependant été à partir du XVIII^e siècle déplacé assez loin au sud par l'intervention de l'homme pour accroître l'espace urbain.⁴¹

3. 2. *Dispersion et éparpillement des salines*

Alors que l'Empire romain unifié avait institué une paix favorable aux échanges marchands et à l'importation de sel né ailleurs, le mor-

³⁹ F. ANTONELLI et alii, *Archaeological and geomorphological data to deduce sea level changes during the late Holocene in the Northeastern Adriatic*, in R. Auriemma, S. Karinja (a cura di), *Terre di mare. L'archeologia dei paesaggi costieri e le variazioni climatiche*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi, Trieste, 8-10 nov. 2007, Trieste-Pirano, Università degli Studi di Trieste e Museo del Mare di Pirano, 2008, p. 223.

⁴⁰ ANTONELLI, *ibidem*, p. 225: «the upper side of the wall is currently 1,6 m above the present day sea level».

⁴¹ F. MASELLI SCOTTI, *Il porto di Tergeste: riflessioni a seguito dei recenti rinvenimenti*, in Auriemma, Karinja (a cura di), *Terre di mare*, cité, pp. 317-327 (riche ill.); voir aussi V. DEGRASSI et alii, *Strutture portuali di via Cavazzani (Trieste): indicazioni sul livello del mare*, *ibidem*, pp. 275-281.

cellement féodal de l'autorité puis l'autonomie communale qui ont prévalu au Moyen Âge ont incité les pouvoirs locaux à se garantir un ravitaillement autonome en sel et à encourager l'implantation de salines dès qu'un espace même réduit offrait des conditions favorables. «Une partie des salines triestines se trouvaient, précise Borri, dans la rade même de Trieste [...] dans la Val di Rivo et à Riborgo, les plus [...] importantes et les plus vastes étaient éloignées, sur les plages du vallon de Muggia, à S. Sabba et surtout à Zaule et Garizoli». ⁴² Le Monte d'Oro, longue flèche de sable qui descend de S. Servolo dans la mer et se termine à la pointe de Stramare, séparait la valle de Zaule parcourue par le Rosandra, de la vallée de S. Clemente (aujourd'hui Noghera) drainée par le rio Ospo». ⁴³

3. 2. 1. Les salines de Muggia

Dans la vallée de S. Clemente (du nom de l'église des Templiers édifiée au carrefour des routes du Carso, de Trieste, Capodistria et Muggia) étaient exploitées les plus grandes salines de Muggia. La communauté de Muggia avait aussi des salines dans d'autres cantons : à Pagnano *in val S. Bartolomeo*, à Palù sous les murs du bourg, ⁴⁴ enfin près du confin (marqué par le Rosandra) avec Trieste dans la vallée de Zaule. Les statuts de Muggia (de 1333, cap. 173-174 e de 1420, cap. 56-57) mentionnaient ces quatre secteurs saliniers. Le torrent Rosandra modifia son cours durant la seconde moitié du xvi^e siècle, il s'écarta du Monte d'Oro et adopta une direction est-ouest, tandis que la flèche littorale se déportait de quelques centaines de mètres au sud, vers Muggia. Cette migration du torrent divisa le val de Zaule en deux : au nord, la rive droite, plus vaste, appartenait à Trieste, l'autre était à Muggia. Sur cette rive vénitienne, la grande famille féodale, sujette de Venise, des comtes della Torre ne restait pas inactive, elle s'était portée acquéreur en 1565 des salines qui occupaient la rive gauche du fleuve et qui avaient appartenu à la confraternité d'Ognissanti de Trieste, avant de passer au Triestin Giovanni Bertos qui les vendit au comte Girolamo della Torre. Les comtes acquirent les *fondamenti* contigus (1591) ⁴⁵ et se

⁴² BORRI, *Saline di Zaule*, cité, p. 117.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, citation, p. 117.

⁴⁴ Muggia au temps de la République était à la fois *terra* et *castello*. La *terra* désignait la communauté villageoise qui n'avait pas accès au statut de Commune. Nous avons traduit ce terme par 'bourg'.

⁴⁵ BORRI, *Saline di Zaule*, cité, pp. 118-119.

constituèrent ainsi un beau patrimoine salinier qu'ils tinrent jusqu'à la fermeture des salines au début du XIX^e siècle. Par testament de 1413, Giov. Pasquali de Muggia donna au chapitre de Trieste des salines à Zaule contiguës à celles des Giuliani.⁴⁶ Des propriétaires de Muggia possédaient des salines en territoire triestin, à l'inverse des institutions et des nobles de Trieste détenaient des salines sur le territoire de la voisine.

En 1629, le provéditeur vénitien en mission en Istrie Zaccaria Bondumier décrivait les salines muggesanes, la production, les facilités offertes à la contrebande par leur position sur cette terre de confins, la commodité présentée par la minuscule saline de 12 *cavedini* (Palù) aménagée aux portes de la ville et qui consentait aux sauniers de rentrer chaque soir leur récolte dans les magasins publics, où elle se trouvait à l'abri des intempéries et des larcins. Par contre la saline de S. Bartolomeo séparée de Trieste par un bras de mer de 4 milles était très exposée. Quant aux 174 «cavedini» des della Torre qui jouxtaient la frontière autrichienne, il serait plus réaliste de les considérer comme relevant de Trieste.⁴⁷

3. 2. 2. Les salines triestines

A l'exception des salines de Servola-S. Sabba qui appartenaient en partie au Chapitre, celles de Valdirivo-Riborgo ayant été privatisées au début du XVI^e siècle, les salines de Trieste étaient la propriété des plus riches familles du patriciat. En 1474, le doge Nicoló Marcello exigeait des Triestins un cens d'un setier de sel des salines de Zaule, au nom de la souveraineté de Venise sur l'Adriatique, son Golfe, qui impliquait

⁴⁶ D'après V. SCUSSA, *Storia cronografica di Trieste, dalle sue origini sino all'anno 1695, cogli annali dal 1695 al 1848 del Procuratore civico C. Pietro dott. Kandler*, Trieste, Colombo Coen, 1863 (rist. Trieste, Italo Svevo, 1968 con *Introduzione* di G. CERVANI, p. 80).

⁴⁷ «Dalla terra di Muggia [...] quelle saline poste in quattro luochi in summa tra tutte de cavedini 1537 sogliono dare rendita di puoco più di tre mille moza de sali all'anno, la valle maggiore chiamata di S. Clemente, [ha] il grosso di dette saline... E dodici cavidini di sale che sono immediate fuori delle porte della terra (di Muggia), non farebbero danni, perche di sera in sera si possono introdur dentro e incanevare. Dei 48 cavedini poi che sono costrutti nel centro d'una valle detta S. Bartolamio, in sito così accomodato a passar in Trieste con il transito di quattro soli miglia di mare [...]. E d'altri cavedini 174 dei signori conti Torri posti lontanissimi dalla terra nei confini austriaci in valle di Zaule congiunti con le saline dei triestini..., quando fui a vederle giudicai che fusse più proprio il nomarle de'triestin che de'muggesani» (BORRI, *Saline di Zaule*, cité, p. 131, d'après «AMSI», v, 1889, p. 136, relazione Bondumier).

le monopole de l'eau de mer, de l'eau salée, son bien. En 1503, ayant appris qu'un Triestin entendait construire des salines en mer, lieu insolite et inusité, le doge Leonardo Loredan ordonnait au podestat de Capodistria, au cas où la fabrique serait continuée, de prendre toutes mesures pour la détruire. Ceci ne dissuada pas Tullio Caló de solliciter et obtenir en 1561 la concession de construire des salines dans une *secca* du Rosandra, puis d'étendre encore sa concession en 1562.⁴⁸

3. 2. 3. Les salines de Valdirivo-Riborgo et de Servola et l'urbanisation

En 1731, les autorités de Vienne ordonnèrent l'expropriation des propriétaires de salines «di fuori porta Riborgo e di Valdirivo».⁴⁹ Une note recense 228 «cavedini» exploités à Riborgo et récapitulait: 90 + 46 «cavedini» en 4 «fondamenti», 2 «fondamenti» à Valdirivo et le dernier vers le Belvédère, le plus petit comptait 17 «cavedini», le plus grand, 40. A Trieste il y avait encore à Servola 7 «fondamenti» avec 206 «cavedini» (moyenne: 29,4 *cav.* / *fond.*), et à Zaule 15 «fondamenti» avec 1.046 «cavedini» (moyenne: 70 *cav.*).

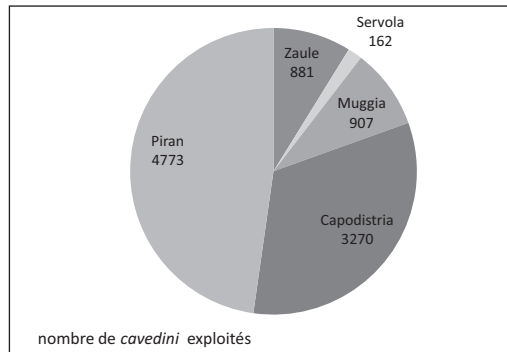
Une statistique datant des débuts de la domination autrichienne au XIX^e siècle dénombrait les *cavedini* de Trieste et de l'Istrie passée aussi sous domination impériale (TAB. 3).

TAB. 3. La situation des salines maritimes autrichiennes
dans la 1^e moitié du XIX^e siècle
(l'indice 100 mesure l'extension des salines de Sicciole).

Localité	<i>Cavedini</i>	Incultes	En exploitation	Total	Indice
Zaule	881			881	16,5
Servola	162			3
Muggia	907		100	1.007	18,9
Capodistria	3.270	317	560	4.147	77,9
Piran Sicciole	4.092	90	1.200	5.322	100
Piran Fasano	318			318	6
Piran Strugnano	363			362	6,8
Piran, total				6.002	
Total	9.992			12.037	

⁴⁸ BORRI, *Saline di Zaule*, cité, p. 125 et note 26.

⁴⁹ ASTs: *Intendenza commerciale per il litorale in Trieste (1748-1776)*, n. 183 *Saline* (M. POZZETTO, *Il Dibattito per l'espropriazione delle saline di fuori Porta Riborgo e di Valdirivo, avvenuto nel 1731*, «AT», s. III, vol. XIX, 1934, pp. 231-256 a transcrit le dossier d'expropriation: 238-255).



GRAPHIQUE 1. Puissance de l'industrie salinière de Venise à la fin de la République.

On mesure la puissance de l'ancien monopole vénitien qui contrôlait 92,7% des installations de la côte, de Muggia à Strugnano (GRAPHIQUE 1). Le millier de *cavedini* de Trieste (Zaule + Servola) représentait moins de 20% de la production de Sicciole. En 1763, après avoir fermé les marais de Riborgo et Valdirivo, le pouvoir impérial, craignant de manquer de sel, fit étudier l'implantation de salines nouvelles sur le littoral adriatique. Les inspecteurs apprirent à l'impératrice Marie-Thérèse que le manque d'espaces plats en bord de mer sur cette côte rocheuse, ainsi à Fiume, interdisait la création de salines. Seul le secteur de Zaule à une altitude inférieure à +1 m pourrait encore accueillir 88 «cavedini» si on construisait une digue de 80 pas pour les protéger du Rosandra.⁵⁰ L'étroitesse de la plaine littorale disponible contraignait les Triestins à adopter des moyens originaux qui suscitaient la perplexité des observateurs vénitiens. Le 2 juin 1578, le podestat de Muggia Roberto Polani rendait compte au doge des salines que les Triestins construisaient dans les eaux de la Seigneurie et analysait le processus de comblement et d'atterrissement :

Outre le gros *fondamento* de saline construit l'année dernière par la famille Giuliani, le dénommé Ludovico Felsar avec Francesco Roseto et Lazaro Franco envisage d'en faire un autre, plus grand encore ; ils ont jeté des rochers en mer avant d'entamer la fabrique. À présent les trois édifient les murs en mer pour enfermer les eaux et aménager la saline, ils s'étendent déjà en mer et occupent le marais mitoyen entre Trieste et Muggia, où débouche le

⁵⁰ Trieste, AD : *Sale e Saline, documenti dei XVI-XIX secc.*, b. 556, Saline, 1763.

torrent Rosandra qui forme la frontière; ce marais est large de plus de 70 pas mais s'ils accomplissent leur dessein, il sera réduit à 7 pas, la longueur (de la saline ?) étant de 300 pas. Et pour arriver à bonne fin ils ont aussi acheté à un habitant de Muggia le terrain d'un pré proche de la fabrique pour l'intégrer à la saline. Cet homme s'est repris de son erreur et il s'est rendu à Trieste pour faire casser le contrat, mais il n'a pu obtenir satisfaction. Cette saline et d'autres fabriques de saline que font les Triestins ne peuvent produire que des méfaits aux sujets (de la République) et des dommages notables aux biens publics de Votre Sérénité. Ces salines progressent sans précaution aucune, elles provoqueront par le resserrement et la fermeture des eaux à court terme un alluvionnement sur lequel implanter toujours plus de salines et chaque jour gagner du terrain et occuper ainsi toute la vallée de Zaule. La fabrique des Giuliani où ils ont jeté les fondations avait tant d'eau que des galées pouvaient y entrer, de même celle des trois (constructeurs), toutes s'étendent en mer, aucune n'a pied en terre ferme, au contraire toute la fabrique est lointaine et dans la mer.⁵¹

Le 3 juin 1578, à son tour le podestat de Capodistria, Nicolò Bondumier, alertait le doge :

Ces Triestins pleins d'argent et puissants font apporter de la montagne de la terre et des rochers et ne regardent pas à la dépense pour construire les salines, à tel point que travaillant jour et nuit comme je l'ai constaté de mes yeux, ils auront bientôt achevé leur œuvre.⁵²

4. MICROPROPRIÉTÉ ET FAIBLESSE DE LA PRODUCTION

4. 1. *Des notables urbains petits propriétaires*

À S. Sabba et à Servola, les salines appartenaient au Chapitre,⁵³ à Zaule les propriétaires des salines étaient quasiment toutes les familles nobles des treize 'maisons' (TAB. 4) : les Burlo, Petazzi, Bonomo, Giuliani et Marenzi; parmi ces notables, Antonio Marenzi occupait en 1562 l'importante charge de receveur du quarantième et de l'impôt du sel, Giusto dell'Argento, secrétaire impérial avait obtenu en 1564 l'exemption de la taxe du «sixième»⁵⁴ pour ses salines de Zaule. Malgré l'ex-

⁵¹ BORRI, *Saline di Zaule*, cité, appendice, p. 151 a publié ces fragments de la lettre du podestat vénitien, très bien informé de tout ce qui a trait à la construction des salines. Le document original provient de ASVE: *Provveditori soprintendenti alla Camera dei Confini*, b. 237.

⁵² *Ibidem*, appendice, p. 152.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 120.

⁵⁴ ASTs: *Libri consiliorum*, 1564, c. 144v, discussion d'une lettre de l'empereur Maximilien II contenant des instructions sur les salines.

pansion observée dans la seconde moitié du xvi^e siècle, la production de sel à Trieste restait désespérément faible, ce que confirment quelques données statistiques sur les deux années-récolte 1616 et 1617.⁵⁵

TAB. 4. Les notables de Trieste et la production du sel au début du xvii^e siècle.

Années	1616		1617	
	<i>staia</i>	quintaux	<i>staia</i>	quintaux
Benvenuto Petazzo	875.3	551,44	582	366,66
Giovanni Siscovich	703.2	443	485	305,55
Lodovico Marenzi	1128.1	710,70	858	540,54
Andrea Bonomo	1132	713,16	678	427,14
Tre sorelle	1310	825,3	754.3	475,21
Antonio Giuliano	235.2	148,17	326	205,38
Pietro Giuliano	68.2	42,96	76.1/4	48,35
Germanico dell'Argento	418	263,34	241	151,83
Signori Padovin	320.1	201,66	268	168,84
Total	6189,12	3899,14	4267	2688,21

Dans le Tableau 5 ci-dessous des patrons des salines de Zaule en 1725 et en 1730, la colonne de gauche indique les noms des propriétaires principaux dont beaucoup portent désormais des titres nobiliaires que l'empereur dispensait généreusement, contre finances il est vrai. Selon cette liste Zaule aurait eu 35 «fondamenti» de 25 à 45 «cavedini» en exploitation, totalisant 1.046 «cavedini». La production est connue pour l'année 1725.

TAB. 5. Propriété baronale des salines à Zaule (1730)⁵⁶ et production du sel en 1725.⁵⁷

<i>Patroni</i> des fonds à Zaule	Salines (1725 et 1730)	<i>Cavedini</i> (1730)	<i>Cavedini</i> (1725)	Production de sel (quintaux)
Évêque (de Trieste)	1		22	148,7
Moniales	2	59		448
Confraternité de la Vierge de la Mer	1	42		343,3

(page après)

⁵⁵ D'après FANFANI, cité [note 37], p. 189 (les conversions en unités du système international sont de J.-Cl. Hocquet).

⁵⁶ ASTS: C.R., *Governo in Trieste, Sale e saline*, cit., b. 110, 1730.

⁵⁷ D'après FANFANI, cité, p. 202: toutes les données ont fait l'objet d'une élaboration nouvelle. Fanfani livre aussi un tableau 5: *Prospetto delle stara consegnati dalli patroni fondali al Cesareo Negoziò di Sali a mani di Pietro Antonio Tognana negli anni 1725, 1728, 1730, 1732 e 1735* (pp. 204-205).

<i>Patroni</i> des fonds à Zaule	Salines (1725 et 1730)	<i>Cavedini</i> (1730)	<i>Cavedini</i> (1725)	Production de sel (quintaux)
Mont de piété			24	175,1
Baron Brigido	4	144	26	265,2
Baron Gabriele Marenzi (en 1725)	4	132		1244,9
Baron Andrea Marenzi (en 1730)	2	76		
Baron Giuseppe Marenzi (en 1730)	1	30		
Baron dell'Argento	2	28	et 25	445,4
Antonio de Leo	1	45		
Héritiers de Mattia Costanzi (en 1725)	6	231		2221,4
Costanzi	2	68		
Chanoine Conti	3	72	112	1059
Davide Calò	1	30	106	1254,3
Calò	2	75		
Héritiers de Giuseppe Franzol	1	10	40	388,7
Willelmo di Bonomo	1		32	253,2
Domenico Dolcetti	2	71	105	721,3
Andrea Civran	1		46	407,6
Kupherschein	2	27		
Francesco Burlo	1	30	26	218
Gio. Batta Giuliani	1	24		144,9
Francesco et Urban Giuliani	1	22		110,2
Pietro Giuliani	1	21		228
Osvaldo Curti	1	24		160
Antonio Giuliani	2	60		483,2
Garzarolli	4	130	65	620
Frères Piccardi	1		24	160

4. 2. *Le mode d'exploitation des salines de Trieste*

Il n'est pas fréquent, dans l'économie du sel, que les propriétaires nobles, religieux ou bourgeois aient cultivé personnellement leur bien. Ils accensaient les salines à des travailleurs qui, à partir de la fin du XIII^e siècle, ont acquis le statut de métayers rémunérés avec une part de la récolte. Borri signale incidemment le mode de partage des récoltes: la Commune (de Trieste) commençait par retenir un sixième du produit de la saline, appelé le *sestiere*, à titre de loyer parce qu'elle avait à l'origine concédé le foncier pour y aménager la saline, l'évêque de Trieste semble avoir alors prélevé la dîme ou décime. De cette récolte amputée par deux prélèvements, «le reste allait pour $\frac{3}{4}$ au patron et pour $\frac{1}{4}$ au travailleur»,⁵⁸ ce qui semble une constatation tardive et

⁵⁸ BORRI, *Saline di Zaule*, cité, p. 116.

tendrait à montrer une dégradation sensible du statut des métayers aux temps modernes. Borri ne précise pas à quelle époque avait lieu un partage aussi inégal où le travailleur n'aurait gardé que 18,75% des fruits de son labeur et le patron un peu plus de la moitié (56,25%) de la récolte. Sur la saline, le travail était pourtant familial et en juillet 1578, craignant une guerre à propos des salines entre Venise et Trieste, les Muggesans appréhendaient que «leurs femmes ne seraient plus en sécurité sur les salines». ⁵⁹

Le débat sur la différence de statut entre propriétaires riches et exploitants pauvres alimentait la querelle politique entre les deux gouvernements de Venise et de Trieste. Le procès-verbal de la rencontre entre le doge et l'ambassadeur Vito Dorimberg (16 juillet 1578) fait état du dialogue de sourds qui s'était installé entre les deux communes. À la Seigneurie de Venise qui lui reprochait les travaux de détournement du fleuve opérés par les Triestins aux dépens du territoire de Muggia, l'ambassadeur répliqua : «ces pauvres de Trieste vivent en paix et en bon voisinage», mais il s'entendit répondre : «nous entendons, nous, qu'il ne s'agit pas des pauvres mais des principaux gentilshommes de Trieste, et fort riches». L'ambassadeur refusait d'en démordre : «certes qu'ils sont pauvres, n'ont autre qu'un peu de vigne et se soutiennent avec la marchandise». ⁶⁰ La mauvaise foi de l'ambassadeur éclaterait-elle dans cet aveu ? Initialement on pouvait croire que, quand les Vénitiens mettaient en cause les propriétaires nobles et riches, l'ambassadeur répondait en songeant à la pauvreté des métayers qui complétaient leurs maigres ressources en cultivant quelques pieds de vigne, mais il ajoutait aussitôt qu'ils se soutenaient par le commerce. Or cette activité était interdite aux sauniers, à la fois par leur occupation permanente aux salines puis aux vignes, et par la difficulté d'accéder au crédit et à l'investissement des capitaux nécessaires à l'activité commerciale. Dans le mode de production du sel, le contrat de location des salines pouvait bien préciser la part de la récolte qui reviendrait au travailleur, la réalité économique privait celui-ci du contrôle de sa part dans la mesure où, toujours endetté à l'égard de son patron qui lui avançait l'argent pour l'aider à remettre la saline en état au printemps (investissement productif) ou, tout simplement, pour l'aider à vivre (prêt à la consommation), prêts

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 152.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 153-155.

gagés sur la récolte à venir, le saunier livrait sa part par anticipation à son propriétaire.⁶¹ Seul celui-ci avait les moyens de peser sur le marché, d'attendre un relèvement des cours pour vendre, tandis que le travailleur aurait été obligé de vendre sitôt la récolte terminée, aux alentours de la Saint-Michel, à un moment où l'afflux de sel provoquait la chute des cours.

À propos du débat entre le doge et l'ambassadeur, Tamaro avançait une information capitale: «Jamais on n'avait fait aussi peu de sel. Un *fondamento* de la valeur de 300 ducats ne donnait pas 5 ducats de produit brut». ⁶² Que des marchands aient accaparé le sel, outre celui produit sur leurs propres salines, mais aussi le sel des sauniers ou de petits propriétaires, une note de Geremia de Leo, fermier du monopole («*appaltatore della saliera*»), datée du 6 décembre 1609, dénonçait quatre patrons de vieux sels, réticents à les consigner au monopole récemment institué: Petazzi refusait de livrer 6.000 setiers, Giusto Morelli, 2.000 setiers, Zuane Goina, 1.000 setiers, et deux juifs qui avaient acheté 6.000 setiers agissaient de même. ⁶³ Selon Tamaro, une bonne part des sauniers étaient sujets vénitiens (de Muggia, voir *infra*) et Venise pouvait à tout moment les contraindre à rapatrier. ⁶⁴

Le travail aux salines était saisonnier. Le travailleur ne pouvait donner ni vendre aucune quantité de sel sans l'autorisation du maître et du fermier de la communauté. Celui qui cultivait des salines de la communauté ne pouvait en prendre d'autres en location tant qu'il travaillerait celles de la Commune⁶⁵ et il lui était interdit de quitter la nuit les salines ou les cabanes édifiées sur leur pourtour. Le métayer qui cultivait les vignes ou les salines d'autrui accomplissait à ses frais tous les travaux et services afférents. ⁶⁶ Le contrat d'*affittanza* liait le propriétaire et son saunier pour une brève durée,

⁶¹ J.-CL. HOCQUET, *Le crédit dans l'économie du sel à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age: crédit à la consommation, investissement et crédit public*, «SV», LI, 2006, pp. 133-144.

⁶² A. TAMARO, *La Camara salaria*, in *Documenti inediti di storia triestina (1298-1544)*, «AT», s. III, vol. XLIV, 1931, pp. 275-350: *ibidem*, pp. 299-304; IDEM, *La "Saliera" del 1609*, «AT», s. III, vol. XVII, 1932, pp. 241-271. Tamaro a étudié les deux tentatives d'instaurer le monopole du sel à Trieste et leur échec.

⁶³ TAMARO, *La "Saliera" del 1609*, cité, p. 268.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 252. Tamaro ne cite pas sa source, Venise interdisait à ses sujets de travailler sur les salines étrangères, mais les hommes de Muggia transgressaient cet ordre: cf. *infra*.

⁶⁵ ROSSETTI, *Delle saline di Trieste*, cité, pp. 71-72, doc. 5.

⁶⁶ M. de Szombathely (éd.), *Statuti di Trieste del 1350*, Trieste, L. Cappelli, 1930, lib. I, rubr. 61.

une à trois années, il fixait la part restant au saunier (contrat à parts de fruit),⁶⁷ le montant des prêts ou avances consentis par le patron, le partage des tâches et des frais de remise en état printanière. Les coûts de manutention comme les dépenses d'amélioration approchaient 20% de la valeur du fonds car du «fondamento» resté sous l'eau durant toute la mauvaise saison, il fallait au printemps réparer les digues et le «calio», redessiner les canaux et refaire le sol des «cavedini».⁶⁸

À Muggia la propriété était très morcelée (TAB. 6), seulement huit propriétaires détenaient toute une saline, le plus souvent ils se contentaient de posséder de 5 à 12 *cavedini* dans une même saline et, pour les plus fortunés, des parts dans plusieurs salines, trois familles nobles de Venise possédaient 160 *cavedini* répartis entre dix salines, une présence qui témoigne de l'intérêt que continuait de manifester le patriciat urbain à la propriété de salines même éloignées et à l'économie du sel au crépuscule de la République, ces nobles portaient le titre de 'Magnifique', Antonio Justinian avait des *cavedini* dans huit salines, les Soranzo, Marin et Catarina, avaient probablement divisé un héritage, Andrea Cabriel avait des parts dans une vaste saline. Autre grand propriétaire, le vicomte Sigismondo della Torre qui, outre sa propriété sur la rive gauche du fleuve, avait des *cavedini* dans trois salines, dont l'une possédée intégralement. Le patriciat urbain de Trieste, les Bonomo, Segondi, Ragazoni, Caldana, était bien représenté, mais c'est l'importance et la fréquence de la propriété féminine qui surprend: les femmes, Maria Tristana, Casarina Robba et Isabetta Dardi présentes dans une quinzaine de salines, étaient quelquefois possessionnées dans plusieurs salines; les institutions religieuses ou charitables figuraient une trentaine de fois parmi les propriétaires, notamment la fabrique de l'église des Dominicains de Venise (Ss. Giovanni e Paolo), elles possédaient 317 «cavedini» dispersés dans 28 salines (à quoi il con-

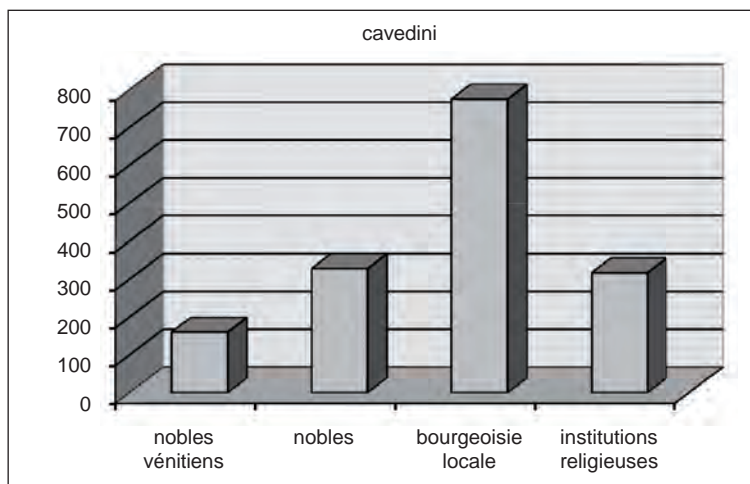
⁶⁷ HOCQUET, *Chioggia, capitale del sale*, cité [note 3], p. 164. À Chioggia, la part du saunier s'élevait à deux-tiers de la récolte après le prélèvement du cens aussi appelé *fitto* (*fictum*) au propriétaire du fonds, un tiers allait au *locator*.

⁶⁸ Selon le calcul rapporté par ROSSETTI, *Delle saline*, p. 250 d'après la documentation de 1783, le coût de la manutention des installations saunantes oscillait autour de 18-20% de leur valeur dans les *cavedini* de fond argileux. Pour ceux expérimentés par Davide Gallo et pavés de dalles (*lastricati*), le coût s'élevait à 40-45% de la même valeur (cité par FANFANI, p. 212, qui rapporte, après JENNER, *Memoria intorno le saline*, le revenu et la dépense d'un *fondamento* de propriété Kupferstein durant les années 1745-1759).

viendrait d'ajouter le Chapitre de Muggia qui tenait toute une saline dont le nombre de «cavedini» n'était pas précisé).⁶⁹

TAB. 6. Répartition de la propriété des *cavedini* à Muggia au XVIII^e siècle.

	Salines	<i>Cavedini</i>	%
Nobles vénitiens	10	160	10
Nobles (triestins)	10	328	20
Bourgeoisie locale de Trieste et Muggia	63	775	50
Institutions religieuses	28	317	20
Total	111	1580	100



GRAPHIQUE 2. Le poids de la société locale dans la propriété des salines à Muggia.

Cette propriété était-elle de bon rapport? Des propriétaires, la société Michiel, avaient perçu pour 66 «cavedini» une avance remboursable au moment de la récolte, de 349 livres 16 sous soit 5 l. 6 s. par «cavedini». Quand les impôts furent prélevés et l'avance défalquée, il restait 261 l. 15 s. que le propriétaire de la saline et la travailleuse se partagèrent à égalité, par moitié, chacun recevant 130 l. 17 s. 6 deniers.⁷⁰ Si on rapporte cette somme à la totalité de la récolte (51 «moggia», 2 «staia»,

⁶⁹ ASve: *Provveditori al Sal*, b. 486 (ex Misc. B 29/4) *Notta di tutti li cavedini n° 903 che si trovano in lavoro nella valle di Muggia, con il nome de loro 34 rispettivi proprietari e la loro situazione.*

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, b. 394 (*Conteggio, che liquida il vero credito della dita fratelli Michieli*).

2 «mozetti») payée 14 livres 15 sous le muid («moggio»), la saunière a perçu 17,36% du produit brut récolté, à quoi il faudrait probablement ajouter une part de la 'subvention' qui finançait l'investissement dans les travaux de printemps et constituait simultanément un prêt à la consommation. Mesurée en part de récolte, la condition sociale des sauniers était semblable à Muggia et à Trieste.

En 1748 une saline de 21 *cavedini* à Zaule a produit 261 setiers de sel (1 muid $\frac{1}{2}$ par cavedin) payé l. 3 s. 12, total l. 874.7, sestiere pour la communauté = l. 145.14, droit du moggio l. 3.12, reste net 725, $\frac{1}{4}$ pour le saunier, l. 185.5, $\frac{3}{4}$ au propriétaire (rente), l. 543.15. Le saunier perçut 21% de sa récolte (TAB. 7). Cette saline avait donc produit 15.822 kg de sel, 753 kg par *cavedin*. Le prélèvement fiscal était modéré, le revenu du travailleur égal à $\frac{1}{5}$, seul le propriétaire tirait son épingle du jeu, surtout si l'on songe que les propriétaires possédaient le plus souvent plusieurs lots en plusieurs salines.

TAB. 7. Distribution des revenus dégagés par la production du sel.

Communauté de Trieste	l. 149 s.6	17%
Propriétaire	l. 543 s.15	62%
Métayer	l. 185 s.5	21%
Total	l. 874 s.7	100%

5. MODIFICATIONS DE L'ENVIRONNEMENT

L'expansion des salines triestines avait eu de graves conséquences (FIG. 2): le Rosandra poussé par les digues construites par les Triestins pour protéger leurs nombreuses salines neuves depuis 1561, ne courait plus dans son ancien lit, il avait été déporté plus au sud, vers Muggia. Il (et avec lui la frontière) ne séparait plus les salines triestines des muggesanes des della Torre, mais divisait ces dernières en deux parties; en outre les inondations provoquées par les crues du torrent endommageaient périodiquement les salines muggesanes. La digue construite par Calò portait les eaux du Rosandra en territoire de Muggia et incitait les Triestins à usurper la terre vénitienne. Leurs travaux continuels endommageaient les salines vénitiennes: ils avaient restreint la bouche du Rosandra de 70 à 7 pas, «à chaque crue le torrent, en débordant, mettait en danger les salines muggesanes». Aux accusations des Vénitiens, les Triestins répondaient que les marais où Calò avait construit après 1589 de nouvelles salines «s'étaient formés naturellement au cours

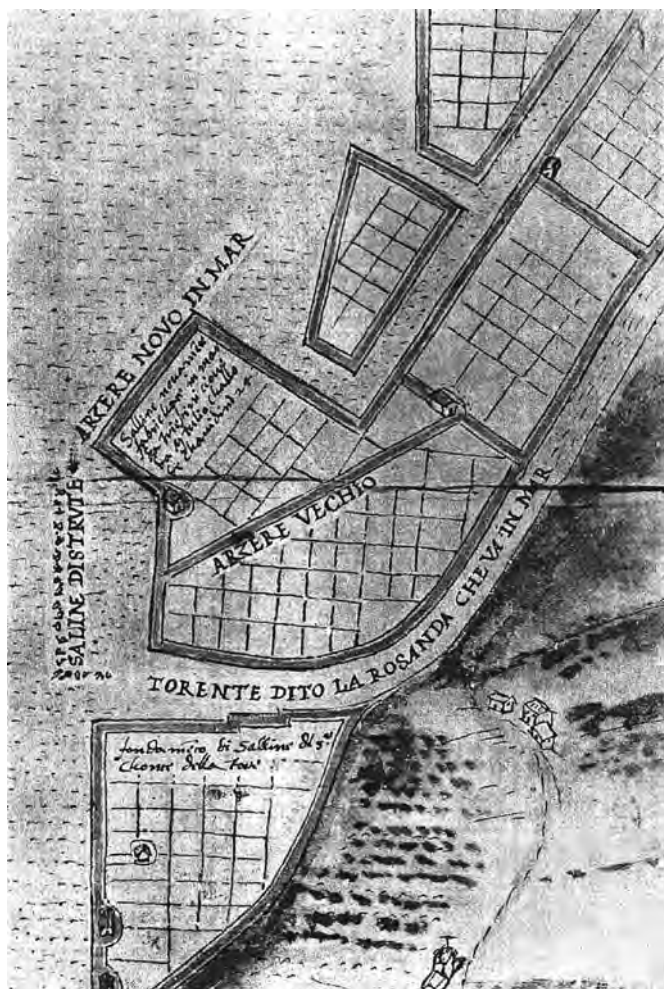


FIG. 2. Les salines nouvellement construites en mer par les Triestins, ici par messer Tullio Calò pour 24 *cavedini*. Les salines de Muggia, spécifiquement le «fondamento di sallini dei Signori conti della Torre» sont sur la rive du «torrente dito La Rosanda» (en bas). Les salines construites entre «l'arzere vechio et l'arzere novo in mar» ont été installées sur le domaine maritime. Muggia est située en bas de la carte sur la rive sud du golfe de Trieste, les salines de S. Clemente ne sont pas représentées.⁷¹ La science cartographique des ingénieurs vénitiens des xvi^e et xvii^e siècles avait abouti à une rare maîtrise.

⁷¹ ASve: *Provveditori sopraindendenti alla Camera dei confini*, b. 327, dis. 1, golfo di Trieste, mappa ... con le saline possedute dai Triestini, 1578-1579 (mm 580 × 860), disegno a mano su carta con colorazioni.

des dernières années par apport d'alluvions et non par une œuvre de bonification artificielle». ⁷² Les Vénitiens ne l'entendaient pas ainsi: «la famille Giuliani de Trieste avait fabriqué en 1577 un gros *fondamento* qui n'a pas pied en terreferme, toute la fabrique étant loin en mer». ⁷³ Leurs adversaires rétorquaient que «le provéditeur vénitien au sel, quand il s'était transporté sur place, était arrivé à des conclusions erronées parce que les personnes qui l'avaient conduit pour constater les travaux [...] avaient choisi l'heure où les eaux étaient au plus haut». ⁷⁴

5. 1. *La source de conflits avec Venise* ⁷⁵

Les plus mécontents ou inquiets de ces travaux étaient les gens de Muggia qui se plaignaient de l'installation d'épis (*penelli*) de pierre et autres travaux qui, à cause de la pente des terrains, déviaient la majeure partie des eaux vers Muggia et étendaient le territoire de Trieste sur la rive droite agrandie par le déplacement du torrent. L'inquiétude était encore aggravée parce que les Triestins, sur les zones ainsi gagnées, créaient de nouvelles salines qui concurrençaient dangereusement le sel de Muggia. ⁷⁶ Le resserrement du lit du fleuve de 70 à 7 pas seulement avait aussi pour effet de transformer en crue la moindre élévation des eaux et le flot se répandait sur le territoire de Muggia, inondant tout. Bref! les Triestins étaient bien audacieux d'aplanir les montagnes pour enterrer la mer. ⁷⁷ Ils transformaient les montagnes du pourtour en carrières et chaque jour de nombreux chariots apportaient des pierres et de la terre pour créer des espaces aptes à recevoir des salines «là où est la mer, situation intolérable» pour les Vénitiens. Lors de son entrevue avec le doge en juillet 1578, l'ambassadeur Vito Dorimberg fit observer sur un ton sarcastique que «quelques années auparavant le seigneur Geronimo della Torre avait aussi fait des salines du côté de Muggia à l'embouchure du Rosandra là où il n'y en avait jamais eu et, pour les

⁷² BORRI, *Saline di Zaule*, cité, pp. 130, 139-141.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 151. La saline des Giuliani occupait le lit majeur du torrent à son embouchure et l'avait restreint à 7 pas, quand auparavant il en comptait 70 et assez d'eau pour accueillir des galées.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 141.

⁷⁵ Pour le cadre général de ces relations, M. BOTTAZZI, *Venezia e Trieste*, in P. Cammarosano (éd.), *Medioevo a Trieste. Istituzioni; arte, società nel Trecento*, Atti del Convegno, Trieste, 22-24 nov. 2007, Roma, Viella, 2009, pp. 61-80.

⁷⁶ BORRI, *Saline di Zaule*, cité, p. 153.

⁷⁷ «Questi triestini siano tanto arditi che si fan lecito fino a spianar i monti et atterrar il mare» (verbatim de la rencontre entre le doge et l'ambassadeur Vito Dorimberg, 16 juillet 1578): *ibidem*, pp. 153-155.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 153-155.

construire, il éleva le terrain avec des canaux et de grands travaux, si bien qu'on peut dire que les sujets de Votre Sérénité ont chargé le fleuve sur la partie qui appartient à Trieste». ⁷⁸

Au XVIII^e siècle, la diversion du cours du Rosandra, le déplacement de la frontière entre les deux États, le creusement de canaux et la construction de digues sur les rives du torrent à proximité des bâtiments de la douane continuaient d'opposer Venise et Trieste. Des travaux commencés en 1708 se poursuivirent pendant deux décennies: le baron de Fin, vice-capitaine de Trieste, affirma que les travaux autrichiens visaient à rouvrir la bouche naturelle du Rosandra «bonifiée par la mer». ⁷⁹

5. 2. *Un environnement défavorable*

Des suppliques répétées adressées aux autorités au milieu du XVII^e siècle montrent à quel point les difficultés à Trieste étaient récurrentes, dans les salines de Servola en particulier. Des propriétaires, les Giuliani, écrivirent à plusieurs reprises aux autorités pour dénoncer les maux dont souffraient les salines et demander une aide financière. La première lettre prenait la mesure du problème en ces termes:

Les salines construites ces dernières années (peu avant 1647), de 30 et de 14 *cavedini*, se sont tellement abaissées qu'elles restent submergées même avec peu d'eau de pluie ou de mer; il est impossible d'enlever cette eau sauf dans les fosses avec de grandes difficultés. Les salines restent quelquefois sous les «felle» des semaines entières et quand les salines hautes sont fatiguées de faire du sel, elles le montrent. Il faudrait avoir de l'argent pour réparer les digues et rehausser les sols pour qu'on pût écoper avec des seaux. La communauté pourrait alors pendant les six prochaines années percevoir son *sestiere* plus le tiers de tout le sel qui serait récolté. La situation est grave pour la communauté qui ne perçoit ni taxe ni loyer et [Giuliani demandait] l'exemption, à l'instar d'autres patrons placés dans les mêmes conditions.

La lettre dénonçait la subsidence qui a abaissé les salines, il faudrait rehausser le sol pour mieux contrôler les entrées d'eau salée, refaire les digues; les salines sont sujettes aux «felle», un ruissellement d'eau douce formant nappe difficile à évacuer au pied des pentes calcaires perméables. La main-d'œuvre, même le '*prote*', avait sa part de responsabilité dans la dégradation des salines: Pietro Giuliani avait construit des salines, dont une de 14 «*cavedini*» sur le fonds (terrain) de la communauté. Le prote

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 144.

qui les aménagea, les avait faits trop bas, en outre la terre s'est tassée et affaissée à tel point qu'ils sont improductifs, leur altitude fait qu'ils sont ennoyés par l'eau «di fella». Le remède existe, la dépense excéderait 500 florins. Ces eaux adoucies favorisaient la croissance des roseaux, ce dont témoignait la deuxième lettre écrite par Rodolfo Giuliani:

En janvier dernier, nous avons pris en location les salines de la communauté à Servola, pour cinq années, contre un loyer annuel de 500 livres. Mais ces salines ne peuvent recevoir les eaux nécessaires à la fabrication du sel, parce que les chauffoirs [*servidori*] sont envahis par les joncs. Les services de la Commune devraient remédier à cet inconvénient qui empêche la fabrication des sels.

Ces chauffoirs recevaient l'eau concentrée juste avant son introduction dans les *cavedini*. L'envahissement des joncs dit le mauvais état général des salines et l'abondance d'eaux douces. En 1708, les problèmes n'étaient pas résolus, une intervention maladroite entraînait des conséquences imprévues. Ainsi onze personnes (Matteo Costanzi, Pietro de Leo, Giuliani, Franc^o Dolcetti e consorti, l'abbesse Maria Evangelista, etc.) adressèrent une lettre au comte capitaine, aux juges et aux proviseurs à la suite de l'intervention sur le lit d'un petit torrent:

Le noble Ferdinando Saurer subit un préjudice dans son champ de Zaule contigu aux salines des Trois-Sœurs sur le fleuve Piciolo à cause de l'ordre donné aux habitants de Servola d'élargir et de creuser le ruisseau [sur le terrain] de ce même Saurer afin d'éviter la ruine totale des salines comme quelques années auparavant quand on avait excavé le ruisseau dans lequel l'eau gonflait et apportait près des digues des matériaux qui ont remblayé le cours d'eau à tel point qu'il a fallu beaucoup d'argent pour empêcher l'inondation et la ruine des salines en rehaussant les digues, ce à quoi ne pouvait suppléer l'argent privé. Tout le préjudice vient du creusement parce qu'auparavant, de mémoire d'homme, l'eau [du ruisseau] après le pont se divisait en trois bras dont deux finissaient par se perdre dans les fossés des champs, le troisième fut si profondément recreusé que la fougue des flots provoqua la ruine totale des salines et le départ des familles, sans parler du préjudice causé au trésor public qui, dans le quartier des Trois-Sœurs et dans le *fondamento* des Trente [*cavedini*] possédait un capital de 3 000 ducats. La moindre portée de l'eau dans les autres lits se diffusait dans tout le fleuve ce qui entravait le passage des barques chargées de sel. Ce creusement était illégal, la loi interdisant toute innovation préjudiciable...⁸⁰

Les salines étaient mal conçues, mal entretenues, dépourvues d'un

⁸⁰ Ces divers documents proviennent de Trieste, AD: 12D 7/1; les lettres ne sont pas numérotées.

sol plan, les bassins encombrés de buttes. Pietro Giuliani avouait aux responsables qu'il avait apporté de la terre pour rehausser le sol des salines, mais faute d'autorisation, il avait laissé celle-ci sur les *servidori* sans pouvoir la porter dans les *cavedini*. En somme la situation des salines en mer créait des difficultés et l'inertie de l'administration empêchait la mise en œuvre de solutions, ce qui contribuait à la faiblesse des rendements et à la médiocrité des revenus des métayers.

5. 3. *A Muggia, une situation de crise*

TAB. 8. Les quartiers des salines de la «valle» de S. Clemente à Muggia au XVIII^e siècle.

Quartiers	Propriétaires	<i>Cavedini</i>
Stramar	20	263
Quaro di mezo	19	224
Saliuli	9	113
Quaro di mezo franchi	6	82
Pomagliebuch	2	23
S. Clemente	16	150
Stramar franchi	1	6
Palù	1	18
Scuola di Rosario e Ragazzoni	1	10
Total	75	889

Un petit cahier⁸¹ contient une note des salines reprises par le public et inactives dans la «valle» de S. Clemente à Muggia (TAB. 8): les propriétaires qui renonçaient à exploiter leurs salines recevaient, pour compenser les revenus perdus, une aide de l'État sous forme de rente versée par l'Office du sel. Mais l'Office décidait aussi de remettre en culture les salines supprimées, la famille Bittante demanda aux Provéditeurs en juillet 1755 à être investie de deux corps de salines incultes et passées aux pouvoirs publics, dans la «valle» de S. Clemente, en tout 102 *cavedini* dont 48 avaient appartenu aux héritiers de feu le noble homme (NH) Marco Barbarigo et aux RP de S. Domenico de Civaldu du Friul et 54 *cavedini* au NH procureur Contarini, à Marco Barbarigo déjà nommé et à la fabrique des Ss. Giovanni et Paolo. Pour la remise en culture de ces *cavedini* et pour la construc-

⁸¹ ASve: *Magistrato al Sal* [Provveditori], b. 486 (ex Misc. B 29/4).

tion et le relèvement des digues du circuit, le premier corps avait un périmètre de 340 pas et le second de 361 pas, entièrement à refaire, ils sollicitaient un prêt de 16 ducats par «cavedino»,⁸² promettant de payer de leurs deniers personnels le supplément de dépense pour obtenir des salines en parfait état.

Muggia connut ainsi des phases alternées d'abandon et de reprise des salines. Celles qui étaient abandonnées à la friche allaient «in baredo» et la vallée de S. Clemente ne fut pas épargnée par ces crises dont les employés de l'Office mesuraient la gravité en confrontant la situation présente au *catastico* (TAB. 9).

TAB. 9. Salines abandonnées dans la *valle* de S. Clemente.

Salines abandonnées («andate in baredo») avant l'an 1721 dans la «valle» de S. Clemente	
in Stramar, <i>cavedini</i>	124
in al Pozzo	55
entre les deux ponts et à l'embouchure du fleuve	79
<i>in contra</i> di S. Andrea	76

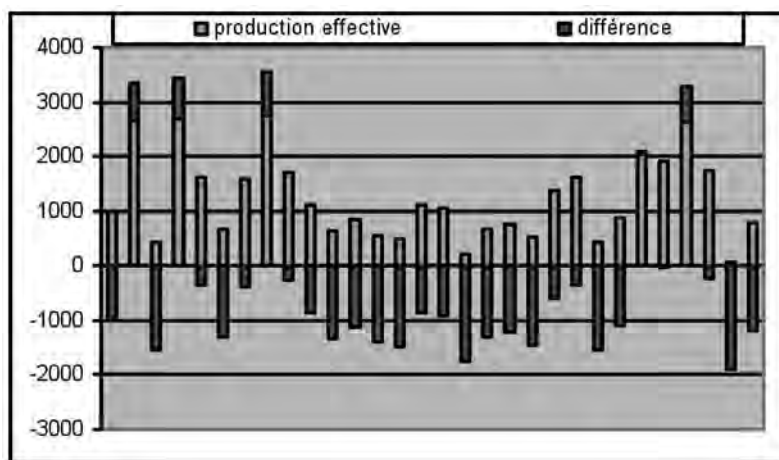
Tous ces *cavedini*, au nombre de 334 ont été relevés sur le *catastico* public, mais il pourrait y en avoir plus, avançait-on. La crise qui se poursuivit après 1721 détruisit encore 47 *cavedini*.

Un rapport du *secrétaire des sels* de Muggia mit en évidence la faiblesse de la production et des rendements des salines dans le troisième quart du XVIII^e siècle.⁸³ En 1726, Muggia comptait 1.185 «cavedini» exploités, l'office tablait sur une production moyenne de «moggio» 1 «staia» 8 «mozetto» 1 par «cavedino»⁸⁴ et attendait donc une production totale de 1965 muids 11 setiers 1 minot. Au lieu de cela, on récolta seulement 652 muids de sel (535,3 tonnes), le déficit de production atteignit 1318 M 4 s 3 m. L'année 1727 fut meilleure, mais déficitaire encore: la récolte s'éleva à 1596 muids et 10 setiers, le déficit réduit à m 369 s 2.

⁸² Le ducat est une monnaie de compte valant 6 livres 4 sous ou 124 sous, depuis la fin du xv^e siècle. La monnaie d'or réelle est le sequin frappé dans les ateliers de la *Zecca*, la Monnaie, d'où son nom de *zecchino*.

⁸³ ASVe: *Scrittura de Gio. Batta Gasparin scrivàn de sali in Muggia, 1726*. Le tableau comporte 9 colonnes et autant de lignes qu'il subsiste de propriétaires (l'état fut dressé le 25 janvier 1728 m.v.).

⁸⁴ Soit une récolte de 1357 kg $\frac{3}{4}$ par cavedin, sur le pied du muid de 13 setiers de 821 kg (HOCQUET, *Métrologie du sel*, cité [note 23], p. 422).



GRAPHIQUE 3. L'évolution erratique de la production annuelle du sel à Muggia (1721-1750).⁸⁵

Le Graphique 3 met en évidence que cinq années seulement sur trente furent excédentaires. Le déficit fut particulièrement creusé de 1731 à 1745, la décennie 1721-1730 fut seule favorable. Au total le déficit de production par rapport aux prévisions pourtant modestes dépassa 22.000 muids, soit 38%. La production réelle de sel placée sous l'étroite dépendance du climat et de l'ensoleillement estival, n'atteignait pas 62% des prévisions de l'Office. Si la faiblesse de la production peut être portée au compte d'un élément structurel, le mauvais état des salines, les oscillations de cette production reflètent les variations climatiques qui ont prévalu durant ces trois décennies.

Avant mai 1734, Simon Contarini avait renoncé à 76 «cavedini» et $\frac{1}{4}$. L'office avait pour habitude de payer le sel monopolisé dès son entrée en magasin et le coffre à Muggia avait donc de l'argent. Les exploitants des salines payés dès la récolte étaient encouragés à travailler plus et mieux. Leur productivité augmentait, il fallait moins de travail et les salines ne manquaient plus de travailleurs. Le Sénat soucieux d'ajuster l'offre à la demande, proposa aux propriétaires de renoncer à cultiver leurs *cavedini*, il souhaitait réduire de moitié les 1.165 «cavedini» enregistrés au cadastre et constituer un *Monte*

⁸⁵ ASve: *Prodotti de sali dall'anno 1722 sino al 1750 salvo errore.*

des salines en friches, une réserve foncière qui serait «utilisée dans l'intérêt public». Le 17 décembre les providiteurs rappelèrent que l'équilibre de l'offre et de la demande pouvait être atteint soit grâce à des livraisons de sel de Capodistria, soit par la remise en culture de salines en friches. Si la consommation de sel augmentait à l'avenir, le propriétaire des salines mises en jachères aurait priorité pour la remise en état de son bien. En tout état de cause, les digues protégeant les salines devaient être entretenues et cette tâche incombait aux propriétaires des fonds mitoyens. Lors du paiement du sel, la somme due pour les travaux de maintenance aux digues était retenue et assignée aux réparations et à l'entretien. Les propriétaires des *cavedini* qui seraient remis en état recevraient une subvention de la Caisse publique. Dans une conjoncture chaotique, des experts consultés, dont un mathématicien public, sans doute un géomètre, firent une visite sur place, remirent un rapport sans concession qui constatait les défauts et préconisait les remèdes à apporter à chacune des salines pour en accroître la production.⁸⁶ En 1760 comme en 1761, 903 *cavedini* étaient en culture à Muggia et les propriétaires percevaient une subvention annuelle de *lire* 4785.18.⁸⁷

Le mouvement de reprise pour ajuster l'offre à une demande accrue⁸⁸ fut encore plus sensible à Piran (TAB. 10), où il toucha les trois *valli*⁸⁹ après la longue crise des récoltes et au moment où celles-ci retrouvaient l'abondance à Muggia (voir Graphique 3 *supra*).

TAB. 10. Nouvelles constructions de salines à Piran de 1743 à 1748.

1743	<i>cavedini</i>	91
1744		11
1746		62
1746	à Siciole	123
1748		56
Total		343

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*: Prov. al Sal, b. 394, Muggia, quadernetto n. 2, c. 2r: «Bisogni delle saline di Muggia rilevati sul luogo nel mese di giugno, nell'occasione della visita fatta dal pubblico matematico [...] insieme colle rispettive opere, che si rendono necessarie per ben ristaurarle, et accrescere il loro frutto».

⁸⁷ *Nota delli proprietari delle saline che conseguiscono la sovvenzione.*

⁸⁸ On a vu un exemple de reprise dans la supplique des frères Zuan et Antonio Bittante qui avaient demandé à être investis de deux corps de salines, au total 102 *cavedini*, supprimés et passés dans le domaine public dans la valle de S. Clemente.

⁸⁹ *Nota delle saline rifabricate nelle valli di Siciole, Fasan et Strugnan.*

6. LA FIN DES SALINES TRIESTINES

6. 1. *Les importations de sel de Barletta*

La guerre de succession d'Espagne renforça la position de l'Autriche en Italie, dans le Duché de Milan et dans le Royaume de Naples, ainsi que dans la mer Adriatique où Venise, très engagée dans les conflits avec l'Empire Ottoman, éprouvait de sérieuses difficultés à faire respecter sa souveraineté. D'actifs agents autrichiens, encouragés par le retrait vénitien, développèrent un nouveau courant de trafic entre les ports autrichiens de la rive nord-orientale, Segna, Buccari, Fiume et Trieste et la saline de Barletta en Pouille. De 1723 à 1739, il partait chaque année de Barletta vers ces quatre places de 3.000 à 4.000 *carra* de sel.⁹⁰ À la fin du siècle Trieste accrut ses importations en provenance de la Pouille

TAB. 11. Les importations de sel de Barletta à Trieste (en *carra*).⁹¹

1775	3103	1779	4478
1776	4909	1780	2095
1777	4788	1781	2714
1778	5811	1782	2019

Chaque année le marché triestin recevait de 4.000 à 11.000 tonnes de gros sel blanc quand les salines locales peinaient à produire moins de 1000 tonnes de sel noir, humide, déliquescent. Le déséquilibre jouait en défaveur du «sel du pays» et l'office triestin tenta d'intéresser les producteurs à améliorer la qualité de leur sel et les rendements (TAB. 11).

6. 2. *L'échec des mesures incitatives*

Dans le contrat établi entre la Chambre de la Basse-Autriche et les propriétaires des salines de Trieste pour le quinquennat 1701-1705, l'article 5 faisait obligation aux patrons d'obliger leurs sauniers à faire du sel pur, propre et sans vase, la Chambre subventionnerait les travaux d'entretien des salines en consentant courant février ou mars

⁹⁰ S. Russo, *Le Saline di Barletta tra Sette e Ottocento*, Foggia, Grenzi, 2001, p. 78; le tableau des exportations «extra Regno» ne nous éclaire pas sur la part reçue par Trieste.

⁹¹ FANFANI, cité, p. 223. Pour la conversion des *carra pugliesi* en tonnes, voir le Tableau 2, pp. 298-299.

une avance de 3 livres par *cavedino* à rembourser au moment de la récolte.⁹² Dans le marché de 1723-1727, la Chambre promet de payer aux propriétaires des salines le sel au prix de l 3 s 15 de monnaie courante le setier, en plus du salaire des femmes employées à porter le sel aux magasins.⁹³ En temps de récolte, les sauniers seraient payés périodiquement et percevraient leur salaire non en sel mais en argent comptant.⁹⁴ La Chambre de l'Autriche Intérieure sous la juridiction de laquelle était placée Trieste tentait d'obtenir des améliorations et conclut un contrat quinquennal avec les propriétaires et possesseurs des salines de Trieste, commençant en 1773:

Les patrons devaient obliger leurs sauniers à user de diligence pour faire du sel pur, propre, sans terre ni eau. Ceux-ci devaient au début de la saison prêter serment d'user de leur art pour faire du sel de belle qualité et maturité [*stagionato*]. Les patrons confieraient à leurs saisonniers les cabanes des salines où ceux-ci pourraient séparer les récoltes. Si les sels étaient mouillés ou souillés de vase, ils devaient les laver et les sécher à leurs frais.

Les autorités acceptaient aussi d'investir des capitaux dans la manutention des salines, les travaux aux digues, la remise en état de *cavedini* endommagés par les eaux, l'aménagement de fosses pour améliorer les rendements, la consolidation des petites digues de séparation interne. Le comte d'Hamilton, intendant et gouverneur militaire de Trieste, signait lui-même les bons de commande de travaux et visait les factures et les mandats de paiement, la dépense étant assignée sur la recette du sel (13 mai et 28 décembre 1753).⁹⁵

Le 25 juin 1799, l'office procéda à une enquête systématique sur les «fondamenti» de salines du territoire de Trieste et la qualité des sels: le territoire comptait 39 «fondamenti» en culture, trois seulement produisaient du sel blanc, les 36 autres ne faisaient que du sel noir. Au total la production de sel blanc s'élevait à 1.750 «mezzen», celle de sel noir à 20 160 «mezzen».⁹⁶

En 1802 le magistrat urbain de Trieste informa le gouvernement de Vienne des négociations entamées en vue d'arrêter la production des

⁹² ROSSETTI, cap. LI: «per sovenimento delli lavori che occoreranno alo mantenimento delle saline, ai possessori sarano somministrate lire tre per capitino antecipamente nelli mesi di febraro e marzo, quali poi saranno bonificati alla raccolta de sali».

⁹³ IDEM, LXII, *contratto* 1723-1727.

⁹⁴ IDEM, *contratto*, cap. LXXXVII, art. 9.

⁹⁵ Trieste, AD: 12D 7/1 doc. n. 4v et police 31v.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, b. 15G2, *Specifica delli fondamenti delle saline nel territorio di Trieste*.

salines de Zaule. Il rappela une proposition du 23 mai 1800 aux termes de laquelle les propriétaires renonçant à leurs droits en faveur du Trésor seraient indemnisés à hauteur des $\frac{3}{4}$ du prix des fonds estimé impartialement, le quart restant demeurerait le bien des propriétaires. Une minorité de propriétaires adhéra à cette solution, mais la majorité refusa, elle ne renoncerait que contre la cession totale des fonds au prix de 100 florins pour les «cavedini» produisant du sel noir, et de 300 florins pour ceux qui faisaient du sel blanc.⁹⁷ Le gouvernement fit droit à cette requête car il avait observé, déclara-t-il, que les salines favorisaient l'insalubrité de l'air et il était persuadé que l'assèchement des marais permettrait une conversion avantageuse de ces terrains bonifiés.⁹⁸ Le gouvernement impérial de Vienne souhaitait donc mettre fin à la production de sel à Zaule pour assécher les marais, il avait programmé la cessation d'activités car il était désormais maître de toutes les salines de l'Istrie et n'avait plus besoin du sel de Trieste, il était prêt à transférer la main-d'œuvre à Muggia et à Capodistria où elle servirait à améliorer la culture des salines. Le magistrat urbain, mieux informé que le gouvernement central, fit observer que les fonds abandonnés deviendraient marécageux ce qui aggraverait l'insalubrité de l'air. L'objection était justifiée car dans une saline l'eau en perpétuel mouvement ne favorise ni le pullulement des moustiques ni les fièvres, tandis que dans des salines abandonnées dominant les eaux douces stagnantes et les moustiques. Le magistrat proposa donc par souci d'économie et d'hygiène un plan de transformation en pêcheries ou d'assèchement et de conversion en prés ou en terrains plus stables, puis il fit ses comptes pour les trois hypothèses de reconversion, n'en retint aucune comme valide et renonça à contribuer à l'indemnisation des propriétaires.

L'administration française du royaume napoléonien, qui ne disposait pas des ressources en sel de l'Autriche proche, s'efforça pour sa part de préserver et de développer les salines dans l'angle Nord-Est de l'Adriatique. Elle procéda à une enquête auprès des propriétaires pour s'informer des besoins de main-d'œuvre pour la culture des salines.

⁹⁷ Faire du sel noir dévalorisait donc le *cavedino*, et il semble que cela ne relevait pas d'un choix opéré par le saunier qui aurait tiré de la vase noirâtre avec le sel pour faire du volume, mais de l'absence d'entretien des *cavedini* au sortir de l'hiver. Les autorités regrettaient que les sauniers se rendaient sur les salines quand la saison était déjà bien avancée. Le «fondamento» pavé («lastricato»: voir p. 312, note 69) tentait d'améliorer la qualité et la couleur du sel récolté.

⁹⁸ ROSSETTI, XCIV, Trieste, 14 août 1802.

Burlo, propriétaire de salines à Zaule, répondit, il était propriétaire de la parcelle n. 19 comportant maisonnette et 20 *cavedini*, pour l'exploitation desquels il fallait deux hommes et une femme. Le sel était bien une industrie de main-d'œuvre et, si l'on se souvient de la modicité des revenus des sauniers au milieu du siècle précédent (21% du revenu annuel de la saline aux travailleurs), l'incitation pécuniaire à travailler aux salines était dérisoire. L'ingénieur en chef de l'administration ne vit qu'une solution de coercition pour empêcher toute diminution de la main-d'œuvre: les sauniers devaient respecter un préavis de six mois à l'égard du propriétaire qu'ils avaient l'intention de quitter.⁹⁹

Après les Traités de Vienne (1815) qui consolidèrent la puissance autrichienne, le gouvernement central avait moins besoin des salines adriatiques et il choisit de ne plus mener d'attaque frontale contre les propriétaires de salines ni de les persuader d'accepter des primes à l'abandon de l'exploitation du sel. Il assouplit le monopole et en 1818 il instituait la liberté du commerce du sel si celui-ci avait été acquis aux magasins publics.¹⁰⁰ Mais cette même année, il aligna le prix d'achat du sel triestin aux producteurs sur celui de l'Istrie, soit 31 *carantini* le centenier (= le *Metzen* de 100 livres) de Vienne, alors que déjà en 1696, cent-vingt ans plus tôt, on leur payait le setier 45 *carantini*, et comme les propriétaires savaient compter, ils firent valoir que 100 setiers de Trieste rendaient 156 *Metzen* de Vienne.¹⁰¹ En fait le prix envisagé s'entendait pour le sel noir, car le monopole fixait trois niveaux de prix: *carantini* 31 le cent de Vienne pour le sel noir, 39 car. pour le sel gris (bis, *bigio*), et 52 car. le blanc.¹⁰² La continuité de l'État jouait contre les propriétaires car le Royaume napoléonien d'Italie avait décrété en 1808 que les propriétaires ne pourraient en abandonner l'exploitation, sinon après trois années d'abandon les salines seraient confisquées et le bien-fonds retournerait au domaine public. L'Autriche se garda d'abolir cette disposition. Les propriétaires étaient pris en tenailles, entre un prix trop faible qui ne couvrait pas le coût de production et la menace de perdre leur bien. Le conflit avec la Surintendance aux salines était permanent, celle-ci voulait empêcher l'abandon des sali-

⁹⁹ Trieste, AD: 12D 7/1 doc n. 1914, Trieste, 18 octobre 1812.

¹⁰⁰ «Libero traffico del sale per chiunque lo abbia comprato nei fondachi della regalia» écrit Rossetti pour l'année 1818.

¹⁰¹ L'information est précieuse: on peut en déduire le poids du setier triestin de sel, égal à 156 livres de Vienne, et la hausse des prix du sel payé aux producteurs, en 120 ans: 7,63%.

¹⁰² ROSSETTI, p. 48, décret du 17 décembre 1818.

nes et y maintenir le minimum d'entretien indispensable à la culture, tandis que les propriétaires démontraient ne pas pouvoir se prêter à ces exigences. En fait, si le Ministère des Finances était déterminé à abandonner la production du sel à Trieste, il lui suffisait de laisser les propriétaires libres de cultiver ou non leurs salines, la politique des prix pratiqués par le monopole suffisant à les décourager sans qu'il fût besoin d'une loi pour fermer les salines.

L'Empire Habsburg qui contrôlait désormais tous les anciens territoires de la République de Venise, avait réuni dans sa main les salines maritimes dalmates (Pago), de l'Istrie (Piran et Capodistria), enfin Muggia et Trieste. Or les provinces autrichiennes étaient riches de sel exploité par les techniques minières dans les Alpes et cette exploitation avait connu des progrès ininterrompus depuis la fin du Moyen Âge, si bien que, à la veille de la Révolution industrielle du XIX^e siècle, l'Autriche gouvernait une production pléthorique de sel blanc raffiné d'excellente qualité. La saline emblématique de tous les progrès accomplis était Aussee en Styrie qui avait succédé à la plus vieille mine alpestre exploitée déjà par les Celtes à Hallstatt.¹⁰³

7. L'ICONOGRAPHIE DES SALINES DE TRIESTE ET MUGGIA

7. 1. *Les salines de Valdirivo-Riborgo*

L'épais dossier constitué pour l'expropriation des propriétaires de salines «di fuori porta Riborgo e di Valdirivo» de l'année 1731 signale qu'il y avait alors en exploitation 7 «fondamenti» d'une capacité totale de 228 «cavedini», «fondamenti» inégaux, le plus petit comptait 17 «cavedini», le plus grand, 40. L'un des propriétaires fit valoir qu'il avait planté «non pochi ollivi posti sull'argine di detto fondamento». Un relevé des éléments de caractère topographique livre d'importants renseignements:

- 17 août 1730, décret d'acquisition et abolition des salines contiguës au Riborgo de cette ville, ce qui devient ensuite hors de la porte de Riborgo, voisines de la ville.

¹⁰³ La question de la modernisation de l'industrie salinière en Europe continentale a été développée par le congrès *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Salzes (18. bis 20. Jahrhundert)* qui s'est tenu à Hallein, 2-4 juillet 1998, éd. par Th. Hellmuth, E. Hiebl sous le titre *Kulturgeschichte des Salzes, 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert*, Vienne-Munich, Oldenburg, 2001, 344 pp., avec une introduction de J.-CL. HOCQUET, *Die Modernisierung des Salzwesens um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Eröffnungsvortrag*, pp. 45-56. Une grande partie des travaux du Congrès a tourné autour de l'innovation.

- «Deux fondamenti de Valderivo» (souvent appelé aussi Baldarivo)
- «Fondamento di 32 saline sises hors de la ville»
- «Fondamento de cavedini 46 de saline placé immédiatement hors de la ville, dominé par ma maison de maître», et acquis en 1709 par Antonio Civran, un nom à consonance vénitienne.
- 3 fondamenti de saline hors la ville «in contrata La Postizza».

Une note des *cavedini* de salines à Riborgo (FIG. 3) récapitule: 90 + 46 *cavedini* en 4 *fondamenti*, dont un vers le «casone di tolle», c'est-à-dire une baraque en planches, 2 *fondamenti* in Baldarivo et le dernier «vers le Belveder»: en tout 228 «cavedini». Le décret du 18 août 1730 adressé aux juges et aux recteurs de la cité citait les salines contiguës au Squero et au Riborgo, c'est-à-dire au chantier naval, peut-être l'Arsenal qui se trouvait à l'emplacement de l'actuel théâtre Verdi. Gio. Gaetano de Bonomo acceptait de vendre 3 «fondamenti di saline in contrata La Postizza».



FIG. 3. Panorama de Trieste avec les salines de Riborgo en 1690.
«Trieste - 1690». Probablement la représentation la plus fidèle du groupe de salines sises in «contrata la Postizza», contiguë «allo Squero e Riborgo», ou à Valdirivo.

Dans le dossier d'expropriation constitué en 1730, huit «fondamenti» sont signalés, mais on sait qu'à Trieste on appelait *fondamento* un ensemble de *cavedini* avec leurs bassins de concentration si bien que plusieurs *fondamenti* pouvaient coexister à l'intérieur d'un unique périmètre de digues. Plusieurs de ces salines appartenaient à des nobles vénitiens, notamment les Ecc.mi Ss.ri Zen di Venetia, et peut-être Antonio Civran dont l'achat remontait à 20 ans. La plupart de ces salines appartenaient aux Bonomo et aux Dolcetti. C'étaient là les vraies

salines de Trieste et on lit clairement combien leur implantation a favorisé l'expansion de la ville hors les murs. La tour à l'angle sud-ouest des murailles était dite «des salines».

Les travaux de remblaiement auraient commencé à l'extérieur de la porte de Riborgo, au pied des murs pour s'étendre vers le futur Canal grande. On se procura les matériaux dans des carrières ouvertes sur le versant de la colline du Castello qui prit dès lors son aspect d'éperon rocheux terminé par un abrupt. Le travail de comblement dura cinquante ans. En 1754, il avait atteint la piazza del Ponterosso où on creusait alors le Canal grande. En 1756, on chargea Matteo Pirona d'enterrer l'espace compris entre ce Canal et le torrent avec les terres procurées par le creusement du Canal grande. Le torrent longeait alors le site de l'actuelle Via di Valdirivo, mais en 1750 il fut détourné dans un nouveau lit qui aujourd'hui se trouve sous les voies Carducci et della Geppa. En 1776 on creusait encore le monte degli Israeliti (aujourd'hui Via del Monte, laquelle prolonge la Via degli Artisti, au pied du monte S. Giusto) pour conduire terres et roches jusqu'au voisinage du torrent de la Geppa. En 1778 un fabricant de céramiques de-

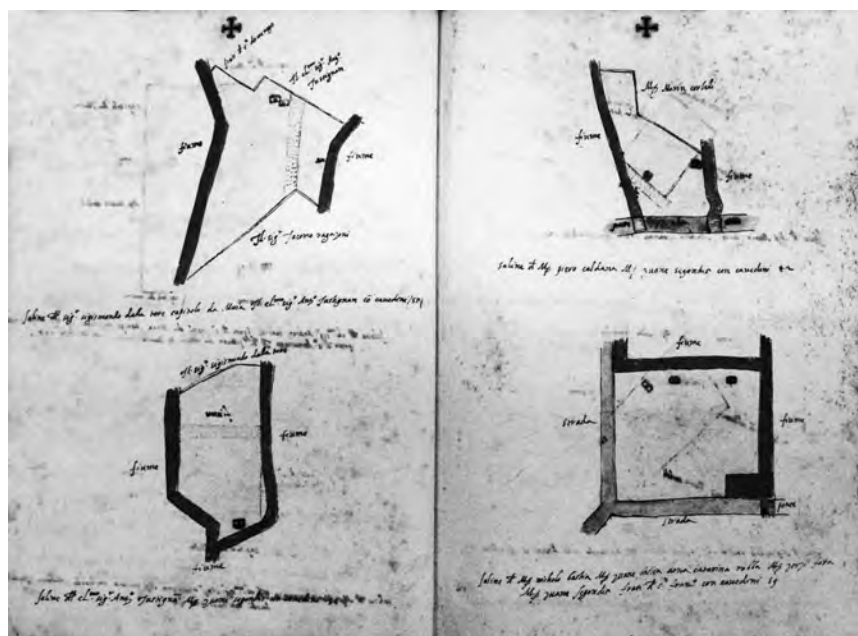


FIG. 4. Catastico Muggia.

mandait à construire un moulin pour la préparation de ses vernis sur ce torrent, «in linea con le case già fabbricate al principio del terreno ora imbonito delle saline». En somme, les sept *fondamenti* auraient été répartis en deux cantons, le premier étendu de la porta Riborgo au futur Canale grande, le second commençant au torrent Valdirivo et s'achevant via della Gebba. Entre le Canale et le torrent demeurerait un espace vide et sans salines.

Cette double page (FIG. 4) sur un papier de mauvaise qualité (on voit par transparence les dessins au verso du document) montre quatre salines, le fleuve ou les canaux, les routes ou chemins. Les digues extérieures de la saline sont signalés d'un trait épais, les maisonnettes sont figurées. Ce *fondamento* paraît médiocrement organisé, les cabanes pour abriter le sel sont à la tête des rangées de *cavedini*, mais elles sont éloignées du fleuve ce qui entraîne des manutentions supplémentaires pour charger le sel dans les barques. Les confronts (voisins) sont indiqués. Sur la page de gauche figure :

- en haut la saline de propriété «del signor Sigismondo della Torre, du Chapitre de Muggia (et) du clarissime Sig.or Antonio Justignan con cavedini 55» maladroitement figurés par la bande verticale. Les confronts sont le dit Antonio Justignan et les frères de S. Domenego (Dominico), de l'autre côté il sig.or Jacomo Ragazoni.
- En bas, la «saline du clarissime Sig.or Antonio Justignan, messer Zuane Segondis avec cavedini 53», son confront «il signor Sigismondo della Torre», la double rangée de *cavedini*, la maisonnette est proche du fleuve mais éloignée des lieux de la récolte.

Sur la page de droite figurent :

- en haut, la saline de Messer Piero Caldana et mr Zuane Segondis de *cavedini* 42, confront mr Marin Corbelli. Les *cavedini* sont à l'extrémité inférieure de la saline et la case sur la rive du fleuve.
- en bas, Nicholo Bastia, Zuane Bastia, donna Catarina Robba, Zorzi Fara, Zuane Segondis, les frères de S. Francesco avec *cavedini* 59 (non figurés). C'est une saline très bien desservie par le fleuve, la route et un pont. De grande taille elle est équipée de deux maisons en bordure du fleuve.

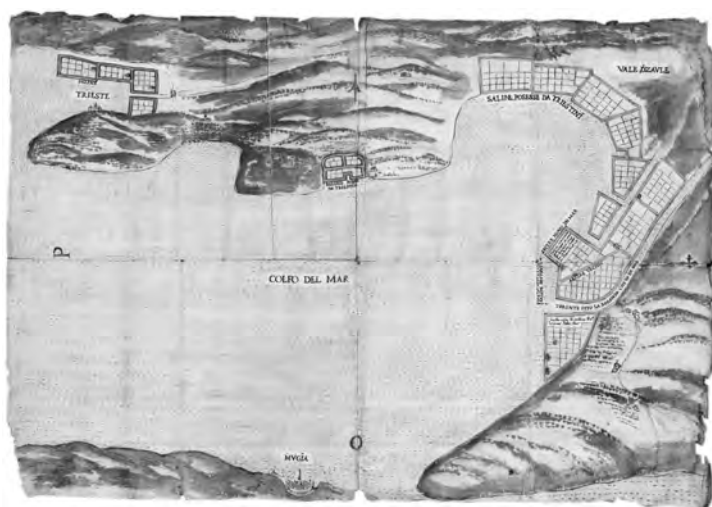


FIG. 5. Carte vénitienne des salines de Trieste à la fin du xvi^e siècle.



FIG. 6. Carte des salines de Muggia et de Trieste en 1620 (l'échelle est en pas vénitiens), extrait de *La Valle dell'Ospo*, cité, p. 11.

Le podestat de Capodistria informait les autorités vénitiennes en octobre 1620 (FIG. 6 - dessin daté), il a insisté sur la représentation des fleuves, des routes et de la logistique de la circulation à proximité des salines et donné une vision globale des salines de Muggia au tracé bien ordonné (à droite), de Zaule (en haut à gauche) et de Servola (au milieu à gauche).



FIG. 7. Trieste en 1689, lithographie de A. Rieger.

Une variante de la gravure de Valvassor, mais le dessinateur s'est un peu déplacé vers l'angle nord-est du *fondamento* (FIG. 7). Il a conservé tous les éléments anciens, mais il a maladroitement ajouté une barque dans le *morario* (à l'angle supérieur gauche). Il y a beaucoup de monde sur les digues de la saline et un *zorno*, reconnaissable à ses trois perches réunies au sommet, écope ou puise les eaux mères de la *fossa*. La digue est le lieu où se tiennent les hommes dont aucun ne s'aviserait de descendre sur le *cavedin*. La vue succède à celle du printemps, elle semble réalisée au moment de la récolte (afflux de travailleurs), mais aucun tas de sel n'est visible.



FIG. 8. Des salines sous la protection des murailles urbaines.

D'est en ouest, le dessin (FIG. 8) insiste davantage sur la puissance des murailles de la ville et sur la scène arcadienne au puits à gauche que sur la vie de la saline. Le *fondamento* a été construit directement en bordure de mer, ce qui raccourcit considérablement le trajet de l'eau de mer qui atteint le *morario* au premier plan à droite. On peut opposer le tracé irrégulier du réservoir encombré de rochers au tracé géométrique des *cavedini* derrière la *seconda*. La répartition des bassins *morario* / *cavedini* est classique, le *morario*-réservoir éloigné de la mer et les *cavedini* proches du quai d'embarquement des sels.



FIG. 9. Trieste, le port et les salines vus de la mer.

Cette remarquable gravure de Valvasor (FIG. 9) montre les sept fonda-

menti bien groupés entre la porte de Riborgo et le torrent descendu par les vallées qu'il a creusées. L'*insenatura* (anse) au milieu des salines pourrait être le port des sels.

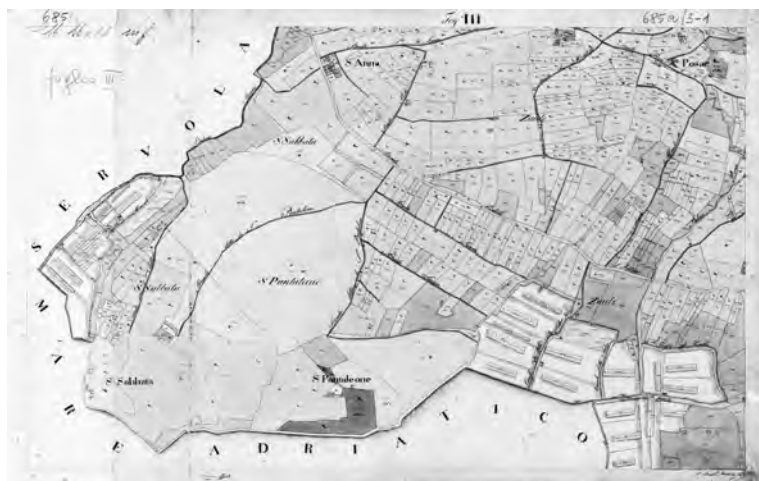


FIG. 10. Le cadastre Franceschino de 1873, les salines de Zaule et Servola.

Sur ce dessin d'excellente qualité (FIG. 10), on identifie sans peine 16 salines comportant le plus souvent deux rangées de *cavedini* et alimentées par deux canaux «delle saline» qui leur apporte l'eau de mer et 8 salines à Servola S. Sabbata. Le cadastre de François-Joseph apporte des renseignements de premier ordre sur la localisation des salines en 1873, c'est-à-dire à une époque où l'exploitation du sel avait cessé mais la zone des anciennes salines n'était pas encore entrée dans la révolution industrielle et demeurait comme fossilisée et figée au stade artisanal atteint à la fin du XVIII^e siècle. Le développement du chemin de fer ne bouleversait pas encore la géographie de l'ancienne zone salinière, comme cela advint très vite ensuite. Le cadastre saisit donc le paysage des anciennes salines à un moment d'équilibre précaire et il répertorie l'ensemble des parcelles qui avaient été cultivées en salines. Toutes ces salines occupent des fonds alluviaux de vallée au niveau de la mer. Les deux zones les plus compactes sont alors la rive droite du torrent Rosandra (voir supra Plan cadastral des salines de Zaule dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle) – la saline des comtes della Torre ayant disparu sur la rive gauche à l'embouchure du fleuve – et le bassin inférieur du torrent Recca (ou Ospe), entre Stramar et S. Andrea. Ce secteur aussi appelé saline de Noghera

(et autrefois de S. Clemente - FIG. 11) constituait le domaine salinier de Muggia qui disposait encore d'une petite saline isolée à Palù, à la porte orientale de la cité. Sur la rive nord du golfe de Muggia, à Servola, dans la basse vallée du torrent Srane descendu du Montebello, de petites salines subsistaient au nord de la pointe de S. Sabbata.



FIG. 11. Cadastre Franceschino: salines de Noghera à Muggia (= S. Clemente).

Un plan dessiné le 25 novembre 1831 (FIG. 13) par l'ingénieur géomètre de Piran, Bruno Capilleri, selon les nouveaux critères d'aménagement des salins, établit que pour une surface de 2.350 Klafter de Vienne, les surfaces de concentration occupaient 1.986 Klafter, les surfaces de cristallisation, 330 Klafter et les canaux internes à la saline, 34 Klafter, soit un rapport respectivement de 84,5%, 14% et 1,5%. Le géomètre expert avait l'esprit de géométrie très poussé, chacune des différentes surfaces mesurait 330 Klafter et sa saline était constituée de 10 *cavedini*, d'une surface de 33 Klafter chacun, soit un carré de 5,75 Klafter ou 10,92 m de côté et une surface de près de 120 m². Mais, comme pour la facilité d'accès depuis les diguettes, les *cavedini* avaient une forme rectangulaire où la longueur L mesurait environ deux fois la largeur l, les mesures du *cavedin* étaient d'environ 15 m × 8 m.

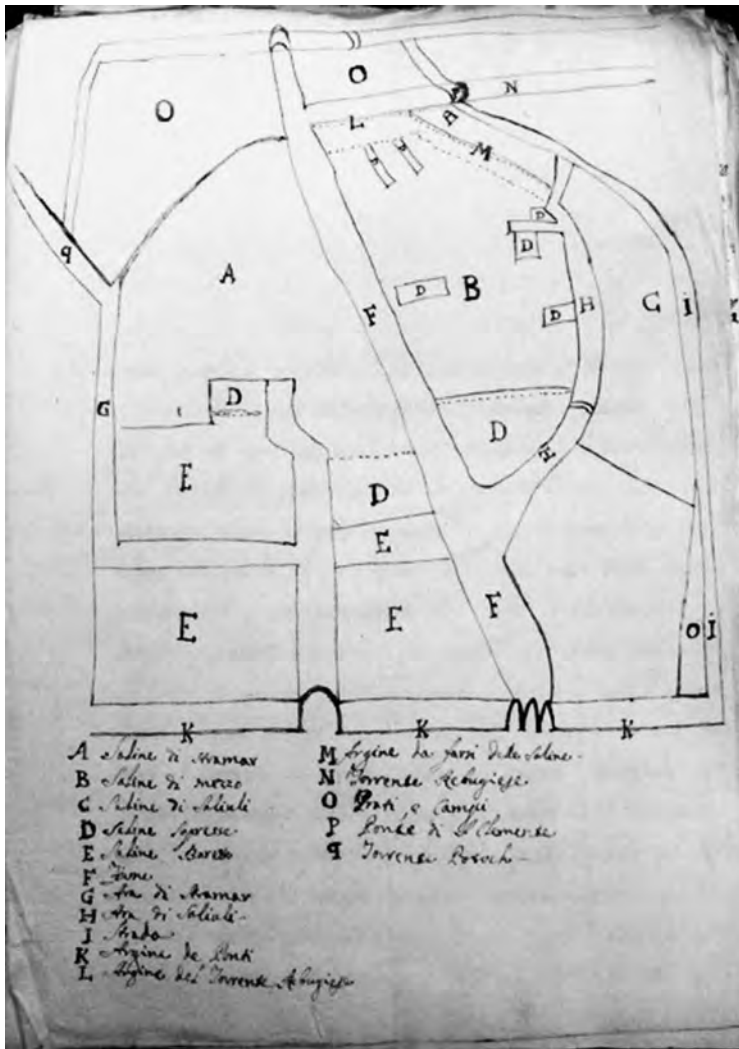


FIG. 12. Plan des salines de Muggia: les quartiers des salines de Muggia au XVIII^e siècle. Les salines étaient classées par quartier. On lit sur le plan: A, Saline di Stramar; B, Saline di Mezo; C, Saline di Saliuli; D, Saline sopresse; E, Saline baretto; F, Fiume; G, Ara di Stramare; H, Ara di Saliuli; I, Strada; K, Argine de ponti; L, Argine del torrente, M, Argine da farsi delle saline; N, Torrente Achugiese; O, Prati e campi; P, Ponte di S. Clemente; Q, Torrente Potochi. Les salines sises nel Quaro di Mezzo franc, in S. Clemente, à la Palù, in Pomagebuch ne figurent pas sur ce dessin qui note les salines en friches – asve: *Provveditori al sal*, b. 319, fasc. II (Muggia), Catastico dell'anno 1594 dovuto a Marcantonio Longo, Muggia, f. 59 –.



FIG. 15. Cadastre des salines de Zaule dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle.

Sur cette matrice cadastrale d'excellente facture des salines de Zaule (FIG. 15), on peut lire sans difficulté les salines bâties sur le domaine maritime et les maisons disposées sur la rive des canaux. Les vastes bassins de concentration souvent en forme de lanière sont disposés parallèlement à la rangée de *cavedini*. Chaque *servitore* alimente deux *cavedini*. Ce plan cadastré et colorié des salines de Zaule comprises entre la mer, le torrent dit Lusandro (*sic*) et la route de Trieste à Capodistria qui oblique vers la droite avant de traverser le fleuve montre le quadrillage hydrographique (torrents Spina, Quart et Roja). A l'époque tardive où il a été dessiné, il figure le dernier état des salines, les cristallisoirs représentant environ 1/5 de la surface de l'ensemble du *fondamento*, ce qui témoigne d'un état d'esprit nouveau : augmenter les surfaces d'évaporation pour disposer de plus de saumure saturée et obtenir de meilleurs rendements lors de la récolte. La solution a consisté, sans modifier la surface du *fondamento*, à changer la répartition entre surfaces évaporantes et cristallisoirs, à réduire le nombre de ceux-ci. L'échelle qui figure à droite du plan semble en Klafter viennois (ASTs: *Archivio Piani*, n. 306, saline di Zaule, plan cadastral).

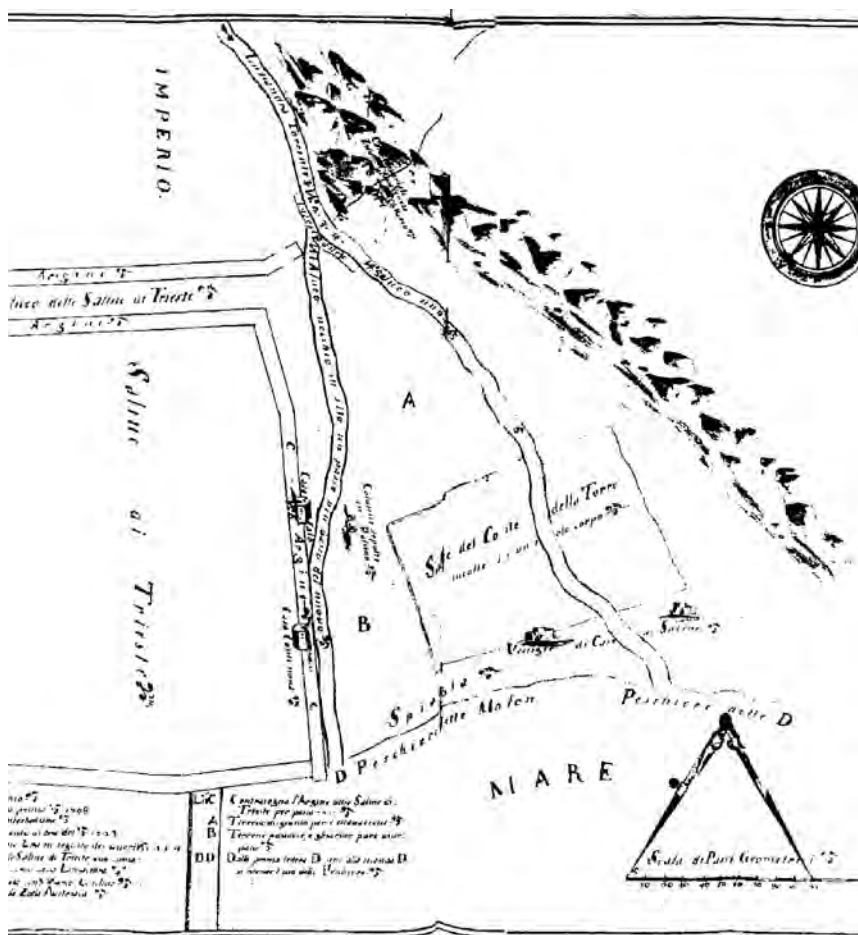


FIG. 16. Sel et pêcheries à l'embouchure du Rosandra, dessin de 1749 (extrait de la relation du marquis Giuseppe Gravisi, repr. par G. BORRI, cité, tav. IV).

En avant des salines muggesanes, de la fosse du Rosandra à la pointe de Stramare, les pêcheries de Molon (du nom antique du Monte d'Oro) appartenaient à Muggia et réalisaient ainsi une jonction traditionnelle entre sel et pêche, saline et pêcherie (FIG. 16).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ J.-CL. HOCQUET, *Les mers nourricières: le sel et le poisson*, in A. CABANTOUS, A. LESPAIGNOL, F. PÉRON, *Les Français, la terre et la mer*, Paris, Fayard, 2005, pp. 106-176; IDEM, *Saline et pêcherie en Dalmatie centrale au milieu du XVI^e siècle*, «SV», XLVIII, 2005, pp. 113-128; IDEM, *Due risorse marittime associate, il sale e il pesce. Profilo storico*, in *Ricchezza del mare. Ricchezza dal mare, secc. XIII-XVIII*, a cura di S. Cavaciocchi, xxxvii Settimana di Studi, Prato, apr. 2005, Firenze, Le Monnier, 2006, vol. 2, pp. 235-265.



FIG. 17. Les routes du Frioul en 1730, extrait de P. LANARO SARTORI, *Venezia e le grandi arterie del commercio internazionale...*, in G. BORELLI, *Mercanti e Vita economica nella Repubblica Veneta*, Verona, Banca Popolare di Verona, 1985, II, pp. 274-275).

La carte a été réalisée sur commission du lieutenant général du Frioul, le noble vénitien Michiel Pisani, elle représente les routes qui, à travers le Frioul, conduisent des ports du littoral aux provinces du Nord, Tirol, Carinthie et Ljubljana, cité la plus orientale (FIG. 17).

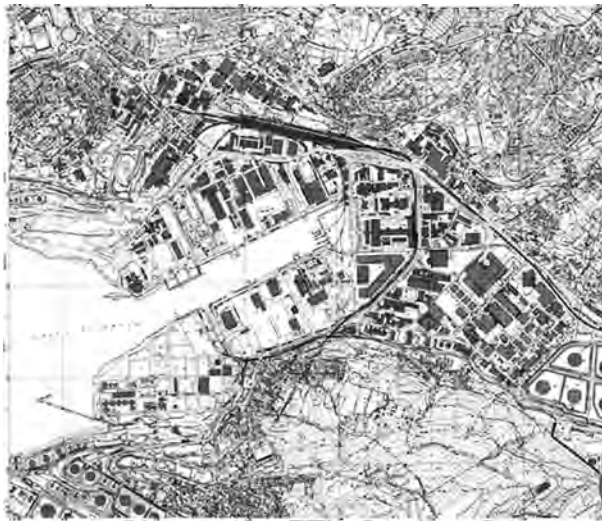


FIG. 18. Le nouveau port de commerce et la zone industrielle édifée par l'EZIT sur le site des anciennes salines de Zaule et de Muggia.

8. CONCLUSION

Il est difficile aujourd'hui de déceler des traces matérielles de l'ancienne activité salinière. Les espaces occupés par cette activité qui a perduré du Moyen Âge aux premières décennies du XIX^e siècle, aux embouchures des torrents Rosandra et Ospo ont été en effet profondément transformés par l'industrialisation¹⁰⁵ qui a bouleversé les paysages. Le tissu urbain a connu une expansion tumultueuse pour répondre aux modifications des fonctions de la cité appelée à devenir, à partir de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle un grand pôle maritime conforme aux exigences d'un scénario géopolitique¹⁰⁶ qui en ferait le débouché sur la Méditerranée de l'Empire Habsburg, au XIX^e siècle de l'Empire Austro-Hongrois. Les salines furent abandonnées dès la fin des années 1820¹⁰⁷ après que l'Autriche, lors des Traités de 1815, eut unifié sous son autorité Trieste et les territoires de Venise. Elle concentra alors la production de sel marin à Piran et développa la production des salines ignigènes dans les Alpes,¹⁰⁸ sans renoncer à l'importation du sel d'excellente qualité de Barletta. Ces trois facteurs rendaient inutile le maintien d'une activité salinière à faible productivité et de basse qualité à Trieste et Muggia. Les anciens bassins salins furent d'abord aménagés en pêcheries et en élevages de poissons qui fermèrent avant

¹⁰⁵ R. AURIEMMA, F. ORIOLO, D. RICCOBONO, *La penisola muggesana e le valli limitrofe: i mutamenti del paesaggio*, in Auriemma, Karinja (a cura di), *Terre di mare*, cité, pp. 122-134, suivi de photographies de pêcheries submergées à pp. 141-143.

¹⁰⁶ M. STOPPA, *Un sito condizionante: l'ambiente naturale e la genesi dell'organismo urbano tergestino*, «Archeografo Tergestino», s. IV, LVI (= CIV), 1996, pp. 657-671, ill.

¹⁰⁷ S. DOLCE, M. VOCCHI, *I Mestieri del sale*, in *Histria, Sale, Mare, Cultura*, Trieste, Edizioni Comune di Trieste, 2005 signalent p. 60: «A proposito delle saline dell'Alto Adriatico, Carlo de Marchesetti, illustre botanico e direttore del Museo di Storia Naturale, nel 1897 scriveva, "delle antiche saline sono al presente in attività solamente quelle di Capodistria, Strugnano e Sicciole... Quelle di Servola, di Zaule e di Muggia trovansi abbandonate fin dal 1829"». Les Auteurs anonymes du bref essai *Uno Sguardo al passato*, in L. DE VECCHI *et alii*, *La Valle dell'Ospo*, Trieste, LINT, 1992, pp. 10-17 reprennent littéralement cette citation de Marchesetti, présenté comme «archeologo triestino» et précisent que les salines de S. Clemente «cessèrent définitivement d'exister en 1827 à la suite d'un décret du gouvernement autrichien qui y interdit toute activité» salinière (p. 12). L'enquête n'a pas permis de retrouver la source de cette double assertion.

¹⁰⁸ L'étude la plus complète sur l'expansion et la modernisation des salines autrichiennes de Styrie reste à ce jour F. STADLER, *Das Salinenwesen in Steirischen Salzkammergut von 1760 bis 1850*, in J.-CL. HOCQUET, R. PALME, *Das Salz in der Rechts- und Handelsgeschichte*, Internationaler Salzgeschichtekongreß, 26. Sept.-1. Okt. 1990, Hall in Tirol, Berenkamp, 1991, pp. 379-402.

le milieu du XIX^e siècle à cause de la pollution provoquée par les activités urbaines. L'occupation industrielle de ces zones abandonnées au marécage fut tardive. De 1953 à 1973 les Fornaci Valdadige produisirent de la brique et de la tuile, en exploitant des carrières d'argile dans la vallée de l'Ospo. Ces carrières se remplirent d'eau et formèrent des étangs (*laghetti*, petits lacs). La zone fut alors progressivement comblée d'abord par les décharges puis, systématiquement, par remblai à l'aide des matériaux rocheux arrachés au versant méridional du monte S. Pantaleone.¹⁰⁹ L'événement décisif intervint en 1953 quand le Gouvernement militaire allié confia à l'Ente per la Zona Industriale di Trieste (EZIT) l'administration de toute la zone avec compétence pour les travaux d'hydraulique, de bonification, d'endiguement, de couverture des cours d'eau pour mettre les futures industries à l'abri des inondations. Les deux zones alluviales de l'Ospo et du Rosandra se couvrirent d'industries lourdes (métallurgie, pétrochimie) ou agro-alimentaires. En 1959 le commissaire général du gouvernement accorda à l'EZIT l'ensemble des terrains de la vallée et les activités portuaires de Trieste migrèrent aussi vers ce puissant pôle industriel et maritime (Fig. 18). Finalement le développement de la ville, des installations portuaires et industrielles, de la pétrochimie, ont totalement effacé les vestiges des salines et le comblement des installations saunantes par apport de terres et de roches pris aux coteaux calcaires les a ensevelies sous 2 m à 2,50 m de remblais.

SOURCES

Liste des abréviations

- ASTS = Archivio di Stato di Trieste
 ASVE = Archivi di Stato di Venezia
 AD = BCT AD, Biblioteca Civica di Trieste, Archivio Diplomatico (aussi appelé Archivio Storico del Comune di Trieste)
 «AMSIA» = «Atti e Memorie della Società istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria»

¹⁰⁹ Z. ŽAGAR, *L'attività salinaria lungo la costa dell'Adriatico nord-orientale*, in *Museo delle saline*, Pirano, s.n., 1992, pp. 29-41. Riche documentation sur l'état d'abandon des salines occupées par des marécages et sur les carrières de pierre du monte S. Pantaleone dans les album photographiques des *Attività della divisione dei lavori in economia, ott. 1947-dic. 1951, Dipartimento Lavori e Servizi Pubblici del GMA, Lavori eseguiti nel Comune di Trieste*, conservés à l'Archivio Generale del Comune di Trieste.

«AT» = «Archeografo Triestino»

«SV» = «Studi Veneziani»

Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASve)

- *Provveditori al sal*, b. 319, fasc. 11 (Muggia), ff. 51-58; *ibidem*, *Notatorio*, reg. 49 (*Catastico di tutte le saline in Istria e Dalmatia*), en part. Catastico dell'anno 1594 dovuto a Marcantonio Longo, Muggia, f. 59 (voir Figure 12);
- b. 394, Muggia (valli di S. Clemente, di Zaule, di S. Bortolamio) e Capodistria. Con indicazione del proprietario e dei confinanti, reg. cart. ril. perg. scritto fino a c. 60. I disegni in inchiostro ed acquerello, scala di 100 pertiche ven., sono eseguiti da Antonio Betodello pertegador et perito apresso il clar.mo Sig. Marcantonio Longo prov. al sal in Istria e Dalmatia. Le Catastico compte 2 dessins de salines par page avec indication de la route, du fleuve, des confronts, du nom du propriétaire et du nombre de cavedini, au total 34 salines à S. Clemente, plus les salines du signor Sigismondo della Torre dans la valle di Zaule avec 175 cavedini (voir Figure 4);
- b. 486;
- *Provveditori soprintendenti alla Camera dei Confini*, b. 237, disegno 1, *Golfo di Trieste, mappa ... con le saline possedute dai Triestini*, 1578-1579 (mm 580 × 860), disegno a mano su carta con colorazioni, disegno 2, *Muggia, schizzo del golfo da Trieste*, secolo XVIII, schizzo a lapis e sanguine (voir Figures 2 et 5).

Les répertoires cartographiques de ASve possèdent des clichés de ces cartes:

- 237, positivo 693 et 694, *golfo di Trieste con le saline possedute dai Triestini*;
- 337, disegno 1, positivo 1158, une petite saline éloignée des murs, siècle XVIII^e;
- 338: disegno 6, positivo 1163, *Valle di Muggia e Trieste*, n. 39, secolo XVIII, *saline di Trieste a Servola* «en bordure du torrent La Lussandra».

Archivio di Stato di Trieste (ASTs):

- Catasto Franceschino, Mappe, Triest, Section n. 12, colonne n. IV westlich et S. Maria Maddalena Inferiore, 685a/03, Muggia, 672a/02, 672a/03, 672d/1-05 (voir Figures 10 et 11);
- Archivio Piani n. 306, saline di Zaule, plan cadastral (voir Figure 15);
- C.R., *Governo in Trieste (1776-1809)*, b. 110. fasc. *Sali e saline*. (le fasc. 557 contient *Confronto delle misure de sali forestieri e paesani col mezzan di Vienna*, 1777, et la correspondance du consul Passeretti);
- C.R.S., *Intendenza commerciale per il Litorale di Trieste*, b. 183 (avec les documents sur l'expropriation des salines de Valdirivo ordonné par l'empereur Charles VI en 1730/1731, la valeur estimée et la transaction), b. 260, 185, b. 258, b. 534, b. 536 (tabelle sul movimento portuale), b. 554, b. 555, b. 556. Cf. *supra*, POZZETTO, *Il dibattito*, cit.;
- Pour la cartographie la plus actuelle www.regione.fvg.it/ambiente_e_territorio/servizi_cartografici: ricerca alfanumerica/elemento 5000: Trieste nord-ouest, Trieste sud-ouest, Muggia et Aquilinia (voir Figure 18).

Biblioteca Civica di Trieste, Archivio Diplomatico di Trieste (BCTS, AD):

- L. JENNER, *Memoria intorno le saline con documenti n. 18. Prospetti n. 5, 1 mappa*, manuscrit qui transcrit les documents originaux concernant l'histoire des salines et du sel à Trieste sélectionnés selon la tradition archivistique du XIX^e siècle (B. 12, C 5/6, cc. 99);
- D. ROSSETTI, *Tecnonomia tergestina ossia considerazioni sulla storia e legislazione delle arti e del commercio di Trieste*, 12 D 3/6;
- *Sale ed oggetti di pubbliche saline. Atti relativi degli anni 1594 1595 1601 1617 1685 1686 1701 1713 1714 1715 1719 1728 1730 1735 1737 1738 1739*, 10 D 13. (contient *Conto del sestiere e moggio del presente anno 1735*, *Specca di quanto sulle paesano novo hanno frutato le salline delli signori fondalli di Trieste nell'anno 1735*);
- *Sale e saline, sec. XVI-XIX*, 12 D 7/1 (contient *Libri dei conti del sestiere per gli anni 1616 e 1617: Libreto nel qualle se notera tutti li salli che se fabricano l'anno presente nelle saline di Zaulle che paga il sestiero alla Magnifica Comunità qualli salli saranno da noi Francesco Bonomo et Antonio Padovino ricevuti, et vendutti per nome d'essa Magnifica Comunità, come in esso particolarmente se vede, 1616: Libro nel qualle se noterà li salli che se fabricano l'anno presente nelle saline di Zaulle, che paga il sestiero alla Magn.ca Comunità, qualli salli saranno etc., 1617*).

Museo Sartorio:

- *Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe*, carte geografiche regionali, n. 1, *Piano topografico della città e porto franco di Trieste coll'intero suo territorio nel più minuto dettaglio da Giovanni Balde istriano gallignanese (1829)*, 4 fogli (voir Figure 14).

Archives de Raguse/Dubrovnik (DAD):

- Manuscrit 187 RO, Br 48, *Notizie storiche e statistiche del circolo di Ragusa compilate dall'ingegnere circolare Lorenzo Vitelleschi, Ragusa, 1827*.

La cartographie et l'iconographie sont rassemblées dans quelques ouvrages dont nous avons reproduit quelques documents. Citons:

- M. Cammarata (éd.), *Panorama di Trieste. Vedute e piante della città e del suo territorio dalla collezione Davia*, Trieste, La Mongolfiera, 1993.
- F. Somma (éd.), *Panorama di Trieste. La città e il suo territorio attraverso le stampe della collezione Stella Davia*, Trieste, La Mongolfiera, 2004 (voir Figure 3).
- F. De Vecchi, L. Resciniti, M. Vidulli Torio (éds.), *Ritratto di città. Vedute, impressioni, cronache di Trieste nelle stampe dell'Ottocento*, Trieste, B&Mm Fachin, 1991 (voir Figures 7, 8, 9).
- *Catalogo delle stampe triestine dal XVII al XIX secolo*, Trieste, Parnaso, 1994.
- P. KANDLER, *Albo storico topografico della città e territorio di Trieste*, publié en 1856 à l'occasion de la visite de l'empereur François-Joseph, réédité par la Cassa di Risparmio di Trieste. Sergio Zorzon en a préparé une édition publique et de qualité avec quelques menues variantes (Trieste, Italo Svevo, 1989).

- M. L. IONA, *Dalle saline alla "città nova"*, in *Palazzo Carciotti a Trieste*, Trieste, 1995, pp. 35-62 publie les plans extraits du cartulaire constitué par Kandler.
- C. YRIARTE, *Le Rive dell'Adriatico e il Montenegro, illustrato da 261 incisioni e 2 carte*, Milan, Treves, 1883 a publié à p. 92 «Trieste, la salina di Lusandra, distrutta dai Veneziani» à rapprocher des vues de «ports romains» à Izola (Simonov et Viližan) publiées par M. Stokin et alii, *Archeological research of maritime infrastructure of Roman settlements on the Slovenian coast of Istria*, in R. Auriemma, S. Karinja (a cura di), *Terre di Mare*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi, Trieste, 8-10 nov. 2007, Trieste-Piran, Università degli Studi di Trieste-Museo del Mare di Pirano, 2008 (pp. 63 et 67).
- 1689 – *Trieste Lubiana e la Carsia di Johann Weichard Valvassor*, a cura di P. G. Parovel, A. Tasso-Jasbitz, Trieste, Mladika, 1995 a publié «Trieste - 1690».
- S. RUTTERI, *Antiche Stampe di Trieste*, Trieste, LINT, 1967.

PIECES JUSTIFICATIVES

I.

Le travail sur les salines de Trieste (documents extraits de Rossetti).

Doc. v, p. 71:

Quod quilibet salinarius vel salinaria qui laborabit salinas alienas intrare debeat in dicto laborerio, a prima die mensis aprilis inantea et stare usque ad festum sancti Michaelis et non dare debeat aliquam quantitatem salis alicui persone nec vendere sine licentia domini salinarum et daciarii comunitatis....

p. 72: quicumque laborabit in salinis comunitatis non sit ausus recipere ad laborandum nec laborare alienas salinas. ... et laborans in salinis comunitatis sit absolutus a vardis supra vardis de die et de nocte in civitate Tergesti donec in ipsis salinis laborabit.

Item non exire extra salinas vel domos ipsarum salinarum tempore noctis, nec etiam comburere aliquas vites virides vel siccas.

Doc. XII, pp. 76-78:

Pro comuni utilitate ordinamus quod saline comunitatis tergesti locari debeant omni anno ad laborandum ad medietatem per unum annum tantum et non ultra modo aliquo vel ingenio [...]. Quod omni anno a kal. Januarii in antea ante locationem ipsarum salinarum fiat publice una crida per preconem comunis super scalis pallatij comunitatis et per civitatem in locis consuetis [...] quod si aliqua persona vult recipere ad laborandum seu tenere ad laborandum salinas comunitatis positas extra Januam Riburgi comparere debeat coram dominio tergesti.

Et laborantes habere debeant medietatem totius salis orti in ipsis salinis anno quo laborabunt, et alia medietas remaneat comunitati tergesti, et laborantes habere debeant a comuni omnes ordegnos et preparamenta (sive massaricias) necessaria pro laborando ipsas salinas.

Doc. XIII, pp. 78-79:

Quelibet persona que facere sive edificare voluerit ... aliquas salinas in districtu tergesti habeant a comuni tergesti. pro quolibet laboratore salinarum solidos decem grossorum tantum, sub forma quod habere non debeant solutionem pro quolibet laboratore edificato, nisi prius ipsis edificatis,

...et dare debeat comuni rectum sextarium de sale quem percipiet ex dictis salinis.

Et talis facere volens dictas salinas prestare debeat com.tergesti. bonam securitatem de fatiando et complendo tales salinas usque ad tres annos subsequentes, facto et stipulato pacto....

Et etiam facere debeat bonos et magnos laboratores salinarum secundum consuetudinem et modum salinarum.

Et si qua persona receperit a comuni terg. aliquam paludem eam edificandi in ipsas salinas...

Et de manutendo perpetuo ipsas salinas in laboratura et conzamento...

Et talis persona dare debeat comuni terg. rectum sexterum de sale fiendo in ipsis salinis, et si qua persona recusaret solvere sexterium, ipsos decem soldos gros. pro laboratore a comuni habere non debeat.

Doc. xxxvi, p. 93:

Qui operam dat salinis alienis ad dimidiam vel aliam partem salis teneatur ire ad ipsas salinas ante Kalendas Aprilis, ibique permanere interdiu e noctu, quotidieque summa fide, ac diligentia ministerium suum exercere, quoad eo anno sal fieri poterit, per quod tempus sint immunes ab onere custodiae civitatis.

Doc. lxi: contratto stabilito tra l'Ecc.sa Camera dell'Austria inferiore e li sig.ri proprietari e possessori delle saline di Trieste (1701-1705).

Art. 5: li patroni fondalli sarano tenuti d'obligare li loro salinari ad usare ogni dilligenza, accio il sale sij fabricato puro, netto, senza fango.

Art. 8: per sovenimento delli lavori che occoreranno alo mantenimento delle saline, ai possessori sarano somministrate lire tre per capitino anticipamente nelli mesi di febraro e marzo, quali poi sarano bonificati alla raccolta de sali.

Doc. lxxxii, p. 156: contratto 1791-1797.

1° - dividere con un paretto li magazini che tengono nelle saline, perché resti separato il primo dall'ultimo sale, e in simil guisa il sale possa essere asciutto, e staggionato a dovere al caso della consegna ne Ces. Reg. Magazzini,

[...], essere debba tenuto il Ces. Reg. Officio de Sali di ricevere li sali staggiati, e asciutti a dovere anche nelli mesi di luglio e agosto, a riparo di quelli disordini, alli quali ne'tempi andati andarono più volte soggetti li sali riposti nelli magazini delle saline per le innondazioni che facilmente succedono in occasione di piogge copiose, e di straordinarie cresenze di mare, solite ad accadere ne'tempi sirocali, e negli equinozj, attesa la bassa situazione delle saline.

Doc. lxxxvii, contratto:

Art. 9: Al tempo della raccolta li sallinari sarano pagati dalli suoi patroni di quanto a loro aspetta di volta in volta, mai pero con il sale in natura, ma con denaro contante...,

Doc. xciv, Trieste, 14 août 1802:

Questo Magistrato ha l'onore di rassegnare a codesto Ecc.so Governo l'operato concernente la progettata immunizione delle saline in Zaule: proposizione del 23 maggio 1800: li proprietari delle saline rinunziassero a favore del Sovrano erario al diritto della produzione del sale verso il pagamento di

$\frac{3}{4}$ del prezzo rilevabile mediante un imparziale estimo dei rispettivi fondi, li quali per il restante $\frac{1}{4}$ rimarebbero in loro proprietà, ...

La minima parte dei proprietari aderì intieramente alla proposizione, la maggior parte ha dichiarato di non altrimenti rinunciare che verso la totale cessione dei loro fondi al prezzo di fiorini 100 per ogni capitino di sale nero, e di f. 300 per ogni capitino di sale bianco. Il Governo riconobbe per ragionevole la ricusa di ritenere li fondi per il prezzo di $\frac{1}{4}$ del loro valore.

A quelle contrada si toglierebbe colle saline l'insulabrità dell'aria, e li fondi potrebbero col loro asciugamento essere convertiti in uso assai vantaggioso.

3. La sola rinuncia alla produzione del sale [...] è che occorendo pel lavoro di queste saline di prendere la gente a ciò addattata e pratica, da Muggia a Capodistria, non essendo la medesima più quivi necessaria, servirebbe alla miglior cultura di quelle proprie meglio importanti saline. All'incontro li fondi abbandonati a se stessi diverrebbero paludosi, e renderebbero assai più insalubre l'aria di quella contrada.

Propone quindi la Direzione delle fabbriche un piano col quale possono detti fondi essere impiegati per peschiere od immuniti ad uso di prati o di fondi più solidi.

II.

Stime delle saline (AST: C.R.S., Intendenza commerciale per il Litorale di Trieste, b. 183).

Addi 21 Agosto 1730.

Stima fatta da noi sottoscritti delli fondamenti di saline di ragione dell'Illustrissimo Sigr. Gio. Vito Bonomo, per comando della Commissione Cesarea et Real Aulica Camera.

Primo fondamento verso le mura della città delli capitini 37 guardati et riguardati con li suoi requisiti li habbiamo stimati per il valore di ducati cento e cinque l'uno che importano ducati 3885 così da noi stimati.

Per nostra mercede un per cento come il solito.

Noi stimatori giurati Giuseppe Brum, Domenico Sofia, Michele Daneu, Tomaso Senzik.

Addi 21 Agosto 1730.

Secondo fondamento dell'istesso Bonomo verso il casone di tolle, capitini 33 visti et rivisti con tutti li suoi requisiti, stimati da noi ducati cento e dieci il capitino, che importano ducati 3630.

Addi 22 Agosto 1730.

Terzo fondamento dell'istesso Bonomo, il fondamento delli capitini 17 visti et rivisti, da noi stimati il valore di lire 700 il capitino, con li suoi requisiti, che importano ducati 1983.

Addi 22 Agosto 1730.

Stima fatta da noi sottoscritti del fondamento delle saline, di ragione dell'Ill.mo Sigr. Antonio Civrani, per comando della Commissione Cesarea et Real Aulica Camera. Fondamento di capitini 46 prima capitini 36 guardati et riguardati et stimati da noi il valore di ducati cento et venti cinque il capitino, poi li capitini dieci verso il mare stimati da noi lire 500 il capitino, che in tutto importano ducati 5333.

Addi 23 Agosto 1730.

Stima fatta da noi sottoscritti del fondamento di saline verso il Belveder, dei capitini 24, di ragione del Reverendo Canonico Vicario Alessandro Dolcetti, per comando della Commissione Cesarea et Real Aulica Camera. Visti et rivisti con tutti i suoi requisiti da noi stimati et valutati il valore di lire 300 l'uno, che importano in tutto ducati 1200, così da noi stimati.

Addi 23 Agosto 1730.

Stima fatta da noi sottoscritti del fondamento di saline in Baldarivo, di ragione del Sigr. Giacomo Dolcetti, di capitini 36, per comando della Commissione Cesarea et Real Aulica Camera. Così da noi visti et rivisti con tutti li requisiti abbiamo giudicato et stimato il valore di lire 400 l'una, che in tutto importano ducati 2400. Così da noi stimati.

Addi 23 Agosto 1730.

Stima fatta da noi sottoscritti del fondamento di saline in Baldarivo, delli capitini 32, di ragione del Nobile Sigr. Guglielmo Bonomo, per comando della Commissione Cesarea et Real Aulica Camera. Così da noi visti et rivisti, stimati et giudicati di valore lire 500 l'uno, che in tutto fanno ducati 2666, L. 4.

Et più una stima di olivi sotto la strada.

Olivi mezzani n. 2 a L. 8 = Lire 16

Olivi sottomezzani n. 20 a L. 6 = Lire 120

Olivi piccoli n. 7 a L. 3 = Lire 21

Olivi più piccoli n. 1 a L. 1 = Lire 1

Lire 158

(Seguono le firme degli stessi stimatori.)

III.

Le compte de la société des frères Michiel pour leur saline de Muggia (1757).

Conteggio, che liquida il vero credito della dita fratelli Michieli da trattenervi in pubblico risarcimento per il raccolto 1757, ed in conseguenza la somma per il detto raccolto percetta di più dal Raggionato della Comunità di Muggia ser Vallon Vallon, che deve riponere.

1757.	Intera raccolta da cavedini n° 66	moggia 51:2:2
	Si batte il V°, o sia $\frac{3}{4}$ per cavedini	moggia 3:10:2

Resta	moggia 47:5
à L 14:15	lire 698:18
Si batte l'8° da trattenervi in pubblico	
Per altro titolo	moggia 5:12
	lire 87:7
moggia	41:6
	lire 611:11
Si bate la sovvenzion	lire 349:16
Resta	lire 261:15
Si batte la porzione colonica delle salinare	lire 130:17:6
Resta credito Michieli à pubblico risarcimento	lire 130:17:6
Nota di correzioni nei rispettivi conti Negroni, e scrivano	
Nel conto Negroni	
Partita Michieli come in sopra	
Conto	L 105:2 ;6
Si aggiunge per correzione error corso	L 5:-:-
e più per spesa d'incanevo malamente detratta	
supra moggia 41:6	L 20:15
Summa	L 130:17:6
Nel conto dello scrivano	
Partita Michieli come in detto conto	L 176:11:6
Si deve detrarre per importar del V°, o sia $\frac{3}{4}$	
per cavedino malamente incluso	L 45:14:-
Resta	L 130:17:6

IV.

Reprise de salines abandonnées à Muggia

La pubblica Sovrana Clemenza avendo deliberato di ripristinare le saline sopresse della terra di Muggia, supplichiamo noi don Zuane et Antonio fratelli Bittante qd Anzolo per nome anche di nostre sorelle Anzola, Cattarina, e nipote Marco, la facoltà di V.E. d'esser investiti di due corpi di saline sopresse, e passate in pubblico potere, esistenti nella valle di S. Clemente, che compongono in tutto cavedini n° 102, cioè un corpo di cavedini n° 48 situati nel quaro di Stramar con li suoi confini ; val a dire a Levante l'ara di Stramar, a mezodi le saline in lavoro delli Sig.ri Gravisi, a sol a monte il fiume, e tremontana sig.r Conte Bovisi, e Barissa, erano delli seguenti proprietari

di noi supplicanti cavedini	6
del fu N H Marco Barbarigo	30
delli R P di S. Domenico di Civald del Friul	12
totale	48

L'altro corpo di cavedini n° 54 situati nel quaro di mezzo, quali confinano a

Levante col fiume, a mezzodi Ssri Conti della Torre, a sol a monte l'ara di Salivoli, a tramontana dette ara, e fiume. Erano dalli seguenti proprietari:

del N H procurator Contarini cavedini	14 $\frac{1}{4}$
del N H Marco Barbarigo cavedini	14 $\frac{3}{4}$
della fabbrica delli Sti Giov et Paolo, cavedini	17
di Marcellin Robba e Franc ^o de Rossi	8

Per la riduzione a lavoro delli cavedini n^o 102 e per la costruzione e competente alzamento degli argini suoi circondari, il primo corpo in circonferenza di passa n^o 340; ed il secondo di passa 361, di cui sono quasi a fatto spogli, imploriamo una imprestanza di ducati 16 di l. 6, 4 per cavedino, esibendosi poi di spendere del proprio il di più, che occorera per ridurli in stato di ottima e lodevole coltura.

[l'acte est postérieur au 18 juillet 1755.]

Muggia. Saline andate in baredo avanti l'anno 1721 in valle di San Clemente

in Stramar, cavedini	100
in detto luoco	24
in al Pozzo	55
fra li due ponti et in bocca del fiume	79
in contra di S. Andrea	76

Tutti li sudetti cavedini si rilevano dal pubblico catastico, ma si crede ne siano di più.

- Saline andate in Baredo doppo l'anno 1721

in contra Stramar	20
in villa grande	9
in villa piccola	9

Zuane Bastia fu investito da ser Cristoforo Dolfin per formar cavedini

9

- Saline rassegnate in pubblico et sopprese, tutte in valle di San Clemente

in Stramar	75
in villa grande	43
Quaro di Mezo	54

- Saline sopprese considerate quasi inutili al ripristino

in Villa grande	62
-----------------	----

«THEATRUM VENETAE NEGOTIATIONIS
PER MEDITERRANEUM».
MISE EN CADRE DEL VIAGGIO (1524-1598)

TONI VENERI

Così recita, in un basamento dipinto nel 1762 da Giustino Menescardi, l'iscrizione che il celebre naturalista Francesco Grisellini sceglie di inserire nel corso del suo restauro, in realtà un vero e proprio rifacimento, della più importante fra le grandi tele cinquecentesche esposte nella sala di ricevimento di Palazzo Ducale, detta delle Mappe per la decorazione cartografica, dello Scudo per la consuetudine di esporvi lo stemma del doge in carica. Sopra il basamento, posto nell'angolo in basso a sinistra, una fama alata regge, oltre alla tromba, un ritratto di Giovanni Battista Ramusio, pomposamente ricordato quale Autore della grande carta geografica del Mediterraneo, nonché della monumentale e pionieristica raccolta delle *Navigazioni et viaggi* (1550-1559),¹ mentre in posizione più centrale, fra la Sicilia e la Grecia, troneggia la personificazione femminile di Venezia, con tutti gli attributi iconografici della tradizione (il Leone di S. Marco, il corno ducale, il manto di ermellini, i mitologici abitanti del mare). Se non si può ritenere Ramusio l'effettivo disegnatore della carta, certo è che a lui si devono l'ideazione e la progettazione, poco prima della metà del secolo, dell'intero ciclo cartografico, originariamente pensato per illustrare, sulla base delle relazioni di viaggio accumulate dal segretario e con la collaborazione del grande cartografo Giacomo Gastaldi, le più grandi scoperte geografiche di tutti i tempi, da Marco Polo alle recenti imprese spagnole nel Nuovo Mondo. Prima che i cartigli e i ritratti di Grisellini e Menescardi ne facessero una sorta di *pantheon* odeporico esclusivamente marciano, il progetto aveva già ricevuto in corso d'opera significativi rimaneggiamenti, forse dovuti al «de-

¹ «Tabulam hanc quae sola ex Rhamusianis fato evasit theatrum Venetae negotiationis per Mediterraneum exhibentem J. Baptista Rhamusius descripsit. Vir multiplici eruditione et prima itinerum collectione solerter curata insignis»; il testo dell'iscrizione è riportato nella descrizione del ciclo compilata da U. FRANZOI, *Storia e leggenda del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Verona, Storti, 1982, p. 5.

siderio di porre in maggior evidenza i paesi ordinariamente percorsi dai veneziani, invece delle nuove regioni e dei nuovi itinerari da poco scoperti»,² perché in sostanza, come osservava a suo tempo Rodolfo Gallo, queste carte «rispondevano, oltre che al decoro del palazzo, ad un bisogno della Signoria di conoscere la esatta posizione geografica dei paesi coi quali erano ancora attivi quei traffici che costituivano la fonte maggiore di ricchezza per Venezia».³ In aiuto doveva esser venuto l'esempio, se non la collaborazione diretta, del cartografo Giovanni Domenico Zorzi da Modone, già attivo nella Capitale ottomana, che poco tempo prima aveva compilato diverse carte per altri ambienti del complesso ducale, l'ultima delle quali, portata a termine nel 1541 sotto l'occhio vigile di Ramusio, doveva essere stata una pittura «del paese di Costantinopoli in qua».⁴

Per quanto perduto, questo precedente invita a considerare meglio l'inquadratura del Mediterraneo adottata in questa grande tela, che a ben considerare rappresenta all'epoca un'acquisizione piuttosto recente della cartografia: riservando ad altra carta le coste africane, di Cipro e del Levante, e mettendo decisamente in secondo piano l'area a ovest della Sardegna e della Corsica, la mappa, ponendo al suo centro due Penisole, l'Italia e la Morea, e due mari, l'Adriatico ed Egeo, non solo ingloba la quasi totalità dell'Impero marittimo veneziano, ma viene essenzialmente a coprire l'area interessata da quell'itinerario, d'importanza fondamentale sia a livello commerciale che diplomatico, che dalla metropoli portava alla città di Costantinopoli, sede stabile di una colonia e di una rappresentanza della Repubblica veneziana fin dai tempi della iv Crociata. La rappresentazione di un'area così delimitata era fino ad allora rimasta estranea alla cartografia nautica, le cui particolari unità descrittive, pur attente a sottolineare i centri del potere marittimo, venivano individuate nel sostanziale rispetto della geografia fisica, per cui nei grandi bacini del Mediterraneo (suddiviso ulteriormente in occidentale, centrale, orientale) e del mar Nero, potevano ricavarsi aree più circoscritte (l'Adriatico o l'Egeo), ma sempre conchiuse e autonome, secondo una visione della geogra-

² R. GALLO, *Le mappe geografiche del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, «Archivio Veneto», xxxii-xxxiii, 1943, p. 88. A questo importante lavoro si rinvia per la ricostruzione documentaria e la ricognizione bibliografica della storia delle mappe di Palazzo Ducale.

³ Ivi, p. 89.

⁴ ASve: *Capi Cons.* X, decreto 12 set. 1544, Notatorio 16, c. 158 t., citato in GALLO, *Le mappe geografiche del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, cit., p. 59.

fia comprensibilmente talassocentrica. Al contrario il frazionamento regionale della geografia tolemaica disarticolava l'inquadratura in tre tavole dell'Europa di cui solo due rimanevano nell'opera contigue: la quinta, comprendente l'alto bacino danubiano e le coste adriatiche della Dalmazia (la Penisola italiana veniva profilata ma non descritta), la nona, dedicata alla Penisola balcanica e alla Dacia, e infine la decima, incentrata sulla Grecia. Nella rivoluzionaria *Geografia* pubblicata a Venezia nel 1548⁵ – prima traduzione in volgare e prima edizione tascabile dell'opera, alla sua apparizione «il più completo e aggiornato atlante del mondo che fosse disponibile»⁶ – Gastaldi, rifacendo le tavole antiche e disegnandone in corrispondenza delle nuove, rimodella queste tre unità in base a due precisi riferimenti geografici che prendono sulla superficie della carta un risalto che non trova precedenti: Venezia, che diventa il limite nord-occidentale tanto della tavola antica quanto della *Dalmacia nova tabula*, dove compare in fondo al *Sinus Venetus antea Adriaticus*; Costantinopoli, rispettivamente limite sud-orientale della *Polonia et Hungaria nova tabula*, nord-orientale della *Gretiae nova tabula* (laddove la tavola antica si fermava all'Ellesponto) e di conseguenza limite occidentale dell'Asia, come imposto dallo stesso Gastaldi a tutta la cartografia posteriore con il suo *Disegno della prima parte dell'Asia* (1559).⁷

Libero dai vincoli del rispetto filologico e tuttavia approfittando della posizione dell'Italia, che nella cartografia antica tendeva a essere quasi orizzontale, il veneziano Pietro Coppo era riuscito già nel 1524 a fondere le tre unità geografiche in un'unica carta a stampa intitolata *Italia Illyricum Epirus Graetia et mare Aegeum*,⁸ dove si incontra «per la

⁵ CLAUDIUS PTOLEMAEUS, *La Geografia di Claudio Ptolemeo Alessandrino*, Venezia, Gioan Baptista Pedrezano, 1548.

⁶ C. FAHY, *The Venetian Ptolemy of 1548*, in *The Italian Book 1465-1800*, ed. by D. Vincent Reidy, London, The British Library, 1993, p. 92.

⁷ G. GASTALDI, *Il Disegno della prima parte dell'Asia*, [Venezia], Fabio Licinio, 1559; cfr. R. W. KARROW JR., *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps*, Chicago, Speculum Orbis Press, 1993, pp. 231-232, n. 30/85. Colgo l'occasione per ringraziare la Newberry Library di Chicago per aver sostenuto nel 2009 un mio progetto di ricerca sui suoi fondi di cartografia rinascimentale italiana, fra i più ricchi al mondo, in particolare per la presenza della Collezione Novacco, comprendente questa mappa (Novacco 4F 373) e altre carte citate nel presente articolo.

⁸ La carta costituisce l'ottava tavola di un atlante conservato presso il Museo del Mare di Pirano, intitolato *De Summa totius orbis*, comprendente un riassunto del trattato *De toto orbe*, già compilato da Coppo nel 1520, quindici carte geografiche, alcune datate e firmate fra il 1524 e il 1526, nonché un testo manoscritto del *Portolano* pubblicato a stampa dallo

prima volta, rispetto ai documenti tolemaici o d'ispirazione tolemaica, un'inquadratura che successivamente avrà grande fortuna, soprattutto nell'ambiente veneziano, interessato a queste aree che costituiscono a lungo il cuore del suo impero». ⁹ Un'inquadratura che si ripresenta tale e quale, prima che a Palazzo Ducale, in un'altra carta realizzata nel 1539 da Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, che per primo la associa esplicitamente a un asse geografico fondato sulla navigazione fra le due Capitali: *Exigua hec tabella continet quicquid Venetiis Constantinopolim*. ¹⁰ Con le debite variazioni, volte soprattutto a includere il Levante e i bordi settentrionali dell'Africa, l'inquadratura si ritrova in alcuni dei raffinati atlanti di Battista Agnese risalenti alla fine degli anni trenta, e si diffonde nella seconda metà del secolo tanto nella tradizionale cartografia nautica ¹¹ quanto nella produzione cartografica a stampa di cui Venezia diventa in quel momento Capitale assoluta, con cinque o seicento lastre di rame in uso in città negli anni sessanta del Cinquecento. ¹² A questa complicata e vivace industria in cui si confondono figure di disegnatori, incisori, stampatori, editori e commercianti, sono

stesso Autore nel 1524. Dell'atlante esiste un facsimile commentato: P. COPPO, *Le «Tabulae» (1524-1526). Una preziosa raccolta cartografica custodita a Pirano. Note e documenti per la storia della cartografia*, a cura di L. Lago, C. Rossit, 2 voll., Trieste, LINT, 1984-1986: cfr. vol. I, pp. 225-231 e vol. I, pp. 45-47.

⁹ L. LAGO, *Imago Adriae. La patria del Friuli, l'Istria e la Dalmazia nella cartografia antica*, Trieste, La Mongolfiera, 1996, p. 34.

¹⁰ G. A. VAVASSORE, *Exigua hec tabella continet quicquid Venetiis Constantinopolim, aut in Syria navigantibus occurrit: insulas, scopulos, promontoria, sinus, portus, maritimas urbes, et loca*, Venezia, Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, 1539. Una ristampa del 1541 aggiunge alla precedente una legenda in volgare (*La vera descrizione del mare Adriatico, di Larcipelago e mare di Soria*). Come si vedrà, la carta verrà nuovamente ristampata da Matteo Pagan nel 1558: cfr. COPPO, *Le «Tabulae» (1524-1526)*, cit., pp. 224-225, 231.

¹¹ Il patrimonio di cartografia nautica conservato presso la Biblioteca del Museo Correr di Venezia dimostra che, se Agnese in generale rimane fedele alle tradizionali inquadrature del Mediterraneo, cui talvolta aggiunge semmai numerose nuove tavole sulle recenti scoperte geografiche (port. 1, 2, 31; cfr. anche Newberry Library, Chicago, VAULT Ayer MS map 10, 12 e 13), in due atlanti il cartografo preferisce un'inquadratura alternativa, che dalla Corsica e la Sardegna arriva fino alla coste del Levante (port. 3 e 32), un'inquadratura che tra l'altro ricompare nella seconda metà del secolo in un'anonima carta nautica, forse opera di Giorgio Sideri detto Callapoda da Candia (port. 33) e successivamente nel 1651 in un atlante del Mediterraneo compilato da Pietro Giovanni Prunes (port. 21): cfr. *Carte da navigar. Portolani e carte nautiche del Museo Correr 1318-1732*, a cura di S. Biadene, Venezia, Marsilio, 1990, pp. 54-56, 60-70, nn. 7-9-10-11.

¹² D. WOODWARD, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance. Makers, Distributors and Consumers*, London, The British Library, 1996; trad. it. *Cartografia a stampa nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, Milano, Edizioni Sylvestre Bonnard, 2002, p. 18.

riconducibili almeno tre mappe in cui questa peculiare inquadratura del Mediterraneo orientale viene esplicitamente associata all'itinerario da Venezia a Costantinopoli.

All'incirca nello stesso periodo in cui sta lavorando alla sua tripartita mappa dell'Asia, quella che registrerà il fondamentale contributo di Marco Polo alla cartografia moderna, il 29 aprile 1559 Giacomo Gastaldi riceve dal Senato il privilegio di stampa per una grande mappa in quattro fogli dell'Europa sud-orientale in cui finalmente riunire le tre aree regionali circoscritte e separate da Tolomeo. Della mappa, pensata in modo che i singoli fogli possano essere usati separatamente, ragione che ne spiega la presenza indipendente in varie raccolte, in quell'anno escono solo i quadranti settentrionali, con il titolo di *Disegno particolare de regni et regioni che son da Constantinopoli a Venetia, da Venetia a Vienna et da Vienna a Constantinopoli* (1559).¹³ Ristampati l'anno successivo a Roma da Antonio Lafreri, i due fogli vengono intagliati nuovamente a Venezia nel 1566 da Paolo Forlani, che ne estende sensibilmente l'area descritta a Settentrione, in un'edizione a sua volta ripresa un paio d'anni dopo da Donato Bertelli, e infine nel 1584 dal *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* di Ortelio, il quale ripiega però ormai su indicazioni puramente regionali.¹⁴ La mappa completa era nel frattempo uscita nel 1560 con un titolo generale di ordine decisamente più spaziale rispetto al primo, al punto da dichiarare i meridiani e i paralleli che ne individuavano i limiti e i centri d'interesse: Venezia a ovest, Costantinopoli a est, Vienna a nord e Candia a sud.¹⁵ Oltre a prolungare sulla superficie della mappa il reticolo cartografico segnato in precedenza con la sola graduazione ai margini, questa map-

¹³ Baltimora, Harvard University, Houghton Library: 51-2495 PF. Cfr. R. ALMAGIÀ, *Carte geografiche a stampa di particolare pregio o rarità dei secoli XVI e XVII esistenti nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948, vol. II, pp. 27-28; KARROW JR., *op. cit.*, p. 233, n. 30/86; R. VERE TOOLEY, *Maps in Atlases of the Sixteenth Century, Being a Comparative List of the Italian Maps Issued by Lafreri, Forlani, Duchetti, Bertelli and Others, Found in Atlases, «Imago Mundi»*, 3, 1939, p. 17, n. 25.

¹⁴ Questo il titolo riportando nel cartiglio: *Romaniae, (quae olim Thracia dicta) vicinorumque regionum, uti Bulgariae, Walachiae, Syrfiae, etc. descriptio*; cfr. ALMAGIÀ, *Carte geografiche a stampa di particolare pregio*, cit., p. 28; KARROW JR., *op. cit.*, p. 234, n. 30/86.4.

¹⁵ G. GASTALDI, *Geographia particolare d'una gran parte dell'Europa, nuovamente descritta co i confini suoi, e prima verso levante e il meridiano di Constantinopoli, e da ponente il meridiano della magnifica cita di Venetia, et da tramontana il parallelo di Vienna in Austria, e verso ostro il parallelo che passa per il mezzo dell'isola di Candia*, Venezia, Fabio Licinio, 1560; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Parigi: GE DD-1140 (34, 35, 37, 57 RES); cfr. KARROW JR., *op. cit.*, pp. 234-235, n. 30/87; VERE TOOLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 28.

pa rende esplicita la scelta, già applicata nelle tavole della *Geografia* del 1548, di eleggere i centri del potere politico a stabili riferimenti della descrizione geografica, capaci cioè di individuare precise unità corografiche, con in questo caso la significativa addizione di Candia, fra i maggiori possedimenti marittimi veneziani, a marcare il limite meridionale della carta. La precedente evocazione, nel titolo dei primi fogli, degli itinerari diplomatici che collegavano i tre grandi centri politici dell'area, era stata invece ulteriormente enfatizzata qualche anno dopo da Forlani, che aggiungeva a nord altre due Capitali e così aggiornava il cartiglio: *Disegno particolare de regni et regioni che son da Venetia a Costantinopoli et da Costantinopoli a Vienna d'Austria et da Vienna a Praga città regal di Boemia et alla città regal di Polonia et altri paesi fuori de detti viaggi, come si vede distintamente nel disegno*.¹⁶

A questa duplice individuazione del viaggio negli estremi della rappresentazione cartografica e nel testo delle iscrizioni, all'indomani della battaglia di Lepanto un'altra mappa, compilata da Forlani e pubblicata da Simon Pinargenti nel 1571, aggiunge nuove sorprendenti soluzioni. Non solo la tradizionale inquadratura del Mediterraneo orientale, che raggiungeva il Levante, viene riproposta come estensione della precedente, ma anche il titolo prende maggior respiro con l'accenno ai luoghi mediani dell'itinerario: *Descrittione particolare di tutti i luoghi, così marittimi, come fra terra che son da Venetia al mar Maggiore comprendendoci il Golfo, Corfù, la Cefalonia, il Zante, tutta la Morea, l'isole di Candia, et di Negroponte, l'Arcipelago, il golfo di Salonico, lo stretto di Costantinopoli, fino al mar Maggiore*.¹⁷ Oltre alla dedica in cui Forlani invita un nobile concittadino, che si era valorosamente distinto nella memorabile giornata navale, a un esercizio di visualizzazione cartografica dell'episodio,¹⁸ da una targa posta in mezzo al mar Ionio, allo

¹⁶ Chicago, Newberry Library: Novacco 4F 119. Cfr. KARROW JR., *op. cit.*, p. 234, n. 30/86.2; G. MARINELLI, *Saggio di cartografia della Regione veneta*, Venezia, Naratovich, 1881 («Monumenti storici della Regia Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria», s. IV, vol. I), pp. 107-108, n. 539; VERE TOOLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 29; D. WOODWARD, *The Maps and Prints of Paolo Forlani. A Descriptive Bibliography*, Chicago, The Newberry Library, 1990, pp. 36-37, n. 62.

¹⁷ Chicago, Newberry Library: Novacco 2F58. Cfr. V. e P. BELLA, *Cartografia rara. Antiche carte geografiche, topografiche e storiche della collezione Franco Novacco*, Milano, Cromorama, 1986, p. 51, n. 43; F. BORRONI SALVADORI, *Carte, piante e stampe storiche delle raccolte lafreriane della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1980, pp. 36-37, n. 101; VERE TOOLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 19, n. 38; WOODWARD, *The Maps and Prints of Paolo Forlani*, cit., p. 53, n. 95.

¹⁸ «La prego ad accettar benignamente questa mia carta: percióché guardandola Vostra

sbocco del Golfo di Venezia, si dipartono diverse linee con indicazione di altrettante rotte verso i principali porti dell'impero ottomano, lungo cui si immaginano possibili offensive cristiane («Da queste linee si trovano facilmente i luoghi principali, dove possa andar l'armata christiana a danno de' Turchi»)¹⁹ e fra le quali la più importante, come avverte il titolo, è quella che contornando la Morea e facendosi tortuosa fra le isole dell'Egeo, conduce finalmente al cuore del nemico, al vertice reale e simbolico della macchina statale ottomana, Costantinopoli.

Ancora diversa è la modalità con la quale l'itinerario viene cartografato nella più imponente e bellissima mappa del *Viaggio da Venetia a Costantinopoli per mare* e del *Viaggio da Ragusi a Costantinopoli per terra*,²⁰ carta del Mediterraneo orientale pubblicata a Venezia nel 1574 da Giovan Francesco Camocio, uno dei più grandi editori di carte geografiche del secolo, e ristampata anche questa poco più tardi da Donato Bertelli.²¹ Nella dedica a Enrico III, re di Francia e Polonia, Camocio non solo cavalca l'ancora viva eco della vittoria sulla flotta ottomana,²²

Signoria alcuna volta, et trovandoci i luoghi, dove ha essercitato il suo valore, et dove la Christianità tutta ha ricevuto per gratia di Dio, così gran vittoria, ne riceverà qualche diletto» (P. FORLANI, *Descrittione particolare di tutti i luoghi, così maritimi, come fra terra che son da Venetia al mar Maggiore*, Venezia, Simon Pinargenti, 1571).

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Correr: Cart. 32/47. Cfr. Albania. *Immagini e documenti dalla Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana e dalle collezioni del Museo Correr di Venezia*, Tirana, Istituto Italiano di Cultura, 1998, pp. 32-33, n. 9; *Venezia e Istanbul. Incontri, confronti e scambi*, a cura di E. Concina, Udine, Forum, 2006, p. 153, n. 75; *Carte geografiche cinquecentesche a stampa della Biblioteca Marciana e della Biblioteca del Museo Correr di Venezia*, a cura di R. Gallo, Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1954, p. 46, n. 47*; R. GALLO, *Giovan Francesco Camocio and his Large Map of Europe*, «Imago Mundi», 7, 1950, p. 96; MARINELLI, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119, n. 577.

²¹ Venezia, Biblioteca della Fondazione Querini Stampalia: c.IX.5. Cfr. *Catalogo del fondo cartografico queriniano*, a cura di G. Mazzariol, Venezia, Lombroso, 1959, pp. 65-66, n. 139; G. MAZZARIOL, *Notizia sul fondo cartografico della Fondazione scientifica Querini Stampalia di Venezia*, in *Atti del XVI Congresso geografico italiano: Padova-Venezia, 20-25 aprile 1954*, Faenza, Lega, 1955, p. 745; A. STOURAITI, *La Grecia nelle raccolte della Fondazione Querini Stampalia*, Venezia, Fondazione Scientifica Querini Stampalia, 2000, pp. 46-48, n. 7.

²² Alla quale Camocio aveva reagito prontamente pubblicando nello stesso 1571 un opuscolo di larga diffusione contenente in quattro carte la lista delle galere e i nomi dei capitani militari che vi avevano partecipato: G. F. CAMOCIO, *L'ordine delle galere et le insegne loro, con li fanò, nomi, et cognomi delli magnifici, et generosi patroni di esse, che si ritrovono nella armata della santissima Lega, al tempo della vittoriosa, et miracolosa impresa ottenuta, et fata con lo aiuto divino, contra la orgogliosa, et superba armata turchesca*, Venezia, Giovan Francesco Camocio, 1571.

ma approfitta della posizione di comando del dedicatario per svolgere il tema più generale del valore politico e strategico della geografia:

Fra quante scientie che sono state ritrovate, non è alcuna che più a Re si appartenga che la Geografia: perciò che essendo i Re patroni della terra e del mare, è conveniente che habbino notizia et possano ad una occhiata vedere quale et quanto paese possedano, et quale e quanto e quello de vicini; la onde essendomi venuto fatto una diligente descrizione de tutti que' paesi, ove a questi anni si sono sentite d'armi in mare, tra questa comune allegrezza, che con tanti segni ha mostrato a Vostra Maestà questa città, ho voluto anch'io con quel segno che ho potuto maggiore, presentandole la detta descrizione et al suo sacratissimo nome dedicandola, dimostrargli l'ardente mia devotione verso di lei, alla cui buona gratia mi raccomando.²³

Se la mappa, difficilmente attribuibile allo stesso Camocio,²⁴ ripropone l'inquadratura adottata poco tempo prima da Forlani, permettendo di abbracciare in un unico colpo d'occhio gli spazi degli Imperi marittimi veneziano e turco, una colonna posta alla destra della carta consente di visualizzare l'itinerario nella metodica scansione delle tappe, con la precisa individuazione delle località e delle distanze in miglia, dei due principali itinerari da Venezia a Costantinopoli, quello marittimo attraverso i mari Adriatico, Ionio ed Egeo, e quello terrestre che da Ragusa tagliava la Penisola balcanica fino a raggiungere la Capitale ottomana.

Quest'ultima prassi di incolonnare nomi e distanze, di sezionare quantitativamente il percorso effettuato o da effettuare a prescindere da ogni dimensione temporale, la fondamentale durata che prima del Rinascimento dava a Marco Polo la misura del suo peregrinare, rafforza dunque la visualizzazione spaziale d'insieme offerta dalla cartografia moderna. La stessa strategia descrittiva, all'incrocio fra un'antica tradizione manoscritta legata agli ambienti della navigazione²⁵ e

²³ *Viaggio da Venetia a Costantinopoli per mare. Viaggio da Ragusi a Costantinopoli per terra*, Venezia, Giovanni Francesco Camocio, 1574.

²⁴ L'opinione di Rodolfo Gallo, secondo cui Camocio «non ha mai inciso alcuna mappa» (GALLO, *Gioan Francesco Camocio*, cit., p. 97), non è unanime, ma molto verosimile: «alcuni studiosi ritengono che le carte prive di firma potessero essere state realizzate da Camocio stesso ma non ci sono conferme documentarie di un suo coinvolgimento in prima persona nella realizzazione di questa incisione, né di alcun'altra da lui pubblicata, sciolta o in volume» (Venezia e Istanbul. *Incontri, confronti e scambi*, cit., p. 153).

²⁵ «I portolani si sono tramandati all'interno di una tradizione minore a partire dall'esempio di alcuni (pochi) testi effettivamente nati dall'esperienza nautica, testi replicati successivamente – in maniera del tutto simile a quanto accade per la cartografia nautica – non tanto per servire alla navigazione bensì per autenticare l'appartenenza al cetto marinairesco

l'innovazione prodotta dalla stampa a caratteri mobili, aveva nel frattempo avuto l'effetto di inserire il viaggio di Costantinopoli al cuore di un genere, formalmente autonomo, che nel Cinquecento registra a Venezia un'enorme fortuna editoriale: il portolano a stampa. Questa operazione è chiaramente visibile nel destino cinquecentesco del primo esemplare veneziano risalente al 1490, tuttora confuso, per una generica attribuzione sansoviniana ad Alvise da Mosto,²⁶ con il più celebre *Portolano del mare*, un assemblaggio non senza ridondanze geografiche di otto portolani minori, pubblicato la prima volta nel 1544 e ristampato con successo assieme al *Consolato del mare*, una raccolta di statuti e ordinamenti legislativi, fino agli inizi dell'Ottocento,²⁷ ma al confronto totalmente disarticolato (solo Sergio Zorzon sembra notare che «le differenze tra i due portolani sono enormi»).²⁸ Ben altra

e l'eventuale perizia nautica dei loro possessori [...]. Trattati nautici e portolani paiono infatti possedere più le caratteristiche di oggetti simbolici certificanti *status* e appartenenza, che non quelle di strumenti effettivi di lavoro, mentre la loro stessa invarianza nel corso del tempo li designa in certo senso quali frutti di un genere para-letterario destinato al *milieu* marinairesco» (P. FALCHETTA, *Il portolano di Michele da Rodi*, in http://geoweb.venezia.sbn.it/cms/images/stories/Testi_HSL/MoR.pdf, ultima consultazione feb. 2011; la versione inglese aggiornata di questo testo è stata pubblicata in *The Book of Michael of Rhodes. A Fifteenth-Century Maritime Manuscript*, ed. by P. O. Long, D. McGee, A. Stahl, Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press, 2009, vol. 3, pp. 193-210).

²⁶ «Andrea da Mosto P. diligentissimo investigator delle cose di mare: perciocché d'età di 22 anni passò fino al porto della Scussa nella Ethiopia inferiore, al cui esempio mosso il Colombo, ritrovò il mondo nuovo. Scrisse un libro intitolato Portolano: ma senza il suo nome»: F. SANSOVINO, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare, descritta in XIII Libri da messer Francesco Sansovino*, Venezia, Giacomo Sansovino, 1581, cc. 239v [i.e., 249v]-250r.

²⁷ *Nuovo portolano non più stampato molto particolare de'l Levante e de'l Ponente*, Venezia, Paulo Gerardo, 1544. Di quest'opera, sotto il titolo de *Il Portolano del Mare, nel qual si dichiara minutamente del sito di tutti i porti, quali sono da Venetia in Levante, et in Ponente* si contano quattro ristampe nel Cinquecento (1576, 1584, 1594, 1599), sei nel Seicento (1612, 1618, 1637, 1656, 1658, 1668), quattro nel Settecento (1713, 1720, 1737, 1756) e due nell'Ottocento (1802, 1806), oltre a una recente ristampa anastatica (*Il Consolato e il Portolano del Mare*, Milano, Egea, 2007) e a una trascrizione parziale del *Portolano di Levante* (S. ZORZON, *Di alcuni portolani e carte nautiche dei sec. XIII-XIV, con particolare riguardo all'anonimo Portolano stampato a Venezia da Paulo Gerardo*, in *250 anni di studi nautici a Trieste 1754-2004. Contributi per il duecentocinquantesimo*, Trieste, Italo Svevo, 2005, pp. 263-302).

²⁸ Ivi, p. 258. Fra le ricognizioni bibliografiche sulle vicende editoriali dei portolani questa è l'unica ad accorgersi della completa estraneità fra le due tradizioni: se Andrea da Mosto a suo tempo rilevava delle differenze, ma le attribuiva a fenomeni di trasmissione e rimaneggiamento («non sembra più la stessa opera»: A. DA MOSTO, *Il Portolano attribuito ad Alvise da Ca' Da Mosto*, Roma, Società Geografica Italiana, 1893, p. 7), nell'introduzione alla rist. anast. de *Il Consolato e il Portolano del Mare*, cit. i due portolani vengono considerati come se fossero identici (C. DI DEO, *Il consolato del mare. Storia di un successo editoriale*, ivi, pp. XI-XXVIII).

coerenza strutturale, fortemente bipartita, ha invece questo incunabolo, «opera neccessaria a tutti li naviganti chi vano in diverse parte del mondo per la qual tutti se amaistrano a cognoscere starie, fundi, colfi, vale, porti, corsi d'acque e maree»,²⁹ che solo in chiusura aggiunge qualche altro elemento sulla propria origine: «finito lo libro chiamato portolano composto per uno zentilomo veniciano, lo qual a veduto tute queste parte anti scrite, le quali sono utilissime per tuti i navichanti che voleno securamente navichar cum lor navilii in diverse parte del mondo». ³⁰ La descrizione, comprendente l'indicazione delle maree e delle correnti, delle distanze fra scali e porti, delle batimetrie e della natura del fondale, prosegue secondo la prassi tradizionale procedendo da Occidente verso Oriente, prima lungo le rotte atlantiche da Cadice fino all'Inghilterra e alla Fiandra,³¹ poi dallo stretto di Gibilterra fino a risalire l'Adriatico occidentale e arrivare a Venezia.³² Qui, a metà dell'opera, il portolano può dare inizio al suo secondo libro, quello di Levante, dedicato al viaggio di Costantinopoli e alle sue possibili estensioni egiziane e siriane: «E qui scriveremo lo secondo libro nominado portolano comenzando da Venexia andando verso lo Levante fina in Constantinopoli e in Alexandria e tuta la Soria cerchando le ixole del mar, starie, porti, vale e cholphi d'intorno». ³³ Le frequenti apostrofi al navigante e alle sue possibili intenzioni («se tu voi entrar in Varvarat lassa tute le roche a banda senestra e vardate da l'altra punta de banda destra che vien fuora»)³⁴ nella loro visualizzazione astratta della rotta non fanno che rafforzare l'effetto di continuità geografica prodotto dalla successione degli scali e delle distanze in miglia, di modo che

²⁹ *Portolano*, Venezia, Bernardino Rizzo, 1490, c. [2r].

³⁰ Ivi, c. [80r].

³¹ «Cominciando de la citta de Cader in Spagna dretamente fina nel porto de le Schiuse passando per i canali fra la ixola de Ingelterra e la terra ferma scorendo le barche de Fian-dra fina a la ixola de Irlanda mostrando tuti i corsi e traversi dal ponente fino al levante dove exercitano naveganti chi vano per mar e per ogni parte del mondo, cum i loro navili navegando» (ivi, c. [2r]).

³² «Qui scriveremo tutte le starie del mondo per raxon del navigar chomo le chore zoe le rive del mar et ixole chai cholphi, pielegghi, porti, vale, starie comenzando del ponente li loghi e porti del mar drezando fuori del stretto erchuleo che vulgarmente è chiamato stretto de Zibeltar dove per Erchules foreno poste le cholone per reguardo de naviganti chi vano per lo mondo cum lor nave navilij navigando azo che le nave che sono nel mar non se mettano a passar cum periculo. Anchora scriveremo del mar Mediterano e per tutte le rive dintorno et ixole e pielegghi e colfi vale che sono atorno fina che torneremo al monte de Seuta per chiarar el monte de Zibeltar fina el brazo de Saphi in Barbaria» (ivi, c. [6r]).

³³ Ivi, c. [46r].

³⁴ Ivi, c. [11v].

Viene a configurarsi in questo modo il portolano come un 'atlante', cioè come una successione di 'carte' basate su altrettanti tratti di costa, ciascuna sotto forma di un reticolo di rotte rettilinee che garantiscono la copertura del tratto di mare adiacente alla costa considerata e che si saldano alle 'carte' vicine basate sui tratti di costa precedente e successivo.³⁵

Questo portolano, certamente più antico dell'edizione a stampa, offre dunque una rappresentazione coerente e conchiusa delle coste europee dell'Atlantico e del bacino mediterraneo, esplorati in tutti i loro profili costieri. La partizione, che già dava maggiore compattezza e autonomia al portolano di Levante rispetto a quello di Ponente, disarticolato fra Oceano e Mediterraneo, prende ancora più risalto in un manoscritto, coevo all'incunabolo, conservato presso la Biblioteca del Museo Correr di Venezia,³⁶ che oltre ad aggiungervi tutta una serie di appunti disparati pensati come una sorta di manuale di scienza nautica, inverte l'ordine dei libri, anticipando il successivo abbandono veneziano delle rotte atlantiche ma soprattutto fissando Venezia come punto di partenza obbligato dei portolani direzionati innanzitutto verso Costantinopoli e il Levante e solo successivamente verso altre aree geografiche.³⁷ La tendenza trova un'ulteriore conferma nella pubblicazione indipendente del secondo libro dell'incunabolo realizzata nel 1558 dal noto editore e incisore Matteo Pagan,³⁸ così intitolata: *Opera nova. Qual narra tutte le isole, terre, città, castelli, porti, starie, valli, colfi, scagni, fondi, di Levante cominciando a Venetia andando per la Schiavonia sino a Corfù, la Grecia, la Morea, Arcipelago, Costantinopoli, Candia,*

³⁵ *Navigare e descrivere. Isolari e portolani del Museo Correr di Venezia. XV-XVIII secolo*, a cura di C. Tonini, P. Lucchi, Venezia, Marsilio, 2001, p. 93, n. 16.

³⁶ Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Correr: port. 12. Cfr. *Navigare e descrivere*, cit., pp. 64-65.

³⁷ Va tuttavia precisato che il testo presente nel manoscritto, comunque riconducibile, malgrado numerosissime varianti, a quello dell'incunabolo, registra, a causa dell'inversione dei libri, anche un'altra notevole differenza: laddove il secondo prosegue ininterrottamente da Venezia a Costantinopoli, questo all'uscita del golfo decide di ritornare a Venezia per descrivere da nord a sud le coste adriatiche occidentali, cosa che con maggior coerenza l'incunabolo aveva fatto in senso opposto, da sud a nord, in chiusura al Portolano di Ponente.

³⁸ Pagan, oltre ad aver lasciato l'anno successivo una rappresentazione della *Processione a S. Marco*, che per la presenza nel pubblico di alcuni Turchi è diventata, come il mappamondo cordiforme di Hajji Ahmed, una classica illustrazione dei rapporti cinquecenteschi fra Venezia e il mondo ottomano, è anche l'editore del breve trattato di geografia composto da G. GASTALDI, *La universale descrizione del mondo, descritta da Giacomo de' Castaldi piemontese*, Venezia, Matteo Pagan, 1561.

Rodi, Cipro, con tutto il Levante, quante miglia, e da una isola a l'altra, e da una terra a l'altra, cosa molto utile.³⁹ Nel testo, che non registra particolari modifiche rispetto a quello dell'*editio princeps*, la descrizione essenziale delle località supera raramente l'indicazione delle possibilità di attracco («Ponta di Salbuda non è porto, ma si è bon fondi [...] Umago si è porto per legni piccoli, e si ha fondi da palmi 6 d'acqua»)⁴⁰ e l'episodica segnalazione di particolari attrattive della città («Si è una isola che ha nome Muran, e là se fa ogni lavorero de vedro [...] Pola è citade e ha bon porto e de uno colfo a una chiesa in la punta»),⁴¹ di conseguenza vi assumono un particolare rilievo sia Venezia, per la posizione incipitale («Venetia si è gran cittade in mar»)⁴² sia Costantinopoli, descritta nelle sue dimensioni spaziali secondo un approccio nel frattempo diventato topico, comune alla maggior parte dei commentari umanistici e dei racconti dei viaggiatori.⁴³ Pagan nello stesso 1558 sembra infine ribadire la propria intenzione pubblicando nuovamente la carta nautica del 1541 di Vavassore, che a sua volta riproponeva l'insolita inquadratura da Venezia a Costantinopoli introdotta per la prima volta da Pietro Coppo.⁴⁴

Non a caso la stessa coerenza geografica e spaziale si ritrova nel *Portolano*⁴⁵ pubblicato in formato letteralmente tascabile, e quindi pensato per un impiego quotidiano e pragmatico, da Coppo nel 1528, malgrado le apparenze il prodotto di un fine umanista.⁴⁶ L'opuscolo si annuncia in maniera molto simile al portolano del 1490, rispetto al

³⁹ *Opera nova. Qual narra tutte le isole, terre, città, castelli, Venezia*, Matteo Pagan, 1558, c. [1r].

⁴¹ *Ivi*, cc. [1v-3r].

⁴⁰ *Ivi*, c. [2r].

⁴² *Ivi*, c. [1v].

⁴³ «Constantinopoli si è gran cittade, è da tre faze. La pria xe mia 5 a levante e a ponente e a nome cavo de la Mangana. La seconda zaxe a maestro e siroco m 6 la qual è dita Blacherna. La terza zaxe entro grego e tramontana mia 6 la dove è lo porto e ha nome cavo de Pera over porto Oria e da Constantinopoli a la boccha dave quarta de garbin ver lo ponente mia 170» (*ivi*, c. [15r]).

⁴⁴ M. PAGAN, *Questa è la perfetta et vera descrittione et il vero disegno et sito del mare Adriatico, di l'Arcipelago, del mare di Soria et del mare Egeo, con li nomi volgari che hoggidi se usano*, Venezia, Matteo Pagan, 1558.

⁴⁵ P. COPPO, *Portolano*, Venezia, Agostino Bindoni, 1528. Una ristampa anastatica è stata curata da L. Lago (a cura di), *Il portolano (1528)*, Trieste, LINT, 1985.

⁴⁶ Allievo di Sabellico e compilatore di un trattato corografico *Del sito de Listria*, uscito a stampa a Venezia nel 1540, Coppo è soprattutto l'autore di un'ambiziosa e accurata descrizione del mondo conosciuto, provvista di numerose tavole cartografiche, compilata già nel 1520, il *De toto orbe*, il cui manoscritto più completo è tuttora conservato presso la Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna.

quale anche qui la sezione di Levante è anticipata rispetto a quella di Ponente:

Portolano delli lochi maritimi et isole del mar Mediterraneo et fora del stretto de Zibelterra da Ponente et tramontana con la distantia de loco a loco per li venti che i stanno, comenzando da Venetia fin a Constantinopoli, et da Costantinopoli fin in Alexandria con l'Arcipelago. Dapoi comenzando da l'isola de Irlanda fin a Zenova co le isole fin in Sicilia. Et da Zenova poi fin a Venetia con il circuito longeza et largeza de i mari et isole et del tutto el mondo, secondo l'auctorità de excellentissimi scriptori con le sue figuration, nel qual pochi lochi sono lassati che non sian denotati.⁴⁷

Il testo portolanico è ridotto alla struttura minima dell'itinerario, e perciò stesso amplificato dalla capacità di «razionalizzazione, codificazione e catalogazione dei dati»⁴⁸ della pagina stampata, che permette l'adozione sicura di una serie di abbreviazioni debitamente segnalate in apertura. Coerentemente con l'inquadratura geografica adottata nel 1524, che per la prima volta copriva in un'unica mappa le diverse aree interessate dal viaggio di Costantinopoli, la prima parte dell'opuscolo ripercorre precisamente l'itinerario che dalla città di S. Marco conduce alla Capitale ottomana. L'asciutta indicazione delle distanze è però singolarmente – è una novità – interrotta da brevi e regolari descrizioni di unità geografiche regionali o di rilevanti conformazioni del paesaggio,⁴⁹ in corrispondenza di alcune delle quali compaiono delle mappe corografiche. Fra le sette carte che corredano l'opuscolo, ben quattro (Istria, Morea, Propontide, Arcipelago) illustrano le diverse fasi del viaggio a Costantinopoli, mentre in apertura una carta generale dell'Europa, dell'Africa settentrionale e del Vicino Oriente for-

⁴⁷ COPPO, *Portolano*, cit., c. [2r].

⁴⁸ E. L. EISENSTEIN, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983; trad. it. *Le rivoluzioni del libro. L'invenzione della stampa e la nascita dell'età moderna*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1995, p. 70.

⁴⁹ Questi gli inizi di alcuni passaggi: «La Istria scorre in mar come isola, la sua longeza da Duin fina a Pola sono per terra da m. 60 la largeza»; «Larsa è fin de Listria et Italia a torno de Listria le ritrovano tra scoi et isole da 80 et più gran parte de esse de circuito de 1 et 2 et 3 m.»; «Dal fiume Ludrin che fa el colfo de Ludrin fin a Larsa scorre la Schiavonia, la qual dicono gli autori scorer in longeza per riviera m. 800 et esser frequentata da mille et più isole»; «El mar Adrian scorre de longeza da Venetia fina al Saseno m. 600 de largeza mia 200 de circuito»; «La Morea è quasi isola, un collo de terra largo m. 6 che se chiama Eximili fa che la non è isola et fa do colfi zoe de Coranto che è de circuito de mia 177 et largo m. 50 nel qual è l'isola de Legena distante dal porto de Setine m. 12 la Morea volze da m. 563 et per i colfi quasi el dopio», e così via (COPPO, *Portolano*, cit., cc. [4r-10v]).

nisce un più ampio quadro di riferimento. Tuttavia queste carte, cui si aggiungono altre due, una delle isole britanniche e una del mondo, sono infinitamente distanti tanto da quelle della cartografia nautica quanto da quelle della geografia tolemaica: prive di scala, puntinate schematicamente di isole, frammentano indifferentemente lo spazio mondiale o regionale in particelle insulari, secondo un procedimento di idealizzazione cartografica riconducibile a un sottogenere di letteratura geografica nato un secolo prima nell'ambito dell'umanesimo fiorentino e che proprio in quello stesso 1528 trova a Venezia con l'opera di Benedetto Bordone un'inaudita applicazione sistematica, l'isolario.⁵⁰

Il modello archetipico, il *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, secondo Roberto Almagià «la prima raccolta di carte moderne, seppure speciali»,⁵¹ era stato compilato a inizio Quattrocento da Cristoforo Buondelmonti, umanista fiorentino che aveva trascorso ben sedici anni fra le isole dell'Egeo e la città di Costantinopoli, dove era stato inviato, probabilmente da Niccolò Niccoli, alla ricerca di rari codici greci. L'opera, redatta in latino e che per l'ampia circolazione presenta una tradizione molto ricca e una situazione testuale complicatissima,⁵² appare

⁵⁰ Per un quadro teorico e bibliografico generale sugli isolari si vedano soprattutto: M. DONATTINI, *Spazio e modernità. Libri, carte, isolari nell'età delle scoperte*, Bologna, CLUEB, 2000; M. GUGLIELMINETTI, *Per un sottogenere della letteratura di viaggio: gl'isolari fra Quattro e Cinquecento*, in *La letteratura di viaggio dal Medioevo al Rinascimento. Generi e problemi*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 1989, pp. 107-117; T. LANCIONI, *Viaggio tra gli isolari*, Milano, Ravello, 1992; F. LESTRINGANT, *Fortunes de la singularité à la Renaissance: le genre de l'«Isolario»*, «Studi Francesi», xxvii, 1984, pp. 415-36; IDEM, *Le livre des îles: atlas et récits insulaires de la Genèse à Jules Verne*, Genève, Droz, 2002; G. TOLIAS, *Isolarii, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century*, in *History of Cartography, Volume Three*, part 1, *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. by D. Woodward, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2007, pp. 263-284.

⁵¹ R. ALMAGIÀ, *Planisferi e carte nautiche e affini dal secolo XIV al XVII esistenti nella Biblioteca Vaticana*, in *Monumenta Cartographica Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944 vol. 1, p. 117.

⁵² Il codice più antico risale agli anni venti del Quattrocento, ma la maggior parte degli esemplari è stata prodotta nel periodo 1460-1490. Data la complessità della tradizione non esiste tuttora un'edizione critica del testo, per cui la lezione moderna più attendibile rimane quella curata nel 1824 da Luigi de Sinner (C. BUONDELMONTI, *Librum insularum Archipelagi*, Lipsia-Berlino, G. Reimer 1824). L'esemplare cinquecentesco che ho consultato presso la Biblioteca del Museo Correr di Venezia (ms. Donà dalle Rose 15) reca il titolo di *Insulae Archipelagi cum pictura* e presenta 79 disegni (planimetrie di isole e tratti costieri, cui si aggiunge la pianta di Costantinopoli). La biblioteca conserva inoltre un codice del 1755 contenente unicamente il testo dell'isolario, intitolato *Descriptio Geographica insularum maris Aegei Christoph. Buondelmontii praesb. Florentini* (ms. Correr 1335). Cfr. *Navigare e descrivere*, cit., pp. 60-61, nn. 1-2.

pervasa da una visione archeologica della geografia che tuttavia non seppellisce le osservazioni dirette del viaggiatore sotto un cumulo di pedanti riferimenti alla classicità, ma riesce anzi ad esprimere «un potente divario fra il passato e l'oggi: si configura un mondo insidiato, decaduto, pericolante, abbandonato, rinselvaticito»,⁵³ Malgrado la debole inclinazione di Buondelmonti per il mare, «visto solo come contorno, via, difficoltà»,⁵⁴ la disposizione delle descrizioni e dei disegni delle isole nel *Liber* non è casuale, evoca al contrario un riconoscibile itinerario marittimo: se infatti «la trattazione non segue spostamenti o peregrinazioni reali» tuttavia «l'ordine in cui figurano le isole corrisponde a un ipotetico percorso, con andamento sinuoso, che inizia dalle Ionie, si muove fra Sporadi e Cicladi, giunge ai Dardanelli e a Costantinopoli, si chiude a Egina».⁵⁵ Per quanto non sia un'isola, la Capitale bizantina vi occupa una posizione di assoluto rilievo, sia per l'unica veduta della città, che ne fissa a lungo nell'immaginario europeo le emergenze monumentali – almeno fino a quando non verrà sostituita dalla veduta cinquecentesca di Vavassore – sia per la descrizione, molto ampia a dispetto di quanto dichiarato, delle sue attrattive e delle sue dimensioni, che sembra dare il tono a tutte le successive trattazioni umanistiche.

Se l'organizzazione visuale per «quadri di particolari microcosmi, dotati di spiccata capacità d'attrazione»⁵⁶ conquista subito l'editoria veneziana, scompare invece Costantinopoli, che non è isola, dal primo isolario a stampa, dedicato esclusivamente all'Arcipelago, di Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti (1485),⁵⁷ così detto appunto per la peculiare scelta di affiancare una composizione poetica in versi alla descrizione di ognuna delle isole visitate nel corso di ben diciotto viaggi nel Mediterraneo orientale.⁵⁸ Rispetto a Buondelmonti Bartolomeo addirit-

⁵³ L. CASSI, A. DEI, *Le esplorazioni vicine: geografia e letteratura negli isolari*, «Rivista Geografica Italiana», C, 1993, p. 216.

⁵⁴ Ivi, p. 214.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁶ Ivi, p. 218.

⁵⁷ BARTOLOMEO DALLI SONETTI, *Isolario*, Venezia, Guglielmo de Piancerreto, 1485 ca.; l'opera viene ristampata a Venezia, senza il nome dell'editore, nel 1532 con la sola aggiunta delle nuove scoperte geografiche sul mappamondo. Una ristampa anastatica è stata curata da F. R. Goff, *Isolario. Venice 1485*, Amsterdam, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1972.

⁵⁸ Il proemio, denso di citazioni dantesche, è però in terzine: «Al suon de le mie rime infime e basse / venga chiun per virtute si governa / e cui lo suo desio volentier passe / Che lo debil stil mio sarà lucerna / de quegli i qual sta machina mondana / desian che el studio suo chiaro discerna / La qual molto è admirabile e soprana e vien da greci Cosmos appellata / che vol dir Mondo che el latino el spiana / Del chui con veritate qui se trata

tura riduce l'estensione geografica della trattazione, che segue, con un'unica deroga finale (Cipro), un periplo circolare dell'Egeo (*periplus nison*, giro delle isole), partendo da Cerigo e snodandosi lungo una rotta che da sud va verso nord, toccando una cinquantina di isole e scogli, oscillando a seconda dei casi verso est o verso ovest, ritornando infine al punto di partenza, le coste peloponnesiache dell'Argolide e della Laconia. La continuità con il *Liber* si manifesta dunque soprattutto nella

rappresentazione di un 'territorio' parziale ma altamente significativo, limitato ma carico di stratificazioni e implicanze culturali e politiche più o meno dichiarate, più o meno profonde: l'Egeo con le sue isole, o meglio l'Arzipelago', come lo si chiamava comunemente ai tempi di Bartolomeo da li Sonetti. Sulle onde di questo archetipo dei braudeliani 'mari stretti' si rincorrono e sovrappongono passato e presente, grecità, Bisanzio e Leone di San Marco; qui continua a dispiegarsi la vicenda perenne, ma sempre rinnovantesi, della faticosa costruzione di rapporti tra l'Occidente e l'Oriente.⁵⁹

Se lo sfondo geografico e simbolico rimane comune, la tradizione marinara segna invece tutta la distanza che separa l'isolario veneziano da quello fiorentino, rimodellando non solo i contenuti della descrizione, che si fa decisamente più nautica con la segnalazione di scogli, secche e distanze in miglia, ma l'impianto testuale stesso dell'opera:

rispetto al *Liber*, ove ogni isola è considerata in sé, senza riguardo per il contesto, l'isolario di Bartolomeo sottolinea i nessi, le relazioni che collegano un'isola all'altra, le rotte commerciali lungo le quali esse si incontrano: se i sonetti frantumano l'unità geografica dell'Arzipelago', essi tuttavia non ignorano, e anzi rimandano esplicitamente al quadro d'unione in cui l'insieme ritrova un senso complessivo.⁶⁰

Molto più complessa, perché estesa a tutte le isole del mondo, è invece l'articolazione dell'*Isolario* di Bordone,⁶¹ che non a caso appare ne-

/ per sta opereta de una parte bella / che il pelago de Egeo vien nominata / Ne la qual si saprà per mia loquella / quante insule vi son pichole e grande / et scogli et seche e citate e castella / Li lochi i quali le dolze aque spande / chome già furno e come hora si trova / e qual venti contrastan le loro bande / Qual mure sono in piede e qual giù cova / tute precise a voi sia manifesto / né vo' che altri cha effeto sia mia prova / Chel non c'è loco che io non agia pesto / e varghegiato de quantochel gira» (ivi, p. [1]).

⁵⁹ M. DONATTINI, *Bartolomeo da li Sonetti, il suo Isolario e un viaggio di Giovanni Bembo (1525-1530)*, «Geographia Antiqua», III-IV, 1994-1995, p. 218.

⁶⁰ Ivi, p. 222.

⁶¹ B. BORDONE, *Libro di Benedetto Bordone nel qual si ragiona di tutte l'isole del mondo con li lor nomi antichi & moderni, historie, favole, et modi del loro vivere, et in qual parte del mare*

gli stessi anni in cui le ventitré carte colorate di quattro codici manoscritti rivelano l'originaria volontà di Antonio Pigafetta di descrivere la circumnavigazione magellanica secondo il modello dell'isolario.⁶² L'opera del miniatore e incisore padovano, in cui si è ormai propensi a riconoscere l'Autore delle xilografie, già attribuite a Mantegna, del più famoso libro illustrato del Rinascimento, l'*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* di Francesco Colonna (Venezia, Aldo Manuzio, 1499), si divide in tre libri, dedicati rispettivamente alle isole atlantiche, incluso il Nuovo Mondo, alle isole mediterranee, alle isole dei mari orientali. Il principio generale di distribuzione della materia è abbastanza chiaro: come indica la partizione dei libri, si procede da occidente verso oriente (come già nei portolani), e, laddove necessario, da nord verso sud (come prescritto dai cosmografi dell'antichità). Nel primo libro la trattazione comincia così con l'Islanda e scende fino alla Galizia, riparte dalla Groenlandia per raggiungere le isole dei Caraibi, riprende dalle Azzorre e si chiude a Cadice, non diversamente da quanto avviene nel terzo libro, che inizia col Giappone e termina con le isole di Madagascar e Taprobana (Ceylon). La direzione ovest-est presiede anche alla trattazione del secondo libro, che principia con le Baleari e si chiude con Cipro, ma presenta un'evidente cesura a Venezia, di modo che l'area compresa fra la città di S. Marco e la Capitale ottomana finisce per occupare il corpo centrale del libro, quello più consistente di tutta l'opera (69 carte), attorno a cui si dispongono in maniera concentrica, dall'esterno verso l'interno, le isole dell'Atlantico (22 carte) e dei mari orientali (8), quelle del Mediterraneo occidentale (7) e le due appendici orientali della Crimea e di Cipro. Il nucleo egeo dell'isolario, così ripiegato su se stesso, sembrerebbe dunque ripetere lo schema di Bartolomeo, se solo Bordone non lo inserisse al centro di un movimento

stanno, et in qual parallelo et clima giacciono, Venezia, Nicolò d'Aristotile detto Zoppino, 1528 (rist. anast. IDEM, *Libro ... de tutte l'isole del mondo*. Venice 1528, Amsterdam, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966). Le tre successive riedizioni dell'opera (1534, 1540 ca., 1547) recano invece tutte il titolo di *Isolario di Benedetto Bordone*.

⁶² La preziosa osservazione, che è generalmente sfuggita all'abbondante bibliografia sugli isolari, si trova nell'introduzione di Theodore J. Cachey Jr. alla traduzione inglese della *Relazione del primo viaggio attorno al mondo* (A. PIGAFETTA, *The First Voyage around the World. 1519-1522. An Account of Magellan's Expedition*, Toronto-Buffalo-London, University of Toronto Press, 2007, pp. xxix-xxxi) ed è stata recentemente sviluppata in un apposito articolo: TH. J. CACHEY JR., *From the Mediterranean to the World: A Note on the Italian "Book of Islands"* (isolario), «California Italian Studies Journal», 1, 1, 2010, in <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4wv7j9jc>, ultima consultazione feb. 2011.

più ampio, da Venezia a Costantinopoli, delineato attraverso apparati illustrativi sorprendentemente simili a quelli del *Portolano* pubblicato nello stesso anno da Coppo, al punto che sembra possibile ipotizzare un legame non generico fra due opere così distanti per ambizioni e formato. Bordone inserisce infatti sia in apertura sia nel corpo del testo alcune rare mappe, tanto generali quanto corografiche, al fine di contestualizzare i suoi frammenti di spazio, fornendo loro precisi quadri d'insieme: una carta dell'Europa, un planisfero, una carta della Morea, ma soprattutto una carta della Grecia e dell'arcipelago, in cui l'unica città segnata, e che funge da limite settentrionale, come più tardi nell'aggiornamento gastaldino della tavola tolemaica, è Costantinopoli. Se vi si aggiungono la carta delle isole britanniche (presentata da Bordone sia in versione tolemaica che in quella aggiornata) e in particolar modo quella della Propontide con Costantinopoli al centro, queste mappe sono, con comprensibili variazioni di inquadrature e con l'unica eccezione dell'Istria, esattamente quelle scelte da Coppo per permettere al suo lettore di localizzare in maniera rapida e sommaria l'itinerario descritto nel suo portolano. Questa somiglianza getta allora una nuova luce sull'opera, che sembra seguire un viaggio reale e non astratto solo a partire da Venezia, messa ben in evidenza con una veduta cittadina a doppia pagina, seguita dai tre prospetti minori di Murano, Mazzorbo e Chioggia (l'unica altra pianta urbana è quella di Città del Messico, «città come Venetia, posta in acqua»)⁶³ e quindi dal rosario delle isole dalmate e ionie che immette finalmente nel vortice dell'Arcipelago. Malgrado Costantinopoli non sia un'isola da includere nella trattazione, sia il prospetto urbano inserito vicino ai bordi della carta dell'Egeo sia la carta della Propontide, che già in Coppo segnalava al viaggiatore un punto d'arrivo fondamentale, suggeriscono l'integrazione del periplo nell'asse marittimo, quello del viaggio di Costantinopoli, che più di ogni altro, salvo forse la circumnavigazione del mondo, può svincolarsi dalla terraferma e vantare allo stesso tempo una serie così abbondante e regolare di scali e approdi (isole, appunto). In maniera simile a Bordone, a fine Cinquecento Antonio Millo, capitano di vascello e ammiraglio di Zante e Candia, in uno dei suoi numerosi isolari manoscritti – di carattere evidentemente molto più nautico, accompagnato in questo caso da

⁶³ BORDONE, *Libro ... de tutte l'isole del mondo*, cit., c. viii.

un vero e proprio portolano – non include Costantinopoli fra le isole trattate ma fa capire nel titolo come la sua trattazione segua fondamentalmente quella stessa direttrice.⁶⁴

L'elemento del mare, così poco presente nel *Liber insularum*, caratterizza dunque prepotentemente il montaggio degli isolari veneziani che restituiscono al lettore una visione talassocentrica della geografia, comprensibile in uno Stato la cui base territoriale è essa stessa un'isola e il cui dominio imperiale è, almeno in origine, marittimo. Una visione che in quegli anni caratterizza anche le *Navigazioni e viaggi* e quella teoria dei 'mari interni' che Ramusio, dando voce al proprio *horror vacui*, formula in aperta polemica con l'anacronistica opinione di Strabone secondo cui un'immensa e solitaria distesa oceanica circonderebbe le terre abitate, penetrandole attraverso quattro grandi insenature (il Mediterraneo, il mar Nero, il mar Rosso e il mar Caspio):

E Strabone questi mari li chiama mediterranei, perciò che sono nel mezzo della terra. Ma nella età nostra, che si son fatte tante navigazioni d'ogni canto di questo globo della terra, s'è conosciuto chiaramente l'opinion di detti antichi non esser vera, e che non vi è Oceano alcuno che la circondi tutta, ma che tutti i mari sono circondati dalla terra, e perciò possono ragionevolmente esser chiamati mediterranei.⁶⁵

È proprio nella geografia straboniana che al contrario Tommaso Porcacchi trova, nel proemio a *L'Isole più famose del mondo*, pubblicate per la prima volta a Venezia nel 1572, la migliore fonte classica attraverso cui legittimare, al servizio di Venezia, la propria intenzione non più di descrivere tutte le isole possibili, ma di insularizzare il mondo intero:

A questa opinione [...] che questo nostro mondo sia a guisa d'un isola, circondato d'ogn'intorno dall'Oceano [...] trovo che Strabone acconsente nel primo libro dicendo che tutta la terra è un'isola, se si guarda al mare, che la circonda e le sta sopra. Perciò che sì come nel mar Mediterraneo apparisce Cipro, e la Sardigna, così in tutta l'ampiezza del mare apparisce tutta la ter-

⁶⁴ A. MILLO, *Isolario et portolano de tuto el mare Mediterraneo di Antonio Millo nel qual si ragiona di tute le isole dil ditto mare con sui porti, città, sorzitori, seche, scholgi, distancie da l'una al'altra e per qual vento e per quanto circondano longeze e per largeze. Con il portolano qual chomincia dal streto di Gibiltara per tuta la costa de tuta la europa fino a la città di Costantinopoli e per poi la Costa di l'Asia fino al fiume Nilo e per la costa di Africha fino a Ceutta in streto*, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venezia: port. 46. Cfr. G. TOLIAS, *Un ammiraglio greco al servizio di Venezia. Antonio Millo e il suo isolario*, in *Navigare e descrivere*, cit., pp. 62-63.

⁶⁵ G. B. RAMUSIO, *Discorso sopra la navigazione del mar Rosso fino all'India orientale scritta per Arriano*, in IDEM, *Navigazioni e viaggi* [1550], Torino, Einaudi, 1978-1983, vol. II, p. 512.

ra a guisa d'isola: il che testimonia ancora Plinio. Per la qual cosa dovendo io descrivere in questo mio libro alquante isole più famose del mondo; tanto mi reputo di dover haver fatica, e carico, quanto se tutto il mondo havessi proposto di descrivere: il quale ardimento, sì come è grande, così di gran lunga supera le forze mie.⁶⁶

La visione talassocentrica proposta da Porcacchi è la stessa di Ramusio ma, come dire, volta in negativo, il che ne spiega il disaccordo circa l'autorità straboniana, una distanza più che altro teorica che passa decisamente in secondo piano rispetto alla comune scelta di valorizzare l'elemento conduttore del mare (nel caso delle *Navigazioni* anche del deserto, si pensi a Marco Polo) per asserire con forza la superiorità veneziana nelle conoscenze geografiche e nella pratica del viaggio (Ramusio), nel dominio dei mari e dei traffici mediterranei (Bordone e Porcacchi). Se l'utopia insulare già in Bordone riesce a sovrapporsi all'utopia imperiale nella città di Venezia e in quella di Temistitan rappresentata come Venezia⁶⁷ – sono le due utopie geografiche moderne, quelle di Marco Polo sopravvissute all'avvento dello spazio – Porcacchi raddoppia l'effetto recuperando all'isolario la città di Costantinopoli, già così importante per Buondelmonti, offrendone un'immagine altrettanto potente e ideale ma in qualche modo già rovesciata, in un misto di magnificenza e barbarie (il tempo è ormai, dopo Lepanto, quello della distopia). Ma soprattutto ne fa la meta, se non finale comunque prioritaria, di un itinerario la cui segmentazione delle tappe (lo «sgranamento di un rosario insulare»)⁶⁸ serve a redigere un inventario verbale e visuale dei possedimenti marittimi veneziani, e il cui asse marittimo, che collega la laguna alle città dalmate, alle isole dell'Arcipelago, alla sede del bailo di Costantinopoli, serve da struttura portante alla costruzione simbolica e strategica di quello spazio imperiale e politico che si prepara a ospitare la drammatica sfida di Giuditta a Oloferne, della libertà alla tirannide, di Venezia al Gran Turco.

⁶⁶ T. PORCACCHI, *L'Isole più famose del mondo descritte da Thomaso Porcacchi da Castiglione arretino e intagliate da Girolamo Porro padovano*, Venezia, Simon Galignani e Girolamo Porro, 1572, p. [19].

⁶⁷ Sulla rappresentazione di Temistitan come Venezia, apparsa nel mondo tedesco già nel 1522 (è «Groß Venedig» nel *Neue zeitung. von dem lande. das die Sponier funden haben ym 1521. iare genant Jucatan*), si vedano M. GUGLIELMINETTI, *Il 'Mondo Nuovo' come un'isola. Benedetto Bordone e Tommaso Porcacchi*, in *L'epopea delle scoperte*, a cura di R. Zorzi, Firenze, Olschki, 1994, pp. 103-120; LESTRINGANT, *Le livre des îles*, cit., pp. 89-131.

⁶⁸ GUGLIELMINETTI, *Il «Mondo Nuovo» come un'isola*, cit., p. 115.

In realtà questo spazio, già in qualche modo configurato da Bordone, prende consistenza in Porcacchi gradualmente, dal momento che nella prima edizione il Toscano sembra voler scardinare completamente l'ordine precedente in modo da dare maggior risalto al potere politico e commerciale della Repubblica, optando per

una distribuzione fondata su di una distanza che è tutta politica e intellettuale: l'autore descrive prima le isole sotto il dominio veneziano, poi quelle appartenute alle grandi potenze mediterranee, in seguito quelle di recente scoperta ma già colonizzate dalle monarchie iberiche, per tornare infine a isole conosciute da lungo tempo, come Ceylon o Madagascar, ma in realtà estranee e selvagge in quanto mai 'civilizzate' né evangelizzate.⁶⁹

Il libro si apre allora direttamente con una veduta della città di Venezia e con un modulo celebrativo proveniente dalle *laudes civitatis* medievali, in quegli anni per opera di Sansovino all'origine della moderna guidistica di Venezia, che permette a Porcacchi di svolgere il tema utopico dell'impero senza principe, e quindi al riparo dalla tirranide:

la Republica et città di Vinetia è lo splendore, non pur d'Italia, ma possiamo ancho liberamente dire della Christianità, come quella che mai non ha servito ad alcuno et con le proprie forze ha in mare e in terra acquistato un grande imperio, accioché i popoli soggetti habbiano a lodare Dio d'essere stati levati dalle mani de' tiranni et ridotti sotto un governo giusto et clemente.⁷⁰

Secondo il principio descritto, alla metropoli segue la trattazione, arricchita da altrettante tavole cartografiche, e divisa per capitoli, delle isole appartenenti o appartenute a Venezia (Corfù, la Morea, Candia, Cipro, Rodi, l'Arcipelago, Negroponte), per passare a quelle sottoposte ad altre dominazioni secondo il criterio della distanza crescente dalla Dominante⁷¹ e chiudere con dei vertiginosi passaggi di scala da un'isola grande quanto un continente (l'isola di S. Croce o Mondo Nuovo, l'America settentrionale), a un'isola grande quanto una città (la Temistitan di Bordone), infine alla visione totalizzante del map-pamondo. Il viaggio di Costantinopoli sembra dunque perdere qui consistenza a causa sia della scelta di escludere le isole adriatiche sia

⁶⁹ CH. LASTRAIOLI, «Un monde en forme d'île». *Espace géographique et espace imaginaire dans l'Isolario de Tommaso Porcacchi*, in *Espaces, histoire et imaginaire dans la culture italienne de la Renaissance*, éd. A. Godard, M.-F. Piéjus, Paris, CIRRI, 2006, p. 53.

⁷⁰ PORCACCHI, *L'Isola più famosa del mondo* [1572], cit., p. 6.

⁷¹ Sicilia, Malta, Corsica, Sardegna, Elba, Maiorca, Minora, Inghilterra, Scozia, Irlanda, Hollandia, Islanda, Gotlandia, Spagnuola, Cuba, S. Lorenzo, Taprobana, Molucche.

della decisione di dare risalto solo alle isole maggiori, tuttavia la tecnica del progressivo allontanamento da Venezia verso Oriente non solo mantiene viva l'idea del viaggio a Costantinopoli, ma il recupero finalmente esplicito del modello fiorentino porta l'Autore a reinserire una descrizione della città come meta d'arrivo, ancora largamente ripresa dal *Liber* di Buondelmonti, in cui però l'elemento distopico non si fonda più sulla visione di un impero in decadenza e in rovina, ma sulla connotazione perversa sempre più associata alla formidabile espansione della potenza turca: «Questa città fu, come Roma, signora del mondo, piena di grandezze, et albergo d'honestà et di sapientia: dove hora tutta è data all'ignorantia, al vitio et alla barbarie». ⁷²

Questa prima edizione delle *Isole*, che l'editore dedica *Al Serenissimo principe et signore il signor Don Giovanni D'Austria general della Santissima Lega contra gl'infedeli* e la cui compilazione doveva essere stata terminata alla fine del 1570, dopo la presa di Nicosia e prima della caduta definitiva di Cipro, esce a stampa nel 1572, quando ormai la battaglia di Lepanto aveva sconvolto tutti i precedenti equilibri geopolitici del Mediterraneo. Nella seconda edizione del 1576, che verrà ristampata altre quattro volte, ⁷³ Porcacchi allora decide non solo di aggiungere in un capitolo apposito la descrizione degli scogli Curzolari con una cronaca della famosa giornata navale, ma anche di rivedere completamente la disposizione dei materiali, nel frattempo aumentati a dismisura (le 144 pagine dell'*editio princeps* diventano ora 260, le tavole incise quasi raddoppiano, da 30 a 47). Il toscano recupera il modello di Bordone ma con eloquenti manipolazioni: riunisce in un unico primo libro le isole atlantiche e dell'Europa settentrionale assieme a quelle del Mediterraneo occidentale fino a Malta, e in un terzo libro, aperto dalla descrizione della città di Temistitan («non senza maraviglia vediamo un'altra Vinetia nel mondo»), ⁷⁴ tutte le isole dei mari lontani, appartengano al Nuovo Mondo oppure ai bacini orientali. In mezzo, ideologicamente e geograficamente compatto, risalta il «secondo libro dell'isole: nel quale cominciandosi da Vinetia, descriverò dopo essa in general tutto l'Arcipelago, et poi particolarmente quelle isole,

⁷² Ivi, p. 33.

⁷³ IDEM, *L'Isole più famose del Mondo descritte da Thomaso Porcacchi da Castiglione Arretino e intagliate da Girolamo Porro Padovano. Con l'Aggiunta di molte Isole*, Venezia, Simon Galignani e Girolamo Porro, 1576. Le edizioni successive sono del 1590, 1604-1605, 1620, 1686.

⁷⁴ Ivi, p. 157.

che hanno più nome, fino a Costantinopoli». ⁷⁵ Come c'è da aspettarsi, è questo il libro che registra le maggiori addizioni: oltre a quella dei Curzolari, compaiono le descrizioni illustrate di numerose isole del mar Ionio e dell'Egeo, ma soprattutto un capitolo intero e di ampio respiro dedicato alla *Descrittione di Costantinopoli*, non più Capitale decaduta, ma «mondo del mondo», ⁷⁶ ideale pervertito ma sempre il punto massimo, dopo Venezia, in cui l'utopia imperiale e l'utopia insulare del microcosmo possono incontrarsi e prendere consistenza geografica:

Imperial città, posta nella Tracia, alla bocca del mar Maggiore, tutto che isola non sia, per esser nondimeno da tre lati bagnata dal mare, vien ragionevolmente inserita in questo libro dopo le tante Isole dell'Arcipelago, c'ho descritte [...] Costantinopoli è porta d'Asia e d'Europa [...] è abbondantissima di tutte le cose necessarie all'uso degli uomini [...] si vede che il singular ornamento di magnificenza di questa città, non pure è stato fabricato con la forza dell'opere et dell'arte, ma anchora con la felicità della natura, havendosi a ciò collegato insieme gli elementi. ⁷⁷

Il profilo urbano muta così radicalmente: tanto nell'ordine dell'esposizione verbale quanto nella scelta prospettica dell'illustrazione visuale, il primo monumento del paesaggio urbano ad apparire ormai non è più S. Sofia, ma il Serraglio del Gran Turco, il vertice simbolico e reale della macchina imperiale ottomana.

Assieme a quella di Venezia, derivata anch'essa da Vavassore e ormai altrettanto canonizzata in icona, ⁷⁸ la veduta a volo d'uccello di Costantinopoli si ripropone con insistenza nel momento in cui l'isolario veneziano comincia a contaminarsi con un altro genere letterario e figurativo, riportato in auge nella seconda metà del secolo, ⁷⁹ i libri di città, dando vita, per la mancanza di commento, per i nuovi materiali inseriti e per l'inedita intenzione cronachistica, a un filone 'topico'

⁷⁵ Ivi, p. 64.

⁷⁶ Ivi, p. 138.

⁷⁷ Ivi, pp. 131-135.

⁷⁸ B. WILSON, *Venice, Print, and the Early Modern Icon, Chorographic Impressions. Early Modern Venice through Print*, «Urban History», xxxiii, 1, 2006, pp. 39-64.

⁷⁹ Il genere, il cui archetipo rinascimentale può essere considerato il *Liber Chronicarum* di Hartmann Schedel (Norimberga, Anton Koberger, 1493), torna alla ribalta internazionale con G. GUÉROULT, *Épitomé de la corographie d'Europe illustré des pourtraitz des villes plus renommées d'icelle*, Lione, 1553, e con G. BRAUN, F. HOGENBERG, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 6 voll., Colonia, 1572-1617, mentre a Venezia si afferma con le raccolte di P. FORLANI, *Il primo libro delle città e fortezze principali del mondo*, Venezia, s.e., 1567, di G. BALLINO, *De' disegni delle più illustri città, et fortezze del mondo*, Venezia, Bolognino Zaltieri, 1569, e più tardi di F. VALEGIO, M. ROTA, *Raccolta di le più illustri et famose città di tutto il mondo*, Venezia, s.e., 1580.

degli isolari, da opporre secondo George Toliai tanto alla precedente tradizione nautica, rappresentata da Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti, da Piri Re'is e da Antonio Millo, quanto a quella antiquario-umanistica sviluppata da Buondelmonti, Bordone e Porcacchi.⁸⁰ L'incisore ed editore Simon Pinargenti è il primo, attorno al 1573, a combinare gli schemi illustrativi dell'isolario e del libro di città, con una serie di 54 tavole a piena pagina, incise da Nicola Bonifacio e Nicolò Nelli, che, senza alcun testo, offrono la rappresentazione in sequenza delle *Isole che son da Venetia nella Dalmatia et per tutto l'Arcipelago, fino a Costantinopoli, con le loro fortezze e con le terre più notabili di Dalmatia*. Dopo alcune mappe corografiche dell'Europa, del Golfo di Venezia e della Sicilia, l'icona di Venezia è qui posta direttamente in apertura alla raccolta, che procede poi come di consueto lungo le tappe della Dalmazia e della Grecia, alternando piante ortografiche di fortezze a panorami di città viste dal mare, alle tradizionali carte delle isole, con la solita appendice dedicata a Cipro e una ben più attuale sezione finale dedicata alla battaglia di Lepanto, come di lì a tre anni avrebbe fatto Porcacchi. Il legame con i libri di città viene però reso esplicito l'anno successivo, nel 1574, quando il libro viene ripreso da Donato Bertelli, che amplia, a comprendervi anche le isole, il sontuoso doppio titolo in latino e in italiano di una sua precedente raccolta di disegni di città⁸¹ e porta a 68 il numero delle tavole, variamente incise da Domenico Zenoni, Martino Rota, Ferrando Bertelli, di una raccolta⁸² che mantiene in apertura una mappa dell'Italia e una veduta di Venezia, ma sposta coerentemente con l'andamento dell'itinerario quella di Costantinopoli al termine del periplo egeo, mentre Cipro, la battaglia di Lepanto, Vienna e altro materiale estraneo al viaggio vengono accumulati come prima in una sezione finale. Le ultime tavole sulla giornata navale, come

⁸⁰ Cfr. TOLIAS, *Isolarii*, cit., p. 282; V. VALERIO, *Atlantes Veneti*, in *Cartografi veneti. Mappe, uomini e istituzioni per l'immagine e il governo del territorio*, Padova, Editoriale Programma, pp. 81-87.

⁸¹ Donato Bertelli era già stato nel 1569 l'editore della serie *Le vere immagini et descriptioni delle più belle città del mondo* (21 tavv.) e aveva inoltre ereditato i rami di Ferrando Bertelli, che a sua volta aveva pubblicato i molto più numerosi disegni della *Civitatum aliquot insigniarum ... delineatio. Disegni delle più illustri città e fortezze del mondo*, apparsi a Venezia nel 1568.

⁸² D. BERTELLI, *Civitatum aliquot insigniorum et locorum magis munitorum exacta delineatio. Cum additione aliquot Insularum principalium. Disegni di alcune più illustri città et fortezze del mondo, con aggiunta di alcune isole principali*, Venezia, Donato Bertelli, 1574.

molte altre della serie di Pinargenti, si devono alle cure editoriali di Camocio, che negli anni successivi contribuisce a complicare questo tipo di raccolta (molto poco stabile, in quanto collezione di tavole circolanti anche sciolte, al punto che è difficile trovare due esemplari perfettamente identici), già abbondantemente stratificata a livello spaziale (mappe corografiche, topografiche, vedute a volo d'uccello, panorami, piante verticali), ampliando non solo la quantità delle tavole (che diventano quasi una novantina) ma anche l'estensione geografica della materia (la sezione finale arriva ora a includere non solo Cipro, Tunisi e Vienna, ma anche le Baleari, le isole britanniche e l'Islanda). Il titolo poi a prima vista riprende l'intenzione dell'isolario del 1572 di Porcacchi, quella di considerare innanzitutto le isole sottoposte alla Repubblica e solo in un secondo momento quelle soggette al dominio delle altre grandi potenze europee: *Isole famose porti, fortezze, e terre maritime sottoposte alla Serenissima Signoria di Venetia, ad altri Principi Christiani, et al Signor Turco, nuovamente poste in luce*. Camocio riserva a queste ultime un ruolo in definitiva ancillare, mentre l'adozione di alcuni accorgimenti sembra rafforzare piuttosto che indebolire la funzione coordinatrice dei materiali svolta dal viaggio di Costantinopoli, come la scelta di mantenere la veduta della città nella sua posizione logica di meta e traguardo, ma soprattutto di inserire le quattro tavole relative a Lepanto nel corso dell'opera, fra l'isola di S. Maura e quella di Cefalonia, dove una volta si trovavano effettivamente gli scogli dei Curzolari oggi scomparsi. Quello che allora colpisce nella raccolta di Camocio è non solo la volontà di inventariare attraverso i richiami ossessivi dei cartigli i possedimenti veneziani (l'Istria «sotto il dominio veneto»; Sebenico «locho delli Illustrissimi Signori Veneciani» e così via) e ottomani (la Morea «sottoposta al Turco», Durazzo «locho del Turco»), ma anche la scelta di fare di questo inventario il teatro geografico degli scontri militari turco-veneziani, a volte semplicemente ricordandoli nelle iscrizioni (Curzola «ultimamente assalita da gran parte della armata Turchesca»), a volte dando risalto all'architettura militare che comincia a essere il tratto più caratteristico del paesaggio (le fortezze di Macar-sca, di Margaritin, dei Dardanelli), ma soprattutto moltiplicando ed estendendo, con la rappresentazione di vere e proprie azioni militari, la drammatizzazione inerente a quella sorta di cronotopo costituito dalla battaglia di Lepanto, che funge da vero e proprio cardine della

raccolta e introduce in maniera visibile l'elemento storico nella descrizione spaziale del territorio.⁸³

Come si è visto, le diverse strategie descrittive impiegate a Venezia nel Cinquecento per definire questi spazi geografici del Mediterraneo hanno avuto modo in diverse occasioni di affiancarsi o sovrapporsi, rinforzando l'idea del viaggio di Costantinopoli come unità discorsiva: nella carta di Camocio del 1574 la visualizzazione cartografica dell'area interessata si fa puntuale con un prospetto a margine dell'itinerario, completo di tappe e distanze in miglia; nel *Portolano* di Pietro Coppo viceversa piccole mappe corografiche illustrano la sequenza degli scali intervallata da brevi indicazioni generali; l'isolario, nel caso di Antonio Millo contaminato con il genere dei portolani nautici, non solo poi si definisce per l'associazione di commentario umanistico e carta geografica, ma integrando prima le vedute a volo d'uccello di Costantinopoli (Buondelmonti) e di Venezia (Bordone) e poi della battaglia di Lepanto (Porcacchi) ne ribadisce le posizioni strategiche all'interno dell'assetto apparentemente frammentario degli spazi insulari; le raccolte di Pinargenti, Bertelli e Camocio se viceversa eliminano la descrizione verbale sviluppano ampiamente, sulla falsariga dei libri di città, quella visuale, alternando mappe corografiche, piante ortografiche, vedute a volo d'uccello e panoramici profili urbani. Alla fine del secolo un'opera riprende le incisioni di una raccolta simile in tutto e per tutto a quelle di Pinargenti e Camocio, la *Descrittione geografica delle isole città et fortezze principali che si trovano in mare nel viaggio da Venetia a Costantinopoli*, pubblicata da Giacomo Franco nel 1597, portando al massimo livello possibile questa contaminazione di strategie e di generi, facendo incontrare finalmente l'isolario con il racconto di viaggio, o quantomeno con la tipologia di letteratura odeporica più sbilanciata in assoluto verso l'istanza descrittiva, la guida. *Il Viaggio da Venetia a Costantinopoli per mare e per terra, et insieme quello di Terrasanta* di Giuseppe Rosaccio si presenta infatti fin dal titolo come variazione geografica del celebre e fortunatissimo *Viaggio da Venetia al Santo Sepolcro et al monte Sinai*, apparso a Venezia nel 1518 e a partire dal 1614 erroneamente attribuito al francescano Noè Bianco,⁸⁴ l'opera

⁸³ Così, ad es., nelle tavole dei contadi di Zara e di Sebenico, in quelle degli assedi alla città di Castelnuovo, alle fortezze di Soppoto e di Maina.

⁸⁴ In realtà quest'opera, che conta venti edizioni nel Cinquecento e diciannove nel Seicento (cinquantadue fino al 1800) è un rifacimento veneziano dell'altrettanto fortunato

che aveva mutuato e commercializzato la prassi, già consacrata dal famosissimo libro di viaggio di Bernhard von Breydenbach (*Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, Magonza, 1486), di illustrare l'itinerario ai luoghi sacri con vedute e prospetti delle città incontrate lungo il percorso. Da questa prassi di costruzione testuale Rosaccio sembra riprendere sia il peculiare equilibrio fra l'istanza descrittiva particolare (prevalente nel contenuto) e l'istanza narrativa generale (operante nella disposizione), sia fra discorso verbale e visuale, dove le immagini hanno una duplice valenza: considerate nelle loro singole unità fissano nello spazio le informazioni trasmesse dal compilatore, ma prese in sequenza il loro punto di vista prospettico dell'approdo (*landfall*) restituisce la dinamica del movimento e della pausa che contraddistingue il viaggio per mare e che nel dettato del pellegrino emergeva soprattutto come raccordo fra diverse descrizioni:

Parenzo è città posta in capo da Istria distante da Venetia miglia cento [...]. Partiti da Parenzo pervenimo a Pola, la quale è da lungi da Venetia miglia cento [...] et qui stemmo giorni quattro aspettando bonazza, et venuta partimo al viaggio nostro et pervenimo a Zara. Poi ci driciammo in verso Dalmatia alla città di Zara, la quale è capo della provincia di Dalmatia [...]⁸⁵

Nell'opera di Rosaccio il procedimento di spazializzazione si fa più protervo, combinando il modello precedente con quasi tutte le strategie descrittive incontrate finora: la mappa corografica, con l'oramai familiare inquadratura generale dell'area interessata dal viaggio (quella di Coppo, Gastaldi, Forlani e Camocio);⁸⁶ l'itinerario, con la

(sessantadue edizioni) *Libro d'Oltremare* di NICCOLÒ DA POGGIBONSI, frate francescano, partito in pellegrinaggio da Venezia il 6 aprile 1345. L'erronea attribuzione si deve a una confusione, molto simile a quella avvenuta per il *Portolano* attribuito ad ALVISE DA MOSTO, con il racconto del pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta, compiuto nel 1527, dal frate servita veneziano Noè Bianco, pubblicato con il titolo di *Viaggio del Rev. P. F. Noè Bianco vinitiano della Congregazion de' Servi fatto in Terrasanta*, Venezia, Giorgio de' Cavalli, 1556.

⁸⁵ *Viaggio da Venetia al Santo Sepolcro et al monte Sinai*, Venezia, eredi di Luigi Valvassori, 1587, c. [5r-v].

⁸⁶ La mappa del Mediterraneo orientale, firmata da Giacomo Franco e intitolata *Descrizione di quello che i Turchi possiedono in Europa con i confini dei Principi Christiani*, per essere posta in fine dell'opera e per essere di formato leggermente maggiore (i bordi sono ripiegati), è stata in diversi casi rimossa dal volume, cosicché manca nell'edizione del 1598 già mutila di quattro carte su cui è stata condotta la ristampa anastatica (Monfalcone, Edizioni della Laguna, 1992) e manca nella seconda edizione del 1606 presente alla Biblioteca del Museo Correr, mentre è ancora presente nell'esemplare della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (170.D.209) e nella raccolta di incisioni curata più tardi da Marco Sadeler conservata presso la Biblioteca della Fondazione Querini Stampalia (B.ST.A15/B).

successione delle tappe e delle stazioni sia del viaggio di mare che di terra (quello dei portolani e della carta di Camocio); il commentario umanistico, con la *laus civitatis* di Venezia e l'apparato illustrativo tipico degli isolari antiquari (quello di Bordone e Porcacchi); i prospetti dal mare e l'approccio topografico caratteristici degli isolari 'topici' (Pinargenti, Bertelli, Camocio, Franco):

Ecco benigno lettore, che ti rappresento in un disegno e particolare descriptione il viaggio, ch'è da Venetia sino a Costantinopoli, sì per mare, come per terra: nel qual disegno per via di Geografia sono descritti tutti i porti, città et castelli et altri luoghi principali, con terminata misura delle distantie loro; ma oltre alla descriptione unita tutta in un foglio troverai altri 72 disegni d'intaglio di rame, con ogni diligenza fatti et a ogni pezzo fattogli il suo discorso.⁸⁷

Così da una parte allo scarno e pragmatico racconto del pellegrino si sostituisce la narrazione di un viaggio astratto, privo ormai di ogni referente personale e reale e il cui soggetto è puramente generico; d'altra parte grazie alla coincidenza parziale dell'itinerario marittimo, che qui punta sempre a Costantinopoli ma si allunga con una deviazione verso il Levante, è possibile con le incisioni di Franco dare tutto un altro valore spaziale ai soggetti urbani delle vedute di Erhard Rewich accluse alla *Peregrinatio* (Venezia, Parenzo, Corfù, Modone, Candia e Rodi) e di alcune che vi aveva aggiunto la guida veneziana al pellegrinaggio (Zara, Pola e Famagosta). Non a caso, se l'opera intera viene ristampata nuovamente da Giacomo Franco nel 1606, negli stessi anni le tavole godono, prive del commento, di un accrescimento e di un'autonoma diffusione in un'edizione curata da Marco Sadeler, che però riporta la struttura itineraria al modello precedente (il viaggio a Costantinopoli allargato a comprendere il maggior numero possibile di isole e poi la Terrasanta in appendice), modello alterato invece da Rosaccio, che giunto nell'Egeo proseguiva attraverso le grandi isole (Candia, Rodi, Cipro) fino a Gerusalemme e poi tornava a dirigersi verso Costantinopoli toccando le numerose isole minori dell'Arcipelago. Un ultimo intervento dell'umanista, a commento della classica icona di Venezia posta in apertura all'opera, merita di essere sottolineato, anche perché lo stesso editore Giacomo Franco lo riproporrà,

⁸⁷ G. ROSACCIO, *Viaggio da Venetia a Costantinopoli per mare e per terra, et insieme quello di Terra Santa*, Venezia, Giacomo Franco, 1598, c. 1r.

aggiungendovi una controparte visuale sferica ancora più efficace, nel frontespizio e nella dedica del suo libro di costumi, ispirato a quello più celebre di Cesare Vecellio, gli *Habiti delle donne venetiane* (1610). In contrapposizione all'utopia imperiale ma imperfetta di Costantinopoli, al perverso mondo del mondo di Porcacchi, ecco l'immagine cartografica di Venezia come città ordinata e ideale, microcosmo e dunque specchio del mondo intero, utopia insulare all'ennesima potenza:

Ma se alcuno in alto salisce, et che miri la città cinta dall'acque, gli parerà vedere il grande Oceano, circondar il gran continente della terra, poiché l'aspetto di Venetia è appunto all'occhio del riguardante sferico a guisa del gran teatro universale; et tanto se gli rende simile, che chi ben mira la Giudeca, pareragli di vedere, la grande America, in dui pen'insole distinta, con il curvare, che fa, quanto alle sue parti, che quattro sono, corrispondenti alle quattro parti di tutta la terra cioè Europa, Africa, Asia et America. Miransi parimente in questa città al suo Levante, la catedral Chiesa di San Pietro, dove risiede il Patriarca; et al Ponente, Santa Marta: ma al mezo giorno, è la Piazza di San Marco, col sacro Tempio, a quello dedicato, et il Palaggio del Principe, qual a punto è nel mezo posto a guisa del Sole in mezo alli altri pianeti. Alla parte del Settentrione ecci il monasterio de gli molto reverendi Cruciferi: quindi d'intorno alla città si mirano l'Isole del grand'Oceano, sparte qua e là. La onde corrispondendo le parti al tutto, con stupore et maraviglia di ognuno che la mira, si vede l'impossibile sopra l'impossibile.⁸⁸

L'itinerario che da Venezia si snoda lungo l'Adriatico orientale e, a seconda delle circostanze, attraversa i mari Ionio ed Egeo oppure valica per via di terra i Balcani, per raggiungere infine Costantinopoli, Capitale dell'impero ottomano, durante il Rinascimento diventa dunque per i veneziani oggetto privilegiato e quasi ossessivo di rappresentazione non solo come modello narrativo di viaggio sul quale far risaltare luoghi e figure esemplari ma anche come quadro geografico attraverso cui istituzionalizzare nuovi criteri di descrizione del territorio e peculiari visioni della geografia. Saperi ad alto potenziale strategico, come la diplomazia, la riflessione umanistica e la cartografia, che a Venezia proprio in quei decenni vanno incontro a un momento di forte innovazione, fanno di questo itinerario legato alla vita politica, economica e militare della Repubblica l'oggetto di un discorso estensibile alla scienza, alla letteratura e alla mitografia. Le tecnolo-

⁸⁸ Ivi, c. 4v.

gie a disposizione di questo discorso sono inaudite: un nuovo genere letterario che è anche lo strumento di governo che segna la nascita della moderna geopolitica, la prosa diplomatica degli ambasciatori veneziani; un'editoria a stampa, ineguagliata a livello europeo sia per quantità che per qualità, la prima che riesce a fare della riscoperta letteraria dei classici un fenomeno industriale di largo consumo (senza per questo rinunciare al rigore filologico, si pensi ai prodotti dell'officina manuziana); la cruciale messa alla prova e ridefinizione del sistema matematico di descrizione del mondo offerto da Tolomeo, grazie a un afflusso straordinario di informazione geografica e allo sviluppo vertiginoso di un'editoria a carattere cartografico. Si è voluta qui ripercorrere solamente una parte, quella più visuale, di una vicenda culturale che attraversa testi molto eterogenei per registro e destinazione: i diari privati dei segretari e degli ambasciatori compilati a margine di quelle relazioni ufficiali che «formano la codificazione più esplicita del discorso politico della Serenissima» e «affermano apertamente l'ideale veneziano dell'ordine civico e la visione veneziana dell'ordine mondiale»;⁸⁹ la pubblicistica e la trattatistica che soddisfanno una nuova esigenza di informazioni sul mondo ottomano, sugli usi e i costumi, sulle leggi e gli ordinamenti, sulla storia e la religione dei Turchi, «domande alle quali l'editoria, specie quella veneta, risponde ampiamente offrendo ai lettori una vasta scelta di testi spesso elegantemente illustrati»;⁹⁰ la storiografia pubblica che con il *De bello Costantinopolitano* di Paolo Ramusio (1572), una vera e propria corografia dell'Impero Bizantino, fissa il primo grande viaggio a Costantinopoli, la IV Crociata, come vera origine dell'«imperio del mare», degno dunque di essere rappresentato sulle pareti della Sala del Maggior Consiglio. Nella loro insistenza sulla dimensione navale delle attività di governo veneziane, nella loro inventariazione dei domini marittimi della Repubblica, nella descrizione dei luoghi di potere dell'Impero (il Gran Serraglio sopra tutti), delle sue province e della sua Capitale Costantinopoli, le eccezionali articolazioni spaziali di questi testi devono molto a questa ricca produzione di mappe, portolani e isolari, che riesce a dare al viaggio di Costantinopoli quella straordinaria compattezza discorsiva che ne fa durante il Rinascimento l'itinerario in

⁸⁹ L. VALENSI, *Venise et la Sublime Porte. La naissance du despote*, Parigi, Hachette, 1987; trad. it. *Venezia e la Sublime Porta. La nascita del despota*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1989, p. 31.

⁹⁰ G. BENZONI, *Venezia nell'età della controriforma*, Milano, Mursia, 1973, p. 136.

assoluto più raccontato in Europa, più del tradizionale pellegrinaggio a Gerusalemme e più di qualsiasi nuova rotta verso i mari orientali o il Nuovo Mondo.

CONCLUSION.
NEW INSIGHTS TO THE STUDY OF VENICE
AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

RUTHY GERTWAGEN

THE current volume of collected papers introduces various aspects on Venice as a Mediterranean power along 400 years, until the end of the eighteenth century. The first notion of this title brings into mind is of another volume dealing with either the Venetian maritime Empire (*Stato da Mar*) or with Venice as a commercial power, with relevant subject matters as trade and trade networks, shipping mechanism, types of ships, etc. Indeed, due to its topographic environment, Venice was a maritime civilization whose *raison d'être* depended on maritime economy of which international trade played a major role. It was already in the late eighth century AD that Venice had started her maritime expansion in the Mediterranean and whose contacts with the Muslim world preceded those of Amalfi and Pisa.¹ Furthermore from a city-State Venice gradually evolved, since the fourteenth century, into a maritime Empire. Since the dominance of economical history school, among whose prominent agents is Jean-Claude Hocquet, the co-editor of this volume, Venice and its maritime Empire have to date been traditionally analyzed from economic and commercial points of view with, however, relation to interconnected histories, such as political and military. It was only recently put forward:

The intertwined connections between family and state, the economic and the political, public and private interest were thus the heart of Venetian state and society... the Fifteenth century saw a shift in the character of the Venetian maritime state, from a disparate conglomeration of territories acquired for primarily commercial reasons to a more centralized and regularized group of territories that had a political as well as economic importance. In Senate deliberations, legislators regularly referred to the twin motives of "profit and honor."²

¹ M. McCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy, Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 238, 527-528.

² M. O'CONNELL, *Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins, University Press, 2009, p. 5.

The miscellaneous essays in the present volume inevitably join the mass of themes that deal with the *Stato da Mar* and with Venice as an economic Mediterranean power; however, as points of reference, and not as the topics focused on. In fact, the current studies that geographically cover both basins of the Mediterranean, although unevenly, from the Adriatic through the Ionian and the Aegean Seas to the Black Sea on the one hand, and on the other, from the Adriatic to Malta, as well as from Northern Europe through the Gibraltar Straits to Venice, bring in various aspects of new evidence as well as new interpretations and insights.

NOTE E DOCUMENTI

DU BON USAGE DU MARCHÉ
DANS UNE CONGRÉGATION RELIGIEUSE
DU XV^E SIÈCLE À VENISE: LES «SPESE
DI BOCHA» DE S. GIORGIO IN ALGA

FABIEN FAUGERON

ABONDAMMENT utilisés pour dresser des histoires quantitatives de l'alimentation dans les années cinquante, soixante et soixante-dix, les comptes de bouche constituent l'une des sources les plus utiles pour aborder les questions de consommation. Leur utilisation systématique pour calculer des rations alimentaires a permis de relativiser et de confronter les données fournies par d'autres types de documentation – dont les chroniques – d'un bout à l'autre de l'Europe. Certes, les comptes de bouche ont consenti nombre d'études sur les niveaux de vie, sur leurs rapports avec la conjoncture économique, avec le mouvement cyclique des prix, avec la production agricole et la démographie.¹ Mais, comme dans d'autres champs, cette approche a révélé ses limites – sociales puisqu'elle ne prenait en compte qu'une partie documentée de la population, et scientifiques car on peut s'interroger sur la pertinence d'une démarche consistant à proportionner des données lacunaires à nos systèmes de mesure et d'évaluation.² Or, l'alimentation constitue un marqueur social, un signe ostentatoire de différenciation identitaire – et pas seulement dans sa composante la plus luxueuse –, ce qui compromet définitivement la valeur représentative des moyennes statistiques. De fait, à partir de la fin des années

¹ Voir, par ex., le dossier consacré en 1975 à l'*Histoire de l'alimentation* par les «Annales»: «Annales ESC», 30, 2-3, mars-juin 1975, pp. 402-632: en part. l'article de B. BENNASSAR, J. GOY, *Contribution à l'histoire de la consommation alimentaire du XIV^e au XIX^e siècle*, pp. 402-430. Deux colloques méritent particulièrement l'attention: *Les problèmes de l'alimentation. Actes du 93^e congrès national des Sociétés savantes*, «Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité de travaux historiques et scientifiques», 1968, ainsi que *Manger et boire au Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque de Nice (15-17 octobre 1982)*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1984. Il ne peut être ici question de dresser une bibliographie complète sur le sujet.

² J.-L. FLANDRIN, M. MONTANARI, *Histoire de l'alimentation*, Paris, Fayard, 1996, *Introduction*, en part. pp. 10-15. On pourra se référer à cet ouvrage pour une bibliographie complète.

1970, sous l'influence notamment des ethnologues et des sociologues, les enquêtes des historiens se sont déplacées sur un terrain plus qualitatif et culturel pour s'intéresser aux pratiques alimentaires – l'histoire des goûts et des répulsions par exemple –, aux techniques culinaires, et à la symbolique – religieuse en particulier – de l'alimentation des divers groupes humains et sociaux. Les rapports avec la médecine, au travers de la diététique, ont constitué l'une des pistes aujourd'hui largement défrichées.

Dans les débats historiographiques actuels, les comptes de bouche peuvent apporter une précieuse contribution à l'étude de la 'commercialisation' et de l'équilibre entre marché et autoconsommation.³ Comme l'a justement relevé Louis Stouff, ces sources permettent surtout de connaître «les marchandises achetées et parfois leur origine», mais pas seulement.⁴ Cependant, elles s'avèrent fort rares et Venise ne fait pas exception à la règle: si la documentation archivistique conservée par la cité lagunaire manifeste la puissance et la continuité de l'action publique, en revanche, les sources comptables – qu'elles soient communales ou privées – ont été très largement perdues.⁵ Enfin, ce type de source a «le défaut de concerner soit l'aristocratie (maisons seigneuriales, hôtels princiers), soit des institutions ecclésiastiques, et de négliger les autres milieux sociaux (bourgeois, artisans, pay-

³ Sur les théories de la 'commercialisation': R. H. BRITNELL, *The commercialisation of English society 1000-1500*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993; M. KOWALESKI, *Local Markets and Regional trade in Medieval Exeter*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995; R. K. MARSHALL, *The Local Merchants of Prato. Small Entrepreneurs in the Late Medieval Economy*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. Voir aussi l'édition en italien, par les soins de Giuliano Pinto, de la troisième partie de la thèse d'État de CH.-M. DE LA RONCIÈRE, *Firenze e le sue campagne nel Trecento: mercanti, produzione, traffici*, Firenze, Olschki, 2005.

⁴ L. STOUFF, *L'approvisionnement des ménages et des maisons religieuses (Communautés religieuses, Écoles, Hôpitaux) aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, in *Alimentazione e nutrizione. Secc. XIII-XVIII (Atti della «Ventottesima Settimana di Studi» 22-27 aprile 1996)*, a cura di S. Cavaciocchi, Prato, Le Monnier, 1997 (ISTITUTO INTERNAZIONALE DI STORIA ECONOMICA «F. DATINI», «Atti delle Settimane di Studi e altri Convegni», s. II, 28), pp. 643-702: 644. Mais contrairement à ce qu'affirme l'auteur, les comptes livrent parfois quelques informations sur des produits non achetés, par ex. sur les revenus en nature et sur les cadeaux reçus lorsqu'un porteur est rémunéré pour leur transport.

⁵ La première à avoir souligné cette disparité documentaire et les distorsions qu'elle entraîne pour l'historien est É. CROUZET-PAVAN, *Sopra le acque salse. Espaces, pouvoir et société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Âge*, 2 vol., Rome, École française de Rome-Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992, dans l'introduction de cet ouvrage monumental, notamment pp. 9-10.

sans)». ⁶ À Venise, deux comptes de bouche émergent d'un paysage documentaire particulièrement décevant sur ce plan, du moins pour le Moyen Âge. ⁷ le premier, utilisé par Gino Luzzatto dans un article pionnier consacré au niveau de vie plus qu'à l'alimentation en elle-même, consiste en un *quaderno di spese* d'une maisonnée moyenne du patriciat au milieu du xiv^e siècle, la *fraterna* Morosini. ⁸ Le second document, qui constitue notre source principale, ⁹ provient de l'un des

⁶ L. STOUFF, *L'approvisionnement des ménages*, cit., p. 645. Les congrégations religieuses ont sans surprise fait l'objet de nombreuses études depuis, par ex. les travaux d'E. POWER, *Medieval English nunneries c. 1275 to 1535*, New York, Biblio and Tannen, 1964. Pour de récentes perspectives, voir notamment: B. CLAVEL, *Production alimentaire et lieux de consommation dans les établissements religieux au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne. Actes du colloque de Lille, 16, 17 et 18 octobre 2003*, Amiens, Cahmer, 2006 («Histoire médiévale et archéologie», 19). Mais, contrairement à ce qu'affirme I. Theiller, la consommation alimentaire des établissements monastiques est assez spécifique et ne peut être considérée comme extrapolable pour déterminer celle des foyers ruraux ou urbains: I. THEILLER, *Le ravitaillement de l'abbaye bénédictine Saint-Amand de Rouen et l'approvisionnement des marchés hebdomadaires d'après un papier journal de 1551-1552*, in CLAVEL, *Production alimentaire*, cit., pp. 203-216: en part. 203: «Mon attention s'est donc portée sur les établissements monastiques qui peuvent être rapprochés d'un foyer puisqu'ils disposent d'une exploitation produisant de quoi subvenir à une part de leurs besoins alimentaires et permettant la revente des excédents, dès lors que les besoins «personnels» sont assurés. Et aussi parce que ces établissements monastiques achètent dans les espaces commerciaux de proximité les produits qu'ils ne produisent pas ou dont ils ne disposent pas en quantité suffisante» et p. 212, note 31. La conclusion se situe dans la logique des présupposés méthodologiquement étranges de l'introduction: «L'intérêt d'un document manuscrit tel que le papier journal de l'Abbaye de Saint-Amand met donc en évidence, un marché [...]. Il éclaire les pratiques des consommateurs, qui se tournent vers un espace commercial pour pourvoir aux manques de leur production et (ou) pour commercialiser les excédents dont ils pourraient disposer».

⁷ Les autres fonds d'institutions religieuses consultés (notamment S. Sebastiano, S. Salvador et Ss. Giovanni e Paolo), malgré les promesses des inventaires, se sont révélés fort décevants en matière de comptabilité, mais un dépouillement exhaustif des fonds ecclésiastiques reste à faire. Conséquence de ces carences documentaires, la période médiévale manque totalement de travaux sur la consommation urbaine vénitienne. Pour l'époque moderne, en revanche, quelques études se sont penchées sur la question: M. AYMARD, *Venise, Raguse et le commerce du blé pendant la seconde moitié du xvr^e siècle*, Paris, SEVPEN, 1966, et L. PEZZOLO, *L'economia*, in *Storia di Venezia*, VII, *La Venezia barocca*, a cura di G. Benzoni, G. Cozzi, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1997. Sur la consommation de l'armée et celle des marins, voir A. SAMBO, *I rifornimenti militari*, in *Storia di Venezia*, V, *Il Rinascimento società ed economia*, a cura di A. Tenenti, U. Tucci, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996, pp. 585-598, et U. TUCCI, *L'alimentazione a bordo*, in *Storia di Venezia*, Temi, *Il mare*, a cura di Tenenti, Tucci, cit., pp. 599-618.

⁸ G. LUZZATTO, *Il costo della vita a Venezia nel Trecento*, «Ateneo Veneto», CXXV, 116-3, juin 1934, pp. 213-225 (rééd. dans *Studi di storia economica*, Padova, CEDAM, 1954, pp. 285-297).

⁹ D'autres sources relatives à S. Giorgio in Alga ont été consultées à l'Archivio Segreto Vaticano, notamment les nn. 947-952-953-955-956-957-962-963 du *Fondo Veneto*: elles concernent pour l'essentiel les propriétés de Terreferme du monastère. Malheureusement, le

nombreux monastères du duché, celui de S. Giorgio in Alga, situé sur une petite île de la lagune, entre la Giudecca et les pâturages de Fusina.

Monastère bénédictin fondé au ^x^e siècle, puis augustinien quelque trois-cents ans plus tard, l'institution religieuse est devenue avant 1400 une congrégation de chanoines séculiers.¹⁰ Dans la seconde moitié du ^{xv}^e siècle, la communauté compte une quarantaine de bouches, d'après les relevés effectués par le Sénat, auxquels il faut sans doute ajouter un certain nombre de pauvres à charge.¹¹ Les comptes dont nous disposons pour cette institution couvrent exactement une période d'un an, du jeudi 23 avril 1467 au vendredi 22 avril 1468.¹² À cette époque, à l'instar d'autres établissements religieux soumis à la pression fiscale qui caractérise la fin des guerres de Lombardie, S. Giorgio in Alga éprouve des difficultés financières: les chanoines doivent par exemple se séparer d'un terrain situé à Carpenedo, dans la *podesteria* de Mestre afin de pouvoir payer les 300 ducats d'emprunts forcés (*imprestita*) qui pèsent sur cette seule parcelle.¹³ Cependant, les monastères et autres institutions religieuses disposent d'un certain nombre de privilèges. Même s'ils sont astreints, comme tous les propriétaires vénitiens à partir du milieu du ^{xiv}^e siècle, à rapatrier leurs surplus agricoles, ils bénéficient d'une exemption du *dazio* sur le vin de leurs revenus et sur celui qu'ils reçoivent comme aumône.¹⁴ Au ^{xv}^e siècle,

document le plus intéressant dans le cadre de cette étude est manquant: Archivio Segreto Vaticano (= ASvat): *Fondo Veneto*, n. 1100/567, «piccolo fascicolo di conti ("ragioni") del monastero di S. Giorgio in Alga».

¹⁰ Sur cette communauté, G. CRACCO, *La fondazione dei canonici secolari di San Giorgio in Alga*, «Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia», 13, 1959, pp. 70-81.

¹¹ Archivio di Stato di Venezia (= ASve): *Senato, Terra* (= ST), reg. 5, 23 décembre 1464, f. 104r-v. Les comptes prévoient en tout cas des aumônes régulières «a un povero», mais en argent.

¹² Il s'agit d'un opusculé autonome en papier – et non d'un fragment – qui couvre une année entière à compter de la Saint-Georges, saint patron du monastère: ASve: *Misc. Atti diversi manoscritti*, b. 134, fasc. 5-bis, fz. «spexe di bocha extraordinarie», *San Giorgio in Alga*, 1467. Cette référence m'a été communiquée par Michela dal Borgo que je remercie vivement.

¹³ *Ibidem*: ST, reg. 3, 14 avril 1452, f. 26r: le Sénat autorise la transaction au monastère qui perçoit seulement 7 livres de loyer annuel de cette terre d'un *campo* et demi.

¹⁴ CESSI, *Deliberazioni*, cit., II, 24 mars 1270, n. III, p. 297, réitéré dans ASve: *Maggior Consiglio* (= MC), *Fronesis*, 9 novembre 1318, f. 7v. Le Grand Conseil rend obligatoire le transport à Venise des surplus céréaliers pour tous les citoyens et sujets, églises, monastères et hôpitaux vénitiens, propriétaires fonciers dans la région de Padoue, de Trévise et de Ferrare, ainsi qu'en Istrie. Ils doivent sous un mois déclarer auprès des Officiers au froment leurs récoltes et revenus fonciers. Chaque année, l'intégralité des grains moissonnés sera ache-

ils touchent par ailleurs des aides publiques en céréales ainsi qu'un remboursement du *dažio* payé sur le vin acquis, à concurrence d'un nombre d'amphores déterminé.¹⁵

Ces comptes de bouche, intitulés «*spexe strordinarie*», renvoient bien sûr au fait que le monastère n'achète au marché qu'une partie des produits nécessaires à sa consommation alimentaire, ses revenus fonciers et son potager couvrant le reste. L'apport propre de cette île de moins de deux hectares s'avère certainement assez réduit, mais la communauté dispose d'autres ressources dans la lagune et sur le continent. Pour le début du xiv^e siècle, Leisley A. Ling a montré que le monastère percevait alors de ses terres de Campolongo¹⁶ et de Mestre non moins de 415 muids padouans de céréales diverses (froment, millet, seigle et épeautre), ainsi que du vin, des œufs, de la volaille et des légumes frais.¹⁷ La part de l'«autoconsommation» s'avère inconnue

minée à Venise entre la Saint-Pierre et la Saint-Michel en vertu des pactes souscrits avec les cités voisines. Seul le cinquième de la récolte pourra être laissé sur place pour les semailles et la consommation personnelle. Les Officiers au froment se chargent d'enregistrer les arrivées et d'accorder les licences de stockage, les grains ne devant être vendus, le cas échéant, qu'au fondaco: ASVE: MC, *Novella*, 3 mai 1351, f. 21v. Ils jouissent en outre régulièrement de 'franchises' pour réexporter leurs surplus vinicoles, les *gratie vini*, qui sont en fait des sortes d'abonnement au *dažio* et de dérogation au *divietum*, enjeu majeur de discussions dans les conseils.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*: ST, reg. 5, 23 décembre 1464, f. 104r-v: «Quia in rebus dubiis et periculis nulla utilior remedi via est quam ad Dei clementiam confugere ut orationibus precibus servorum suorum, placatus oculos misericordie sue in nos dirigat et convertat pro conservatione quiete et pace status nostri. Vadit pars [...] quod procuratoribus monasteriorum observantium et locorum infrascriptorum qui singulis annis solvunt dacium vini quo utuntur dentur per annos tres proximos, pro elemosina et reverentia domini Jesu Christi per provisores nostros salis tot denarii quod solvi possit taxa infrascriptorum monasteriorum facta: San Zorzi d'Alega [boche] 40, [amphore] 4...».

¹⁶ Campolongo sul Brenta, aujourd'hui dans la province de Vicence, près de Bassano del Grappa. L'axe de la Brenta permettait naturellement de convoier aisément les revenus vers la lagune vénitienne.

¹⁷ L. A. LING, *La presenza fondiaria veneziana nel Padovano (secoli XIII-XIV)*, in Gh. Ortalli, M. Knapton (éd.), *Istituzioni, Società e potere nella Marca trevigiana e veronese (sec. XIII-XIV). Sulle tracce di G.B. Verci, Atti del convegno di Treviso 25-27 sept. 1986*, Roma, nella sede dell'Istituto, 1988, pp. 305-320: note 2, p. 306. Le muid (ou *moggio*) padouan correspond à 347,8016 litres: A. MARTINI, *Manuale di metrologia*, Rome, Loescher, 1976 (1^{ère} éd. Turin, 1883), p. 817: si l'on retient une consommation annuelle moyenne de 2 setiers et demi par personne, ces revenus permettraient de nourrir près de 700 personnes, soit largement plus que les quelques dizaines de moines de S. Giorgio in Alga. L'institution religieuse, à l'instar de la plupart de ses homologues, commercialise donc une part importante de ses revenus en nature. Mais mis à part pour les céréales, les quantités mentionnées par L. A. Ling pour la fin du XIII^e siècle ne suffisent pas à la consommation des moines: ainsi, 134 poules, 110 poulets,

au siècle suivant, et il ne saurait ici être question de reconstituer minutieusement la nourriture des chanoines et de leurs pauvres, comme Christine Jehanno a pu le faire pour l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris à la même époque.¹⁸ De même, contrairement aux comptes des religieuses de St.-Amand, cette source vénitienne ne consent pas «une analyse qualitative sur les manières de table et de cuisine» par une différenciation sociale des convives auxquels serait destiné tel ou tel aliment.¹⁹ Notre connaissance approximative du nombre de bouches à nourrir permet cependant une évaluation globale, en fonction des rations supposées de consommation. Mais l'intérêt de la source est surtout de montrer qu'à Venise, malgré l'«autoconsommation», personne n'échappe au marché – ni les familles patriciennes, ni les institutions religieuses – et de mieux cerner pour quels produits et dans quelle mesure on y a recours.²⁰ Le document reflète par ailleurs l'intense réseau d'échanges dans lequel se trouvent insérés les espaces lagunaires, à la fois producteurs et consommateurs.²¹

13 épaules de porc, 28 oies, 1.091 œufs, 21 chevreaux et 48 *mastelli* de vin (à peine plus de 34 hectolitres) parviennent sur un an des propriétés de Campolongo Maggiore et de Mestre.

¹⁸ C. JEHANNO, «Sustenter les povres malades». *Alimentation et approvisionnement à la fin du Moyen Âge: l'exemple de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris*, thèse de l'Université de Paris I (2000), dir. C. Gauvard. Sur la consommation alimentaire des couvents et la diète monastique, voir notamment: B. HARVEY, *Monastic Diet, XIIIth-XVIth Centuries: Problems and Perspectives*, in Cava-ciocchi (éd.), *Alimentazione e nutrizione*, cit., pp. 611-641, et STOUFF, *L'approvisionnement des ménages*, cit.

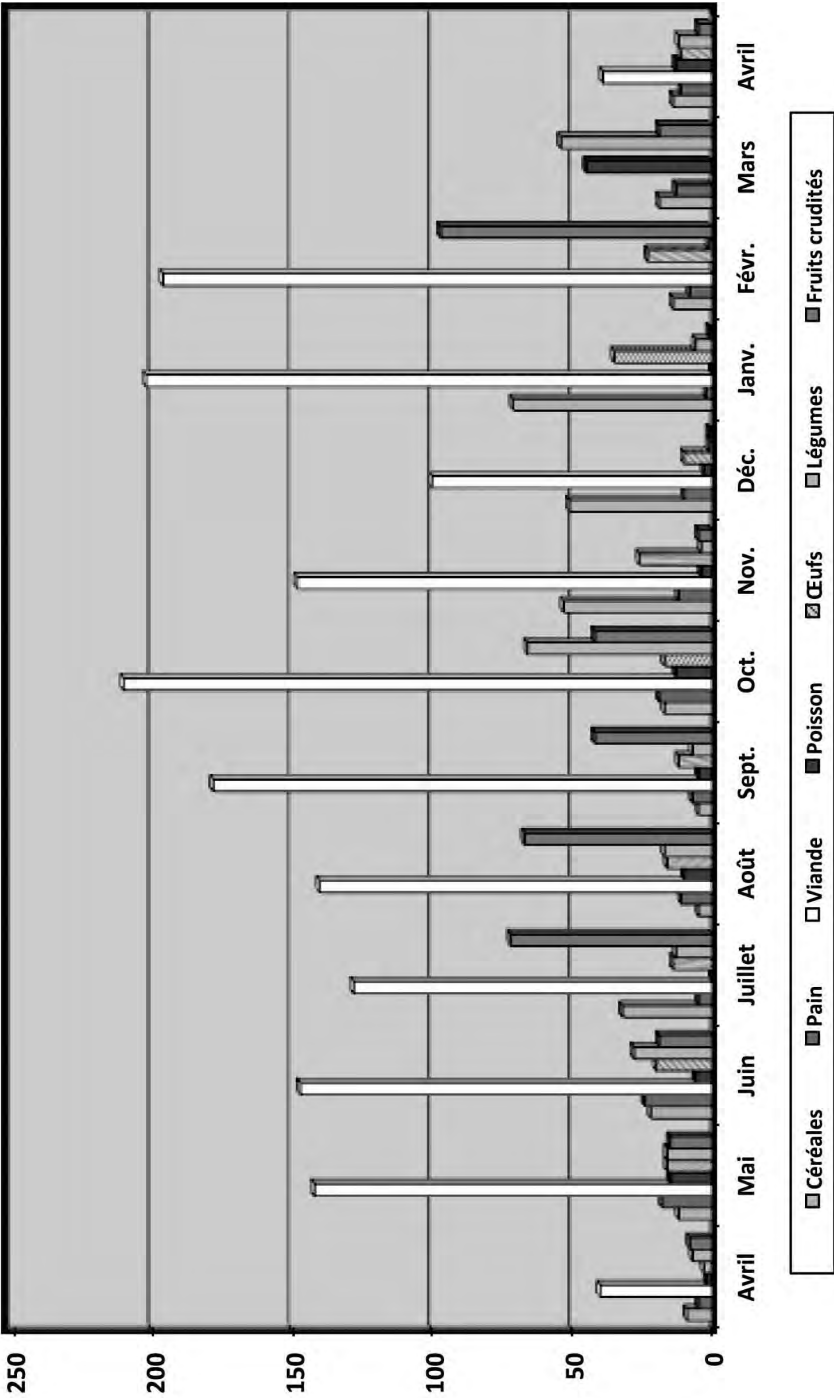
¹⁹ P. RAMBOURG, *L'abbaye de Saint Amand de Rouen (1551-1552): de la différenciation sociale des consommateurs, au travers des aliments à la pratique culinaire*, in CLAVEL, *Production alimentaire*, cit., pp. 217-230.

²⁰ L'analyse est ici, malheureusement, à sens unique puisque la documentation consultée ne permet pas de savoir quels surplus de la production 'domestique' de la communauté canoniale étaient vendus.

²¹ Voir notamment, à ce propos, É. CROUZET-PAVAN, *La mort lente de Torcello. Histoire d'une cité disparue*, Paris, Fayard, 1995.

TAB. 1. Sintesi dei acquisti alimentari della congregazione di S. Giorgio in Alga (1467-1468).

	Avril (23-30)	Mai	Juin	Juillet	Août	Septembre	Octobre	Novembre	Décembre	Janvier	Février	Mars	Avril (1 ^{er} -22)
Céréales	Millet	Millet	Farine (mouture), farine, sorgho, son, millet orge	Son, Millet, farine, sorgho, son	Millet, Millet, sorgho, son	Millet (farine, froment)	Millet, sorgho, son (froment)	Millet, fleur de farine de Mestre son	Millet, farine du <i>fondaco</i> , sorgho	Millet, son, (farine) épeautre, sorgho	Millet, son (farine)	Millet	Millet
Montant / Nb achats	9 s	12 s / 2 x	1 L 2 s / 3 x 1 L 13 s / 4 x	1 L 13 s / 4 x	5 s / 4 x	5 s / 2 x	17 s / 3 x	2 L 13 s / 8 x	2 L 11 s / 8 x	3 L 11 s / 5 x 14 s / 4 x	19 s / 3 x	14 s / 2 x	
Pain	De Venise et Mestre	Mestre	Mestre	-	Venise Mestre	Mestre	-	Venise, Mestre	Mestre	Mestre	Mestre	Mestre	Mestre
Montant / Nb achats	5 s / 3 x	18 s / 7 x	1 L 4 s / 12 x 5 s / 5 x	11 s / 8 x	11 s / 8 x	7 s / 6 x	19 s / 8 x	12 s / 6 x	10 s / 4 x	2 s / 1 x	8 s / 6 x	13 s / 10 x	11 s / 5 x
V viande	Bœuf, Carne	Bœuf, agneau	Carne	Carne	Carne	Carne, pollastre	Carne, pollastre castrato	Carne, tripe de castrato, porc	Carne	Carne, liguaga, saindoux, veau, grasses liguaghe, poules saindoux grasses	Carne, nomboli, - mortadelle, saindoux, grasses	-	Carne
Montant / Nb achats	2 L / 2 x	7 L 2 s / 10 x	7 L 7 s / 12 x	6 L 8 s / 13 x	7 L 11 x	8 L 18 s / 13 x	10 L 10 s / 13 x	7 L 8 s / 9 x	5 L / 4 x	10 L 2 s / 9 x	9 L 6 s / 6 x	-	1 L 19 s / 2 x
Poisson	Menole	Menole, sgombrin, pesse	Pesse	-	Pesse	Pesse, crevettes	Crevettes, gransevola	Crevettes	Crevettes	-	-	Pesse, crevettes, bottarga	Pesse
Montant / Nb achats	2 s / 1 x	15 s / 3 x	s / 2 x	-	10 s / 2 x	5 s / 2 x	13 s / 8 x	3 s / 3 x	3 s / 3 x	-	-	2 L 5 s / 15 x	13 s / 3 x
Œufs	Œufs	Œufs	Œufs	Œufs	Œufs	Œufs	Œufs	Œufs	Œufs	Œufs	Œufs	Œufs	Œufs
Montant / Nb achats	3 s / 2 x	16 s / 4 x	1 L / 6 x	14 s / 4 x	16 s / 5 x	12 s / 3 x	16 s / 7 x	1 L 6 s / 7 x	10 s / 2 x	1 L 15 s / 7 x	1 L 3 s / 4 x	-	11 s / 7 x
Légumes	Asperges, radichio, Candie, épinards	Asperges, radichio, carottes, fèves, fêveroles pois	Petits pois salade, Courges échalotte	Petits pois Courges	Courges	Courges, navets	Pois, navets, épinards	Navets, poireaux, carottes	Carottes, navets	Verqa, carottes, navets	Verqa sec de Valence, safran	Épinards, radichio, fèves, pois, poireaux, bruscandoli	Épinards, bruscandoli
Montant / Nb achats	7 s / 3 x	17 s / 9 x	1 L 8 s / 18 x	13 s / 10 x	17 s / 9 x	7 s / 5 x	3 L 6 s / 6 x	4 s / 4 x	4 s / 2 x	6 s / 3 x	1 s / 1 x	2 L 14 s / 17 x	12 s / 7 x
Fruits, crudités herbes aromatiques	Sauge, marjolaine, romarin, Pierre (fenouil salade)	Erbette, châtaignes, herbe de Saint- Pierre (fenouil marrin)	Cerises, Pastèque salade, oranges, noisettes, mûres	Pastèque, suisse, cerises roses, noisettes, poires, salade, câpres	Melons, cerises roses, melons suisse, raisin	Raisin, cerises roses, noix, melons	Raisin, cerises coings, poires, amandes, noix, pignons cerises roses, erbette	Coriandre	Sauge, romarin	Amandes ambrosine, raisin sec de Valence, safran	Noix, Noisettes, erbette et sauge salade	Salade, erbette, sauge	Salade
Montant / Nb achats	8 s / 3 x	158 s p / 13 x	1 L 9 d / 16 x	3 L 2 s / 28 x	3 L 7 s / 18 x	2 L 2 s / 14 x	2 L 2 s / 11 x	5 s / 3 x	1 s / 1 x	1 s / 1 x	4 L 7 s / 3 x	19 s / 4 x	5 s / 5 x
Autres	Huile	Sel, fromage, safran, feuilles de rose	Fromage de buffle (8 s) et fromage salé (8 s)	Agreste (1 s)	Vin (1 s) Agreste, huile, vinaigre (1 s 4 p)	Vin, huile	Fromage doux (8 s), fromage salé de Candie (6 s), huile de coing et de menthe, vin	-	Fromage doux (12 s); vin	Fromage doux (15 s); vin	Miel (10 s), soave vin	Vin	Fougasses (3 s / 2 x), sel, huile



GRAPHIQUE 1. Principales dépenses alimentaires de la communauté de S. Giorgio in Alga (1467-1468).

Si les statuts synodaux et autres documents normatifs vénitiens répètent à l'envie l'interdiction faite aux clercs «d'entrer dans les tavernes sous prétexte de jouer aux dés ou de boire», ils s'avèrent moins diserts sur la nourriture moralement acceptable pour des religieux.²² Le point commun aux diètes ecclésiastiques – au-delà des variantes selon les congrégations, les régions et les périodes considérées – est, on le sait, l'idée de *privation*,²³ même si l'alimentation monastique du xv^e siècle s'apparente parfois davantage à «une version spécifique des régimes aristocratiques» qu'à une stricte observance des prescriptions dérivées ou postérieures à la règle de Saint-Benoît.²⁴

La première observation que l'on peut formuler à partir du Tableau 1 et du Graphique 1 (dont les valeurs sont exprimées en sous) est l'importance des achats en viande, aliment dont la consommation est traditionnellement limitée – voire criminalisée – par les régimes ecclésiastiques.²⁵ Mis à part pour le mois de mars où ils s'avèrent inexistant, pour cause de Carême, ces achats constituent de très loin, sur tous les autres mois de l'année, le premier poste budgétaire de la communauté canoniale, même durant l'Avent qui ne se traduit pas par une baisse significative des achats.²⁶ Les dépenses carnées culminent à l'automne (septembre-octobre) et surtout en hiver (janvier-février),

²² Par ex. le synode de Grado de 1296, G. CAPPELLETTI, *Storia della chiesa di Venezia dalla sua fondazione sino ai nostri giorni*, Venezia, Tipografia armena di S. Lazzaro, 1850 («Le chiese d'Italia dalla loro origine sino ai nostri giorni», 6), p. 116, n. XIX: voir en part. le synode de Torcello de 1374 ou, p. 181, le synode de Lorenzo Giustiniani de 1438. Rien non plus ne figure en matière de régime alimentaire dans les statuts synodaux du patriarche Bonduvier, inédits et transcrits dans la thèse de Doctorat de P. VUILLEMIN, «*Parochiae Venetiarum*», *Paroisses et communautés paroissiales à Venise dans les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge*, thèse de Doctorat, Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2009, 3 vol.: III, pp. 960-979.

²³ M. MONTANARI, *Diete monastiche*, in IDEM, *Alimentazione e cultura*, Bari, Laterza, 1988, pp. 63-104.

²⁴ B. HARVEY, *Monastic Diet, XIIIth-XVIth Centuries: Problems and Perspectives*, in Cavaciocchi (a cura di), *Alimentazione e nutrizione*, cit., pp. 611-639. Sur les règles monastiques médiévales jusqu'à la règle de Saint-Benoît, quelques notations dans S. RACINET, *Les prescriptions concernant l'alimentation et la boisson dans les règles monastiques médiévales (jusqu'à la règle de Saint-Benoît)*, in CLAVEL, *Production alimentaire*, cit., pp. 3-7.

²⁵ MONTANARI, *Diete monastiche*, cit., pp. 70, 73, 77. À la fin du XIII^e siècle, le pape Benoît XII avait autorisé les moines à manger de la viande quatre jours par semaine, hormis durant l'Avent et le Carême, soit les lundi, mardi, jeudi et dimanche, soit 150 jours par an environ: HARVEY, *Monastic Diet*, cit., p. 620.

²⁶ En 1468, le mercredi des Cendres se situe le 2 mars et le dimanche de Pâques le 17 avril. En revanche, l'année précédente, Pâques a eu lieu avant le début du compte, le 29 mars 1467. L'Avent commence le 29 novembre 1467.

juste avant le jeûne pré-pascal. Rapportées au nombre de bouches, elles ne donnent cependant pas des rations spectaculaires, loin s'en faut. Le calcul exact s'avère impossible car, le plus souvent, la viande apparaît sous le seul nom de *carne*, donc il n'est pas possible de déduire une quantité du prix d'achat.²⁷ Quand des précisions sont données, comme à la fin du printemps et au début de l'été, bœuf, agneau et *castrato* dominent. L'automne voit au contraire l'affirmation des volailles grasses, *pollastre* et chapons, ainsi que l'achat de quelques abats, en l'occurrence des tripes de *castrato*. Avec décembre, débute la saison du cochon et, dès janvier, les premières *luganeghe* arrivent sur la table des chanoines, avec les mortadelles et le saindoux, puis la viande de veau, avant que le Carême n'interrompe brusquement ce 'manger gras'. La répartition des achats de viandes, telle qu'on peut la reconstituer – c'est-à-dire bien imparfaitement – reflète donc tout à la fois le cycle naturel des saisons et la hiérarchie médiévale des goûts en matière d'alimentation carnée: les volatiles et le veau se disputent le sommet de la pyramide. Viennent ensuite le bœuf et le *castrato*, puis le porc et le chevreau:²⁸ si l'on rapporte les 210 sous dépensés en octobre 1467 pour les viandes, aux prix en vigueur sur le marché de Rialto pour la livre de bœuf (2 sous) ou celle de porc (28 *piccoli*), on obtient des quantités indicatives assez modestes d'environ 105 livres du premier animal ou de 150 livres du second. Divisé par le nombre de convives, cela donne des rations mensuelles de 2,6 livres de bœuf (1,2 kg environ) ou de 3,75 livres de porc par bouche (1,8 kg environ). Trois jours par semaine étant maigres, les portions individuelles seraient, avec un repas carné par jour gras, de 70 à 120 gr. de viande, ce qui est peu, mais reste plausible pour une communauté religieuse. Il est ainsi fort possible qu'une grande part de la consommation carnée des chanoines provienne des achats sur le marché, tout au moins pour

²⁷ *Carne* désigne cependant, en principe, la viande bovine.

²⁸ Cette hiérarchie est d'ailleurs fort différente de celle qui apparaît dans les livres de cuisine médiévaux, y compris dans les très rares productions vénitiennes. Pour une réflexion à ce sujet concernant la fin du Moyen Âge et l'époque moderne: J.-L. FLANDRIN, *Prix et statut gastronomique des viandes: réflexions sur quelques exemples des xvr^e, xviii^e et xix^e siècles*, in Cavaciocchi (a cura di), *Alimentazione e nutrizione*, cit., pp. 591-610. L'Auteur montre notamment la quasi absence des plats de bœuf dans les livres de cuisine aristocratiques alors qu'ils figurent en abondance dans les livres 'bourgeois' tels que *Le Mesnagier de Paris* (36 plats sur 98 de viande): pp. 597-598 notamment. Sur la diversité de la hiérarchie des viandes selon les régions considérées de l'Occident médiéval: STOUFF, *L'approvisionnement des ménages*, cit., pp. 669-670.

la viande de bœuf, les propriétés de Terreferme étant plus susceptibles de fournir celle des *animali menudi*, porcs, *castrati* et agneaux.²⁹ D'ailleurs, les comptes précisent en date du 13 octobre, lors de l'acquisition pour 14 sous de viande, qu'il s'agit là de «carne per do zorni», ce qui correspond donc plus ou moins à l'ordre de grandeur des dépenses moyennes en viande sur l'ensemble de l'année, hormis la période du Carême. La viande est achetée en général le samedi, parfois aussi le lundi et le jeudi, de quatre à treize fois par mois, et est sans doute consommée le jour même.³⁰

En revanche, pour les autres aliments, les achats ne jouent qu'un rôle limité: les dépenses en céréales – millet essentiellement, un peu de son³¹ et de sorgho, parfois aussi de l'épeautre – apparaissent parfaitement dérisoires au regard de la consommation d'une communauté forte d'une quarantaine de personnes. Le recours au marché ne joue qu'à certaines périodes, notamment entre septembre et janvier, quand il faut compléter les revenus en nature pour renforcer les stocks, avant que la soudure ne fasse trop grimper les prix. Les chanoines achètent alors par un intermédiaire plusieurs setiers de froment padouan aux frères de Santa Giustina,³² de la fleur de farine de Mestre, et de la farine du *fondaco* réaltin – principale institution annonaire de la Commune.³³ Mais ils comptent avant tout sur la part dominicale de leurs propriétés en Terreferme, notamment à Padoue et – semble-t-il – dans le Trévisan. Les comptes laissent apparaître subrepticement ces livraisons à travers le paiement effectué aux bateliers qui assurent le transport, ou à travers celui des *bollete* et des contrelettres nécessaires à l'acheminement.³⁴ Une à deux fois par mois, les chanoines font moudre du grain

²⁹ La consommation des viandes sous forme de potage, par ex., permettait de n'en employer que de faibles quantités: sur la diversité des formes de la consommation carnée dans les monastères, voir HARVEY, *Monastic Diet*, cit., p. 621.

³⁰ Voir plus haut, note 24, les jours de consommation de viande.

³¹ Son prix est fort bas, de l'ordre de 8 sous le setier.

³² ASVE: *Misc. Atti diversi manoscritti*, b. 134, cit., 22 septembre 1467, f. 19v.

³³ Sur le fondaco des farines, voir F. FAUGERON, *Au cœur de l'annone vénitienne: le fondaco delle farine de Rialto à la fin du Moyen Âge*, «MEFREM», 121, 2, 2009, pp. 417-436.

³⁴ Par ex. ASVE: *Misc. Atti diversi manoscritti*, b. 134, cit., 5 octobre 1467, f. 7r: «Et per la boleta che feze far per el formento Zan Piero a Padoa» ou encore «per far portar el dito formento in portego». Plusieurs livraisons «de campagna» sont enregistrées dans les comptes en annexe: 21 août et 4 novembre 1467, ff. 19r-20r. Il n'est pas du tout certain que «campagna» renvoie à la localité située dans le Trévisan. En tous cas, les revenus de S. Giorgio in Alga n'apparaissent pas dans les registres des douanes trévisanes qui ont été consultés et dépouillés.

de leurs stocks et règlent la dépense au meunier. Il s'agit toutefois de quantités généralement peu importantes, d'un ou deux setiers.

Sur les marchés de Padoue, ils acquièrent également des poulardes, des chapons et de nombreux produits non alimentaires allant des draps aux pilules contre la toux ou contre la peste: l'année 1467 se signale en effet par la diffusion dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Italie d'épidémies qui touchent Venise en 1468.³⁵ De Mestre, en revanche, proviennent la quasi-totalité des achats de pain – au demeurant dans des proportions dérisoires – une à deux fois par semaine. Outre l'avantage de la proximité géographique, le pain du continent avait aussi celui du prix: il coûtait apparemment un peu moins cher qu'à Venise. Surtout, il était tenu pour meilleur. De nombreux paysans, boulangers ou des intermédiaires en faisaient commerce à Venise sur le Pont de Rialto, au grand dam de la profession des *pistori* locaux.³⁶ En fait, les chanoines utilisaient essentiellement la farine tirée des grains de leurs revenus ou celle acquise au *fondaco*: un contrat annuel avec un *forner*, maître Greguol, leur en garantissait la transformation en pain, comme cela était d'usage courant à Venise et ailleurs.³⁷

Dans une communauté religieuse censée manger maigre au moins trois jours par semaine et observer rigoureusement les jeûnes du calendrier liturgique,³⁸ les achats de poisson se signalent par leur indigence. Au printemps et à l'été, ils n'interviennent qu'une à trois fois par mois, le vendredi. Les espèces acquises apparaissent rarement: les comptes

³⁵ A. CORRADI, *Annali delle epidemie occorse in Italia dalle prime memorie fino al 1850 compilati con varie note e dichiarazioni*, I, «Avanti l'era volgare dopo l'era volgare fino all'anno 1600», Bologna, Forni, 1865, pp. 301-302: «la pestilenza si fece aspramente sentire in Bergamo, talmente che i tribunali dalla metà di Settembre sino al principio del nuovo anno stettero chiusi». La même année, décision est prise à Gênes de construire un lazaret. La peste touche par ailleurs tant la France que Constantinople. P. 303: l'année suivante, en 1468, Mantoue, Parme, Plaisance, Pérouse et Messine souffrent à leur tour de l'épidémie, ainsi que Rome, Udine et Venise.

³⁶ Entre 50 à 60 setiers de ce pain sont vendus quotidiennement sur le pont, soit asve: MC, *Spiritus*, 29 décembre 1341, f. 120r, soit 8 à 10% des besoins en céréales de la ville et une part plus importante encore des ventes de pain.

³⁷ *Ibidem*: Misc. Atti diversi manoscritti, b. 134, cit., 10 mars 1468, f. 21r: cinq livres sont payées à l'artisan en vertu de ce contrat qui débute au début de chaque année civile (1^{er} mars). Sur les contrats passés avec les fournisseurs, voir STOUFF, *L'approvisionnement des ménages*, cit., p. 659. La famille Morosini recourt elle aussi à un *forner* pour la confection de son pain, avec un contrat débutant en novembre: asve: Procuratori di San Marco [= PSM], Misti, b. 70, cit., 17 novembre 1343, f. 3r.

³⁸ Sur le rôle du poisson dans l'alimentation ecclésiastique: MONTANARI, *Diete monastiche*, cit., p. 81.

mentionnent un *pesse* générique le plus souvent, mais aussi des *menole* (mendoles), des *sgombri* (maquereaux) et surtout des crevettes. La *granseola* (araignée de mer) et la *bottarga* (œufs de poisson, en général du mulot ou du thon) s'ajoutent à ces maigres achats. En fait, en temps normal, les revenus que les chanoines tirent de leurs *valli di pesca* leur suffisent. Les institutions religieuses et les grandes familles ont en effet très précocement investi dans cette forme de pêche qui, en régulant la migration du poisson, s'apparente à la pisciculture : les eaux de la lagune, peu profondes, présentent une sensibilité thermique plus importante que celles de la mer. Au sortir de l'hiver, elles attirent les jeunes poissons de certaines espèces grâce à leur réchauffement plus rapide. Ces alevins poursuivent leur croissance dans la lagune puis, devenus adultes, retournent à la mer à la fin de l'automne pour trouver des eaux moins froides où se reproduire. Les *valli di pesca* tirent partie de ces migrations en retenant le poisson dans des bassins lagunaires grâce à un système de claies qui portent le nom de *grisole* (*grisuole*, *grasuole*) ou de *velledelli*.³⁹ Les chanoines ne recourent donc au marché que pour acquérir des produits particuliers, de haute mer, comme par exemple, les maquereaux. Ce n'est que lorsque leurs besoins augmentent, en période de Carême, que les religieux doivent acheter partie du surplus consommé : ainsi, les achats de poisson en mars 1468 sont trois à quinze fois supérieurs à ceux des autres mois de l'année.

Autre substitut autorisé pour les jours maigres : les œufs. Particulièrement caloriques, ils figurent traditionnellement avec abondance dans les régimes ecclésiastiques.⁴⁰ Les achats s'avèrent assez réguliers – de deux à sept fois par mois –, sauf durant le Carême où ils disparaissent.⁴¹ Mais, ici encore, ils ne représentent sans doute qu'une part minime de la consommation, largement alimentée par le poulailler insulaire et, probablement, par les revenus perçus en nature.⁴²

³⁹ Ainsi les comptes enregistrent des livraisons de poisson à plusieurs reprises sans que les quantités ne soient précisées : par ex. ASVE : *Misc. Atti diversi manoscritti*, b. 134, cit., 30 octobre 1467, f. 8r. Sur la pêche dans la lagune et les *valli di pesca* voir S. BORTOLAMI, *L'agricoltura*, dans L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, G. Cracco, Gh. Ortalli (dir.), *Storia di Venezia*, 1, *Origini-Età ducale*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992, pp. 461-489, et CROUZET-PAVAN, *La mort lente*, cit., en part. pp. 179-196.

⁴⁰ MONTANARI, *Diete monastiche*, cit., p. 82.

⁴¹ Leur bannissement pendant cette période de jeûne était ordinaire : voir, par ex., V. BAUCHET-CUBADDA, *L'approvisionnement alimentaire de la commanderie de Choisy-le-Temple (Seine-et-Marne), fin XV^e-milieu XVI^e siècle*, in CLAVEL, *Production alimentaire*, cit., p. 250.

⁴² Les œufs figurent ainsi en bonne place parmi les produits portés à Venise depuis le

Il en va sans doute de même pour les légumes, les fruits et les crudités dont le potager et le verger conventuels assuraient une grande partie de l'ordinaire.⁴³ Les achats de légumes, reflètent ce qui a pu être observé pour les comptes du xiv^e siècle :⁴⁴ une certaine monotonie, du moins pour l'hiver, où navets et chou vert (la *verza*) dominent, aux côtés des carottes et des poireaux. Le potager doit assurer la quasi-totalité des besoins en ces produits, car les achats en décembre, janvier et février sont tout à fait exceptionnels. À partir du printemps, les dépenses augmentent et garantissent une plus grande variété : le Carême marque un pic dans le recours au marché. La plus grande différence au regard des produits présents sur la table des Morosini – du moins autant qu'on puisse en juger puisque les comptes s'interrompent fin avril – réside certainement dans l'extraordinaire progression des épinards, sans doute l'un des légumes les plus consommés de mars à octobre, aux côtés bien sûr du *radicchio*, des fèves, des pois (acquis en quantités importantes au mois d'octobre) puis, à l'automne, de la courge. La châtaigne, en revanche, n'apparaît que deux fois, hors saison, au mois de mai, alors qu'elle était acquise presque quotidiennement pour la table Morosini en décembre. Les comptes de S. Giorgio se trouvent donc apparemment en porte à faux avec cette particularité vénitienne, relevée par Jean-Robert Pitte : bouillie ou grillée, la châtaigne s'avère abondamment consommée à la fin de l'automne et au début de l'hiver dans la cité lagunaire, alors que sa rivale génoise les dédaigne.⁴⁵ Le marché apporte aussi quelques produits originaires d'Outremer sur la table des chanoines, comme le fenouil de Candie.⁴⁶

En ce qui concerne les fruits et crudités, le recours aux achats s'avère beaucoup plus fluctuant. Aux fruits de saison proprement dits (ce-

Trévisan par les Vénitiens laïcs ou religieux : F. FAUGERON, *Nourrir la ville. Ravitaillement, marchés et métiers de l'alimentation à Venise dans les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge*, Rome, École française de Rome, 2013, tableau 26, pp. 373-374.

⁴³ FAUGERON, *Nourrir la ville*, cit., I, p. 310.

⁴⁴ LUZZATTO, *Il costo della vita*, cit., et FAUGERON, *Nourrir la ville*, cit., p. 737.

⁴⁵ J.-R. PITTE, *Terre de castanide. Hommes et paysages du châtaignier de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, Paris, Fayard, 1986, p. 82. Il n'est cependant pas impossible que des châtaignes proviennent des revenus fonciers de Terreferme et n'apparaissent pas de la sorte dans les comptes.

⁴⁶ La variété était très probablement cultivée dans les environs car une navigation d'au moins dix à quinze jours – sans réfrigération aucune bien entendu – était nécessaire pour relier l'île de Crète à la métropole.

ris, pastèque, oranges, prunes (*susine*), poires, melons et châtaignes l'été, puis raisin, cerises et pommes encore, poires et coings à l'automne) s'ajoutent des herbes aromatiques et une seule épice (houblon, sauge, marjolaine, romarin, coriandre, et safran), des fruits secs (noix, noisettes, amandes, raisin sec de Valence) ainsi que des salades et *erbette*.⁴⁷ Les achats s'intensifient considérablement les mois d'été et au début de l'automne, en particulier en juillet, août, septembre et octobre – où ils ont lieu un jour sur deux voire deux jours sur trois – pour s'effondrer à partir de novembre. Parmi les recours au marché, deux semblent particulièrement dignes d'attention : juste avant le Carême, pour les pâtisseries du carnaval, les chanoines font l'acquisition exceptionnelle de vingt-huit livres d'amandes *ambrosine*⁴⁸ à la «botega del Spineli», pour un total de trois livres et dix sous de petits deniers.⁴⁹ En outre, durant le Carême, ils procèdent à des achats réguliers de houblon sauvage (*bruscandoli*), probablement préparés sous forme d'omelette selon une recette originaire de Portogruaro.⁵⁰

En matière alimentaire, les autres achats s'avèrent plus irréguliers : du sel à peine deux fois par an, du fromage de buffle et du «fromage doux» frais ou encore du fromage salé de Candie presque chaque mois, des fougasses en avril, du miel, un peu de vin, de verjus (*agresta*) et de vinaigre à la fin de l'été, de l'huile encore, mais en faible quantité. Le fromage frais provenait des environs – parfois même des *pestri* vénitiens ou des laiteries du pourtour de la lagune, en particulier de Fusina. En revanche, le fromage salé était généralement importé d'Albanie puis, au xv^e siècle, toujours davantage des Pouilles – avec la reprise de la grande transhumance – et de Crète.⁵¹ Les chanoines se ravitaillent uniquement en cette dernière variété et confirment ainsi le succès de l'agriculture et de l'élevage spéculatifs vers lesquels la

⁴⁷ Une des rares indications des apprêts mentionne l'utilisation de la pastèque sous forme de soupe : ASVE : *Misc. Atti diversi manoscritti*, b. 134, 14 juillet 1468, f. 4r, «per chugumari per menestra soldo 1°».

⁴⁸ Il s'agit d'une variété douce du fruit, considérée comme la meilleure : G. BOERIO, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, Venezia, Cecchini, 1856, pp. 31, 391.

⁴⁹ ASVE : *Misc. Atti diversi manoscritti*, b. 134, cit., 29 février 1468, f. 11v. Les comptes Morosini montrent également des achats importants d'ingrédients destinés à la préparation des *fritelle*, en particulier pour le carnaval : amandes, raisins secs, pignons.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, par ex. 19 mars 1468, f. 12r. Voir BOERIO, *Dizionario*, cit., p. 103.

⁵¹ J.-M. MARTIN, *Les débuts de la transhumance : économie et habitat en Capitanate*, «Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo», 109, 2, 2007, pp. 117-137, et FAUGERON, *Nourrir la ville*, cit., I, pp. 390, 419-420.

grande île grecque s'est tournée, sur impulsion de la métropole vénitienne qui lui fournit capitaux et débouchés, mais aussi compte tenu des fortes contraintes imposées au marché céréalier.⁵²

En fait, la plupart des dépenses en vin et en huile ne figurent pas dans les comptes principaux mais dans un petit compte en annexe. Onze achats de vin ont lieu dans l'année, concentrés entre juillet et début octobre puis, surtout en décembre-janvier et, enfin, au mois de mars. Mises à part une dépense modeste pour deux quarts et un *secchio* de vin des Pouilles, début juillet 1467, et une autre pour une demi-quarte de vin des Marches, en mars de l'année suivante,⁵³ tout le reste du vin provient de Terreferme, de Padoue mais surtout, à très forte majorité, de Vicence. Le coût du transport par voie fluviale influe très peu sur le prix final: trois sous pour une quarte de vin vicentin, deux sous pour une quarte de vin padouan, soit 2 à 3% et encore, cette proportion s'avère dégressive avec l'augmentation des quantités. Les achats annuels totalisent une somme de 148 livres et 4 sous, soit plus du triple du budget consacré à la viande (44 livres et 15 sous), pour une quantité assez modeste d'un peu plus de 18 hectolitres.⁵⁴ Le Sénat prévoit par ailleurs un remboursement du *dazio* versé par la communauté à concurrence de quatre amphores. Les chanoines recevaient de toute évidence leurs besoins en vin par d'autres biais. Le marché ne devait guère servir qu'à acquérir des vins de qualité 'supérieure', comme le laissent à penser les achats importants effectués au moment des fêtes de fin d'année, juste avant Noël.

⁵² L'ancienneté du commerce à longue distance – notamment vers Constantinople – des meules de fromage crétois (la seule des trois principales variétés produites sur l'île appropriée à de longs voyages) est cependant attestée: D. JACOBY, *Byzantine Crete in the Navigation and Trade Networks of Venice and Genoa*, dans L. Balletto (dir.), *Oriente e Occidente fra medioevo ed età moderna. Studi in onore di Geo Pistarino*, 2 vol., Genova, Brigati, 1997: 1, pp. 517-540. Sur le commerce du fromage crétois dans les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge: D. JACOBY, *Cretan Cheese: a Neglected Aspect of the Venetian Medieval Trade*, dans E. E. Kittell, Th. Masen (eds.), *Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, Urbana-Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1999, pp. 49-68.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, 31 mars 1468, f. 21v.

⁵⁴ Les prix, en moyenne, s'avèrent assez élevés, le triple de celui du vin de pays 'modéré' par la Seigneurie à partir de 1407 (voir le chap. 8), bien que la plupart des achats aient lieu en hiver plusieurs mois après les vendanges. Il s'agit probablement de vins de qualité relativement élevée à l'instar de ce «vin gropelo vermeio da Vicenza» acheté le 7 janvier, toujours au même marchand, un certain Epitafio, qui semble travailler à Padoue et vend tant du vin padouan que vicentin. La quantité totale représenterait une ration quotidienne dérisoire de 0,125 litre par convive. Sur le commerce du vin en Terreferme, voir notamment G.-M. VARANINI, *Mercato subregionale ed economia di distretto nella Terraferma veneta: il commercio del vino*, dans IDEM, *Comuni, cittadini e stato regionale. Ricerche sulla Terraferma veneta nel Quattrocento*, Verona, Libreria Editrice Universitaria, 1992, pp. 163-181.

L'huile achetée et livrée sur l'île est répartie dans les comptes en trois catégories dont deux alimentaires, «bon da magnar» et «da frizer», et une destinée à l'éclairage. Seuls trois achats ont lieu dans l'année: un demi-miro en avril 1467, un miro (15,8 l environ) en septembre, puis à nouveau en avril un miro d'huile «da magnar» et moitié moins en huile «da frizer». L'huile à brûler est acquise par deux fois en septembre puis en novembre lorsque les journées raccourcissent. La première catégorie connaît un prix stable, *calmierato*, aux trois dates indiquées (6 livres 4 sous le miro), ce qui laisse à penser qu'elle a été acquise par le circuit public de la *Ternaria*, tandis que l'huile «da frizer» coûte quelques sous de moins (5 livres 16 sous le miro).⁵⁵ Au total, la quantité annuelle achetée n'atteint pas 24 l, soit deux litres par mois pour quarante convives.⁵⁶ Quant aux produits laitiers (mis à part le fromage), le beurre et surtout le lait, ils n'apparaissent pas dans les comptes, ce qui n'a rien de surprenant au demeurant:⁵⁷ il est fort probable que la communauté ait pu subvenir à l'essentiel de ses besoins grâce à quelques vaches laitières.

Au total, les comptes de bouche de S. Giorgio in Alga montrent bien un usage plus ou moins 'extraordinaire' du marché selon les produits et selon les saisons. Mais, contrairement à la maisonnée Morosini où le marché constituait la source principale d'approvisionnement et l'autoconsommation représentait une exception, les chanoines – à l'instar de nombreuses autres communautés religieuses vénitiennes –

⁵⁵ ASVE: Misc. *Atti diversi manoscritti*, b. 134, cit., 24 avril 1467, f. 18v; 10 septembre 1467, f. 19v; 7 avril 1468, f. 21v.

⁵⁶ À rapprocher des chiffres indiqués pour l'époque moderne par S. CIRIACONO, *L'olio a Venezia in età moderna. I consumi alimentari e gli altri usi*, in Cavaciocchi (a cura di), *Alimentazione e nutrizione*, cit., pp. 301-312: en part. 312: l'Auteur évalue la consommation alimentaire d'huile dans la Venise du XVIII^e siècle à 2,5 l par an et par tête. Ici, elle serait quatre fois inférieure (en l'absence d'apports non marchands ce que rien n'infirme). Quoiqu'il en soit, la consommation d'huile comme fond de cuisine serait assez rare à Venise à la fin du Moyen Âge si l'on en croit le seul livre de cuisine conservé: L. Frati (a cura di), *Libro di cucina del secolo XIV*, Livorno, Giusti, 1899 qui montre une nette prédilection pour le saindoux et le lard, affirmation démentie au demeurant par d'autres sources. Rappelons à ce propos l'article de J.-L. FLANDRIN, *Le goût et la nécessité: sur l'usage des graisses dans les cuisines d'Europe occidentale (XIV^e-XVIII^e s.)*, «Annales ESC», 38, 1983, pp. 369-401.

⁵⁷ STOUFF, *L'approvisionnement des ménages*, cit., p. 667: ainsi que le relève justement l'Auteur, «le lait ne se conserve pas, et son commerce n'a presque pas laissé de trace dans les textes», bien que le lien entre la première proposition et la seconde ne soit pas de cause à effet. La même absence caractérise les comptes Morosini: LUZZATTO, *Il costo della vita*, cit., p. 217.

mettent à profit les liens étroits qui les unissent à leurs possessions lagunaires et campagnardes. Bien qu'établis sur une île de la lagune vénitienne, ces religieux maintiennent en définitive un équilibre certain entre autosuffisance et recours au marché, au regard de nombreuses institutions ecclésiastiques du continent, beaucoup plus dépendantes des achats.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ STOUFF, *L'approvisionnement des ménages*, cit., pp. 651-653, cite de nombreux exemples d'équilibres fort variés entre achats et autoconsommation en Provence notamment. Certaines institutions religieuses urbaines, à l'instar de l'Hôpital du Saint-Esprit de Marseille, acquièrent sur les marchés la quasi-totalité de leurs besoins alimentaires.

ANNEXES

1.

Édition: ASVE: *Miscellanea atti diversi manoscritti*, b. 134

Fasc. 5-bis, fz. «Spexe di bocha extraordinarie», S. Giorgio in Alga, 1467.

1467 a dì 23 april in Dei nomine

ff. 1r-13r

A dì dito di a un povero soldo 1°	£0s1	1r
Dì 24 per vuove fresche soldo 1°, val	£0s1	
Per salvia soldo 1°	£0s1	
Item per tre nizuoli, do grandi e un piccolo soldi 3	£0s3	
Dì 24 dito, di aver pan soldi 1 et per sparasi soldo 1°	£0s2	
Sabado di 25 per erbe uliose da piantar mazorana, salvia, osmarin et altre erbe soldi 4, val	£0s4	
Item carne de manzo libre 14 soldi 28 et per sparasi soldo 1°	£1 ^a s9	
Per pan fresco da Mestre soldi 2 e per el fachin soldo 1°	£0s3	
Dì 28 per carne soldi 12, per do quarte de meio soldo 9	£1 ^a s1	
Per fenocchio di Candia soldi 4, per el fachin che porta soldo 1°	£0s5	
Dì dito per salata soldo 1°, val	£0s1	
Et per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1	
Dì 29 29 (<i>sic</i>) dito per vuove soldo 2, per pan fresco soldo 1°	£0s3	
Dì 30 per un quaterno de carta da scriver soldi 5	£0s5	
Per menole soldi 2, per salata et spinazi soldo 1°, per el fachin soldo 1°	£0s4	
Dì primo mazo per dar a un povero soldo 1°, per vuove soldi 6	£0s7	
Per sparaxi soldo 1°, val	£0s1	
Sabado di do, di a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1	
Item per dar a un povero soldo 1°, per sal zoè una quarta soldi 4	£0s5	
Per carne soldi 17, per pan da Mestre soldi 2, per sparaxi soldo 1°	£1 ^a s-	
Per el fachin che porta le dite soldo 1°	£0s1°	
Dì 5 per pan fresco da Mestre soldi 2 et a un povero soldo 1°	£0s3	

Di dito per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	1v
Di 6 per carne soldi 8, per erbete soldo 1, per radichio soldo 1°, val	£os10	
Per castagne mondade soldi 2, per carote soldo 1°, per el fachin soldo 1°	£os4	
Di dito per pirole contra peste, meza onza, soldi 4 et per pirole per la tosse soldo 1°, val	£os5	
Di 7 per dar oferta al perdon de l'Asension et a un povero soldo 1°	£os2	
Di 8 per vuove soldi 4, per salata e per erbete soldi 2, per el fachin soldo 1°	£os7	
Sabado di 9 per dar a do poveri soldi 2, val	£os2	
Per carne de manzo soldi 12, per carne de agnelo soldi 8	£1 ^a s-	
Item per formaio soldi 11 et per el fachin porta le dite soldo 1°	£os12	
Di 11 per carne soldi 10, per una quarta de faveta soldi 6, val	£os16	
Per salata e per erbete soldo 1°, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os2	
Di 13 per carne 12 soldi, per el fachin soldo 1°, per dar a un povero soldi 2	£os15	
Di dito per seda negra e bianca, per pan soldi 7, val	£os7	
Di 14 per vuove fresche soldi 2, per de' zafran soldo 1°, per pan	£os3	
Di 15 per dar a do poveri soldi 2 per libra una de castegne mondade soldi 2	£os4	
Et per far dir una mesa soldi 4, val	£os4	
Di dito per scombrin soldi 7, per erbete e salata soldo 1°, val	£os8	
Item per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Sabado di 16 per carne soldi 24, val	£1s4	
Et per erbete soldo 1°, et per el fachin che porta le dite soldo 1°	£os2	
Et a un povero soldi 2, val	£os2	
Di 18 per salata soldo 1° et per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os2	
Di 19 per pesse, zoe menole soldi 2, per erbete soldo 1° et per el fachin soldo 1°	£os4	
Di 20 per carne soldi 6, per meio soldi 3, val	£os9	
Per libre do de lin trato soldi 14 et per el fachin che porta soldo 1°	£os15	
Et per dar a do poveri soldi 2, val	£os2	
Di 21 per fava fresca soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Di 22 per pesse soldi 6, per erbete soldo 1°, per radichio soldo 1°, val	£os8	2r

Et per dar a do poveri soldi 2, et per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os3
Sabado di 23 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1
Et per carne soldi 24, per erbete soldo 1°, et per salata parvi 6, val	£1s5p6
Et per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£- s1°
Dì 23 dito per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os1
Dì 26 per libre do de fava soldi 4, val	£os4
Dì 27 per pan fresco soldi 4 et per dar a un povero soldo 1°	£os5
Dì dito per carne soldi 6, per bisi soldo 1°, per salata soldo 1°, val	£os8
Et per do quartaruoli de meio soldi 9, val	£os9
Dì 29 dito per vuove soldi 4, val	£os4
Et per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1
Sabado di 30 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1
Et per carne soldi 15, per erbete soldo 1° piccoli 4, per foie de ruose soldo 1°	£os16p4
Per pan fresco da Mestre soldi 2, per erba de San Piero soldo 1°	£os3
Per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£os1
Dì 31 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1
Dì primo zugno per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1
Dì dito che pan de al muliner per 1° staio de farina soldi 6	£os6
Et per carne soldi 22, per bissi soldo 1°, et per el fachin soldo 1°	£os14
Per candelle de cera, per pan soldi 2, val	£os2
Dì do per pan fresco da Mestre soldi 2, val	£os2
Dì 3 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1
Item per carne soldi 7, per bissi soldo 1°, per ceriesse soldi 2	£os10
Per salata soldo 1°, et per el fachin che porta le dite soldo 1°	£os2
Dì ditto per libre do de lin a soldi 7 la libra, soldi 14, val	£os14
Dì 4 che havi pesse da ser Felle et per bisi soldo 1° e per ceriese soldo 1°	£os2
Dì ditto che di al fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£os1
Dì 5 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1
Dì dito per 1° ster de semola soldi 8, per salata soldi 1, val	£os9
Dì 6 per vuove soldi 3, val	£os3
Sabado di ditto zoe 6, per carne soldi 15 per bissi soldo 1°, val	£os16
Et per ceriesse soldo 1° et per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os2

Dì 7, per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 8 per carne soldi 12, per bissi soldo 1°, et per ceriese soldo 1°	£os15.0 [sic]	
Et per el fachin che porta le dite soldo 1° et per salata parvi 4	£os1p4	
Dì 10 per dar a un povero soldi 2 et per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os3	
Dì dito per carne soldi 6, per bissi et ceriesse soldi 2, val	£os8	
Per vuove soldi 4 et per vuove fresche soldo 1°, val	£os5	
Per el fachin che porta le dite soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 11 per vuove fresche soldi 2, val	£os2	
Dì 12 per dar a do poveri soldi 2, val	£os2	
Dì dito di' al muliner per 1° staio de farina soldi 6	£os6	
Per pan fresco soldo 1° et per cugumari soldo 1°, val	£os2	
Sabado di 13 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, per pan fresco soldo 1°	£os2	
Per carne soldi 15, per bissi soldo 1°, per radichio soldo 1°, val	£os17	
Per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì ditto per cugumari soldi 2, per pan fresco soldi 2, val	£os4	
Dì 14 per dar a do poveri soldi 2, val	£os2	
Dì 15 per carne soldi 13, per bissi soldo 1°, per salata e scalogne soldo 1°	£os15	
Per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 16 per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 17 per carne soldi 7, per bisi soldo 1°, per pan fresco da Mestre soldi 2	£os10	
Et per formaio bufalo soldi 8, e per formaio salado soldi 8	£os16	
Et per dar a un povero soldo 1° et per el fachin porta le dite cose soldo 1°	£os2	
Per radichio soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 18 per vuove soldi 4 per bissi soldo 1° et per salata soldo 1°, val	£os6	3r
Et per do libre de lin trato a soldi 7 la libra, soldi 14	£os14	
Dì 19 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Sabado di 20 per carne soldi 17, per bissi soldo 1°, per cugumari soldo 1°	£os19	
Per vuove soldi 2, per dar a un povero soldo 1°, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os2s [sic]	
Dì ditto spissi per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 22, per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Item, per bissi soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 23, per pan fresco soldi 2 et per cambiar soldi 2 per parvi	£os4	

Dì dito per carne soldi 13, per cugumari soldo 1°, per bissi soldo 1°, val	£os15
Per salata parvi 6, et per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os1 p6
Dì 24 per pirole de gera con agarico per mi soldo 1°, val	£os1
Et per pirole per Catarina soldo 1° et per l'aranze soldo 1°, val	£os2
Dì 25 per dar a un povero soldo 1° per pan fresco soldo 1°	£os2
Dì 26 per pesse soldi 6, per bissi soldo 1°, per nosele fresche soldi 2	£os9
Per cugumari soldo 1°, per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os2
Sabado di 27 per carne soldi 14, per bisi soldo 1°, val	£os15
Per more soldo 1°, per salata soldo 1°, et per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os3
Item per meio soldi 2, val	£os2
Dì 29 per carne soldi 6, per vuove soldi 4, val	£os10.0
Item per chugumari soldo 1°, per bissi soldo 1° et per el fachin soldo 1° per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os13 ⁵⁹
Per dar a un povero s1, val	£os1
Dì 30 per do libre de lin soldi 14, per brazo un de tela padana, per pan soldi 8, val	£1s2
Item per bissi soldi 2, val	£os2
Dì primo luio per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£-s1
Per nosele fresche soldo 1°, per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£-s2
Dì primo luio per carne soldi 7, per bissi soldo 1°, per chugumari soldo 1°	£-s9
Per nosele fresche soldo 1°, per salata piccoli 6, et per el fachin soldo 1°	£os2p6
Et per do quarte de meio soldi 9 val	£os9
Dì 3 per pere soldo 1°	£os1
Per pere et bisi et salata soldi 3, per el fachin che porta soldo 1°	£os4
Per un petene de corno che compri da Maistro Luca soldi 4	£os4
Item per pirole de giera con agarico per mi soldo 1°	£os1
Sabado di 4 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1
Per una angesterà granda da vin soldo 1° per meter vin	£os1
Dì dito per pere soldo 1°, val	£os1
Per carne soldi 13, per bisi soldo 1°, per nosele fresche soldo 1°, val	£os15
Per pirole contra peste, zoe meza onza soldi 4, val	£-s4
Per sorgo soldo 1°, per salata piccoli 6, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	s2p6

3v

⁵⁹ Solde journalier reportant le total au dessus.

Dì 5 per dar a un povero soldo 1° et per simel a un altro soldo 1°	£os2	
Dì 6 per pirole per Catarina soldi 2 et per dar a un povero soldo 1°	£os3	
Dì dito per carne soldi 13, per cugumari soldo 1°, per nosele fresche soldo 1°	£os15	
Per pere soldo 1°, per bissi soldo 1°, et per dar al fachin soldo 1°	£os3	
Dì 7 per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Et per una scova di palma soldi 2, val	£os2	
Dì 8 per far dir una mesa in reverentia de miser San Sebastian soldi 4, et per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os5	
Et per carne soldi 6, per cugumari soldi 2, val	£os8	
Per pere soldo 1°, per vuove soldi 4, et per dar al fachin soldo 1°	£os6	
Dì 10 per pere soldo 1°	£os1	
Sabado di 11 per carne soldi 15 per susine soldo 1°, val	£os16	
Et per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Item per nosele fresche soldi 7 et per dar al fachin soldo 1°	£os8	4r
Et per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 12 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 13 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	s1	
Dì dito per carne soldi 14, per cugumari soldo 1°, val	£os15	
Per bissi soldo 1°, et per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os2	
Et per do libre de lin trato a soldi 2 la lire 7 soldi 14, per orzo soldo 1°	£os15	
Dì 14 per do stera de semola soldi 16, val	£os16	
Dì 15 per susine soldi 2, val	£os2	
Per carne soldi 8, per chugumari per menestra soldo 1°, val	£os9	
Per vuove soldi 4, per salata soldo 1°, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os6	
Dì 16 per pan fresco soldo 1°	£os1	
Per chugumari soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 17 per susine soldo 1°	£os1	
Sabado di 18 per dar a un povero soldo 1° per vuove soldi 2	£os3	
Et per carne soldi 16 per agresta soldo 1°, per pere soldo 1°, per nosele soldi 4	£1s2	
Per do quartaruoli de zesere rosa soldi 13 e per el zesto soldi 1½	£-s14p6	
E per 1 lira de capari soldi 4, val	£os4	
Per do peteni per mi de boso soldi 4, per pere soldi 2	£os6	

Per pirole de gera con agarico per mi soldo 1°, et per pirole de gera semplice per Paula soldo 1°, per pan fresco soldo 1°	£os3	
Dì 20 per carne soldi 13, per zuche e meloni soldi 4	£os17.0	
Per el fachin che porta le dite soldo 1°	£os1	
Dì 22 per carne soldi 5, per meloni et zuche soldi 3, val	£os8	
Per dar a un povero soldo 1°, et per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os2	
Dì 24 per meloni soldi 4, per susine soldo 1°, val	£os5	
Dì 25 zoe sabado per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Per meloni e zuche soldi 3, per un quarto de cesere rosa soldi 6	£os9.0	
Per carne soldi 13, per dar al fachin che porta le dite cose soldo 1°	£os14.0	4v
Dì 27 dito per libre do de lin a soldi 7 la libra soldi 14, val	£os14.0	
E per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Per carne soldi 13 per agresta frescha soldo 1°, per erbe soldo 1°	£os15	
Per el fachin che porta le dite soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 28 per dar a do poveri soldi 2, val	£os2.0	
Dì dito, di al muliner per un star de farina soldi 6, val	£os6	
Dì 29 per carne soldi 5, per meloni soldi 3, per zuche soldi 2, val	£os10	
Et per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 31 dito per vuove soldi 4, per susine soldo 1°, val	£os5	
Et dì dito per dar a do poveri soldi 2, val	£os2.0	
Et dì ultimo luio diti per zuche soldo 1°, val	£os1	
E di primo avosto zoè sabado per dar a un povero soldo 1°	£os1	
Per vuove e per susine soldi 3, val	£os3	
Dì dito per 1° sazo de seda bianca da cusir soldi 5 e per do sazi de seda bianca zoe pezo per 1° soraser soldi 12	£os5	
Et per carne lire 8 soldi 16, per meloni et zuche soldi 4	£15-	
Per el fachin soldo 1°, val	s1	
Dì 3 dito per susine soldi 2 val, et per dar a un povero	£os3	
Per carne soldi 14, per meloni soldi 4, per sorgo soldi 2	£1°s-	
Per candele de cera menude, per pan soldi 2, per el fachin soldo 1°	£os3	
Dì 4 per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 5 per carne soldi 7, per do quarte de cesere rosa soldi 14	£1°s1	
Per el fachin soldo 1°, et che Paula compra tre faxi de stole soldi 5	£os6	
Per meloni soldi 3, per dar a un povero soldi 2, val	£os5	
Dì 5 dito per una angestera granda che fo impi' del vin che compri da ser Zuan dal Gallo soldo 1°, val	£os1°	5r

Di 7 per vuove soldi 4, val	£os4	
Et per pesse soldi 6, per meloni e zuche soldi 4, per el fachin soldo 1°	£os11	
Sabado di 8, per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Per carne soldi 16, per meloni e zuche soldi 3, per el fachin soldo 1°	1£	
Per do angestaruoale da oio e d'asedo soldo 1 piccoli 4, val	£os1p4	
Di 10, per carne soldi 12, per meloni soldi 3, per el fachin soldo 1	£os16	
Di 12, per carne soldi 5, per zuche soldo 1°, val	£os6	
Item al fachin che porta le dite cosse et per aver conza' le legne che iera in magazen soldi 2, val	£os2	
Et per meloni soldi 2, val	£os2	
Di 13 per lire 3 ½ de oio da brusar tolto da mio compare da ca' Spada soldi 12	£os12	
Di 14 per meloni soldi 3 et per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os4	
Et per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Sabato di 15 dito per carne soldi 16, per vuove soldi 4, val	£1°so -	
Per agresta soldo 1°, per zuche e meloni 4, per el fachin soldo 1°	£os6	
Di 17 per far dir una messa soldi 4, val	£os4	
Di 18 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Di dito per carne soldi 11, per meloni 3, per el fachin soldo 1°	£os15.0	
Per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Di 19 dito per pan fresco soldi 2, val	£os2	
Di 20 per una graveta da corda per infirlar perle soldi 2	£os2	
Per meloni e zuche soldi 3, per erbe soldo 1°, per dar a un povero soldo 1°	£os5	
Per pirole aure, per pan soldo 1°, per el fachin che porta el pese che havi d'Antonio, fio de ser Felle, soldo 1°, val	£-s2	
Di 21 per pesse soldi 4, per uva soldi 2, val	£-s6	
Sabado di 22 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, et per pan soldo 1°	s2	
Per carne soldi 16, per meloni e zuche soldi 4, val	£1°so.0	5v
Per sal soldi 4, per meio soldo 1°, per el fachin soldo 1°	£os6.0	
Di 23, per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°.0	
Di 25 per pan fresco soldo 1°, et per dar a un povero soldo 1°	£os2.0	
Per carne soldi 12, per meloni soldi 4, per el fachin soldo 1°	£os17.0	
Di 27, per dar a un povero soldo 1° et per meio soldo 1°, val	£os2	

Dì dito per zuche soldi 2, val	£os2	
Dì 28 per do quartaruoli de cessere rosa soldi 13, val	£os13	
Per vuove soldi 4, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os5	
Dì dito per meloni soldi 4, val	£os4	
Sabado di 29, per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Et per carne soldi 15, per uva soldi 2, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os18	
Per pan fresco da Mestre soldi 2, per zuche soldo 1°, val	£os3	
Dì 31 per un pontaruol che compri da maistro Conte, soldi 6	£os6	
Dì dito per meio soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì primo setembrio spissi per dar a un povero soldo 1°	£os1°	
Per carne soldi 14, per meloni soldi 3, per el fachin soldo 1°	£os18	
Dì do dito per far descargar stera 6 ½ de formento da Conserve per far portar suxo soldi 3, val	£os3	
El qual Antonio barcharuol me adusse da cassa de Carlo		
Dì 3, per zuche soldi 2, per vuove soldi 4, val	£os6	
Per una impoleta d'aqua da trar machie soldi 2	£os2	
Per el fachin che porta le dite cose soldo 1° ; per una angestera piccoli 6	s1p6	
Dì 4, per uva soldi 2, val	£os2.0	
Sabato di 5 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, per zuche soldo 1°	£os2.0	
Per carne per un di soldi 8, per vuove soldi 4, val	£os12.0	6r
Per do apara de polastre grosse soldi 36, per el fachin soldo 1° piccoli 4, val	£1s17p4	
Dì 5 dito per 4 candele de zera soldo 1°, per uva marzamina soldi 2, val	£os3	
Dì 7 per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Per carne soldi 6, per uva soldi 2, per meio soldo 1°, val	£os9	
Per el fachin che porta le dite soldo 1°	£os1	
De di 9 dito per vuove soldi 4, per carne soldi 6, val	£os10	
Per uva soldi 2, per nosse fresche soldi 2, per pan fresco soldi 2	£os6	
Per dar a un povero soldo 1, per el fachin che porta le dite soldo 1	£os2	
Dì 10 per dar a un povero soldo 1 et per pan fresco da Mestre soldo 1	£os2	
Dì dito di' a dona Biaxia per l'emosina soldi 4	£os4	
Item al muliner per do star de farina soldi 12, val	£os12	
Per uva soldi 2, per zuche soldi 2, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os5	

Di 11 di a maestro Michiel caleger per haver conza' una mia calza soldi 2, val	£os2	
Sabado di 12 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Per carne soldi 14, per uva soldi 2, per zuche soldo 1°, per el zesto soldo 1°	£os18	
Item, per una scova de palma soldi 2, per do scove de rusta soldo 1°, per scovoli soldi 2, val	£os5	
Et per candelle de sevo soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Di 14 per carne soldi 5, per uva soldi 2, per una quarta de meio soldi 4.	£s11.0	
Et per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Di dito di a ser Matio per haver taia' certe legne da la campana fin sera soldi 4, val	£os4	
Di 15 per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Di 16 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, per pan soldo 1°, per uva soldi 2	£os4	
Di 16 dito per carne soldi 6, per una libra de candelle de sevo soldi 4, per el fachino soldo 1°, val	£os11.-	6v
Et per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Di 18 per pesse soldi 4, per uva soldi 2, per nosse soldo 1°	£os7	
Per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Sabado di 19 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, per gambareli soldo 1°	£os2°	
Per carne soldi 16, per zuche soldo 1°, per uva soldi 2, per el fachin soldo 1°	£1 ^a s-	
Di ditto per meza libra de candelle de cera soldi 5	£os5	
Di 22 dito per carne soldi 16, et per il fachin soldo 1°	£os17	
Di 23 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, item per offerta soldo 1° et per una cordela de strusi negra per la gonela de Catarina, zoè per indopionar, soldo 1°, val	£os3	
Di 24 per do apasse et bona messura de corda per la porta de corte per conzar el contra pesso soldi 2	£os2	
Di 25 di' a maestro Jacomo che fa zuponi per haver reconzato el mio zupon de zentanin vermesin soldi 44	£2s4	
Sabado di 26 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, per zuchero soldo 2	£os3	
Per carne soldi 20, per ravize soldo 1°, per uva soldi 2	£1s3.0	
Per el fachin che porta soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Di 28 per un par de polastre grosse marzassage soldi 16 et per meza quarta de cesere rosa soldi 12, et per dar a le munege per l'amor de miser Domenego soldo 1° et per el zesto soldo 1°	£s14	
Di 29 dito per carne soldi 15, per uva soldi 2, per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£s18	

Dì 30 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì do hotubrio che pauca spese essendo mi a Padoa in vuove soldi 4, val	£os4	
Item che là spese sabado dì 3 dito in carne soldi 8, val	£os8	7r
e per ranize soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì tre dito spissi essendo mi a Padoa per un par de caponi soldi 23, val	£1s3	
Per 3 storuoli piccoli soldi 9, per una scova piccoli 4, val	£os9p4	
Et per far conzar la mia pianela soldi 2, val	£os2.o	
Dì dito per scovoli soldi 4, per scove de quelle da Padoa soldi 2	£os6	
Per uno par de polastre soldi 11, val	£os11	
Per noxe soldi 9, per un quartaruol de cessere rosa soldi 6	£os15	
Dì 5 dito spissi mi essendo in Padoa per un par de polastre grosse che me fece haver ser Rigo Violato soldi 22	£1s2	
Item a dì dito per dar a un povero soldo 1, val	£os1°	
Et per la boleta che per el formento feze far Zan Piero a Padoa soldi 4	£os4	
Per la contralittera che fo fata al moranzan soldi 8	£os8	
Per far portar el dito formento in portego soldi 4	£os4	
Dì 6 dito spissi andando de qui in carne soldi 17, val	£os17	
Per uva soldi 2; per el fachin che porta soldo 1°, val	£os3	
Dì 7 di' a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 8 di' a ser Matio che taia le legne soldi 12	£os12	
Dì 9 per uva soldi 2, per erbete soldo 1°, per uova soldi 4	£os7	
Sabato dì 10 per carne soldi 23, per ranize soldo 1°, per vuove soldi 2	£1s6	
Per un 1° cesto de uova soldi 8; per el fachin che la porta soldo 1°, per gambereli soldo 1°, per do quartaruoli de meio soldi 7, per do de sorgho soldi 4; per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£os12 ⁶⁰	
Dì 10 dito per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 12 per far dir una messa soldi 4, val	£os4	
Dì dito per una cintura stretta de chuoro per mi soldi 2	£os2	
Dì 13 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 13 dito per carne per do zorni soldi 14, per buelli de castroni soldo 1°, per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£os16	7v
Dì 14 dito per pome soldo 1°	£os1°	
Dì 15 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 16 per gambareli soldo 1°, vuove soldi 4, per pome sol- do 1°	£os6	

⁶⁰ Erreur de compte: le total est de 22 sous.

Per erbete soldo 1°, piccoli 6, per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°	£os2p6	
Dì dito di' a dona Agnesina mia secente per tre quarte de semola soldi 6, val	£os6	
Per candelle de sevo soldo 1°		
Sabado di 17 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Per carne soldi 24, per erbete soldo 1°, per gambarelli soldo 1°, val	£1s6	
Per pan fresco soldo 1°; per libre do di formazo dolze soldi 8, per libre do di formazo salado de Candia soldi 6; per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os16	
Dì 19 dito per pome codogne soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì dito di' al maistro de i ziponi per aze soldi 8	£os8	
Dì 20 per carne soldi 8; per lire do de candelle de sevo soldi 8	£os16	
Per oio de menta et oio de codogno et oio de masazi per el stomego per Paula soldo 1°; per el fachin che porta soldo 1°	£os2	
Dì dito per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 21 per una galina soldi 11, per pome soldi 4, per una sevola soldi 5, per vuove fresche, per pan soldi 2, val	£1s2	
Per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, per dar a un povero soldo 1°	£os2	
Dì 21 dito per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 22 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 23 per vuove soldi 4, val	£os4	
Sabado di 24 per carne soldi 14, per ravize soldo 1°, val	£os15	
Per vuove fresche, per pan, soldi 2, per gambareli soldo 1, et per el fachin soldo 1. Item per dar a un povero soldo 1, val	£os5	
Dì 24 dito per pan fresco da Mestre soldo 1°, val	£os1	8r
Dì 25 per do vuove fresche, per pan soldi 2, val	£os2.0	
Dì 26 per do libre de mandole ambrosine soldi 6, val	£os6.0	
Dì 27 per gambareli soldi 2, per noxe soldi 2, val	£os4	
Item, per tre quartaruoli de bisi da Chioza a soldi 10 el quarto	£1 ^a s10	
Per pan fresco da Mestre soldi 2 per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os3	
Dì 28 per un cesto de pome soldi 7, per el fachin che porta soldo 1°	£os8	
Item per carne soldi 12, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os13	
Dì 29 per pirole per pan de riobarbaro soldi 4, le qual fo tolte per avanti, et per pirole per Caterina soldo 1, val	£os5	
Dì a Vielmo spizier per el ceroto che i ordeno miser frar Francesco Spada, per pan soldi 8, val	£os8	
Dì 30 per gambareli soldo 1°, per spinazi et peresemolo soldo 1°	£os2	

Per pesse havi d'Antonio fiol de ser Felle, per el fachin soldo 1°	£os1°
Dì dito per quartaruoli 4 de bissi da Chioza a soldi 8 el quarto, et havi mezo quartaruol de bona misura	£1°s12
Dì 31 dito per carne soldi 22, per ravize soldo 1, val	£1°s3
Per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£os1
Dì dito per candelle de sevo soldo 1°, val	£os1
Dì do novembrio di ai frati de Santo Stefano per i morti	£1s12
Per meio soldo 1°, val	£os1
Dì 3 per carne soldo 13, per buelli de castron soldi 2, val	£os15
Per el fachin	£os1
Dì 4 per dar a un povero, per vuove soldi 2, val	£os3
Dì 6 per vuove soldi 4, val	£os4
Dì dito per candelle soldi 2, val	£os2.0
Per do peteni de bosso per mi soldi 6, val	£os6.0
Sabado 7 per carne soldi 16, per ranize soldo 1°, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os18
Per do pignatele piccole soldo 1°, per un bochal de piera soldo 2	£os3
Dì dito per meio soldo 1°, val	£os1
Dì 9 dito per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os1
Dì 10 per carne soldi 14, per vuove soldi 4, per pan fresco soldi 2, val	£1°s-
Per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os1
Dì dito di a maistro Antonio favro per haver conza' lavezi soldi 5	£os5
Dì 11 per pome codogne soldi 2, val	£os2
Item per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1
Dì 13 per vuove soldi 4, per gambareli soldo 1°, val	£os5
Sabado di 14 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, per ravize soldo 1°, val	£os2
Per carne soldi 21, per pan fresco soldi 1°, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£1°s3
Dì dito per quatro monete d'ariento per meter ala mia vesta soldi 6	£os6
Dì 16 dito per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1
Item per meio soldo 1°, val	£os1
Per far taiar legne soldi 8, val	£os8
Dì 17 per carne soldi 14, per carne de porcho soldi 4, per meio soldi 2	£1°s-
Per el fachin che porta le dite soldo 1°, val	£os1°
Item, di a maistro Antonio favro per haver conza' uno lavezo soldi 2	£os2.0
Dì 18 per pan soldi 2, per el taialegne, val	£os2.0
Dì 19 per pan, per el taialegne soldo 1°, val	£os1°

Dì 20 per gambareli soldo 1°, per vuove soldi 4, val	£0s5.0	
Dì dito per poraceni e altre erbe soldo 1°, et per el fachin soldo 1°	£-s2.0	
Sabado dì 21 per carne soldi 22, per erbete soldo 1°, per bueli soldo 1°	£1 ^a s4	
Per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£-s1°	
Dì 22 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Dì 24 per vuove soldi 4, per carne soldi 6, per rave soldi 3, per scove 4 grande soldi 2, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£0s13	
Dì 24 dito per gambarelli soldo 1°, val	£0s3.0	
Dì dito per meio soldi 2, val	£0s1°	9r
Dì dito per meio soldi 2, val	£0s2	
Dì 25 dito per dar a un povero soldi 2, val	£0s2	
Dì 26 per pan fresco soldo 1°	£0s1°.-	
Dì 27 per vuove soldi 4, val	£0s4.0	
Sabado dì 28 per carne soldi 34, per buelli de castron soldi 2	£1s16.0	
Pan da Mestre soldi 4, per nose soldi 2, per el fachin che porta soldo 1°	£0s7	
Per carote soldo 1° et per candelle soldo 1°, val	£0s2	
Dì dito per quartaruoli 5 de fior de farina da Mestre, soldi 36	£1 ^a s16.0	
Per el fachin che la porta soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Dì 28 dito per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Per meio soldi 2, per un ster de semola soldi 8, val	£0s10	
Dì do decembrio per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Dì dito per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Dì 4 per meio soldi 2, per dar a un povero soldo 1°, per carote soldo 1°	£0s4	
Sabado dì 5 per carne soldi 24, per pan fresco soldi 2	£1 ^a s6	
Per formaio dolze soldi 11 et per el fachin soldo 1°	£0s12	
Dì dito per churiandoli preparadi soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Item per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Dì 7 per pan soldi 2 et per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s3	
Dì 8 per meio soldi 2, val	£0s2	
Dì 9 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1	
Dì 10 do schudele de legne soldo 1°, per vuove soldi 4	£0s5.0	
Dì 11 per meza quarta de farina de fontego soldi 12 et per el fachin zoè Campana che la porta soldo 1°, val	£0s13	
Item per 1° quartarolo de sal soldi 4, val	£0s4	
Sabado dì 12 per dar a un povero soldo 1° et per carne soldi 24	£1s5	9v
per el fachin soldo 1°	£-s1°	
per far far de converso a Piero marangon soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Dì 15 dito per meio soldi 2, per rave soldi 3	£0s5	
Dì 16 dito per gambareli soldo 1°, per pan da Mestre soldo 4, val	£0s5	

Per do braza de canevasa soldi 8, per libre 4 de candele de seo et oncie 3 soldi 17 et per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£1 ^s 6	
Et per una scova con maza soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Dì 16 dito di' al muliner per do star de farina soldi 12	£0s12.0	
Dì dito per dar a un povero soldi 2, val	£0s2.-	
Dì 17 per pan fresco da Mestre soldi 2, val	£0s2.-	
Dì dito per candelle soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Dì 18 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Sabato di 19 per carne soldi 30, per gambareli soldo 1°, val	£1s11.0	
Item per do quartaruoli de meio soldi 7, per una quarta de sorgo soldi 2	£0s9	
Per una chariega soldi 5 per el fachin che porta soldo 1°, val	£0s6	
Item per dar a do poveri soldi 2, val	£0s2	
Dì 20 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1	
Dì 22 per dar a un povero soldo 5, val	£0s5	
Dì 23 dito per dar a un povero soldo 1° e a San S[tefano] soldo 1°, val	£0s2	
Dì 24 per gambarelli soldo 1°, per vuove soldi 6, per meio soldi 2	£0s9	
Et per el fachin che porta el scarlato soldi 2	s2	
Sabado di 26 per carne soldi 22 et per el fachin soldo 1°	£1s3	
Et per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
A di 29 dito per meio soldo 2, val	£0s2	
Dì 30 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Dì primo zener [1468] per vuove soldi 5 per salvia et osma- rin soldo 1°	s6	107
Per braza 10 de cordelle de fil per Catarina	s3	
Sabado di do per carne soldi 22 per luganega soldi 5	£1s7	
Item per do quartaroli de meio soldi 12, per el fachin soldo 1°	s13	
Per rave soldi 3, val	s3	
Per una paleta da fuoco soldi 10, per pirole contra peste soldi 2	s12	
Per candelle de cera soldi 1°, val	s1°	
Dì 4 per lira una de candelle de cera soldi 10, val	£0s10	
Dì 5 per 1° star de semola havi da qual sta al'incontro dele mie casse, val	£0s8	
Dì 6 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Dì 7 per pan fresco da Mestre soldi 2, val	£0s2	
Dì 8, per vuove soldi 4 val	£0s4	
Sabado di 9 per dar a un povero soldo 1° et per vuove soldi 2	£0s3	
Per carne soldi 32, per formaio dolce soldi 15, val	£2s7	
Per candelle soldo 1°, per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°	£0s2	

Dì 11, per dar a un povero soldi 2, val	£os2	
Item per uno par de galine grosse soldi 35, per el fachin soldo 1°	£1s16	
Dì dito di' a suor Marina soldi 20 gratis, val	£1	
Dì 15 dito per vuove soldi 6, val	£os6	
Sabado di 16 per carne soldi 28, per una luganega soldi 7	£1 ^a s15	
Per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°; per dar a un povero soldo 1°	£os2	
Dì 18 per vuove soldi 8, per carote soldo 1°, per el fachin soldo 1°	£os10	
Item per dar la benvestida al varoter, val	£os4	
Dì 19 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 20 per far conzar una mia pianella soldo 1°, per meio soldo 2	£os3	
Item per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 21 dito di' a lavorante de maistro Luchin sartor per seda per la mia vesta de scarlato soldi 8, val	£os8	10v
Sabado di 23 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, per una pignata de onto de porcho soldi 8, per carne soldi 34, per el fachin soldo 1°	£2s4	
Dì dito per do quartaroli de meio soldi 7, per 1° de sorgo soldi 2	£os9	
Per una pivia de fero stagnado soldo 1, per dar a un povero soldo 1°	£os2	
Dì 25 dito per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 26 per legno dolze soldo 1°	£os1	
Dì 27 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 28 per lire 20 et 2/1 [sic] de faro pesa' ala grossa soldi 40	£2s-	
Et per vuove soldi 6, val	£os6	
Dì 29, per dar a un povero, per candelle soldo 1°, val	£os2	
Sabato di 30 per carne soldi 31, per verze soldi 2, per vuove soldi 4	£1s17	
Per una docena de seringe per Paula soldi 4, per el fachin soldo 1°	£-s5	
Per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì primo fevrer, di al muliner per do star de farina	£os12	
Dì do ditto, per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 3 dito per un borson soldi 12	£os12	
Item che di a un favro per capara de un badil piccolo	£os2	
Dì 4 per vuove soldi 5 per mezo sazo de zafran soldi 2	£os7	
Dì dito per agi per Paula soldi 2, val	£os2	
Sabado di 6 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, per verze soldo 1°, val	£os2	
Item per carne soldi 28, per dar al fachin soldo 1°, val	£1 ^a s9	

Dì 7 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 9 per lire do de miel in tuta perfetion a soldi 5 la lira	£os10	
Item per meio soldi 2, val	£os2	11r
Dì 10 per uno ster de semola soldi 8, val	£os8	
Per dì 11 dito per un nombolo soldi 9, per vuove soldi 6	£os15	
Dì 12 per pan fresco soldo 1° et per dar a un povero soldo 1°	£os2	
Sabado dì 13 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Per carne soldi 32, per mortadele soldi 4, per onto sotil soldi 2	£1s18	
Per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£-s1°	
Dì 16 per meio soldi 2, val	£os2	
Dì 17 per dar a un povero soldi 2 per pan fresco da Mestre soldo 1°	£os3	
Dì 18 per pan fresco da Mestre soldo 1°, val	£os1	
Dì 19 per vuove soldi 6, per pan fresco da Mestre soldi 2	£os8	
Sabado dì 20 per carne soldi 24, per carne de vedelo soldi 12	£1s16	
Per lira 1ª de onto sotil soldi 5, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os6	
Dì 21 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 22 item per una angesterà et un impoleta soldo 1°	£os1°	
Dì 23 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 24 per pan fresco da Mestre soldo 1°, per un paso de corda soldo 1°	£-s2	
Dì dito per dar a miser lo piovan per batizar la puta de Matio Donati soldi 8, val	£os8	
Item per meio soldi 2, per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os3	
Dì 25 per vuove soldi 6, val	£os6	
Dì 26 per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Item per candelle soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Sabado dì 27 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Per carne de vedelo soldi 36, per lira 1ª de luganega, soldi 4	£2s-	
Item per lire 13 de vuva da Valenza soldi 25, per soave soldi 11	£1s16	
Per el fachin che porta soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 28 dito per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	s1°	
Dì 29 dito per libre 28 de mandole ambrosine che compri a la botega del Spineli a soldi 2 piccoli 6 la lira, monta soldi 70, val	£3s10	11v
Dì dito per un par di galine grosse soldi 40, val	£2s-	
Per el gesto soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì primo marzo 1468 per meio soldi 2, val	£os2	
Dì do per pan fresco da Mestre soldo 1°, per dar a un povero soldo 1°	£os2.0	
Dì 3 per pan fresco soldo 1°, val	£os1	

Dì 4 dito per pesse soldi 5, per pan fresco soldo 1°, per radichio soldo 1°, val	£os7	
Per do quartaruoli de faveta soldi 8, per el zesto soldo 1°	£os9	
Sabado dì 5 per gambarelli soldi 2, per radichio soldo 1°, val	£os3	
Per 1° quarto de meio soldi 4, per spinazi soldo 1°, val	£os5	
Item per dar al fachin soldo 1°, per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os2	
Per salata et altre erbe soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 7 per gambarelli soldo 1°, per spinazi soldo 1°, per el fachin soldo 1°	£os3	
Dì 8, per dar al muliner per un star de farina soldi 6, val	£os6	
Item per pan fresco da Mestre soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Per pene de Cessano da scriver per mi soldi 2	£os2	
Dì 9 ditto per libre 9 de nosele menude soldi 8, per nose soldi 8	£os16	
Item per gambarelli soldi 2, per spinazi soldo 1°, per pan fresco soldo 1°	£os4	
Item per dar al fachin soldo 1° et per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os2	
Dì 11 per pesse zoè gambareli soldo 1°, per spinazi soldo 1°, per el fachin soldo 1°	£os3	
Item per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Sabado 12 per una quarta de meio soldi 13, per pesse soldi 7	£1°s-	
Item per spinazi soldo 1°, per pori soldo 1°, per el zesto soldo 1°, per dar a un povero soldo 1°	£os4	
Dì 14 per pan fresco da Mestre soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 15 per gambarelli soldi 2, per spinazi et salata soldi 2, val	£os4.0	12r
Per pan fresco da Mestre soldi 2, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£os3.0	
Dì 16 per candelle de cera menude soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 17 per pesse soldi 4, per spinazi soldo 1°, val	£os5	
Dì 18 per do quartaruoli et mezo de bisi da Chioza soldi 23	£1s3	
Sabado dì 19 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Item per pesse soldi 5, per spinazi soldi 2, per bruscandoli soldi 1°	£os8	
Et per dar al fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 21 per gambareli soldo 1°, per spinazi soldo 1°, per pan fresco soldi 2	£os4	
Per dar al fachino soldo 1°, val	£os1°	
Dì 22 per far conzar do lavezi i qual conza maestro Piero Laveza soldi 4, per radichio soldo 1°, val	£os5	
Dì 23 per bruscandoli, soldo 1°, val	£os1°	

Dì 24 per gambareli soldi 2, per spinazi soldo 1°, per bruscandoli soldo 1°, val	£0s4	
Per un bail (<i>sic</i>) piccolo soldi 7, per far meter un legno dentro soldo 1°	£0s8	
Item per una angestera da tavola soldo 1°, per dar al fachin soldo 1°	£0s2	
Dì 25 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1	
Sabado dì 26 dito per pesse soldi 5, per spinazi soldi 2, per bruscandoli soldo 1°, per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£0s9	
Dì 28 per botarge, soldi 4, per pan fresco da Mestre soldi 2	£0s6	
Dì 29 per pese soldi 2, per spinazi soldo 1°, per pan da Mestre soldo 1°, val	£0s4	
Dì 30 per dar a do poveri soldi 2, val	£0s2	
Item per far portar certo ruinazo da San Zulian per San Michiel chel porta via soldi 12, val	£0s12	
Dì dito di' a maestro Pietro Lavezer per haver reconzado i do lavezi che prima haveva conzadi, zoè al presente haver muda' el fundi al grando soldi 8, val	£0s8	
Dì 31 dito per pesse soldi 2, per spinazi soldo 1°, per 1° pè (<i>sic</i>) osmarin soldo 1°, al fachin soldo 1°	£0s5	
Sabado 2 april per do cestelli, un raxonevel et l'altro piccolo	£0s9	12v
Item per pan fresco da Mestre soldi 2, per bruscandoli soldo 1°	£0s3	
Dì dito per pesse soldi 5 per spinazi et salata soldi 2, per botarge soldi 7, per el fachin soldi 1°, val	£0s15	
Dì 5 per spinazi soldo 1°, et per bruscandoli soldo 1°, per fugaze soldi 2, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£0s5	
Dì ditto per tre agi fini, per pan soldi 2 val	£0s2	
Dì 6 per dar a un povero soldo 1° per do cerchi da meter manteli per sugar soldi 2 val	£0s3	
Dì 7 per una fugaza fresca da Mestre soldo 1°	£0s1°	
Dì 8 per salata soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Sabado dì 9 per pan fresco da Mestre soldi 4, per spinazi soldo 1°	£0s5	
Per bruscandoli soldo 1°, per zusverde ingarofalado soldi 2, per salvia soldo un, per el fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£0s5	
Dì dito per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Dì dito per pesse soldi 4, per spinazi soldo 1°, per un quartuol de sal soldi 4, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Per una onza di pirole contrapeste soldi 4	£0s4	
Dì 10 per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1	

Di 11 dito per dar a Catarina per confessarla soldi 4, val	£0s4	
Per meio soldi 2, val	£0s2	
Di 12 per spinazi soldo 1°, per bruscandoli soldo 1°, per pan fresco soldi 2	£0s4	
Item al fachin che porta le dite cosse soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Di 14 per pesse soldi 4, per spinazi soldo 1°, per bruscandoli soldo 1°, val	£0s6	
Per una quarta di meio soldi 12, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£0s13	
Per pignate 6, tre grande et tre piccole soldi 12, val	£0s12	
Per vuove soldi 2, val	£0s2	
Di 14 dito per libra una de corda per el buseno soldi 4, val	£0s4	13r
Sabado di 16 per bruscandoli soldo 1° et per pan soldo 1°, val	£0s2	
Di dito per carne soldi 31, per erbete soldo 1°, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£1 ^a s13	
Per do cani un grando soldi 6, l'altro soldi 2, val	£0s8	
Per dar a un povero soldo 1° et per dar offerta el dì de Pa- squa soldo 1° et a un povero soldo uno, val	£0s3	
Di 20 dito per carne soldi 8, per salata soldo 1°, val	£0s9	
Per do schudele soldi 2, per uno bochal da maiolicha soldi 3, per el fachin soldo 1°, val	£0s6	
Di 21 dito per un quaterno de carta soldi 5, val	£0s5	
Item, per dar offerta el Venere santo fo a dì 15 dito soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Di 22 dito per dar a un povero soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	
Per salata soldo 1°, val	£0s1°	

ff. 18v-21v: 1467: suite

A dì 24 april per oio bon da manzar fo mezo miro £3s2 et £3s4	18v
per la portadura soldi 2, val	
Di 6 mazo di a Marta nostra femena a salario, ducati do i £12s8	
qual fo per parte de so salario, val	
Di 11 zugno che dona Orsa mia secente ha d<ad>o a mai- £9s-	
stro Marco de Bonano che fa barche ducati 1° ch'ela	
me doveva dar, à preso i di soldi 56 che l'avesse al dito	
maistro Marco de Bonano che è in tutto lire 9 per haver	
conza' la mia barca	
Di 4 luio per quarte do et 1° sechio et lira una de vin de £8s16	
Puia a libre 3 soldi 16 la quarta, monta lire 8 soldi 16	
Item per el fachin che porta le dite barile, e fo in tre fiade £0s6	
Di 6 dito di' a ser Carlo Marcon tentor per haver tento £6s4	
meza peza de sarza, meza dopia prima per haverli dade	
un bagno in grana et dapoi in ruosa siera ducato 1° mi	
ha fatto gran piaxer, val...	

- Dì 8 dito per braza 7 de pano cupo per una vesta per mi in nome di Dio el qual havi da ser Alvixe Cavalo a grosso 38 el brazo, al qual di contadi ducati 9, val £55s16
- Dì 17 dito a ser Zuan spicier dal Pomodoro per certe medesime che ordena miser Felipo Iuda per Paula come apar per una poliza del dito ser Zuane lire 3, soldi 2, val £3s2
- Dì 18 dito di a ser Alvixe Cavalo drapier per resto de panno cupo tolto per mi come apar qui de sopra, ducati do et grossi 2 £12s18
- Dì 21 per brazo un de damaschin biancho per pan da ser Bortolomio piloto ducato 1° grossi 8 e brazo, val £8s6
- 5 avosto, per una quarta de vin da Vicenza che compri da ser Zuan dal Gallo a raxon de lire 4 e soldi 10 la quarta et fo lire 3 ½ più de una quarta, monta lire 5 e soldi 6 £5s6
- Per el fachin che la porta et vene prima a tuorla soldi 4 £0s4
- E di 9 ditto di' a Marta per resto de so salario che compì in questo di ducati do, val £12s8
- Dì 12 per cari 24 de legne che compri da ser Zanin Cortesin a soldi 21 el caro monta le dite 25 soldi 4, et per do barche lequal descarga in do fiade a soldi 2 per caro soldi 48, et per i bastasi di qual do have soldi 12 et do altri have soldi 14, che è soldi 26, ch'è in tuto lire 29 soldi 6, val £29s6
- Dì 14 dito per una mezaruola de vin vermeio da Padoa che compri da ser Tadio da la Cheba lo qual me mese soldi 39 et al portador soldi 2 et per una angestera parvi 6, val in tutto £2 s1.6
- Dì 17 dito di' a Paula lire 4 per un sorasie per la mia vestadura de damaschin biancho, val £4s-
- Dì 21 di' a Carlo soldi 18 per el formento che condusse quelli da Campagna per el datio che me toca per stera 6 et quarte do che me toca in mia parte £0s18
- Dì 22 dito di' a ser Zuan Furlan per haver netado fosse una incassa de ser Beneto Sachati l'altra incassa de Andrea de la Salina soldi 40, val £2s -
- Dì 27 dito per una cordella de oro cavalin de quarte 7 per la investidura de Paula da meter soto le pianete £1s22
- Dì 3 settembrio per una cordela per Paula de oro cavalin de braza 8 da meter de pè libre 4 soldi 14 la qual fo paga' del tuto de quel oro che me de Paula £4s14.0
- Dì dito per una quarta de vin da Vicenza la qual me fesse haver ser Lorenzo Bonacorso da ser Dionisi de Mafio a lire 3 soldi 15 la quarta, la qual fo libra una più de quarta libre 5 soldi 2 £5s2

E di 9 dito di' a maistro Martin caleger per un par de zecoli, per pan libre 8, val	£8s-	19v
Dì 10 dito per uno miro d' oio da manzar ducato uno	£6s4	
Item per far impir la zucha d' oio da brusar, soldi 22	£1s2	
Item à dona' fachin che porta soldi 2	£0s2	
Dì 11 dito per mezo miro d' oio da brusar soldi 49 et per la portadura soldi 2	£2s11	
Et di 22 dito che di' a ser Donado Celegato da Conche per stera 8 de formento padoan che l'avè dai frati de Santa Iustina a lire 3 soldi 15 el star, monta lire 30, val	£30s-	
Et per el datio ch'el paga del dito formento soldi 16, val	£0s16	
Et per farlo descargar et portar de suxo in portego soldi 4	£0s4	
Et per libre 27 de lino avantazado a soldi 4 la libra, monta	£5s8	
Et per libre 34 de lino de quella medema sorte e a quel priexio a soldi 4 la libra, libre 6 soldi 16, val	£6 s16	
Dì 7 hotubrio di' ducati, do a Morexina per quel ch'ella dixe dover haver per suplimento de la sua provixion, val	£12 s8	
Dì 9 dito per una quarta et uno sechio de vin da Vicenza vechio che compri da ser Zuan dal Galo a raxon de lire 4 solsi 14 la quarta, monta lire 5 soldi 14 et per el fachin che la porta soldi 3	£5s17.0	
Per una angestera da parvi 6 che fo impida et per do taieri soldo 1°	£0s1p6	
Dì dito per uno par de pianele conserieri per mi soldi 24	£1s4	
Dì 12 dito per una letiera che maistro Andrea feraler me mete soldi 46, val	£2s6	
Dì 15 otubrio per braza tre de tela padoana per la mia vesta negra soldi 22, val	£1s2	
Et per tella da meter de mezo un cipon per mi soldi 14, et per braza tre de fostagno bianco da foderar el mio zipon soldi 30	£2s4	
Dì dito di' a maistro Michiel caleger per far conzar una mia calza soldi 5, val	£0s5.0	20r
Dì 27 hotubrio che di' a maistro Zorzi tesser per braza 54 de tella per un par de nizuoli a soldi 2 el brazo libre 5 soldi 8, val	£5s8	
Dì 4 novembrio di' a lavorante de maestro Luchin sartor per seda per la mia vesta negra soldi 8, val	£0s8	
Dì dito di' a Carlo per star tre de formento da Campagna, ⁶¹ el qual manda Zan Jacomo che me mete soldi 10, val	£0s10	
Dì 5 dito di' a maistro Andrea varoter per 5 pelle rosse de la Marcha per meter soto la mia vesta negra de fuine a soldi 12 l'una, monta lire 3, val	£3s-	

⁶¹ Au dessus est écrit, barré, «Feltre».

Dì 6 dito di' a maestro Zorzi tesar per braza 46 de tela a soldi do ½ el brazo, monta libre 5 soldi 15, val	£5s15	
Dì 7 per braza tre e mezo de fioreto fin a soldi 31 el brazo	£5s8	
Dì 13 novembrio per mezo miro d'oiio da brusar in tuta perfetion soldi 48 el qual havi da Nadalin, zoè a la botega de ser Zuan di Conversi	£2s8	
Et per la portadura soldi 2, val	£0s2	
Dì 14 per una quarta et libra una et meza de vin da Vizenza, zoè novello, el qual havi d'Alberto fradel de Pifagro lire 3 soldi 16	3£16s	
Et per la portadura soldi 4 zoè Castelin fachin, val	£0s4	
Et dì 20 dito di' a messer Zuan che taia legne tre zorni a soldi 13 al zorno con le spese soldi 39, val	£1s19	
Dì 23, di' al dito per una zornada chel compì quelle legne che restava nel magazen grandò soldi 13, val	£0s13	
Dì 24, di' al tentor de contrada che tense la investidura de carisa vechia de pan in ruosa secha soldi 40, val	£2s-	
Dì 4 dicembrio di' a maestro Piero dai Ziponi per fatura del mio zipon de pano lire 3 et per banbaso soldi 4, val	£3s4	
Dì 16 dito per do quarte ½ de pano verin, per schena soldi 36, el qual havi da ser Francesco fator de ser Serigo Lion	£1 ^a s16	
Dì 18 dito, di' a maestro Guarisco favro per do chiave per i banchi de portego soldi 12, val	£0s12	20v
Dì dito per far desgargar tre caratelli da l'anno passado che compri da Pisagro prima di' a Zanin barcharuol soldi 10. Item a Lorenzo fachin che vene do fiade soldi 12, val	£1s2	
Item di' a Lorenzo dito ch'el viene a tuor una barila de sechi 5, la qual fo impida da Pisagro de vin da Vicenza soldi 4, val	£0s4	
Dì 24 dito, di' a Pisagro per vin da Vicenza ducati 6 pro parte	£37s4	
Dì do zener, di' a Pisagro dito ducato 1° per parte del dito vin	£6s4	
Dì 7 dito, di' a Lorenzo fachin che descarga quarte 6 de vin gropelo vermeio da Vicenza soldi 8 fo a casa pi' volte per varateli	£0s8	
Item a Zanin barcaruol che porta el dito vin soldi 6	£0s6	
Dì 8 dito, di' a Pisagro per resto de vin lire 30, val	£30s-	
Dechiaro come ho habudo da Pisagro quarte 20 de vin da Vizenza, zoè quarte 13 fici meter in tre carateli de l'anno passa' sechi 5 in una barila che havi per avanti dal dito Pisagro et quarte 6 de vin vermeio gropelo el qual vin tuto me ha meso a libre 14 soldi 20 el bigonzo che son bigonzi 5, monta libre 73 soldi 8	<£73s8>	

Per far conzar do caratelli ai qual fo meso zerchi 24 soldi 22	£1 ^a s2	
Item che per avanti tulsì do façi de pello de meza torta paonazo per pan soldi 15, val	£0s15	
Dì 14 zener	£0s4	
Di' a la norante de maistro Luchin sartor per la benvestida de la mia vesta negra soldi 4, val		
Di dito per braza tre de tella per la mia vesta de scarlato soldi 21, val	£1 ^a s1	
Dì 16 dito di a maistro Firmo varoter per fianchi 12 de vol- pe ch'el compra de un altro varoter per la mia vesta de scarlato ducati do men grossi 20, zoè lire 11 soldi 18, val	£11 s18	
Dì 28 zener per pelle 8 per meter soto la mia vesta de scar- lato de fuine a soldi 8 l'una soldi 64, lequal tolse maistro Simon varoter, val	£3s4	
Dì dito per braza tre de beretin che compri per Catarina da ser Alvixe Bognolo soldi 56, val	£2s16	21r
Dì 29 per do colì de martori da meter da man a la mia vesta de scarlato che compri da maistro Simon varoter soldi 32	£1s12	
Dì do fevrer di' a Zuan Michial lavorante de maistro Lu- chin sartor ducato 1 ^o per la fatura de do mie veste de fuine, una negra e l'altra de scarlato, el qual ducato de' al dito maistro Luchin, val	£6s4	
Item per ben vestida al dito lavorante di soldi 4, val	£0s4	
Dì 5 dito di' a maistro Alvixe verier per le fenestre de vero ch'el conza in la chasa dove sta al presente quelli da ca' Badoer	£7s-	
Dì 6 di' a maistro Antonio favro per 1 ^o lavezo et altri laneri soldi 8	£0s8	
Dì 10 dito per do lavezi, un grande et l'altro mezan, del grando di' soldi 32 azonto a preso lavezi quatro vechi, de l'altro di' soldi 44	£3s16-	
Dì dito per un trepie mezan soldi 12, val	£0s12	
Dì 16 dito per sachi 4 da formento a soldi 15 l'uno	£3s-	
1468 a dì 10 marzo di' a maistro Greguol forner per so pa- gamento de un anno che compì a dì primo marzo libre 5, val	£5s-	
Et che di' a Orsato ducati 8 per quel ch'el die haver da mi fo a dì 3 marzo 1468, val	£49s12	
Et dì 17 dito, di a maistro Simon varoter per fatura de tre veste chel m'è fodra' ducato 1 ^o , val	£6s4	
Et dì 21 dito di' a Lorenzo fachin che fo per do fiade a case per tuor la barila per impirla de vin da Padoa da Pisagro soldi 3	£0s3	

E di 24 dito <di'> a Pisagro per una quarta et libra una de vin da Padoa lire 3, val	£3s0	
Dì dito, di' a Paula ducati do per far far certe sue spese	£12s8	
Dì 31 dito per meza quarta et lira una de vin de Marcha che havi per mezo de ser Bartolomeo fator de quello, monta 54, val	£2s14	21v
Per una angestera da parvi 6 et per el fachin che porta la dita mezaruola soldi 2, val	£-s2p6	
Dì 7 april per uno miro d'oio da manzar avantazado che havi per mezo de Donado fachin ducati 1°, val	£6s4	
Item per mezo miro d'oio da frizer soldi 54 per portar i diti a do fachin soldi 4, val	£2s18	
Dì 22 dito, di' a ser Zuan strazurol ducati do et grossi 6 per un quarto de una fodera de dossi grandio per recon- zar la mia vesta negra granda fuor de mantelo	£13s19	

2. GLOSSAIRE DES TERMES VÉNITIENS UTILISÉS

<i>Ampoletta</i>	Petit vase de verre qui sert à conserver l'eau et le vin en particulier pour la messe
<i>Angestaruola</i>	Mesure de capacité
<i>Apara</i>	Paire
<i>Azi</i>	Fils de lin ou de chanvre
<i>Bisi (ou Bissi)</i>	Poix
<i>Bruscandoli</i>	Houblon sauvage
<i>Cugumaro</i>	Pastèque
<i>Faveta</i>	Fèverole, faverole
<i>Fuine</i>	Fouine
<i>Gropelo</i>	Raisin noir aux grains denses
<i>Lavezo</i>	Bassine, chaudron
<i>Menole</i>	Mendoles
<i>Nizuoli</i>	Draps
<i>Pè</i>	Pied
<i>Pianela</i>	Mule, pantoufle
<i>Pianeta</i>	Chasuble
<i>Pirole</i>	Pillules
<i>Ravize</i>	Navet
<i>Ruinazo</i>	Débris de matériaux de construction
<i>Storuoli</i>	Paillason
<i>Susine</i>	Prunes
<i>Vuove</i>	Œufs
<i>Zentanin</i>	Tissu de soie très fin

3. UNITÉS DE MESURE VÉNITIENNES⁶²

Mesures de capacité		équivalent en litres
<i>Pour les produits secs</i>		
Moggio (muid)	= 4 staia (setiers)	333,2688
Staio (setier)	= 2 mezzeni	83,3172
Mezzeno	= 2 quarte	41, 6586
Quarta	= 4 quarteroli	20, 8293
Quarterolo		5,207325
<i>Pour les liquides</i>		
Burchio	= 60 botti (tonneaux)	45070,2
Botte = carro = plastro	= 10 mastelli	751,17
Anfora	= 4 bigonce (8 mastelli)	600,936
Bigoncia	= 2 mastelli	150,234
Mastello	= 7 secchie	75,117
Barila	= 6 secchie ou 24 bozze	64,3859
Secchia	= 4 bozze	10,730983
Bozza (boccale)	= 4 quartucci	2,682746
Quartuccio	= 4 gotti	0,670686
Gotto		0,167672
<i>Pour l'huile</i>		
Migliaio	= 40 miri	631,592
Miro		15,7898
Poids		équivalent en kg
a) <i>Peso grosso</i>		
Migliaio	= 1000 libbre (livres)	476,99872
Centinaio	= 100 libbre	47,699872
Libbra grossa	= 12 once (onces)	0,476999
Oncia	= 192 carati (carats)	0,039750
Carato	= 4 grani	0,000207
Grano		0,000052
b) <i>Peso sottile</i>		
Carica	= 4 centinaia	120,49188
Centinaio	= 100 libbre	30,12297
Libbra sottile	= 12 once	0,30123
Oncia	= 8 dramme	0,025102
Dramma	= 3 scrupoli	0,003138
Scrupolo	= 20 grani	0,001046
Grano		0,000052

⁶² Tirés de MARTINI, *Manuale di metrologia*, cit.

«PONDERAR DILIGENTEMENTE
LI COSTUMI DEI GRANDI».
CULTURA DELL'INFORMAZIONE
IN UNA RELAZIONE SULL'UNGHERIA
QUATTROCENTESCA CON UN DIAGRAMMA
DA UN CODICE BODLEIANO¹

GABOR MIHALY TOTH

ANCHE se ambasciatori italiani sono stati continuamente presenti nella corte di Mattia Corvino (1458-1490), fino ad ora abbiamo notizia di un solo documento diplomatico, il quale abbraccia la storia di ottant'anni. Questo documento, conosciuto come il *Dispaccio di Landus*, fornisce una descrizione geografica, etnografica, economica e politica dell'Ungheria quattrocentesca. Il dispaccio è stato attribuito a Hieronymus Landus, un nunzio papale che mediava tra Mattia Corvino e Federico III (1440-1493) all'inizio degli anni sessanta del Quattrocento. Il documento è stato pubblicato alla fine del Settecento sulla base di due manoscritti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana.² Negli ultimi tre anni sono stati trovati quattro nuovi manoscritti in varie biblioteche italiane e l'esame diretto dei codici mi ha posto varie domande. Dato che tutti i testimoni sono adespoti, l'attribuzione a Landus è discutibile. Ma se non fosse stato Landus, chi avrebbe potuto essere l'Autore di questo documento unico nella storia dell'Ungheria quattrocentesca? L'esame attento dei testimoni ha poi rivelato una eterogeneità sorprendente della tradizione manoscritta; le varianti testuali del cosiddetto *Dispaccio di Landus* sono così differenti da dare l'impressione che il testo sia stato rielaborato o riscritto varie volte.

¹ Ho cominciato a fare ricerca sulla tradizione manoscritta del *Dispaccio di Landus* nel 2007. In questi tre anni mi hanno aiutato tantissimi colleghi, amici e bibliotecari; senza di loro questa ricerca non avrebbe potuto realizzarsi. Ho presentato questo articolo al Convegno internazionale *A szövegtől a hálógig = Dal testo alla rete*, Budapest, mag. 2010, a cura di E. Szkárósi, J. Nagy, Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2010.

² *Geschichte des ungrischen Reichs und seiner Nebenländer*, II, hrsg. von J. C. Engel, Halle, Johann Jacob Gebauer, 1798, pp. 6-17.

Chi e perché poteva riscrivere il documento? Per rispondere a queste domande, nella prima parte di questo saggio, presenterò il contenuto e la tradizione manoscritta del *Dispaccio di Landus*; in seguito, studiando il contesto storico del documento nella seconda e nella terza parte, dimostrerò l'origine veneziana e metterò in dubbio l'attribuzione a Landus.

1. IL CONTENUTO E LA TRADIZIONE MANOSCRITTA DEL *DISPACCIO DI LANDUS*

Purtroppo le fonti storiche sopravvissute, che raccontano la storia dell'Ungheria quattrocentesca in una narrativa completa, come la cronaca di Antonio Bonfini, il *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, o il *Chronica Hungarorum* di János Thuróczy, sono pochissime. L'opera di Bonfini è stata commissionata da Mattia Corvino con lo scopo precipuo di creare il mito corviniano. Allo stesso modo anche Thuróczy aveva cercato di entrare nelle grazie di Mattia Corvino con la sua opera. La particolarità del *Dispaccio di Landus* è invece data dal fatto che l'Ungheria è descritta da una persona estranea ad essa e indipendente dagli interessi dei sovrani ungheresi.

Il cosiddetto *Dispaccio di Landus* consiste di tre parti. La prima parte fornisce una descrizione generale dell'Ungheria. All'inizio del documento troviamo una descrizione geografica che riporta i confini, i castelli e le parti principali del Paese. Inoltre, questa prima parte delinea anche i gruppi sociali ed etnici come i nobili, gli zingari, gli Ebrei, i Francesi e i Tedeschi.³ La seconda parte narra la storia dell'Ungheria dal 1382, anno della morte di Ladislao il Grande (1342-1382), fino alla pace di Wiener Neustadt tra Mattia Corvino e Federico III nel 1463.⁴ Questa parte del documento è l'unica fonte che riferisce in concreto le entrate di Mattia Corvino. Per questa ragione il documento è stato molto studiato dagli storici di economia come il Fügedi, il Kubinyi, il Pach, e recentemente da István Draskóczy e Géza Érszegi.⁵ La prima

³ Ivi, pp. 6-10.

⁴ Ivi, pp. 10-16.

⁵ E. FÜGEDI, *Mátyás király jövedelme 1475-ben*, «Századok», CXVI, 1982, pp. 486-487; Zs. P. PACH, *Hogyan lett a harmincadvámból huszad?*, «Történelmi Szemle», XXXVII, 1995, p. 257; A. KUBINYI, *Vitéz János és Janus Pannonius politikája Mátyás uralkodása idején*, in *Humanista műveltség Pannóniában*, a cura di I. Bartók, L. Jankovits, G. Kecskeméti, Pécs, Pécsi Tudomány Egyetem, 2000, p. 11; G. ÉRSZEGI, *Relatio de statu Hungariae*, in *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi*, IX, Roma, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2003, pp. 486-487. Un articolo di István Draskóczy è in corso di pubblicazione durante la redazione di que-

parte invece, ossia la descrizione generale dell'Ungheria, non è mai stata studiata. Troviamo queste due parti in tutti i sei manoscritti che contengono le varianti del documento. Due di questi (Marciano, It., cl. VI, 276 e Trivulziano, ms. 1458), che sono stati ritrovati recentemente, includono anche un breve epilogo che, dopo una lacuna di trent'anni, riprende la narrazione degli eventi dalla morte di Mattia Corvino fino al 1491. In altri studi, sono arrivato alla conclusione che questo epilogo è stato aggiunto al testo originale più tardi da una persona sconosciuta.⁶ Quindi, il *Dispaccio di Landus* apre una finestra straordinaria sul Quattrocento ungherese. Nello stesso tempo, l'esame attento della tradizione manoscritta del documento ha rivelato che questa fonte presenta numerosi problemi e lascia delle questioni aperte.

Uno di questi problemi riguarda la datazione esatta della stesura del documento. Il fatto che i testimoni possano essere riconducibili a date diverse suggerisce l'idea che il *Dispaccio di Landus* sia il risultato di varie fasi redazionali. Il testimone più antico – BAVE: ms. *Urbinas Latinus* 728 – è un manoscritto miscelaneo quattrocentesco.⁷ L'ultimo evento menzionato in questo testimone è la conciliazione tra Mattia Corvino e l'opposizione interna dell'aprile 1459, che ne costituirà dunque il *terminus post quem*. I primi anni di Mattia Corvino furono segnati da una serie di difficoltà politiche. Una di queste fu l'opposizione interna di un gruppo di nobili della parte occidentale d'Ungheria, i quali sostennero Federico III contro Mattia. Nell'aprile 1459 infine Mattia riuscì a trovare un accordo con questo gruppo, fatto riportato dal manoscritto vaticano.⁸ L'altro problema che Mattia dovette risolvere nei primi anni del suo regno era il fatto che Federico III possedesse la corona ungherese dal 1440. Per ottenere la legittimazione completa del suo potere, Mattia doveva infatti esser incoronato. Egli riuscì a ottenere l'accordo con Federico III soltanto nel 1462. Questo accordo e il ritorno della corona ci aiutano a datare la redazione di altri testimoni. La Biblioteca Ambrosiana conserva due manoscritti composti,

sto saggio. Si rimandano i lettori interessati ad una bibliografia completa a G. M. Tóth, *Trivulziana Cod. N. 1458, a new testimony of the so-called Landus-report*, «*Verbum Analecta Neolatina*», x, 2008, pp. 144-145.

⁶ Tóth, *art. cit.*, pp. 154-158.

⁷ Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: ms. *Codex Urbinas Latinus* 728, ff. 29r-37r.

⁸ Ivi, f. 37r.

il ms. S 86 Sup.⁹ e il ms. R 94 Sup.,¹⁰ che contengono, oltre a vari documenti diplomatici, varianti del *Dispaccio di Landus*. In queste due varianti la storia dell'Ungheria termina il 3 aprile 1462, ossia il giorno che János Vitéz, il cancelliere di Mattia Corvino, e Federico III si accordarono per il ritorno della sacra corona all'Ungheria. Sia il ms. S 86 Sup. che il ms. R 94 Sup. menzionano questo evento, ma secondo queste varianti, nell'aprile 1462, la corona non è ancora in Ungheria, quindi il loro *terminus ante quem* sarà luglio 1463, cioè la data della ratificazione dell'accordo in seguito al quale la corona ritornò all'Ungheria.¹¹ Un altro testimone, trovato e pubblicato recentemente da Marcella Ferraccioli e Gianfranco Giraudo è il ms. Wcovich-Lazzari 24 del Museo Correr di Venezia.¹² Anche secondo questo testimone, la corona è sempre nelle mani di Federico III, quindi possiamo datarlo prima del luglio 1463.¹³ Al contrario, la variante quattrocentesca nel Marciano, It., cl. VI, 276 (= 8398), codice intitolato *Miscellanea di storia turca e ungherese*, è stata scritta sicuramente dopo il 24 luglio 1463, dato che il testo dice «havendo la corona insieme cum el Re». ¹⁴ Oltre al *Dispaccio di Landus*, questo codice contiene anche un autografo di Marin Sanudo, vari documenti diplomatici concernenti l'Impero Ottomano, e un'altra relazione sulla guerra d'Ungheria tra Solimano I (1520-1566) e Carlo V (1520-1558) nel 1532. Anche la variante presente nel Trivulziano ms. 1458 è stata sicuramente redatta dopo il 24 luglio 1463, e in questa variante possiamo leggere che «E nasuto el dito acordo limperador rendese la corona». ¹⁵ Questo codice è l'unico testimone che contiene solo il *Dispaccio di Landus*. Si tratta di un manoscritto di 10 fogli, legati semplicemente in carta. Un'altra caratteristica di questo testimone va

⁹ Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana: ms. S 86 Sup., ff. 184r-195r.

¹⁰ Ivi: ms. R 94 Sup., ff. 297r-305v.

¹¹ «Federico imperatore s'ha accordato co' Mathias di dargli la corona del Regno d'Ungheria, et ha tolto 80 mila ducati» (Ambrosiano, ms. S 86 Sup., f. 193r); questa frase si trova sul foglio 304v nell'Ambrosiano ms. R 94 Sup.

¹² Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Correr: ms. Wcovich-Lazzari 24, fasc. 3, 1r-14v. Guarda la descrizione in M. FERRACCIOLI, G. GIRAUDO, *Minimalia Hunyadiana, Livres et manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Museo Correr de Venise concernant Jean Hunyadi*, in *Extincta est lucerna orbis. John Hunyadi and his Time*, ed. by A. Dumitran, L. Mádly, A. Simon, Cluj-Napoca, Romanian Academy-The Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2009, pp. 69-84.

¹³ Ivi, p. 82.

¹⁴ Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana: It., cl. VI, 276 (= 8398), ff. 96r-108r; la frase citata si trova sul foglio 105r.

¹⁵ Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana: ms. 1458, f. 8r.

identificata con annotazioni marginali di una mano successiva che ha scritto nomi di varie città e protagonisti politici nei margini del manoscritto. Infine, il fatto che i testimoni possano essere datati in tempi diversi implica un lavoro continuo dell'Autore sul documento per un tempo esteso, e questo è prova della circolazione di varie redazioni.

La data di stesura, lo stile, il vocabolario, la struttura e la sintassi delle varianti sono, invece, diversi. In altre parole, le varianti presenti nei testimoni usano parole e frasi completamente differenti fra loro per esprimere le stesse informazioni. È ovvio che la causa di queste differenze non va ricondotta alla negligenza dei copisti. Un copista per mestiere non cambia il vocabolario, non riscrive il testo, ma lo copia e lo riproduce meccanicamente. Tuttavia queste differenze tra i testimoni mettono in dubbio il fatto che i testimoni possano contenere varianti d'autore. Nel caso delle opere letterarie, la ripulitura linguistica e stilistica non è affatto una cosa strana, soprattutto nel Quattrocento e Cinquecento, periodi così importanti per lo sviluppo dell'italiano letterario. Basti pensare a Alberti e alla redazione doppia de *I libri della famiglia*.¹⁶ Questa intensa ripulitura stilistica appare tuttavia poco usuale nel mondo dei documenti diplomatici.

Ci sono differenze anche tra le informazioni presenti nei testimoni. Ad es., mentre nel codice Trivulziano il pedaggio chiamato «trentesima» («tricesima») era il 3%, cioè $1/30$ del valore della merce, secondo i manoscritti dell'Ambrosiana, della Vaticana e del Correr questo era il 5%, cioè $1/20$.¹⁷ La questione su quale delle due informazioni sia la più autentica non è affatto indifferente. Sulla base dell'edizione settecentesca, uno dei più grandi storici ungheresi, Zsigmond Pál Pach, ha sostenuto che, negli anni sessanta del Quattrocento, la *trentesima* era in realtà ventesima, ossia i mercanti dovevano pagare un pedaggio che era $1/20$ del valore della loro merce.¹⁸ Ritorneremo più tardi su questo problema. Un altro esempio della differenza di informazioni nei testimoni riguarda il fatto che mentre i manoscritti dell'Ambrosiana, della Vaticana e del Correr datano la morte di Luigi il Grande nel 1380, e narrano dunque la storia dell'Ungheria a partire da questa data, i testimoni della Marciana e della Trivulziana cominciano la narrazione nel 1370. Entrambe le datazioni sono sbagliate; Luigi il Grande, infatti,

¹⁶ Vedi *Opere volgari di Leon Battista Alberti*, a cura di C. Grayson, Bari, Laterza, 1960.

¹⁷ Trivulziano, ms. 1458, f. 9v; Ambrosiano, ms. S 86 Sup., f. 195r; BAVe: Cod. Urb. Lat. 728 f. 34r; Correr: ms. Wcovich-Lazzari 24, f. 14v.

¹⁸ PACH, *art. cit.*, pp. 257-258.

secondo la storia canonica è morto nel 1382. Infine, ci sono differenze non solo nelle informazioni presenti nelle varianti, ma anche nella struttura delle varianti. Ad es., nel manoscritto vaticano le entrate di Mattia Corvino si trovano alla fine della descrizione geografica, mentre negli altri testimoni queste si trovano alla fine della storia degli eventi. La funzione principale di un'opera documentaria, così come quella di una relazione, è dare un'immagine tanto precisa quanto verosimile della 'realtà,' ossia del mondo esteriore che l'Autore vuole descrivere o rappresentare (a meno che non si tratti di falsificazione o manipolazione intenzionale). È possibile che dalla prima stesura alla seconda ci siano stati cambiamenti in Ungheria, e che il valore del pedaggio trentesima sia cambiato; ma allora perché il nostro Autore non ha segnalato questo cambiamento? Non possiamo rispondere a questa domanda, ma anche le differenze dell'informazione contribuiscono a indebolire l'ipotesi che i testimoni riflettano varie fasi redazionali.

Anche lo studio diretto dei testimoni ha rivelato che l'attribuzione a Landus è dubbia, poiché tutte le varianti sono adespite. L'attribuzione a un nunzio papale risale all'edizione settecentesca, che ha attribuito il documento al nunzio senza nominarlo.¹⁹ Alcuni storici ungheresi, come Kubinyi e Pach, hanno accettato questa attribuzione e hanno identificato Hyeronimus Landus come l'Autore del documento.²⁰ Hyeronimus Landus (1430-1497) discendeva da un'antica famiglia nobile veneziana e, dopo gli studi padovani, entrò al servizio di Cosimo de' Medici. Nel 1458 Callisto III (1455-1458) lo nominò arcivescovo di Creta.²¹ All'inizio degli anni sessanta Pio II (1458-1464), Silvio Piccolomini, mandò Landus nell'Europa centrale per organizzare una crociata contro i Turchi, che si sarebbe potuta realizzare solo a condizione che ci fosse stabilità e pace nella regione. Per questi motivi Landus dovette prima di tutto mediare nel conflitto tra Mattia e Federico III. Secondo Pach, siccome il documento contiene la cifra esatta che Mattia dovette pagare a Federico III, e di cui solo Landus, il mediatore, poteva essere a conoscenza, l'Autore è sicuramente lui.²² Riesaminando invece la parte che descrive l'accordo tra Mattia e Fe-

¹⁹ ENGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

²⁰ KUBINYI, *art. cit.*, p. 11; PACH, *art. cit.*, p. 257.

²¹ Per la biografia completa di Landus, si veda D. I. MURESAN, *Girolamo Lando, Titulaire du Patriarcat de Constantinople (1474-1497), et son rôle dans la politique orientale du Saint-Siège*, «Annuario dell'Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica di Venezia», VIII, 2006, pp. 153-258.

²² PACH, *art. cit.*, p. 257.

derico, l'Autore si rivela avere delle informazioni molto superficiali dell'accordo; il nostro documento infatti non menziona la parte più importante di esso, ovvero quello che regolamentava la successione al trono. Se Mattia fosse morto senza legittimi eredi, il trono ungherese sarebbe andato a Federico o a un suo erede. Già nel 1982, Erik Fügedi aveva espresso dubbi concernenti quest'attribuzione e aveva suggerito un nuovo esame dei manoscritti.²³ Riassumendo, né i testimoni, né gli inventari e i cataloghi delle biblioteche che conservano i testimoni contengono alcun riferimento a Landus o a un nunzio papale; l'attribuzione a Landus è solo un'ipotesi.

2. UNA RELAZIONE VENEZIANA

In mancanza di evidenze documentarie, durante la mia ricerca ho esaminato il contenuto e la struttura del nostro documento e il loro inserimento nella pratica della diplomazia contemporanea. Quest'indagine ha rivelato che il documento conosciuto come *Dispaccio di Landus* non è altro che una delle celebri relazioni veneziane.²⁴ Anzi, il nostro documento è la relazione veneziana più antica da noi conosciuta.²⁵

La lingua usata nei testimoni e la loro provenienza indicano un'origine settentrionale del documento. Nelle varianti troviamo infatti vari fenomeni linguistici caratteristici dei dialetti settentrionali come lo scempiamento delle consonanti intervocaliche doppie («tuto») o la sonorizzazione delle consonanti intervocaliche («stado», «fradelo»). Inoltre, due testimoni, il Marciano, It., cl. VI, 276 e il Correr, ms. Wcovich-Lazzari 24, provengono da biblioteche di veneziani illustri, come Marino Sanudo e Giovanni Tiepolo. Tutto questo contribuisce a collocare il testo nel territorio settentrionale della Penisola italiana.

Sin dal Medioevo Venezia produceva un tipo di documento diplomatico noto come 'relazione di fine missione', unico in Europa fino alla fine del Cinquecento. Queste relazioni, conosciute anche come 'rela-

²³ FÜGEDİ, *art. cit.*, pp. 486-487.

²⁴ Da notare, comunque, che anche due studiosi italiani, M. Ferraccioli e G. Giraudo, editori del manoscritto del Museo Correr, sono arrivati alla stessa conclusione più o meno nello stesso tempo. Come loro non sapevano dell'attribuzione a Landus, e di altri testimoni e delle edizioni, così neppure conoscevo la loro ricerca, di cui sono stato informato nell'aprile 2010.

²⁵ La relazione veneziana più antica è del 1492: D. QUELLER, *The development of Ambassadorial Relations*, in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. by J. R. Hale, London, Faber & Faber, 1973, p. 184.

zioni al Senato',²⁶ sono sintesi politiche, storiche e geografiche di vari Paesi europei ed extraeuropei che gli ambasciatori veneziani dovevano consegnare alla fine delle loro missioni. L'obbligo di presentare una descrizione generale del Paese di residenza davanti al Senato esisteva già dal 1268, ma solo dopo il 1525 gli ambasciatori di residenza hanno l'obbligo di consegnare una copia scritta. Come ha dimostrato Riccardo Fubini, l'istituzione dell'ambasciatore di residenza esisteva anche nel Trecento; la sua importanza, tuttavia, così come quella delle relazioni di fine missione, si intensificò nel corso del Quattrocento.²⁷ Uno dei motivi del cambiamento riguarda l'importanza degli ambasciatori di residenza nel mantenere l'equilibrio tra i vari Stati della Penisola dopo la pace di Lodi del 1454. Diversamente dagli oratori o dai legati, gli ambasciatori di residenza non erano mandati con una missione specifica, ma rappresentavano l'interesse generale del loro Stato e cercavano di raccogliere informazioni. Anche un documento adespoto in un manoscritto Ambrosiano prende in considerazione i vari compiti degli ambasciatori delegati alla corte papale e afferma che gli ambasciatori si trovano lì «non solo per la causa principale di render la debita obediienza al sommo Pontefice ma ancora per penetrar l'uno i pensieri dell'altro et potessi saviamente governarsi in caso che tornassero [...] a suoi stati».²⁸ Il compito principale dell'ambasciatore di residenza era quello di fornire informazioni tramite avvisi, riferendo regolarmente notizie sia politiche sia economiche al loro Paese d'origine. Questo compito ha dato vita al genere del dispaccio, una lettera riguardante notizie giornalieri. Gli ambasciatori di Venezia avevano anche un altro compito importante: ritornando dalla missione dovevano infatti consegnare una descrizione completa del Paese di residenza.

Jolán Balogh ha raccolto un elenco di tutti gli ambasciatori delegati presso la corte di Mattia. Secondo la studiosa, durante i primi anni del regno di Mattia solo due ambasciatori veneziani, Petrus de Thomasi e

²⁶ Le relazioni veneziane sono state pubblicate varie volte; l'edizione più completa è *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, a cura di E. Alberi, Firenze, Società Editrice Fiorentina, 1839-1863.

²⁷ R. FUBINI, *Diplomacy and government in the Italian city-states of the fifteenth century*, in *Politics and diplomacy in Early Modern Italy (Florence and Venice)*, ed. by D. Frigo, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 28.

²⁸ Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana: ms. R 122 Sup., f. 412r; il testo è intitolato «Consideratione di quanta importanza sia ad un Principe o ad altro Ministro Publico l'havere scritture di stato».

Giovanni Aymo, e Landus soggiornarono alla corte corviniana per un lungo periodo.²⁹ Tuttavia Landus non era un ambasciatore di residenza, ma viaggiò in vari Paesi dell'Europa orientale con la missione ricevuta da Pio II.³⁰ Inoltre, come nota Garrett Mattingly, la corte papale ospitò ambasciatori di residenza, ma non ne inviò alcuno.³¹ D'altro canto, sappiamo che Thomasi ha finito la sua missione nel 1463, quindi è abbastanza probabile che il nostro documento sia dovuto a lui.³² Tuttavia, in mancanza di documenti, anche questa attribuzione rimane un'ipotesi.

Comunque siano andati gli eventi, la struttura e il contenuto del nostro documento corrispondono a quello consueto delle relazioni veneziane. Per dimostrarlo, userò un diagramma (FIG. 1) trovato in un manoscritto contemporaneo che avrebbe potuto funzionare come uno schema per facilitare l'ambasciatore a selezionare l'informazione necessaria. Il cinquecentesco ms. Bodl. 911 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Oxford contiene soprattutto relazioni veneziane, e nasconde tra queste anche il suddetto diagramma, particolarmente interessante,³³ e disegnato da una mano diversa da altre mani del manoscritto.³⁴ Lo stesso diagramma, con una sola differenza sostanziale, è presente anche nell'Ambrosiano ms. R 122 Sup.³⁵ È difficile datare esattamente la stesura del diagramma, ma ci sono alcuni indizi che permettono di datarlo a dopo l'inizio della Riforma protestante. Nelle relazioni veneziane cinquecentesche incontriamo spesso il problema della religione e l'attitudine del sovrano verso le tematiche religiose. Il diagramma mette in luce questo argomento come un problema rilevante, ma trascurato prima della Riforma protestante.

²⁹ J. BALOGH, *Művészet Mátyás király udvarában*, Budapest, Akadémia Kiadó, 1966, pp. 676-680.

³⁰ MURESAN, *art. cit.*, pp. 163-164.

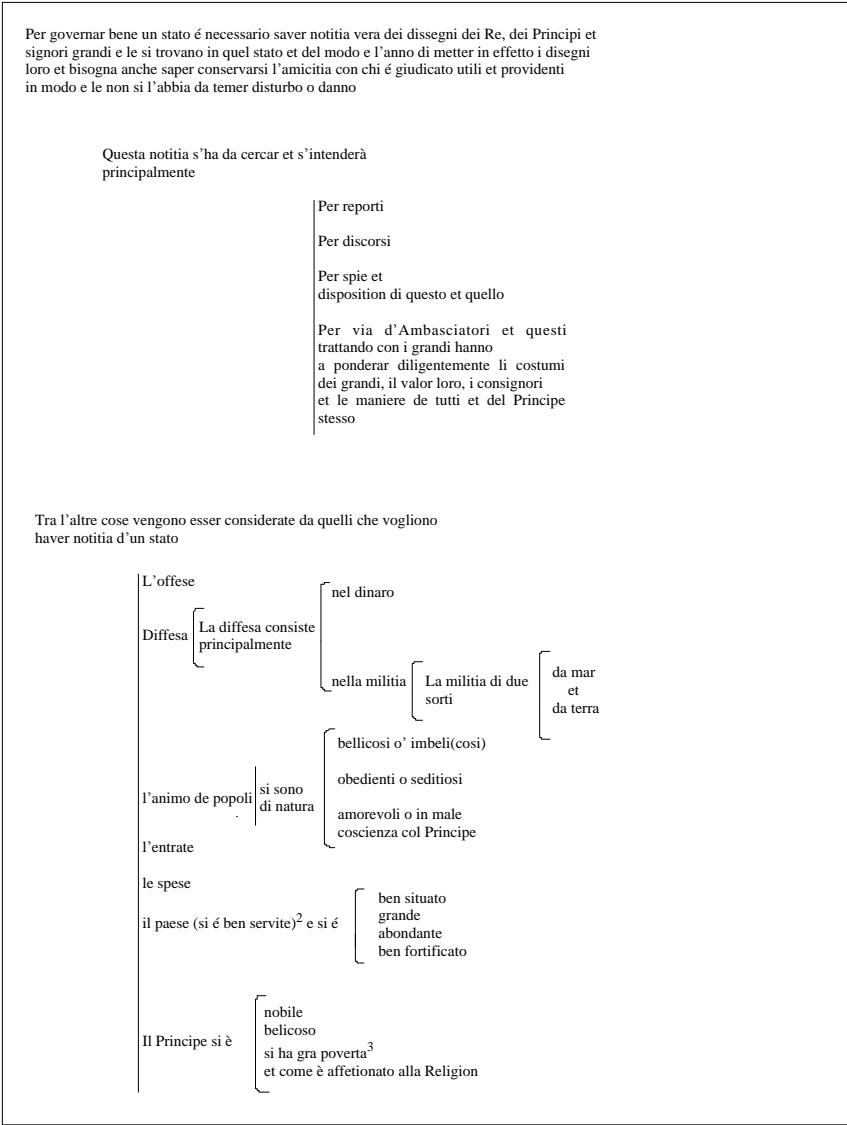
³¹ G. MATTINGLY, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, New York, Dover Publications, 1988, p. 91.

³² Già nell'ottobre del 1462 Thomasini scrisse che voleva ritornare a Venezia, e la data della sua ultima lettera dall'Ungheria conosciuta è del 7 marzo 1463. Dopo questa data conosciamo solo le lettere di Aymo: *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából 1458-1490*, a cura di I. Nagy, A. B. Nyári, Budapest, Akadémia Kiadó, 1875 («Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Acta extera», 1), p. 181 e p. 196.

³³ University of Oxford, Oxford, Bodleian Library: ms. Bodl. 911, f. 210r. Si veda la trascrizione del diagramma nell'appendice di questo saggio.

³⁴ La calligrafia sembra primocinquecentesca, ma dovrebbe essere verificato da un esperto di calligrafie cinquecentesche.

³⁵ Biblioteca Ambrosiana: ms. R 122 Sup., 413r. Sono grato a Filippo De Vivo per avermi informato di questo manoscritto. Per la differenza sostanziale nella trascrizione del codice bodleiano, si veda l'Appendice di questo articolo.



¹ La riproduzione del disegno senza il permesso di Gábor M. Tóth e della Biblioteca Bodleiana è proibita.
² Cancellato da una mano successiva, non é presente nell'Ambrosiano MS R 122 Sup, 413^f.
³ "Si ha gran parentado" nell'Ambrosiano MS R 122 Sup , 413^f.

FIG. 1.

Inoltre, c'è anche un altro indizio che rivela l'origine cinquecentesca: il diagramma usa la parola «spione» che, come nota Paolo Preto, diventò un vocabolo diffuso solo nel Cinquecento, mentre prima si utilizzava un altro termine, «esploratore».³⁶ Anche se il diagramma è più tardo rispetto al nostro documento, ci dà comunque lo schema generale di una relazione veneziana.

Per capire la funzione fondamentale di una relazione, vale la pena citare la frase introduttiva del diagramma: «Per governar bene un stato è necessario saver notitia vera dei disegni dei Re, dei Principi et signori grandi e li si trovano in quel stato et del modo e l'anno di metter in effetto i disegni loro».³⁷

Leggendo questo passo, il primo riferimento plausibile è Machiavelli e la sua psicologia del *leader* politico. Il compito dell'ambasciatore non è solo osservare e descrivere gli eventi politici, ma anche riportare il lato umano della politica, ossia, come il diagramma afferma in seguito, «ponderar diligentemente li costumi dei grandi, i consignori et le maniere de tutti et del Principe stesso».³⁸ Questa è la differenza fondamentale tra le relazioni veneziane e i documenti diplomatici contemporanei, che si limitano ad elencare dei fatti.³⁹ In contrasto, nelle relazioni veneziane spesso incontriamo delle descrizioni quasi 'psicologiche' degli affari del teatro della politica. Anche il nostro documento descrive la classe dirigente ungherese, elenca i nomi degli ufficiali più importanti e descrive i gruppi politici come quello di Cillei e di Hunyadi intorno agli anni caotici del 1450.⁴⁰ Un altro esempio di descrizione dettagliata del ceto politico si trova in una relazione adespota della Francia del tardo Cinquecento che elenca i signori e le città secondo le loro appartenenze ai «Realisti» o ai «Hugenotti».⁴¹

Oltre al lato umano della politica, il diagramma contiene anche l'affermazione implicita che il possesso dell'informazione è potere. Una

³⁶ P. PRETO, *I servizi segreti di Venezia*, Milano, il Saggiatore, 1994, p. 43.

³⁷ Bodleian Library: ms. Bodl. 911, f. 210r.

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁹ Per una bibliografia dettagliata dei documenti diplomatici dei vari Stati Italiani, si veda A. CONTINI, *L'informazione politica sugli stati italiani non spagnoli nelle relazioni veneziane a metà Cinquecento (1558-1566)*, in *L'Informazione politica in Italia (secoli XVI-XVIII)*. Atti del seminario organizzato dalla Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa e dal Dipartimento di Storia moderna e contemporanea dell'Università di Pisa. Pisa, 23 e 24 giu. 1997, a cura di E. F. Guarini, M. Rosa, Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, 2001, p. 11.

⁴⁰ ENGEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

⁴¹ *Thesoro Politico cioe Relationi instruttioni, Trattati, Discorsi Varii*, Colonia, Accademia Italiana di Colonia, 1593, pp. 289-311.

delle linee di demarcazione tra la cultura medievale e moderna è proprio questo: il riconoscimento del valore assoluto dell'informazione, e lo sviluppo di tecniche sempre più sofisticate di elaborare informazioni. Quest'ultimo è solo un aspetto della cultura dell'informazione, mentre le altre abilità consistono nel creare e mantenere i canali d'informazione; in questa abilità la Serenissima è sempre stata pioniera, grazie alla sua distanza fisica dalle colonie. Insomma, la prima parte del diagramma delinea i vari canali d'informazione, in cui relazioni e ambasciatori hanno avuto un ruolo essenziale.

La seconda parte del diagramma delinea invece le informazioni che dovevano arrivare tramite questi canali. In quasi tutte le relazioni veneziane troviamo la descrizione geografica del Paese. Anche la relazione dell'Ungheria contiene una descrizione dettagliata di montagne, città e fiumi.⁴² Come afferma anche il diagramma, un altro gruppo di informazioni necessarie per governare era la descrizione strategica dei Paesi stranieri. Anche l'Autore sconosciuto della nostra relazione elenca i castelli e le fortezze più importanti, descrivendo il loro valore strategico. Inoltre, aggiunge che gli Ungheresi combattono bene e sono coraggiosi.⁴³ In contrasto, 'l'animo del popolo' ungherese è caratterizzato da parole negative. Gli Ungheresi sono poco industriosi, ossia pigri. I nobili invece sono bellicosi, prodighi e sediziosi.⁴⁴ In realtà, come anche il diagramma sottolinea, nelle relazioni veneziane la descrizione dell'animo del popolo era un costituente essenziale per determinare la situazione generale di un Paese. Dietro le relazioni veneziane c'è un sistema di pregiudizi secondo cui vengono descritti i popoli di vari Paesi. Ad es., una relazione sulla Germania afferma che i Tedeschi sono «colerici ma con un bichieri di vino fanno la pace, sono rustici, [...] et non conoscono vergogna».⁴⁵ Anche nelle descrizioni dell'animo del popolo ritroviamo di nuovo il fattore psicologico. Questa volta però non si tratta delle disposizioni dell'individuo, come il principe o uno dei Grandi, bensì quelle della collettività. Inoltre, il diagramma sottolinea anche l'importanza del rapporto tra il sovrano e il popolo, ossia il rapporto dell'individuo con la società. In conclusione, un altro elemento obbligatorio delle relazioni veneziane è la descrizione economica del Paese, ossia le risorse minerarie, le uscite e le entrate dei vari Stati. Come abbiamo già detto, anche la nostra

⁴² ENGEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

⁴³ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁴ Ivi, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Selden Arch. 3358, 9r.

relazione prende in considerazione la situazione finanziaria di Mattia Corvino, concludendo che Mattia mancava di sostegni finanziari.⁴⁶ Il cosiddetto *Dispaccio di Landus* contiene quindi tutte le caratteristiche delle relazioni veneziane. Il fatto che solo la Serenissima produsse documenti di questo genere nel Quattrocento, indica quindi l'origine veneziana e non vaticana del *Dispaccio di Landus*.

Il diagramma non contiene informazioni finora sconosciute, tuttavia offre un'immagine analitica di quei fattori che secondo la cultura politica veneziana determinavano la situazione generale dei Paesi esteri. Questi fattori costituivano anche gli elementi essenziali delle decisioni politiche della Serenissima a livello internazionale. A questo punto, ci conviene ritornare sul *Principe*, considerato una delle prime opere che trattano il teatro della politica come un gioco determinato da fattori sia irrazionali sia umani. Il fatto che la nostra relazione sia databile agli anni sessanta del Quattrocento dimostra che in realtà, ben prima del momento machiavelliano, la cultura politica e il meccanismo delle decisioni politiche della Serenissima potevano essere privi di ogni speculazione morale, e si basavano sul calcolo di variabili umane. Le radici di questa cultura politica devono esser cercate non nelle teorie contemporanee ma nella vita politica della Repubblica di S. Marco, basata su un gioco complesso di gruppi politici. Per queste ragioni, le relazioni veneziane sono documenti importanti non solo per ricostruire il passato, ma anche per studiare la cultura politica che li produsse.

3. ETEROGENEITÀ DELLA TRADIZIONE MANOSCRITTA

Dopo aver presentato l'ipotesi secondo la quale il *Dispaccio di Landus* sia una relazione veneziana, questo saggio deve risolvere anche un altro problema che abbiamo già accennato nel primo paragrafo: l'eterogeneità della tradizione manoscritta. Come ho già dimostrato, questa difficilmente può essere stata causata dalla negligenza degli amanuensi o dalla rielaborazione dell'Autore stesso. Esaminando la cultura d'informazione delle relazioni veneziane e quella che Branca chiamò «la tradizione caratterizzante» ossia «le vie, i modi, il come, il perché della diffusione di un'opera,» darò una spiegazione all'eterogeneità della tradizione manoscritta.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ ENGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁴⁷ V. BRANCA, *Copisti per passione, tradizione caratterizzante, tradizione di memorie*, in *Studi*

Oltre a fornire al Senato informazioni precise, l'altra funzione principale delle relazioni era creare una continuità tra gli ambasciatori di residenza che si susseguivano. L'ambasciatore scriveva infatti la sua relazione alla fine della missione per avvisare il suo successore della situazione generale del Paese. Talvolta gli ambasciatori proseguivano e riutilizzavano la relazione dell'ambasciatore precedente, aggiornandola. Intorno all'ambasciatore di residenza c'erano segreterie il cui compito era compilare i primi abbozzi delle relazioni.⁴⁸ Di conseguenza, le relazioni veneziane erano quelle che i filologi chiamano *testi in movimento* su cui varie persone lavoravano in rapida successione. I testi letterari e non letterari in movimento presentano una difficoltà enorme per il filologo e per lo storico che devono stabilire quale variante può essere considerata autentica. Inoltre è necessario considerare quali criteri possano determinare la variante autentica. Ritornerò più tardi su queste questioni.

Ritornati dalla missione, gli ambasciatori di residenza dovevano leggere ad alta voce la loro relazione in Senato; teoricamente i membri del Senato non potevano prendere appunti, ma in realtà a Venezia circolavano tanti riassunti da queste orazioni.⁴⁹ Questa pratica, esistente sin dal Medioevo, implica che la trasmissione delle relazioni aveva anche un aspetto orale. Questo spiega in parte il perché dell'eterogeneità della tradizione manoscritta del *Dispaccio di Landus*. È ovvio che, prendendo appunti, tutti usassero parole e strutture familiari. Ad es., il *ductus* del testimone vaticano dà un'impressione di rapidità e fretta, suggerendo una compilazione dopo dittazione. Prima del Cinquecento, l'aspetto orale delle relazioni era più marcato; dopo il 1525 gli ambasciatori furono invece obbligati a consegnare la loro relazione in forma scritta.⁵⁰ Tuttavia, a causa di due incendi nel 1574 e 1577, molte delle relazioni consegnate al Senato furono distrutte.⁵¹ Perciò, oggi è molto difficile trovare le relazioni originali degli ambasciatori stessi. La maggior parte delle relazioni conservate presso l'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, proviene infatti da archivi privati veneziani.⁵²

e problemi di critica testuale. Convegno di Studi di Filologia italiana nel Centenario della Commissione per i Testi di Lingue, Bologna, Commissione per i testi di lingue, 1960, p. 75.

⁴⁸ QUELLER, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

⁴⁹ F. DE VIVO, *Information and communication in Venice: rethinking early modern politics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 59.

⁵⁰ QUELLER, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁵¹ V. ILARDI, *Fifteenth century diplomatic documents in Western European Archives and Libraries*, «Studies in the Renaissance», IX, 1962, p. 73.

⁵² Durante la mia ricerca ho provato a trovare altri testimoni del *Dispaccio di Landus*

Inoltre, le relazioni veneziane avevano funzioni speciali nella vita politica interna della Serenissima, la quale contribuì alla loro vasta circolazione. La relazione era uno strumento per aumentare il prestigio personale del suo autore. Per questa ragione, spesso gli stessi ambasciatori hanno facilitato la circolazione delle loro relazioni, lasciando che amici e persone confidenti le copiassero. Le informazioni contenute nelle relazioni influenzavano le decisioni politiche della Serenissima, quindi attraverso la loro circolazione informale i vari gruppi politici potevano convincere i membri di altri gruppi della loro posizione.⁵³

Le relazioni veneziane erano oggetto di collezionismo da parte di vari gruppi sociali. *In primis*, era l'élite veneziana che particolarmente cercava, copiava e raccoglieva le relazioni; questo accadeva soprattutto perché l'unico modo per i giovani aristocratici veneziani destinati alla carriera diplomatica di imparare la stesura delle relazioni era la lettura delle relazioni precedenti. Una missione di successo, il cui testimone concreto era la relazione, contribuiva al prestigio della famiglia dell'ambasciatore. Non a caso, due testimoni del nostro documento, il Marciano, It., cl. vi. 276 (= 8398) e il Correr, ms. Wcovich-Lazzari 24 provengono dall'ambiente del ceto dirigente di Venezia.⁵⁴ Non solo l'élite della Repubblica di S. Marco, ma anche i mercanti veneziani raccolsero le più celebri relazioni. Informazioni come la descrizione delle città, delle strade o delle risorse minerarie erano utili anche al ceto mercantile, coinvolto nel traffico internazionale. In breve, le relazioni veneziane furono ricercate da vari gruppi sociali dato che il loro contenuto rispondeva alle loro esigenze.

Il fatto che oggi troviamo relazioni non solo nelle biblioteche italiane ma anche in quelle europee, è prova della loro fortuna internazionale. In realtà, le relazioni veneziane sono diventate una sorta di *bestseller* dell'Europa cinquecentesca e seicentesca; erano le letture preferite della cosiddetta cultura della curiosità. Ad es., un manoscritto seicentesco della Biblioteca del Balliol College, Oxford, il ms. 254, intitolato, *Breve Relatione dello Stato: Forza, Richezza, Grandezza del Granduca di Toscana* dice che la relazione è «allettrice, et stimolo per

nell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, ma questa indagine non ha portato risultati. Ho esaminato il fondo *Capo dei X*, Lettere di ambasciatori e rappresentanti presso varie corti, b. 30.

⁵³ Si veda la descrizione del ruolo delle relazioni nella vita politica della Serenissima in DE VIVO, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-70.

⁵⁴ Si vedano gli *ex libris* di questi manoscritti nel primo paragrafo di questo saggio.

vaccinare l'invecchiata memoria con la Ricordanza, o' vero nuova rappresentatione delle varietà in esse vedute, onde lo studio di sapere et conoscere cacciando la penna al minuto descrivere non solo le antiche memorie, ma ancora le curiosità moderne». ⁵⁵ Pur contenendo gli elementi costanti delle relazioni veneziane come descrizione geografica, uscite ed entrate del Granducato, questo manoscritto non è un documento diplomatico, ma una sorta di 'guida turistica', in cui il compilatore anonimo ha scelto «le cose più degne dello stato per lettera dei forestieri». ⁵⁶ Tutto ciò indica che il pubblico del Cinquecento e del Seicento leggeva volentieri le relazioni diplomatiche prodotte sia dalla Serenissima sia da altri Stati più tardi. La provenienza inglese di numerosi manoscritti bodleiani contenenti relazioni diplomatiche ci mostra anche l'interesse internazionale verso le relazioni. A questo punto, dobbiamo chiederci come abbiano potuto diventare *bestseller* d'Europa i documenti segreti della Serenissima.

Dalla fine del Quattrocento, la Serenissima si trasformò in un centro e mercato d'informazione, dove molte persone si occupavano di diffondere relazioni e altri documenti diplomatici. Recentemente la cultura di questo mercato d'informazione è stata studiata profondamente da Filippo De Vivo nella monografia già citata. ⁵⁷ Per noi l'aspetto interessante di questa cultura d'informazione è la modalità di trasmissione delle relazioni. In questo saggio non possiamo studiare tutte le figure, come spie, segretari, informatori, di questo centro d'informazione, perciò ho deciso di esaminare solo l'attività del gazzettiere o reportista, una delle figure più tipiche di questo mercato. I cosiddetti reportisti erano copisti professionali, che si occupavano di raccogliere, diffondere ed esportare testi fra cui le relazioni contenenti informazioni. Tra i loro clienti troviamo ambasciatori, diplomatici e aristocratici, sia stranieri che veneziani. Come nota Mario Infelise, il reportista «era il prototipo dello scrittore sprezzolato, indifferente alle ragioni di verità, sempre pronto [...] ad alterare per questo la sua versione dei fatti». ⁵⁸ In altre parole, il gazzettiere copiava testi non meccanicamente, ma in modo arbitrario. A questo punto conviene ritornare di nuovo al saggio già citato di Branca, che elabora l'influente

⁵⁵ Oxford, Balliol College Library: ms. 254, 1r.

⁵⁶ Ivi, f. 73r.

⁵⁷ DE VIVO, *op. cit.*

⁵⁸ M. INFELISE, *Prima dei giornali, alle origini della pubblica informazione*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2002, p. 19.

distinzione tra il copista per passione e il copista professionale o per mestiere. Il primo copia i testi per suo piacere ed è sempre pronto a rielaborarlo secondo i suoi gusti, mentre il secondo, il copista professionale, riproduce i testi meccanicamente.⁵⁹ Con il personaggio di gazzettiere, anche la categoria del copista professionale cambia; il copista professionale della Venezia della prima modernità comincia a comportarsi come il copista per passione del Medioevo. Come vedremo più avanti, questo cambiamento porterà problemi seri nello studio dei testi prodotti dal mercato d'informazione della Serenissima.

È difficile pensare che l'eterogeneità della nostra relazione sia dovuta solo all'aspetto orale e all'attività dei gazzettieri. Si può ipotizzare un atteggiamento simile a quello dei reportisti anche da parte del lettore-consumatore. Come ho dimostrato altrove, negli anni novanta del Quattrocento, una persona tuttora sconosciuta ha preso in mano la nostra relazione e ha aggiunto al testo originale la storia dell'Ungheria dalla morte di Mattia Corvino fino al 1491, producendo una variante che è conservata nei testimoni della Marciana e della Trivulziana.⁶⁰ Tuttavia, questa persona ha unito i due testi creando l'impressione che si tratti di uno solo. Un altro esempio di modifica intenzionale è il testo degli esemplari ambrosiani, che hanno subito una intensa ripulitura linguistica. Per osservare l'atteggiamento del lettore-consumatore verso il testo della relazione, ho condotto un'indagine non sistematica di un'altra relazione veneziana sulla storia di Cipro, ispirata da una lettera di un certo George Hill del 1941 che ho trovato tra i documenti concernenti i manoscritti occidentali della Biblioteca Bodleiana.⁶¹ In questa lettera privata, Hill richiama l'attenzione della biblioteca riferendo le differenze tra le versioni della relazione di Francis Attar su Cipro, presenti in vari manoscritti bodleiani. La relazione di Francis Attar racconta la storia di Cipro dai tempi romani fino al 1489, ossia fino alla occupazione veneziana dell'isola. La versione pubblicata nell'Ottocento⁶² e quella adespota nel BNCF: ms. II.iii.386⁶³ contiene anche un elenco di quante persone vivevano in alcune città di Cipro e

⁵⁹ BRANCA, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁶⁰ TÓTH, *art. cit.*, p. 148.

⁶¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library: *References to western manuscripts*, box VII. 69. A.

⁶² *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre*, III, éd. M. L. de Mas Latrie, Parigi, L'Imprimerie Imperiale, 1855, pp. 519-536.

⁶³ Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze: ms. II.iii.386, ff. 79r-103r. Questa variante è intitolata *Relatione et Historia compendiaria del Regno di Cipro di incerto autore*.

di quello che «si può trarre per conto di mercanzia». ⁶⁴ Oggi è difficile dire se questo catalogo risalga al testo originale oppure se un lettore abile abbia semplicemente unito i due documenti. Comunque stiano le cose, questo elenco non è presente nella variante della relazione di Attar nel Bodleian ms. Rawl. D 637. ⁶⁵ Inoltre, in questa variante la storia di Cipro non termina con l'anno 1489, ma con il 1492, menzionando un terremoto che era «si grave che rovinò la Chiesa di Santa Sofia». ⁶⁶ Il *terminus post quem* di un altro testimone della relazione su Cipro, che si trova nel Bodleian ms. Bodleian 911, è ancora diverso. ⁶⁷ Questa variante è un breve estratto della relazione che tratta solo l'occupazione veneziana di Cipro nel 1489, però l'ultima frase afferma che Cipro è stata occupata dal «Gran Turco Selim nell'anno 1571». ⁶⁸ Oltre all'attività dei gazzettieri, a chi sono dovute tutte queste alterazioni nella tradizione manoscritta del *Dispaccio di Landus* e nella relazione sulla storia di Cipro? Nella mia opinione, sono dovute al lettore, che non solo copiava relazioni ma ne faceva degli estratti, le aggiornava o vi aggiungeva nuove informazioni.

Insomma, le relazioni veneziane erano *testi in movimento* compilati da vari autori, gazzettieri e lettori stessi. Queste persone erano sempre pronte a rielaborare o aggiornare il testo. Questa tradizione caratterizzante e la sua trasmissione orale hanno potuto causare l'eterogeneità del *Dispaccio di Landus*. Una conseguenza di questa tradizione caratterizzante è che la trasmissione dei testi non era meccanica. Creare lo *stemma codicum* di un testo trasmesso non meccanicamente è molto problematico, anzi, ritengo che sia impossibile. ⁶⁹ Pertanto, un'altra conseguenza è che il metodo ricostruttivo della filologia testuale non può aiutare lo storico nella decisione di quale testimone di una relazione sia autentico.

4. DOMANDE APERTE

Prima di concludere questo saggio, vorrei condividere con il lettore un'impressione personale dopo tre anni di ricerca della storia mano-

⁶⁴ *Histoire de l'Ile de Chypre*, III, cit., p. 534.

⁶⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library: ms. Rawl. D 637, ff. 331r-351r.

⁶⁷ Ivi: ms. Bodl., 911, ff. 587r-588r.

⁶⁶ Ivi, f. 351r.

⁶⁸ Ivi, f. 588r.

⁶⁹ Per la problematicità del metodo ricostruttivo nel caso dei testi trasmessi non meccanicamente si veda A. STUSSI, *Introduzione*, in *Fondamenti di critica testuale*, a cura di Idem, Bologna, il Mulino, 1998, pp. 7-45.

scritta del *Dispaccio di Landus*. Trovo infatti la cultura d'informazione in cui la nostra relazione si inserisce paradossale. Da un lato, essa riconosce il valore assoluto dell'informazione, dall'altro la cambia, la modifica, la aggiorna senza far notare l'atto di cambiare, cosa che alla fine risulta una stortura dell'informazione. Questa stortura presuppone però l'esistenza di una realtà autentica, rispetto alla quale l'informazione è alterata. Ci sono tuttavia fatti puri, quali la morte di Luigi il Grande o il valore esatto del pedaggio *trentesimo* ungherese. Queste non sono questioni di interpretazione che dipendono dalla percezione dell'osservatore.

Per concludere, è ben noto quanto il padre della storia moderna, Leopold von Ranke, ammirava le relazioni veneziane. Il grande storico tedesco ha visto in queste relazioni la realizzazione del sogno positivistico. Per lui queste relazioni erano finestre perfette che si affacciavano sulla realtà storica del passato. Come abbiamo visto, le immagini che vediamo tramite queste finestre sono distorte, sono interpretazioni di compilatori abili. Ma se non conosciamo la realtà del passato, che cosa vediamo in queste finestre? Come possiamo interpretare queste immagini distorte? Lascio queste domande aperte.

UNA GUARITRICE PROCESSATA
DAL TRIBUNALE DEL SANT'UFFIZIO
DI VENEZIA NEL SEICENTO
PER ERESIA ED ESORCISMI

CARLA BOCCATO

NELL'AMPIO e variegato panorama storico della stregoneria e della magia rientrano, per natura e modalità delle pratiche esercitate, le guaritrici: 'segnaresse' o 'herbere', numerose nel corso del tempo anche a Venezia, come attestano i processi celebrati a loro carico dal Tribunale del Sant'Uffizio¹ che inflisse alle imputate, ritenute eretiche, pene corporali: fustigazione pubblica, berlina; detentive; 'penitenze salutari' quali la recita di preghiere e del rosario; e, talora, anche bando ed esilio.

Le povere e ignoranti guaritrici che i testi ci fanno conoscere – scrive in proposito Marisa Milani –,² sono condannate non tanto perchè operino guarigioni, quanto perchè, così facendo, esse si pongono di fatto fuori e in contrasto con l'autorità ecclesiastica, che avvocava ai soli sacerdoti il diritto di «segnare», e con quella laica che proteggeva la classe medica. Il Tribunale condanna quelle disgraziate in quanto ritenute colpevoli di eresia, ma non si preoccupa affatto di accertare l'efficacia o la pericolosità delle loro ricette, cosa, del resto, pressochè impossibile, dato il livello della scienza medica di allora, secondo la quale la malattia era opera di forze malefiche...Quando i medici si dichiarano impotenti, non resta che rivolgersi al potere sovranaturale, ma questo è un campo riservato alla Chiesa, unica mediatrice fra Dio e gli uomini... La ritualità che accompagnava sia la preparazione del rimedio che l'applicazione di esso, trasformava la pratica medica in una specie di mistero religioso che richiedeva da parte del paziente una fede assoluta. L'ammalato si rivolgeva alla guaritrice con la stessa fede con cui si rivolgeva al sacerdote o al Santo che l'avrebbe miracolato.

Dalla fine del sec. XVI e, nel corso del XVII in pieno clima di Controriforma, il rigore delle autorità nei confronti delle guaritrici si fece più

¹ Archivio di Stato di Venezia [d'ora in poi ASVe]: S. Uffizio, *Processi*.

² M. MILANI, *Antiche pratiche di medicina popolare nei processi del Sant'Uffizio (Venezia 1572-1581)*, Padova, Centro-Stampa Palazzo Maldura, 1996, pp. 7, 8, 10.

esteso e capillare, come attesta la documentazione processuale pervenuta. Nella maggior parte dei casi le imputate erano donne appartenenti al ceto popolare, indigenti, che con tali pratiche si procuravano mezzi di sostentamento, abbinando sovente a quell'attività anche l'esercizio della prostituzione.

Dai richiamati fondi giudiziari del Sant'Uffizio di Venezia, abbiamo tratto, a campione, il caso di Marietta Colonna,³ che segnaliamo in queste note.

Il procedimento a suo carico, aperto da due denunce del settembre 1634, ebbe un'interruzione di circa tre anni, presumibilmente motivata, come diremo, dall'allontanamento dell'imputata da Venezia, per riprendere quindi nel dicembre del 1637 e concludersi con sentenza di condanna nel luglio 1638. Marietta, incarcerata, venne interrogata per cinque volte dal Tribunale, nei costituiti del 9 marzo, 11 marzo, 4 maggio, 6 maggio, 18 maggio 1638.

Lo svolgimento del giudizio seguì la procedura formale⁴ che ne prevedeva l'articolazione in più fasi tra loro distinte, differenziandosi da quella con rito abbreviato, sommario e più rapido. Il caso fu aperto dalla deposizione spontanea resa al Sant'Uffizio il 5 settembre 1634 da uno dei pazienti che si erano sottoposti alle cure della guaritrice: Cesare Bonetti *qm* Cesare, gentiluomo cremonese, medico, 28 anni, ospite a Venezia della locanda della «Colombina» o «Pilota» in contrada di S. Samuele.

Nella sua deposizione Bonetti fece il nome anche di un altro paziente di Marietta, Francesco Montemezzano *qm* Giovanni Battista, causidico,⁵ 40 anni, della parrocchia di S. Trovaso, che il Tribunale

³ ASve: S. Uffizio, Processi, b. 90. Il fascetto è inserito in camicia con intestazione archivistica *Colonna Marietta (Venezia)*.

⁴ S. MALAVASI, *Storie di Streghe a Venezia nel Cinquecento*, Padova, Edizioni Libreria Progetto, 2009, p. 14, nota 15: «Il processo formale prevedeva tempi più dilatati; iniziava con la fase informativa (per denuncia anonima, fama pubblica, testimoni), alla quale faceva seguito quella offensiva (elenco dei capi d'accusa o *inquisitio*, citazione, arresto, costituiti del reo). Dopo questa seguiva la difesa, regolarmente offerta all'imputato, che poteva rifiutarla, invocando la misericordia di Dio e dei giudici, o farla da solo. Chiudeva il processo la sentenza che poteva essere di assoluzione, con assegnazione di pene varie, la purgazione canonica, l'abiura. Nel caso di reati come la stregoneria diabolica era prevista la pena capitale».

⁵ *causidico*: rappresentante, senza qualifica forense, delle parti in giudizio: I. CACCIAVILLANI in *Storia dell'Avvocatura Veneziana*, Venezia, Corbo e Fiore, 2001, p. 61 lo colloca

ascoltò il successivo 12 settembre. Bonetti, sofferente di «ostruzione delle viscere con febre acuta continua», per le quali non gli erano giovati i medicamenti usati, informò il Tribunale di essere entrato in contatto con la guaritrice quando lei era andata alla locanda per curare una delle due proprietarie, Maddalena Pina,⁶ «indisposta di dolore atrocissimo di stomaco e di petto». Marietta le aveva praticata l'unzione con olio che aveva detto di aver preso dai frati del convento di S. Giobbe.⁷

Venutone a conoscenza, Bonetti aveva chiesto di persona conferma in proposito a frate Francesco di quel convento, il quale aveva negato di aver fornito l'olio a Marietta, e l'aveva sollecitato di recarsi dal padre inquisitore «a darli parte di tutto questo». Bonetti descrisse così la guaritrice «maritata, credo, in uno che è bandito,⁸ e sta di stanza a San Giovanni in Bragora, che può haver 35 o 36 anni in circa, che è brutta, rossa, zotta,⁹ capelli negri, veneziana, et non so in che cale particolare stia, è meno il suo cognome». Tornando a parlare di Maddalena, Bonetti precisò che dopo esser stata unta, aveva avuto un miglioramento, seguito pochi giorni dopo da un sensibile peggioramento che Marietta aveva spiegato con il fatto che le erano stati rinnovati i malefici per i quali non c'era rimedio, pronosticandole la morte di lì a 40 o 50 giorni.

A sua volta egli si era sottoposto all'unzione, ripetuta per sette giorni sui tredici previsti, con queste modalità:

Me fece stender sul letto, nudo, con le braccia aperte, la schena in su, ongendomi dal braccio vicino alla mano, et così tutto il braccio sino alla spala sinistra, et poi susseguentemente dalla spala sinistra per tutta la vita sino al piede sinistro sino al calcagno, et mi ongeva con la mano sinistra. Dopo questo cominiciò dall'altro braccio nell'istesso modo sino all'altro calcagno. Dopo questo mi fece voltare col corpo in su et m'onze nell'istesso modo cominciando dal braccio sino al calcagno destro. Et così dall'altra banda, et mi onze la fronte et gli occhi, la forcella della gola, facendomi delle croci sopra il core. Quando stavo con la schena in su mi ongeva anco sotto le orecchie.

con i sollecitatori gli intervenienti, i procuratori e i commessi, tra gli «operatori minori» dell'ordinamento giudiziario.

⁶ Maddalena relitta di Cesare Luci, che deporrà il 16 Marzo 1638 (cfr. *infra*, pp. 467, 468).

⁷ Chiesa e convento di S. Giobbe (sec. xv. Cfr. G. LORENZETTI, *Venezia e il suo estuario*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, pp. 446-448).

⁸ Cfr. *infra*, nota 35.

⁹ *Zotta*: zoppa, G. BOERIO, *Dizionario del Dialetto Veneto*, Venezia, Tip. di Giovanni Cecchini, 1856 (rist. anast. A. Martello, 1971), s.v., *zoto*, p. 822.

Durante il trattamento Marietta aveva invocato il Padre e lo Spirito Santo e pronunciato queste frasi: «Per il latte della Verzene Maria che questo male non cresca più, ma vada via»; e «Ti onzo, mariondo»¹⁰ per el Salvator del mondo».

Bonetti aveva poi deciso di non proseguire il trattamento e congelato Marietta «perché mi venne il sospetto di qualche forfanteria». Prima di iniziare la cura aveva domandato a Marietta se avesse la licenza per medicare.¹¹ Lei gli aveva chiesto le sue generalità per poterle comunicare al padre inquisitore che ne avrebbe preso nota per rilasciarla. Bonetti aveva verificato anche questo particolare, ma il padre inquisitore gli aveva risposto «di non saperne cosa alcuna». Proseguendo, aveva poi detto, come riferitogli da un amico comune, tale Guido Langerini, dottore, che dal Montemezzano Marietta si era fatta anche portare tre camicie per «spanarle»,¹² affermando quindi che una era di un fatturato, un'altra di uno che non era fatturato, e la terza di un morto, indovinando che questa apparteneva a un deceduto.

Bonetti, che nei giorni precedenti era stato malissimo, aggiunse anche che dal frate Francesco gli era stato detto che le guaritrici «fanno strigare quelli che non sono strigati».

Per le prestazioni Marietta si faceva dare una lira al giorno per l'uso della gondola, quattro lire per l'olio e, «dopo guarito, quel che piace». Richiesto se nutrisse odio nei confronti della guaritrice, aveva risposto: «non li porto odio alcuno».

Il 12 settembre, citato dal Tribunale, compariva Francesco Montemezzano il quale dichiarò: «sono 2 anni che sto sempre male et continuamente mi dogliono sempre gli occhi, sebene vi vedo benissimo; mi pare mi vengano sempre cavati». Inutile il ricorso a più medici, si

¹⁰ *Mariondo*: voce non reperita.

¹¹ «Fino agli anni trenta – quaranta del Cinquecento – scrive MALAVASI, cit., pp. 33, 34 – guaritrici e segnaresse erano di fatto accettate e autorizzate a praticare questa professione: con la dovuta cautela le autorità ecclesiastiche le “esaminavano” periodicamente rilasciando loro “licenze”... Quando però i dubbi sull'esistenza delle streghe cominciarono a diventare una tragica realtà, fu facile che queste donne fossero viste in competizione sia con la chiesa, alla quale tradizionalmente spettava il ruolo di “segnare” e “invocare”, che con la classe medica», ecc.

¹² Cfr. MALAVASI, cit., p. 35, nota 32: «Si tratta di una pratica molto usata: le guaritrici misuravano a spanna gli indumenti per riconoscere eventuali fatture e toglierle. Le streghe, a loro volta, “spanavano” muri e arredi domestici per attuare i malefici, usando anch'esse preghiere, ma invocando il demonio».

era messo nelle mani di una donna che «guariva» e «segnava», «una Marietta della contrada di San Martino, case di Cà Soranzo» (famiglia patrizia proprietaria, nella località, di un antico palazzo). Di costei fornì questa descrizione, corrispondente a quella data dal Bonetti: «la quale è una donna piccola, mal fatta, con la boca tutta infiammata et rossa, va gobba, camina malamente». Di rivolgersi a Marietta era stato consigliato da una donna incontrata per caso passando il traghetto, la quale gli aveva detto che costei aveva guarito con l'olio varie persone. Descrisse quindi il trattamento praticatogli, del tutto simile a quello cui si era sottoposto Bonetti, aggiungendo il particolare che gli era stata unta anche la parte offesa, nel suo caso: gli occhi.

Richiesto se Marietta gli avesse detto di possedere la licenza per medicare, rispose di no; gli aveva però domandato le generalità, che lui aveva annotate su un «policino», e lei avrebbe consegnato al padre inquisitore. Marietta gli aveva diagnosticato che lui «aveva un'ombra cattiva nella testa», confermandogli poi che si trattava in effetti di «un'ombra», dopo aver guardato una sua camicia, presente la moglie.

Il processo qui si interrompe e la documentazione riprende il 27 dicembre 1637 con la deposizione di un altro paziente di Marietta, Pietro Maranini *qm* Gio. Donato, 29 anni, della parrocchia di S. Gregorio, ascoltato dal Commissario del Sant'Uffizio, frate Giustino delli Colli. Maranini dichiarò di essere «ligato, non potendo usare l'atto di matrimonio» con la giovane moglie sposata da pochi mesi. A causa dell'impotenza il matrimonio non era stato consumato. Sospettava che una sua precedente «morosa», da lui lasciata, tale Chiara figlia di Domenico, barcaiolo di Cannaregio, lo avesse «fatturato», non sapendo peraltro come ciò fosse avvenuto. Era stato quindi consigliato di rivolgersi a «una Marietta che guariva e segnava le fatture» e «sta a Ca' Vallaressa¹³ verso San Marco, donna di età di anni 33, per quanto ella dice, ma credo ch'abbia di più, maritata in un Gio. Maria¹⁴ che serve un general». Costei gli aveva detto che era «strigato» e «affatturato» e che l'avrebbe guarito ungendolo con olio che avrebbe preso dal padre inquisitore il quale «li fa fare pigliando dell'olio di tre chiese, cioè Sant'Antonio, Sant'Elena, e la Carità». ¹⁵ All'inquisitore, il quale

¹³ Calle Vallaresso, nelle adiacenze di Piazza S. Marco. Precedentemente Marietta aveva abitato in parrocchia di S. Martino.

¹⁴ Cfr. *infra*, nota 35.

¹⁵ Ex chiesa gotica della Carità, ora sede della Galleria dell'Accademia e dell'Accademia di Belle Arti (cfr. LORENZETTI, cit., p. 522).

rilasciava la licenza per medicare, lei portava i nomi dei malati, che il padre registrava «in un suo libro» in cui, finite le cure, annotava anche quelli dei pazienti guariti». Testimoni della conversazione svolta in casa di Marietta, due vicini di lei: Paolo Zoccolari (Zoccolaro) e la moglie Perina che deporranno il 25 febbraio successivo. Zoccolari gli aveva detto che Marietta guariva sino a 300 persone al mese.

Maranini descrisse quindi in dettaglio i trattamenti praticatigli da Marietta sui quali, a sua volta, lei fornirà la propria versione nel terzo costituito. Nei quindici giorni precedenti, dunque, l'aveva unto con l'olio confezionato secondo le istruzioni del padre inquisitore, seguendo queste modalità: «Così Marietta è venuta a casa mia da 5 volte in circa e mi ha unto altrettante volte con l'olio che vien fatto per ordine dell' Inquisitore, ungendomi prima la schiena voltato nel letto con la pancia in giù, poi ungendomi in croce dalla parte avanti quasi ogni membro, anco il genitale, facendomi dopo la croce». Durante il trattamento la donna pronunciava a bassa voce delle invocazioni, quali: «Santa Maria che metta la sua mano avanti la mia», ecc. Soffrendo lui anche di dolori di testa, Marietta gli aveva praticato un esorcismo. Posti in una paletta tre carboni accesi, gliela aveva accostata alla fronte e li aveva quindi gettati in una scodella d'acqua fredda dicendogli che se scoppiavano si trattava di diavoli fatti uscire dalla testa, responsabili del dolore; se andavano a fondo, sarebbe guarito. Gli aveva altresì imposto regole su come alimentarsi: mangiare carne di tre ore in tre ore anche il venerdì, sabato, e vigilia di Natale. Inoltre, di non andare a Messa i giorni di Natale e dell'Epifania, pericolosi, perché in quei giorni «si fanno e disfanno le strigarie».

Presenti alle visite erano state sua moglie e la nonna, che deporranno il 23 febbraio.

Come Bonetti e Montemezzano, anche Maranini non aveva tratto alcun giovamento dai trattamenti di Marietta, per cui «la cacciai in malhora». Lei gli aveva replicato che si sarebbe poi risolto a «tornare nelle sue mani». Alla domanda del Commissario se avesse ritenuto lecito sottoporsi alle pratiche descritte, rispose di aver pensato in un primo momento che si trattasse di «cose buone», consentite dall'inquisitore. Poi però le aveva stimate «bagatelle e cose superstiziose», alle quali si era sottoposto indotto dalla «semplicità» e «dal desiderio di poter stare con la mia consorte come si deve e come comanda la Chiesa». Avvertito poi da Marietta di non frequentare le messe, in

particolare a Natale ed Epifania, si era risolto a licenziarla «volendo vivere da buon Cristiano». Richiesto di precisare le motivazioni, «an odio vel amore», che lo avevano spinto a denunciare i fatti, aveva risposto: «Il Confessore mi ha fatto scropolo che ero obbligato a denon-
tiare quanto di sopra». ¹⁶

Il 14 gennaio 1638 venne data lettura al Tribunale della denuncia di Maranini e fu disposto di dare corso al procedimento.

A seguire, il 28 gennaio, fu ascoltato Antonio Fratino *qm* Battista, 28 anni, di Noventa, il quale confermò le dichiarazioni rese dal Maranini, suo conoscente, di essere stato «strigato» e che «non poteva andar con sua moglie». «Per ricercar rimedio» all'impedimento, Maranini si era rivolto a una donna «vecchia», della quale Fratino non conosceva il nome, che abitava in Calle Vallaresso. Con lui era stato presente anche alla conversazione avvenuta in casa della donna, alla quale Maranini aveva detto «di non poter usar con sua moglie», e la donna gli aveva proposto di ungerlo con «certi ogli». In quel colloquio la donna aveva nominato il padre inquisitore a proposito della licenza per medicare, e invitato Maranini ad entrare nella Compagnia del Rosario nelle chiese dei Ss. Giovanni e Paolo o di S. Domenico, e di recitare il rosario.

A seguire, nella stessa carta, è riportato, senza data, l'ordine del Tribunale di incarcerare Marietta e disposta la perquisizione della sua abitazione situata «in parrocchia di San Vito». ¹⁷ Della perquisizione, effettuata il 30 gennaio 1638, presente il marito di Marietta (del quale non viene qui indicato il nome), ¹⁸ fu redatto inventario, che di seguito si riporta.

Una grande quantità di bolletini tutti infilzati in un'accia ¹⁹ rossa, quali come disse suo marito lui qui presente, contengono li nomi di quelli che sono stati unti et medicati da detta donna; un mazzetto di candeline zalle da un bagatino; ²⁰ una scatoletta rossa con dentro delli panetti, disse benedetti di San Nicola, et una trezioletta di capelli, disse di un figliolo di essa fatto

¹⁶ MILANI, citato in *Il Caso di Emilia Catena* (*Meretrice, striga et herbera*), «Museum Patavinum», III, 3, 1955, pp. 75-93: 76, nota 4: «le denunce potevano essere: a) scritte, segrete o firmate... b) orali, fatte da testi che si presentavano spontaneamente “per scarico della loro coscienza”, ma quasi sempre per ordine del confessore, che altrimenti avrebbe negata l'assoluzione. Il Tribunale poteva anche procedere d'ufficio in seguito a voce pervenute».

¹⁷ Cfr. *infra*, nota 37.

¹⁸ Cfr. *infra*, nota 35.

¹⁹ *accia*, 'refe', 'lino imbiancato e filato': BOERIO, cit., s.v. *aza*, *acia*, p. 52.

²⁰ *Bagatino*: frazione di moneta equivalente alla dodicesima parte del soldo veneto: BOERIO, cit., s.v., p. 55.

Capucino; una pignatella con dentro oglio fettente et un vasetto di vetro di oglio simile, disse esser oglio cioè con rutta col quale sua moglie ungeva l'infermi.

Il 23 febbraio deponevano la moglie di Maranini, Arcangela di Giovanni Leonardo Molino, quindicenne, e la nonna di lui, Marina relitta in secondo voto di Antonio Battista, 66 anni. Richiesta se il marito fosse infermo, per quale infermità e da chi medicato, Arcangela rispose che lui diceva di essere «stregato».

Per essere curato si era rivolto a una donna gobba «che diceva di esser maritata²¹ e che abitava sotto il fontego di San Marco».²² Costei si era recata a casa loro cinque volte nella settimana del Natale precedente. Per il trattamento erano stati usati «un bocon de levado»,²³ un «coppo»,²⁴ delle erbe: incenso, ruta e ambronia,²⁵ fatte acquistare dal Maranini stesso, e l'olio di un'ampolletta che la donna aveva portato con sé la prima mattina, prelevato – aveva detto – dalle chiese di S. Elena, S. Antonio e della Carità. Con l'olio aveva unto il marito in croce, ma lei non sapeva con quali modalità «perché non stavo presente vergognandomi di esser lì perché l'ongeva a corpo nudo». Riscaldato quindi «il coppo», la donna vi aveva fatto bollire le erbe, ricavandone una «pittima»²⁶ che gli aveva messa sullo stomaco «et con quel levado ongeva mio marito in forma di croce». Essendosi lui lamentato che gli doleva anche la testa, la donna aveva preso tre carboni accesi, mettendoli in una scodella d'acqua e, spegnendoli, aveva detto: «non vi passa il dolore?». Mentre lo ungeva pronunciava invocazioni a Dio e alla Vergine, e un'orazione che al momento non ricordava. Su quest'ultimo particolare le fu obiettato come fosse a conoscenza delle parole proferite dalla donna, avendo prima detto di non aver presenziato ai trattamenti. Arcangela rispose: «andando io su et giù, sentivo le parole». Proseguì quindi spiegando che al marito la donna aveva prescritto di dare da mangiare ogni tre ore, alternando uova,

²¹ Cfr. *infra*, nota 35.

²² Fondaco della farina che sorgeva nell'area del molo di S. Marco, nelle vicinanze di Calle Vallaresso (cfr. G. TASSINI, *Curiosità Veneziane*, IX ed., Venezia, Filippi, 1988, pp. 330, 331).

²³ *levado*, 'pane lievitato': BOERIO, cit., s.v. *pan levà*, contrario di azzimo, p. 367.

²⁴ *coppo*, 'tegola': BOERIO, cit., s.v. *copo*, p. 196.

²⁵ *Ambronia* (*ambronio*): voce non reperita; forse 'ambrosia', erba dalle cui foglie essiccate si ricava un infuso.

²⁶ *pittima*: decotto curativo che si applica sulla regione cardiaca: BOERIO, cit., s.v. *pitima*, *epittima*, p. 514.

zuppa, pignocada,²⁷ pignoli, e carne la vigilia di Natale, i venerdì e i sabati. Sottolineò quindi esplicitamente il perdurante stato di impotenza di lui, precisando: «che non haveva altra infirmità se non che non poteva usar meco, come anco al presente non può usare», e aggiunse che quando la donna gli aveva detto di mangiare carne nei giorni vietati, era presente anche la nonna. Richiesta se era a conoscenza che la donna aveva «ordinato a messer Pietro suo marito che non andasse a Messa, nè ad altri officii», rispose che quella gli aveva detto che «non andasse fuori di casa li vigilie di Natale, et dell'Epifania, nè li giorni sudetti di Natale et dell'Epifania, acciò non le venisse fatta qualche cosa di strigarie, ma non l'ho poi sentito che li comandasse che non andasse a Messa». Concluse la deposizione dichiarando di aver detto la verità e di non sapere altro sui trattamenti praticati al marito, tranne che gli era stata somministrata una polvere come medicina, della quale non conosceva il nome.

Dopo Arcangela, venne interrogata Marina, la nonna di Maranini. Essa confermò che il nipote «è stato infermo che non poteva usar con sua moglie, come anco al presente non può». Si era quindi rivolto a un frate di S. Giobbe, poi «a una donna chiamata Marietta». Costei, nei giorni precedenti il Natale, era andata per cinque mattine a casa loro portando dell'olio in un'ampolletta, che aveva versato in una scodella aggiungendo del «levado», «e nella camera sua, dove dorme, fattoli cavar²⁸ la camisa, l'onse in croce per quanto ella medesima disse, ma non so poi in che modo perché uscissimo dalla camera mia nipote et io, se ben poi l'ho veduta metterli quel tovagliolo sopra lo stomaco». Non aveva inteso le parole pronunciate da Marietta durante l'unzione. Prima di iniziare, la donna gli aveva anche ordinato che «si facesse notar nella Compagnia del Rosario, o San Domenico, o ai Santi Giovanni e Paolo». Confermò altresì il particolare dei carboni accesi nella scodella d'acqua fredda (che lei stessa aveva portata a Marietta) per sollevare il nipote del «peso e dolor di testa», carboni che, finito il trattamento, la donna aveva gettati «giù del necessario».²⁹

Interrogata quindi sull'alimentazione prescritta al nipote, gli era stato ordinato di mangiare carne di venerdì, di sabato, e le vigilie di Natale. Inoltre, che non doveva uscire né il giorno di Natale, né il

²⁷ *pignocada*: confettura di zucchero e pignoli: BOERIO, cit., s.v., p. 510.

²⁸ *cavar*, 'togliere': BOERIO, cit., s.v., p. 153.

²⁹ *necessario*, 'gabinetto': BOERIO, cit., s.v., p. 438.

giorno dell'Epifania, come aveva sentito «con le mie orecchie, andando su e giù per la casa. Et io dissi a mio nepote: per che causa non vuole lei che non andiate a Messa il giorno di Natale? Et lui mi rispose: io però li voglio andare». Il nipote aveva poi detto alla donna «che non tornasse più da lui», e quella, sentita da lei medesima, aveva replicato: «haverete di gratia a tornar da mi, perché non passerà un anno che voi morirè». Lui le aveva risposto: «non m'importa se ben non dovessi scampare³⁰ né anco un mese, non vi voglio più». Marina dichiarò infine di non sapere dove Marietta avesse preso l'olio, e di averla sentita nominare il padre inquisitore.

Lo stesso 23 febbraio venne verbalizzata la dichiarazione del capitano del Sant'Uffizio di aver proceduto, nei giorni precedenti, alla incarcerazione di Marietta, e di aver rinvenuto nella sua abitazione l'olio e quant'altro riportato nell'inventario.

Il 25 febbraio furono sentiti dal Tribunale i coniugi Zoccolari: Perina, 25 anni, e Paolo *qm* Giovanni, 33 anni, della parrocchia di S. Moisè, vicini di casa di Marietta. Interrogata per prima, Perina dichiarò di conoscerla «da doi mesi in qua poco più, con occasione che vene a star vicina in calle de Cà Vallaresso. Non so dove ora si trovi». Da uno dei barcaioli che accompagnavano la donna a casa dei pazienti, aveva saputo che medicava «persone ongendole et guarendole». Le aveva perciò presentato un suo vicino, Rocco dai Fassi, che abitava nella sua stessa calle e che, malato da due anni, era ricorso più volte ai medici senza miglioramenti. Da Marietta gli era stato detto che «haveva un'ombra per tutta la vita, che era cusinato».³¹ Gli aveva quindi praticata più volte l'unzione, presente lei stessa che l'aveva sentita pronunciare queste frasi: «in nome de Dio et della Verzene Maria che questo mal gli possa andar via. Per quel mariondo, per il Salvator del mondo, per quel nome di Giesù, che quel mal non cressa più; per quel latte della Santissima Verzene Maria, questo mal se desfanta³² e vaga via». L'unzione si svolgeva in questo modo: «et ongeva l'infermo sopra tutta la vita nuda, et precipiava l'ontione sopra una spalla, descendendo a basso fino al piede, et poi ongeva li brazzi et le mani, cominciando dalla spalla fino alla mano una volta sola». Accennò poi alla composizione dell'olio, fatto con ruta e incenso; al paziente era stato anche messo sullo stomaco un impiastro fatto di ruta, incenso, ambronio,

³⁰ Sta per 'campare'.

³¹ *Cusinato*, 'cotto': BOERIO, cit., *cusinar*, p. 215.

³² *desfanta*, 'sgonfiarsi', 'sciogliersi', 'andar via': BOERIO, cit., s.v. *desfantar*, p. 228.

aceto e malvasia. Marietta stessa portava un'ampolletta d'olio e un'altra, comperata dallo speciale. Perina disse anche di non aver sentito la donna nominare il padre inquisitore a proposito dell'olio, salvo una volta in cui Marietta aveva detto che l'olio lo si doveva andare a prendere a «Santa Lena».³³

Seguì la deposizione del marito. Zoccolari ripeté quanto già detto dalla moglie, di conoscere Marietta, essendo vicini di casa da ca. due mesi, e che la donna qualche volta andava da loro «a pigliar fogo, ovvero a scaldarsi». Di più, sapeva che era stata incarcerata dal Sant'Uffizio. Riferì quindi sul caso di Rocco dai Fassi. Marietta lo aveva segnato per 20 o 30 giorni, lui presente la prima volta. L'unzione era stata fatta con olio di cui non conosceva la provenienza. In caso di guarigione, dai Fassi, il quale aveva «delle ombre addosso», l'avrebbe ricompensata con 50 ducati, l'aveva sentita dire che ungeva con licenza del Sant'Uffizio e che dai Fassi si sarebbe prima dovuto iscrivere alla Compagnia del Rosario a S. Domenico.

Ca. due settimane dopo, il 9 marzo 1638, si tenne il primo costituito di Marietta *educta ex carceribus*. I quattro successivi interrogatori sono intercalati dalle deposizioni di alcuni testi.

Si entrava così nella fase 'offensiva' del procedimento. Negli interrogatori Marietta sostenne di essere stata vittima di calunnie da parte di «nemici», di cui comunicò i nomi e spiegò con dettagli il comportamento. Affermò che costoro l'avevano perseguitata tentando di ricattarla per ottenere da lei denaro, minacciandola di denuncia e sottraendole oggetti di valore; le loro bravate l'avevano costretta a lasciare Venezia per più di due anni. Dichiarò inoltre di non aver creduto che fossero «strigarie» le pratiche con cui segnava e medicava, che le erano state insegnate a suo tempo da un sacerdote, e di averle esercitate per necessità di mantenere sé e la prole.

Queste le sue generalità verbalizzate nel primo costituito: «Marietta Colonna veneta, filia quondam Marci Mori praeconis³⁴ Columnae, uxor Pasqualini Pamphili³⁵ servitoris illustrissimi domini Marci

³³ La chiesa di S. Elena, già menzionata nella deposizione del Montemezzano.

³⁴ *praeconis*, 'banditore pubblico' (lat. *praeconium*, 'bando').

³⁵ Attuale marito di Marietta, presente alla perquisizione domiciliare del 30 gennaio 1638. Lo stato vedovile di lei, menzionato nel secondo costituito, si riferisce al passato e alla vicenda della catenella d'oro che le era stata sottratta (cfr. *infra*, p. 466). A un precedente marito si fa cenno nelle deposizioni, in particolare da parte di Bonetti: «maritata in uno che è bandito», e di Maranini: «maritata in un Gio. Maria che serve un general».

Antonii Prioli Tagiabrazzi,³⁶ annorum 36, de parochia nuper Sancti Moysis, nunc vero Sancti Viti³⁷ Venetiarum». Marietta dichiarò di non conoscere la causa della sua carcerazione, e precisò così la sua attività: «lavoro di mazzette³⁸ e faccio di tutto». Sui precedenti delle sue pratiche di segnare riferì di averle apprese da un prete, don Camillo di Romagna,³⁹ della parrocchia di S. Martino, confessore della Pia Casa degli Incurabili.⁴⁰ Alle cure del sacerdote si era sottoposta «dopo il contagio» (non ne precisa il tempo, né la natura) per un'infermità che l'aveva colta all'improvviso: «et era la spalla quasi attaccata al collo, et il genocchio rivoltato come anco li piedi, che parevo un mostro». Il di Romagna le aveva detto che se voleva guarire, doveva pronunciare questa invocazione: «In nome de Dio et della Santissima Trinità che tutto questo mal si possa desfantar. In nome de Dio et della Vergine Maria che tutto questo mal si desfanta e vada via. Et in nome del Redentor del mondo et nel nome di Giesù, che questo mal non cresca più. Per quel latte della Santissima Vergine Maria, questo mal se desfanta e vada via. In nome del Padre, del Fio, et dello Spirito Santo. Amen». Dal di Romagna le era stata unta con olio di ruta la spalla malata, quindi le aveva fatto ungere da una donna tutto il corpo, «cominciando da una banda, et signava per traverso dell'altra parte». Il trattamento era durato 13 giorni, ed era guarita. «Et io – spiegò – poi ho medicato in questa maniera le persone nominate nei bollettini levatimi». ⁴¹ Al di là di questo non conosceva altra causa del suo arresto

³⁶ Non identificato. Sulla famiglia Priuli cfr. ASVE: M. BARBARO, *Arbori de Patritii Veneti*, VI.27, ff. 217-227; VI.28, ff. 231-279.

³⁷ Parrocchia di S. Moisè, prossima alla Calle Vallaresso dove abitava Marietta. S. Vito è l'antico nome della chiesa di S. Vittore, fondata nell'VIII sec., riedificata, sembra, nell'XI, da un Moisè Venier che la dedicò al santo del proprio nome (cfr. LORENZETTI, cit., pp. 516-518).

³⁸ *mazzette*, 'matassine di refe': BOERIO, cit., s.v. *mazzeta de azzze*, p. 407.

³⁹ Al fascetto è allegata copia della fede di morte del di Romagna: «Faccio fede io Prè Francesco Lucadelli Piovan di San Martin che nella nostra contrà l'anno 1633. adì 12 .Decembrio è morto il Reverendo Camillo de Romagna de anni 60. da febre et cataro già 12. giorni nelle Case di Cà Zustinian si come appar per il Libro della Sagrestia nostra. Data di chiesa Adì. 5 Marzo 1638. Plebanus Sancti Martini». Marietta, vissuta in passato a S. Martino, la stessa contrada del religioso, aveva intrattenuto con lui frequenti contatti come precisato nei costituti.

⁴⁰ Fondata nel 1522 da s. Gaetano da Thiene per gli ammalati di malattie veneree; a seguire, anche per ricovero di orfani. Alle ragazze ospitate si insegnavano musica e canto (cfr. TASSINI, cit., pp. 330, 331; LORENZETTI, cit., pp. 538, 539).

⁴¹ Si tratta dei bollettini con i nomi dei pazienti, rinvenuti nel corso della perquisizione nell'abitazione di Marietta.

«se non fosse però che qualche persona mi havesse voluto far qualche danno indebitamente».

La deposizione si spostava a questo punto sui suoi «nemici» e Marietta fece il nome di uno di questi: Gio. Batta Calzetta, anche lui della parrocchia di S. Moisè, del quale parlerà nei successivi costituiti nominando, con lui, altri «nemici». Lo aveva incontrato in casa di Rocco dai Fassi (l'infermo, vicino di casa dei coniugi Zoccolari), che lei stava curando. Calzetta l'aveva quindi convocata nella propria bottega, dicendole di essere stato «fatturato» da una «schiavona»,⁴² e che una tale Anzola che abitava a S. Martino, dalla quale si era fatto medicare, gli aveva detto che lei, Marietta, conosceva il nome della schiavona. Quindi gliela «rivelasse» e la denunciasse al Sant'Uffizio. Se non l'avesse fatto, lui avrebbe trovato il modo di farla incarcerare. «Et perciò – concludeva – costui è mio nemico».

Quanto dichiarato da Marietta presenta una non chiarita incongruenza, dovuta forse a lacunosità della verbalizzazione. Lei dichiarò di essersi incontrata con Calzetta in casa di Rocco dai Fassi quando lo stava curando, quindi poco più di due mesi prima, come attestato dai coniugi Zoccolari, ma non accenna al fatto di averlo già conosciuto in passato. Dai successivi costituiti risulta invece che i suoi rapporti con lui e con gli altri «nemici», risalivano ad alcuni anni prima, in quanto precedenti al suo allontanamento da Venezia, avvenuto, come attestato da un altro teste, Zan Domenico Fesadri,⁴³ intorno al 1635.

Tre giorni dopo, l'11 marzo, Marietta veniva interrogata per la seconda volta. Ripreso l'argomento dei «nemici», ne fornì i nomi in un elenco inserito a fascicolo, ripercorrendo con molti particolari i tempestosi rapporti intercorsi con costoro. Sette in totale, dei quali cinque laici, fra cui anche il Calzetta, e due religiosi, che così indicò: «Zuane Venier, il quale altre volte serviva al Santo Officio per fante, si faceva Capitanio del Santo Officio; un tal Batta Calzetta, et un tal Zan Giacomo Verigola, et Pasqualin dai Scudi d'oro». Ai quattro, nell'elenco prodotto, e nel seguito della deposizione, aggiunse anche un «Carlo special de la fusta».⁴⁴ I due religiosi erano «il Padre di Santo Stefano, che segna» e «Padre Andrea sottocanonico di Castello, per

⁴² *schiavona*: abitante dell'Illiria: BOERIO, cit., s.v., p. 625.

⁴³ Cfr. *infra*, dichiarazione scritta del Fesadri, pp. 471, 472.

⁴⁴ *fusta*, 'naviglio da remo', o 'galera', ancorato di fronte a Piazza S. Marco; vi venivano radunati i condannati al remo: BOERIO, cit., s.v., p. 292.

sopra nome chiamato Chiacola⁴⁵ si facevano giudici del Santo Officio». Nell'elenco a fianco dei nomi di Verigola, dai Scudi d'oro, Carlo, è posta l'annotazione: «è sta amazà». Quindi all'epoca del processo tre dei «nemici» risultavano deceduti, come lei dichiarerà nel corso della deposizione.

I sette, una mattina di cui non è precisata la data, si erano recati a casa di Marietta che abitava allora a S. Martino, in Calle di Cà Erizzo (dall'omonimo palazzo in cui nacque il doge Francesco Erizzo). Tre di loro, i due religiosi e Calzetta erano rimasti «in strada a passeggiare»; nell'abitazione erano entrati gli altri e Venier, presentatosi per capitano, «con un foglio di carta scritta in mano», le aveva detto che «era querelata al Santo Officio per altre cause che per segnar, et che se io gli avessi pagato 50. ducati, che avrebbero fatto che il Cancelliere havebbe stracciato il processo». Marietta non si era lasciata intimidire e aveva risposto che non avendo fatto alcun male, non voleva «pagar cosa alcuna, ma che se loro havessero havuto qualche cosa contra di me dovessero andar da chi s'aspetta, che haverei reso conto di me et delle mie attioni ad ogni Tribunale». I quattro, probabilmente per intimorirla, le avevano detto di essere diretti a Este «a pigliar alcune donne querelate al Santo Officio per non haver voluto esse dare alcuni soldi». Da lei erano tornati l'indomani e le avevano fatto aprire «doi casse per veder se havevo soldi da dar al Cancellier ... guardandomi anco sotto il letto». A distanza di tempo si era accorta che le mancavano «certi aghi d'argento et altre cose simili». Non era però certa che se ne fossero appropriati loro, per cui, sottolineò, «non mi dà l'animo di assentivamente incolparli». Esplicitamente li accusò invece di un'altra ruberia. Venier, presenti Verigola, dai Scudi d'oro e Carlo «li quali poi furono ammazati» le aveva strappata dal collo un catenella d'oro che valeva più di 36 ducati.

Le si obiettò a questo punto come mai, essendo lei vedova,⁴⁶ avesse portato dei monili. Marietta spiegò di essersi messa la catenella soltanto quella mattina, essendo stata avvertita da alcuni conoscenti «che costoro erano furbi, et che mi volevano mangiar dei soldi; et però dubitando di dover andar in preggion per le minacce che mi havevano fatto, me la messi al collo per haver di che provedermi, bisognando».

⁴⁵ *chiacola*, 'ciarliero', 'chiacchierone': BOERIO, cit., s.v. *ciacolar*, p. 163.

⁴⁶ Cfr. *supra*, nota 35.

Ca. un mese dopo i quattro erano tornati ancora; rimasto Calzetta sempre in strada, «con grandissime bravate et ingiurie di giorno e di notte volevano per forza li miei denari».

Era allora intervenuto un suo nipote, Zorzi Dignati «scrivanello nella galera grossa dell'illustrissimo signor Quirini detto Stampalia»,⁴⁷ il quale, sentitoli vociferare «mi esortò a partire, con havermi prima detto: costoro vogliono di denari, et però non volendo a darne, è meglio partire». Marietta aveva seguito il consiglio: «et così partei, et andai a Udene, dove stetti un anno et mezzo in Udene et 6. mesi in Palma». Periodo, questo, compatibile per i tempi, con le deposizioni rese da Bonetti e Montemezzano nel 1634, seguito dal suo allontanamento da Venezia, intorno al 1635, durato ca. due anni, e la ripresa del procedimento nel dicembre 1637.

Il 16 marzo 1638 seguivano le deposizioni di altre due testimoni: Maddalena relitta di Cesare Luci, medico, e di Betta «marzera»,⁴⁸ moglie di Natalino Bevilaqua.

La prima, quarantenne, residente a S. Samuele, era una delle due proprietarie della locanda della Colombina, dove aveva alloggiato Bonetti, da lui indicata nella deposizione quale paziente di Marietta. Maddalena spiegò di essere inferma da due anni «havendo persa tutta la banda zancha»⁴⁹ et anche l'occhio che continuamente mi duole». Sottopostasi inutilmente alle cure di un prete, medico, tale Grillo, che le aveva somministrate delle pillole, si era poi rivolta a una donna della contrada di S. Giovanni in Bragora, «gobba, vecchia, ma adornata con rizzi e manini»⁵⁰ et haveva male alla bocca». C'era stato un ritardo nelle prestazioni di lei, alla quale aveva pagato quattro lire per l'olio e «un da 20» per la gondola, perché, per poter segnare, avrebbe dovuto esserle rilasciata la licenza dal padre inquisitore.

⁴⁷ Non identificato. La famiglia Querini Stampalia dai Gigli, è così denominata per l'acquisto da parte di un Giovanni Querini, bandito da Venezia nel 1300, dell'isola greca di Stampalia, retta col titolo di conti dai discendenti sino alla conquista turca nel 1537. I tre gigli d'oro impressi sull'arma del casato furono donati al figlio di Giovanni, Fantino, dal re di Francia presso il quale aveva ricoperto la carica di ambasciatore (cfr. G. B. DI CROLALANZA, *Dizionario Storico-Blasonico delle Famiglie Nobili e Notabili Italiane Estinte e Fiorenti*, 1886; rist. anast. in 3 voll., Bologna, Forni, 1965: II, pp. 290, 291).

⁴⁸ *marzera*, 'merciaia': BOERIO, cit., s.v. *marzaria*: bottega di poche merci, anche commercio ambulante, p. 401.

⁴⁹ *zancha*, 'sinistra': BOERIO, cit., s.v. *zanco*, p. 805.

⁵⁰ *manini* o *entrecosei*, 'armille': bracciali femminili in uso a Venezia ancora prima del sec. XI, formati da sottilissime maglie d'oro incatenate tra loro. Col tempo anche ornamento del collo. Cfr. F. MUTINELLI, *Lessico Veneto*, Venezia, Gianbattista Andreola, 1851, s.v. *manin*, p. 151; BOERIO, cit., s.v., p. 394.

Menzionò a questo punto anche Cesare Bonetti, suo ospite, «che haveva humor di essere stregato», sottopostosi anche lui all'unzione: «a questo fece l'istessa onzione come a me, ongendoci nui,⁵¹ ma ognuno da per sé». Analoghe le modalità del suo trattamento a quelle precisate nella deposizione del Bonetti, e corrispondenti le invocazioni pronunciate dalla donna. Maddalena era andata «sempre di male in peggio», e, secondo Marietta, ciò era dipeso dal fatto che «era tornata ad esser fatturata et che doveva morir tra 40, giorni, et che li dovessi dar altri danari per dell'altro oglio che mi haverebbe guarita». Le aveva quindi chiesto la camicia che indossava, da guardare, «e lei, vedutala, disse: vi son stati rinnovati li malefici. Voi non potete vivere più di 40 giorni». Maddalena le aveva allora risposto: «dopo che non posso vivere più di 40 giorni, non voglio saper altro di questo vostro oglio, et così la mandai via». Per la durata del trattamento le aveva corrisposto una lira al giorno per la barca «et a lei da merenda». Richiesta infine chi l'avesse consigliata di rivolgersi a quella donna, rispose di esserle stata indirizzata da Betta, moglie di un sensale, anche lei segnata da Marietta. Betta, 50 anni, anch'essa residente a S. Samuele, sentita dal Tribunale dopo Maddalena, dichiarò di aver sofferto negli ultimi tre o quattro anni di *resipola*⁵² e di essere caduta più volte, l'ultima in Piazza S. Marco, per cui le doleva ancora il ginocchio destro che si era medicata da sé. Nominò quindi Maddalena «che è quella che sta qui dentro adesso», sofferente di «un'infermità gravissima», che lei, su suggerimento di tale Isabella, aveva consigliata di rivolgersi a «una donna gobba, piccola, che faceva profession di medicar», della quale non conosceva il nome, nè l'abitazione, e che segnava. Da costei Maddalena, e lei stessa, si erano fatte ungere: «et m'onze tutta nuda, in croce, cominciando da un brazo et seguitando per traverso sino al piede in croce, et poi dall'altro brazo fino all'estremo dell'altra parte, et così di dietro». Il trattamento era stato accompagnato da invocazioni a Gesù e a Maria. Anche per lei le cure, durate due giorni, si erano concluse in un nulla di fatto: «vedendo che non guarivo – proseguiva – se ben anco non li credevo, la mandai via». L'aveva compensata con quattro lire per l'olio e ogni mattina con «un da 20 per pagar la barca».

Il 4 maggio Marietta si presentava per la terza volta ai giudici. Con-

⁵¹ *nui*, 'nudi': BOERIO, cit., s.v., p. 443.

⁵² *resipola*: malattia infettiva e contagiosa della cute con forti arrossamenti e tumefazioni.

fermò quanto dichiarato nei precedenti costituiti e riparlò in modo alquanto evasivo dei suoi «nemici», in particolare dei due religiosi. Il prete di S. Stefano – disse – «mi ha del malanimo adosso per certe cose delle quali io lo avevo ripreso che però minacciò di volermi far carcerare. Et io li risposi che non avevo fatte cose per le quali potessi temere». Spiegò che il sacerdote somministrava agli ammalati dei vomitori⁵³ con l'effetto che quelli «buttavano fuori dei capelli». Quanto al prete di S. Andrea «minaccio di farmi del male per le ragioni che dirò poi nelle mie difese». Come diremo, Marietta rinunciò poi alle difese e su questo particolare non si hanno altri riferimenti. Nominò quindi anche il Calzetta, sul quale dichiarò di non aver altro da dire, se non confermare le minacce, già riferite, che le aveva fatte.

Passando alle invocazioni pronunciate nel corso dei trattamenti, le fu chiesto se oltre alle parole in precedenza riferite, ne avesse dette altre «incognite», quali: «ondo», «riondo», accompagnando la frase «per il Salvator del mondo». Senza spiegarne il significato, rispose: «queste parole non le ho dette dal contagio in poi, posso averle dette avanti, ma non le ricordo». L'interrogatorio proseguì con domande circostanziate circa la licenza per medicare che rilasciava il padre Inquisitore e perché lei avesse detto ai malati di esserne in possesso. Spiegò di essersi recata più volte dal padre «senza mai trovarlo», e di aver detto così per tranquillizzare gli infermi «acciò quelle persone che medicavo non pensassero che medicassi e ongessi per qualche via cattiva, perché mi fosse più creduto». Negò anche di aver detto che prendeva dal padre inquisitore l'olio per ungere, bensì dalle chiese di S. Elena, S. Antonio, della Carità, «acciò li amalati havessero maggior devotione», ancorché, soggiunse: «non fosse vero che lo pigliassi nelle chiese predette». Ripeté di aver appreso le modalità dell'unzione dal padre di Romagna, «suo maestro». Quanto ad aver ordinato ai malati di mangiare carne nei giorni vietati: venerdì, sabato, viglie, Quaresima, spiegò di aver permesse tali deroghe ai soli infermi «in gran bisogno di nutrimento». Le si contestò: «si ha in processo essa haver dato licenza a certe persone a mangiar carne di venerdì et sabbato, le quali non havevano altre infirmità che di non poter usar con sua moglie, et che queste non erano infirmità tale che ricercasse mangiar carne di venerdì et sabbato et altri giorni».

⁵³ vomitori, 'ematici', 'sostanze che provocano il vomito'.

Si ritornava, così, a parlare del caso Maranini. Marietta fornì questa versione delle cure praticategli l'anno precedente. «Questa persona si chiamava Pietro Maranini, sta alli Frari, nase a San Gregorio, vene da me con un grandissimo mattezzo nella testa, et con una grande indispositione di stomaco...et non poteva haver bene nel suo stomaco ad hora alcuna, nè tener niente. Et io le risposi che andasse a notarsi nel Santissimo Rosario, che poi sarei andata a visitarlo». Nel corso delle quattro o cinque visite effettuate gli aveva dato da mangiare «ovi, polastro⁵⁴ o gallina», e Maranini le aveva poi detto «che non poteva usar con sua moglie, et io lo onsi in quelle parti dove haveva il diffetto. Non so se sia guarito, perchè non andai più là, nè volsi ricognitione per essere stata l'infermità breve». Le visite a Maranini erano avvenute verso le feste di Natale, iniziando di sabato; gli aveva dato una sola medicina, cioè polvere di armadatolo,⁵⁵ acquistata dallo speziale.

Due giorni dopo il 6 maggio, seguiva il quarto interrogatorio. Le furono chiesti ulteriori particolari sulla durata e sulle modalità delle cure. Spiegò che i trattamenti venivano di solito ripetuti per 13 gioni, e per 19 nei casi più gravi, sempre seguendo le indicazioni ricevute dal di Romagna. I pazienti erano sollecitati a mangiare spesso «che sarebbe stato bene per la loro debolezza, cioè di 3 hore in 3 hore di giorno e di notte ... et così in hore dispari acciò si partissero più facilmente le strigarie dell'infermo». Diceva loro anche di recitare sette Padri Nostri e sette Ave Marie e di confessarsi alla Madonna del Rosario. Le fu poi chiesto se si fosse servita di carboni accesi e in che modo per chi soffriva di dolori di testa. Confermò, spiegando che la pratica consisteva nel mettere tre carboni accesi in una scodella d'acqua fredda da appoggiare sulla testa dei malati i quali così guarivano. Pratica anche questa appresa dal di Romagna, alla quale lei stessa si era sottoposta, perché lui gliela aveva fatta fare «da una puta chiamata Cornelia sta in Udene» (probabilmente durante il suo soggiorno in quella città). Perché i carboni dovessero essere tre «né più, né meno», il di Romagna non glielo aveva spiegato, e lei aveva poi fatto sempre così in quanto «ammaestrata dal detto Prete». Negò di aver pronunciato invocazioni, di cui le venne data lettura, nel porre la scodella sulla testa dell'infermo; negò altresì di aver guardato le camicie, affermando: «Io non so guardar sopra le camise». Pratica, questa, spiegò, eseguita

⁵⁴ *polastro*, 'pollo': BOERIO, cit., s.v., p. 517.

⁵⁵ *armadatolo*: voce non reperita.

invece da tale Anzola Fortis, una greca, nella cui casa, a S. Martino, lei aveva abitato in passato, e che ora aveva lasciato Venezia (riparlerà di costei nell'ultimo costituito): «et l'ho veduta a guardar nelle camise delli infermi. Ma io non me ne intendo». Confermò quindi di avere detto ai malati di non uscire di casa le vigilie di Natale e dell'Epifania avendo, sempre dal di Romagna appreso che «le vigilie di quelle doi feste si sogliono fare delle cose cattive e delle forfanterie». Negò invece di aver detto loro che non dovessero andare a messa in tali festività. Per le prestazioni si faceva pagare la barca e l'olio; «se poi mi donavano qualcosa, la ricevevo, et non facevo patto di pagamento alcuno». All'ultimo rilievo mossole: «se ha creduto che sia lecito servirsi di strigarie, con abuso di parole sacre e con far dar da mangiare in giorni proibiti a persone da lei medicate», così si giustificò: «non ho creduto che fossero strigarie, et pensavo di far bene, et se havesse saputo che queste fossero state strigarie, non le haverei fatte».

L'ultimo costituito di Marietta fu fatto precedere da un'altra deposizione, quella di Zan Domenico Fesadri, 29 anni, della parrocchia di S. Martino, artigiano di passamanerie, convocato dal Tribunale il 16 maggio, per confermare una propria scrittura, non datata, acquisita agli atti, riguardante prestazioni rese da Marietta alla moglie e al figlio neonato. Questi i contenuti. Nel 1635 Fesadri «stimando che la mia consorte fosse guasta da strigamento», si era rivolto a «una tal Marietta Colonna detta gobba la qual andava segnando quelli che erano faturadi». La donna si era recata a casa sua, aveva guardato «in un canton⁵⁶ della camera» la camicia che la moglie indossava e gli aveva detto che la donna era stregata, «e di più che era gravida di un figlio maschio», che, quando fosse nato, lei avrebbe unto «perché aveva patito nel corpo della madre». Alla nascita del bambino, Fesadri si trovava in prigione; Marietta, «senza che fuse chiamata» era andata a ungerlo e il bambino, che prima stava bene, dopo il trattamento «scominciò a stare malissimo, et a criare, et enfiarsi tutto et la pelle se li scorticò». A questo punto era stato chiamato il padre di S. Stefano. Quando questo era arrivato, preceduto da un «suo compagno» (si trattava probabilmente di padre Andrea da Castello, l'altro «nemico» di Marietta), in casa del Fesadri si trovava Marietta, la quale, visto «il Padre andò via subito e dalli pochi giorni si partì da Venetia». Partico-

⁵⁶ *canton*, 'angolo': BOERIO, cit., s.v., p. 131.

lare, questo, che indica il periodo del suo allontanamento dalla città. Fesadri, uscito nel frattempo dal carcere, aveva ricontattato il sacerdote perché segnasse il bambino, ricevendone un rifiuto motivato dal fatto che le «strigarie» erano oramai troppo avanzate. Qui la scrittura si conclude e null'altro risulta sulla sorte del neonato, né su ulteriori seguiti della vicenda.

Il 18 maggio Marietta tornava per l'ultima volta dinanzi ai giudici. Fu nuovamente interrogata sulla pratica di guardare le camicie. Rispose che un mercante gliene aveva portata una «per conoscer che male haveva». Lei gli aveva detto che «non m'intendeva di questa professione», e che avrebbe fatto vedere l'indumento a un'amica, Anzola Marchiora di Candia, senza però averla trovata in casa. Le si contestò che al Tribunale risultava il contrario, cioè che lei guardasse le camicie per indovinare le infermità di coloro che le avevano indossate, e per pronosticarne la sorte. A comprova, le fu data lettura di passi del verbale riguardanti il caso di Fesadri. Marietta ammise di aver detto quanto le era stato letto, ma sostenne di non aver guardato la camicia della moglie di lui «perché non so far tal professione, se ben dicevo di saperla fare». Le fu ribadita l'obiezione: «se ha creduto che sia lecito dare ad intendere ad alcuno che sapeva indovinare le cose del passato, o nascoste, o future, per via di camise, guardandole dentro». Questa la risposta: «Non l'ho creduto che sia lecito. Et l'ho fatto per guadagnare qualche cosa a sostentarmi con le mie creature». Sollecitata dal Tribunale a presentare le proprie difese, dichiarò: «Io non so che difese fare, avendo io in tutti li miei costituiti detta la verità. Et per adesso e per sempre renontio a tutte le difese che potessi fare in questa mia causa, rimettendomi in tutto e per tutto alla pietà di questo Santissimo Tribunale».

L'invocata misericordia dei giudici non ebbe seguito. Il 15 luglio successivo il Sant'Uffizio emanava nei suoi confronti sentenza di condanna (cfr. *infra*, Appendice I, pp. 474-476), riconosciutala «vehementemente sospetta di heresia». Le vennero imposte: l'abiura per essere assolta dalla scomunica maggiore (cfr. *infra*, Appendice II, pp. 477-478); la fustigazione pubblica; il carcere per sei mesi; penitenze salutari quali la confessione una volta al mese e la recita del rosario una volta alla settimana. Il 28 luglio Marietta veniva sottoposta a fustigazione di cui il giorno dopo il capitano del Sant'Uffizio riferiva l'avvenuta esecuzione: «Retulit Capitanius Sancti Officii ut infra vide-

licet. Hierì per esecutione della sententia di questo Santo Tribunale fu frustata dal Ministro di giustitia Marietta Colonna et per la calle delle Rasse et per il campo di San Zaccaria,⁵⁷ et poi fu di nuovo carcerata come anco al presente si trova in pregione».

Un caso esemplare, il suo, di punizione tra i molti che il Sant'Uffizio comminò a quante, come lei «povere e ignoranti guaritrici», furono ritenute colpevoli di aver violato principi e regole, che, con tutta probabilità, neppure conoscevano o comprendevano.

⁵⁷ Il percorso da Calle delle Rasse al Campo S. Zaccaria corrisponde alla zona in cui erano ubicate le Carceri Nuove, edificate agli inizi del Seicento, oltre il rio di Palazzo Ducale; l'edificio ospitava anche la prigione delle donne (cfr. G. SCARABELLO, *Carceri e Carcerati a Venezia nell'età moderna*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1979, pp. 79-86).

APPENDICE I

asve: S. *Uffizio, Processi*, b. 90.

Die 15 iovis mensis iulii 1638

Noi Federico Cardinale Cornaro Patriarca di Venetia e Primate della Dalmatia et cetera; Francesco Vitellio Arcivescovo di Thessalonica et in tutto il Serenissimo Dominio de Signori Venetiani Nuntio apostolico et [...];⁵⁸ Frate Clemente da Iseo dell'ordine de' Predicatori Inquisitore generale apostolico contro l'heretica pravità nell'inclita Città di Venetia et in tutto il Serenissimo Dominio soprascritto, con l'assistenza dell'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo signor Pietro Sagredo Procuratore, essendo che tu Marietta Colonna figliola del quondam Marco Colonna da Venetia, dell'età tua d'anni 36 in circa, fosti gravemente indiciata in questo Santo Ufficio:

- che facessi professione di conoscere le persone affatturate col guardar le camise che portavano addosso et cetera, e d'indovinare le cose occulte, e future, predicando anco la morte d'alcune persone in tempo determinato;
- che habbi medicato più persone, anco affatturate, col dirgli che le loro infermità erano ombre, ungendole e segnandole con modo sospetto, facendo croci per traverso la schiena cominciando dal braccio sinistro e terminando al calcagno del piede destro, e poi dal braccio destro, terminando al calcagno sinistro; l'istesso facendo dalla parte davanti nella medesima forma; ongendero inoltre le parti pudende d'una tal persona, e facendoli sopra alcune croci, recitando qualonque volta una tal oratione che conteneva parole parte sacre, parte vane e superflue, e parte incognite;
- che per le dette onctioni ti servivi dell'oglio pigliato da tre chiese, per quanto dicevi, cioè dalla Carità, da Santa Elena, e da Sant'Antonio, e che lo facevi fare per via dell'Inquisitore, o lo facevi dare dall'Inquisitione;
- che andasti dicendo che medicavi con licenza dell'Inquisitore, al quale tu portavi i nomi di coloro che medicavi, acciò egli li scrivesse poi su'l suo libro, nè potevi far altrimenti;
- che facevi dar da mangiare alli infermi di tre hore in tre hore, perchè in hore dispari si partivano più facilmente le stregarie;
- che li facevi mangiar carne il venerdì, il sabbato, e la vigilia di Natale;
- che proibisti ad una tal persona l'uscir fuori di casa e l'andare a Messa le vigilie e feste di Natale e dell'Epifania, con dire che questi giorni erano pericolosi, perchè in essi si fanno e disfanno le stregarie;
- che per il dolor di testa pigliavi tre carboni accesi, li gettavi in una scudella

⁵⁸ [...] Illeggibile.

d'acqua fredda, e secondo che scoppiavano dicevi che quelli erano diavoli che venivano fuori dalla testa dell'infermo, e s'il carbone andava a fondo, che era liberato da quello, recitando similmente alcune parole, con l'abuso del Santissimo nome di Dio e di Maria; facendoti poi dare per le dette cose certa somma di denari dalle persone che medicavi;

fosti perciò d'ordine nostro carcerata in questo Santo Ufficio e, fattati la perquisitione della casa, ti furono ritrovati in una cassa gran numero di bollettini, dove stavano scritti i nomi e i cognomi di diverse persone da te medicate, et in altra parte una pignattina, et una ampollina d'oglio fetente, col quale ungevi, per quanto si presumeva.

Sopra quali indicii più volte avanti di noi costituita et // esaminata, col tuo giuramento non pure riconoscesti in giuditio le cose ritrovate nella tua casa, ma confessasti d'haver detto e fatto ciò che veniva contro di te deposto, salvo alcune poche cose delle quali però rimanevi gravemente indiciata, o convinta, se bene adducesti a tua discolpa alcune scuse poco rilevanti, rispondendo sopra l'intentione cattolicamente se renunziando in tutto e per tutto il termine che ti fu assegnato a far le tue difese, e rimettendoti alla pietà di questo Santissimo Tribunale.

Per tanto, havendo noi veduti e maturatamente considerati i meriti di questa tua causa con tutte le sudette tue confessioni, negationi, e scuse, e quanto di ragione si doveva vedere e considerare, col consiglio e parte de nostri Signori Consultori, siamo venuti contro di te all'infrascritta deffinitiva sentenza.

Invocato dunque il Santissimo nome di nostro Signor Giesù Christo, della gloriosissima sua Madre sempre Vergine Maria, e de Santi Marco evangelista e Pietro martire, nostri protettori, havendo avanti di noi li Sacrosanti Evangelii, per questa nostra deffinitiva sentenza quale, sedendo pro Tribunali, proferiamo in questi scritti, diciamo, pronuntiamo, sententiamo e dichiariamo che tu Marietta sudetta, per le cose da te confessate e contro di te dedotte nel processo come sopra, ti sei resa vehementemente sospetta di heresia, cioè di haver tenuto e creduto che sia lecito servirsi di sortilegi hereticali, con abuso di parole e cerimonie sacre, con osservationi superstiziose concernenti patto col Demonio infernale, ad effetti cone di sopra; di far mangiar carne i giorni prohibiti dalla Santa Chiesa, et il comandare che non s'ascolti Messe quando è di precetto // e conseguentemente sei incorsa in tutte le censure e pene che sono da Sacri Canoni et altre constitutioni generali e particolari contro simili delinquenti imposte e promulgate.

Et che però sei obligata ad abiurare avanti di noi le sudette heresie, et generalmente ogni et qualonque altra heresia et errore che contraddica alla Santa Madre Chiesa Cattolica et Apostolica Romana, come ti comandiamo che facci nel modo e forma che da noi ti sarà data.

Dopo la qual abiuratione saremo contenti assolverti dalla somunica maggiore nella quale sei perciò incorsa.

Et acciochè questi tuoi si gravi et enormi eccessi non restino del tutto impuniti, e sii più cauta nell'avvenire, et esempio a gli altri che si astengano da simili delitti, ti condanniamo a dover quanto prima in un giorno di lavoro di matina a hora tersa in circa, esser frustata dal Ministro di giustitia, conducendoti nel frustarti dalla Casa delle carceri di questo Santo Officio, cioè cominciando dalla Calle delle Rasse, e riconducendoti nella istessa Casa per via del Campo di San Zaccaria, a fine che poi subito tu devi esser di nuovo carcerata e restar in preggion formale per il corso di sei mesi intieri prossimi venturi.

E per penitenze salutari ti imponiamo che per detti sei mesi tu sia obbligata a confessarti una volta al mese, e di più a recitare il Rosario della Beatissima Vergine una volta alla settimana per tutto il tempo delli detti .6. mesi, e così dicemo et cetera, riservando a noi et cetera con ogni miglior modo et cetera.

Ita pronuntiavi ego F. Cardinalis Cornellius Patriarcha Venetiarum et cetera.

Ita pronunciavi ego Francesco Archiepiscopo Thessalonicensis Nuntius Apostolico.

Ita etiam Fra Clemens de Iseo Inquisitore Generalis Venetiarum.

Antonius de Grandis Cancellarius de manu propria.

ASve: S. Uffizio, Processi, II Liber Expeditorum in Santo Offitio Venet ab anno 1625 et citra, b. 157.

1638

omissis

3. Marietta Collonna veneta propter sortilegia herreticalia abbiuravit de vehementi damnata fuit ad fustigationem et ad carceres formalis per sex menses et cum penitentiis salutaribus die 15. iulii.

APPENDICE II

Asve: *S. Uffizio, Processi*, b. 90.

Die martis 27 mensis iulii 1638

Assistente illustrissimo et excellentissimo domino Baptista Erizzo.

Coram eminentissimo et reverendissimo domino Cardinale Cornelio Pathriarca Venetiarum, ac illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino Nuntio Apostolico, ac reverendissimo Patre Inquisitore Generali, educta ex carceribus suprascripta Marietta Columna et cetera, fuit ei publicata infrascripta sententia fuit et cetera et ipsa abiuravit ut infra et fuit absoluta.

Io Marietta Colonna figliola del quondam Marco da Venetia, dell'età mia d'anni 36 in circa, costituita personalmente in giudicio, et ingenuchiata avanti del Santo Tribunale dell'Officio della Santa Inquisitione di Venetia, havendo avanti gli occhi miei li Sacrosanti Evangelii, quali tocco con le proprie mani, giuro che sempre ho creduto, credo adesso, et con l'aiuto di Dio crederò per l'avvenire tutto quello che tiene, crede, predica et insegna la Santa Madre Chiesa Cattolica e Apostolica Romana, ma perchè da questo Santo Officio, per le cause contenute nel processo contro di me formato, e nella sentenza hora lettami, sono stata giudicata vehementemente sospetta di heresia, per tanto volendo io levare dalla mente de fedeli di Christo questa vehemente suspitione contro di me concetta, abiuro, maledico e deteste l'heresie et errori tenuti nel processo e sentenza sudetta, e qualonque ogni altra heresia et errore, che contradica alla detta Santa Chiesa.

Et giuro che per l'avvenire non farò, nè dirò mai più cosa per la quale si possa haver di me tal sospitione; nè meno haverò pratica o conversatione nelle cose della Santa Fede con heretici, ovvero che siano sospetti d'heresia, ma se conoscerò alcun tale, lo denontierò agli Inquisitori, ovvero all'Ordinario del luogo dove mi troverò.

Giuro anco et prometto di adempire et osservare intieramente tutte le pene et penitenze che mi sono state o mi saranno imposte da questo Santo Officio, et contravenendo io ad alcune di queste mie promesse et giuramento (che Iddio non voglia) mi sottopongo a tutte le pene e castighi che sono da Sacri Canonì et altre costituzioni generali e particolari contro simili delinquenti imposte e promulgate.

Così il Signor Iddio mi aiuti e questi Sacrosanti Evangelii.

Io Marietta sudetta ho abiurato, giurato, promesso, et mi sono obligata come di sopra, et ho recitato di parola in parola la presente cedola di abiuratione, la quale di propria mano ho segnata col segno della croce, per non saper io scrivere.

In questo Santo Officio di Venetia, questo giorno di martedì 27. luglio 1638,
alla presentia delli testimonii infrascritti.

Crux.

Io Filippo Franzi fui testimonio.

Io Giacomo Albinoni fui presente.

Antonius de Episcopis Cancellarius de manu propria.

DALLE MEMORIE SETTECENTESCHE
DEL MAGISTRATO ALLA SANITÀ,
IL COMPLESSO RUOLO DEL LIDO
TRA NAVIGANTI, PELLEGRINI E SOLDATI

ROSSANA VITALE D'ALBERTON

L'esperienza ha dato conoscere che la peste nel Dominio Ottomano non sarà mai del tutto estinta, qualunque essere ne possa la causa, come vedonsi considerabili li stragi ch'ella di quando in quando suol farvi; così restano a temersi le comunicazioni ch'ha quel vasto Impero, mentre le stesse cause che difficolzano la sua estinzione a quelle parti, possono cagionare la sua effusione all'altre, non potendo mai essere sicuro commercio di Paese, che di quando in quando suol essere infetto. Per questo è Legge immutabile di questo Magistrato, procedente da un principio immutabile, cioè quello di guardarsi da chi non si guarda, che tutta l'estesa del Dominio Ottomano, e quasi sia di lui Stato, abbia a considerarsi sempre in grado di sospetto, in maniera tale che a nessuna parte di questi Pubblici Stati, che col medesimo confinano, o con lo stesso commerciano, siano ricevute persone, merci, animali o cosa alcuna, che daò medesimo provenisse, se non mediante li riguardi di Sanità e previj li necessari espurghi, così il commercio continuo porta un continuo esercizio di quelle regole, che la prudenza ha in dote, l'esperienza ha fatto conoscere giovevoli, che la riuscita ha sempre comprovate e che giustamente servono di norma in tutti gli altri incontri.¹

(«Relazione del Fiscale del Magistrato alla Sanità Bernardino Montanari del 1721»)

1. INTRODUZIONE

SE la storiografia ufficiale ama consegnarci un'immagine di Venezia dominatrice e trionfante sul mare, al quale si consacra col rito dell'anello, dalle lettere, decreti e leggi emanate da coloro che in varia maniera furono deputati a difenderne l'integrità, siamo portati a scoprire un'altra sorprendente verità e cioè come alla base di questo celebrato rapporto di Venezia con il suo mare non vi sia stata solo gratitudine per averla resa grande e potente, ma anche un sentimento

¹ ASVe: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 562.

più complesso di amore-odio, odio dettato dalla paura che, in fondo, proprio quello stesso mare le ispirava. Essa tentò di esorcizzare questa paura con feste sontuose e ricche donazioni, senza riuscire mai a liberarsene, poiché sapeva che proprio dal mare potevano giungere i suoi più terribili avversari. Questi non sono però potenti nazioni ben armate, bensì nemici invisibili e tanto più temuti, i terribili germi delle pestilenze, che essa intuiva percorrere le sue stesse rotte, nascosti fra le molte merci e i variopinti equipaggi. Il contagio, ecco dunque la grande paura che sentiamo correre sull'acqua, portata dalle navi corriere, dalle staffette, che hanno diritto di entrare a Venezia in qualunque ora del giorno e della notte, per avvisare, dare notizia di una pestilenza scoppiata in qualche regione amica o nemica e il Magistrato possa mettere in moto tempestivamente tutto il suo poderoso apparato di difesa.

Drammaticamente connesso fin dai primi tempi alla sua natura di Stato mercantile commerciale il difficile connubio fra sanità e commercio, è sempre stato al centro della storia politica della Serenissima, che lo gestì attraverso il Magistrato alla Sanità, ponendo in primo piano il bene supremo della salute, anche a costo di pesanti sacrifici economici e qualunque fossero le situazioni che si trovasse ad attraversare. Con le sue leggi, ritenute sacre ed inviolabili al pari di quelle emanate dai supremi organi dello Stato, il Magistrato alla Sanità – agendo spesso di concerto con un'altra importante magistratura, i Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia – riuscì a creare per Venezia un formidabile cordone sanitario i cui baluardi erano costituiti dai così detti Posti di Sanità, sapientemente distribuiti a corona del Serenissimo Dominio, con lo specifico compito di tutelare i suoi ingressi sia da terra che da mare. Essi, con i loro caselli e restelli erano dei veri e propri posti di blocco, che effettuavano normali controlli su persone e cose, che quotidianamente si presentavano ai confini del territorio veneto, giungendo però ad impedirne la libera circolazione, in caso di provenienza da luoghi colpiti o anche solo sospetti di pestilenze. Pestilenze, che al di fuori dei suoi confini, Venezia sa bene non essere spesso adeguatamente fronteggiate, quando non si giunga volutamente a ignorarle o a nasconderle per non danneggiare i traffici. In questo ambito di tutela il Lido svolse un ruolo di primaria importanza attraverso l'inflessa opera di controllo dei Custodi dei Posti di Sanità di Lido e Malamocco e di quanti agivano per conto del Magistrato. Ad essi

competeva l'importante compito di vigilare sui naviganti² ed impedire che alcuno, suddito o forestiero, potesse entrare in laguna se non munito delle regolari Fedi – veri e propri documenti di identificazione sanitaria dell'imbarcazione e dell'equipaggio³ – rilasciate ai capitani o

² Molto importante fu anche l'opera svolta dai Posti di Lido e Malamocco nel tentativo di frenare i contrabbandi, che oltre ai danni a carico dell'Erario, potevano essere facile fonte di contagio. Essi avvenivano numerosissimi, quasi di normale *routine*, a carico delle merci naufragate, ma non di rado si ardiva perpetrarli direttamente dal bordo delle navi al loro entrare nei canali, per adempiere alla contumacia.

³ A integrazione dell'argomento riportiamo tre esaurienti terminazioni (Asve: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 364):

Terminazione del 5 feb. 1769 *m.v.* Il Magistrato, volendo coniugare come sempre le più rigorose precauzioni sanitarie con quelle importantissime del commercio, ribadisce che venga accordata la contumacia di giorni 21 ai legni pubblici e privati, non provenienti da luoghi infetti o gravemente sospetti, condizione che deve risultare chiaramente non solo dalle Fedi che li accompagnano, ma da tutto il carteggio, sia suddito che estero, regolarmente tenuto in materia «attestante che in tutto il corso del viaggio non sia mai accaduto un accidente che potesse far pensare ad infezione». Essi potranno in tal caso essere accompagnati dai Guardiani nei Lazzaretti insieme a tutte le cose esistenti a bordo, che non fossero di semplice e necessario uso giornaliero del capitano e dei marinai, mentre «La contumacia incomincerà in quel giorno preciso, nel quale detti Legni saranno rimasti scaricati e vuoti dei passeggeri e degli effetti, condizione che vuole essere verificata da Fede giurata dei Guardiani di Sanità destinati alla loro custodia e sottoscritta con giuramento dai rispettivi capitani. Questa Fede non sarà rilasciata da Guardiani né da capitani, prima ch'essi abbiano fatta esattamente la visita di tutto il Legno e che si siano in questo mezzo assicurati intieramente, ch'esso sia rimasto scarico affatto e vuoto di ogni cosa suscettibile d'infezione e che vi sia rimasto soltanto quel poco, che è necessario all'uso giornaliero del capitano e dei marinai e ciò tutto vuolsi eseguito sotto pena della vita».

Terminazione del 4 gen. 1774 *m.v.*: «Osservabile è l'arbitrio recentemente scoperto di alcuni capitani di bastimenti e patroni di barche, i quali ad oggetto di approfittare indebitamente nelle portate e specialmente di ogli, si fanno lecito di dare in nota nelle Fedi di Sanità maggior numero di persone di quelle che hanno effettivamente nei loro bastimenti e di descrivere li passeggeri nel numero dei marinai [...] o per accrescere con pubblico danno il numero delle portate o per esentare li passeggeri dei bastimenti, che arrivano di sospetto, dal scontare la Contumacia nei Lazzaretti [...]. Come poi l'accennato disordine corre principalmente nei bastimenti e barche derivanti da Porti liberi dell'Adriatico, ch'entrano per li Porti di Malamocco e di Lido, così s'ingionge preciso dovere ai rispettivi Custodi di Sanità d'incaricar cadaun soldato, il quale scortar deve le barche alle rive di questo Ecc.mo Mag. to, d'incontrare il preciso numero dei marinai e passeggeri, che in essi bastimenti e barche effettivamente si attrovassero e di notificarlo allo Scrivano o al Fante, dopo l'assunto Costituto [...] e trovando alterazione sarà debito dello Scrivano stesso o fante di rassegnarla per le convenienti deliberazioni. A lume dei N. N. H. H. Rappresentanti dei Litorali e a regola degli Uffici di Sanità, come pure ai Guardiani e Custodi di Sanità di Lido e Malamocco, ai capitani dei bastimenti e patroni di barche e a chiunque altro occorresse».

Terminazione del 30 mag. 1781: «Costante metodo di sana disciplina nel gelosissimo argomento di salute si è quello di connotare nelle Patenti dei Capitani dei bastimenti di alta navigazione, egualmente che delli Patroni di barche che navigano per l'Istria, la Dalmazia et altri luoghi vicini, oltrecché gli uomini del rispettivo equipaggio, li passeggeri eziandio,

ai paron di barca, nel luogo di partenza e nei successivi scali. La ferrea applicazione di queste disposizioni volute dal Magistrato per conoscere senza incertezze, se quegli uomini, quelle merci, provenienti da quei Paesi, potessero costituire o meno un pericolo, permise per secoli che il commercio, linfa vitale per la Serenissima, non divenisse anche veicolo di mortali contagi.

2. I PORTI DEL LIDO

Nei primi documenti dell'anno mille, si soleva accostare il nome della sottile striscia sabbiosa posta di fronte a S. Marco, che noi ora chiamiamo Lido di Venezia, a quello di qualche località più nota; si diceva così, ad es., Lido di Rialto, per la sua vicinanza a Venezia, o Lido di S. Piero, perché posto di fronte alla Basilica dedicata a questo santo ad Olivolo, o anche Lido di S. Nicolò per via del famoso monastero che esso ospitava, documentando in ogni caso come in origine questo luogo avesse scarsissimo rilievo nella vita politica e sociale della Repubblica.

In seguito però, importanti avvenimenti di natura politico-militare, nonché religiosa – primo fra tutti ricordiamo la celebrazione voluta da Pietro Orseolo II a S. Nicolò per solennizzare la vittoria del 998 sui Dalmati ed Istriani, dando così inizio al famoso rito dello Sposalizio del mare – lo fecero ben presto assurgere a fama propria, permettendogli di entrare a pieno titolo nella grande Storia.

Creato dal capriccio del mare e dei venti quale naturale antemurale della città lagunare, vogliamo qui ricordarlo non per i meriti militari dei suoi ben guarniti forti, strategicamente eretti a difesa della Serenissima, quanto per il ruolo, forse meno noto, da esso svolto in campo sanitario, nell'arduo compito di tenere fuori dalle lagune le terribili pestilenze, che le numerose navi, che si presentavano ai suoi due por-

ai quali per altro, contro il sentimento delle Leggi Nostre, ed espressamente della Terminazione primo febbraio 1770, vengono con familiare abuso rilasciate dalli Consoli negli Esteri Porti, dagli Uffici di Sanità ed altri, ai quali appartiene la gelosa incombenza, Fedi separate dalla Patente del Capitano, ch'esser deve il solo indubitato fondamento della sicurezza comune. Poiché dunque, alla mala fede dei Capitani, quali bene spesso approfittano dell'incauto rilascio di siffatte Patenti, a parte per occultare nei rispettivi Costituti, arbitrarij sbarchi e li sempre interessantissimi accidenti di morte nelli loro bastimenti [...], resta in risoluta forma e sotto le più severe pene proibito a chiunque il rilascio di Fedi a parte o separate dalla Patente del capitano anzidetta».

ti di S. Nicolò e di Malamocco, portavano con sé insieme alle molte merci e ai più disparati equipaggi.

Tra le due entrate in porto, Malamocco fu certamente quello che rivestì la maggiore importanza da quando, sul finire del Quattrocento, per il progressivo interrimento del porto di S. Nicolò-S. Erasmo, le grandi navi da carico incominciarono a praticarlo e questo non solo perché meglio posizionato per accogliere i bastimenti evitando loro la rotta, spesso insidiosa, parallela al Lido, ma anche per l'importanza storica del luogo, sia sotto il profilo religioso che politico ed amministrativo. Solo quando anche i suoi fondali, per un lento, inesorabile insabbiamento, divennero sempre meno percorribili, si finì per privilegiare come in antico il porto di S. Nicolò, destinato fin da allora ad essere luogo di partenza di pellegrini e armati, per la vicinanza del convento e del cosiddetto *palazzo delli soldati*.

2. LE COMMISSIONI DEL MAGISTRATO AI SUOI DEPUTATI AL LIDO

Da una lettera del podestà 23 febbraio 1769 *m.v.*, risultano operare a Malamocco negli anni centrali della ricerca, con compiti specifici in ambito della Sanità, un ammiraglio del porto, un custode al Casello di Sanità, un caporale della Feluca al porto, 9 *remurchianti* più i relativi capi rimorchio, uno speciale,⁴ un chirurgo e un medico condotto, che ha l'obbligo di risiedere *in loco* e di servire tutti gli abitanti di «Lido, Punta, Poveglia e questo monastero di monache, con onorario di sol-

⁴ Illuminante circa l'importanza rivestita nell'isola dallo speciale, riportiamo l'accorata supplica del 28 ottobre 1785, che i due deputati del Consiglio di Malamocco inviarono al podestà Vincenzo Correr e da lui trasmessa al Magistrato: «La salute è il più ricco patrimonio che possono avere gli uomini. Questa non si può sempre godere o per la stravaganza delle stagioni o per i disordini, che inavvedutamente incontrano gli uomini. L'arte medica e la chirurgia soccorrono prontamente alle malattie, ma questi provvedimenti sono appoggiati alla forza degli opportuni medicinali. Noi abbiamo medico e chirurgo, ma nei passati giorni passò all'eterno riposo il Domenico Lazzaro Armano, speciale di medicina di questo luogo. Questo era agente per la Ditta Vincenzo Varè di Venezia all'insegna del Dose. Noi dunque, infrascritti Deputati, a nome di questo popolo, ricorriamo alla paterna carità di vostra Eccellenza, acciò voglia prestarsi con la maggiore sollecitudine, onde non manchi un soccorso così opportuno alla guarigione delle malattie di questa povera gente. Quel Varè, che da tanto tempo ha mantenuto a nostro beneficio il negozio di specieria in questa terra, venga impegnato con le Sue maniere amorose a sostituire altro soggetto, il quale sia capace di fungere l'ufficio che esercitava il defunto Armano e noi intanto, coi sentimenti più vivi di gratitudine, a nome anco di questo popolo, Le rendiamo le dovute grazie» (ivi, b. 475).

di 200 correnti annui». Non doveva essere carica ambita dato che più volte il podestà dovette ricorrere al Magistrato affinché intervenisse per favorirne l'elezione.⁵

Al porto di S. Nicolò, oltre all'ammiraglio, risultano presenti un custode, un numero variabile di fanti e un Guardiano.

Prima di esaminare nel dettaglio l'operato dei vari addetti alla Sanità nei Posti di Lido S. Nicolò e Malamocco, ricordiamo come si configurasse a Venezia l'organizzazione sanitaria dopo il xv sec.

Essa ha un andamento piramidale il cui vertice è rappresentato dal Magistrato alla Sanità, organo specifico istituito nel 1486⁶ col compito

⁵ Vedansi, ad es., le lettere inviate dal podestà Correr nel 1768 in cui si prega il Magistrato «affinché con la sua autorità, quando credesse, venisse deputato soggetto all'assistenza e aiuto ai malati, con obblighi ed emolumenti secondo le solite formalità» visto che nessun medico si era dato in nota *per esser ballottato et eletto* (*ibidem*).

A complemento dell'argomento riportiamo anche la terminazione del 1° feb. 1770: «Per togliere le irregolarità e le discordie che sogliono esercitarsi nel caso di medici condotti, adottò l'autorità pubblica il provvido sistema generale suggerito da questo Magistrato con li decreti 18 giugno 1729, 20 settembre 1741, 2 maggio 1764 e quindi nacquero le promulgate relative Terminazioni 4 luglio 1729, 5 ottobre 1750, 11 luglio 1764 per i luoghi da Mar, della Terra Ferma e del Dogato, con le quali si prescrive il metodo da osservarsi. Alfine però che la distanza dei tempi non intiepidisca l'osservanza delle leggi sì salutari, trovano opportuno gli Ill.mi et Ecc.mi Signori Sopra Provveditori e Provveditori, di ravvivare il tenore delle medesime; quindi ordinano e comandano [...] che sia proibita la concorrenza alla condotta di medico stipendiato dal luogo stesso, a quelli che fossero oriundi, accordandosi peraltro a medesimi in patria, di poter esercitare la propria professione, senza aspirare alle Condotte, che restano destinate solamente per forestieri, quando siano muniti di tutti li requisiti voluti da questo Magistrato e prescritti particolarmente con la Terminazione a stampa 26 gennaio 1723».

Si ribadisce inoltre che non si possa in nessuna parte e per nessun motivo, prendere decisioni in tale materia, se non si sia prima sentito il Magistrato. L'elezione del medico avveniva per ballottazione, dopo che egli si era dato in nota presentando i suoi titoli, in particolare il Privilegio di dottore, ad opera dei cittadini convocati in consiglio. A Malamocco, nel Consiglio del 1762 convocato dal podestà, cui competeva la promulgazione dell'apposito bando, compaiono 163 persone, 106 in quello del 1768, ma abbiamo incontrato anni in cui il numero era molto inferiore. Era consentito al medico di rinunciare volontariamente alla carica, con rinuncia scritta, che veniva depositata nel libro dei Costituiti dell'ufficiale della cancelleria di Malamocco. Ciò lasciava libera la comunità di «divenire alla elezione di nuovo soggetto». Al medico eletto era fatto obbligo di residenza, mentre all'eventuale medico provvisorio non veniva assegnato l'alloggio, cosa che scoraggerà molti ad assumere l'incarico. Negli anni della ricerca si è visto come la carica di medico condotto abbia spesso creato nell'isola momenti di tensione fra gli abitanti. In particolare segnaliamo le vicende legate alla figura del dottor Gasparo Sartori, che per molti anni esercitò la professione a Malamocco malgrado tutto il malcontento e le denunce della popolazione. Sull'argomento vedasi anche *ivi*, b. 191.

⁶ I Provveditori alla Sanità, come magistratura stabile, furono istituiti dal Senato il 7 gennaio 1486 a difesa della città dalla peste e con autorità assoluta. Le loro terminazioni

di conglobare e dare unicità a tutte quelle commissioni, consigli o uffici che avevano funzionato fino ad allora. Ad esso fanno capo i Provveditori e Sopra Provveditori. Da questi dipendono i Custodi,⁷ che

erano equiparate ai decreti del Senato stesso e la loro competenza, sia diretta che di controllo, si estendeva ad ogni materia attinente alla Sanità. I Provveditori dettavano anche norme inerenti all'attività delle Arti veneziane, aggiungendo e talora contrapponendo la loro competenza a quella degli Ufficiali alla Giustizia Vecchia, che esercitavano controllo tecnico-amministrativo sulle Arti della Dominante. Vedasi ivi: *Giustizia Vecchia*, reg. 2. Avevano giurisdizione, con sentenze definitive, e dal 1504 anche nel criminale. Quando nel 1556 il Senato integrò i Provveditori con i Sopraprovveditori, il Magistrato così composto ebbe giurisdizione fino alla pena capitale. Ricordiamo qui come i Provveditori straordinari alla Sanità rappresentassero l'estensione della competenza del Magistrato su tutto il territorio della Repubblica, con particolare riguardo allo *Stato da Mar*, come quello più soggetto ai pericoli di contagio, per la vicinanza alle zone più frequentemente colpite dalle infezioni. Vedasi ivi: *Senato Relazioni*, b. 72. Dal 1537 il Maggior Consiglio avocò a sé la loro elezione. Erano in relazione con i Provveditori alla Sanità degli omologhi uffici nelle città suddite, di nomina locale.

Circa la priorità assoluta che veniva accordata alle decisioni di questo Magistrato, riportiamo quanto emerge dal dispaccio 97 del Residente veneto in Savoia, 2 dic. 1619. Egli riferisce al Senato delle proteste avanzate dal Residente britannico, indignato per l'arresto dell'ambasciatore di Gran Bretagna al casello di Sanità di Pontebba, i cui addetti si sono mostrati inflessibili, senza alcun riguardo al rango del personaggio. Il Residente dichiara d'aver fatto presente al suo collega inglese, come questo trattamento fosse da considerarsi «una situazione invalicabile, poiché il Magistrato alla Sanità è supremo nell'ordinamento veneziano». A conferma che davanti alle disposizioni non c'era da sperare nell'immunità diplomatica, ricordiamo che proprio a Malamocco nel 1498, fu trattenuto in quarantena l'ambasciatore segreto di papa Alessandro VI, perché proveniente da luoghi dichiarati infetti.

⁷ In generale il compito principale dei Custodi consisteva nel controllare tutte le imbarcazioni, le merci e il numero delle persone contenuti nelle relative Fedi, per inviarle con un soldato alle rive del Magistrato o di trattenerle in caso di dubbio. Vediamo meglio questi compiti da alcune leggi ad essi relative. Dalla Rubrica delle leggi del Magistrato alla Sanità, 20 ago. 1593: «Destinato un Custode al Lido. Riconosca qualunque barca. Ricerchi alle stesse luogo da cui derivano. Stia di continuo al Castello [N.d.A.: Castel vecchio]. Senza ordine espresso non possa partire, né di giorno né di notte. Da qualunque sorte barca, nave o bastimento che si presenterà al Castello per farsi sottoscrivere le Fedi di Sanità esiga 2 soldi per cadauna. Quelle dei passeggeri le spedisca gratis, *sotto pena*. Sopra barche libere (ossia provenienti da Paesi non sospetti di epidemie), con Fedi senza opposizioni, metta un soldato di scorta. Questo dovrà riferire il preciso numero di marinai e passeggeri all'apposito scrivano del Magistrato». Anche riguardo agli animali in arrivo il custode è tenuto a particolari compiti: «[...] adempia con puntualità ai suoi doveri e cognizione dello Stato riguardo animali bovini. Ritrovandone di qualità pregiudicata, ordini immediatamente la loro sotterrazione con apposita calce viva, col bollo istituito, segni fra li morti li buoni dalli cattivi. Nei luoghi in cui furono sepolti destini assistenza di soldati acciò non vengano asportati». Nonostante le minuziose disposizioni del Magistrato, abbiamo trovato numerosi casi, in cui i Custodi si sono trovati ad affrontare il problema di passeggeri che si presentavano al posto di Sanità senza le Fedi prescritte, e questi tanto sudditi, provenienti, in barca o in gondola, da Chioggia o da Venezia, che pellegrini o soldati disertori – come

concretamente attuano e fanno osservare le disposizioni sanitarie, ed altre due figure subalterne, i Fanti⁸ e i Guardiani⁹ delegati a tutelare la salute pubblica direttamente a bordo dei bastimenti. Ricordiamo inoltre l'indispensabile opera dei *bastagi*, ossia dei facchini che prendevano in carico le merci in quarantena, col precipuo compito di esporle all'azione purificatrice di fumi aromatici o semplicemente dell'aria, e le milizie chiamate di rinforzo in particolari occasioni. Come abbiamo visto, relativamente al Lido, sono da aggiungere anche le importanti figure degli ammiragli,¹⁰ addetti sia ai porti di S. Nicolò che di Malamocco, e del podestà a Malamocco.

Sulla base delle commissioni loro inviate, possiamo dire che se le figure dei Rettori, presenti in ogni luogo della Dominante, i Consoli e i vari Provveditori, i Priori dei lazzeretti della Terraferma e d'Oltremare, nonché le varie Cariche generalizie, svolsero un'opera insostituibile al servizio del Magistrato, in particolare nella gestione del sempre precario rapporto sanità-commercio, i suoi subalterni al Lido, in vario modo e grado dipendenti, rappresentarono per la Serenissima l'ultimo e più importante baluardo. Nel corso della ricerca emergerà tuttavia come essi svolsero questo impegnativo incarico eseguendo rigide direttive impartite dall'alto, alle quali potevano solo obbedire, secondo la regola del Magistrato, che non permise mai che altri, sia pur fidati, potessero avere un proprio potere decisionale nella delicata materia. Così vedremo come anche le importanti figure

quelli tedeschi giunti a Malamocco nel 1712 –, da Comacchio, dalla Cavanella o dalla Mesola, creando non poche difficoltà ai Custodi.

⁸ I Fanti erano coloro che materialmente si occupavano di annotare le persone ammalate, di trasportarle nei lazzeretti od ospedali, registrare i morti e redigere inventario dei beni sequestrati appartenenti a persone morte o spedite nei lazzeretti. In pena della vita, scortano secondo le procedure stabilite, le navi sospette.

⁹ Dalla Rubrica delle leggi del Magistrato alla Sanità, 19 ago. 1552: «siano estratti a sorte e notati sopra una tabella che dovrà stare di continuo appesa nell'Ufficio, [...] siano pagati soldi 36 al giorno (andando sopra navigli mercantili saranno pagati dai mercanti), sopra Pubblici, dalla Cassa Publica. [...] Visitino ad uno ad uno gli individui dell'equipaggio [...] sappiano leggere e scrivere e siano muniti di un bollo col loro nome e le parole *Guardia della Sanità*, [...] formino inventario di tutte le persone, merci e robbe in loro custodia, [...] 3 luglio 1709 – [...] vegliano perché li cibi che da vivandieri vengono somministrati ai miserabili suffragati dalla carità del Magistrato, siano corrispondenti alle ordinazioni del medico. In caso di malattia ed impotenza a poter servire, facciano presentare fede giurata al medico».

¹⁰ Vedasi sull'argomento Asve: *Provvisoria alla Sanità, Notatorio*, reg. 761; ivi: *Ufficiali al cattaver*, b. 3, reg. 5.

dell'ammiraglio e del podestà, pur chiamati a svolgere compiti assai gravosi e pieni di responsabilità nel campo sanitario, saranno sempre e solo esecutori di ordini e disposizioni provenienti da altri, che erano inderogabilmente tenuti ad eseguire; e così il medico, che pur Venezia vuole preparato, addottorato e qualificato, resterà pur sempre solo una figura subalterna rispetto alla classe politica, della quale poteva essere tutt'al più un consulente. Per questo non stupisce vedere come le misure precauzionali in tema di contagi, le disposizioni per la contumacia, la decisione di riaprire o chiudere i commerci con quella o quell'altra nazione, non saranno mai decise dalla classe medica, ma dal Magistrato, in chiave squisitamente politica.

3. L'AMMIRAGLIO AL LIDO

Il termine 'ammiraglio' è riferibile a Venezia a diverse figure professionali di elevata responsabilità tecnico-organizzativa, legate tutte all'ambiente marittimo e alle attività marinare. L'Ammiraglio del Porto fungeva da organo di raccordo e trasmissione tra la volontà politico-amministrativa della magistratura di volta in volta competente e il lavoro operativo di quanti erano chiamati a tradurre nel concreto questi ordini.¹¹

Dal Capitolare risulta che requisito per concorrere a questa carica, che dura generalmente 4 anni e non sconta contumacia, è quello di essere stato pilota d'Istria, ma probabilmente, vi poteva concorrere anche chi era stato *patron zurato* o comito o patrone di barca superiore a trecento botti. I marinai restano esclusi. La sua carica può essere venduta. Da un documento d'inizio Seicento quella del Lido valeva 3.000 ducati, mentre alla fine del secolo veniva venduta per 1.700. Egli ha obbligo di residenza in una casa sul porto, dalla quale non può allontanarsi per dei viaggi senz'autorizzazione.

Per il porto di Venezia erano nominati due ammiragli, uno per S. Nicolò e l'altro per Malamocco, col compito di controllare l'ingresso e l'uscita delle navi e in particolare assicurarsi che vi fosse acqua sufficiente per il movimento, dando le opportune indicazioni;¹² era per-

¹¹ Vedasi sull'argomento A. SAMBO, *Il lavoro portuale*, in *Storia di Venezia*, XII, *Il mare*, a cura di A. Tenenti, U. Tucci, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991, pp. 844-848.

¹² «stando sugli scanni della sua barca, vicino alla fossa, presso la bocca di Porto e da lì indicare tramite segnali alla nave e alle barche da rimorchio i movimenti da fare» (vedasi

tanto il solo autorizzato a cercare l'acqua alle bocche di porto, a dare il segnale di libera entrata, con piena facoltà di dare ordini ai piloti, che durante queste operazioni, erano obbligati ad obbedire ai suoi segnali. Su i rimorchianti inoltre aveva piena autorità.¹³

asve: *Ufficiali al cattaver*, b. 3, reg. 5, c. 29). Vedasi anche sull'argomento *Codice per la veneta mercantile marina*, Venezia, 1786, pp. 252-262.

¹³ Dalla Terminazione 9 maggio 1789 dei Cattaver riguardante le regole, discipline e prescrizioni da osservarsi dalla Fraglia dei Remurchianti, si conoscono i principali motivi di insoddisfazione di questo Magistrato nei confronti di chi svolge un compito importantissimo per la navigazione, ma in modo disunito, spesso litigioso e indisciplinato e quindi poco affidabile, generando incertezza circa il numero delle barche e degli uomini addetti. «[...] volendosi quindi affatto tolto in tal parte ogni motivo di ulteriori loro trasgressioni alla Pubblica Volontà a conforto della Navigazione e dei commercianti, resta però stabilito ed ordinato quanto segue. Che tutti li Patroni di Barche da Remurchio e parimenti tutti quegli Individui che per l'avvenire volessero esercitarsi in quel mestiere, debbano nel termine di giorni quindici [...] darsi in nota dal fedel notaro dello Eccellentissimo Magistrato al Cattaver, ove saranno gratis descritti li loro nomi, colla distinzione di quelli che avessero la barca propria da quelli che fossero semplici uomini remurchianti. [...]. Sarà dovere delli Patroni di barca di distinguere nell'atto di darsi in nota la qualità della loro barca, connotando precisamente di quanti piedi ella sia da vento a vento e la quantità del numero delli remi rispettivamente a ciascuna di esse inservienti. E perché dalla certezza del numero di esse barche e degli individui in esse impiegati ne addivenga il buon servizio della navigazione, e tolti sieno quei pregiudizj, che dall'incertezza ne provenivano [...] resta perciò stabilito che tutti quelli [...] debbano unirsi in corpo ossia fraglia [...] che sarà dalli medesimi [...] convocata e stabilita in Malamocco». La Terminazione citata riporta anche le tariffe per ogni rimurchiatura, distinguendo a seconda del numero dei remi, che erano tenuti a pagare tutti i bastimenti privati sudditi ed esteri, 33 lire per i dieci remi, 27 per le barche a otto. Per la condotta delle Peate con le mercanzie ai due Lazzaretti si pagava invece 24 lire per rimorchio a 10 remi dal canale Spignon al Lazzaretto vecchio, 18 lire da Poveglia. Il trasporto più caro risulta essere quello a dieci remi da Spignon al Lazzaretto nuovo, 33 lire, mentre lo stesso percorso effettuato con barche a otto remi costa solo 27 lire. Questi soldi venivano poi divisi fra gli uomini dell'equipaggio e la Scuola. Così si vede ad esempio che le 33 lire vengono così suddivise: 24 lire ai nove remurchianti, una lira al garzone, 4 al proprietario della barca, 2 alla scuola (Asve: *Cinque savi alla Mercanzia*, b. 400). Nel 1789, al momento della istituzione della Fraglia, i rimorchianti, che hanno il compito di rimorchiare le navi attraverso i canali, fino al Lazzaretto, sono in numero di 315. Le lance che essi usano negli scandagli devono essere segnate col Bollo di S. Marco. Essi dipendono interamente dall'ammiraglio e sono sottoposti all'autorità del Cattaver, pur dovendo ottenere anche un mandato speciale in pergamena, rilasciato dal Magistrato alla Sanità per esercitare. Nella commissione ai rimorchianti del 6 novembre 1729, risulta come anche ad essi, del pari dell'ammiraglio, fosse fatto divieto di «inoltrarsi più che in 10 passa di acqua andando incontro al bastimento», cosa che essi però si guardavano bene di eseguire alla lettera, tanto che più volte si vede come il Magistrato abbia dovuto intervenire per impedire che si portassero non solo in mare aperto, ma talvolta non esitassero ad arrivare fino in Istria. Di queste trasgressioni, come pure di quella di condurre un bastimento fuori del canale assegnato, senza preciso ordine del Magistrato, deve essere subito informato il Guardiano di Fisolo per le opportune pesantissime pene, ma in ogni caso il Magistrato ne

Tra i suoi obblighi aveva quello di mantenere propri dipendenti sulle torri per controllare l'arrivo di navi e leggerne i segnali di giorno e di notte, i richiami con tiri di cannone, di tenere un garzone presso di sé e di non poter di sua iniziativa, portare a bordo vivandieri o altre persone, ad es. interpreti, che potessero venire in contatto con l'equipaggio.

La sua attività, pur dipendendo dal Cattaver,¹⁴ si svolge in stretta relazione col Magistrato alla Sanità, per cui sarà chiamato a svolgere oltre ai già difficili compiti legati alla navigazione anche quelli impegnativi della sanità. Tra questi ricordiamo, ad es., «riconoscere i bastimenti prima che siino attaccati sotto alli moli» – il che significava aver svolto tutte le necessarie ispezioni di sanità, prima di fare condurre dai rimorchianti il bastimento al canale assegnatoli –, concedere alle navi dirette alla contumacia, che per le condizioni del tempo, non riuscivano a completare in giornata il normale percorso verso il Lazaretto, di poter percorrere altri canali, presentando poi Fede giurata, l'obbligo di verificare che le navi in partenza avessero espletate tutte le formalità richieste, quali l'essere fornite dei bollettini della Sanità, dei Savi alla Mercanzia, dell'Ufficio della bolla, ecc., e di non essere sovraccariche, potendo in tal caso rifiutare l'autorizzazione all'uscita. Se però il capitano si rifiutava di obbedire ai suoi ordini, doveva darne avviso immediato all'Ufficio del Cattaver. Nell'entrata della nave in porto doveva controllare in particolar modo che i Caselli del Magistrato alla Sanità avessero concesso alla nave il permesso di entrata.

Il rapporto fra il Magistrato e l'Ammiraglio del Porto appare dai carteggi piuttosto singolare, improntato a una certa freddezza, a volte vera e propria riprovazione nei confronti dell'operato di quest'ultimo, che pur non essendo un diretto dipendente, era spesso tempestivamente chiamato dal Magistrato ad eseguire ordini perentori. In ge-

riterrà responsabile l'ammiraglio, al quale, come vedremo nel corso della ricerca, non saranno lesinati biasimi e minaccia di pesanti pene: «[...] sendo nostra risoluta intenzione che li remurchianti abbiano a dipendere da i Vostri ordini in materia di bastimenti sospetti e che Voi rispondiate e per le omissioni e per le commissioni loro, onde non Vi resti adito di sottrarVi dal castigo che pesantissimo Vi sovrasta ogni volta che, in menoma parte, sia contravvenuto alle presenti ordinazioni et a tutti quei riguardi che siete tenuto ad usare et a far usare nella materia della Sanità» (ivi: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 393).

¹⁴ Nel caso dei numerosi naufragi incontrati nella ricerca, si rileverà come la giurisdizione principale dei giudici del Cattaver, istituiti nel 1280, fosse divenuta proprio il recupero dei beni in terra o in mare, che il Comune rivendicava a sé.

nerale il Magistrato era propenso a far condurre a Fisolo i bastimenti con Fedi sporche, perché provenienti da luoghi colpiti da epidemia e a Poveglia quelli le cui Fedi apparivano nette, ma come avremo modo di vedere, le sue strategie erano in continuo adattamento alle circostanze, cosa che creava non poche difficoltà in chi era chiamato ad eseguirle. L'ammiraglio era certamente fra questi.

Chiariamo queste affermazioni proponendo direttamente la lettura di alcune lettere¹⁵ indirizzate dal Magistrato a questa carica.

Lettera del 20 ago. 1733 all'ammiraglio Daziari:

Ammiraglio Pubblico, non è solito il Mag.to nostro a replicare li suoi ordini e sa giudicare quando vengono trascurati. Vi si è detto che non dobbiate levar bastimento alcuno da remoti canali per trasportarlo per li canali interni, in quello di Poveglia, se non siete sicuro di condurlo dentro lo stesso giorno in cui lo leverete a dar fondo nel canale destinato. Superflue sono le scuse quali andate adducendo nella vostra del 18 agosto per restare in quella abusiva libertà di cui vi siete valso sin ora. Tocca a Voi prender misure corrispondenti agli ordini quali vi si danno et a quali ogni volta si troverà che abbiate contravvenuto o in caso mai contravveniste, vi accorgerete, se quanto fermo nei suoi ordini, sia altrettanto pesante nei suoi castighi il Mag.to stesso. Dio vi guardi.

Ma evidentemente questo ammiraglio ama fare di testa sua, così che il Magistrato è ancora costretto a richiamarlo con lettera del 31 lug. 1734:

[...]. Vi si è detto che non dovete condurre bastimenti destinati ai soliti canali di contumacia, a dar fondo a S. Pietro. Sapete che ogni volta che un bastimento ha dato fondo et è montato dal Guardiano di Sanità, quegli non ha facoltà di muoversi senza un ordine del Magistrato. Più di una volta siete stato per tal causa corretto e con mano pesante [...] converrà metter mano ad altri modi, quali vi facciano accorgere del Vostro dovere e risentire la gravità del Magistrato, cui non avete riguardo di darVi a conoscere come incorreggibile. Sarà fatto. Dio vi guardi.

A ulteriore riprova del fatto che questa carica non abbia mai goduto negli anni, della piena fiducia del Magistrato, che spesso le rimprovera una certa faciloneria nello svolgere gli importanti compiti di accoglienza e identificazione delle imbarcazioni, riportiamo la risposta del custode di Malamocco del 12 agosto 1795, il quale, fra le varie incombenze, aveva ricevuto dal Magistrato anche l'ordine di «invigilare

¹⁵ ASve: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 393.

sopra l'Ammiraglio e li remurchianti, e massime sopra li vivandieri». Così si legge:

Porto alla maturità di Vostre Eccellenze che questo Posto e questo Casello di Sanità è distante tre e più miglia dal porto di Malamocco, dove danno fondo tutti li bastimenti, portandosi in seguito nei Canali di Spignon egualmente distanti, oppure in S. Piero, non passando sotto il mio occhio se non quelli quali si inoltrano nel Canale di Poveglia, in tempo che hanno già sopra il loro Guardiano. Tutto quello dunque può succedere in porto, l'arrivo dei bastimenti, il contegno dell'Ammiraglio, dei remurchianti e dei vivandieri, non potendo cader sotto alle mie osservazioni, non è giusto che mi faccia responsabile alle gravissime ispezioni delle Eccellenze Vostre. Imploro a tal oggetto l'oracolo delle sapientissime loro Deliberazioni [...].¹⁶

Altre volte però anche l'ammiraglio di turno riesce a rendersi gradito al Magistrato, che si rivolge a lui con ben altro tono, affidandogli compiti che gli stanno particolarmente a cuore. Non può sfuggire tuttavia alla lettura un sottinteso tono di comando.

Lettera del Magistrato del 25 gen. 1743:

Ammiraglio Pubblico - Si sono ricevute le notizie che avete recate col Vostro foglio e sono state gradite. Preme ora che sia introdotto sollecitamente in porto il bastimento del Cap. Tavnelli e che non sia lasciato maggiormente esposto [...] facendo acqua, onde farete in modo che sia immediate convogliato dentro. Ciò fatto Vi si ordina che dobbiate condur in Fisolo li due bastimenti del Cap. Puggiotto e quello del Cap. Pietro Marchich e che facciate intendere al Direttore della Pubblica Galeotta, che s'attrova in Fisolo et ora si è ritirata a San Piero della Volta, che di espresso nostro ordine passi tosto in esso Fisolo alla custodia di essi due gelosissimi bastimenti. Eseguita esattamente e Dio Vi guardi.

Per comprendere ancora meglio i compiti affidati a questa carica, vediamo ora nel dettaglio alcune commissioni e lettere rivolte dal Magistrato agli Ammiragli del Lido, 1° ott. 1729:

Ammiraglio Pubblico - L'incombenza Vostra si è di condurre in Porto a salvamento li bastimenti quali si presentano alle rive; onde siccome tutti essi vengono ad esser soggetti alle ispezioni di questo nostro Magistrato, prima che ne faccia la cognizione, Voi venite ad essere responsabile di ogni disordine quale nell'introduzione loro può succedere ai riguardi di sanità.

Per questo, volendo il Magistrato istesso illuminarvi di ciò che alle ispezioni istesse appartiene, né potendo supporre che Voi siate in libertà di demandare ad altri quali, che a noi personalmente, si intende a Voi commettere:

¹⁶ *Ibidem.*

Che alla comparsa di cadaun bastimento, dobbiate montar in persona sopra la Vostra Peota, partir alla testa di quelle dei remurchianti et andargli incontro per convogliarlo, non inoltrandoVi in mare però più che in dieci passa di acqua. Avanti di accostarsi al bastimento, doverete richiedere al Direttore di esso da dove provengono, quali luoghi abbia toccati, se venga con Patenti nette o sporche; e rilevando esser il medesimo a contumacia soggetto, ordinerete al Direttore istesso che immediate faccia metter sull'albero di mezzana una bandiera, anco serva di segnale ai soliti novellisti, per portargli avvisi occorrenti al Magistrato, restandoVi espressamente proibito il far attaccar sotto li remurchi prima che sia stata inalberata essa bandiera.

Da qualunque luoco però procedano li bastimenti, dovendo Voi considerarli tutti per sospetti, sin tanto sia desunto dal Costituto dei capitani, quali li montano, sia stato luogo o della contumacia o della Pratica, nel far attaccare sotto le peote doverete valerVi sempre di cai di resta, restando esclusi sempre li cai incatramati vecchi e li cai bianchi. Nel far ciò doverete aver un attentissimo riguardo che non segua alcuna irregolarità circa le riserve di salute e Vi servirà di avviso esser decretata pena di morte ogni volta si rilevasse che Voi o li Vostri remurchianti levata avete cosa alcuna, di qualsivoglia sorte. Da alcun bastimento. È pena la quale si eseguisce. Anzi più, essendo Voi incaricato di venir immediate a notificar al Magistrato qualunque disordine fosse succeduto, o trovaste o capitasse a bordo del bastimento da Voi convogliato, Vi resta in appresso aggiunto che dobbiate fermar qualunque Legno e condurlo all'obbedienza di questo Magistrato.¹⁷ Essendo debito Vostro di scorre li bastimenti istessi in modo che non praticano disastro; il che, qual'ora succede, suole causare un rimarcabile pregiudizio a riguardi di Salute; caso mai che alcun legno venisse a rompersi, non dovete abbandonarlo, ma nelle debite distanze Vi tratterrete alla sua custodia, onde non si accostino ad esso barche né venga posta mano nella roba naufragata, mandando immedia-

¹⁷ Anche in questa fase sono stati previsti tutti gli accorgimenti perché non avvengano pericolosi contatti. Incamminatisi infatti i bastimenti, con tutti i riguardi perché non siano avvicinati da altre barche o tocchino terra, alle Rive del Magistrato, viene così descritto dal Fiscal del Magistrato questo particolare momento: «Sono queste barricate in forma che, quantunque possa seguire alla lontana, discorso fra li venuti e terrieri, non può però seguire comisciolanza di sorte alcuna, ed appena smontato a terra il Capitano, viene introdotto per strada guardata, in sito destinato al riceversi dè Costituti, che è un recinto quale da tutte le parti viene chiuso, dove dallo Scrivano del Magistrato, Ministro a ciò particolarmente destinato, viene da una finestra nella debita distanza costituito. Versa esso Costituto in rilevare particolarmente da dove si sia staccato il Bastimento e in qual tempo, se da luogo sano o pur sospetto. Qual viaggio abbia fatto, quali luoghi toccati, se nei medesimi abbia avuto pratica o no, se per mare abbia incontrati bastimenti, di qual nazione, e se abbia con essi comunicato. Ricercasi il numero del suo equipaggio e dei suoi passeggeri, se siansi sempre conservati sani o se ne siano mancati, quale e quanto sia il carico che porta, se è fatto tutto in un luogo oppure in diversi, e finalmente se in materia di Sanità sorsero insorgenze, intinandogli che debba esibire tutte le carte e lettere che avesse» (ivi, b. 562).

tamente una delle Vostre Peote a partecipare il Magistrato dell'accaduto. Entrato che sarà in porto il bastimento, se sarà capitato con patenti sporche, quali indichino esservi attualmente il contagio nel luogo da dove procede, lo condurrete a dirittura a dar fondo nel canal di Fisolo e non altrove; provenendo poi da luogo semplicemente sospetto, lo condurrete a dirittura a dar fondo nel canale di Poveglia destinato alle Contumacie; restandoVi espressamente proibito il condurne alcuno a dar fondo nell'acque di S. Piero della Volta, non essendo quella stazione propria per bastimenti,¹⁸ per qualsivoglia causa a riguardi di Sanità sottoposti. In qualunque luogo però condurrete alcun bastimento a dar fondo, dal suo ingresso non Vi farete mai lecito di muoverlo o di farlo muovere dal luogo istesso, se non con espresso ordine del Magistrato [...] e dovendo sempre condurre il Guardiano di Sanità a montare in mare li bastimenti, qualunque volta Vi sarà intimato.

Queste sono le particolari commissioni et indicazioni quali Vi si danno, e per il di più che non fosse espresso, Vi si da per norma che la materia di sanità va trattata con un sommo timore e che dove mancano particolari istruzioni, ha sempre da prevalere il rigore; incorrendo pena di morte chiunque viola gli importantissimi riguardi di Sanità. Dio vi aiuti.

Commissione del 17 ott. 1743. Ad ulteriore chiarimento circa il comportamento da tenere riguardo all'ingresso in porto dei bastimenti, si replica come:

I bastimenti provenienti da luoghi infetti – in questo caso ci si riferisce a Costantinopoli, Smirne, Morea, Patrasso, Istria, Isola di santa Maura, luoghi tutti attualmente infetti, oppure da Messina restante Regno di Sicilia o da

¹⁸ Tuttavia queste disposizioni venivano cambiate a seconda delle esigenze. Nella commissione del 20 dicembre 1725 diretta all'Ammiraglio di Malamocco gli si era invece detto: «[...] ti ordiniamo al presente che qualunque bastimento entrerà da qui in avanti per questo porto, debbi con li soliti riguardi, condurlo in canale di Spignon o in quello di S. Piero della Volta, per ivi trattenerli sin che desunto il Costituto dal capitano, ti sarà ordinato dal Guardiano del Magistrato nostro dove doverai trasferirlo. Dio ti guardi». Ancora, nella commissione del 24 luglio 1734, sempre all'Ammiraglio di Malamocco, contrariamente alla solita prassi di portare i bastimenti infetti nel canale di Fisolo, il Magistrato ordinerà: «Inerendo alle Commissioni quali Vi furono rilasciate sotto li 17 ottobre ultimo passato, vi si dice che capitando bastimenti dalle Scale di levante e dalla Siria, ancorché fossero con patenti sporche, dobbiate condurli *recto tramite* nel canale di Poveglia, nel sito di esso canale il più rimoto e riservato per li bastimenti di più grave sospetto, acciò siano a dovere custoditi dai Pubblici legni armati, quali sono stati fatti colà appostare, dovendo tutti gli altri bastimenti, a misura delle Patenti quali avessero, esser condotti pure in esso canale e messi giù nelle debite distanze dai più sospetti, non dovendo per ora esser condotti nel canal di Fisolo, se non quei bastimenti, li capitani dei quali non fossero certi della propria salute e sovra quali fosse succeduto alcun accidente: Dio vi guardi». Con lettera del 31 luglio 1734 il Magistrato torna ancora una volta sulle sue decisioni e il povero Ammiraglio, come si visto sopra, è costretto ad incorrere nelle sue ire.

alcun porto della Calabria, che sono alla stessa condizione – devono essere condotti indispensabilmente solo nel canale di Fisolo e non depositarli altrove comechè bastimenti di sommo riguardo e gelosia. I bastimenti provenienti da porti dentro o fuori del Golfo, che fossero in possesso di Fedi nette, dovranno essere condotti nel Canale di Poveglia.

In entrambi i casi si impone che il trasferimento nel canale assegnato venga fatto senza soste per evitare contatti o contrabbandi precisando: «e non s'intenderà ubbidito se non avrete fatto la consegna di essi bastimenti alle Guardie di Sanità esistenti alla custodia di essi canali e se non saranno collocati nel sito che dalle medesime vi sarà indicato». La commissione si sofferma ad esaminare anche l'ipotesi di mal tempo che impedisca il giusto trasferimento del bastimento. In tal caso si comanda:

E perché non deve restar in Vostro arbitrio l'allegar il pretesto del sinistro tempo ogni volta che sarete in necessità di metter giù un bastimento fuori del Canale destinatogli, Vi porterete dal Guardiano nostro che è in custodia del canale di Fisolo a farVi fare una Fede giurata della qualità del tempo che avrete incontrato e la farete tenere il giorno dietro al Mag.to nostro per Vostra giustificazione, senza la quale Fede sarete severamente castigato ogni volta che metterete giù un bastimento fuori del suo Canale.

Altre disposizioni riguardano i Remurchianti, ai quali è fatto assoluto divieto «di recarsi in mare aperto» – alcuni giungevano a portarsi perfino in Istria – «di attaccarsi sotto li Bastimenti», o «di condurre alcun bastimento fuori dal canale provvisionalmente assegnato» senza ordine del Magistrato stesso. Di queste eventuali trasgressioni, di cui dovrà essere informato subito il Guardiano di Fisolo, per le opportune pesantissime pene, sarà sempre l'Ammiraglio a risponderne; si ribadisce infatti nella commissione:

Sendo risoluta nostra intenzione che li remurchianti abbiano a dipendere dai Vostri ordini in materia di bastimenti sospetti e che Voi rispondiate e per le omissioni e per le commissioni loro, onde non Vi resti adito di sottrarvi dal castigo che pesantissimo Vi sovrasta ogni volta che in menoma parte sia contravvenuto alle presenti ordinazioni et a tutti quei riguardi che siete tenuto ad usare e a far usare nella materia di sanità.

Terminazione del 4 mag. 1786¹⁹ diretta all'Ammiraglio di Lido:

Inlanguidita con grave disservizio agli oggetti di propria ispezione l'osser-

¹⁹ ASve: *Prov. alla Sanità, Stampe antiche*, b. 191.

vanza delle discipline, che in vari tempi furono prescritte da questo Ecc.mo Mag.to, pel cauto ricevimento dei Legni, quali si presentano alli Porti della Dominante, ed involti in perniciose confusioni gli obblighi dei rispettivi Ammiragli, alla cui esattezza sono affidati riguardi essenziali di presidio alla gelosa materia, gli Ill.mi ed Ecc.mi Signori Sopra Provv. e Provv. [...] sono divenuti ad ordinare e commettere che: Alla comparsa di qualunque bastimento tanto al Porto di Malamocco, quanto all'altro del Lido, sarà comune l'obbligo degli Ammiragli rispettivi di riconoscere la sua provenienza; di ricercare al capitano, sempre per altro nelle debite distanze, se sia munito di Patenti di Sanità nette o sporche, e di precettarlo qualora fosse di contumacia, a metter fuori sull'albero di mezzana la solita bandiera, che è il segnale sul cui fondamento devono portarne li Novellisti immediate l'avviso al Magistrato, sicchè divenga alla spedizione egualmente sollecita dei Guardiani sul bordo di qualunque sospetto naviglio. Tutti li bastimenti che derivassero dal Levante Ottomano, dalle coste d'Africa o da qualunque altro luogo anche per eventuali combinazioni, soggetto a quarantena, avranno ingresso per il solo Porto di Malamocco, vietandosi espressamente all'Ammiraglio del Lido di convogliare per quella Fuosa altri Legni, fuori che quelli provenienti da Scale libere, o che fossero interdette con un periodo di contumacia minore della indicata Quarantena. Che se battuto dal mare cercasse qualche bastimento con Patente sporca o soggetto a Contumacia di giorni 40, di ricoverarsi a salvamento per il Porto del Lido, potrà esso Ammiraglio, in questo singolarissimo caso prestargli assistenza, nel dovere per altro di condurlo a dar fondo sotto l'osservazione di quell'appostamento di Sanità e di rassegnarne al Mag.to sollecita la rufferta, per dipendere dagli ordini, che li fossero rilasciati. E perchè di questa adesione, circoscritta ai soli casi di urgente necessità, non abusino gli Ammiragli del Lido, allegando pretesti di mal tempo, dovranno essi produrre a propria giustificazione certe prove dell'asserto pericolo del bastimento, con attestati di persone degne di fede. Passando ai parziali doveri dell'altro di Malamocco, sarà legge immutabile al suo contegno, di condurre a dirittura nel Canal di Fisolo, qualunque bastimento le cui Fede di Sanità fossero sporche e con dichiarazioni di peste nel luogo di provenienza. Quelli che derivassero da Scale semplicemente sospette e con Fede netta li condurrà a dar fondo nel Canale di Poveglia in un solo viaggio, dichiarandosi espressamente proibita la loro traduzione nell'altro di San Piero della Volta mancante di custodie ed inetto agli usi di contumacia, e proscritto, sotto pena di violata materia, l'abuso di trattenerli sul ferro alla imboccatura del Porto, nel che si vogliono ravvivate e nel pieno vigore le prescrizioni del Proclama 5 febbraio 1769. A freno di qualunque malizioso attentato delli Capitani, quali osassero occultare la loro provenienza asserendo di essere muniti di Patente netta, avvegnachè tale non fosse, sarà tra gli obblighi degli anzidetti Ammiragli, quello altresì di contestare alli Direttori del legno, che saranno ricondotti in caso di mala fede nel Canal di Fisolo

a tutte loro spese e castigati severamente. [...]. Succedendo, che nell'entrare in Porto toccasse a qualche legno la disgrazia di rompere, non potrà mai essere abbandonato dagli Ammiragli e dalle barche che lo convogliassero, se non ne averanno fatta arrivare al Mag.to Ecc. mo alla Sanità la notizia, e siano state disposte le opportune provvidenze, dovendo essi rimanere alla custodia, onde non siano recuperati o dispersi dal naufragio, con lesioni nei riguardi di sanità. [...]. Sotto pena di prigione, galera et etiam di morte, a misura della trasgressione, sia consegnata in numero considerevole di esemplari, tanto alli due Ammiragli di Malamocco e del Lido, quanto alli Capi dei Parcenevoli a loro regola, non che trasmessa a tutti i Porti del Litorale, pel relativo esatto adempimento.

Interessante, anche per lo scorcio storico che apre, è sicuramente una delle ultime terminazioni del Magistrato, recante la data del 7 marzo 1797, che si richiama a quella del 4 aprile 1788 riguardante l'approdo di «legni armati di estera bandiera». ²⁰

[...] dovendo per massima invariabile di buon governo della gelosa materia, considerarsi in grado di sospetti tutti li Legni Armati in corso di estera bandiera, qualunque possano li certificati di loro precedenza o le deposizioni delli Direttori rispettivi, assunti dalli Costituti, sia inibito alli Colleggetti di Sanità dello Stato, lo accordare ad essi Armatori la Pratica, dovendo in ogni caso di approdi, osservarsi tanto per la loro custodia, che per le richieste somministrazioni di viveri, quelle stesse riserve, che sono in vigore per le imbarcazioni precisamente soggette alle leggi di quarantena. Portiamo ancora come esempio delle disposizioni che il Magistrato inviava all'Ammiraglio in occasione dell'arrivo in laguna di imbarcazioni sospette, le due seguenti lettere:

Lettera del Magistrato del 2 set. 1725:

Pubblico Ammiraglio di Malamocco - Teniamo avviso che sia arrivata in Istria una Tartana proveniente da Alessandria, luocho presentemente infetto, la quale deve inoltrarsi a queste parti. Al capitar della medesima in questo porto, ti ordiniamo che tu debba con tutte le più esatte riserve di sanità, condurla a dar fondo in mezzo del canale di Fisolo, cosicché sia più in vista di ogni altro bastimento del Pubblico legno, che ivi esiste per custodia delle cose di sanità; e lo stesso farai di tutti li Legni, quali capitassero in avvenire dalle Scale di Costantinopoli e di Smirne, da tutte quelle della Siria e da quella di Cipro e da Alessandria sudetta [...]. ²¹

Lettera dell'8 ago. 1748:

²⁰ Ivi, *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 191.

²¹ Ivi, b. 393.

Ammiraglio Pubblico. Affine non succedano inconvenienti, risolviamo di chiaramente individuare quali bastimenti doverete indispensabilmente condurre a dirittura a dar fondo nel Canal di Fisolo, coll'esclusione d'ogni altro, onde non si mescolino li gravemente sospetti colli meno sospetti. Nell'andar incontro in mare alli bastimenti che provengono da Salonicco, Smirne ed Alessandria, luoghi già dichiarati infetti, avrete il debito di condurli direttamente a dar fondo a Fisolo, dove non devono ancorarsi bastimenti da qualunque altro luogo precedenti. E se per la scarsezza d'acqua vi occorresse il far passare bastimenti per Canal Campana, non doverete eseguirlo senza preciso comando di questo Magistrato. In tal caso si darà il preciso ordine al Guardiano, che vi sarà sopra il bastimento, e così all'ufficiale Direttore dei Pubblici Legni, acciò dia per scorta un soldato sino all'intero passaggio di Fisolo, onde non nascano sconcerti; e così nel partire e nel scortar fuori del Porto, se vi nascesse il bisogno di passar per il detto Canale, doverete sempre aver d'accompagnamento un soldato colla permissione nostra, come Vi si è detto sopra. Dio vi guardi.

Nella lettera del 17 febbraio 1771 si fa cenno al malcostume degli interpreti e vivandieri,²² che dipendono dall'Ammiraglio, i quali «ad onta di tante pubbliche leggi di questo Ecc.mo Mag.to si fanno lecito uscire dal Porto di Malamocco incontro ai bastimenti che sono diretti alla Dominante». Con questo divieto il Magistrato perseguiva un duplice scopo: da un lato impedire che si venisse a contatto con un bastimento di cui non fosse stata ancora accertata la provenienza e quindi la non pericolosità e dall'altro impedire quei contrabbandi sotto bordo tanto cari alla gente di mare. Ma il Magistrato vi aggiunge ora an-

²² Il 23 luglio 1762, vi erano a Malamocco 9 vivandieri che rifornivano di commestibili i Lazzeretti e il Canal Orfano. Il 20 marzo, in occasione di nuove elezioni, si parla invece di 12 vivandieri. Nonostante i rischi la carica era ambita, come si può vedere dalle richieste rivolte al Magistrato ogni volta che si rendeva vacante un posto. Curiosa ci è apparsa la richiesta fatta da Giuseppe Groggia di Malamocco, il quale alla morte del padre, vivandiere per ben 19 anni e da lui talvolta supplito, annovera fra le sue qualità anche quella di sapere le lingue «tenendo diverse lingue ed in particolare quella inglese necessaria a tal carico», innegabile prova che il mondo commerciale nell'Adriatico non era più lo stesso e che la lingua inglese cominciava ad imporsi. Negli stessi anni, 9 mar. 1775, anche il podestà Francesco Bonlini riceve analoghe raccomandazioni riguardanti *cadrai* e vivandieri; egli risponderà al Magistrato di aver fatto venire al suo cospetto i 12 vivandieri «di questa terra, a riserva di Zanne Groggia, per attrovarsi al recupero di un trabaccolo fuori del paese e di Biasio Ceseli dimorante in Venezia, ammonendo li primi a non portarsi a bordo de bastimenti per esercitare le funzioni di interprete e vivandier, se non dopo avuta da bastimenti la Pratica, inibendo loro di portarsi in qualunque si sia modo incontro a bastimenti, mancando, di soggiacere a severi castighi promulgati dal Proclama 12 settembre 1749 et altri allo stesso relativi [...]» (ivi, b. 564).

che un'altra richiesta, che ci fa capire come nuove marinerie stiano entrando sempre più in contatto con Venezia. Si richiede infatti di dare nota distinta «di tutti quelli di Malamocco che possiedono estere lingue e che esercitano il mestiere di interprete, distinguendo tutte le lingue che parlassero», mentre nella lettera del 14 giugno 1772 rivolgendosi all'Ammiraglio in merito ai *cadrai* – sui quali ha tuttavia specifica competenza il podestà – finisce per renderlo, sia pure di stretta misura, responsabile anche di questi:

ardiscono di entrar nelle barche dei remurchianti, per portarsi in mare a bordo dei bastimenti a questi porti diretti. [...]. Troviamo perciò opportuno di espressamente incaricarVi a rilasciare gli ordini necessari perché li remurchianti, prima di uscire dal porto incontro a bastimenti, abbiano ad assoggettarsi all'Ammiraglio, dovendo Voi riconoscere ocularmente, se fra i remurchianti vi fosse alcun *cadrai* e altra persona, nel qual caso gli sospendete la partenza d'ordine nostro e con prontezza di ciò ci raggiuglierete per gli adattati compensi [...].

Nonostante queste sollecite e circostanziate disposizioni, il Magistrato si vide costretto a ripetere continuamente negli anni i suoi ordini, mai certo della loro scrupolosa esecuzione, temendo sempre qualche falla nel sistema di difesa da lui realizzato. Alla luce di impensabili, quanto scriterati episodi di contrabbando di merci infette, di colpevoli connivenze da parte degli addetti ai controlli,²³ di raggiri da parte dei capitani, emersi dai documenti, c'è da dire che le sue preoccupazioni non erano prive di fondamento.

Tuttavia, al di là della cupidigia e della negligenza di chi, nella sua ignoranza, e spesso nella sua fame, fatica a comprendere il senso di tanti obblighi o divieti, veramente grandi furono le difficoltà alle quali andavano incontro gli addetti alla Sanità dal momento che una imbarcazione si profilava all'orizzonte. Vi contribuivano vari fattori; in primo luogo la gravità della materia stessa, ma anche i pericoli portati

²³ Ricorriamo a titolo di esempio: «Bando e Sentenza 23 luglio 1716, contro Marco Marassi, Pietro Petrizza, Tomaso de Piero, i quali a loro volta, imbarcatasi alle Bocche di Cattaro sopra una Feluca sulla quale era stata caricata varia mercanzia, entrati dal Porto del Lido e da lì condotti al Canal Orfano per scontare la dovuta contumacia, [...]» invece di assoggettarsi «con pronta rassegnazione, e come era lor debito, alli necessari espurghi», messisi d'accordo con tale Tomaso di Piero abitante in corte Bosella alla Pietà, che si era recato sotto bordo con altri cinque compari, abbandonavano la Feluca portandosi via diversa mercanzia. In entrambi i casi i colpevoli furono banditi in perpetuo da tutte le terre della Dominante: ivi, b. 426.

dai venti contrari, dalle burrasche, che paiono divertirsi a infrangere quei legni che si credevano giunti in salvo, disperdendone merci e vite umane, l'avidità di capitani ambigui, che tentano di nascondere il vero luogo di provenienza per non essere costretti alla lunga contumacia, che le leggi veneziane imponevano²⁴ o di contrabbandieri, che tentano di impadronirsi dei carichi, portandosi fin in mare aperto incontro alla nave, con in più la difficoltà di comprendersi con gli equipaggi, ora che le lingue non sono più le solite, turco o levantino, ma anche di altri Paesi del Nord, come l'inglese, lo scozzese, l'olandese o il danese. Per questo non stupisce vedere il Magistrato riassumere in terminazioni più tarde, le più importanti commissioni già rivolte negli anni precedenti agli Ammiragli e ai Custodi di Sanità, in una sorte di testamento spirituale del suo operare e del suo sentire, mostrando una volta di più, come in materia di contagi nulla era lasciato al caso, nulla era sottovalutato, nessuna preoccupazione ritenuta superflua, nell'ostinato desiderio di voler capire, di vedere oltre quelle stragi, che come ondate continuavano nei secoli a colpire le popolazioni.

4. LA FIGURA DEL PODESTÀ

Nel carteggio settecentesco fra il podestà di Malamocco e il Magistrato si delinea efficacemente la figura di questa carica, la sua attività sul territorio e i servizi resi alla popolazione, mettendo anche in luce interessanti vicende umane. Vediamo innanzi tutto come questi fosse chiamato a svolgere, accanto alle numerose incombenze di carattere amministrativo e di giurisdizione civile e criminale proprie del podestà veneziano, anche importanti compiti di carattere sanitario, agendo sempre in stretta collaborazione col Magistrato. Questi compiti erano tra i più vari – ricordiamo la mancanza dell'Ufficio di Sanità al Lido –, ed andavano dal dover prontamente intervenire con la milizia in caso di naufragi,²⁵ pre-

²⁴ A proposito della disonestà di alcuni capitani riportiamo qualche passo della Terminazione del 4 gennaio 1774: «Osservabile è l'arbitrio recentemente scoperto di alcuni capitani di bastimenti e patroni di barche, i quali ad oggetto di approfittare indebitamente nelle portate e specialmente degli ogli, si fanno lecito di dare in nota nelle Fedi di sanità maggior numero di persone di quelle, che hanno effettivamente nei loro bastimenti, e di descrivere li passeggeri nel numero dei marinai [...] o per accrescere con pubblico danno il numero delle portate o per esentare li passeggeri dei bastimenti, che arrivano di sospetto, dal scontare la Contumacia nel Lazzaretto [...]» (ivi, b. 464).

²⁵ Dalle lettere inviate dal podestà emerge quanto rilevante fosse ancora all'epoca il numero dei naufragi. Ricordiamo che per la particolare conformazione della costa, con la

stando la prima assistenza ai naufraghi²⁶ e ai carichi eventualmente dispersi,²⁷ per custodirli poi in attesa del Magistrato, al controllo sui medici e speciali, affinché fornissero adeguata assistenza in favore degli abitanti, al vigilare personalmente che i vivandieri rifornissero di cibi, secondo quanto sancito dalle leggi, tanto gli equipaggi che passeggeri.²⁸ Ma si evince come competesse loro anche il vigilare sulla situazione igienica,²⁹ far rispettare norme particolari sull'alimentazio-

presenza della così detta Fuosa, banco di sabbia prospiciente il litorale, la navigazione poteva avvenire solo accostandosi in parallelo al Lido. Si trovano menzionate una grande varietà di imbarcazioni, alcune praticanti il piccolo cabotaggio con la costa dalmata e istriana ed altre provenienti da porti più lontani del Levante o delle coste africane. I generi maggiormente trasportati risultano cera, olio, vino, sale, tabacco, pesce salato. A volte giungevano dall'Inghilterra, come nel caso della nave naufragata il 10 marzo 1758, con 37 uomini di equipaggio di cui 7 annegarono «all'altezza dell'ultima palada del porto». Il carico che il podestà Francesco Balbi tenta di recuperare con 22 uomini era rappresentato da burro, caffè, cospettoni (ossia aringhe). In caso di recupero della merce, la prassi seguita era sempre la stessa. Questa veniva trasportata dai soldati del reggimento in luogo appartato e tenuta isolata con gli uomini tratti in salvo, per lo più in «una casa sulla riva del mare, guardati a vista da sentinelle per le ragioni di salute». Tutti questi riguardi non riuscivano però a tenere lontano chi intendeva praticare contrabbando. Riportiamo più avanti nel testo una lettera del 24 gennaio 1778 m.v. del podestà Sagredo, che dà un quadro molto esauriente sul tema. Circa le leggi in materia di naufragi era competente anche il Maggior Consiglio.

²⁶ Nella lettera del 7 marzo 1770 il podestà riferisce di aver ricevuto dal Magistrato una scatola «con entro li due istrumenti utilissimi per soccorrere i sommersi, uno fatto a guisa di mantice e l'altro in forma di trombetta» e di averne fatto sollecito avviso ai medici perché se ne possano servire all'occasione.

²⁷ Fin dalla loro istituzione, 1280, resa stabile dall'anno seguente, i giudici del Cattaver avevano come giurisdizione principale proprio il recupero dei beni recuperati in terra o in mare.

²⁸ Lettera del podestà del 16 aprile 1762: «riguardo alle lagnanze dell'equipaggio e genti di presidio esistenti sopra la pubblica nave S. Carlo» in merito al pane somministrato loro dal vivandiere e che essi definiscono «tristo e piccolo». In tale occasione si vedrà il podestà recarsi personalmente nell'unica «istoria privilegiata», cioè autorizzata a vendere il pane ai vivandieri, esistente al Lido, e dopo aver confrontato pesi e qualità con quanto stabilito dalle leggi, riferire al Magistrato d'averli ritrovati «corrispondenti al giusto». Nonostante direttamente responsabile del loro operato sia l'Ammiraglio, vediamo come il podestà sia più volte chiamato a far rispettare loro le leggi, riportate dal Proclama 12 set. 1749 ed altri ad esso relativi, «inibendo loro di portarsi in qualunque si sia modo incontro a bastimenti, se non dopo aver avuta da bastimenti la Pratica, ossia la facoltà di entrare in Porto accordata dal Magistrato».

²⁹ In tema di provvedimenti presi dal Podestà a tutela della salute Pubblica, ricordiamo il Proclama fatto redigere al Cancelliere dal Podestà Antonio Maria Balbi in cui si legge: «Rimarcando in questa terra un dannoso e scandaloso abuso di questi abitanti, quali tutto giorno si fanno lecito il lasciar girare per questa terra e contrade gli animali porcini, cosa contraria ai gelosi riguardi di salute, Noi Antonio Maria Balbi per la Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia Podestà di Malamocco e suo distretto, resosi ormai in comportabile il dan-

ne – ad es. quelle riguardanti l'uso della carne suina³⁰ – la diffusione nei luoghi deputati delle disposizioni del Magistrato – vedasi ad es. quelle riguardanti la tisi o il vaiolo³¹ o dell'introduzione nella farmacopea del nuovo rimedio della china³² – rifornire di un adeguato numero di *terriari* gli addetti della Sanità,³³ indagare sulle morti di uomini e

nato riflessibile arbitrio di taluni, che a pretesto di pascolo lasciano errare per le contrade e contorni di questa terra gli animali porcini, contro la Pubblica Mente e in onta ai gelosi riguardi di Sanità, che furono sempre il massimo oggetto delle paterne cure del Principato [...] si fa pubblicamente intendere e sapere che da qui innanzi abbiano detti animali porcini a tenersi immancabilmente chiusi nei loro stabili o nel recinto almeno delle case dei rispettivi proprietari [...] sotto pena della immediata perdita di qualunque di essi animali da incontrarsi sul fatto, a beneficio dell'arrestante et altri, all'arbitrio della Giustizia» (Asve: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 475).

³⁰ Nella lettera del 5 ottobre 1766 il podestà Zuanne Zorzi riferisce di aver dato diffusione del divieto fatto dal Magistrato «di cibarsi di carne porcina prima del prescritto tempo con pericolo della salute».

³¹ Tale incombenza emerge dalla lettera del 12 giugno 1794 dal podestà Nicolò Bon riguardo al nuovo pericolo segnalato: «Mi sono arrivate ossequiate lettere di V.V.E.E. con esemplari a stampa sul proposito del vaiolo, con alcuni esemplari di Terminazione commissiva alli Parroci, esecutivamente alle quali, per mezzo di pubblico comando di mia corte, immediate ho fatto consegnare dei primi a questo medico fisico condotto dottor Beffardi et al dottor Lorenzo Rasi chirurgo et al dottor Labaro Armano speciale e a Donna Laura consorte di Zuanne Morassi levatrice. Così pure ho fatto consegnare detta Terminazione a questo Reverendo Arciprete di questa terra et al Reverendo Pievano della chiesa di Santa Maria Elisabetta del Lido, onde sia da ognuno il tutto puntualmente eseguito come in esse lettere e nell'incontro Le bacio devotamente le mani» (Asve: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 475).

³² Il 12 settembre 1755 il podestà riferisce al Magistrato della difficile situazione venutasi a creare fra la popolazione di Malamocco, afflitta da febbri continue. Il Magistrato affiancò in tale circostanza al medico condotto dottor Angeli, il collega Oltremonte, oltre a due chirurghi e allo speciale nativi del posto «onde essi poveri infermi provveduti siano sempre della dovuta assistenza dell'uno o dell'altro di essi medici». In tale occasione si ritenne utile il rimedio della china, presente nella speciarìa del dottor Miani, della cui qualità è chiamato a riferire proprio il podestà. Nella lettera del 28 gennaio 1764 *m.v.* il podestà Gerolamo Contarini scrive al Magistrato informandolo d'aver data piena diffusione della sua terminazione concernente «l'abuso di esser introdotta nello Stato della China china di cattiva qualità» facendola affiggere nei soliti luoghi consueti dal comandante della sua corte «onde nessuno possa osar finta ignoranza». In particolare risulta esser stata consegnata in copia al medico fisico condotto della comunità, al chirurgo, allo speciale e ai due Custodi di Sanità di Malamocco e Lido nonché al capo «della barca di Porto, onde resti detta Terminazione in ogni sua parte eseguita». Con la terminazione del 12 aprile 1758 il Magistrato aveva decretato: «[...] e che debba esser in commercio e andar venduta la sola China gentile et esclusa per sempre e bandita la China Matalona [...], di questa qualità di China proibita non possano li mercanti, droghieri et altri ai quali capitano droghe, introdurne in alcuna quantità, tenerne appresso loro e contrattarne in questa città e Stato in pena di ducati 200 da esser irremissibilmente levata, alla quale si intenderanno pure soggetti anche li senseri, che avessero maneggiato un traffico bandito dalle Leggi di questo Magistrato» (*ibidem*).

³³ Nella lettera del 4 giugno 1768 il podestà Barbaro riferisce al Magistrato della difficoltà

animali,³⁴ prendendo gli opportuni provvedimenti, comunicare all'Ufficio di Sanità il numero dei nati e dei morti, la cura infine dei luoghi pubblici *inservienti* al Magistrato.³⁵ La sua competenza si estendeva a tutto il Lido, come risulta chiaro ad es. dalla lettera del 25 aprile 1750 del podestà Balbi, che chiamato ad intervenire per un caso di naufragio avvenuto «sopra li scanni della fossa del Lido», fa accompagnare l'unico superstite dal Magistrato dicendo: «ieri mattina verso l'ore nove in circa capitò nell'osteria della chiesiola del Lido, soggetta a questa mia giurisdizione, Zanne Molmi fu Piero da Umago, con la sola vita, il quale disse che proveniva da detto luogo con altri tre compagni, che restarono annegati [...]», e da quella più tarda del 24 aprile 1777 del podestà Barbaro, che riferisce di un tentato contrabbando di vino, sventato dal capo del Casello di Sanità del Lido. Temendo che i suoi diritti possano venire pregiudicati, egli fa subito presente al Magistrato come, tanto la casa del contrabbandiere, Paolo Favinato detto Spacca, quanto la Cavana, dove erano state nascoste le botti, ricadevano nella giurisdizione del suo distretto.

Spettava inoltre al podestà disporre circa i *cadrai*, ossia i vivandieri destinati a somministrare cibarie ai bastimenti in contumacia, che per suo ordine dovevano portarsi, dopo l'elezione, dal Fiscal del Magistra-

di poter trovare il cambio per gli attuali terriari che sono al servizio del Custode di Sanità al pontile, in quanto «trovasi questa terra al sommo scarsa di persone, che appena possono servir ai lavori di queste vigne e alli remurchi delli pubblici e privati Legni, che capitano et escono da questo porto, [...] non vi ha possibilità di altre persone terriere rintracciare, oltre quelle che tutt'ora sussistono e in terra e nelli cinque Pieleghi, che scorrono quest'acque di commissione delle Eccellenze Vostre».

³⁴ A volte le lettere del podestà mettono in luce una certa rivalità professionale fra il medico condotto e il chirurgo al quale egli si rivolge «giusto le leggi e come si suole nell'incontro dei cadaveri, che si ritrovano in queste spiagge et in altri casi dei quali arriva notizia a questa mia carica». In proposito Francesco Balbi riferisce come in occasione della morte di uno sconosciuto marinaio naufragato nelle acque di Malamocco e che negli ultimi tre giorni si era visto aggirarsi nel paese, con gravi preoccupazioni per la comune salute, chiamato secondo le leggi il chirurgo a stabilire le cause del decesso, avesse suscitato le ire del medico condotto, che lo aveva curato prima, costringendo il podestà a rivolgersi al Magistrato per avere lumi nella delicata controversia «affinché si degni con precisa Terminazione di comandare quale delli professori abbia a supplire a tale inconcombenza».

³⁵ Lettera del 11 ott. 1762. Il podestà scrive al Magistrato a proposito di alcuni restauri da farsi ai due Caselli «uno serve per il custode di codesto Ecc.mo Mag.to di Sanità e l'altro ad uso dei soldati e del Ponte Grande» il cui rifacimento, precisa «spetta però alla Comunità, ragion per cui ho già provveduto a convocare per questo i due Deputati Felice Popolato e Jseppo Boldini». Ma anche questa volta i lavori non si faranno: ASVe: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 475.

to «presentando in autentica forma il rispettivo mandato della loro elezione»; dai documenti risulta inoltre come al podestà venisse implicitamente riconosciuta una qual certa autorità di controllo anche su i rimorchianti³⁶ – nonostante ricadessero sotto la specifica autorità dell’Ammiraglio – ad ulteriore conferma della poca fiducia verso questa carica.

Dalla lettera di Antonio Bon del 17 novembre 1763, emerge viceversa un curioso episodio dove è proprio l’autorità del podestà ad essere messa in discussione:

Giusto alle Pubbliche leggi e in consonanza\alle ispezioni di questo mio Offizio, ho dovuto in oggi assistito dai miei curiali, portarmi in Pubblica Figura in Poveglia, isola soggetta alla mia Giurisdizione, per ivi in quella osteria incontrarvi li pesi ed esaminare se il pane et li altri commestibili fossero di ottima qualità ed al peso dei calmieri. Terminata la qual visita, passai per l’isola stessa in un botteghino di recente formato e contiguo al Tezzone, ora inserviente per li soldati e milizie, che ritrovansi colà di contumacia e volendo pur in quello eseguire li atti di Giustizia per rilevar se appunto le soldatesche milizie sieno giustamente e con pesi e con misure servite ed assistite, ritrovai in all’ora un Guardiano non soggetto ai riguardi di sanità, il quale con una osservabile temerarietà intendeva opporsi al mio Reggimento, onde non fossero esercitati gli effetti di Giustizia, tendenti al pubblico interesse per le buone massime del governo, nel predetto botteghino libero e non sotto contumacia, come in fatti ritrovai ogni cosa commestibile, peso e misura uniforme al giusto. Perché però in avvenire non abbia più a succeder tali inconvenienti, credo di rassegnare la materia alla sapienza di cod.to Ecc.mo Mag.to di V. V. E. E., onde sappino li Guardiani le loro rispettive incombenze rapporto alli riguardi di sanità e non mai ardiscano di opporsi al Reggimento, che volesse ispezionare il detto Botteghino formato in situazione di libertà, benché inserviente a quelle contumacie. [...].

³⁶ Il podestà Barbaro in data 11 giugno 1784 scrive al Magistrato rendendogli noto di aver data ampia diffusione alle disposizioni inviate riguardo alle prescritte precauzioni, sia in caso di contatto abusivo con bastimenti «essendo sempre pericolo l’arbitrio di ricever lettere pieghi o altre carte da bastimenti sospetti e massime nell’attuale circostanza dell’infetta Dalmazia e ciò valga per regola dei remurchianti, pescatori e vivandieri della sua giurisdizione», sia all’altra in cui si ordinava «non vi sia chi ardisca di remurchiare bastimenti di qualunque sorte provenienti da mare, sian liberi o sospetti, se non sarà fornito del mandato, che in *pergamena et gratis*, sarà rilasciato dall’Ecc.mo Mag.to». Inoltre l’8 agosto 1794 il podestà Bon riferisce, come di sua competenza, l’aver fatto pubblicare «alli luoghi soliti e consueti di questa terra, in tempo di maggior concorso di popolo» la terminazione del Magistrato riguardante l’elezione di Zuanne Rocco quale capo dei remurchianti, «onde sia riconosciuto dalli medesimi per loro capo».

Ma la situazione non cambia, tanto è vero che in occasione di una seconda visita «in Pubblica Figura» egli si vede ancora costretto a ribadire:

«non debba questa mia Carica soggiacere ad ulteriori inconvenienze, che fossero per portarmi alcuno dei Guardiani medesimi, mentre trattandosi di Giurisdizione non soggetta a riguardi di salute, possa questa mia Carica adempir gli atti di Giustizia, senza un minimo dipender dai Guardiani destinati per questo Magistrato e però che riflettendo le Eminenze Vostre alla gelosia della materia, si determineranno d'incaricare chi si deve, onde si possa adempiere agli obblighi della mia Carica ed intanto, stando in attenzione dei Suoi riscontri, mi onoro di baciare alle Eccellenze Vostre le mani».³⁷

Sono affidati infine ad esso anche specifici incarichi marinareschi, come ad es. il controllo del litorale, compito assai difficile a causa della scarsità delle persone addette. Sull'argomento riportiamo alcune lettere.

5 set. 1778: il podestà Francesco Maria Sagredo riferisce del recupero «di marinai e paron di un pielego naufragato che si trovano nel Lazzaletto vecchio, mentre gomene, legne ed ancore si ritrovano ancora dopo due giorni sommersi nell'acqua». Egli dichiara: «poiché non si ritrova in questa Terra Ufficio di Sanità e per conseguenza Ministri onde invigilino sopra la gelosa materia», di essersi comportato secondo quanto fatto dai suoi predecessori – come risulta dai registri esistenti nella sua Cancelleria – e chiede gli sia concesso di inviare al Lazzaletto il suo Cancelliere per poter adempiere a quanto prescritto dalle leggi in tema di naufragi.

Il 24 gennaio 1778 *m.v.* il Sagredo riferisce ancora del naufragio di una tartana proveniente da Durazzo, con carico di tabacco e diciassette marinai:

spediti li ministri di questo mio reggimento, per non esservi Ufficio di Sanità, al luoco del naufragio stesso, onde abbino ad invigilare sopra tal materia sino a tanto che mi pervenissero li comandi di V. V. E. E. Rassegnerò d'aver fatto pubblicare proclama affinché alcuno non ardisca di trasportare né in poca né in molta quantità il tabacco trasportato dal mare alle sponde di queste marine, né alcuna altra cosa, comminando tutte quelle pene corporali et eziand della vita, in caso di trasgressione, avendo a tal effetto fatto distribuire alquante sentinelle di vista sopra li argini. Ritro-

³⁷ ASve: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 475.

vandosi poi il capitano con suo equipaggio, con le sue casse et altre cose suscettibili recuperate, esposto sopra dette marine, in stagione sì rigida, et in luogo di passaggio, ho fatto passare il detto capitano et equipaggio con tutte le cose nominate, con tutti li riguardi e circospezioni in un luogo appartato senza comunicazione, con una corte serrata di mura, con due sentinelle di vista sino a tanto mi perverranno i comandi di Vostre Eccellenze. Arrivato all'ore 24 incirca il Fante, unitamente ad un Guardiano e presentate a questa Carica l'inclinate di V.V.E.E., non mancai di fargli prestare tutte quelle assistenze che si rendevano necessarie, e siccome quantità di tabacco era in pericolo di perdersi, per essere vicino al mare, così fu fatto recuperare da 17 persone, per commissione del Fante, le quali si ritrovano in altro luogo appartato e soggetto a codesto Eccellentissimo magistrato. Rendendosi poi necessario di prendere il Costituto del Capitano et esame dei marinai, perciò mi rivolgo all'autorità di V.V.E.E., onde con l'assistenza del Fante, ossia Guardiano e con tutte le cautele di Sanità, vogliano permettere che abbino luogo le Leggi tutte in materia di naufragi a salvezza del capitano e marinai [...].

In quella occasione furono recuperate 200 balle di tabacco.³⁸

Il podestà Francesco Boschini scrive al Magistrato in data 28 aprile 1774:

Riusci alla sagacia de' Ministri de' rilevare che paron Giacomo Zavatin di questa terra, a momenti arrivar deve con Pielego in questo porto, proveniente da Sinigaglia, carico di varie merci, la maggior parte delle quali introdurre le voglia in questa Dominante senza li requisiti voluti dalle Leggi. Certi codesti Ministri della contraffazione, dovendo nell'entrare del porto scortare tal barca a vista, perché non discarica il contrabbando negli orti vicini, e non potendo nel tempo stesso abbandonare il loro posto, temono che nel venire in Venezia con qualche accordato, per viaggio discaricare possa tutto ciò si ritrova avere. Impegno adunque è del mio zelo di ricorrere a questo Ecc.mo Mag.to, chiedendo licenza di poter porre sopra la barca sudetta due Ministri, onde non venga defraudato il pubblico interesse e servir possa tale attenzione d'esempio ad altri in avvenire.

23 gen. 1794: «oggi mi pervenne notizia al mio Reggimento di esser investito dalla burrasca nella marina del Mare nel luogo detto il Molo della Galia alla palada un tartanon detto da Chiazza con entro 7 persone col patrone pure da Chioggia nominato Felice Bonaldi. Recuperati, furono condotti in una casa in disparte dai suoi ministri, dipendendo dai Guardiani in attesa di ordini».

³⁸ Ivi, b. 464.

Il podestà risiedeva abitualmente a Malamocco, pur non avendone uno specifico obbligo, come si evince dalla lettera del 28 aprile 1774 del podestà Francesco Boschini, il quale di fresca nomina, comunica al Magistrato il suo insediamento: «Il dovere dei Pubblici rappresentanti è di vigilare sempre non solo al buon governo dei sudditi, ma ancora che pregiudicato non venga il pubblico interesse. Per non mancare a veruno di quei doveri che m'incombono, elessi volontario soggiorno in codesto infelice impiego, quantunque goder potrei il vantaggio di stanziar alla Dominante, per esser Dogato codesto impiego».

A proposito di questo «volontario soggiorno», concludiamo riportando un curioso brano della lettera 12 luglio 1790 del nuovo podestà eletto, nella quale emergono subito non le solite preoccupazioni di carattere generale per la situazione igienico-sanitaria del Paese, ma quelle relative proprio alla sua persona.

Arrivato a questa mia carica, vidi il palazzo in cui devo abitare; esiste in quello un condotto che rende non indifferente cattivo odore per esser rotto in alcuni luoghi e ripieno di immondizie et essendo questo materia di salute, mi rivolgo a codesto Ill.mo Mag.to onde vogliano degnarsi di voler immediate ordinare l'isgombro di detto condotto, reso necessario nella presente stagione estiva e come rileveranno dalli annessi attestati [...].

Seguono i citati attestati – tra i quali quello rilasciato dallo stesso custode di Sanità di Malamocco – resi debitamente in cancelleria da uomini della Comunità, che forniscono un curioso spaccato dell'epoca:

Attestiamo noi sottoscritti con nostro giuramento, qualmente per comando di S. E. Podestà, ci abbiamo portato nel pubblico palazzo, che deve essere abitato dall'Ecc. mo Podestà et aver osservato esistere in quello un condotto quale esser in vari luoghi rotto e ripieno di mondizie e questo è posto in un luoco ove abita e dorme li spadaccini, come pure corrisponde nella cucina di sopra di detto pubblico palazzo, quale rende un orrido fetore continuamente e sono materia contra la salute, in fede.

Insomma, mancando nell'isola un Ufficio della Sanità, i compiti e le responsabilità del podestà in questo campo furono veramente molteplici e di particolare rilievo, fermandosi in ogni caso là dove iniziava l'autorità assoluta e inderogabile del Magistrato.

5. I GUARDIANI E I CUSTODI DEI POSTI DI SANITÀ DI LIDO E MALAMOCCO

Nonostante i Guardiani siano stati figura subalterna nell'organizzazione sanitaria, pure essi svolsero compiti insostituibili, che portandoli a diretto contatto con gli equipaggi, li esponevano quotidianamente a gravi rischi di contagio.³⁹

Commissioni d'istruzione per i Guardiani di Sanità, pubblicate e stampate di ordine degli Ill.mi ed Ecc.mi Sopra Provv. e Provv. alla Sanità, inerentemente alla Terminazione delli 28 giugno 1793: «Montato che sia il Guardiano di Sanità sopra il bastimento destinatogli sarà prima sua cura di visitare accuratamente ad uno ad uno gli individui dell'equipaggio ed i passeggeri, che vi fossero imbarcati e di osservare se vi sia fra loro qualche esterno indizio di malattia, onde avanzarne al caso, nella materia la più sollecita, la riferita al Magistrato. Passerà quindi ad estendere nelli primi tre giorni li suoi Roli [ossia registro dei nomi], individuando in essi il numero dei marineri e dei passeggeri, il loro nome e cognome, la qualità del carico; distinguerà capo per capo le robe da uso del capitano e dell'equipaggio, li tramessi [ossia tutto quello che si manda da un paese all'altro, involti, fardelli, pieghi, balle di merci ecc...] e numeri li trappontini, coperte e biancherie, le vele, gli attrezzi suscettibili e finalmente tutto quello che sotto la denominazione di portata delli marineri ed altro esistesse sul bastimento affidato alla di lui custodia. Notificherà altresì in altro Rolo la quantità di polvere da munizione, quale si attrovasse al suo bordo, facendo noto al capitano o patrone direttore del legno, essere della pubblica volontà, che egli abbia a manifestarla ed esigendo che sia firmato esso Rolo dalla di lui sottoscrizione.

Nonostante sia fatto carico ai capitani di rassegnare al Magistrato tutte le lettere presenti a bordo, fossero esse dell'equipaggio o dei passeggeri, resta tuttavia a carico del Guardiano «perquisire minuziosamente ogni cassa che viene aperta e il dovere di farne la consegna». Inoltre la commissione continua:

[...] Non permetteranno che, senza espresso mandato sottoscritto da uno dei N. N. H. H. Provveditori e senza la presenza del Fante di Sanità, sia il bastimento tradotto nelli canali, che piacerà al Magistrato di destinargli, in ri-

³⁹ «[...] il loro Ufficio è in genere che siano osservate tutte le regole concernenti le cautele e gli espurghi e che non resti violato alcuno dei riguardi di Sanità. Hanno un particolar giornaliero assegnamento, quale viene lor corrisposto dagli interessati o nel bastimento o nel carico, oltre le giornaliere spese di vitto» (ivi, b. 562).

flesso alla di lui provenienza, per lo sconto della contumacia, e molto meno, che sia mosso dalla sua prima situazione, se non avarà ordini precisi del Magistrato, che glielo permetta. Prima che sia seguito l'intero scarico delle merci suscettibili dal bastimento, non darà esecuzione a Mandato alcuno di visita, né permetterà che in forza di essi Mandati, che si dichiarano inattendibili, si faccia alcuna estrazione d'effetti, avvegnachè liberi per loro natura, qualora non avesse precise commissioni spiegate in Lettere del Magistrato. Succedendo nel bastimento disordini con persone di Pratica⁴⁰ o di differente Contumacia, le sequestri al momento sotto il suo bordo, rendendone inteso con precisa riferita il Magistrato [...]. Invigilerà con iscrupolosa esattezza perchè non sortano dalla Contumacia, che gli si affida, persone od effetti di qualsiasi natura, proibendosi al Guardiano, sotto le più rigorose pene di lesa materia, di non permettere che si estraggano dal bordo senza espresso Mandato scritto da uno delli N. N. H. H. Provveditori e dell'incombente Ministro [...]. Durante lo scarico delle merci, così dal bordo delli bastimenti, che alli pontili dei pubblici Lazzeretti, non permetterà che alcuno si accosti, se non per dichiarata volontà del Magistrato, nel qual singolarissimo caso farà interinamente sospendere lo scarico ed allontanare le persone di contumacia. Non potendo terminarlo prima dell'imbrunir della sera o per qualche eventuale sopravvenienza di mal tempo o burrasca, avrà l'attenzione di far coprire le Peate con le vele del bastimento, ad oggetto che sia impedita qualunque menoma dispersione delli generi a contumacia soggetti. Qualunque malattia che venisse di scoprire fra gli individui della propria contumacia, sia naturale, sia di carattere sospetto, dovrà immantinentemente denunciarla al Magistrato [...]. Non perderà di vista li propri contumacianti al momento che si provvedono di vittuarie dalli Cadrai, facendo che si osservino scrupolosamente le discipline della delicata materia, tanto nel ritirarle, che nella consegna del dinaro, quale dovrà purgarsi nell'aceto o nell'acqua di mare, prima che passi nelle mani dei vivandieri. Avrà cura altresì che gli equipaggi sieno provveduti di commestibili di buona qualità e che dalla venalità dei vivandieri non si esigano prezzi maggiori delli stabiliti dalla Pubblica Tariffa. Non permetterà che si accostino sotto li due bordi del bastimento le persone, quali fossero abilitate alla visita di alcuno dei contumacianti con apposito Mandato, dovendo queste trattenersi indistintamente da un solo lato, sotto l'occhio del Guardiano, quale avrà tutta l'attenzione che non succedano commescolazioni od arbitrij e che non sorta cosa alcuna dal bastimento. Sarà debito del Guardiano l'avvertire il Magistrato quando incomincia e quando avrà compiuto lo scarico delle merci ed altri generi suscettibili, esistenti nel bastimento affidato alla di lui custodia. Avvertirà qualora, nell'attualità

⁴⁰ Pratica, ossia avere ottenuto la libertà di entrare in porto dopo il riconoscimento fatto dall'Ufficio di Sanità.

dello scarico, scoprisse qualche effetto, merce, tramesso od altro non compreso nei Roli precedenti. Dovrà spedire Fede giurata che assicuri [...] che non siano rimaste sul bordo se non quelle robe da uso, che sono necessarie all'equipaggio e capitano, qual Fede dovrà altresì esser sottoscritta dal Capitano o patron direttore del bastimento. Il giorno prima che termini il legale periodo della Contumacia, rilascerà una Fede giurata dello stato di salute di cadaun individuo, esprimendo in essa Fede, il giorno nel quale ebbe il suo principio la Contumacia e quello in cui verrà a scadere la Pratica [...]. Avrà cura di maneggiare in ciascun giorno della Contumacia, o far che sieno maneggiati dagli equipaggi e posti alla ventilazione, li loro vestiti, trapontini, coperte e biancherie, vele attrezzi et ogni altra cosa, che con la permissione del Magistrato fosse rimasta a bordo, cosicchè con la ventilazione dei medesimi, abbiano ad espurgarsi tutte le robbe, quali racchiuder potrebbero li semi dell'insidioso contaggio [...]. Mancando li Guardiani all'integra osservanza degli obblighi sovraespressi, saranno le loro trasgressioni, provate che siano, punite severamente et etiam con la pena di morte, nelli casi di violata materia. Sarà vigile incessantemente sulla loro condotta il Mag.to Ecc.mo alla Sanità, nel cui Ufficio sarà esposta una cassella di denuncie, precisamente all'oggetto di rilevare in via segreta qualunque colpa ed arbitrio di detti ministri [...].⁴¹

Per quello che riguarda i doveri dei Guardiani nel Canal Fisolo, dato il possibile maggior pericolo, le prescrizioni si fanno ancora più rigorose:

Essendo il Canale di Fisolo precisamente riservato ad accogliere le imbarcazioni infette o quelle che fossero del massimo sospetto, furono sempre intente le sollecitazioni del Magistrato Eccellentissimo alla Salute a presidiarlo con straordinarie custodie e colla destinazione di un Guardiano libero, che fungendo le veci di Priore, è incaricato di soprintendere al buon ordine delle contumacie ed invigilare alla condotta degli altri Guardiani, sequestrati al bordo delli bastimenti rispettivi. Abolita per il Canale di Fisolo qualsiasi formula di Mandati volanti; non darà esecuzione, né permetterà che siano eseguiti ordini del Magistrato, qualora non fossero dichiarati espressamente ed inserti in Pubblica Lettera accompagnata al Guardiano libero in Fisolo. Alli soli Fanti scortati che sieno della solita Bandiera di Sanità, sarà permesso d'introdursi nel Canale anzidetto di Fisolo, col dovere per altro di rassegnarsi al Casello per esservi riconosciuti dal Guardiano libero e per renderlo inteso delle Commissioni, delle quali fossero incaricati. Accorderà altresì l'accesso alli vivandieri, che servono a provvisionare gli equipaggi dei bastimenti, obbligandoli a ridursi sotto l'osservazione dell'appostamen-

⁴¹ ASve: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 393.

to. Sempre con la scorta di un basso ufficiale, depositeranno questi le loro vittuarie sopra uno dei fari⁴² vicini, di dove allontanati che sieno e ridotti nuovamente sotto il Casello di Sanità, potranno li contumacianti ritirarle montando sul copano del bastimento. Li Guardiani esistenti al bordo di legni di Contumacia, si rivolgeranno per qualunque esigenza a quello libero sopra il Casello, dal quale avranno le necessarie istruzioni dipendentemente dagli ordini del Magistrato.⁴³

Nonostante queste rigorosissime disposizioni i tentativi di contrabbando, anche di merci provenienti da paesi sospetti, continueranno negli anni, complici talvolta gli stessi Guardiani che avrebbero dovuto vigilare. Ricordiamo per tutte la sentenza 18 aprile 1719 contro tali Caenon, Gasparon e Penzo di Castello e tre Guardiani assegnati a bastimenti sottoposti a contumacia, i quali:

violando ognuno d'essi con scandalosa empietà, quella Fede, che deve esser conservata da ogni Ministro illibata, e maggiormente nelle gelosissima materia di Sanità [...], habbino con odiosissima e detestabile scellerataggine tenuta occulta nei bastimenti quantità grande di tabacco in foglia [...], che levata dalli stessi in diversi viaggi, l'habbiano posta prima in Castello [...] e poi trasportata pure in tempo di notte a S. Giovan Decollato, nel Fondaco dei Turchi. Avanzandosi esso Caenon anco a levare le serrature delle porte di esso Fontico per introdurla. Né punto schivandosi essi Caenon e Gasparon di farne anco l'esito di esso tabacco e di portarsi più di una volta al Lazzaretto vecchio a ricevere dagli interessati in esso tabacco, la iniqua loro mercede.⁴⁴

Contrariamente al podestà e all'Ammiraglio, di cui si è detto prima, i Custodi erano diretti dipendenti del Magistrato alla Sanità, chiamati a svolgere compiti assai diversi. Il carteggio pervenutoci tratta infatti non solo di commissioni e disposizioni circa le contumacie, ma anche di suppliche, raccomandazioni, a volte di veri e propri compiti di polizia sanitaria. Le lettere inviate dai due Custodi di Lido e Malamocco, aprono interessanti finestre sulla loro attività, sui luoghi ove essa si svolge, perfino sulle condizioni di strutture di pontili o di imbarcazioni a loro affidate. Da queste lettere apprendiamo come agli inizi del Settecento vi fossero a Malamocco due Caselli, di cui uno «serve

⁴² Fari: il Boerio riporta questo termine come torre innalzata sul Lido, la cui sommità porta un fanale per indicare il sentiero ai bastimenti, ma anche come gruppi di legni piantati nei porti, che servono ai bastimenti per ammare un cavo.

⁴³ ASVe: *Prov. alla Sanità, Stampe Antiche*, b. 191.

⁴⁴ Ivi: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 394.

di soggiorno allo stesso Custode e l'altro di quartiere dei soldati che servono di guardia». Entrambi sono serviti da uno stesso pontile che, al pari di essi, versa in tali condizioni di disfacimento da costringere il custode, rinnovando ancora una volta il 24 luglio 1762 la sua supplica perché vi si intervenga, a osare dire espressamente: «[...] per il pessimo stato dei legni, che sostengono il Casello, mi conviene allontanarmi in tema di infortuni, per tema che il Casello medesimo precipiti nell'acqua [...] con smarrimento e dissipamento dei pubblici libri e carte che ivi si trovano. Il lavorarlo con pilastri di sotto di pietra viva, come fu fatto in quello di Spignon, sarebbe un restauro assai più durevole». ⁴⁵

E che questa richiesta fosse oltre che legittima, assolutamente necessaria per i documenti della sanità, custoditi nella cancelleria, lo si capisce bene dal testo della deliberazione del 18 luglio 1739, ⁴⁶ dove il Magistrato, ribadendo il divieto che le imbarcazioni possano trattenersi ancorate «sotto alcun pretesto alle palade fuori», da ordine che appena arrivate, debbano entrare in porto e presentarsi subito alle cancellerie per dare nota del carico e farsi sottoscrivere le Fedi:

Più volte sono stati ristampati li Pubblici Proclami 18 agosto 1688 e 1711 primo detto, quali commettono alle barche tutte provenienti da luoghi di Golfo, di presentarsi immediatamente, capitate in porto, alli Custodi di Lido e Malamocco a farsi sottoscrivere le Fedi, indi *recto tramite* con le solite scorte condursi alle rive di questo Ecc. mo Mag. To a prendere la Pratica [...]. Volendo perciò gli Illustrissimi ed Eccellentissimi Signori Sopra Provveditori e Provveditori alla Sanità metter fine all'intollerabile abuso, terminano e con la presente comandano, che sia e si intenda proibito in pena della vita a Direttori delle Barche provenienti massime da luoghi liberi di Golfo, trattenersi sotto qualunque pretesto alle Palade fuori, dovendo immediatamente arrivati, entrare in Porto e presentarsi alle Cancellerie per il che siano e s'intendano obbligati li Direttori dei Pubblici Legni destinati alla custodia

⁴⁵ Tali denunce, che si ritrovano anche in anni precedenti, si susseguirono senza esito e a nulla valse proclamare, come fece il Custode Pasqualin nella lettera 7 giugno 1775: «quando da V.V.E.E. non venga comandato il necessario riparo, io e li soldati ci ritroviamo astretti a dover mancare alle Pubbliche incombenze» (ivi, b. 424). Il 2 giugno 1764 anche il podestà Antonio Bon aveva segnalato al Magistrato la necessità di restaurare «il ponte Longo inserviente al Custode di codesto Ecc.mo Magistrato, nonché per comodo ed uso de abitanti e forestieri, in qualche parte diroccato, in modo che può pregiudicarsi chi per quello è obbligato passar, massime di notte ed affinché anco non abbia a maggiormente pregiudicarsi e ne risenta la Cassa Pubblica maggior aggravio» (ivi, b. 475).

⁴⁶ Ivi, b. 191.

dei Porti, sotto la pena stessa, immediate visto un bastimento legarsi alle Palade, mandare ad intimare con li debiti riguardi di Sanità, la esecuzione del presente ordine e farlo risolutamente eseguire. Che in pena pure della vita sia e s'intenda proibito ai Direttori d'essi Pubblici Legni il permettere a qualsivoglia sopraindicato bastimento il dar fondo sotto qualunque pretesto in qualsivoglia luoco, dovendosi li medesimi intendere tenuti a farlo inoltrare subito entrato in Porto alle Cancellerie, dove non potranno trattenersi se non quanto si rende indispensabile per dare in nota il loro carico e farsi sottoscrivere le Fedi. Che a tal oggetto siano tenuti li Custodi di Lido e Malamocco nel prendere il Costituto da Patroni, rilevar il preciso momento dell'arrivo loro in Porto e specificarlo nella lettera di accompagnamento, quale desunto il Costituto e sottoscritte le Fedi, consegnar doveranno al solito soldato, notando nella data di essa Lettera l'ora precisa del suo rilascio [...]. Qualunque contrabbando venisse a rilevarsi, in qualunque tempo esser stato eseguito col favore dell'inosservanza d'alcuno degli ordini sudetti, doveranno essere castigati come correi o complici i Custodi di Lido e Malamocco, con la immediata cessazione loro dal Carico e con ogni più competente pena, e così pure li Direttori dè sudetti Pubblici Legni coll'ultimo rigore. E la presente sia stampata e pubblicata e sia tenuta sempre affissa nelle sudette Cancellerie e nei Caselli di Sanità e ne doverà passare di mano in mano un esemplare ai Direttori dei Pubblici Legni, dovendo un altro esserne spedito a cadauno delli Governatori dei Castelli di S. Andrea di Lido e di S. Piero della Volta ed esserne dato uno al Soprastante di Malamocco.

Ma se la situazione dei Caselli appare precaria, quella delle imbarcazioni addette alla sorveglianza del porto non è da meno. È quanto si apprende dalle lettere del Basadonna, che appare uno dei più preparati, attenti e scrupolosi Custodi del porto di Malamocco.

Significativa in particolare risulta essere la prima lettera⁴⁷ dell'8 gennaio 1712, che egli invierà al Magistrato proprio al momento del suo arrivo. Dando prova di notevole intuito e di senso di responsabilità, egli individua subito gli aspetti più negativi per la sorveglianza del Porto, in particolare la precarietà delle due imbarcazioni addette a questo compito – che non possono in nessun caso competere con quelle agili e veloci di chi, per contrabbando o altro tenta di introdursi furtivamente in laguna – con la conseguente difficoltà a controllare l'entrata del porto. Egli scrive:

[...] vi sono al servitio del Porto due bastimenti, una galliota e l'altra feluca. Il primo in pessimo stato per il bastimento e per gli attrezzi, che incapaci di

⁴⁷ Ivi, b. 424.

resistere anche vicino al pontile a qualunque vento, benché lieve, bisogna si ritiri nella fossa e render sprovvisto il Porto della necessaria cautela; la feluca è tutta allestita, ma trova la sfortuna d'esser sprovvista di cai e certamente non può arrischiarsi di notte di star lontana da terra, e questo pure non può rendere quel servitio che è necessario per il Porto. Per questi due importantissimi e necessarij instrumenti, supplico Vostre Eccellenze, donar quel ricompensò merita la qualità della materia e quella assistenza tanto necessaria alla cautela del Porto. Mi permetteranno pure, con tutto il rispetto, ch'io dica a Vostre Eccellenze, che il tramite, che deve essere custodito in tal passo per la notte, è quasi impossibile d'esser ben guardato e che quando li due bastimenti saranno bene allestiti con la sentinella al pontile e se si facesse altra sentinella sul bastion in faccia al Porto, crederei sicuro il passo da ogni tentativo anche notturno. [...]. Per la bocca del Porto supplico la somma cognition di Vostre Eccellenze acciò si degnino di comandar e con l'alto Loro intendimento dirigano la mia somma debolezza.

Il 9 gennaio egli ripropone queste preoccupazioni, segno che la situazione era rimasta immutata, registrando la violazione della legge da parte di una barca – si mormora del podestà di Chioggia Gerolamo Finis – «che non volle fermarsi a farsi riconoscere e a nulla valsero per richiamarla, le archibugiate della sentinella, che per di più si incepparono non avendo preso fuoco dentro». Tutto ciò – lamenta il Basadonna – non si sarebbe verificato se le sue barche si fossero potute mettere all'inseguimento della peota, che volava via veloce a vela e a remi: «Vostre Ecc.ze potranno ben comprendere, che se di giorno nascono tali sconcerti, quanti ne potranno succedere di notte all'oscuro». Egli denuncia ancora altre difficoltà per la vita dei suoi uomini e il controllo del litorale:

Necessario indispensabilmente si rende un casotto per la sentinella al pontile, mentre al presente deve stare all'aria dì e notte. Supplico le E. E. E. V. V. ordinar che per dimani notte resti supplito. Per quello poi riguarda la spiaggia, anche in questo imploro il Loro compatimento, se ardisco avvanzar mio debole sentimento. Ricordo solo per la parte in bocca del Porto, mentre questa è soggetta al mio posto, come in questa vi è facile lo sbarco et in conseguenza anche la pratica sino al Lido senza ostacolo, non avendo coraggio di por sotto il loro occhio attentissimo, la considerevole materia di tutta l'altra spiaggia.

Le lettere seguenti riportano ancora l'interessamento costante e concreto del Basadonna per lo svolgimento del suo incarico, sempre attento sia ai disagi dei passeggeri che dei suoi stessi uomini. Riguardo ai primi ottiene dal Magistrato che, se in partenza da Venezia, non

debbano esser chiamati all'obbedienza, ossia a dimostrare che le loro Fedi sono *nette*; per i suoi uomini dichiara di aver fatto delle migliori per il loro alloggio:

[...] per quello riguarda la sentinella sul balloardo in faccia al Porto, ho fatto far il Casello comodo per sei soldati di quelli della Galeotta, che sono spogli miserabili, senza paga, con non pochi crediti e perché possino al passabile resistere, ho ordinato a codesto Sovrastante de lidi,⁴⁸ che delle legne de tagli, delle quali ora dispone per altri il Mag.to Ecc.mo delle Acque, gliene somministri il loro bisogno sino ad altro ordine di V.V.E.E.

Tale richiesta è peraltro in sintonia con la pratica in uso di somministrare ai soldati una somma stabilita per le legne. Senza tale aiuto egli insiste, non potrebbero resistere «stante che il balloardo è a dirittura in faccia al Porto, ove il vento li domina».

Su tali temi ritornano anche altri Custodi del Lido, che nel corso degli anni riferiscono di imbarcazioni, che specie al calar della sera, si introducono in porto senza rispondere alle intimazioni delle sentinelle, rimarcando sempre «per la velocità dai fuggitivi adoperata, non fu possibile prenderli». Il custode Morosini solleva un altro singolare quesito. Le imbarcazioni provenienti da paesi liberi ma vicini ai sospetti, arrivando al Lido devono essere indirizzate per le necessarie

⁴⁸ Il Sovrastante dipendeva come subordinato alle opere, dai Savi alle acque, organo permanente decretato dal Consiglio dei X nel 1501. Riguardo all'attività di questo, alla voce *Soprastanti ai Lidi*, il Rompiasio scrive: «Le operazioni e i lavori comandati e la custodia dei materiali provediti, richiedono Ministri Soprastanti. Quattro ne sono destinati per i litorali di Chioza, Pellestrina, Malamocco e Caorle. Essi tengono l'obbligo di soprintendere ai lavori, che si vanno eseguendo [...], devono consegnare ogni cosa che viene consegnata e rilasciarne fede giurata [...]. Quello di Malamocco deve in oltre assistere alle savorne (zavorre) e carene delle navi e bastimenti, perché si facciano nei luoghi e modi prescritti. Sono eletti e tratti ad arbitrio del Magistrato, considerandosi cariche amovibili a piacimento, nelle quali essi eletti si hanno di tempo in tempo da riballottare per la loro conferma, onde tener vive in essi le condizioni, che han da professare singolarmente di fedeltà e diligenza» (ASVE: G. ROMPIASIO, *Metodo in Pratica di Sommario ossia compilazioni delle Leggi, Terminazioni e Ordini appartenenti agl'Illustrissimi ed Eccellentissimi Collegio e Magistrato alle Acque*, parte prima, Venezia, 1988, p. 17). Nel capitolo quinto dell'opera citata, p. 69, si legge ancora a riguardo: «Siano eletti quattro soprastanti ai Lidi per soprintendere alli lavori che saranno ordinati [...]. Debbano aver di salario ducati 5 al mese per cadauno per il tempo del loro impiego e possano esser cassati dal N. H. Esecutor ai Lidi, non adempiendo il loro debito [...]». Ricordiamo inoltre l'elezione dei Soprastanti alle *scoasse* prodotte dalle navi, con l'obbligo di andare quattro volte alla settimana per ogni nave a levarle «assegnandoli per loro mercede ducati 9 all'anno per cadauno» (terminazione del 16 set. 1623). Sottolineiamo in merito alla ricerca, come competesse ai Soprastanti provvedere i porti di legni idonei per l'ancoraggio dei bastimenti.

pratiche al Magistrato. Ma, obietta il Morosini, «noi non abbiamo i mezzi per controllare se fra gli equipaggi non vi sia qualche irregolare, qualche clandestino, perché non si può visitare le barche, perché, giudicandole alla stregua di sospette, le persone che vi fossero entrate, non potrebbero uscirne senza la liberazione dattale da V.V.E.E. Il numero di uomini, che qui sono, non può sopperire alle moltissime barche di tal sorte che capitano».

Altre lettere portano inaspettate notizie di carattere storico e coloriti squarci di vita sul Lido di allora: 27 luglio 1713: il custode di Malamocco segnala al Magistrato l'arrivo di un battello con 4 soldati tedeschi disertori provenienti da Comacchio «senza alcuna Fede di Sanità, ma però scortati dal sergente Giora del Posto della Cavanella di Po, che porta la Fede unita di quel custode». In questa Fede si specifica come essi vengano dalla Mesola.⁴⁹

13 novembre 1784 - Riferisco umilmente alle Ecc.ze Vostre, io sottoscritto Custode del Casello del Lido, qualmente nella sera del 12 mi sono portato alle ore due di notte alla bottega di casalin a san Nicolò per comprar una candela, nel ritorno che feci per portarmi al mio quartiere, vidi per accidente alla scala, in terra, dei petrolini due sacchi e ponendovi un piede sopra, scopersi esservi del sale, onde chiamai due soldati della mia Guardia, con il mio tamburo, e li feci portar nel mio Casello. Il tutto rassegnò alle Ecc.ze Vostre, come mio dovere e con tutto l'ossequio Le bacio le venerate mani. Giuseppe Molena Custode.⁵⁰

13 novembre 1789 - Riferisco umilmente alle Ecc.ze Vostre, io sottoscritto Custode al Posto di sanità di Lido, come la scorsa notte, verso le ore due circa, al caso della solita visita, non s'attrovò Zuane Marcovich, soldato di questa Pubblica Guardia, mancato dal Posto alle ore 23 incirca. Formandosi questa mattina ricerca del medesimo, fu esso ritrovato morto con sangue alla bocca, nella stalla detta la Cavalleria. Tanto rassegnò in adempimento al mio dovere [...].

Mancando qui al Lido di S. Nicolò la presenza di una carica superiore, i Custodi riferiscono direttamente al Magistrato su qualunque avvenimento concernente la complessa materia della sanità, riportando così notizie anche sulla salute degli animali, sia di quelli che sono «alla campagna» che di quelli «che sono nelli stalloni di contumacia», portati dai bastimenti e custoditi fino all'arrivo di comandi del Magistrato e dei suoi

⁴⁹ È probabile che si sia trattato di alcuni soldati sbandati che negli anni della successione spagnola (1701-1714) percorsero la Terraferma veneta, infierendo gravi danni alle popolazioni.

⁵⁰ ASve: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 393.

Fanti, o della morte di una armenta da latte «l'unica che possedeva il pastore di pecore Ventura Pistorello, abitante a Santa Maria Elisabetta».⁵¹

Le epidemie bovine furono in questi anni una delle principali preoccupazioni del Magistrato, che le trattò con la medesima scrupolosità con la quale trattava quelle degli uomini. Egli arrivò a prescrivere una contumacia per le bestie sospette, rinchiudendole in veri e propri lazzaretti con Guardiani, come appare molto dettagliatamente dalle disposizioni rivolte ai Posti di Sanità del Cadore.⁵²

Le ultime lettere inviate dai Custodi mostrano la dolorosa consapevolezza che l'autorità della Repubblica e la inflessibilità dei suoi comandi non sono più sentite come tali dai vari capitani ed equipaggi.

Basta così ad es., che un Turco imbarcato su di un trabaccolo proveniente da Zara, non obbedisca all'ordine «di doversi trattenere fuori della palada», rifiutandosi di prendere a bordo la Pubblica Guardia, perché anche tutti gli altri bastimenti, che erano stati fermati, tentino di passare in laguna senza rispettare le regole, mentre nuove inquietudini serpeggiano fra gli equipaggi facendo scoppiare incidenti a bordo o incidenti di manovre fra bastimenti. Tutte cose che il Custode guarda con apprensione a motivo dei contagi, segnalandole al Magistrato. Altre volte, e siamo ormai al 25 luglio 1794, il Custode lamenta la poca attenzione che anche i soldati mostrano nel segnalare gli ingressi in porto:

[...] dal paron Zuanne Vianello, che passò per codesto Posto con carico di balle, libo della Pubblica Fregata Brillante, al quale consegnai il soldato conforme il solito, rilevai esser passati altri due libi della suddetta nave, senza che a me sia noto niente. Il qual disordine dipende dalle Guardie di appostamento, non facendo il loro dovere di chiamarli a farli dare il ferro a fondo in faccia alla Sanità, come suo dovere, per esser poi da me, con lettera, accompagnati all'ubbidienza di Vostre Eccellenze.

Nello stesso anno, al nove di novembre, il custode riferisce di un'altra negligenza, frutto dei tempi:

Partecipo alle Ecc.ze Vostre qualmente ieri, alle ore 21 incirca, sono capitati li passeggeri che furono sbarcati in Cortellazo dalla Brazera del Paron Nicoletto Dari et al presente sono nuovamente in detta Brazera, quali senza mia saputa la Guardia li lasciò imbarcare [...].

⁵¹ Ivi, b. 424.

⁵² Vedasi sull'argomento R. VITALE D'ALBERTON, *Il vessillo del Magistrato alla Sanità di Venezia nei territori della Magnifica Comunità Cadorina*, Treviso, Grafiche Marini Villorba, 1998.

Ma la dolorosa conferma che i tempi gloriosi della Serenissima e del Magistrato, che per secoli si adoperò per rendere sicuri i suoi confini sono ormai tramontati, è forse il malinconico annuncio dato dal custode del Lido il 21 agosto 1795, che chiedendo nuove bandiere «serventi all'accompagnamento delle barche», definisce quelle in suo possesso come ormai «logore». ⁵³

6. I FANTI

Altra interessante figura subalterna del Magistrato furono i Fanti, ⁵⁴ anch'essi chiamati a svolgere i loro compiti in ambiti assai vari ⁵⁵ e spesso esposti come i Guardiani, a grandi pericoli. ⁵⁶ Essi furono anche oggetto di particolari attenzioni e fiducia da parte del Magistrato, che non esitando ad affidare loro incarichi di grande responsabilità sia in ambito cittadino, nei porti e lungo i canali di Venezia, che sui fiumi e nei lazzaretti della Terraferma, aveva anche cura di non lasciarli esposti ad inutili pericoli.

In generale tuttavia il loro compito principale consisteva nel far scaricare dai bastimenti esistenti nei canali di Fisolo e talvolta Poveglia, le merci e tutti gli effetti presenti a bordo per farli condurre con apposite peate al Lazzaretto vecchio o nuovo, ma non mancavano di caso in caso, altre incombenze particolari. ⁵⁷

⁵³ ASVe: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 424.

⁵⁴ «[...] tali Ministri, quali chiamasi Fanti, che vuol dire servitori, sette ne ha il Magistrato, uno dei quali fa figura di Massaro, ed ha la particolar incombenza di raccogliere tutte le lettere che provengono da Paesi sospetti e tutte aprirle e profumarle e non solo quelle che fossero state ad esso affidate, ma quante altre ne avessero i passeggeri o chi altri sopra il Bastimento si attrovasse, e vegliare in tal proposito con distinta attenzione, posciachè oltre le particolari osservazioni, che porta la carta, di non dover esser data fuori, senza passar per li necessari profumi, vi è il pericolo che nelle lettere medesime possano esser comprese robba o altro soggetto ad espurghi, nascendo per lo più da piccole scintille li grandi incendi» (ivi, b. 562).

⁵⁵ Ricordiamo anche la figura del Fante del Sestiere, sul quale ricadono le molte responsabilità derivanti dalla vita quotidiana, come ad es. impedire che calli e corti si riempiano di sporcizia o indagare sulla natura dell'acqua che gli abitanti denunciano trovarsi in mezzo alla calle detta Forno in contrada di S. Felice. Prendersi cura di morti, feriti ed altre circostanze che potessero avere attinenza con la sanità. Essi agivano spesso come veri e propri ufficiali sanitari. Per questo ed altri esempi si rimanda a ivi, b. 394.

⁵⁶ «[...] la distinzione fra questi e i Guardiani è che questi stanno sempre alla condizione stessa del legno, delle persone o delle merci che custodiscono, i fanti mantengonsi sempre liberi, servendo di scorta in ogni occasione, senza punto contaminarsi» (ivi, b. 562).

⁵⁷ Si rileva come non sempre i compiti affidati al Fante siano di stretta natura sanitaria,

Vediamo nel concreto questi compiti da alcune Commissioni del Magistrato,⁵⁸ ai Fanti Andrea Zachetti e Girolamo Zanuto:

11 agosto 1792 - Fanti nostri. Persuaso il Magistrato di ritraere dalla attività, eperienza, e fede vostra un serviggio corrispondente all'importanza dell'argomento di cui si tratta, vi destina a levare da Fisolo e scortare al Lazzaretto Nuovo le Peate cariche degli effetti e robe esistenti sopra il bastimento gravemente sospetto, diretto dal capitano Gio. Batta Gambillo proveniente da Acri e da Cipro, esistente in detto Canale. Esso bastimento, le sue merci, e l'equipaggio, sono della maggiore gelosia, essendo mancati di vita da morbo contagioso degli individui del detto suo equipaggio, prima del di lui distacco dall'infetta città di Acri.

Premesso ciò, onde sia a vostra cognizione, quale deve essere l'attenzione per la custodia delle Peate, passiamo a prevenirvi, che vostra ispezione sarà di assistere in Fisolo, con la vostra presenza in competente distanza, e sopravento, al carico delle merci ed effetti nelle Peate, quali liberate che siano dalli Guardiani liberi esistenti in quel Casello, le leverete e le serbarete lungo il viaggio sino al Lazzaretto Nuovo, dove saranno depositate e consegnate a quel Priore. Queste Peate però, saranno da voi levate da Fisolo e condotte come sopra, una per volta, avvertendovi, che le riceverete cariche fino al bordo, e non più, della Peota, e ben coperte ed assicurate con vela, sicchè non vi sia angolo scoperto. Nel viaggio starete in una competente distanza pur sopra vento, perchè siano sempre sotto la vostra immediata attenzione, senza pericolo, facendo allontanare le barche che incontrate.

In ogni volta vi si imbarcheranno sopra uno o due marinai del bastimento, per quanto può occorrere e per assicurare il cavo nel remurchio qual deve essere di resta⁵⁹ o ben catramato.

Scaricata che sia la Peata al Lazzaretto, sarà da quel Priore espurgata,

ma solo attinenti ad essa, come risulta dai due esempi che riportiamo. Nella commissione al Fante Zacchello del 5 marzo 1796, l'attenzione del Magistrato è rivolta verso il battello del capitano Rossin «proveniente da Alessandria con carico di caffè et altro», che non riesce ad entrare in porto, invitando il Fante, non l'Ammiraglio si badi bene, ad alleggerirlo con qualche libo «da eseguirsi con li riguardi dovuti alla grave materia», mentre nella commissione del 7 giugno 1796, il compito affidato al fante è piuttosto particolare, trattandosi dell'arresto del ministro custode del Lazzaretto di Primolano, che egli dovrà «tradurre con la forza di Pubbliche Milizie all'obbedienza del Magistrato».

Non manca anche il curioso incarico di scortare tal Zuanne Berna, indicato nella commissione dell'11 febbraio 1792 al fante Girolamo Zanuto come «perito», ma solo fino ai confini con l'Austria, poiché si teme che ci possa essere nei suoi territori una pestilenza bovina non dichiarata. Il Magistrato raccomanda al Fante: «tu però, arrivato al veneto confine, ti fermerai e lascerai che s'inoltri alla scoperta il solo Berna, quale ritornato che sarà da quella parte, si unirà con te per rassegnarsi al Magistrato nostro».

⁵⁸ ASVe: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 394.

⁵⁹ Parte legnosa della canapa o del lino.

coll'abbrustolirla e lavarla ben bene, onde non vi rimanga alcuna particella suscettibile, il che eseguito a dovere, sarà ricondotta libera di volta in volta in Fisolo da rispettivi peateri, consegnandola alli Guardiani del Casello per il nuovo carico, e così successivamente sino all'intero scarico del bastimento. Terminate che avrete le condotte, lo scarico e la consegna, ci rassegherete in vostra esatta e distinta rifferita, l'ordine tenuto nell'esecuzione.

Se nel viaggio vi accadesse qualche accidente di mal tempo o di altro, per cui venisse impedita la prosecuzione, uno di voi vi porterete al Magistrato a riferirci lo sconcerto per le opportune deliberazioni e provvedimenti, rimanendo sempre l'altro alla custodia. Questa Commissione sarà da voi eseguita scrupolosamente, essendovi già noto che ogni menoma mancanza o arbitrio, viene punito coll'ultimo del rigore, cioè la morte. Dio vi guardi.⁶⁰

Altra situazione di grave pericolosità viene presentata nella commissione del 26 agosto 1796 al fante Girolamo Zanuto, quando il Magistrato, senza mezzi termini, gli illustra la gravità del momento e le precise disposizioni intraprese per fronteggiarlo:

Fante nostro, sei destinato a servire il bastimento gravemente sospetto diretto dal Capitano Burabaich proveniente dalla infetta città di Smirne, che attrovasi in Canal di Fisolo sotto le osservazioni del Guardiano libero e militar custodia al Casello, e del Guardiano sul bordo, non che di una Feluca armata, e ciò ti basti per comprendere di quanta importanza sia l'adempimento esatto del tuo geloso rispetto [...].

Commissione 7 ott. 1795 - Al fante Andrea Zachetti:

Fante nostro, nella marina tra il Porto Lignano e quello del Tagliamento, naufragò il Pielego del capitano Stanco Rapportar; era proveniente da Patrasso e diretto per Trieste con carico di ludri⁶¹ d'oglio. Senza speranza del suo ricupero, salvatosi essendosi il solo equipaggio al numero di 7. Quindi è, che il Magistrato ti inoltra a quella parte, assieme ad un Guardiano, che dipenderà da te, a prendervi le tue mosse, ricevuto che avrai la presente. Seguìto il tuo arrivo colà, la prima tua cura sarà di informarti minuziosamente delle disposizioni che fossero state praticate a salvezza della grave materia, e sopra massime la conditione dell'oste e sua famiglia, che ricoverò l'equipag-

⁶⁰ Asve: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 394. Colpisce in queste commissioni l'atteggiamento del Magistrato, che appare non solo organo potentissimo ed inflessibile, e per questo assai temuto e rispettato dai subalterni, ma anche umanamente interessato ed attento a non esporre inutilmente a pericolo i suoi uomini. Ricordiamo però che per Venezia il problema sanitario fu un problema corale, non individuale, per la città, prima che per il cittadino. La preoccupazione del Magistrato di evitare un contagio ai suoi subalterni fu principalmente una conseguenza di questo.

⁶¹ Otri di pelle di montone dove si usava mettere vino, olio, ecc.

gio medesimo; il qual oste era segregato da ogni communicatione, come si rileva dal capitano della Latisana. Prenderai lumi anche dal Direttore e soldati della Feluca armata, che stà ancorata nel sudetto porto del Tagliamento per il Magistrato Ecc.mo alle Biave, e da chiunque altro che crederai a portata di illuminarti altresì, di quanto accaduto, sin dal momento del naufragio. Come poi, il detto capitano della Latisana, per il quale riceverai credenziali nostre, ci rappresenta il bisogno estremo in cui attrovassi l'equipaggio stesso, così tu lo provvederai del puro necessario, facendo delle ricerche caute sullo asserto svaleggio delle casse del capitano del bastimento e marinai, onde riferire al solo Magistrato nostro, quanto sopra ciò ti risultasse. Qualora sia in pronto ogni cosa, rinvenirai senza perdita di tempo un picciol legno e farai che s'inbarchi in esso l'equipaggio ed il Guardiano, con quanto si fosse potuto ricuperare di sua ragione dal mare, di attrezzi o altro, del che terrai nota distinta per rassegnarcela opportunamente. Questo legno sarà da te accordato ad un prezzo conveniente e giornaliero, sborsando al suo Direttore qualche anticipazione, per esigerne il saldo al suo ritorno da Trieste e lo munirai di Fede sporca di Sanità, rilasciata dall'Ufficio della Latisana.

Eseguito tutto ciò e presi gli esami tutti, ritornerai all'obbedienza nostra, qualor però non vi sia circostanza tale che esigga che tu vi facj maggiore permanenza, nel qual caso, con espresso pedone, ci rassegnerei l'emergenza per attendere ulteriori nostre determinazioni.

Sei stato anche localmente istruito a tua sicura regola, sicchè null'altro ci occorre che raccomandare alla tua fede ed esattezza, l'adempimento delle presenti. Dio ti guardi e ti accompagni.

27 mar. 1797 - Commissioni al fante Andrea Zacchetti di Venezia:

Naufragò nelle marine di Carole nel dì 24 corrente il Trabaccolo di Paron Michiel Ziga, era carico di formentone e diretto per le Bocche di Cattaro, donde era proveniente; salvatosi essendo con lo schifo il solo equipaggio composto di cinque individui, compreso il parone. Esso legno partì da questo porto in grande sospetto li 23 corrente, dopo aver scontato in questi canali giorni 15 netti della competente contumacia di 21 giorni. Partirai dunque tu, dopo ricevute queste commissioni e ti presenterai, con la lettera che ti si consegna, a quel N. H. Rappresentante per farti riconoscere e per levare con li dovuti riguardi il detto equipaggio, e qualunque effetto suscettibile che fosse stato tratto dal mare a terra, custodendo il tutto per viaggio sino al tuo arrivo a questa parte, e capitato, passeranno tanto gli uomini che gli effetti al Lazzeretto vecchio per terminare li giorni sei che mancano al compimento della contumacia, sotto Guardiano di vista.

Solleciterai le tue mosse a sollievo di quella povera gente e certi noi, che tu eseguirai anche questa commissione a dovere, Dio ti guardi.⁶²

⁶² ASve: *Prov. alla Sanità*, b. 394.

7. TERMINAZIONI E COMMISSIONI DEL MAGISTRATO
ALLA SANITÀ IN TEMA DI CONTAGI⁶³

Innumerevoli sono state le terminazioni del Magistrato in tema di contagi e contumacie. Noi ci siamo limitati a riportarne alcuni passi, che ben illustrano la lungimiranza del suo pensiero e del suo agire. Il Magistrato emanava le sue disposizioni sulla base delle numerose notizie che quotidianamente gli pervenivano – talvolta anche con molte difficoltà – non solo attraverso canali ufficiali, come le relazioni dei vari funzionari, ma anche attraverso la voce di informatori casuali, quali marinai, pellegrini o mercanti, che testimoniavano di quanto direttamente visto o sentito in un dato Paese. Come si è detto all'inizio, raramente Venezia poté contare infatti su una affidabile collaborazione da parte degli altri Stati nel tentativo di fronteggiare un male di cui non si conosce l'origine e la natura, ma che serpeggia indifferente in ogni Paese, dovendo viceversa prender atto come molti di essi, e non solo quelli più arretrati dell'immenso Oriente, ma anche la vicina Austria, Napoli, lo Stato pontificio o la rivale Ragusa, preferivano, per interessi commerciali, ignorare e talvolta anche tenere celato, l'insorgere di una pestilenza.

Terminazione 30 giugno 1756 - Scoppiata la peste in Algeri nei primi mesi del 1756, il Magistrato ordina tempestivamente che vengano escluse dal commercio le Scale del Mediterraneo nonché quei porti dell'Adriatico

[...] che non concordassero in un provvedimento tanto necessario nelle circostanze presenti, non potendosi certamente permettere libera comunicazione, se non tra chi usa uniformi metodi e diligenze di Sanità. Il dissonante contegno del Porto di Ancona e di tutto il litorale Pontificio, che non vuole apprendere li pericoli presenti, accordando anzi libera pratica a tutte le imbarcazioni provenienti dal Ponente e dal Mediterraneo, mette in necessità il Magistrato nostro di eseguire la già citata sospensione [...]. Per questo gli Ill. mi et Ecc. mi...., vengono nella deliberazione di sospendere il libero commercio con tutti li Stati e litorali dello Stato Pontificio, fissando alle imbarcazioni arrivate e che arriveranno, provenienti dalli Porti stessi, la contumacia di giorni ventuno, che è la stessa prescritta al Ponente e al Mediterraneo [...].

⁶³ Ivi, b. 191.

Ma appena giunte notizie rassicuranti, è altrettanto pronto a rinviare il commercio:

3 dicembre 1756 - Cessato il contagio in Algeri e minorati li sospetti in quanto alle turbolenze del Mediterraneo, che diedero motivo alla sospensione ordinata colle Stampe 30 aprile passato, vengono alla deliberazione gli Ill. mi et Ecc.mi Signori Sopra Provveditori e Provveditori alla Sanità infrascritti, di minorare per ora di giorni sette le contumacie sopra le imbarcazioni del Ponente e del medesimo ridotte a giorni 14 anche per li Porti e litorali Pontifici sospesi colla Term. 30 giugno [...].

16 mag. 1756 - dal Magistrato alla Sanità:

Manifestatosi il contagio nel passato marzo in Patrasso, città della Morea, si diramò in alcune situazioni di quel territorio, indi passò ad invadere Negroponte, Athene, Livadia, il villaggio di San Teodoro presso Tebe, Salona, Galaxich col villaggio di Naserò, luoghi tutti della Morea e della vicina Rumelia, dai quali si sono distaccate varie famiglie, che disperse con la fuga hanno cercato la loro salvezza e rendono così peggiori e più sospette le conseguenze. Sebbene li luoghi indicati, che sono già infetti e li altri della Morea e della Rumalia gravemente sospetti, siano sempre soggetti come Stati del Dominio Ottomano, all'intera contumacia di giorni quaranta e non diano motivi di particolari provvedimenti, devesi con tutto ciò aver in considerazione il pericolo delle isole suddite del Levante esposte alla grave insorgenza. Volendo perciò gli Ill.mi Provveditori procedere con quell'impegno, che sempre uniforme prendono, non solo in riguardo alla particolare preservazione delli Pubblici Stati, ma a indennità della comune salute, terminano con la presente e comandano, che per ora la contumacia di giorni 28, alla quale sono ordinariamente affette le isole suddite di Corfù, Zante, Zeffalonia, Santa Maura, Prevesa e Ionizza, con tutto il resto di quel suddito paese, sia et si intenda accresciuta al periodo di giorni 40 netti, cosichè tutte le imbarcazioni, quali fossero pervenute e pervenissero in avvenire dalle isole sudette, debbano andar soggette all'intera contumacia.

Tale disposizione sarà peraltro annullata con la terminazione 3 ottobre 1760, allorché giunsero le rassicuranti notizie tramite «l'Ecc.mo Signor Provveditore Generale da Mar, che non si facciano più sentire accidenti contagiosi nella Morea e vicina Rumelia e che sia cessato per conseguenza il pericolo cui erano esposte le suddite isole del Levante».

Ma a testimonianza di come l'attività del Magistrato non conoscesse tregua riguardiamo un'ultima testimonianza del suo operato in relazione ad una nuova ondata di pestilenza abbattutasi nell'Albania

turca e da lì estesasi nei Paesi vicini, contenuta nelle disposizioni inviate ai suoi Uffici di Sanità. 10 lug. 1767:

[...] ci sopraggiunsero in questi momenti lettere di primo corrente, dell'Ecc.mo Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia e Albania con spiacevoli rapporti che il contagio si fosse insinuato in due suddite ville dette Oracovaz superiore ed inferiore, del veneto territorio di Perasto, portatovi da una donna con certa lana avuta da un abitante di Podasdriello, villa della contigua pertinenza del Montenero, detta Zagliut, ove si trova pur altro villaggio infetto detto Brateo. La Divina Provvidenza ha voluto, che detta Ecc.ma Carica arrivi il 26 dello scaduto mese alle Bocche di Cattaro per visitare quella provincia, dove appena giunta si è data a verificare col mezzo di persona esperta localmente li rapporti confusi, che andava raccogliendo di tempo in tempo intorno il male delle Ottomane Tenute, ed è riuscito a questo intendente messo, di scoprirvi il contagio nelle due accennate ville del territorio di Perasto, dove in tre giorni morirono 4 persone. Sono state prese da detta Ecc. za le possibili maggiori precauzioni, onde arrestare i progressi del male, che voglia Dio, prima del di lui arrivo, non siasi diramato in altra parte. Esigendo però queste funeste insorgenze i relativi cauti provvedimenti anche da questo Ecc.mo Mag.to, gli Ill.mi ... non perdendo momento, risolvono di alzare intanto la contumacia delle Bocche di Cattaro, Budua, Curzola e Stato di Ragusi a giorni 40 [...].

In particolare da numerose lettere ai suoi ministri, si rileva anche la diffidenza nei confronti di Dolcigno verso il quale la Serenissima nutriva particolari rancori, non solo per le ingerenze economiche nei suoi traffici, ma anche per la superficialità osservata nei riguardi della Salute. Per questo, in occasione della peste di Alessandria, il Magistrato emetteva la seguente disposizione:

22 agosto 1759 - [...] la disattenzione solita della nazione, sprezzante delli riguardi di Sanità, il pericolo che possono spargere mercanzie riconosciute infette, delle quali non si sa il preciso destino, le irregolarità già note delli Dolcignoti, che estendono da per tutto le loro ardite navigazioni, possono comunicare gravissime disgrazie e con maggiore pericolo ove v'è l'uso di riceverli con confidenza [...] consideriamo accresciute le gelosie della Turca Albania perpetuamente bandita, siano e s'intendano per ora sospese a giorni 21 le Bocche di Cattaro, Castel Nuovo, e lo Stato di Ragusi, come luochi li più vicini ed esposti, non dovendosi ricevere in alcun suddito porto imbarcazioni, che staccate si fossero dalle sudette parti sospette, se prima non averanno scontata nelli canali di questa Dominante, colle forme solite, la Contumacia di giorni 21.

A conclusione di questa disamina portiamo ancora un esempio di quanto vasto fosse il raggio di controllo e di azione del Magistrato. 20 giu. 1760:

Sono conseguenze inevitabili della guerra li approdi, le visite e le prede, che si vanno praticando tutto il giorno nell'Oceano non meno che nel Mediterraneo senza alcun, riguardo, né riserva alle importanti gelosie di Salute. Si accrescono queste colli ultimi più recenti riscontri, che siano arrivate in Marsiglia, varie imbarcazioni provenienti dalla Siria con gravissimi sospetti di Peste, individuandosi particolarmente una Polacca del capitano Billon francese, che partita da San Giovanni d'Acri, ove infieriva il contagio, abbia patita la perdita di alcuna persone del suo equipaggio, colpite dal male stesso. Eguale nella sua importanza è l'approdo in Livorno della nave inglese Nettuno, armata in Corso, ivi arrivata colla preda di una Polacca francese detta la Sacra Famiglia, che con effetti della maggior gelosia caricati in Acri, andava diretta per Marsiglia, sopra la quale, prima di partire dal Caricatore d'Acri, sono morte 4 persone di contagio. Si sentono pure sparse voci d'un terzo bastimento francese partito dalla stessa Scala d'Acri, egualmente infetto e predato da un Armatore inglese, che viene supposto, che l'abbia condotto in Malta. Commossi da tutto ciò gli Ill. mi et Ecc.mi Provveditori alla Sanità e ben persuasi della confidenza pericolosa, con cui trattano gli Armatori tali prede, divenute ancora di maggiore gelosia nelle circostanze presenti, che si trovano infestati dal contagio, tanti Porti del Levante Ottomano, e li più frequentati, [...] sia dunque in ordine a ciò vietato a tutti li Porti delle suddite province l'accordare accesso o discarico a qualsivoglia bastimento sospetto, come sopra, che derivasse dal Ponente e dalli Porti della Provenza, della Toscana e di Malta, dovendo tutti venir diretti alla Dominante, per qui consumare in ordine alle leggi, la decretata Contumacia.

Questa formidabile rete di informazioni, che non passavano tutte, come si è detto, per i canali ufficiali, permisero al Magistrato di venir costantemente avvisato di quanto avveniva anche in Paesi e porti lontani, permettendogli di poter agire tempestivamente sia a riguardo della salute che a sostegno del Commercio.

8. CONCLUSIONE

Con la trascrizione di alcune fra le più interessanti terminazioni del Magistrato in tema di contagi e la trattazione dei relativi compiti affidati ai suoi subalterni, abbiamo tentato di mettere in luce l'importante ruolo svolto dal Lido in questo campo. Pure non si sarebbe detto tutto su di lui, se non si facesse cenno anche ad un altro aspetto contrastante, quello nel quale il Lido stesso appare come grave fonte di preoccupazione sanitaria. Nella più antica mappa conservata all'Archivio di Stato di Venezia del 1341, risultano al Lido 57 vigne, di cui

erano proprietari, oltre al convento di S. Nicolò, S. Andrea, S. Lazzaro e S. Etienne verso gli Alberoni, alcune fra le più grandi famiglie veneziane. Era dunque stato un luogo abbastanza deserto, con rive molto più arretrate di oggi verso la laguna, coltivate a viti proprio per impedirne lo smottamento. Negli anni della ricerca, tra gli inizi e la fine del Settecento, l'isola appare ancora come un ambiente essenzialmente agricolo, dove i pochi abitanti, con case molto distanti fra loro, sono contadini e vignaioli degli ordini religiosi e delle famiglie nobiliari. Apparentemente dunque, una situazione tranquilla per il poco affollamento e scarsa probabilità di contagi. Ma non fu così, perchè non fu questa o solo questa la storia del Lido, che vide invece nei secoli, in prossimità dei porti di Lido e Malamocco, un continuo avvicinarsi di genti e di eventi storici, che arrecarono non poche preoccupazioni ai nostri Provveditori alla Sanità. Tralasciando di occuparci del borgo di Malamocco, l'antica Matemaucus del periodo romano, poi sede vescovile e del dogato, la cui comunità ebbe per questo privilegi e Statuto proprio e dal 1339 anche un suo Podestà, ma i cui problemi, da un punto di vista sanitario, non differirono da quelli di un'altra città-porto della Serenissima, ci soffermeremo sull'altra estremità del Lido, quella di S. Nicolò, che fu nei secoli un luogo di grandissima importanza storica, religiosa, diplomatica e militare. Deputato infatti ad essere fin dai tempi più remoti luogo di accoglienza, ospitò non solo religiosi e crociati, che qui si imbarcavano per la Terra Santa, ma anche numerosi pellegrini, che vi accorrevano per visitare le spoglie miracolose di S. Nicola di Myra, custodite nell'omonimo convento. Per le numerose malattie da essi portate nell'isola, i Benedettini, cui il doge Contarini aveva affidato il monastero, attrezzarono nelle adiacenze «ospedale per il soccorso dei pellegrini»,⁶⁴ mentre un vero e proprio lazzaretto venne allestito nell'oratorio del convento durante la peste del Seicento. Qui furono inoltre ospitati personaggi illustri, am-

⁶⁴ Per ben comprendere che significato abbia avuto il convento di S. Nicolò nella storia del Lido, ricordiamo come esso fu voluto dal doge Contarini quale presidio religioso a scopo difensivo e di salvaguardia dell'ambiente, in quanto i monaci benedettini, secondo le regole proprie del loro ordine, erano soliti operare un risanamento dei luoghi ad essi affidati. La sua vita fu sempre intimamente associata a quella dei soldati acquantierati in quello stesso luogo, accogliendoli spesso entro le proprie mura, in vista del nemico, quando ancora essi mancavano di una adeguata struttura militare. Vedasi sull'argomento PALUDET, *Venezia Lido di S. Nicolò*, VI, 1990. Riportiamo ancora come il Filiasi e il Dandolo nelle loro *Cronache* parlano di un ospedale situato verso la laguna e «probabilmente antichissimo».

basciatori, re, cardinali, uomini d'arme come i leggendari Zagdari o i famosi Stratioti, ma anche e soprattutto le truppe della Serenissima, acquantierate nel cosiddetto Palazzo delli Soldati, ora – ex Caserma Pepe –, che costituivano una popolazione quanto mai eterogenea di genti provenienti da ogni angolo d'Europa, al soldo dei vari capitani veneti: Francesi, Spagnoli, Tedeschi, Svizzeri, oltre che Italiani dello Stato di Urbino, del Friuli, di Bergamo o di Verona, ma non di rado anche Levantini o Turchi, spesso convertiti alla religione cristiana e tenuti a battesimo dai loro capitani. Essi abitavano stabilmente con le famiglie al Serraglio, nome dato in origine al loro quartiere, a ridosso di Castel vecchio, prima della edificazione del Palazzo delli Soldati ad opera del Sansovino; per il continuo alternarsi di compagnie italiane e straniere, di capitani d'avventura in cerca dell'ingaggio più conveniente, di cavalli e di navi in partenza e in arrivo, queste truppe divennero la maggior fonte di diffusione di contagio per l'isola. Nel Settecento in particolare, dopo anni di isolamento, erano divenuti più frequenti i matrimoni con le donne del posto mentre, proprio a S. Nicolò, la popolazione entrava sempre più in contatto con i soldati, grazie al consistente numero di botteghe e osterie, ivi sorte proprio per la presenza delle milizie.⁶⁵ Essi portavano infatti oltre al pericolo di pestilenze contratte lontano, durante le campagne militari, – i registri parrocchiali di S. Maria Elisabetta registrano un enorme numero di morti al rientro al Lido delle truppe⁶⁶ – quello delle malattie contratte al rientro, a causa della pessima situazione igienica in cui questi infelici vivevano, acqua inquinata e aria spesso irrespirabile, con alloggi posti anche a quattro piedi sotto terra. Tormentati da pulci e febbri violenti-

⁶⁵ Dalle Memorie del convento benedettino e in seguito dai Registri parrocchiali di S. Maria Elisabetta, principianti nell'anno 1626, risulta come accanto al monastero di S. Nicolò, esistessero baracche o «hostarie» fin dai tempi più remoti, sorte forse a beneficio dei primi pellegrini e crociati, ma poi utilizzate quasi esclusivamente dai numerosi soldati dell'antico Serraglio, i cui schiamazzi, anzi vere e proprie «turpitudines», obbligarono i monaci a reclamare presso il Senato, che d'autorità fece chiudere l'«hostaria» adiacente al convento, il cui ingresso era nell'attuale «porta dell'arco», e le chiavi consegnate all'abate. Alla fine del Seicento, primo Settecento, risultano esservi a S. Nicolò otto osti, al «Palazzo delli Soldati» 11 fra osti e botteghieri, 12 osti al Lido e 5 alla Giesiolla, ossia la piccola chiesa di S. Maria Elisabetta che vengono definiti «oste alla detta nostra chiesa», il che fa presumere che all'epoca la chiesa e l'osteria fossero un tutt'uno.

⁶⁶ I decessi avvenuti a bordo delle Galee venivano certificati subito dal Celente, caratteristica figura di medico militare veneziano, e in seguito, al rientro al Lido, venivano riportati dal priore di S. Maria Elisabetta nei Registri dei morti. Solo a partire dal 1769 si parla di un pubblico cappellano nel quartiere delle milizie.

te, morivano a decine.⁶⁷ Negli anni esaminati, il Magistrato allarmato che tali malattie potessero diffondersi anche al resto della popolazione, fu costretto a richiedere numerose relazioni tecniche e sanitarie, imponendo il rispetto di norme igieniche molto precise all'interno del Serraglio, come ventilazione degli alloggi e disposizioni per non inquinare l'acqua dei pozzi. Chiamato a esprimersi su questi temi, il medico militare Tabacchi dichiarava: «[...] ho esaminato l'acqua del pozzo,⁶⁸ leggera e dolce, ma piena di parti terree e pesanti, incomoda perciò agli stomaci e dannosa alla salute. A mia opinione, per togliere un tale difetto, basterà che sia asciugato il pozzo e da capace persona nettato il suo fondo. Sia di più comandato che il pozzo sia difeso in modo che il soldato non possa bagnare il biscotto sui marmi che formano il circondario dello stesso», e ancora rispetto all'aria irrespirabile negli alloggi: «[...] essendosi fabbricato il Serraglio di Lido, in situazione bassa [...] formasi nello stesso un'aria stagnante, che nell'estate particolarmente, riesce di danno alla salute». Sollecitato pertanto il parere di un tecnico, il *proto* degli Ingegneri militari Ferro così illustra gli opportuni accorgimenti: «[...] con la sola opera di travagliatori, nettare li cassoni dal ferioso, fino a che si ritrovi la sabbia netta, aggiungervene di nuova, se occorresse, e con coltelletti, raschiette e scopette, pulire le pietre cotte delle pareti intonacate. Secondo, occorrerà asciugare tutta l'acqua col mezzo di una macchina a stantuffo dell'Arsenale. E ciò, fatto a più riprese, fino a che rimanga disseccato del tutto». Per quello che riguarda poi l'aria esprime il suo parere dicendo: «[...] l'aria stagnante e poco ventilata in questa bassa situazione, irrimediabile per fisica sua costituzione, potrebbe bensì essere moderabile nella stagione nociva, con dei

⁶⁷ Nel marzo del 1694, per la prima volta il priore di S. Maria Elisabetta fa riferimento all'Hospedale delli Soldati del Lido, ma non si sa come e quanto abbia funzionato, poiché negli anni 1712-1713-1714 non se ne fa più cenno, mentre nel 1710 annota come un soldato sia morto «dopo essere stato alquanto tempo all'Hospedale delli Soldati a S. Antonio di Castello e nel 1723 registra ancora la morte di un soldato» dopo essere uscito dall'Hospital Pubblico in S. Servolo.

⁶⁸ A proposito di pozzi, rileviamo come nel rapporto presentato dal nobile Giacomo Nani, Provveditore alle Lagune e ai Lidi, risultano esserci state a S. Nicolò 5 cisterne alimentate dall'acqua piovana e che la sola importante si trovava nel quartiere del Serraglio. Vi erano inoltre 8 pozzi alimentati da sorgenti e che uno di essi si trovava proprio nel Serraglio, denominato pozzo del Campazzo, situato a 21 piedi dal bordo della laguna. Così lo descriveva il Sansovino nel 1581: «meraviglioso pozzo d'acqua dolce di così abbondante vena che fornendo tutte le Galee e le navi che escono dalla città è riputato piuttosto per un miracolo di natura che per altro». Alla fine del Settecento risulterà completamente distrutto.

mobili ventilatori e con le suffumigazioni di catrame a bolla infuocata, ginepro o altro, fatto nelle stanze o quartieri delli soldati». Conclude facendo appello «all'umanità che è del carattere beneficiante di questo umanissimo governo, affinché si provveda anche all'infelicità di alloggio delle mogli dei bassi ufficiali e soldati di guardia» che egli definisce «sepolcro dei viventi», proponendo il «rialzo di detto quartieretto e levando il terreno a ridosso». ⁶⁹ Prevenzione, ricerca delle cause del male, ricorso alla medicina e alla farmacopea, quarantene e disinfestazioni, assistenza ai malati, ai poveri, ai pellegrini, partendo dalla considerazione che il povero e l'emarginato potessero rappresentare una possibilità di turbamento e di pericolo per la società tutta, ecco in sintesi rappresentata l'opera del Magistrato al Lido, tesa a dare a tutti le migliori condizioni di vita. Peccato però che in quest'ultimo caso, la Relazione Ferro sia dell'8 febbraio 1795. ⁷⁰ Il Lido, come tutta Venezia, si appresta a vivere la sua fine e ad entrare ormai in un'altra storia.

⁶⁹ Notiamo come questa idea di fare ricorso a dei ventilatori non sia un'idea nuova, avendola già trovata in una lettera di un medico al Magistrato del 1762, che proponeva «una macchina per cambiare l'aria chiusa e corrotta sui pubblici bastimenti, in aria pura e innocente».

⁷⁰ ASve: *Prov. alle Fortezze*, b. 31.

VALENTINO PANCIERA BESAREL:
DUE OPERE DELL'ARTISTA BELLUNESE
A S. GIORGIO MAGGIORE

SERGIO BALDAN

DAL 21 dicembre 2002 al 30 marzo 2003, presso il Museo di Palazzo Crepadona di Belluno, e nella chiesa dell'Addolorata di Forno di Zoldo, si è tenuta un'importante mostra sulla produzione artistica di Valentino Panciera Besarel, nel primo centenario della morte. Nell'occasione venne dato alle stampe un esaustivo catalogo, nel quale venivano compiutamente descritte sia le opere esposte e quante altre si era riusciti a rintracciare. Dal ponderoso volume mancavano però i due lavori che si trovano nella basilica di S. Giorgio Maggiore a Venezia: un 'Crocifisso' e un 'armadio', entrambi portano il suo nome inciso nella parte inferiore.

Questa ricerca è volta quindi a colmare tale piccola lacuna, ed è stata possibile grazie alla disponibilità dei monaci del monastero di S. Giorgio, che hanno consentito la ricerca di documenti presso il loro archivio.

Valentino Panciera Besarel era nato ad Astragal di Zoldo, in provincia di Belluno, il 29 luglio del 1829, suo padre, Giovanni Battista, era un discreto artigiano del legno. Le modeste condizioni economiche della famiglia non gli permisero di seguire dei regolari studi, solo verso i vent'anni poté frequentare per un triennio l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia, sotto la guida di Luigi Ferrari (1810-1894). Da questo importante scultore accademico della prima metà dell'800 apprese una buona conoscenza del disegno e della figura. Valentino però sempre considerò suo maestro ideale Andrea Brustolon (1662-1732), anche lui di origine zoldana. Alle opere di questo suo grande conterraneo egli si ispirò più volte, raccogliendo nel contempo disegni, lavori e notizie.

Fin dagli inizi ebbe, come principale collaboratore, suo fratello Francesco, e i due nomi apparvero spesso affiancati. La sua prima importante commissione furono i busti dei Quattro Evangelisti per la cattedrale di Belluno. Nel 1861 parteciparono all'Esposizione Na-

zionale d'Arte di Firenze, e successivamente non fu mai assente ad alcuna manifestazione italiana od europea, ove notevole spazio era riservato alle arti decorative e quindi al mobilio.

Nel 1870 si trasferirono a Venezia, aprendovi all'inizio una modesta bottega. Nel 1873, in occasione dell'Esposizione Internazionale di Vienna ottennero importanti riconoscimenti, poi a Parigi nel 1878, a Milano nel 1881, a Torino nel 1884, da ognuna di queste città ritornarono a Venezia con medaglie, diplomi e onorificenze. Le loro cornici, ghirlande di putti, candelabri, busti, credenze, sedie, panche, statue, ecc. furono ammirate e ben presto a loro commissionate da tutta Europa, diventando tra i principali fornitori di arredi per le varie monarchie europee. Intanto le loro opere continuavano ad arricchire le varie chiese del Cadore, e in special modo della valle di Zoldo.

All'Esposizione di Parigi del 1889 fecero la loro comparsa anche una serie di dodici poltrone che, insieme a due tavoli, gli erano stati commissionati per arredare la sala dei ricevimenti del Quirinale. Intanto dalla modesta bottega i Besarel si erano trasferiti in un edificio prospiciente il Canal Grande, nella fondamenta del traghetto di S. Barnaba, a fianco dell'attuale Museo di Ca' Rezzonico. Numerosi lavoranti-allievi operavano sotto la guida di Valentino, che tuttavia rimaneva sempre l'esecutore dei disegni e degli interventi più delicati e difficili. Il suo studio, accessibile a tutti, era una specie di museo di sculture ed intagli lignei.

Morì il 10 dicembre 1902, mentre nella sua bottega stava scolpendo un Crocifisso.

L' ARMADIO

Dunque era la sua un'importante presenza sulla scena artigianale ed artistica nella Venezia di fine '800, e come tale era stato invitato dal priore del monastero di S. Giorgio Maggiore per festeggiare l'avvenuto ritorno a Venezia del prezioso «fornimento» pontificio, che ormai da quasi un secolo si trovava a Milano presso la Reale chiesa di S. Gotardo. Si trattava di un servizio di candelabri di bronzo dorato in stile Impero: sei grandi, quattro piccoli, poi un Crocifisso e tre *cartegloria*.

Il «fornimento» era stato fatto pervenire ai monaci nel 1803 da papa Pio VII, come ringraziamento per aver ospitato quel Conclave (1° dic. 1799-14 mar. 1800), grazie al quale era stato elevato al soglio pontificio. A seguito delle soppressioni monastiche del 1806, il prezioso servizio

era stato inviato a Milano, e solo con un insistente interessamento, durato decenni, finalmente il 21 gennaio 1892 faceva il suo ritorno a Venezia. Dopo qualche giorno, il 25 gennaio, il rettore di S. Giorgio invitava per un rinfresco coloro che più si erano prodigati per il felice esito della vicenda.¹ Nell'occasione era stato invitato anche Valentino Panciera Besarel, poiché l'intenzione del priore era quello di far costruire un armadio (FIG. 1), artisticamente degno di custodire il tanto agognato e bentornato «fornimento».

Tutta la vicenda viene riportata nei volumi IV, V e VI della Cronaca Monastica e nella busta C/2 dell'Archivio del monastero di S. Giorgio Maggiore. L'estensore della Cronaca è stato il rettore Marino Frattin.²

Siamo così verso l'una del 25 gennaio 1892, e nel monastero di S. Giorgio Maggiore gli invitati sono seduti attorno al tavolo del refettorio per fare un po' di «allegrezza assieme» con una «bagnatina», che il cronista descrive come «modesta», ma tanto non doveva esserlo poiché «si ebbe la minestra di riso, allessato di manzo e castrato con peperoni, cosiddetti rafioi di pasta sfoglia, arrosto di vitello con insalata, piatto dolce, veramente buono, formaggio emmenthal e pomi. Vino da pasto, del nostro solito, ed al dolce una bottiglia di vino Alicante di Spagna [...]». Tra gli invitati vi era anche una persona che non aveva avuto nessun ruolo nella vicenda: Valentino Panciera Besarel.

Terminato il pranzo, e dopo passati in un attiguo salottino per il caffè e un bicchierino di liquore «benedettino», il gruppo si portò in un vicino locale dove erano stati esposti i famosi candelabri. Intanto il priore Frattin

[...] aveva espresso ai prefati Signori il bisogno di un Armadio per rinchiudere e custodire ordinariamente il suddetto Dono di Papa Pio VII (bisogno già ventilato fra noi; ed in quanto al luogo riconosciuto più opportuno ridosso

¹ La vicenda inerente al ritorno a Venezia dei candelabri di Pio VII sarà l'argomento di una prossima ricerca.

² Marino Frattin era nato a Venezia il 12 maggio 1840, il 17 maggio 1860 aveva fatto la professione monastica, mentre il 17 maggio 1870 era stato consacrato sacerdote. Dal 1872 al 1910 ricoprì la carica di padre superiore (o rettore) di S. Giorgio Maggiore. Persona di grande cultura e intraprendenza, era riuscito ad ottenere dai militari altri locali per la comunità, aveva formato un nutrito archivio e organizzato le feste giubilari per il primo centenario dell'elezione di Pio VII. Era stato confessore del patriarca Giuseppe Sarto, poi diventato papa Pio X. Morì a Venezia il 19 febbraio 1910.

la parete bianca nella Cappella di Santa Scolastica di fronte alla porta che conduce alla Sagrestia). Li condusse quindi prima e dopo il pranzo in chiesa; e dopo bene esaminato la proposta trovarono Essi pure non esserci in Chiesa posto migliore che l'indicato. Convennero che un Armadio ben fatto e decorato sarebbe di ornamento, e completerebbe anzi il monumento.

Sentite le idee del priore, e in special modo quella riguardante il luogo dove l'armadio sarebbe stato ubicato, il Besarel si impegnava a preparare «tre o quattro disegni», dai quali far scegliere quello che sarebbe stato ritenuto più idoneo. Ma assieme all'idea dell'armadio, il priore fa anche subito sapere che di soldi non ce ne sono attualmente nemmeno l'ombra, sperando di poter trovare nel frattempo dei finanziatori, confidando poi che il cavaliere Besarel, vista la cassa miseramente vuota, si sarebbe limitato al massimo nel prezzo. D'altronde solo un armadio elegante poteva essere il naturale contenitore di un tesoro artistico come il «fornimento» di Pio VII.

Il successivo 25 febbraio, giorno di giovedì grasso, il Besarel portava a S. Giorgio due disegni per l'armadio. «I due modelli hanno il medesimo disegno uno però più ornato dell'altro. Ambedue sono disegnati a modo di vetrina; il prezzo dell'Armadio più ornamentato sarebbe di £ 2500:- (senza i cristalli), dell'altro più semplice £ 1400:- (sempre non compresi i cristalli)».

I disegni presentati sono apparsi interessanti, ma troppo grandi per il luogo che si era individuato, e avrebbero comportato lo spostamento anche della «lapide del Bollani». Viste le difficoltà oggettive, il Besarel si impegnava a prepararne in breve tempo un altro

a modo di cassone che abbia la sua base sul pavimento, nella parte superiore non arcuata, contentarsi di una fascia decorosa; l'armadio sia ad un solo ordine all'altezza da terra oltre un metro, che presenti i candelabri maggiori e minori e la Croce a modo di Altare, e le tabelle siano collocate sul fondo dell'Armadio sfondato sulla parete in maniera che si veggano bene fra i candelieri, che il detto Armadio non sia fatto a modo di vetrina ma abbiano le sue porte di noce come tutto il mobile. Si presero a quest'oggetto misure più precise, ed occorrendo in seguito se gliene somministreranno altre, perché non abbiasi bisogno di ulteriori disegni.

Passa così quasi un altro mese, e domenica 20 marzo, quando la piccola comunità benedettina si stava preparando per festeggiare all'indomani la festa di s. Benedetto, ecco l'artista ritornare a S. Giorgio con un nuovo progetto. Questa volta «il disegno è più semplice del

precedente: in prospettiva segna solamente le vetrate o i cristalli; le porte non sono ancora disegnate. Il disegno si mantiene ligio sulle misure stabilite, e sembra che sia adatto alla Cappella».

Passano altre due settimane e il 3 di aprile, domenica delle Palme, viene presentato il disegno completo:

Vi si vedono tutti gli ornati prestabiliti, ed anche l'idea dello specchio di difesa dalla polvere e da altro degli oggetti da custodirsi. Il disegno tiene una tal quale convenienza cogli altri lavori del Coro e del Presbiterio; perciò sopra la fascia son posti dei vasi e fogliami con teste di angeli. Sugli specchi delle portelle, nel mezzo è disegnato lo Stemma di Pio VII, a destra del medesimo quello di S. Giorgio; a sinistra si potrebbe mettere quello di Venezia. [se verrà eseguito il lavoro, a destra si porrà s. Marco a sinistra s. Giorgio] Tutto il lavoro avrebbe da essere eseguito in noce. Il prezzo sarebbe di £ 2000 non però assoluto, bensì approssimativo. Il disegno si presenta bene e lascia intravedere il buon effetto. Si è servito il detto buon Signore di un rinfresco e sul mezzogiorno è ritornato in Città.

Nei giorni successivi il disegno viene visto e rivisto, però ad alcuni lasciava ancora qualche perplessità, lo si riteneva un po' troppo decorato, in modo tale che poteva sembrare poco omogeneo rispetto alla semplicità classica della chiesa. Così che il Besarel, ritornato nuovamente in isola il successivo sabato 9 aprile, se ne ripartì impegnandosi a rivederlo e semplificarlo.

Dopo qualche giorno è invece il priore che si porta nel laboratorio di S. Barnaba

per consegnargli lo Stemma di questo S. Giorgio, un buon esemplare in litografia che abbiamo già da tanti anni. Venne licenziato il lodato Cavaliere a riprodurre il disegno dell'Armadio, con quelle modificazioni, nella parte decorativa, che Egli stimasse bene di farvi, contrariamente a quello che sopra si è ricordato. Circa gli stemmi, deve rimanere nel mezzo lo Stemma Pontificio, sul cimiere, sopra la fascia dell'Armadio, è da stabilirsi lo stemma di S. Giorgio con quelle decorazioni che stimerà bene l'Artista di adottare. Sulle due portelle laterali preparare per intanto analoghi disegni ad arbitrio. Se poi Casa Reale ed il Municipio nostro concorreranno in qualche maniera a sostenere le spese inerenti, vi si porranno a diritta lo stemma di Casa Reale ed a sinistra quello della Città.

Si arriva in tal modo al 20 giugno, quando «il Sig.^r Besarel ha consegnato finalmente il Disegno per l'Armadio [...] con quelle modificazioni che vennero consigliate [...]. Il Disegno è riuscito, si può dire, puro, dello stile lombardesco. Forse è troppo bello: il prezzo si mantiene

press'a poco lo stesso, cioè di £ 2000 circa per conto dello Scultore». Individuato finalmente il disegno definitivo, si affaccia ora un altro e ancor più grave problema: trovare i soldi necessari. Si era sperato di trovare un mecenate che potesse contribuire in modo sostanzioso, così il 12 luglio si pensò di interpellare

Sua Altezza Reale D. Carlo VII, Duca di Madrid [...] con apposita lettera al suo Ciambellano, Conte Francesco Melgar, dando i particolari e chiedendone udienza.

Oggi sul mezzogiorno è qui venuto il Cav. Andrea Battaggia, antico nostro conoscente, ben conosciuto per la sua tipografia Emiliana a S. Giacomo dell'Orio, incaricato dal Principe, a mezzo del Conte Melgar di riferire questo al P. Superiore che S. Altezza R. non si troverebbe in condizioni di assumere l'accennato incarico; che non di meno ricevesse altri particolari, se cioè occorresse che S. A. R. conoscesse con tutta la somma, quanto sarebbe da venire all'esecuzione etc. Il P. Superiore diede tutti i ragguagli necessari ed opportuni perché il lodato Cavaliere venisse a conoscenza di tutta la cosa. Lo rassicurò che i Padri non avrebbero insistito su tutta la somma; ma su di una buona parte solamente all'effetto di poter stabilire sull'Armadio il Blasone, come già era accennato nella stessa lettera; che richiedendosi la somma di presso che £ 2000, avrebbe ritenute sufficienti per la protezione del Principe £ 1500; un'offerta molto minore non avrebbe permesso di apporre sul lavoro lo stemma. Fece vedere al Cavaliere il disegno dell'Armadio, cui piacque; vide il Fornimento dell'Altare Maggiore di Pio VII. e rimase ben soddisfatto. Di tutto questo il detto Padre avrebbe fatto cenno al Principe, qualora gli avesse accordato l'udienza. Il Cav. Battaggia riflettendo sull'incarico avuto, ritiene che non dovrà più aver luogo un totale rifiuto; vede difficile, anche per altre circostanze, indipendentemente dai mezzi pecuniari, che il Principe si assuma anche per metà l'impresa; che nonostante questo farà quanto potrà, perché dia almeno il suo concorso. Si è pensato anche se fosse possibile indurlo a venire a vedere il Fornimento ed il disegno dell'Armadio, il che non verrà ottenuto. Il suddetto Cav. Battaggia ha assicurato il nostro Padre, che non mancherebbe di fargli conoscere l'esito della sua conferenza a Palazzo del Principe. Ricevuto un rinfresco e verso le una pomeridiane si restituì in Città. Se son rose fioriranno!³

Ma ben presto ci si rende conto che da parte di *don Carlos* non sarebbero arrivati gli agognati denari, anche se viene fatto un altro tenta-

³ Carlo Maria di Borbone-Spagna, (Lubiana, 30 marzo 1848-Varese, 18 luglio 1909), duca di Madrid, dal 1887 era il membro più anziano della Casa di Borbone, fu il pretendente carlista al trono di Spagna con il nome di Carlo VII dal 1868 (data dell'abdicazione paterna), e il pretendente legittimista al trono di Francia e Navarra con il nome di Carlo XI in seguito alla morte del padre. In questi anni risiedeva a Venezia.

tivo inviando una analoga lettera a sua madre, l'Infanta Beatrice, che risiedeva a Graz. Intanto, su suggerimento di mons. Luigi Zanetti, cameriere segreto del papa, si inviano lettere analoghe ad altre persone nobili e facoltose residenti in città, tra di esse si nutriveva una particolare speranza sulla contessa Da Porto-Real.

Si arriva così al 25 gennaio del 1893. In quel periodo si trovava a Venezia anche il principe Tommaso di Savoia,⁴ allora il priore di S. Giorgio gli fece pervenire una lettera tramite il segretario De Georgis. Il principe si fece vivo il giorno seguente, incaricando il suo aiutante di campo, conte Galleani di S. Ambrogio, a venire in isola e consegnare la somma di 100 lire. La notizia viene fatta opportunamente pubblicare dai giornali cittadini, sperando in tal modo di provocare uno spirito di emulazione.

La notizia del sussidio elargito dal principe Tommaso portò un po' alla ribalta nazionale il problema del finanziamento dell'armadio. Così

il M. R.do P. D. Salvatore De Filippis Missionario Apostolico Superiore del suo Istituto in Cercola presso Napoli, che fu qui due volte ospite [...] venuto a conoscenza della cosa, spontaneamente offrì a questo P. Superiore di aprire una sottoscrizione, affinché l'Armadio venga fatto; ed intanto Egli esibisce di celebrare N°100 Messe a quest'oggetto ed assicura che altri pure celebreranno, subito che ne verranno avvertiti. Il detto Padre risponde con i ben dovuti ringraziamenti che accetta l'una e l'altra proposta a condizione però che se l'Armadio verrà fatto, verrà adoperata la somma che per questo motivo sarà rimasta qui; che se non venisse eseguito per insufficienza di mezzi, tutti i denari verrebbero prontamente restituiti.

L'attivismo del priore di S. Giorgio non conosce ostacoli, infatti nel mese di febbraio egli

scrisse per chiedere un soccorso al Padre Gran Priore della Certosa di Grenoble, a Sua Alt. R. la Principessa Clotilde di Savoia a Moncalieri, ai tre E.mi

⁴ Figlio di Ferdinando di Savoia-Genova, e di Elisabetta di Sassonia, fratello minore di Margherita di Savoia, regina d'Italia, Tommaso fu orfano di padre all'età di un anno. Venne perciò posto sotto la tutela dello zio Vittorio Emanuele II, che ne seguì l'educazione. Divenne duca di Genova nel 1855. Dedito alla vita sportiva, dal 31 marzo 1879 al 20 settembre 1881, con il grado di capitano di fregata (poi promosso durante la traversata capitano di vascello) fece il giro del mondo al comando della corvetta *Vettor Pisani*. Nel 1915, all'entrata dell'Italia nella prima guerra mondiale, Vittorio Emanuele III decise di trasferirsi da Roma al fronte. Affidò dunque parte delle sue funzioni regali a Tommaso, nominandolo luogotenente generale del Regno.

Cardinali Arcivescovi Benedettini Cassinesi di Catania, Palermo e di Napoli: a tutti questi con lettera raccomandata; finalmente, e questo per gentile ed amorevole suggerimento di Mons. Bernardi, già più volte menzionato per il fornimento e per l'Armadio, scrive il detto Padre al S. Padre il Sommo Pontefice,⁵ a mezzo del fedelissimo Mons. Storti. Scrive pure alle loro Maestà i nostri Sovrani, per il tramite del Signor Comm. Baldini Direttore della Real Casa di qui [...], il quale con somma cortesia si è assunto di accompagnare l'Istanza.

Ma il 1° marzo il diligente cronista annotava che purtroppo dalla Santa Sede non sarebbe arrivata una lira. Mentre la lettera inviata a re Umberto I e alla regina Margherita era stata, dal ministro della Real Casa, dirottata al Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia, che a sua volta l'aveva fatta pervenire al suo Ufficio Economato di Venezia perché la prendesse in eventuale considerazione. Mentre dalla principessa Clotilde, dal priore di Grenoble e dai cardinali benedettini non arrivarono neppure le risposte. Altri però, meno importanti, avevano aderito all'invito inviando piccole somme. Comunque non ci si dispera, «il Signore provvederà!»

Intanto il tempo passava e si arriva al 27 novembre del 1894, i soldi in cassa avevano raggiunto le 1.500 lire. Si può dire che si era arrivati ad un buon punto, così il priore decide di tornare alla carica con il Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia, tramite l'Economo Generale di Venezia, che si era dimostrato un grande amico di S. Giorgio. Grazie alle sue conoscenze, viene interessato anche il Ministero degli Interni.

Finalmente la tanto attesa notizia arriva! Il successivo 30 novembre l'Economo Generale fa sapere di essere riuscito reperire tra i «Fondi Economali il sussidio di £ 500 per l'Armadio Artistico, che dovrà custodire il Fornimento di Pio VII, che verranno liquidate da quella Cassa quando sarà comprovato che l'Armadio in parola sia finito e messo a posto». Ormai la fatidica quota di 2.000 lire era stata raggiunta.

Ma ora si fa avanti un altro problema: per inserire l'armadio ci vuole l'assenso della Commissione Conservatrice dei Monumenti. Ecco

⁵ Papa Leone XIII, nato Vincenzo Gioacchino Raffaele Luigi Pecci (Carpineto Romano, 2 marzo 1810-Roma, 20 luglio 1903), è stato il 256° papa della Chiesa cattolica (dal 1878 alla morte). Leone XIII è ricordato nella storia dei papi dell'epoca moderna come il pontefice che ritenne che, fra i compiti della Chiesa, rientrasse anche l'attività pastorale in campo socio-politico. Viene ricordato quale papa delle encicliche: ne scrisse ben ottantasei, con lo scopo di superare l'isolamento nel quale lo Stato pontificio si era ritrovato dopo la perdita del potere temporale.

allora intervenire Guglielmo Berchet,⁶ anche lui amico e sostenitore dei monaci di S. Giorgio, e anche membro della Commissione stessa, il cui presidente era il prefetto. Non restava altro che invitare il Berchet a S. Giorgio, fargli vedere il progetto, ascoltando i suoi eventuali suggerimenti e confidando nei suoi buoni rapporti con il prefetto.

Così nel pomeriggio del 28 gennaio 1895:

Venne difatti il cortese Signore all'ora indicata, e visto il disegno, già da noi scelto, ed il luogo da collocare l'Armadio [...], trovò conveniente l'uno e l'altro; soltanto, riguardo al disegno espose il suo parere di omettere la cimasa, per lasciare la sua originalità al Coro; e che converrebbe che oltre il disegno dell'Armadio venisse fatto altro disegno dove la Commissione vedesse accertato il luogo, cioè tutta la parete dove avrebbe da venir situato l'Armadio, e la proposta mutazione del sito del quadro dell'Aliense che rappresenta la Gloria di San Benedetto e la lapide mortuaria Bolani. Preso un caffè, il detto Signore, si è licenziato tre quarti di ora appresso per ritornare col vaporetto in Città.

Alla mattina del giorno seguente, il priore si reca subito presso il laboratorio Besarel, parlandogli della necessità di un disegno che comprenda tutta la parete. Nel pomeriggio il Besarel va a S. Giorgio per prendere tutte le misure riguardanti la parete, con l'occasione si torna a parlare dell'armadio, e qui avvengono le prime divergenze sul prezzo. Infatti «in questa occasione si sono rinfrescate le idee intorno al lavoro progettato, cioè sull'ornato, sui cristalli, sulle chiusure da farsi, sui cassettoni da farsi nella parte inferiore, sulle qualità della noce, sulle ferramenta e chiavi tutto in ottone etc. etc. ed in fine sul prezzo, che il Besarel vuole mantenere sulle £ 2000. Il nostro Padre lo vorrebbe diminuire, il Besarel accennò invece alla probabilità di aumentarlo!!».

L'8 febbraio il disegno è pronto e, assieme a quello specifico dell'armadio, vengono portati dal commendatore Berchet al prefetto. Ma la convocazione della Commissione non era prevista in tempi brevi, però si garantisce che, quando ciò accadrà, la questione dell'armadio verrà discussa per prima.

⁶ Nato a Venezia nel 1833, partecipò alla difesa della città nel 1848, come volontario nella Guardia Civica. Laureato in Giurisprudenza a Padova si interessò allo studio delle fonti della storia di Venezia, collaborando al programma di fondazione dell'Archivio Veneto. Sospettato dagli Austriaci di aver intrattenuto corrispondenza con gli esuli veneti in Piemonte e Lombardia, scappò da Venezia poco prima del 1866. Dopo l'Unità, il Comune gli affidò, fra gli altri, l'incarico di riorganizzare le Scuole pubbliche Serali, le Opere di Carità, gli Enti culturali. Fu consigliere comunale, assessore e anche segretario perpetuo dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti. Morì nel 1919 nella sua villa di Mestre.

La mattina dell'11 aprile, il cav. Antonio Pavan, membro della Commissione, si recava a S. Giorgio per vedere di persona il luogo prescelto per l'armadio, facendosene così un'opinione diretta, da poter poi presentare nella riunione che si sarebbe tenuta nel pomeriggio. Finalmente il 16 aprile arriva la risposta affermativa, con un'annotazione dove si «consiglia che gli ornamenti sugli specchi sui serramenti dell'Armadio vengano condotti sullo stile di altri simili ornati che si trovano nella stessa Chiesa».

Dopo qualche giorno nel laboratorio di S. Barnaba

il Besarel ha cominciato a squadrare il legname di noce molto stagionato, come si scorge dalla qualità: sono massi di noce di un albero gigantesco delle sue montagne feltrine, che da molti anni conserva in deposito nel locale del suo Stabilimento. Sono i primi lavori per la costruzione dell'Armadio [...]. Preparerà, giusta le intelligenze col nostro Padre, in iscritto il progetto relativo particolareggiato tanto riguardo il lavoro dell'Armadio quanto sul prezzo. Il detto Padre ha fatto pratiche presso la Ditta Massaro a S. Pantaleone per la provvista dei Cristalli a norma press'a poco delle misure avute dal Besarel circa la grandezza e grossezza. Sino ai 10 millimetri di spessore i tre cristalli occorrenti costerebbero poco oltre le £ 200.

Domenica 5 maggio il Besarel con i suoi aiutanti si recava a S. Giorgio con l'intenzione di vedere di persona il lavoro da eseguire. Esattamente un mese dopo il Besarel consegnava ai monaci, facendosi controfirmare una copia, il preventivo particolareggiato del lavoro da farsi:

Venise, le 4 giugno 1895. – Il sottoscritto si obbliga di costruire un Armadio destinato a contenere il fornimento dell'Altare Maggiore della Chiesa di S. Giorgio in Isola regalato dal Sommo Pontefice Pio VII. La costruzione sarà fatta a norma del disegno presentato ed approvato dalla Commissione Conservatrice dei Monumenti di questa Città, in legno di noce ferramenta di ottone, lucido a cera, imitazione dell'antico. I cristalli dei telai interni saranno a carico del committente e l'artista si riserva di fare quelle modificazioni che in corso di costruzione dell'Armadio crederà opportune e ciò a norma delle istruzioni date dalla sullodata Commissione.

Per le opere murarie viene interessata un'impresa edile. Così il rettore Marin, il 16 di agosto, si reca al laboratorio Besarel «per mettersi d'intelligenza su quello si debba fare dall'impresa Mansutti per la nicchia o sfondo sul muro laterale della Cappella di S.ta Scolastica; ed infatti la detta impresa, abbandonata l'idea di trasportare qui l'Armadio, prenderà solamente le misure del Mobile, l'Altezza, cioè, larghezza e

la profondità dello stesso per preparare il relativo sfondo sulla parete. Il Signor Enea Mansutti comincerà il lavoro la settimana ventura». Dopo tre giorni i muratori sono all'opera per preparare il cantiere, creando delle staccionate che possano consentire di lavorare al riparo dai curiosi e, contemporaneamente, proteggere dalla polvere la chiesa.

Il 25 settembre «il corpo dell'Armadio è finito: ora metterà mano alla parte ornamentale: ritiene il cavaliere che per Dicembre prossimo potrà venire trasportato qui il lavoro. Però il detto Padre ripeté al suddetto Signore che non vi ha in ciò nessuna premura; perché l'opera riesca bene, giorni più giorni meno, non essendovi premura, il ritardo non pregiudica».

Da un'annotazione del successivo mese di ottobre, si apprende che finalmente si era deciso quali stemmi apporre sulle porte dell'armadio. Pertanto

venne risolto che vengano lavorati tre soli Stemmi ed applicati sulle tre porte. In mezzo quello del Sommo Pontefice Pio VII, appunto perché l'Armadio vien fatto per custodire il suo Dono; alla destra dello Stemma di Pio VII, quello di casa Savoia per due motivi: 1° perché per condiscendenza dei Sovrani avvenne che il prezioso Fornimento Pontificio venne qui restituito; 2° perché o molto o poco concorse a sostenere la spesa [...], e si spera che ad opera compiuta si potrà ottenere dal Governo qualche altro aiuto. Alla sinistra finalmente del suddetto Stemma di Pio VII verrà messo il nostro di S. Giorgio. Questi stemmi consisteranno nei soli blasoni, senza gli accessori decorativi.

Il 6 di dicembre, approfittando del fatto di essere andato a celebrare la Messa nella chiesa di S. Nicolò dei Mendicoli, il rettore Marin andava a far visita al laboratorio Besarel, per vedere in special modo come andava il lavoro sugli stemmi. Erano quasi terminati, ma

però fallato quello di S. Giorgio, nel senso che venne scolpita la sola Croce cavalleresca del S. Martire; mentre, secondo l'esemplare consegnato doveva venir diviso in due il blasone, ed a destra scolpito lo stemma della Congregazione nostra, ed a sinistra quello di S. Giorgio: questo Stemma deve dunque rifarsi. Lo Stemma Pontificio deve venire corretto sul Pax, perché l'a deve vedersi sulla Croce e le due consonanti ai lati: le due prime lettere erano scolpite a destra, la x a sinistra. Anche la Tiara nella parte culminante deve venire un po' diminuita, per riuscire più proporzionata: così un po' più allargata la corona di mezzo. Lo Stemma di Casa Savoia è certificato consistere nella sola Croce bianca in campo rosso, e che questo blasone diviene

Nazione quando vi si aggiungono i Leoni, le bandiere e gli altri ornamenti. Rimane quindi com'è preparato. Le parti poi decorative di tutti e tre questi Stemmi si presentano bene benché ancora non del tutto compiute. L'errore sovra indicato sarà cagione che probabilmente nemmeno in questo mese venga qui trasportato l'Armadio.

Per definire nei particolari l'aspetto degli stemmi occorreranno un altro paio di visite, ma con quella del 31 dicembre finalmente si era potuto constatare che gli stemmi erano stati completamente rifiniti. Si doveva ora trovare per l'armadio un colore che fosse in armonia con le altre strutture lignee che c'erano in chiesa, in special modo dell'imponente e prestigioso coro ligneo. Così il successivo 10 gennaio un lavorante del Besarel va a S. Giorgio a prenderne alcuni pezzi per poterne imitare la tinta.

Il 21 gennaio del 1896 finalmente l'armadio, smontato in pezzi, veniva portato a S. Giorgio. Il caso volle che proprio in questo stesso giorno di quattro anni fa i preziosi candelabri erano ritornati. Poco dopo le varie parti vengono montate, mancano solo le portelle e gli accessori. All'indomani «verso il mezzogiorno è venuto il Cav. Besarel per osservare l'Armadio suddetto: vi fece prova dei Candelabri e delle Tabelle etc., per preparare le opportune misure onde preparare le mensole per i candelabri inferiori e le dette Tabelle etc. etc. Lasciò detto che non prima della settimana ventura potrà ritornare per dar compimento al lavoro».

Dopo un paio di giorni,

nelle ore pomeridiane è venuto il Sig. Besarel con altri lavori relativi all'Armadio pel Fornimento di Pio VII. Ha portato i tre telai per la vetrina coi cristalli dello spessore di un centimetro provvisti dal Sig. Massaro [...]: il gradino interno su cui devono posare i candelabri; ha portato due zoccoli per i candelabri, già ornati e le mensoline per le tabelle. Venne fatta prova di tutte queste cose e fermata la distribuzione degli oggetti. Si è persuasi che e gli zoccoli e le mensoline dovrebbero venir dorate od argentate! Il Besarel vorrebbe questa novità chiamarla addizionale, alla qual voce il nostro Padre non corrisponde: certo che il gusto vuol la sua parte..., in fine poi si vedrà. È pure stabilito che l'interno dell'Armadio verrà dipinto a velluto cremisi.

Mercoledì 12 febbraio lo stesso Besarel, con i suoi collaboratori, si recava a S. Giorgio per dare un'ultima mano ai lavori, arrivano anche i muratori dell'impresa Mansutti: ormai si è alle fasi finali. Vi ritornano tutti anche l'indomani, finalmente i lavori sono terminati e «l'Armadio veramente si presenta bene fa bella mostra di sé adesso che sono

tolte i due tavolati di chiusura della Cappella e che la parete è nel suo essere naturale cioè pulita e candida; e si spera che riuscirà di comune soddisfazione».

Si era intanto discusso se i candelabri sarebbero stati di miglior aspetto se fossero stati esposti con le candele inserite,

per questo sin dalla settimana scorsa venne pregato lo Stabilimento Cereria Gavazzi, che avesse preparate le sei candele della lunghezza di 80 centimetri di legno coperti di cera [...]. Si diede lo stemma nostro a Blasone diviso in due campi: a destra con lo Stemma della nostra Congregazione, a sinistra con quello di S. Giorgio; e sopra il Blasone le insegne Badiali coperto dal Cappello nero coi fiocchi. Oggi, in conformità a preghiera fattane, si ebbe qui il lavoro finito che è riuscito molto geniale e molto bello lo Stemma.

Ma la gioia del lavoro finalmente terminato veniva in parte mitigata dal pensiero del denaro ancora mancante. Così, in previsione della prossima esposizione pubblica dei candelabri e dell'armadio «si è pensato di provvedere una cassetta grande a modo di banchetto, e di collocarla vicino al nuovo Armadio con una relativa scritta in volgare ed in francese, per raccogliere quelle offerte che i visitatori del medesimo volessero metterci».

Nel frattempo si sarebbe provveduto ad avvisare i giornali dell'avvenuta fine dei lavori, preparando una relazione che si sarebbe dovuta pubblicare nel giornale cattolico «La Difesa», e poi sulla «Gazzetta» e sull'«Adriatico». Intanto si sarebbe provveduto a far stampare dalla tipografia ex Cordella un foglio da distribuire ai visitatori, con su scritto:

Lo stile dell'Armadio è pretto del cinquecento; ov'è collocato armonizza colla detta Cappella di S.ta Scolastica e ne adorna la parete per modo che sembra fatto insieme alla medesima. Misura oltre tre metri di altezza e larghezza; riposa su base adatta al tutto; ai fianchi si innalzano due lesène scanalate, sormontate da capitelli di ordine composito, che sostengono la cimasa che porta all'ingiro una fascia delicatamente scolpita: è desso tutto di noce, di forme robuste, rannodate alla gentilezza della scultura. – La mostra sostiene tre porte: sul centro di quella di mezzo, divisa in due, trionfa lo Stemma di Pio VII con le insegne della suprema sua dignità di sopra, ed al dissotto sembra sostenuto da due fasci di quercia e di alloro, simboli della fortezza e della gloria. Quella a destra tiene parimenti sul centro lo Stemma della Famiglia Reale, la quale graziosamente acconsentì che venisse ridonata a Venezia la sua patria memoria, ed a sinistra quello di S. Giorgio Maggiore a perenne ricordo del providenziale avvenimento che si compì sulla stori-

ca isoletta. Le linee, le decorazioni, le testine degli angioletti in bell'ordine distribuite formano un insieme artisticamente ammirabile. – Nell'interno dell'Armadio, a tinta di velluto cremisi sono mirabilmente disposti gli oggetti [...]: nel mezzo cioè la bellissima Croce, ai lati i sei Candelabri; framezzo a questi, su bellissimi zoccoli, ornati a colori d'oro e d'argento, sono collocati a giusta altezza i quattro candelabri minori; e sullo sfondo dell'Armadio, su mensoline di finissimo gusto parimenti dorate, sono ben disposte le Tabelle, le quali, come da vicino, così alla voluta distanza si pongono sempre agli occhi dei guardanti per quel che sono, un capo d'opera. Tutto questo elegantissimo Fornimento risplende fulgidamente sotto a tesissimi cristalli, che dal Besarel sono stati intelaiati e scorrono su appositi corridori. Questo è l'oggetto d'arte che oggi viene inaugurato alla presenza di detti Personaggi [...].»

Si fece stampare anche la lettera in latino di Pio VII che, nel lontano 1803, aveva accompagnato il prezioso dono, e anche la traduzione in italiano. I due fogli vennero posti entro cornici sistemate all'interno dell'armadio. Ora che i lavori sono terminati, il rettore vorrebbe che i due disegni (quello dell'armadio e quello della parete completa) fossero conservati nell'archivio di S. Giorgio. Purtroppo il primo non lo si è potuto recuperare, si sospetta che qualcuno l'abbia trafugato dal laboratorio Besarel.

Ormai tutto è pronto per la solenne inaugurazione dell'armadio con l'esposizione del famoso «fornimento», viene deciso che ciò avverrà il prossimo lunedì 17 febbraio, l'ottava della festa di s. Scolastica. Alla domenica che lo precede «vennero ben ripuliti i cristalli, e lo stesso Fornimento venne tutto preso per mano ben ripulito e rilucidato: sui sei Candelabri vennero puntate le candele fatte preparare dalla Cereria Gavazzi che fanno col tutto un bellissimo effetto».

L'atteso lunedì è intanto arrivato, ma molti degli invitati, per vari problemi, hanno declinato l'invito. Così

alle 11 antimeridiane sono venuti i due Rev.di Sacerdoti D. Giuseppe Pagan e D. Armando Spagno, invitati nostri commensali. Don Giuseppe è venuto per licenziarsi subito, avendo in casa sua una persona moribonda. Il R.mo Pievano di S. Luca non può venire impeditone da impegni in Parrocchia. Mons. Bernardi e il Comm. Masotti impossibilitati a venire perché ammalati; il Comm. Berchet parimenti non viene. Alle 11 ½ siamo andati alla nostra Refezione appunto per essere liberi ed attendere a quei Signori che verranno sulle 1 pomeridiane. Abbiamo avuto il terzo piatto dolce e vino Marsala in fine e un Caffè. Dopo le 1 pomeridiane è venuto il Sig. Cav. Besarel con la sua figlia, poi il Sig. Comm. Pavan, verso le 2 il Comm. Baldini con la sua

Signora e tre figlioletti, ed il Sign. Giuseppe Frattin in luogo del Padre suo, impedito per affari sopraggiuntigli, con la sua sorellina. Alle 2 pomeridiane senza altri aspettare, entrati in Chiesa, tutti ànno preso la Perdonanza al S.mo Sacramento, indi portatisi a S.ta Scolastica vennero tolte le tele all'Armadio e venne osservato nel suo assieme e particolareggiatamente il nuovo Armadio. Poscia venne aperto e si vide la bella Mostra del Fornimento Pontificio; piacque la disposizione di tutti gli oggetti ed anche la collocazione delle due stampe della lettera di Pio VII in doppia lingua sulle due porte esterne fermate, come si vedono. Prima e poi vennero considerati gli intagli decorativi e soddisfecero le ferramenta di ottone. Poscia i detti Signori si sono dispersi ad ammirare la Chiesa, splendida per il bellissimo sole che la illuminava. Quindi tutti sono rientrati nella saletta di ricevimento. Vennero tutti serviti di vino Marsala (per bagnare l'Armadio!) con paste dolci fine e Caffè.

Il giorno seguente il rettore di S. Giorgio si recava a trovare il patriarca Giuseppe Sarto, il futuro papa Pio X, per metterlo direttamente a conoscenza di quanto avvenuto a S. Giorgio. La visita si è svolta in modo molto cordiale ed è terminata con un rinfresco. Proprio da questo dialogo è nata l'idea di organizzare dei festeggiamenti per ricordare degnamente il prossimo centenario del conclave che si era tenuto a Venezia.

Sabato 22 febbraio il rettore si recava presso l'Ufficio dell'Economato Generale per ottenere il promesso finanziamento di 500 lire. Il certificato legale in carta bollata, che attestava la regolarità dei lavori eseguiti, era stato vidimato dal sindaco Filippo Grimani e dall'ingegnere Pietro Saccardo.

Intanto da parte del Besarel iniziavano a filtrare notizie di un consistente aumento del costo dell'armadio. Degli imprevisti in fase costruttiva e poi delle rifiniture e dorature nella fase terminale, hanno fatto lievitare i costi. Si paventa che il costo totale si possa aggirare sulle 3.500 lire! Si pensa pertanto di inoltrare un'altra domanda all'Ufficio dell'Economato Generale, ma in via ufficiosa viene risposto che non c'era niente da sperare.

Stavano finendo ancora i lavori dell'armadio, che il Besarel esprimeva il desiderio di poter esporre a S. Giorgio una delle sue migliori statue in legno raffigurante la Madonna. I monaci acconsentirono a questo suo desiderio e dopo qualche giorno lo scultore portava la statua e la esponeva sull'altare di S. Scolastica, davanti alla grande pala di Sebastiano Ricci raffigurante la *Madonna col Bambino e Santi*.

Intanto vengono fatti i conti definitivi delle spese per l'armadio, e con un grosso respiro di sollievo il conto globale risulta di lire 2.349 e 40 centesimi. Ormai le 2.000 lire erano già state consegnate. Il 2 marzo i conti vengono rifatti, si riesce ad ottenere ancora qualche sconto, sicché «la spesa totale per l'Armadio anziché di £ 2349:40 è di £ 2289:40. Intanto la totalità delle offerte e denari raccolti per la costruzione dell'Armadio etc. giunse ad £ 4410:16, spese se ne sono soltanto £ 2289:40, ne residuano dunque £ 2120:76 che vanno unite alle altre offerte per i restauri della Casa; ed eventualmente per il prossimo centenario di Pio VII. La Provvidenza di Dio si tocca con mano che non cessa di venirci in soccorso».

Un'annotazione del 21 settembre 1896 ci ricorda che

l'Armadio di Pio VII per l'umidità della Chiesa, solita tutti gli anni a ripetersi, benché quest'anno non sia stata così forte come in altre Eitati, sofferse, cioè crescerono i serramenti per cui apertili le ultime volte con violenza, non si poterono più chiudere, e quelli dell'ordine inferiore rimasero chiusi. La cosa venne portata naturalmente al Cav. Besarel, il quale è rimasto d'intelligenza con questo Padre, che nella stagione più asciutta vi avrebbe messo rimedio. Sono venuti pertanto oggi gli artisti del detto Sig.^r Besarel, i quali scomposti i detti serramenti, che sono uniti assieme con sole viti di ottone, come si era fin dapprincipio stabilito di fare, li hanno ridotti di nuovo alla giusta misura, anzi un momentino più scarsi, affinché non si abbia possibilmente a ripetere l'inconveniente: il lavoro durerà qualche giorno: il mobile però sia nell'esterno che nell'interno si mantiene bene, ed ha riscosso, in generale, la comune soddisfazione.

IL CROCIFISSO

Ogni anno, per la solennità di S. Maria Ausiliatrice, che ricorre il 24 maggio e alla quale papa Pio VII era particolarmente devoto, i monaci di S. Giorgio provvedevano ad adornare la loro chiesa con un Crocifisso che si facevano prestare dalla Scuola di S. Pasquale Baylon di S. Francesco della Vigna, poiché quello che avevano non era ritenuto artisticamente sufficiente.

Ma ormai si riteneva opportuno di poter avere stabilmente un Crocifisso degno della loro chiesa. Così da un'annotazione nella Cronaca del 30 aprile 1897 si apprende che il rettore Marin, sin dal mese di giugno dello scorso anno, aveva ordinato

allo Stabilimento di Ferdinando Donetz, Scuola di Scultura in legno di lavori per Chiesa in Gardena – Tirolo – tanto rinomata, di un Crocifisso della di-

mensione di un metro, con relativa Croce di buona manifattura, degna sotto ogni rispetto di questa Chiesa, che è ricca di oggetti d'arte. Dopo le relative intelligenze precorse in iscritto ed a voce per mezzo del suddetto Maestro, oggi è arrivato a mezzo della ferrovia e dell'Agenzia De Paoli il Crocifisso in apposita cassetta. Venne deciso di accettarlo greggio affine di evitare il grosso Dazio che si sarebbe dovuto pagare ai confini e senza la Croce, che ad ogni modo avrebbe dovuto venire incompleta, pel cui trasporto sarebbe stato di necessità fare una cassetta proporzionata etc. Venne pertanto il solo Crocifisso, come si disse, greggio, con le braccia amovibili, con la corona di spine a parte fatta a modo di turbante, e chiodi pur separati ed il cartello senza le iniziali. In quanto all'esecuzione, le fattezze del volto appaiono riposaste e devote; ma prima di esprimere un giudizio converrà sottometterlo ad un tecnico, sul quale giudizio verrà risoluto di accettarlo o meno. Sarà pur necessario pensare per farne approntare la relativa Croce.

Chi meglio del cav. Besarel, ormai di casa a S. Giorgio, avrebbe potuto esprimere in merito una valutazione artistica? Così il 4 maggio lo scultore esprimeva il suo giudizio, per lui

l'esecuzione del lavoro venne giudicata abbastanza diligente, relativamente a quello Stabilimento che egli reputa anziché artistico, industriale o commerciale. Nelle diverse parti però nei rilievi anatomici lascia non poco a desiderare. Il cirmolo, legno di cui è fatto il Crocifisso è poco netto, ha cioè diversi nodi o groppi o macchie: taluni dei difetti annoverati cadono sott'occhio anche ai profani dell'arte. – Il Besarel, dopo non leggiera insistenza, essendo alieno di mettere le mani sui lavori altrui, si è ridotto, per far piacere al Padre, ad accettare la riduzione del Crocifisso alle forme naturali; in quanto alla Croce ed agli accessori se ne parlerà in seguito. Oggi nelle ore pomeridiane l'ha mandato a prendere per istudiare il da farvisi. Un dì o l'altro della settimana il suddetto Padre ritornerà allo studio del ripetuto Scultore per riceverne i risultati.

Il successivo 8 maggio

il P. Superiore ha veduto oggi nello studio del Besarel il Crocifisso [...]. Il viso dal sembiante di placido dormiente, lo si vede ora coi lineamenti di addolorato e morto: al petto dovette aggiungere del legno per renderlo più pronunziato secondo le norme anatomiche; il pannolino a mezzo corpo l'ha diminuito per vedervi meglio le coscie, ed il nodo delle pieghe da destra l'ha passato a sinistra, per rendere più spiccato il profilo del Crocifisso. Dovrà qua e là ritoccarlo, ingrossarlo e ridurlo nelle debite proporzioni mantenendosi al possibile sulle tracce del Demetz. Circa la tinta da darsi, è possibile farvi trasparire il legno non essendo esso netto, dovrà essere piuttosto oscura per impedire che si veggano le aggiunte. Intorno alla Croce, per ora non se ne parla.

Intanto il Besarel provvedeva a ritirare la statua della Madonna che l'anno precedente aveva esposto presso l'altare di S. Scolastica. Il motivo è quello di poter avere in laboratorio un modello per farne un'altra. Probabilmente fra pochi giorni provvederà a riportarla.

Sabato 29 maggio il priore si recava nuovamente al laboratorio Besarel, così

vide il Crocifisso compiutamente corretto: vi aggiunse legno alla testa per ingrossare la nuca, alle braccia, alle gambe, sulla schiena per farvi risaltare le ossa e i muscoli: cambiò la corona di spine, e così vi sta molto meglio. Sarebbe stato forse più spedito farlo di nuovo: non di meno, essendosi conservato al possibile il carattere impressovi dallo Stabilimento di Gardena, si conserveranno così i nomi dei due Scultori. Circa la Croce, sono rimasti intesi venga fatta piuttosto grossa ed alta proporzionata al sito in cui deve stare: sul colorito che sia adatto e di soddisfazione. Convennero pure che il piedistallo della Croce o zoccolo, che consiste in quattro tavole piramidali concave, venga reso un po' più decente, e possibilmente nelle tre facciate visibili vi venga messo qualche ornato. Per questo il detto piedistallo nella ventura settimana verrà trasportato nello Stabilimento Besarel.

Nel pomeriggio del primo giugno, il Besarel portava a S. Giorgio il Crocifisso modificato e con la Croce nuova, per vedere l'effetto che avrebbe fatto *in loco*, effetto poi risultato molto positivo. Alla fine il tutto verrà riportato in laboratorio, compreso il piedistallo che dovrà essere modificato. Il successivo 17 luglio l'intero lavoro veniva riportato a S. Giorgio, unitamente alla

vecchia base o piedistallo, per non suscettibile delle progettate miglierie, vorrebbe essere assolutamente nuova! Non di meno venne alcun poco restaurata: vi ha cambiato le basi, che erano quattro palle, in quattro dadi tanto solidi; l'ha rassettato e dipinto a nuovo come si vede: sicché per ora quel è fatto è fatto, e a buon rivederci da qui a cinquant'anni. Il lavoro tanto della Croce nuova, quanto della riduzione del Crocifisso piace ed armonizza, in tutto il complesso coll'assieme del sito ove è collocata: la Croce sembra bronzo dorato, con supporti di tartaruga: il Crocifisso comparisce perfettamente bronzo verdone oscuro: i groppi o nodi ai quattro lati della Croce sono intagliati e così il Cartello nella parte superiore. Il prezzo si saprà poi...

Dopo qualche mese il Besarel si recava a S. Giorgio a vedere il definitivo collocamento dell'opera e per dare la sua valutazione finale (FIG. 2.). Non si sa ancora quale sarà il costo del lavoro.

Il 23 dicembre 1897 lo scultore è nuovamente a S. Giorgio, portandosi appresso il conto del lavoro fatto. La somma richiesta ammonta a 300 lire, il priore, un po' sbalordito, gli fa sapere che non si aspettava una somma del genere, pensava che si sarebbe potuto accontentare di 200 lire, anche se al momento non poteva dargli niente, ma un po' per volta lo avrebbe soddisfatto, andando lui direttamente nel suo studio. Al Besarel, rassegnato, non restava che tornarsene a casa.

Si era ormai prossimi al Natale, così «a mezza mattina vennero coperte, secondo il Rito, le Sacre Immagini degli Altari ed il Crocifisso. Così il Crocifisso nuovo della Navata di mezzo».

BIBLIOGRAFIA

- C. ALBERICI, *Il mobile veneto*, Venezia, Electa, 1980.
M. De Grassi (a cura di), *Valentino Panciera Besarel (1829 – 1902) Storia e arte di una bottega d'intaglio in Veneto*, Verona, Provincia di Belluno Editore, 2002.
F. MOSTARDI, *San Giorgio Maggiore di Venezia*, sta in: *I monasteri italiani della Congregazione Sublacense (1843 -1972) – Saggi storici nel primo centenario della Congregazione*, Parma, Scuola Tipografica Benedettina, 1972.

Fonti archivistiche

ASG (Archivio di S. Giorgio):

- *Cronaca*, vol. IV, pp. 143-144-145-204-213-255-277-287-300.
- *Cronaca*, vol. V, pp. 189-190-192-193-197-200-202-204-205-207-211-220-234-251-265-266-269-280-283-285-288-289-290-291-292-293-294-295-296.
- *Cronaca*, vol. VI, pp. 1-2-23-27-73-74-112-129-130-135-136-151-196-202-223.
- *Archivio Frattin*, b. C/2, fasc. n. 5.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

RECENSIONI

FEDERICA PARCIANELLO, *Documentazione e notariato a Venezia nell'età ducale*, Padova, Imprimerie, 2012, pp. 238.

SEGNALO volentieri l'uscita del volume dedicato al notariato veneziano, dall'anno 819 all'anno 1150, di Federica Parcianello, soprattutto perché l'A. è un'insegnante della scuola Secondaria superiore e perché, cosa rara ma non unica, è riuscita a mantenere viva la sua attenzione per la ricerca scientifica, nonostante i carichi di lavoro sempre più defatiganti e poco remunerativi cui sono soggetti i docenti della bistrattata scuola italiana. Con buona pace dei tre ministri succedutisi nelle due ultime legislature, non occorrono grandi indagini per appurare chi sia un bravo insegnante di storia, capace di trasmettere qualcosa alle nuove generazioni. Lo è di sicuro chi ancora riesce a dare dignità intellettuale al proprio operato, coniugando didattica e ricerca e mantenendo viva la curiosità per la vita, presente e passata. Lo studio pubblicato altro non è che la sua tesi di Laurea, «un'opera fondamentale» secondo Attilio Bartoli Langeli, autore della *Premessa*, nonché suo relatore. La tesi discussa a Ca' Foscari nell'anno accademico 1987-1988, già allora giudicata meritevole di pubblicazione, ha dovuto attendere cinque lustri per essere data finalmente alle stampe; e se ciò è accaduto, va soprattutto ascritto al merito di Silvia Gasparini che a mo' d'introduzione pubblica in questo stesso volume il saggio *Ego notarius complevi e roboravi. Venezia, notai, medioevo*, pp. 7-29, riproducente in forma parziale la sua comunicazione *La disciplina del notariato veneziano: bozza di una cronologia medievale* presentata al convegno *Il notariato veneziano tra X e XV secolo*, tenutosi presso le sale dell'Ateneo Veneto, nel marzo del 2010. È la stessa Federica Parcianello, nell'unica pagina aggiunta alla sua tesi, a dirci che proprio in occasione di quel Convegno fu riscoperto il suo lavoro giovanile. Allora, infatti, giunse «nelle mani» di Silvia Gasparini (p. 31) che ritenendolo ancora attuale e utile la esortò a curarne l'edizione.

Lo studio consiste nello spoglio sistematico dei testi documentari-notarili veneziani fino al 1150, quali sono trascritti in quello che l'A. chiama il «complesso diplomatico» veneziano, composto dall'opera di Roberto Cessi, per i documenti fino all'anno Mille, e dal Codice diplomatico Lanfranchi, per l'epoca successiva. L'attribuzione dei documenti ai singoli notai e la definizione delle caratteristiche formali dei loro prodotti sono state completate mediante la consultazione del «Codice diplomatico fotografico» curato sempre da Luigi Lanfranchi.

Con i dati raccolti l'A. ha steso la prima parte della sua tesi dedicata ai *Documenti*, pp. 41-64, di tipo quantitativo. E la seconda invece dedicata ai *Notai*, dove coglie, ed è questa la novità del suo studio, una differenza fra i notai attivi a Rialto e quelli che operavano nelle aree periferiche del dogado storico.

I documenti conservati, rogati da notai schedati nel volume, sono seicen-

to e quarantasei e vanno dal primo dell'anno 819 all'ultimo dell'anno 1150. Piuttosto radi nei secc. ix e x, sempre più frequenti nei secc. xi e xii. Tanti, pochi? Difficile un confronto con altre realtà poiché i dati sono disomogenei. Comunque, l'aumento dell'attività notarile è in linea con la crescita demografica di Venezia e con il complicarsi e l'ampliarsi della sua economia che necessita di un personale specializzato.

Come noto, la tipicità veneziana è che i notai sono tutti preti, chierici, consuetudine che si protrarrà fino al sec. xv. E che questi «immarcescibili preti-notai, anomalia acuta nella storia del notariato italiano» (p. 5) prendano la loro autorità direttamente dal doge e non dall'imperatore o dal papa. Ebbene, il caso dei preti-notai viene confermato dalla ricerca della Parcianello. Nel saggio introduttivo, Silvia Gasparini spiega questa peculiarità con l'intenzione del Comune veneziano d'impedire il formarsi di un corpo specializzato di notai che potesse influenzare le decisioni politiche. Il pragmatismo lagunare è sospettoso di qualsiasi tecnicismo, compreso quello giuridico.

Lo studio offre ai lettori l'elenco dei notai operanti a Venezia e nel Dogado negli anni oggetto d'indagine, in tutto ne sono stati registrati cento e settantaquattro. Dà conto della loro distribuzione e se ne congetture la presenza di uno per ogni parrocchia a conferma del fatto che fossero chierici. E fornisce l'elenco dei loro clienti, soprattutto enti religiosi e fra tutti il monastero di S. Giorgio Maggiore.

Il corposo apparato che correda il libro (pp. 129-238) consiste nelle schede anagrafiche dei singoli notai identificati, disposte in ordine cronologico e precedute da un elenco degli stessi in ordine alfabetico. Poi si offrono allo studioso le schede dei documenti con un numero d'ordine determinato dall'altezza cronologica del documento vetustiore del notaio, dal suo nome convenzionale, dagli estremi cronologici di attività e dal luogo espresso nella datazione topica dei documenti. Infine, viene trascritta la sottoscrizione. Insomma, pare uno strumento utile per chi voglia occuparsi della storia del notariato veneto ducale.

In conclusione, non ci si può sottrarre da una considerazione intorno a quello che per certi versi è un corto circuito emblematico del mondo accademico italiano. Una studentessa brava, valida ricercatrice, tanto che le viene commissionata la cura dell'edizione degli statuti di Rovereto,¹ a un certo punto del suo percorso «preferì non attendere e intraprese velocemente la sua strada nella vita e nell'insegnamento» (p. 6). Insomma, pare che la carriera universitaria sia per chi sappia e possa attendere, ma non è sempre detto che il più attendente sia anche il più meritevole, certo, salvo lodevoli eccezioni, per fortuna numerose, ma qualcosa il linguaggio militare insegna.

MAURO PITTERI

¹ *Statuti di Rovereto del 1425: con le aggiunte dal 1434 al 1538*, a cura di F. Parcianello, introduzione di M. Bellabarba, Gh. Ortalli, D. Quagliani, Venezia, Il Cardo, 1991.

Studi di storia economica e sociale in onore di Giovanni Zalin, a cura di Giuseppe Gullino, Paolo Pecorari, Gian Maria Varanini, Sommacampagna (VR), Cierre, 2011, pp. xxvii-408.

STIMOLATI dalla Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie e dall'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, in occasione della fine del suo lungo insegnamento universitario veronese, per raggiunti limiti di età, gli amici, i colleghi e gli allievi di Giovanni Zalin hanno voluto rivolgere allo storico una testimonianza d'affetto, dedicandogli un volume miscelaneo con dei contributi di storia economica e sociale. A loro si associa chi scrive che ha avuto l'opportunità di frequentare gli ultimi seminari condotti da Giovanni Zalin presso la Scuola di Dottorato in Storia economica dell'Università di Verona dal 2009 al 2011. I temi proposti ai più o meno giovani dottorandi sono stati quelli a lui cari. L'emigrazione veneta e la storiografia che se n'è occupata. I rapporti di Luigi Luzzatti con il Lombardo-Veneto. L'influenza che ha avuto il dibattito sulla tariffa protezionistica nelle opere di Messedaglia, Fedele Lampertico, Cossa fino a Giuseppe Toniolo. La critica di Gino Luzzatto, uno dei suoi maestri, contro chi riteneva esistesse una scuola economica veneta nell'Italia liberale. Ora, Giovanni Zalin dovrà liberare il suo studio zeppo di libri disposti in un ordine dove non è facile raccapezzarsi, tipico di chi per sua fortuna vive ancora in un'epoca preinformatica, ma dove le cose importanti non si perdono mai. Infatti, Giovanni Zalin è un signore come quelli di una volta, con una visione della cultura, per così dire, di tipo elitario, nel senso che non indulge a facili forme di comunicazione cui ormai ci ha abituato la società di massa, non ricorre a strumenti oggi ritenuti necessari per far giungere un messaggio a destinazione, ma fonda tutta la trasmissione del suo sapere su di un linguaggio forbito ed elegante, d'altri tempi, giocando sulle concatenazioni della sua memoria, e su di una certa galanteria, prendendo, quasi, durante i suoi seminari l'aspetto fisiognomico di quei grandi liberali, o meglio, cattolici liberali, che sono stati tra i principali protagonisti della storia politica italiana. Che quella cattolico liberale sia la sua casa, il suo sodalizio con Gabriele De Rosa sta lì a dimostrarlo.

Il suo mentore è stato Gino Barbieri, figlio di un Veneto ancora contadino e seguace di quel cristianesimo sociale, promotore del fenomeno delle casse rurali gestite dalle parrocchie, destinate per lui a salvaguardare l'integrità sia morale che economica dei coltivatori, preservandoli dalle idee atee socialiste e dallo sfruttamento pseudo capitalistico. Proprio Zalin ricorda che nella sua ultima relazione ufficiale a Pieve di Soligo, Gino Barbieri ebbe a dichiarare «di aver respirato nelle aule della Cattolica le idee e le concezioni della storia

trasmesse da Giuseppe Toniolo». ¹ È questo dunque il filone storico-culturale in cui s'inserisce anche l'opera di Giovanni Zalin, minoritaria e relegata in provincia, volutamente quasi provinciale, quando invece imperava nella cultura degli anni sessanta e settanta una storiografia d'ispirazione marxista e di cui la *Storia d'Italia* Einaudi è stato il monumento principale.

Ebbene, la storia economica, per Zalin è sì storia d'idee e del pensiero – e difatti Fanfani inteso come storico è ancora tra le sue letture più amate –, ma deve anche fondarsi su una solida ricerca d'archivio. Hanno influenzato questa sua scelta due importanti storici, Giorgio Scarpa, studioso soprattutto dell'agricoltura veneta del primo Ottocento; e Daniele Beltrami, demografo e statistico, che, ancora giovane, lo ha indirizzato a occuparsi del mercato granario di Desenzano, tema a cui ha dedicato la sua prima pubblicazione, un articolo comparso nel 1966 negli «Annali della Facoltà di Economia e commercio dell'Università di Padova». E quegli insegnamenti, fondati su una produzione storica seria che può derivare solo dalla frequentazione degli archivi, si vedono nel suo libro forse più importante, quello del 1973, *L'economia veronese in età napoleonica. Forze di lavoro, dinamica fondiaria e attività agricolo-commerciali*, edito dalla milanese Giuffrè, anche se *Dalla Bottega alla fabbrica* è il suo lavoro che ha avuto più edizioni, la quarta, di recente, nel 2008. Comunque, il volume dà conto di tutta la sua enorme produzione (pp. xv-xxvii) una bibliografia forte di duecento e trentotto titoli, escluse le recensioni, pubblicati in quarantacinque anni di alacre attività, certo, non tutte dello stesso livello, è inevitabile, ma che testimoniano una stretta interdipendenza per lui necessaria fra ricerca e didattica.

Il volume contiene ventidue contributi, soprattutto di storia economica contemporanea, dedicati a varie regioni italiane. Altri saggi sono dedicati alla storia del pensiero e delle teorie economiche. A parte due saggi che sfiorano i temi istituzionali di questa rivista, uno di Frediano Bof che si occupa dell'essicatoio dei bozzoli a San Vito al Tagliamento negli anni venti del secolo scorso; e un altro di Andrea Cafarelli dedicato alla linea commerciale Venezia-Calcutta, attiva a fine Ottocento, solo tre dei contributi dei suoi amici riguardano direttamente la storia veneta, di cui si dà un rapido conto.

Il primo, di Ezio Filippi, si occupa della bonifica delle vallette del Tione dei Monti (da non confondere con il Tione affluente del fiume Tartaro), nell'anfiteatro morenico del Garda (pp. 171-188). L'opera fu promossa dall'Accademia di Verona a fine Settecento e in particolare dal suo segretario, Zaccaria Betti.

Il secondo, di Giuseppe Gullino (pp. 235-242), riprende la storia del taglio di Porto Viro, privilegiandone però l'aspetto della bonifica e meno le esigen-

¹ G. ZALIN, *Ricordo di Gino Barbieri*, estratto dagli Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, CXLVIII, 1989-1990, Parte generale e Atti ufficiali, adunanza ordinaria del 26 mag. 1990.

ze militari e commerciali che stanno tra le motivazioni della sua esecuzione. Infatti, per alcuni studiosi, la vera ragione di quel taglio fu impedire la nascita di un porto fluviale alla Mesola, con buona pace di Alvise Cornaro.² Invece, per l'A. i direttori dell'opera, Alvise Zorzi e Gian Giacomo Zane, portarono a termine «la prima esaltante stagione delle bonifiche nel nostro Veneto».

Il terzo e ultimo, di Gian Maria Varanini, rivisita un caso veronese del 1280. Si tratta di un giudizio celebrato dagli inquisitori, già studiato da Carlo Maria Cipolla che a suo tempo aveva ritenuto essere l'usura la vera colpa del reo e perciò la motivazione della condanna. Ora invece Varanini ne dimostra il carattere politico, si è fatto quasi un uso strumentale degli organi di giustizia (pp. 381-392). Poi, l'A. si sofferma sul modo diverso con cui solo trent'anni dopo si guarda al prestito di denaro con interesse. Infatti, chiarisce come buona parte delle condanne pronunziate dai frati chiamati a reggere l'*Officium fidei* nel convento di S. Fermo Maggiore contro i singoli, riguardavano persone «variamente coinvolte in faccende di usura». E sottolinea come, dopo il 1311, anno in cui il Concilio di Vienne equiparò l'usura all'eresia, i frati veronesi agirono con discrezione e buon senso, consci di non poter «condannare una società intera», specie in una città al centro di traffici e scambi commerciali di notevole intensità.

Il volume è stato pubblicato grazie al contributo dell'azienda vicentina ILSA, agrotecnologie, produttrice di un concime organico liquido a base di estratti vegetali da lieviti e alghe brune (*Ascophyllum nodosum*) del Nord Europa. Il presidente, Paolo Girelli, che ricorda essere stato studente di Giovanni Zalin, chiude la sua breve presentazione affermando che «senza una consapevolezza storica non esiste una vera etica d'impresa». Ecco questa sembra proprio la più grossa soddisfazione che si potesse dare al «vecchio» professore da parte di uno dei suoi tanti studenti dell'Ateneo veronese.

MAURO PITTERI

GIUSEPPE DEL TORRE, *Patrizi e cardinali. Venezia e le istituzioni ecclesiastiche nella prima età moderna*, Milano, FrancoAngeli Storia, 2010, pp. 234.

GIUSEPPE DEL TORRE è scomparso il 26 ottobre 2009, ad appena 50 anni. «Da molto tempo lavorava ad una ricerca che avrebbe colmato una lacuna storiografica, attorno al rapporto fra laici ed ecclesiastici nella Repubblica di Venezia» tra Quattro e Cinquecento. Così inizia la breve presentazione di

² Vedi M. PITTERI, *La foce contesa. Ambiente e commercio sul Po di Goro nel Settecento*, in *Storia economica e ambiente italiano (ca. 1400-1850)*, a cura di G. Alfani, M. Di Tullio, L. Mocarelli, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2012, pp. 329-345: ivi, 329.

Mario Infelise, Alessandro Pastore e Alfredo Viggiano, curatori dell'edizione postuma del saggio rimasto per lungo tempo in un cassetto della scrivania virtuale dell'A. Merito loro l'aver reso possibile agli studiosi la lettura di queste pagine, corredate da un utile indice dei nomi e dei luoghi. Come per tutti i lavori postumi, resta il dubbio se si siano veramente rispettate le volontà dell'A. e comunque rimane l'interrogativo del perché Del Torre non avesse licenziato la stampa del suo saggio, nonostante fosse da tempo quasi terminato. Forse, non ne era soddisfatto, lo testimonierebbe un indice da lui redatto per una diversa stesura del testo, pubblicato nel volume in appendice (pp. 197-198); o, forse, come chi scrive è testimone, si era rivolto ad altri interessi e, semplicemente, aveva accantonato un lavoro che non sentiva più così urgente e di così immediata fruizione, anche da parte degli specialisti. E del resto, occorrerebbe fare una riflessione più generale sulla crisi delle monografie nel campo degli studi storici. Forse Giuseppe Del Torre ha presentato il venir meno di questa forma di diffusione dei risultati della ricerca.

L'indagine sui patrizi cardinali è strettamente legata ai lavori giovanili che Del Torre aveva dedicato alla Terraferma e alla Marca Trevisana del primo Cinquecento.¹ Probabilmente, nelle intenzioni, il saggio doveva essere un completamento di quelle ricerche dirette a spiegare alcune delle ragioni della svolta veneziana, militare e politica, dal mare verso la Terraferma. Voleva aggiungere a tutte le ipotesi formulate un tassello, ossia, l'importanza dei benefici ecclesiastici che i veneziani, per usare un'espressione del diarista Marin Sanudo, avevano cominciato a «gustar» (p. 72); un aspetto prima trascurato dagli studiosi, ma così importante da spiegare bene perché alcune famiglie patrizie distolsero la loro attenzione dalla mercatura. Per farlo con più acume, avrebbe voluto avere a disposizione tutti i dati relativi alla proprietà patrizia nelle campagne del Trevisano fra 1518 e 1542, le date dei due estimi generali. Forse, l'interruzione di quella importante ricerca finanziata dalla Fondazione Benetton, di cui si è spesso parlato in questa rubrica, ha contribuito alla disaffezione di Del Torre per quest'opera a cui era venuto a mancare il necessario corollario.²

Dunque, attorno ai benefici ecclesiastici della Terraferma ruota tutto il volume. Prima della conquista del Trevigiano e delle altre terre di qua e di là del Mincio, i benefici ecclesiastici compresi nel territorio della Repubbli-

¹ Si tratta di G. DEL TORRE, *Venezia e la Terraferma dopo la guerra di Cambrai (1515-1530). Fiscalità e amministrazione*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1986; e *Il Trevigiano nei secoli xv e xvi. L'assetto amministrativo e il sistema fiscale*, Treviso-Venezia, Fondazione Benetton Studi e Ricerche-Il Cardo, 1990.

² L'ultimo volume è quello di C. PASQUAL, *Quartiere del Piave. Paesaggio, proprietà e produzione in una campagna pedemontana veneta nei secoli xv e xvi*, Treviso, Fondazione Benetton Studi e Ricerche-Canova, 2006. Tra l'altro si veda la mia recensione al volume di M. G. Biscaro dedicato a Mestre in «Studi Veneziani», n.s., xxxix, 2000, pp. 342-346.

ca erano poca cosa; le loro rendite erano mediocri, anche nelle diocesi del Levante e perciò erano scarsamente appetibili (p. 25), interessavano poco al patriziato dominante, tutt'al più, quelle rendite potevano integrare i redditi di alcuni cittadini originari. Insomma, non creava alcun problema alle magistrature veneziane la presenza nei consigli di famigliari di vescovi e beneficiati, poiché il loro numero era relativamente modesto.

Le cose mutarono all'inizio della seconda decade del sec. xv. Il libro inizia proprio dalla parte del Consiglio dei X del 31 luglio 1411, che escludeva tutti i patrizi, titolari di prelature e benefici ecclesiastici, dalle riunioni proprie e del Senato quando si dibattevano affari inerenti alla Santa Sede. Il divieto era allargato anche ai famigliari più stretti. Si supposeva che i detentori di un beneficio fossero meno leali verso la Repubblica perché partigiani del papa; da ciò la loro espulsione durante quelle sedute, divieto che rimase in vigore per tutta la durata del regime oligarchico repubblicano.

Tale contrasto fra i cosiddetti 'papalisti' e gli altri patrizi, si andò accentuando nel corso del Quattrocento ed ebbe il proprio culmine durante le guerre d'Italia del sec. xvi. Allo studio delle ragioni di tale scontro è dedicata gran parte della ricerca di Del Torre che ha utilizzato le serie dei *Misti* del Consiglio dei X e del Senato, raffrontandole con i diaristi, gli archivi capitolari e alcune serie di magistrature romane, conservate nell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano, competenti in materia beneficiaria. Ne è uscita una messe di dati anche statistici sulla oggettiva remunerazione delle rendite ecclesiastiche nello Stato veneto che è forse la parte più meritoria dell'opera perché, per essere costruita, ha necessitato di un lavoro di ricerca paziente, quasi certosino.

Due sostanzialmente i motivi che convinsero le più alte magistrature veneziane a promulgare una legislazione avversa ai papalisti. La conquista della Terraferma che aumentò considerevolmente la possibilità di acquisire remunerativi benefici ecclesiastici, come, ad es. i vescovadi delle principali città del nuovo dominio. E, fatto unico nella storia della Chiesa, l'avvicinarsi sul soglio di Pietro di ben tre papi veneziani in un breve lasso di tempo, i quali moltiplicarono le rendite beneficali a favore dei loro congiunti ed elevarono i nipoti alla porpora cardinalizia da cui ricavarono una ricchezza che non aveva nulla da invidiare a quella ottenuta con la mercatura. Si può riassumere in una Tabella tale novità che per Del Torre non era stata messa dalla storiografia nel dovuto risalto.

Dunque, il cardinale Angelo Correr inaugura la serie dei tre pontefici veneziani divenendo, nel 1406, papa col nome di Gregorio XII, durante il periodo più critico della Chiesa di Roma, colpita prima dallo scisma avignonese e poi da quello pisano.

Papa	Cardinali
Gregorio XII (Angelo Correr - 1406)	Antonio Correr, patrizio (1408) Gabriele Condulmer, cittadino originario (1408) Angelo Barbarigo, patrizio Pietro Morosini, patrizio Francesco Lando, patrizio (1411)

«La goccia che fece traboccare il vaso» fu la nomina di Francesco Lando, durante lo scisma, nel corso del quale Venezia aveva preso la parte del papa pisano, Alessandro V, e ciò indusse il Consiglio dei X a promulgare la parte del 1411 contro i papalisti (p. 39). Ma la cosa più pregnante è che questo proliferare mai visto di porpore veneziane avveniva in concomitanza con la conquista della Terraferma.

Alla fine dello scisma, nel 1417, papa Martino V Colonna confermò i seguenti porporati veneziani, in tutto sei, caso senza precedenti nel Sacro Collegio:

1. Antonio Correr (†1445)
2. Gabriele Condulmer (papa Eugenio IV nel 1431)
3. Angelo Barbarigo (†1418)
4. Pietro Morosini (†1424)
5. Francesco Lando (†1424)
6. Angelo Correr (dimessosi da papa, †1417)

Con la nomina dei cardinali veneziani, Gregorio XII Correr aveva aperto la via al pontificato di Eugenio IV Condulmer che elevò altri suoi connazionali e parenti alla porpora cardinalizia:

Papa	Cardinali
Eugenio IV Condulmer, 1431	Francesco Condulmer (1431, †1453) Pietro Barbo (1440, papa Paolo II nel 1464) Alvise Trevisan, cittadino (1440, †1465)

Dunque, anche il papato di Eugenio IV preparò la via perché in un successivo conclave un altro veneziano potesse ottenere la tiara papale, come infatti accadde per Pietro Barbo che a sua volta innalzò altri concittadini al Sacro Collegio:

Papa	Cardinali
Paolo II Barbo, 1464, †1471	Marco Barbo (1467, †1491) Zuan Battista Zen (1467, †1525) Giovanni Michiel (1468, †1503) Pietro Foscari, <i>in pectore</i> (†1485)

Inutile dire che le famiglie cardinalizie entravano in possesso dei benefici più ricchi ed erano legate tra loro da vincoli di parentela; e ciò preoccupava non poco le magistrature veneziane. Dunque, Del Torre indica proprio nella nuova stagione dei cardinali veneziani la nascita di un partito dentro il patriziato volto a consolidare il patrimonio di famiglia grazie ai legami che intercorrevano sempre più stretti con la curia romana.

Le indagini sugli estimi trevigiani del Cinquecento dovevano supportare le tesi di Del Torre e dimostrare che l'interesse dei patrizi cardinali e umanisti verso la proprietà fondiaria in Terraferma era anche una diretta conseguenza della nuova opportunità di acquisire rendite beneficali. Tali rendite erano poi a loro volta utilizzate per aumentare la ricchezza fondiaria delle rispettive famiglie, con l'acquisizione di aziende prossime a quelle beneficali. In base agli appunti di lavoro rimasto incompiuto, pare che Del Torre si prefiggesse di seguire «la catena Correr, Condulmer, Barbo e affini» (p. 197). Proviamo di seguito a dare un saggio di quello che forse l'A. avrebbe voluto fare, seguendo le fonti fiscali e le ricerche edite.

Tra i villaggi soggetti alla podesteria trevisana di Motta sul Livenza, vi era quello di Donegal, attraversato dal Piavon, un'antica asta del Piave. Si trattava di terreni marginali ancora incolti, confinanti con il Paludo del Cannedo, patrimonio pubblico messo in vendita dalle Rason Nuove e Vecchie, fra il 1456 e il 1458. Due parti di quei fondi vallivi furono acquistate da cittadini di Motta mentre una fu fatta propria dal patrizio veneto Paolo Barbo, il fratello del cardinale Pietro (che non a caso divenuto papa prese il nome del fratello, appunto, Paolo).³ Figlio primogenito di Niccolò e di Polissena Condulmer, Paolo Barbo nacque nel 1416. Egli fu fino al 1447 alla corte pontificia, presso Eugenio IV suo zio, che si mostrò largo di onori e di benefici verso di lui e verso suo fratello Pietro. Data questa relazione parentale, non sorprende che pure i Condulmer, cittadini veneziani, detenessero beni fondiari nella podesteria di Motta.⁴ Dunque, trova conferma la tesi di Del Torre di una stretta parentela tra le famiglie dei due papi cementata anche dalla vicinanza delle loro tenute agricole (p. 140).

Morto lo zio Eugenio IV, Paolo Barbo, nel 1447, tornò a Venezia, da dove amministrò i beni del fratello Pietro cardinale. Intrapresa la carriera politica, nel 1451, fu podestà di Treviso, provveditore in campo in Lombardia, e rappresentante di Venezia alla pace di Lodi. Ebbe dispiaceri dal contrasto che si era aperto tra la Repubblica e il partito papalista e così, fra il 1458 e il 1459,

³ A. PERESSINI A. SCALON, *Le ville di San Stino di Livenza. I pubblici periti della Repubblica di Venezia per il territorio e le case dominicali di San Stino e Corbolone dal XVI al XVIII secolo*, San Stino di Livenza (VE), Eprinting, 2011, p. 129.

⁴ M. T. TODESCO, *Odergo e Motta. Paesaggio agrario, proprietà e conduzione di due podesterie nella prima metà del secolo XVI*, Treviso, Fondazione Benetton Studi e Ricerche-Canova, 1995, pp. 100, 102.

andò in esilio, non essendo riuscito a ottenere dal fratello Pietro la rinuncia al vescovato di Padova, come avrebbe voluto la Signoria (p. 54), gelosa della prerogativa d'indicare al Papa gli aspiranti alle sedi episcopali.

Dunque, l'acquisto fondiario dei Barbo avvenne in concomitanza con l'esistenza in Roma dei due fratelli. Poi, ebbe la porpora dallo zio⁵ anche il figlio di Paolo, Marco Barbo. Ora, proviamo a studiare gli estimi cinquecenteschi per vedere la consistenza del patrimonio fondiario della famiglia.

Nel 1518, Polissena Barbo, figlia di Paolo Barbo e sorella del cardinale Marco, aggiunse un codicillo al testamento redatto nel 1509. Infatti, dopo aver ereditato assieme alla sorella Lucrezia dalla madre Orsa Soranzo le campagne di Donegal e di Campalto (Mestre), volle puntualizzare di aver avuto quei beni in comproprietà.⁶ Chiediamo pazienza al lettore ma si vuol dimostrare l'entità del patrimonio fondiario dei Barbo. Dunque, secondo il registro forestieri dell'estimo di Motta del 1519, quelli divisi fra le due sorelle Barbo erano terreni lungo il corso del canale Piavon, coltivati a prato e a vite. I vari poderi lavorati da diversi coloni erano dotati di un cortivo con casa, rustici e orto. A nome di Polissena Barbo risultavano circa ettari 81 frazionati in tre poderi. A nome di Ludovica Barbo nipote di Polissena e figlia di Lucrezia Barbo e Alvise Barbo, risultavano allibrati ettari 16 circa.⁷ Agli eredi di Alvise Lolin⁸ marito di Ludovica Barbo ettari 26.

Da quanto esposto risulta evidente che i Barbo dopo l'acquisto di Paolo avessero bonificato il paludo del Cannedo e investito nella sua riduzione a coltura. Infatti, la casa al Donegal fu costruita proprio da Paolo, padre di Polissena e Lucrezia. Nel 1519, il registro forestieri assegnò questa azienda a Polissena Barbo e consorti.⁹ Alla stessa ditta furono allibrati ettari 52 di bosco e prato, tenuti a uso esclusivo della casa che demarcava un'area denominata, appunto, paludo del Cannedo di ettari 832, estesa tra Motta e Chiarano, lambita dai fiumi Livenza e Monticano e dal canale Magnadola. Inutile dire che gli investimenti successivi miravano proprio a impossessarsi di altre parti di quella palude. Insomma, cardinali e agricoltura.

Nel 1535, i Provveditori sopra Camere fecero mettere in pianta la parte

⁵ Papa Paolo II Barbo morì nel 1471 lasciando un patrimonio di ducati 300.000, interamente incamerato dalla Chiesa, ed era considerato l'uomo più ricco d'Italia dopo i principi regnanti e Cosimo de' Medici (p. 53).

⁶ Così precisamente: «La caxa dala vila e cortivo e tesa e stala chome apar per la division con mia sorella Lucretia e la possession con li beni al Donegal e simel metà quella de Campalto».

⁷ Ludovica Barbo è figlia di Lucrezia Barbo e Alvise Barbo *qm* Giovanni. In prime nozze aveva sposato Domenico Barbaro; in seconde nozze Alvise Lollin e in terze nozze Alvise Zorzi. Tutte notizie tratte da PERESSINI, SCALON, *Le ville di San Stino di Livenza*, cit., p. 130.

⁸ Alvise Lolin *qm* Angelo ebbe da Ludovica Barbo tre figli: Lorenzo, Lucrezia e Agnesina.

⁹ L'azienda comprendeva «un casa de muro solerada e una teza murada coperta de coppi, colombara e altri coverti et bruolo tien per suo uso».

rimasta della palude per metterla in vendita. Il disegno eseguito da un perito pubblico evidenzia un'ampia fascia a bosco di proprietà di Piero Barbo¹⁰ che separava i coltivi suoi dal paludo del Cannedo e dai beni del monastero di S. Tommaso di Torcello, detto dei Borgognoni, la cui commenda era andata proprio a queste famiglie cardinalizie veneziane, i Barbo e i Condulmer. Ecco confermata la vicinanza dei beni ricevuti in beneficio e di quelli acquistati privatamente. In bella evidenza e in alzato si vede «la casa de m. Piero Barbo» con una facciata a quattro archi passanti e un tetto a due falde. È la stessa fatta costruire da suo nonno.

Nella redécima del 1537, Piero Barbo dichiarava di possedere «un loco chiamato Bastia over Castelier e la mità di una casa cortivo e brolo che ha pro indiviso con gli eredi di Lucrezia Barbo e metà della soprascritta casa era di Polissena» sua madre. Lo stesso Piero possedeva in comproprietà con Alvise Zorzi, terzo marito di Lodovica Barbo, mezza ruota del mulino da grani di Cessalto. Poi, denunciava ettari 21 al Donegal e un pezzo di bosco in comproprietà con Lorenzo Lolin suo «fiastro» da cui non ricavava utile. Pur con tutte le divisioni, l'azienda veniva gestita da Piero Barbo come se fosse un'unica entità patrimoniale. E doveva rendergli parecchio, così vicina alla Dominante.

È quella tracciata una conferma dell'esistenza di un clan Barbo-Condulmer, molto attivo nell'acquisto della proprietà fondiaria. La coltivazione di quelle aziende sarebbe stata continuata dagli eredi nel secondo Cinquecento, gli Zen, committenti palladiani per la villa di Cessalto.

Questi nuovi e potenti clan provocarono difficoltà all'interno di una «classe dirigente fino ad allora del tutto estranea agli incarichi e alla carriera curiale» (p. 37). Ecco perciò il motivo di un susseguirsi di leggi contro le ingerenze papali in materia di benefici che avrebbero potuto spostare gli equilibri in seno all'aristocrazia veneziana, in un momento, il secondo Quattrocento, in cui la Repubblica era ancora così forte da poter imporre le proprie condizioni alla curia romana, come invece non potrà più fare dopo la sconfitta di Agnadello.

Questo piccolo assaggio mostra quali potenzialità avrebbe potuto avere un raffronto fra i dati dell'estimo e la ricerca sui patrizi cardinali. E spazzare via, definitivamente, alcuni luoghi comuni su Alvise Cornaro e compagnia cantando. Non è affatto il calo dei rendimenti della mercatura ad aver indirizzato alcuni patrizi verso la Terraferma, ma la possibilità di acquisire benefici e immense ricchezze dalla carriera ecclesiastica, che, tra l'altro, permetteva loro di coltivare una raffinatissima cultura umanistica. Della partita sarà l'autore delle *Prose della volgar lingua*.

¹⁰ Piero Barbo è figlio di Polissena Barbo e Pantaleone Barbo *qm* Giovanni e dunque è il nipote di Pietro Barbo e di papa Paolo II. Sposa nel 1510 Maria Morosini. Traggo queste notizie ancora da PERESSINI, SCALON, *Le ville di San Stino di Livenza*, cit., p. 131.

Un elemento che prova l'interesse veneziano per i benefici è dato da questa piccola statistica. In un secolo e mezzo, si alternarono 443 vescovi nelle ca. sessanta diocesi ricadenti sotto il dominio della Repubblica, così ripartiti:

Vescovi patrizi veneziani	136
Vescovi veneziani non nobili	77
Vescovi sudditi di Terraferma o d'Oltremare	100
Vescovi stranieri	58

Ovviamente, ai patrizi veneziani andavano i vescovadi con pingui benefici (p. 77). Non solo, ma a Padova e Treviso, agli ecclesiastici della Dominante andava pure la metà dei benefici minori, le prebende canonicali e anche alcuni dei più importanti benefici parrocchiali (p. 83). Anche la statistica dei benefici ecclesiastici regolari assegnati tra il 1405 e il 1550, in tutto 66 tra abbazie e monasteri, non cambia registro, in Terraferma prevalgono i veneziani (p. 89).

Beneficiari non veneziani, 234; Beneficiari veneziani, 106

	Abbazie e monasteri	Veneziani in %
Terraferma	40	60%
<i>Stato da Mar</i>	18	30%
Diocesi lagunari	8	100%

Nel corso del sec. xv, la pressione dei patrizi ecclesiastici sui sudditi era divenuta insopportabile, come dovette ammettere lo stesso Senato con suo decreto del 1488. Essi s'impossessavano non solo di episcopati e prebende capitolari, ma anche dei benefici di valore infimo, persino di appena ducati 4 l'anno di rendita, lasciando deperire i luoghi di culto, poiché raramente raggiungevano le sedi dei benefici stessi (p. 97).

Poi, il sistema delle *probae*, ossia, l'elezione in Senato del candidato da proporre a Roma per ottenere un beneficio, aveva creato veri e propri partiti all'interno dell'assemblea patrizia e, visto pure l'aumento dei concorrenti, nel 1492, dovette intervenire il Consiglio dei X, modificando il sistema. La votazione in Senato non sarebbe più stata preceduta dall'iscrizione dei candidati presso la cancelleria, ma si sarebbe proceduto direttamente per scrutinio, ossia, con la valutazione seduta stante dei nomi da prendere in considerazione, per non dare tempo al formarsi di fazioni favorevoli all'uno o all'altro candidato (p. 100), specie per le sedi più appetibili, come i vescovadi di Terraferma o i grandi monasteri. Il tentativo dei Dieci fu però fallimentare. Infatti, non venne meno l'intenso lavoro delle famiglie veneziane teso a garantire l'elezione di uno dei propri membri. Poi, difficile sbarrare il passo ai candidati se alle probe s'iscrivevano due ricchi e potenti cardinali come Domenico Grimani e Marco Corner (p. 103).

Insomma, la pressione veneziana sui benefici ecclesiastici non conosceva soste e, anzi, sul finire del sec. xv, si andò progressivamente rafforzando, fino a influenzare il comportamento delle magistrature centrali e dei Veneziani presenti nella curia romana. Fino, addirittura, a determinare i rapporti diplomatici con la Santa Sede. La reazione fu, come si è visto, quella di varare una legislazione a tutela della Repubblica che ebbe il suo culmine nella parte presa nel 1498 dal Maggior Consiglio, con cui si escludevano da qualsiasi incarico pubblico i detentori di un beneficio ecclesiastico, segno dell'insofferenza diffusa verso le famiglie dei papalisti (p. 115).

Il diarista Priuli incolpava i Portoghesi e la loro concorrenza al traffico veneziano del pepe, dell'aumentato interesse patrizio verso i benefici ecclesiastici, scambiando forse l'ordine dei fattori, per motivi ideologici. Del Torre spiega bene come in realtà si tratti di una enfattizzazione, ormai, la storiografia ha accertato come la crisi del commercio estero debba essere posticipata al Cinquecento inoltrato. Tuttavia, è un fatto che un numero crescente di famiglie avesse deciso di orientare uno o più dei suoi membri verso la carriera ecclesiastica in risposta al declino economico, sia pure non così grave come era dipinto dai contemporanei. Poi, l'incremento demografico, evidente nel primo Cinquecento, aveva ancora una volta incoraggiato la scelta ecclesiastica, poiché non tutti i membri di una numerosa famiglia potevano dedicarsi ai viaggi e ai commerci d'oltremare. Ancora una volta è d'interesse notare come ai benefici ecclesiastici corrisponda anche l'incremento della proprietà terriera della famiglia che li ha ottenuti. Di seguito, l'elenco dei cardinali veneziani del primo Cinquecento:

Cardinali		†
Domenico Grimani	1493	1523
Marco Corner	1500	1524
Francesco Pisani	1517	1548
Francesco Corner	1528	1543
Marino Grimani	1528	1546
Gasparo Contarini	1535	1547
Pietro Bembo	1538	1548
Andrea Corner	1544	1551

Ancora una volta, l'esame degli estimi trevisani getta luce sulla consistenza delle proprietà di famiglia di questi cardinali patrizi, già di per sé consistenti, a cui vanno aggiunte le rendite derivanti dai benefici. Clamoroso il caso della famiglia Corner che diede al Sacro Collegio ben tre cardinali.

L'estimo del 1542 della podesteria di Castelfranco allibrò Zorzi Corner,¹¹ il

¹¹ Si tratta di Corner Giorgio detto 'Zorzetto' figlio di Giacomo. Nasce il 13 aprile 1523, sposa nel 1541 Cecilia Donà, muore il 6 aprile 1586. Ha quattro figli: Andrea (1545-1575); Nicolò (1560-1615); Giacomo, abate di S. Zeno (1567-1610); Marco, vescovo di Padova (1557-1625): BARBARO, *Arborii* [...], vol. III, c. 61. In ASve: *Libro d'oro, nascite*, II, c. 70v, si legge

padre Giacomo era appena defunto,¹² con beni per una rendita totale di ca. lire d'estimo 3.970. Se aggiungiamo anche i terreni che deteneva nelle podesterie di Asolo e di Noale, egli superava abbondantemente la rendita di lire 4.000 d'estimo. In Castelfranco, sua era la casa «granda da stazio» corredata da rustici, stalle, colombaia, cortivo, orto e un brolo di ca. ettari 3, posta in borgo di Treviso, in località al Paradiso, oggi, andata perduta. Nel vicino borgo della Pieve, possedeva un'altra «casa grande» e un mulino di tre ruote che gli fruttavano una rendita valutata in lire 432. Un altro suo mulino di due ruote macinava a Resana con annessi ettari 7 in maggior parte tenuti a prato. In tutto, possedeva ca. ettari 359 tenuti a coltura promiscua con scorta prativa, dislocati in vari villaggi e organizzati in aziende di ampie dimensioni con vari fabbricati. Deteneva anche numerosi livelli attivi.

In estimo erano allibrati anche i beni di suo zio Zuanne dei Corner 'da S. Polo',¹³ titolare di rendite valutate complessivamente lire d'estimo 2.396 che gli derivavano da ettari 234 suddivisi in nove aziende dislocate nei villaggi presso Castelfranco. E anche quelli dell'altro suo zio Girolamo, capostipite dei Corner «di San Cassan» allibrato per lire 2.443 frutto della stima delle entrate di ettari 206 ca. suddivisi in numerose aziende e in una moltitudine di piccoli appezzamenti sparsi.¹⁴

Questa proprietà consistente i Corner avevano iniziato ad acquisirla nella podesteria di Castelfranco a partire dal sec. xv. Nel 1425, è documentato il

Corner Giorgio Maria di Giacomo procuratore *qm* Giorgio cavaliere e procuratore e di Marina Morosini *qm* Orsato.

¹² Giacomo Corner *qm* Giorgio, nato nel 1503, fu eletto procuratore di S. Marco nel 1537 dietro esborso di ducati 16.000. Diede origine al ramo di S. Maurizio e fabbricò il palazzo della Ca' Granda, sul Canal Grande. Morì nel 1542 e la sua orazione funebre fu letta dal grande erudito padovano Sperone Speroni.

¹³ Anche Giovanni Corner è figlio di Giorgio Corner il Grande, anche lui cavaliere e procuratore di S. Marco, capostipite del ramo di S. Polo, sposa Adriana Pisani sorella del cardinal Francesco. Ebbe cinque figli – Giorgio (Zorzi) nato nel 1524; Marcantonio (1520-1571), l'unico che ebbe discendenza ed ereditò il titolo; Francesco Maria (1520-1570), ufficiale della Signoria; Federico, vescovo di Bergamo, cardinale; Alvise, vescovo di Padova – e quattro figlie. Vedi E. Stumpo, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1983, voce *Corner, Giorgio*, pp. 216-219. Il cugino omonimo del nostro fu a soli 15 anni (1539) vescovo ausiliario di Treviso, diocesi detenuta dallo zio, il cardinal Francesco Pisani. Nel 1555, chiamato a Roma dal fratello Alvise e da lui introdotto in curia e dopo il 1558 risiedette stabilmente a Roma. Nel 1564, prese finalmente possesso della diocesi di Treviso. Morì a Venezia nel 1578. Prima aveva ottenuto di lasciare il titolo vescovile al nipote Francesco.

¹⁴ In tutto, nel 1542, i Corner detenevano ettari 799 in gran parte esenti dalle fazioni reali e personali, 104 in più rispetto alla rilevazione del 1525. Vedi M. VIGATO, *Castelfranco. Società, ambiente, economia dalle fonti fiscali di una podesteria trevigiana tra xv e xvi secolo*, Treviso, Fondazione Benetton Studi e Ricerche-Canova, 2011, p. 161. Zuanne Corner, il capostipite dei Corner di S. Polo, era morto nel 1551: p. 120. A p. 74 si segnala la presenza di un Zuanne Corner *qm* Zorzi ma anche degli eredi di «Zuanne Corner q. Zorzi il procurator» (p. 120).

primo acquisto di beni fondiari da parte del veneziano Giorgio Corner (1374-1439), padre di Andrea e soprattutto di Marco, che a sua volta sarebbe stato padre di Caterina, la futura regina di Cipro.

Giorgio Corner, dopo un primo incarico politico a Ferrara si occupò soprattutto di commercio, possedeva notevoli ricchezze nel Levante e, nel 1419, acquistò il palazzo di famiglia a S. Cassiano (Ca' Corner della Regina). Entrò in possesso dei beni di Castelfranco mentre era podestà di Padova. Poi, durante la guerra con i Milanesi, fu fatto prigioniero, fu torturato a lungo, ma non parlò, e rimase prigioniero per sette anni. La narrazione delle spaventose sevizie che dovette subire la lasciò egli stesso, nella cosiddetta *Cronachetta Corner*, inserita in diverse cronache veneziane.¹⁵ Suo figlio, Marco Corner sposò Fiorenza Crispo, figlia di Nicolò, duca dell'Arcipelago, e di Valenza Commeno, discendente dagli antichi imperatori di Costantinopoli, da cui ebbe nel 1454 Caterina e Zorzi Corner (1454-1527).¹⁶ Zorzi appena ventenne, nel 1475, sposò Elisabetta Morosini da cui ebbe figli i futuri porporati Francesco e Marco il cui cappello cardinalizio fu comperato dal padre nel 1498, da Alessandro VI, per 15.000 ducati (p. 55). Poi ebbe Giacomo, il padre del Giorgio Corner allibrato nel 1542, Girolamo e Giovanni, che si maritarono, per dar vita ai due rami di S. Maurizio e di S. Polo e continuare quello di S. Cassiano. Un altro figlio naturale di Zorzi Corner, Andrea, fu arcivescovo di Spalato.

L'occasione decisiva per la vita di Zorzi Corner, e per quella di tutta la famiglia, si verificò nel 1488, allorché il Senato veneziano decise di procedere all'annessione dell'isola di Cipro, dove Caterina regnava da sola ormai da quindici anni. Zorzi Corner fu prescelto per convincere la sorella Caterina che il 26 febbraio 1489, rinunciò formalmente al possesso dell'isola ottenendo in cambio il feudo di Asolo.

Nel Cinquecento, Zorzi Corner detto il grande fu coinvolto nelle guerre d'Italia fu eletto provveditore generale in Terraferma, assieme al futuro doge Andrea Gritti. Fu diretto testimone della disfatta di Agnadello. Poi continuò a ricoprire incarichi politici importanti. Nel 1521, passava per il più facoltoso dei Veneziani e poteva contare su una rendita annua di 25.000 ducati. Morì a Venezia il 31 luglio 1527, lasciando immense ricchezze: nell'agosto del 1515 aveva offerto 25.000 ducati per acquistare il feudo di Asolo, che era stato della sorella, morta nel 1510. Il suo ritratto, opera di Tiziano, si conservò in Maggior Consiglio fino all'incendio del 1577.

Dunque, Zorzi Corner di Marco, fu il più importante proprietario fondiario di Castelfranco e probabilmente di tutta la podesteria di Treviso. Nel 1493, era percettore di rendite cospicue stimate lire 13.422, aveva almeno ettari 286 sparsi fra Piombino, Poisolo, S. Marco e altre località minori, un

¹⁵ G. Gullino, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, xxix, cit., voce *Corner, Giorgio*, pp. 210-212.

¹⁶ Ivi, pp. 212-216.

mulino, diverse case, soccide di bestiame bovino.¹⁷ È probabile che la scelta di Asolo per Caterina andasse a soddisfare suoi interessi, poiché già nel 1484, cinque anni prima dell'abdicazione della sorella, risultava aver fatto acquisti fondiari in quel territorio. Poi, la presenza della regina di Cipro favorì i suoi rapporti con altri patrizi veneziani.¹⁸

Anche queste brevi note possono ben spiegare quale intreccio si instaurasse fra proprietà fondiaria, benefici ecclesiastici, mercatura, politica, cultura umanistica e 'civiltà di villa'. È perciò evidente con quale urgenza si ripresentasse la questione dei sempre più numerosi papalisti presenti nei Consigli, specie dopo Agnadello. Quando erano in gioco questioni relative a Roma, diventava difficile mantenere persino il segreto di Stato, poiché, anche se allontanati dalle aule dove si riunivano le magistrature in Palazzo Ducale, quei senatori comunque si soffermavano negli atri o lungo i corridoi ed erano in grado di carpire notizie fino ad arrivare all'assurdo che la curia romana conosceva le deliberazioni del Senato prima ancora dell'ambasciatore veneto.¹⁹

Il capitolo finale del libro di Del Torre affronta i rapporti Stato-Chiesa dal punto di vista fiscale. Anche questo è un tema che s'impose soprattutto nel secondo Quattrocento, diretta conseguenza della conquista della Terraferma e delle nuove spese militari sostenute dalla Repubblica per contrastare l'aggressività turca. Un primo problema riguardava la distribuzione del carico fiscale tra clero veneziano ed ecclesiastici sudditi. Infatti, i Veneziani erano esentati dal pagamento della *dadia delle lance* che era una tassa personale. Man mano che aumentava la loro disponibilità beneficiale e, dunque, esente, si andava ad accrescere il carico fiscale dei sudditi che dovevano far fronte anche alle quote dei benefici passati ai Veneziani (p. 155). Ed erano somme notevoli come dimostravano le ricchezze di alcuni prelati veneziani che avevano accumulato fortune favolose, basti ricordare i nipoti di Paolo II Barbo, i cardinali Zen e Michiel morti tra il 1501 e il 1503, che lasciarono ai loro eredi somme superiori ai 100.000 ducati. Riguardo alla ricchezza degli ecclesiastici veneti, Del Torre indica alcune cifre eloquenti.

Anno	Rendita in ducati	Fonte
1503	400.000	Nunziatura a Venezia
1538	Ca. 500.000	Pregadi, parte 1° marzo 1538
1564	470.410	Redecima dei beni del Clero

Se riscossa dalla Repubblica, la decima sopra le rendite ecclesiastiche avrebbe assicurato allo Stato la notevole entrata fissa di ducati 47.041 annui. Ma la

¹⁷ VIGATO, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

¹⁸ L. BULIAN, *Asolo. Paesaggio, proprietà e credito nel territorio asolano del secolo XVI*, Treviso, Fondazione Benetton Studi e Ricerche-Canova, 2001, pp. 32, 37, 85.

¹⁹ Di questi fatti si occupa il capitolo *Papalisti, chierici e spie*, pp. 129-152.

riscossione della decima stessa doveva essere concessa dal papato a Venezia mediante *brevi* autorizzativi, poiché i beni della Chiesa dovevano dipendere solo da Roma. È già qui *in nuce* la questione che porterà allo scontro tra la Repubblica e la Santa Sede e che segnò punti a favore dello Stato veneziano, forte dei consulti di Paolo Sarpi e Fulgenzio Micanzio. E ora l'analisi si estende fino alla legislazione riformatrice dei settecenteschi Deputati *ad pias causas*. Nel corso di un secolo e mezzo, Venezia era riuscita a conseguire dei successi notevoli, ottenendo a scadenza fissa dal papa i brevi che autorizzavano ad esigere la decima:

Anni	Frequenza dei privilegi	Numero totale
1586-1618	Ogni quattro anni	Otto decime ($2 \times$ anno)
1622-1675	Ogni otto anni	Sedici decime ($2 \times$ anno)
1690-1765	Ogni nove anni	Diciotto decime ($2 \times$ anno)

Secondo i calcoli dell'A., le decime ordinarie fra il 1564 e il 1773 furono 358, per un incasso preventivato, stando ai dati del catasto, di 47.041 ducati cadauna (dunque teorici ducati complessivi 16.840.678). A questi introiti si devono aggiungere:

1. diciannove decime straordinarie da 50.000 ducati ciascuna
2. due prestiti forzosi (nel 1686 e nel 1708) per un totale di ducati 400.000
3. venticinque sussidi compresi tra i 100.000 e i 500.000
4. vendita dei beni di alcuni monasteri durante la Guerra di Candia

Insomma, da questi introiti Del Torre calcola che siano entrati nelle casse della Repubblica qualcosa come una somma vicina ai 6.500.000 ducati (p. 167). A cui si devono aggiungere quelli delle decime ordinarie (in tutto dunque, teoricamente, circa 23.340.000 ducati). Tali somme sembrerebbero smentire le lamentele de consultori Sarpi e Micanzio che vedevano i chierici favoriti, a loro dire, da innumerevoli esenzioni e dalle gravi difficoltà che si riscontravano nella riscossione del denaro. Si tratta però solo di una contraddizione apparente.

Per ca. due secoli, restò in vigore lo stesso catastico del 1564 e non si riuscì a procedere alla formazione di una nuova redecima dei beni del clero. Del Torre sottolinea come la rendita ecclesiastica settecentesca fosse decisamente superiore a quella stimata ai tempi della redecima del 1564. Infatti, le proprietà del clero erano andate progressivamente aumentando e, nel 1767, si calcolò che in quel lungo lasso di tempo erano stati istituiti 1.614 benefici ecclesiastici sconosciuti all'Erario e che perciò non pagavano l'imposta. Poi, occorreva tener conto dell'effetto combinato della svalutazione della moneta e dell'inflazione, fattori che in due secoli ebbero un peso notevole. Anche se si fosse riusciti a incassare tutti i ducati 47.041 previsti, essi non avevano di certo lo stesso valore di due secoli prima. In conclusione, per i chierici, il

carico fiscale era divenuto sempre meno gravoso (p. 168). Ecco dunque che le lamentele di Sarpi e Micanzio non appaiono più ingiustificate.

Se non si era riusciti a tassare com'era lecito i chierici ciò era dovuto alle resistenze romane, ma anche a quelle dei patrizi papalisti che avevano tutto l'interesse a evitare la tassazione dei loro parenti abati, vescovi e cardinali. Anche se non potevano entrare nei Consigli quando si discuteva di materie ecclesiastiche o legate ai rapporti con la corte romana, non mancava loro la possibilità d'influenzare o di ostacolare le decisioni delle assemblee.

Proprio nelle ultime pagine Del Torre introduce il tema delle riforme giurisdizionali condotte dalla Repubblica negli anni settanta del sec. XVIII e che tanta eco ebbero anche fuori dai confini veneti. Si trattava semplicemente d'impedire agli ecclesiastici di sottrarsi all'obbligo di pagare le imposte, poiché anch'essi dovevano contribuire alla difesa dello Stato che si costruiva grazie al denaro dei suoi sudditi. Questo era il fondamento ideologico della scrittura del 30 dicembre 1768 firmata dai consultori Vrachien e Bilesimo, continuatori dell'opera di Sarpi e Micanzio. Il libro di Del Torre dimostra però che le ricostruzioni dei giurisdizionalisti veneziani tralasciavano di considerare la storia dei rapporti con gli ecclesiastici così com'era nata nel sec. XV, quando furono gettate le basi della politica fiscale della Repubblica e che generarono quattro secoli di lotte con la Santa Sede. Il furore ideologico impedì loro di vedere ciò che nel sec. XV la Repubblica aveva già deliberato contro l'invadenza politica ed economica degli ecclesiastici, quando era più forte la sua posizione nei confronti della curia romana. Con queste note però finisce il libro e qui si sente la sua incompiutezza, poiché il tema doveva essere ripreso da Del Torre, facendo una specie di storia comparativa fra il sec. XV e il XVIII. Ma, forse, l'A. non si sentiva uno specialista del Settecento e chi lo ha conosciuto sa bene che egli non amava parlare di cose di cui non avesse raggiunto una piena competenza.

Il volume contiene anche il saggio *Carriera politica e benefici ecclesiastici in una famiglia veneziana del primo Cinquecento: Zaccaria e Lorenzo Gabriel*, già edito nel volume miscelaneo *Per Marino Berengo: studi degli allievi*, a cura di L. Antonielli, C. Capra, M. Infelise, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2000, pp. 175-195.

MAURO PITTERI

ALESSANDRO MARZO MAGNO, *L'alba dei libri. Quando Venezia ha fatto leggere il mondo*, Milano, Garzanti, 2012, pp. 210.

L'A. RIPERCORRE una storia nota, quella della stampa veneziana nel Quattro e Cinquecento, con l'intento di mettere in rilievo i primati tecnici, economici, culturali veneziani. La nuova arte giunse a Venezia, come noto, nel 1469 e divenne in breve tempo un'industria di importanza non solo locale, ma eu-

ropea. Il primo capitolo fornisce le cifre, invero impressionanti, della produzione veneziana. Il secondo è dedicato ad Aldo Manuzio, definito addirittura come «il Michelangelo dei libri». Nei seguenti si sottolinea l'internazionalità dell'editoria veneziana, che stampava ed esportava libri in ebraico, greco, armeno, slavo, non esitando a sperimentare nuove tecniche e a espandersi in nuovi mercati. Un riuscito capitolo narra vivacemente la storia della scoperta – dovuta ad Angela Nuovo – dell'unica copia superstite del Corano stampato in arabo attorno al 1538 da Alessandro Paganino. Altri capitoli parlano delle edizioni musicali, di quelle di medicina, cosmesi, gastronomia, di quelle di materia militare: in tutti questi campi l'editoria veneziana mostra una geniale capacità imprenditoriale. Un capitolo è dedicato a Pietro Aretino, eletto a simbolo della libertà di cui la stampa godeva a Venezia, causa non ultima dello straordinario successo dell'editoria veneziana. Alla perdita di tale libertà, dovuta alla repressione controriformistica, l'A. collega la decadenza dell'arte nel tardo Cinquecento, come da molti, e giustamente, ritenuto. Nell'ultimo capitolo si tratta brevemente dell'editoria settecentesca e ci si sofferma sulla grande Casa editrice dei Remondini di Bassano. Le ultime due pagine sono riservate a Ferdinando Ongania, un editore del tardo Ottocento-primi Novecento che, scrive l'A., «possiede tutte le caratteristiche che avevano animato i suoi predecessori cinquecenteschi: intuizione imprenditoriale, voglia di innovare e sperimentare, capacità di usare tecniche nuove e all'avanguardia». Queste parole forniscono la chiave di lettura dell'opera del Marzo Magno che, come si è detto, mira a divulgare in modo attraente questi aspetti, invero fondamentali, nella storia della stampa veneziana.

Talvolta l'entusiasmo prende la mano all'A., come nel caso della stampa del primo libro in greco, che egli considera una gloria veneziana, mentre il primato spetta a Brescia e successivamente a Milano. Tuttavia il suo animato racconto consente ad un'ampia schiera di lettori di apprezzare l'entità dell'apporto veneziano alla storia della stampa e quindi alla diffusione della lettura, in Italia e in Europa.

MARINO ZORZI

Stampa meretrix. Scritti quattrocenteschi contro la stampa, a cura di Franco Pierno, con la collaborazione di Gianluca Vandone, Venezia, Marsilio, 2012, pp. 80.

IL prezioso volumetto ci conduce addentro al periodo eroico della stampa veneziana, quando la nuova arte incominciava il suo glorioso cammino nelle lagune, negli anni settanta del Quattrocento, e ci fa sentire la voce di un dissenziente, voce minoritaria, dimenticata, e per questo tanto più interessante: quella di chi non approvava affatto la stampa e anzi condannava con passione e vivace spirito polemico quella nuova rivoluzionaria inven-

zione che tanti invece esaltavano. Si tratta di un domenicano, frate Filippo da Strada, persona tutt'altro che indotta, assiduo lettore e copista di opere sacre. La sua avversione alla stampa trova espressione in versi stesi in latino o in un pittoresco volgare veneto, che conservano il sapore di un incontenibile sfogo; in parte già editi, in parte inediti, sono qui pubblicati nella loro interezza.

Che cosa rimproverava il frate alla stampa? La facilità con cui le opere a stampa si vendevano e si compravano, come merci qualsiasi, senza alcun riguardo al loro contenuto, offerte a tutti, dotti e ignoranti. Una simile incontrollata circolazione determinava il venir meno di quella lettura meditata che arricchiva veramente l'anima; ma quel ch'è peggio favoriva la diffusione di opere immorali (fra le quali il frate includeva Ovidio, Tibullo, Boccaccio, persino Petrarca) e faceva sì che si vendessero e leggessero scritti pieni di errori. Fra questi ultimi fra Filippo riservava un posto di rilievo ad un'opera destinata per decenni a grande fortuna, la traduzione in volgare della Bibbia, scritta e data alle stampe nel 1471 da un altro religioso, il camaldolese Niccolò Malerbi, con il quale fra Filippo non era in buoni rapporti. Altre sue note ostili alla stampa sono meno incisive, ma divertenti: la volgarità, la venalità, l'ubriachezza di stampatori, tipografi, librai, venditori ambulanti di libri.

Sembrano critiche nate da un cervello eccentrico, fuori del tempo, da liquidare con un sorriso. Ma il sorriso si raggela se si pensa – aggiungiamo noi – a quel che accadde meno di un secolo dopo, quando la Controriforma fece propri nella sostanza i criteri di fra Filippo. Sopprimere la stampa non si poteva, anche se sarebbe stato bello («La santa Chiesa havria più bisogno che per molti anni non vi fusse la stampa»: la frase, sfuggita a un funzionario della Congregazione dell'Indice, è citata a p. 124 dell'utilissima sintesi di Lodovica Braida, *Stampa e cultura in Europa*, Bari, Laterza, 2000); ma la diffusione indiscriminata di libri di ogni tipo venne combattuta col ferro e col fuoco; le opere immorali, alcune di quelle individuate da fra Filippo ma anche molte altre, bandite; proibite del pari quelle che potevano indurre nel lettore pensieri pericolosi, in particolare quelle che potevano far sorgere dubbi sulla legittimità del potere papale, persino il *De Monarchia* di Dante. Se fosse vissuto, frate Filippo avrebbe avuto la soddisfazione di vedere proibita la Bibbia del Malerbi, da lui tanto avversata, e con essa non alcune, ma tutte le traduzioni in volgare del libro sacro. Come scrive Gigliola Fragnito nel suo eccellente studio *La Bibbia al rogo* (Bologna, il Mulino, 1997, p. 320), «si preferì un popolo fanciullo». I papi come Paolo IV, Pio V, Sisto V, Clemente VIII, gli Inquisitori, i compilatori dei molti *Indices librorum prohibitorum* consideravano i lettori come dei bambini che andavano protetti con ogni mezzo da pericolose frequentazioni, e in generale da troppe letture, fra cui poteva annidarsi l'insidia. Fra Filippo, certo ignoto ai grandi orchestratori dell'oscurantismo controriformistico, avrebbe meritato gli onori dovuti a un precursore.

Ma torniamo al contenuto di *Stampa meretrix*. Il libro si apre con l'*Introduzione* di Franco Pierno, che ricostruisce la scarna biografia del frate, ne colloca la figura sullo sfondo della cultura dell'epoca, ricordandone in particolare i rapporti con l'abate di S. Michele di Murano Pietro Donà e col Malerbi, evidenzia i temi principali della sua polemica. Segue un'accurata «nota ai testi», indi la pubblicazione dei testi stessi. Ma prima di offrirci quelli usciti dalla penna di fra Filippo ci viene presentata la composizione poetica in volgare che accompagnava la prima edizione (1471) della Bibbia volgarizzata dal Malerbi, opera del noto letterato Girolamo Squarzafico. L'umanista fa ricorso all'armamentario mitologico (Apollo, le Muse, Prometeo) per esaltare l'opera del traduttore e dello stampatore Vindelino da Spira; del lavoro di quest'ultimo dice «che par disceso dai celesti chiostrì»; esalta la «innata vigoria» con cui «egli à formato quel sancto volume / de la Sacra Scriptura»; quanto alla traduzione, dice che il «sancto volume» è «si ben traducto in materno costume /, che nullo è manco del vero latino», non ha nulla da invidiare al latino, e non è «mai diviso al testual chamino», non si discosta mai dal testo consacrato, sicché «ciaschun a questi gentil pasti / se pò invitar di la Sacra Scriptura», e può quindi salire «a la divina altura».

Il componimento che segue è dovuto a fra Filippo, e sembra – osserva il curatore – scritto proprio in polemica risposta allo Squarzafico. Comincia col verso «Nota lectore lection de l'asinello»: chi parla è l'asinello, che spiega: asino ero «prima che leggesse libri istampati, e asino tenuto sempre serò», perché «non lego altro che bosie /, per questi libri, overo innamorati, / homini e femine per le triste vie. / Stampe me empiono de vici abominati». Egli è molto obbligato «ad oltramontani, che boni impressori» sono di ogni morbosità e peccato: a lui, che non era andato oltre il «babovino» (il *Babuino*, quei fogli elementari che servivano per imparare a leggere, sui quali ha scritto illuminanti pagine Piero Lucchi), è facile ora far bella figura. Seguono versi divertenti sulle contrattazioni per la vendita di libri a mucchi; il compratore chiede se «siano emendati», e il venditore onestamente risponde di non poterlo garantire, ma in compenso «te ne farò derrata da carbone», dice, te ne darò un sacco, in cambio di poche monete. Le autorità non intervengono, forse perché – essendo gli stampatori «valenti bevituari» – con la malvasia loro venduta «cerchano abbonire li dacij del comune». Quanto alla Bibbia tradotta, fra Filippo non ha esitazioni: «A l'asinello recha fava ad manzare, / ad homini ignoranti la biblia per vulgare». Non solo è mal stampata, ma è «dal vero dilungata», «è fatta brutta, obscura». È giusto che «per suo cervello / ogni senza littere faza in fede trattatello?». La conclusione è una sola: «Porta tue stampe in fuoco!»

Segue una dedica al doge Nicolò Marcello, in esametri latini, di una raccolta di vite di santi trascritta dal frate: «stampificos preme!», schiaccia gli stampatori, chiede fra Filippo, per le solite ragioni. Egli dipinge questi diffusori di vizi intenti a suggerire vino, a russare immersi nel lusso, a ridere. La

stampa è una «meretrix», che finge di amarci, mentre, dedita solo al guadagno, corrompe i giovani. Analoghi concetti sono esposti nei versi latini che seguono, diretti allo stesso doge, in cui si dice che la stampa è «lues turpissima». Anche a Giovanni Capello, membro del Consiglio di X, fra Filippo offre un altro libro copiato da lui stesso, forse nella speranza di conquistare l'appoggio del potente patrizio per la sua crociata: nella dedica egli asserisce che i libri stampati sono buoni per i ciurmatori «chi dicono migliaia de bosie per le piazze, per le taverne e sopra li deschi de' cavadenti». In altre due composizioni si esprimono le stesse idee, sempre con stile bizzarro e appassionato.

Il volumetto ci permette quindi di gettare uno sguardo su tutto un mondo di misoneisti che, già nei primi anni della stampa, vedevano nella circolazione delle opere e delle idee che l'arte tipografica consentiva non un beneficio per la società, ma un pericolo, un danno morale. Quanti condividessero le idee di fra Filippo è difficile dire; ma certo non erano pochi, se anche nei paesi protestanti furono poste in diversi momenti limitazioni alla libertà di stampa e anche alla lettura della Bibbia. Quanto ai Paesi cattolici, si è già accennato allo sforzo gigantesco condotto dalla Controriforma per coartare la stampa: un'impresa per secoli vittoriosa, almeno in Italia e in Spagna. Fra Filippo ha il vanto di avere parlato con tanta energia in un momento di molto anteriore, in cui nessuno pensava ancora seriamente ad una censura sistematica.

Stampa meretrix si inserisce quindi con ogni onore nella bella collana «Albrizziana. Documenti per la storia dell'editoria a Venezia», curata con grande competenza da Cesare De Michelis e Mario Infelise per l'Editore Marsilio.

MARINO ZORZI

LUCIA NADIN, *Migrazioni e integrazione. Il caso degli albanesi a Venezia (1479-1552)*, Roma, Bulzoni, 2008, pp. 242.

È CON i «giorni dell'esodo» da Scutari, ceduta ai Turchi nel gennaio 1479, che prende avvio l'indagine di Lucia Nadin sulla storia della presenza albanese a Venezia in età moderna. Una storia che sembra confermare ancora una volta l'esistenza di impensati piani di integrazione fra popoli e di un'intensa circolarità delle etnie nel bacino mediterraneo. La lettera inviata dal Senato veneziano ad Antonio Da Lezze, capitano a Scutari, circa le sorti della locale popolazione è emblematica di tutto un atteggiamento della classe dirigente veneta ma anche un documento unico per i suoi risvolti attuali.

Nadin fornisce dati sulle grandezze dell'esodo degli Albanesi del Nord, qualche migliaio, a partire dalle donne, notando come l'emigrazione di queste, ma anche di altri soggetti, avesse preceduto di gran lunga la drammatica

curvatura delle guerre turco-veneziane. Donne di tutte le estrazioni sociali che ben presto si distribuirono, integrandosi, nel tessuto produttivo e civile della società veneziana. Il dato relativo agli esuli di sesso maschile colpisce in modo particolare, non solo perché dimostra come tutto l'arco territoriale dello Stato veneto, dunque non esclusivamente la Dominante, fosse interessato a questo fenomeno, ma anche come molti di questi soggetti, la cui dislocazione sociale nelle realtà di provenienza era già notevole, furono ammessi e integrati in incarichi più o meno rilevanti. In questa cornice i rettori ebbero il compito di individuare i settori di inserimento, anche con l'assegnazione di terre, come avvenne nella Patria del Friuli, proseguimento peraltro di una politica, non nuova, volta ad utilizzare manodopera immigrata per la valorizzazione degli incolti.

Significativo il flusso migratorio dei religiosi, che del resto aveva radicati precedenti risalenti quantomeno al 1420, anno della dedizione di Drivasto. Nadin fornisce abbozzi di una mappatura della varia presenza del clero di origine albanese nel tessuto civile ed ecclesiastico delle realtà di accoglienza, ancora tutta da tracciare nella sua completezza, compresa dunque la Terraferma ove i lapidari delle chiese sono a questo proposito significativi. Il racconto della Nadin si spinge fino al tentativo non facile di cogliere tracce nell'ambito dei lasciti culturali o delle variegate espressioni della pietà popolare.

Questo libro ci parla dunque di un'integrazione apparentemente riuscita, tanto che, in prima battuta, risulta difficile cogliere nella loro immediatezza i segni di un'eventuale alterità. Non certo, a parere della studiosa, nel mondo mercantile e artigiano, per ragioni intuibili intrinsecamente refrattario alle logiche legate alle distinzioni etniche o religiose; con maggiori approssimazioni rilevabili fra le file di coloro che esercitavano il mestiere della guerra in veste di mercenari; individuabili in forme positive nelle opere letterarie e teatrali delle quali l'A. propone un documentato repertorio.

I *Cenni storiografici sui rapporti tra Venezia e l'Albania*, le illustrazioni e un'appendice documentaria completano il volume che si chiude con un richiamo misurato ma fermo all'attualità. «Ottiche non omologabili, certo, quelle dell'indagine su vicende antiche o su fenomeni contemporanei; ma la storia di un paese in bilico tra Oriente e Occidente, quale è sempre stata quella dell'Albania, spinge a dover indagare specificità inserendole d'obbligo nelle grandi linee dei confronti, non in quelle delle separatezze».

MICHELE SIMONETTO

Giavera del Montello una chiesa e la sua comunità nel tempo, a cura di Francesca Cavazzana Romanelli, Maria Teresa Pol Gobbo, saggi di Andrea Bellieni, Benito Buosi, Gianpier Nicoletti, Pierluigi Sanzo-

vo, Ivano Sartor, Pietro Zanatta, contributi di Armando Pasqualotto, Alessandra Negrin, contributo e disegni di Christian Zanatta, Treviso, Antilia, 2010, pp. 6-291.

C'è una ripresa delle storie di paese o come nel nostro caso degli elementi caratterizzanti un paese? L'onda lunga degli anni settanta e ottanta non si è ancora fermata. Questo volume sembrerebbe dimostrare che nel Triveneto o almeno in alcune sue parti vi è ancora attenzione per questo tipo di storie. La Casa editrice Canova pubblica una collana, «Municipia», di cui è uscito un altro volume miscelaneo *Campodarsego, Storia, arte e cultura*, Treviso, Comune di Campodarsego (PD), 2006.¹ Nel Vicentino, è fresco d'inchiostro il volume *Brogliano nell'età contemporanea*, a cura di Silvano Fornasa, Brogliano, Comune di Brogliano, 2011;² mentre il Centro Studi Berici ha pubblicato da poco un bel volume di Sergio Lavarda sulla nobile famiglia Loschi.³ Non mancano iniziative neppure nel vicino Friuli, più dilettantesche, ma comunque significative come quella di Arduino Cargnello, *Impronte di vita sul territorio. Ricerca storico-culturale*, Dolegna del Collio (GO), Comune di Dolegna del Collio, 2011.⁴ Oppure M. Ongaro, *Il Naone. Atlante storico – economico*, Pordenone, Comune di Pordenone, 2011. Promosso dall'assessore all'identità culturale, riproduce mappe del Catasto austriaco e napoleonico.

Invece, il volume in questione può unirsi a ragione con quelli che hanno ottenuto i risultati più brillanti nelle storie di paese del Trevisano. L'occasione del libro è stato il restauro della chiesa parrocchiale di Giavera, intitolata ai Ss. Giacomo Maggiore Apostolo e Cristoforo, svoltosi fra il 2006 e il 2007, come mostra fin dalla copertina, dove la sua facciata restituita all'eleganza delle linee tardosettecentesche è accompagnata da una mappa di Giavera dell'estimo trevigiano del 1680.

Il primo saggio molto denso di Ivano Sartor, delinea la storia della chiesa e del villaggio utilizzando soprattutto le visite pastorali, fino al 1975.⁵ Per il periodo prima del Concilio di Trento, si avvale della storia di un celebre Giavarese, Carlo Agnoletti, per criticarne i voli pindarici, come l'attribuire la fondazione della chiesa a dei «pellegrini», però con l'affetto che si deve a un erudito pieno di passione. In realtà, secondo l'A. la scelta dei santi tito-

¹ Tra i cui autori emerge un veterano del settore come M. VIGATO il cui saggio è *La comunità di Campodarsego, Ambiente e società tra Medioevo ed età moderna*, pp. 53-99.

² Voglio segnalare di questo libro il bel saggio di A. SAVIO, *Istituzioni politiche e amministrazione della giustizia a Brogliano e nella Valle dell'Agno durante il Lombardo-Veneto*, pp. 69-116.

³ S. LAVARDA, *I Loschi e Sossano. Nobili e contadini in un villaggio vicentino (secoli XVI-XVIII)*, Sossano (VI), Comune di Sossano, 2009.

⁴ Terra di confine, mi piace segnalare un leone confinario (p. 428) e una serie di tavole fuori testo raffiguranti mappe del catasto di Dolegna al confine con l'allora Jugoslavia.

⁵ *Santi Giacomo Maggiore Apostolo e Cristoforo in Giavera. La chiesa nella storia*, pp. 15-85.

lari è da collegare al vicinissimo bosco del Montello, così com'era l'antico toponimo del villaggio, come appare nel diploma di Ottone II, Moscalino, riferimento «al muschio di che il suolo della selva abbonda» (p. 16), a cui poi subentrò l'idronomo Giavera. Oltre che al bosco, il villaggio era legato all'abbazia della Certosa del Montello. Un inventario del 1354 dei suoi beni a Giavera è la prima descrizione importante del paesaggio agrario già dominato dalla coltura promiscua. Esso riporta anche il nome di alcuni proprietari confinanti con i beni dei monaci, documento riportato integralmente in appendice (pp. 64-69). Vengono poi indicati i rettori della chiesa di Giavera fra Quattro e Cinquecento, per iniziare col 1593 la serie delle visite abbaziali, come questa appunto, e pastorali (la prima nel 1609: p. 25). Dalle entrate della luminaria, stara 10 di frumento e la metà del vino che fa circa una botte, si capisce che la piantata già presente nel Trecento ha ormai caratterizzato definitivamente il paesaggio agrario delle campagne a ridosso del bosco. E dal beneficio del 1582, che rendeva 300 ducati al rettore, si comprende che erano campagne ben coltivate (p. 27); quella del parroco rendeva 24 sacchi di grano e venti botti di vino a cui andava aggiunto il quartese, dodici sacchi di grano, otto di segale, due di veccia e fave, due di miglio di coltura, otto di sorgo (la saggina) e quattro botti di vino. Nel 1621, anno di carestia, compare poco vino meno sacchi di grano e più sacchi di cereali minori, ossia sorgo, miglio e *formenton* che però nel trevigiano non è ancora il mais (come erroneamente l'A.: p. 28) ma il grano saraceno. Il mais infatti come noto avrà una grande diffusione in queste contrade a partire dal 1640.

Le visite danno anche importanti indicazioni demografiche, così sappiamo che nel sec. XVII il paese poteva contare dalle ca. trecento «anime da comunione» negli anni successivi alla peste, fino alle 350 e 150 piccoli nel 1678 (p. 35). Decisa la crescita demografica nel sec. XVIII, quando le anime della parrocchia erano in tutto 625, fino alle 800 del 1837 (p. 42), quando ormai il villaggio non riusciva più a mantenere un numero così alto di abitanti, anche per le mutate condizioni politiche, e una parte di esse doveva procacciarsi da vivere con l'emigrazione stagionale nei mesi estivi, pratica che venne stigmatizzata nel 1909 dal parroco, quando la popolazione era arrivata a 1.630 persone, perché influiva negativamente sull'aspetto etico della comunità, specie della gioventù.

Le visite poi attestano anche il passaggio dei grandi sconvolgimenti del secolo scorso, dalla grande guerra che ha profanato la chiesa e disperso il prezioso archivio parrocchiale, «perduto per intero» (p. 53) al fascismo, alla ricostruzione dopo il secondo conflitto mondiale, fino alla campagna politica del 1948 e a quella referendaria del 1974. Insomma, l'A. offre ai parrocchiani un *excursus* che può incuriosirli e un ricco apparato documentario e bibliografico.

Pietro Zanatta ci regala una fresca biografia del più illustre dei figli di Giavera, mons. Carlo Agnoletti, autore della celebre *Treviso e le sue pievi*, opera

pubblicata in due volumi tra il 1897 e il 1898, capitata di certo fra le mani di chiunque anche solo furtivamente si sia occupato di storia della Marca.⁶ Il giovane Agnoletti fece fatica a ricevere gli ordini sacerdotali perché ritenuto dal vescovo di Treviso troppo filoitaliano (p. 88). In effetti, come molti membri del clero veneto, condivideva ampiamente gli ideali risorgimentali e commentò con sarcasmo la richiesta fatta nel 1862 a tutti i sacerdoti della diocesi di sottoscrivere una condanna del libro antitemporalista di don Angelo Volpe. Dalla sua opera emerge come la parrocchia fosse tra Otto e Novecento ancora il punto centrale della società trevigiana, specie durante la stagione dell'Opera dei Congressi e dello sviluppo del movimento cattolico con le sue casse rurali e le società di mutuo soccorso. È interessante storicamente come a difesa delle migliaia di *bisnenti* del Montello, proponesse una riesumazione delle leggi veneziane che avevano saputo loro garantire una certa autonomia e come proprio nella legislazione napoleonica del 1811 individuasse l'inizio della miseria per quei boscaioli costretti sempre di più all'emigrazione temporanea ma anche definitiva (p. 94). L'amore per l'erudizione locale, per la cultura, non lo allontanava dall'attaccamento alla sua terra e al principale dei suoi prodotti a cui, in una poesia del suo *Lunario del boscaiolo*, dedicò dei versi: «co fatto el vin sarà, che ognun se speci / Nel goto, e beva pur santole e fiozze» (p. 100).

Un veterano delle storie di paese, Gianpier Nicoletti,⁷ ci dona un cammeo sul territorio di Giavera soprattutto a cavallo dei secc. xv e xvi. L'A. tenta, riuscendoci, di adottare uno stile divulgativo che però non vada a scapito della scientificità della ricerca. Divulgativa in senso alto è la prima parte del suo saggio dove si spiegano le ragioni della diffusione della piantata in tutta la campagna veneta e dunque, anche in quella alle pendici del Montello. E di come essa fosse abbinata alla coltivazione del suolo a cereali, tecnica quella policulturale, utile sia al proprietario che all'autoconsumo del conduttore (pp. 107-108). I documenti permettono all'A. d'individuare la popolazione di Giavera nel 1455-1456, che ammontava a 204 persone, suddivise in 37 famiglie. È d'interesse come allora quelle campagne fossero aree di popolamento e come l'indubbio incremento demografico che ci fu fino alla metà del secolo successivo era tributario dall'arrivo di numerosi *schiavi* che venivano dai possedimenti della Repubblica in Dalmazia, interessata a mantenere alto il numero degli abitanti presso il bosco del Montello riservato all'Arsenale (p. 116). Poi, l'A. dà un altro valido contributo a togliere dal mito o dalla leggenda nera le campagne che si vogliono o bucoliche o intrise nella più nera miseria. A Giavera, invece, dalle polizze d'estimo del sec. xv riemerge una società variegata, che va dai *bisnenti* agli agiati coloni e ai proprietari di buone aziende

⁶ Monsignor Carlo Agnoletti, *storico della chiesa di Treviso*, pp. 87-103. Dell'opera di Agnoletti si ha ora la ristampa anastatica, Bologna, Forni, 1978.

⁷ *Il territorio, la popolazione e i mestieri dei secoli*, pp. 105-135.

agricole. L'A. scova un fatto sì eccezionale e che dimostra come sia lontano dal vero l'omologazione delle campagne. Ebbene i fratelli Toffalon oltre a buone aziende a Giavera, che lavorano in economia grazie a una famiglia di tredici persone, possiedono a Treviso un'osteria alla Fontana Gaiarda condotta da un «hosto todesco» (p. 120) che versa loro 24 ducati, col patto però che il proprietario debba corrispondere al conduttore due carri di vino; un modo quasi imprenditoriale trovato da questi giavaresi per piazzare direttamente sul mercato cittadino il prodotto migliore delle loro campagne.

Il bosco poi ebbe un ruolo importante anche nei mestieri attivi in paese che erano soprattutto tre, legati alla materia prima a portata di mano, i bottai, i carbonai e gli allevatori di maiali. L'A. sostiene che la proprietà forestale del demanio abbia inciso negativamente almeno su una parte del villaggio. È vero che diventava più difficile appropriarsi del legname a causa dei guardiani che partivano dalla casa del bosco situata proprio a Giavera. Ma è anche vero che in cambio del trasporto della legna fino al Piave le tredici comunità del Montello avevano ottenuto l'uso gratuito di una quota di pascoli per allevare gli animali necessari al trasporto.

Proprio dalla fine del Settecento parte il saggio di Benito Buosi,⁸ lo storico di Giavera e del Montello,⁹ che dedica il suo saggio ai «bisnenti» fra Sette e Ottocento. Dà conto di tutti i significati di questo termine che, sostanzialmente, significa: povero che non è in grado di procurarsi la conduzione di un'azienda perché non possiede animali. Ora, nel 1750, la parrocchia dei Ss. Giacomo M. e Cristoforo aveva 563 abitanti che in parte smentiscono quel quadro così negativo che l'A. dà della società contadina veneta di fine Settecento, riprendendo il vecchio saggio del 1956 di un giovane Berengo, rivisto in seguito in alcuni giudizi dallo stesso grande storico veneziano. Occorre comparare la condizione del nostro villaggio con la condizione di quelli di altre parti della Penisola o dell'Europa mediterranea e, certo, se non erano ricchi i contadini veneti alla fine della Repubblica non erano ancora costretti né alla fame né all'emigrazione (p. 138).

Più che i «pisnenti», il bosco è il filo conduttore di questo saggio che però curiosamente dimentica il libro di Brunello che per primo aveva messo in relazione i furti nel bosco del Montello con la miseria contadina, ma siamo già a metà Ottocento. La vera ragione della miseria la dà l'A. stesso quando indica il grande aumento demografico avvenuto tra le anagrafi venete e il censimento italiano del 1871. La popolazione del Montello era passata da 7.274 abitanti a 13.017; quella di Giavera da 554 a 1.189. Che cosa aveva provo-

⁸ *Bisnenti a Giavera*, pp. 137-159.

⁹ È autore dei saggi *Maledetta Giavera*, Montebelluna (TV), Comune di Giavera, 1992; *Il bosco del Montello tra Venezia e Vienna*, in *Società e cultura a Treviso nel tramonto della Sere-nissima. Atti del Convegno di studi*, Treviso-Preganziol, 16-17 ott. 1997, a cura di B. De Donà, Treviso, Ateneo, 1998 («Quaderni dell'Ateneo di Treviso», 9), pp. 131-167; *Pietro Bertolini e la colonizzazione del Montello*, in *Pietro Bertolini, un protagonista della storia montebellunese dal Comune al Governo*, a cura di B. Buosi, Sommacampagna (VR), Cierre, 2002, pp. 21-49.

cato un incremento doppio della popolazione? Ancora una volta l'arrivo di foresti (p. 146), segno dunque che continuavano a esserci tutta una serie di attività legate al bosco e all'agricoltura, ma non sappiamo bene quali. Certo, poi le crisi agrarie degli anni ottanta dell'Ottocento falciavano un territorio così densamente popolato e per la prima volta dopo secoli, anziché luogo di popolamento il Montello diventerà terra di emigranti.

L'A. spiega bene il perché del fallimento della Legge Bertolini del 1892 che voleva risolvere il problema dei *bisnenti* del Montello, questione che aveva avuto un'eco nazionale, con la quotizzazione di un bosco ormai morente (p. 154). Si pensava di poterlo ridurre a coltura ma una sua divisione in sette prese che assegnava ai *bisnenti* non più di due ettari a famiglia, dava a ciascuna di loro una superficie troppo ristretta per permettervi un insediamento. Questo a *posteriori* rende giustizia a chi, nei dibattiti accademici del Settecento, voce minoritaria, considerava un errore la divisione in quote fra i capifamiglia dei beni comunali.

Il saggio di Pietro Zanatta, che delinea la storia del paese nei secc. XIX e XX,¹⁰ è quello più corposo e ambizioso del volume, data la mole degli argomenti affrontati. Certo, alcune ridondanze nelle prime pagine con il saggio precedente potevano essere evitate, ma l'A. non nasconde di ripercorrere i saggi di Buosi per delineare la storia ottocentesca di Giavera. Alcune questioni tuttavia rimangono sullo sfondo. Ad es., il Comune di Giavera nasce nel 1806 per volontà francese unito con Bavaria e Cusignana che all'epoca veneziana erano regole distinte. Non può essere avvenuto in modo indolore (p. 166), tant'è che nel 1811 quando invece Giavera sarà unita ad Arcade ci furono proteste, mai sopite, fino a quando solo nel 1960 Giavera tornerà ad essere un Comune autonomo (p. 171).

Nella prima parte del saggio, l'A. usa in modo appropriato le fonti del catasto, soprattutto gli *Atti preparatori* per delineare l'assetto agricolo del Comune censuario che è ancora dominato dalla piantata con il binomio frumento-mais per il suolo e l'avanzare invece del gelso nel soprasuolo. Nello studiare l'assetto del regime fondiario dà un dato interessante sulla proprietà dei Trevisani. Ebbene in queste contrade sembra aver resistito alla penetrazione fondiaria del patriziato perché fra i più ricchi di terra troviamo molti già nobili di Treviso e un solo veneziano, Pietro Priuli. Tra i Trevisani si distingueva Giovanni Battista Rinaldi con la proprietà di ca. ettari 23, ma soprattutto con l'abitazione e la proprietà di uno dei più antichi palazzi di Giavera (p. 168); continuerà ad avere un ruolo importante nella vita del villaggio poiché la prima scuola elementare del paese verrà ospitata nel 1867 proprio all'interno di Palazzo Rinaldi, quando ne era titolare il nobile Francesco (p. 182). L'A. dedica molte pagine alla storia dell'istruzione pubblica nel paese ma qui preme sottolineare come le ricerche sul campo dimostrino

¹⁰ *Giavera fra Ottocento e Novecento*, pp. 161-224.

che nella fascia pedemontana la nobiltà trevigiana aveva resistito come attestano anche i casi degli Spineda e degli Azzoni Avogadro.

Ancora pagine dense vengono dedicate alla vicenda del bosco del Montello a partire dalla Legge forestale del 15 luglio 1808 che praticamente rimarrà in vigore fino all'Unità. La lettura dei saggi di Antonio Lazzarini avrebbe aiutato l'A. nella sua analisi che rimane comunque interessante e che spiega proprio con la possibilità di trarre utili dal bosco la ragione del continuo aumento demografico del paese anche durante le crisi dell'Ottocento (p. 174). Gli Austriaci inasprirono i controlli fino a insediare un presidio militare stabile a Montebelluna, creando notevole malcontento tra la popolazione, che sfocerà nel 1848 con l'occupazione del bosco a cui inutilmente si oppose il moderato Giuseppe Olivi, presidente del governo provvisorio di Treviso. È vero che l'episodio s'inserisce all'interno di una rivendicazione all'uso del legnatico che risale alla fine della Repubblica veneta, ma l'A. pare sottovalutare che in quel momento tali rivendicazioni erano favorevoli anche alla causa italiana, e non furono i contadini ad autoescludersi dal Risorgimento, ma semmai fu un ceto politico moderato, che non seppe o non volle sfruttare le loro rivendicazioni per farle confluire nella comune causa nazionale. Anche qui la lettura dei saggi di Ginsborg avrebbe aiutato nell'analisi.

Per la storia del secondo Ottocento pagine importanti vengono dedicate alla lotta per avere una scuola pubblica, un acquedotto, strade decenti e al fenomeno dell'emigrazione. A quanto fosse ammontata lo si capì bene nel 1914, quando a causa della guerra molti emigranti nelle nazioni in conflitto rimpatriarono, accrescendo a Giavera il numero dei disoccupati assieme alle preoccupazioni degli amministratori comunali e che trovarono impiego nella costruzione della ferrovia da Montebelluna a Nervesa, resa pressante dalle necessità militari (p.174).

Non potevano mancare ampie pagine dedicate alla battaglia del solstizio del giugno 1918, dove tra gli altri perse la vita Francesco Baracca, episodio che rese il Montello celebre in tutta Italia; e proprio Giavera fu il punto di massima penetrazione degli Austriaci (p. 196) dove si combatté fra le case.

L'A. poi esamina le prime lotte sindacali, organizzate qui dalle leghe bianche di Corazzin, l'avvento del fascismo e la ricostruzione del secondo dopoguerra in quello che è un saggio dove il corredo fotografico non è puro ornamento ma parte dialogante direttamente con il testo.

Chiudono il volume i saggi che descrivono il motivo stesso della pubblicazione, ossia la storia dell'edificio della chiesa di Giavera,¹¹ il resoconto dei restauri¹² e il catalogo delle opere e degli arredi.

MAURO PITTERI

¹¹ A. BELLINI, *L'antica chiesa di Giavera. Vicende di storia architettonica e artistica*, pp. 225-246.

¹² CHR. ZANATTA, *Di nuova luce. La chiesa storica e i suoi restauri*, pp. 265-270.

DONATO GIANNOTTI, *Della Repubblica fiorentina*, a cura di Théa Stella Picquet, Roma, Aracne, 2011, pp. LVI-260.

PRÉCÉDÉE d'une introduction historique, riche et détaillée, consacrée à l'Italie au temps de la Renaissance (pp. I-LVI), l'édition du traité du florentin Donato Giannotti (1492-1573), intitulé *Della Repubblica fiorentina*, composé de quatre livres, est proposée par Théa Stella Picquet, un texte d'une valeur inestimable fondé sur le manuscrit autographe (le code 230, Magliabechiano, classe xxx), qui constitue la dernière volonté de l'A. florentin, un anti-médicéen déclaré qui passa la plus grande partie de son existence à Rome, auprès de ses protecteurs, d'abord du cardinal florentin Niccolò Ridolfi et, à la mort de celui-ci en février 1550, de François de Tournon, également cardinal. La première mouture du traité fut achevée en janvier 1531, mais Giannotti continua de le revoir, de l'amender et de l'augmenter jusqu'à son décès, survenu en 1573, même si le texte a connu ses principaux remaniements entre le 14 janvier 1531 et le 14 novembre 1534, période au cours de laquelle il persiste à croire à la restauration des institutions républicaines à Florence; puis, en 1538, année au cours de laquelle il procède à un profond changement structurel de l'ouvrage, auquel il tient beaucoup, qui correspond à son entrée au service du cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi à Rome. Aussi le manuscrit initialement conçu perd-il son caractère instrumental et devient un simple témoignage de ses convictions politiques.

L'intérêt du texte édité aujourd'hui, grâce aux soins de Théa Stella Picquet, mérite d'être remis en lumière. Il s'agit, pour Donato Giannotti, de s'interroger sur le meilleur régime politique possible et de résoudre la crise florentine, une réflexion et une proposition de solutions tenues pour nécessaires au bon fonctionnement des affaires publiques citadines, alors que Florence avait traversé des changements de régime politique incessants entre 1494 et 1527, et avait perdu, en 1530, ses valeurs républicaines pour adopter celles du principat, sous la domination d'une famille, les Médicis. Aussi ne manque-t-il pas, dans son traité, de se fonder sur les auteurs de l'Antiquité gréco-latine (Aristote, Polybe, Cicéron, Tite-Live) pour souligner ce qui constitue le meilleur type de gouvernement pour les Florentins : le régime mixte qui allie les notions de démocratie, d'aristocratie et de monarchie, selon une conception aristotélicienne, dans laquelle les magistratures parviennent à trouver un équilibre politique et social bénéfique, grâce à la présence de groupes sociaux intermédiaires qui se situent entre les grands et le peuple.

Issu d'un milieu modeste, Giannotti put bénéficier d'une solide formation humaniste, profitant des enseignements de Marcello Adriani (pour le grec) et de Francesco Cattani da Diacceto (pour la philosophie), ce qui permit à l'A. de fréquenter et de se lier d'amitié avec des membres de l'aristocratie florentine,

tels Alessandro dei Pazzi qu'il suivit en 1527 à Venise et Piero Vettori, illustre philologue à l'époque. À l'instar de Bartolomeo Cavalcanti, Donato Giannotti fut un tenace adversaire des Médicis jusqu'à sa mort survenue en 1573. Figurant comme l'un des principaux théoriciens de l'État républicain à Florence, il ne manqua jamais, de 1530 à 1550, de réclamer la mise en place du meilleur système de gouvernement et, ainsi, la possible création d'une constitution républicaine pour sa ville natale. Nommé lecteur de poésie et de lettres grecques à l'Université de Pise en juin 1521, il séjourna ensuite à Padoue et à Venise en 1525 et 1527, quoique ce fût en 1527, lorsqu'il accompagna l'ambassadeur Alessandro dei Pazzi dans la cité de Saint Marc, qu'il put connaître les affaires de l'État florentin. C'est du reste, dès 1527, que l'A. florentin fut impliqué dans la vie de la République de Florence en qualité de secrétaire du Conseil des Dix, à l'instar de Machiavel jadis, mais il ne fut pas un protagoniste de la vie politique citadine. Une fois les Médicis de retour à Florence, de façon définitive, Donato Giannotti vit ses possibilités de carrière anéanties par les purges opérées par cette puissante famille qui accéda au pouvoir en 1530. Il fut même emprisonné le 17 octobre 1530 et soumis à la torture, mais les résultats furent vains, car il ne fut retenu coupable d'aucun chef d'accusation. Quoiqu'il fût libéré, il fut contraint à l'exil pour une durée de trois ans dans l'arrière-pays de Florence, mais il préféra quitter la Toscane. Giannotti paya ainsi chère la fonction de conseiller qu'il assumait entre 1527 et 1530, dernière période de liberté républicaine où la cité de l'Arno fut mise sous la protection du Christ, alors qu'il s'était engagé dans les affaires citadines, en se distinguant comme un fin connaisseur des institutions vénitiennes et comme un brillant auteur de traités sur les réformes de nature institutionnelle.

C'est ainsi que la précieuse édition présentée par Théa Stella Picquet contribue à rappeler le rôle essentiel joué par Donato Giannotti dans le cadre des idées politiques au xvi^e siècle, à côté de ses contemporains et compatriotes Machiavel et Guichardin, dans un espace – celui de Florence – qui ne cessa de connaître des bouleversements politiques profonds jusqu'à la disparition de la République en 1530, après une trentaine d'années d'incertitudes, souvent liées au contexte des guerres d'Italie et à l'émergence de puissances européennes qui s'opposèrent sur la Péninsule (la France des Valois et les Habsbourg), au détriment de la souveraineté de la plupart des États italiens. Brillant humaniste, Giannotti fut un défenseur convaincu et honnête des valeurs républicaines, ainsi qu'un fervent admirateur de la République de Venise, véritable objet de réflexion et modèle pour une possible (re)-mise en place, à Florence, du régime politique idéal, mixte, partagé entre plusieurs groupes sociaux. Ce traité contribue à rappeler au public la résistance politique et 'idéologique' qui a été exprimée, au risque d'une carrière brisée, aux puissants Médicis qui accédèrent au pouvoir, en devenant duc, puis grand-duc de Toscane jusqu'en 1737.

CLAUDIO POVOLO, *Il movente. Il giudice Bernardo Marchesini e il processo per l'omicidio di Giovanni Rama (1831-1833)*, Sommacampagna (VR), Cierre, 2011 («Nord est», n.s., 99), pp. 516, ill.

LA vita di un giudice 'tirolese' a Vicenza; un processo per omicidio in un villaggio di montagna: sono i due libri in uno, recentissimo frutto di Claudio Povoło e dell'industre manipolo dei suoi allievi. Due libri che s'incastrano l'uno nell'altro, *mixtumque genus et prolis biformis*, con un giunto, costituito dal giudice stesso, che svolge due parti in commedia.

Il primo libro è il profilo biografico d'un giudice, o meglio 'consigliere', come si diceva allora, presso il Tribunale di Vicenza, membro di quella confraternita di funzionari trentini attivi nel Lombardo-Veneto, malvista dai colleghi 'italiani', in odore di massoneria, più o meno nostalgici del Regno Italico, dei suoi metodi spicci di governo; e perciò, a differenza dei 'tedeschi', a disagio con le molte *Schreiberei* della *Staatsmaschine*, rispetto alla spiccata oralità dell'amministrazione napoleonica; soprattutto, in preda ad un senso di frustrazione, derivante dal regime strettamente vincolante delle 'prove legali' del nuovo codice, ipergarantista, di fronte all'opposto criterio dell'intimo convincimento del giudice, ora compresso in un sistema di regole, di collegialità e di livelli di giudizio, e non di rado frustrato.

Bernardo Marchesini, dunque, giunge nella città veneta nel 1825, da Brescia, preceduto dalla fama di carattere fermo, di intelligenza perspicua nutrita di salda dottrina: leale suddito del proprio sovrano, perfettamente a suo agio nell'azionare i congegni della macchina giudiziaria, conscio di sé; orgoglioso della sua fama di uomo intransigente e severo, non senza una punta di disprezzo verso i colleghi nati sotto altri cieli, naturali e giuridici. Di fatto, le tensioni col presidente del Tribunale e una parte dei colleghi, ch'egli tratta spesso con sufficienza irritante ed irritata, non si faranno attendere. Nonostante i suoi meriti, l'uomo finirà per rinunciare a concrete possibilità di avanzamento di grado, e compirà i suoi giorni nella città, dove aveva messo su casa, dov'era rispettato forse, certo temuto, e non troppo amato.

In mezzo alla sua lunga carriera, due sismi, l'uno privato, insidioso e coperto, l'altro pubblico, conclamato e devastante. Il primo, professionale, quando il baldanzoso magistrato trentino, appena l'anno successivo al suo arrivo in città, volle far sentire la sua voce di dissenso in un processo scottante: c'erano ragioni di opportunità 'politica' che ostacolavano l'incriminazione di Luigi Valeriano Brera, illustre clinico dell'Università di Padova, fortemente sospetto di collusione con una cricca di farmacisti e di personale dell'ospedale di Padova, imputati di truffa per aver fornito farmaci scaduti o puri 'placebo', di aver gonfiato le forniture, di aver moltiplicato il numero dei ricoverati: cose d'altri tempi, come si vede. Il giudice volle in quell'occasione ignorare la pressione di quello che Povoło chiama il «codice invisi-

bile», ovvero la dimensione, in senso lato, politica, che finiva per deformare sensibilmente la geometria della pur formalissima giustizia asburgica; e lo fece con una certa iattanza. L'altro evento fu il '48, quando la sua persona, presa nel vortice cittadino della rivoluzione, impicciolisce e s'immiserisce di colpo. Due episodi che lo segnarono diversamente. Dal primo, ad onta dei tentativi delle gerarchie disciplinari di richiamarlo all'ordine, altre camarille in alto loco, che s'indovinano – un nome fra tutti, Salvioti –, gli fruttarono la protezione dell'imperatore, ed egli ne uscì rafforzato. Il '48 lo sbalestrò, nell'imminenza del ritorno in forze dell'esercito austriaco contro la città ribelle, con un'ingiunzione *ad horas* del patriottico Comitato provvisorio, dalla ribollente Vicenza alla natia Ala, ignaro della sorte dei figli incarcerati; e lo fiaccò, spegnendone aspirazioni di carriera ed illusioni residue, se mai ne avesse nutrite.

Il Povoło è un celebrato esploratore d'archivi: campo che domina come pochi, o nessuno. Oggi lo studioso vicentino si avvale del tesoro accumulato in una vita di setacciatore di carte in proprio, nonché di ricerche altrui, di cui è stato ed è accorto impresario e regista carismatico.

Con tali risorse, e con quelle dottrinali e psicologiche ben note ai suoi lettori, il Povoło segue le tracce del suo protagonista nella sonnacchiosa ed infida Vicenza della Restaurazione, e con sagacia ne scruta mosse e atteggiamenti, sbizzandone una serie di schizzi, e qua e là tentandone il ritratto a tutto effetto, in posa, ma più spesso, quand'è possibile, cedendogli volentieri la parola.

Il secondo libro riguarda l'«interfezione» di Giovanni Rama, avvenuta nel 1831 a Durlò, paesino posto sull'estremo lembo orientale della Lessinia, che precipita sull'alta valle del Chiampo. Qui protagonista è una donna che, nonché il giudice Marchesini, sembra avere turbato anche Povoło, se è vero che egli non esita a scavalcare il suo amato giudice asburgico, non solo per assolverla, ma per celebrarne la 'modernità', rappresentando l'imputata come una sorta di femminista *ante litteram*, bersaglio dell'acrimonia di tutto il villaggio, e della virtuosa indignazione dell'inquirente, quaresimalista in materia di donne, ma tutt'altro che insensibile alle loro grazie. La vittima, il marito, finisce per rivelarsi al nostro storico appassionato come un subdolo lenone, meritevole in fondo della schioppettata sparatagli a bruciapelo, di notte, fra il 5 e 6 marzo di quell'anno, mentre percorre un sentiero verso la pianura veronese, colà fuorviato dalla moglie, a trovarvi la morte.

Ora, questo secondo racconto, anziché starsene separato come in un dittico, s'immaschia nell'altro, perché Povoło, per mostrarci il Marchesini all'opera, fra carte processuali, testimoni reticenti o ciarlieri, colleghi mal-fidi o corrivi, ha trascelto ed anticipato i momenti cruciali di questo, fra le centinaia di altri processi disponibili. Il guaio è però che il giudice, in questa parentesi intrusa nel primo racconto, si rivela inferiore a se stesso, e quasi smentisce la decisa e convincente caratterizzazione che ne sta dando, col

suo racconto, il biografo. Verrebbe da chiedersi dunque perché, fra le tante indagini condotte dal giudice, Povolo abbia scelto proprio questa, certamente non esemplare. La risposta sta nella sua decisione di prendere due piccioni con una fava. Anzi, mi correggo: i piccioni sono tre: perché egli ha voluto caricare questa prima parte d'un sovrappiù di intenzioni, portando la sua ricostruzione biografica, forse per non farvi mancare la propria voce di storico professionale, a coincidere con l'attuale dibattito sull'Unità d'Italia. Donde certe note sesquipedali, e necessariamente costipate, certo poco commestibili.

In realtà questo non è un processo fra i tanti. Povolo lo aveva già incluso nella serie dei «referati» estratta da altrettanti fascicoli processuali dal mare di carte dell'archivio del Tribunale austriaco di Vicenza. Si trattava d'una ventina delle relazioni stese dai giudici inquirenti per i colleghi, sia in fase preliminare, sia nell'atto di sottoporre la sentenza proposta al loro voto: carte trascelte e pubblicate con il corredo di un importante studio introduttivo in uno dei suoi libri più significativi.¹ Il medesimo e corposo fascicolo processuale nella sua totalità era stato poi scelto a suo tempo da Povolo come corso monografico, e fu adottato nel 2008 per un esperimento di aula allargata, o diffusa, attraverso la creazione d'un *blog* sperimentale. Vi furono trascritti nella loro interezza gli atti processuali, e si fece posto ad una serie di collaborazioni, sia di allievi dello storico, sia di invitati esterni, cultori di memorie locali, e archivisti, chiamati ad illustrare da casa questo o quell'aspetto del fascicolo processuale, in rapporto alla loro competenza. Si effettuarono sopralluoghi di gruppo sulla scena del delitto e sulle sparse contrade evocate dalle carte. Soprattutto si diede ampio spazio alla discussione, nell'ambito della quale l'esperimento rivelò tutta la sua fecondità. È a partire da quest'esperienza, che se ne pubblica ora il robusto scheletro documentario, prosciugato dalla polifonia, o poligrafia del *web*, con la tipica dinamica aperta dell'indagine collettiva: dalla cerchia di amici raccolti virtualmente attorno al focolare elettronico, intenti ad una libera conversazione a tratti animata ed imprevedibile, si è così tornati al chiuso dell'aula e alla cattedra.² Di quell'albero informatico non è rimasto che una cassetta di frutti: l'ampio ed utilissimo glossario di voci giuridiche ed amministrative, che chiude il volume.

In quest'altro libro, dunque, il giudice ideale di Povolo appare di scorcio o si fa sentire come una voce fuori campo; e soprattutto, la sua perspicacia e la proverbiale sapienza procedurale escono diminuiti dalla lettura degli atti che ne fa il suo biografo. Evidentemente, lo storico non ha saputo resistere

¹ C. POVOLO, *La selva incantata. Delitti, prove e indizi nel Veneto dell'Ottocento*, Sommacampagna (VR), Cierre, 2006.

² Il processo completo in tutte le sue parti è riportato in <http://www.websideofhistory.it>, dove pure è consultabile l'intera esperienza seminariale.

alla tentazione di rendere pubblico, appena possibile, gran parte dell'interessantissimo caso di cronaca nera, presentando l'inchiesta in tutte le sue fasi. L'effetto è quello di due racconti di Balzac, intrecciati fra loro, dove il protagonista dell'uno, entra, come suole, di scorcio nell'altro, come figura subordinata, e magari immeschinita. A farla da padrona, in questa seconda parte, abbiamo detto, è Lucia Graizzaro, non sai se Circe, o Clitemnestra da villaggio, o femminista incompresa, se non anche paziente Griselda; di contro le sta la comunità di villaggio, affacciantesi con cento volti, voci e mimica, a raccontare in cento episodi circostanziali le proprie verità. O meglio, a recitare ad uso delle autorità il copione che prudenza, moralismo, omertà, diffidenza, rancore, vendetta, paura consentivano o dettavano. Mandante o provocatrice involontaria del delitto, la donna? Certo è che Lucia Graizzaro, una settimana prima del delitto, andò dal Deputato politico di Crespadoro, di cui Durlo era una frazione, a chiedere il passaporto, per lasciare marito, paese, parroco, comari indiscrete ed amanti compresi: mossa d'una donna esasperata, o alibi geniale? Povoło non ha dubbi, e l'assolve di tutto cuore. Marchesini, persuaso del *Simul stabunt*, per salvarla, propone ai colleghi il difetto di prove legali anche per gli autori materiali del delitto. Il consiglio dei giudici, invece, ne condanna solo uno, a vent'anni; e grazie: aveva fior di movente per far fuori il marito detestato dalla donna, si trovava sul luogo del delitto, o meglio avviato dietro la vittima nel cuore della notte; era armato, era in compagnia d'un complice; e nessun altro aveva qualche movente per nuocere alla vittima. Tranne il complice dell'omicida. Questi però, e contraddittoriamente, se la cava per il rotto della cuffia, appunto per presunto difetto di prove legali, non ostante la convergenza degli indizi; anche perché, osservo, nessuno, né le preture interessate, né il giudice stesso fanno ricercare nel Ghetto di Verona o presso altri rivenduglioli il cappotto della vittima, già promesso dall'omicida come premio e risarcimento al tremebondo complice. Ma che pose mano anch'egli all'assassinio lo provava già il cadavere del disgraziato marito, trovato all'alba, spogliato del suo bel capo foderato di pelliccia. E, dato che era insensato sparare alla vittima e recuperare un capo compromettente, lacerato che fosse dai pallettoni e tutto lordo di sangue, ed ormai di vile valore, ecco che si avvalora per noi, ma non per i giudici ciechi o accecati, la versione di chi, vegliando al davanzale, udì la notte dell'omicidio, a distanza, due voci cantare nel buio della vallata: per qual altro motivo, se non quello di raggiungere la vittima, senza insospettirlo, e, fingendo di scherzare da ubriachi col compare, togliergli l'ambito pastrano? Poi lo sparo, il cui lampo fu visto da quella stessa donna in veglia, che aveva inteso pochi secondi prima le voci squillanti cantare la *falilela*. C'è di più: il giudice d'appello di Venezia, a sua volta, nell'atto di riconoscere che la sparizione del tabarro sarebbe prova definitiva della colpevolezza dell'imputato, asserisce addirittura il *contrario del vero*: che il capo di vestiario fosse stato rinvenuto presso il cadavere, confermando perciò la sentenza assolutoria nei

confronti del complice. Perché è troppo pensare ad una falsificazione intenzionale, parleremo piuttosto d'un classico *lapsus*, rivelatore d'un pensiero molesto che si vuole allontanare. Certo, una svista clamorosa.

Povolo, ad onta delle certezze ostentate, sa benissimo che il paradigma indiziario di cui si avvale, per quanto penetrante ed acuto, non va esente, come quello del suo giudice asburgico, da crepe forse insanabili: ma, com'è suo costume, si riserva probabilmente di tornare sul processo in altra occasione. Con il nostro auspicio: perché, come s'accorgeranno i lettori, questo fascicolo processuale vale da solo un trattato di sociologia. Sedotti noi stessi da questo torbido e vivacissimo *dossier*, ci azzardiamo ad additare un'invitante linea di ricerca futura: quella storico-antropologica, posto che con la caratteristica omertà del paese, affiorano certi costumi curiosi, certi atteggiamenti, certi caratteri, che erreremmo a giudicare affrettatamente sulla base della nostra esperienza di vita. La Lessinia, è appena il caso di ricordare, era ed è abitata da popolazioni di stirpe tedesca, che erano passate dal 'cimbri' al dialetto veronese / vicentino solo nell'ultima età veneziana. E, sarà un caso, ma proprio in quella stessa congiuntura il paese, come altri della montagna, aveva subito traumi profondi, forse un primo collasso del tradizionale «autogoverno della miseria»,³ conseguenza all'alienazione di beni comunali. Quella dei profondi rivolgimenti negli equilibri sociali e nell'economia della montagna, fra tarda età veneziana ed Unità d'Italia è un tema che Michael Knapton s'era già accinto a trattare, proprio per Durlo, e che si ripromette di riprendere. Se si vorrà immergere il coloratissimo quadro fiammingo di questo fascicolo processuale nello spessore d'un adeguato arco temporale, e si allargherà a sufficienza l'orizzonte territoriale, la storia differenziale e totalizzante della comunità, di cui Povolo è stato pure pioniere e maestro, rivisitata oggi, si arricchirà probabilmente d'un capitolo fondamentale. Nonostante i tempi grami, il libro ci invita e sollecita a pensare ad un ritorno alla collaborazione in grande stile dei due storici, e dei loro allievi.

In merito ai criteri di trascrizione, è bene dire una parola. Il gergo dei giudici del Lombardo-Veneto non è certo perspicuo: non si nega che talvolta i loro «referati» possano animarsi, e dar luogo persino a pagine di ispirata eloquenza; ma perlopiù sono ispidi di tecnicismi, latinismi, ipercorrettismi, regionalismi, ed affetti da continue sussiegose aggrovigliate inversioni sintattiche. Ora, se una libertà è riconosciuta al filologo, è quella della punteggiatura, aiuto talora essenziale alla comprensione del testo. O perché dunque l'A. non ne fa uso, costringendosi, dopo le ampie citazioni, a riassumerne il senso al lettore? Noto, per inciso, nella prima parte un presunto «egueferenza», di cui si dà all'ingrosso il senso in nota (p. XL), cavandolo

³ M. MERIGGI, *Amministrazione e classi sociali nel Lombardo-Veneto (1814-1848)*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1983, pp. 182 sgg.; F. BRUNELLO; *Ribelli, questuanti e banditi in Veneto e in Friuli 1814-66*, Padova, Marsilio, 1981.

dal contesto: ma si tratta certamente di 'egreferenza' dal latino *aegre ferre* = 'mal sopportare', qui italianizzato agglutinando al deverbale *ferenza* (vedi conferenza, afferenza, differenza...) l'avverbio 'egre': sul tipo 'mal- dicensa', 'bene-ficensa', 'equi-pollenza', ecc. Ancora: al posto di un'altra lezione priva di senso, «e insimi» (p. CXVIII), trattandosi per necessità sintattica d'un verbo al perfetto, propongo, salvo controlli, di leggere «censurò». Nella seconda parte, per quel che vedo, un'unica lettura erronea: la incomprensibile voce «incomberzare», che va letta 'incombenzare', ovvero 'dare incombenza a qualcuno' (p. 447). Ma in così vasto ed eccellente restauro archivistico sono minime smagliature.

Ora tocchiamo appena il tema dell'esposizione, oscillante fra pagine e note ipercattedratiche, e pagine, come dire sperimentali: ma qui, lettore, *incedimus per ignes*.

Povolo possiede, è noto, un temperamento romantico, quanto più represso tanto più prorompente: il lettore dei suoi molti libri conosce l'evidente fascinazione esercitata sull'A. dai propri personaggi, siano il brigante Zanzanù, l'archivista Carli Rubbi, il Padre Ludovico, il borghese-gentiluomo di Malo; così, se non più, avviene qui con questo giudice Marchesini, e con la «complessa» (= «stagna», «soda», «pienotta», «polputa»: una maggiorata) – e magnetica – Lucia Graizzaro: sono personaggi cui lo storico presta la propria emotività e una forte vocazione soggettivizzante e narrativa, per non dire liricheggiante. Si tratta di un'attrazione, rivelatasi tratto tratto irresistibile e fatale. Allora gli accade come alla Sibilla: non è più lo storico a dispiegare la sua dottrina: «nec mortale sonans, sed afflatus est numine». Storico come divinator o veggente.

Nel caso di Giovanni Beatrice, il bandito del lago, Zanzanù, egli si era spinto recentemente fino a cedergli il microfono, ovviamente prestando la propria voce di ventriloquo al suo masnadiere schilleriano. Qui il ricco e animato profilo biografico del giudice si apre con una sequenza narrativa romanzata, in discorso indiretto, più o meno *erlebte*, a caricare di *Spannung* l'orizzonte d'attesa del pubblico; un'altra sequenza suggella, simmetricamente, e non senza *pathos* edificante, il racconto. Lo storico si salva, se si salva, dall'accusa di arbitrio, grazie alla foglia di fico del corsivo, ad indicare un 'mondo possibile', a supplenza del vero, nelle cui fibre, scrupolosamente documentate, egli infila le proprie fiale sperimentali di immaginato verosimile, a simularne i colori della vita in atto: con uno strano effetto illusionistico, ora da Museo Grevin, ora da film in costume, magari in 3D.

Il lettore comprende che non si può dire di più in una recensione: sarebbe semmai materia per un bel convegno, questa dell'attuale rapporto fra storiografia e romanzo e/o cinema. Ma se al recensore fosse concesso di arrischiare un monito conclusivo, sarebbe quello, da Grillo Parlante, o da Geppetto, di pensarci bene, nella spasmodica, ed umanissima, tensione verso l'inafferrabile passato, prima di sganciare sempre più il *verum* dal *certum*.

L'anacronismo è sempre in agguato. Per quel che ci riguarda, se mai interessasse qualcuno, l'*esse* del passato, l'unica sua presenza possibile in noi, non è un irrecuperabile ed emozionato *percipi*, ma un sobrio *intelligere*. Altrimenti, nella nostra tradizione culturale, c'è l'aperta sospensione di incredulità assicurata dal romanzo o dalla sceneggiatura: finirà Povolo per varcare la *irremeabilis unda*, irremeabile allo storico, ma non a negromanti e romanzieri ai quali soli è concesso l'intimo – e fallace – colloquio con le ombre?

Un'ultima e doverosa menzione. Il libro è prefato da un giudice di Cassazione, il dottor Giannico Rodighiero, con penetrante finezza. E la *troupe* degli allievi di Povolo merita assai più d'una chiamata in proskenio conclusiva, insieme al regista. Sono i dottori Eliana Biasiolo, Luca Rossetto, Christian Rossi, Cesare Saluzzo, Andrea Savio.

GIOVANNI PELLIZZARI

DARIA MARTELLI, *Polifonie. Le donne a Venezia nell'età di Moderata Fonte* (seconda metà del secolo XVI), Padova, CLEUP, 2011, pp. 654.

DARIA MARTELLI con quest'opera torna sulle tracce di Modesta Pozzo, scrittrice vissuta nella seconda metà del Cinquecento a Venezia e conosciuta con il suo *nome de plume* Moderata Fonte, dopo avere realizzato un adattamento teatrale del testo più conosciuto della Veneziana, *Il Merito delle donne*, e messo in scena anche la sua biografia.¹

Questo riprendere il filo, mai del resto abbandonato, sottende a un disegno di ben altra portata, come lei stessa dichiara: «Questo libro vuole essere un commento storico-sociale all'opera e alla vita di Moderata Fonte» (p. 21). L'ambizione che ha mosso l'A. è dunque quella di andare al di là di un approccio letterario al famoso *Il Merito delle donne*, per addentrarsi pienamente nell'ambito storico, ritenendo che l'opera della Fonte sia «una fonte primaria per la storia della società nella seconda metà del sec. XVI».

La struttura dell'opera è composta di tre parti. Nella prima, decisamente la più debole, si tracciano i quadri di contesto generale, analizzando il rapporto tra la storia di Venezia, della Repubblica e la condizione femminile, prendendo in considerazione in particolare il tema del mito della città singolare e meravigliosa e della sua libertà. La tanto decantata libertà di Venezia, secondo l'A., aveva però un'altra faccia: quella del libertinismo di cui godevano solo gli uomini e le donne al loro servizio. Si legge libertà, si traduce permissivismo, quindi, e non vera libertà, non «associata al complesso delle libertà civili, uguaglianza di fronte alla legge e parità dei diritti politici» (pp. 38-39).

¹ Lavori che hanno dato esito al volume: D. MARTELLI, *Moderata Fonte e Il merito delle donne*, biografia e adattamento teatrale, prefazione di G. Calendoli, postfazione di B. Rosada, Venezia, Centro Internazionale della Grafica, 1993.

È una libertà che tuttavia viene cantata dalla stessa Moderata «nonostante avesse sviluppato una lucida coscienza di genere» (p. 41); il senso di appartenenza alla città, come componente cruciale anche dell'identità femminile, da riportare a quella peculiare coesione sociale messa in moto dai rituali, dalla rete assistenziale e dalla realtà dei legami sociali, viene interpretato come uno scotto pagato in cambio dell'accettazione sociale e soprattutto culturale. La difficile conciliazione tra appartenenza di genere e quella alla cultura ufficiale spingeva Moderata Fonte a legittimare la sua opera infarcendola di citazioni, utili per esibire la sua vasta erudizione; al contempo, tuttavia, facendo ampio uso del paradosso, la scrittrice riusciva a smontare gli attacchi misogini contenuti nella *querelle de femmes* così da mettere «ogni cosa in scompiglio». Facendo poi ricorso all'esperienza diretta narrata dalle sette donne protagoniste delle conversazioni, Fonte inseriva un apporto innovativo che provoca uno scarto rispetto all'astrattezza del bagaglio libresco e restituisce la capacità fondativa di sapere alla voce femminile, superando il peso della consuetudine e del chiacchiericcio, che tanto contribuivano a mantenere le donne in una posizione subordinata.

La difesa della libertà femminile in Moderata Fonte viene smorzata dall'interiorizzazione del mito di Venezia, che le avrebbe impedito di attaccare le istituzioni e l'ordinamento gerarchico veneziano «del quale la sottomissione delle donne era il fondamento» (p. 84). Colpisce la radicata convinzione che Venezia fosse uno dei luoghi in cui le donne erano più represses: «La violenza morale che molti uomini esercitavano nella vita quotidiana era autorizzata da una cultura che da sempre era pervasa di misoginia, in particolar modo a Venezia, giudicata nel Cinquecento ostile alle donne più che altre città, e sempre più nel clima della Controriforma della seconda metà del secolo» (p. 90). Rispetto a un periodo che ci ha lasciato un numero assai elevato di scrittrici e polemiste, di pittrici, attrici, cantanti e compositrici e che viene dalla più recente storiografia giudicato ricco e per nulla silente anche nei percorsi dell'ultima parte del secolo,² si afferma invece che è manifesto nel Cinquecento «il senso della sconfitta storica del genere femminile» (p. 125, nota 106). Si giunge così a interpretare il bando da Venezia dei Barnabiti e della loro maestra Antonia Negri come un atto causato da misoginia, riducendo in tal senso una battaglia culturale e politica di grande ampiezza per il controllo delle pratiche devozionali e della libertà di intendere la sfera religiosa. Certamente l'attenzione si focalizzò anche e specialmente sull'autorevolezza e ruolo magistrale femminile in campo spirituale, che le donne si erano ricavate soprattutto tra Quattro e Cinquecento, ma il processo fu assai più complesso e coinvolse sia uomini che donne.³

² V. Cox, *The Prodigious Muse: Women's Writing in Counter-reformation Italy*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.

³ E. BONORA, *I conflitti della Controriforma. Santità e obbedienza nell'esperienza religiosa dei primi Barnabiti*, Firenze, Le Lettere, 1998.

La seconda parte del volume è indubbiamente quella più interessante anche nella composizione della sua struttura, seppur, come si vedrà, contraddistinta dalla medesima interpretazione in negativo della realtà femminile. Si snoda come un percorso che segue da vicino le singole fasi di vita di una donna e illustrando le tante questioni connesse, con una ricca e articolata puntualizzazione, affiancata da una documentazione che scorre nel cospicuo corredo di note.

Dunque si inizia con la nascita e si inizia male, potremmo dire, perché il parto di una femmina non era accolto con la stessa letizia che accompagnava la venuta al mondo di un maschio: ragioni di ordine culturale e altre associate alla trasmissione patrimoniale – all'interno delle quali la dote spettante alle donne poteva essere vissuta come una sottrazione di risorse – rendevano le figlie meno 'desiderate', se non considerate come una vera iattura.

Segue un capitolo sull'infanzia e sull'istruzione femminile, scarsa, limitata alle tradizionali attività femminili per mantenere le donne disciplinate e modeste, e per lo più svolta in ambiti monastici. Tuttavia padri e parenti amovoli e colti, come quelli che favorirono la non comune cultura di Modesta Pozzo, spinsero alcune donne a intraprendere una carriera letteraria; del resto anche non pochi esponenti della cultura rinascimentale videro l'istruzione femminile con minore sospetto se non come il volano per un innalzamento culturale di tutta la popolazione, grazie all'insegnamento materno. Non a caso, come notò a suo tempo Carlo Dionisotti, la produzione letteraria delle donne tra il 1540 e il 1560 si affermò con un incremento significativo, espressione di un vero e proprio gioco di squadra muliebre: per la prima volta le donne 'fecero gruppo', divenendo massa critica, imponendosi nel mondo degli studi e nella catena di trasmissione dei testi. Una conquista che seppe approfittare appieno di alcuni elementi a essa favorevoli: lo sviluppo della stampa, la piena accettazione del volgare, una cultura che si nutriva delle pratiche della conversazione. Si tratta di un protagonismo femminile che però, fa osservare giustamente l'A., ebbe dei costi: le carriere di queste donne letterate furono piene di insidie, di fatiche e soprattutto di solitudine. Eccellere nelle lettere comportava un diversificarsi dalle altre donne e assumere un'identità difforme, talvolta qualificata come 'virile'.⁴

Davvero preziosa è la rassegna di figure di donne che hanno lasciato tracce di sé nelle lettere o almeno, in assenza di testimonianze dirette, nei ricor-

⁴ Tuttavia proprio nel secondo Cinquecento, l'epoca in cui visse Moderata Fonte, secondo Virginia Cox, si può osservare un notevole cambiamento e a una progressiva integrazione della donna letterata: «More prosaic exemplification of the extent to which the figure of the female writer had become normalized by the later sixteenth century may be had by comparing the social backgrounds and publishing practices of women writing» (V. Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy 1400-1650*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008, pp. 4-5).

di dei contemporanei, che viene ricostruita, arricchendola di un corposo apparato di note bibliografiche che funge da indispensabile guida per porsi sulle tracce di queste donne.

L'A. sceglie poi giustamente di dedicare uno spazio conveniente a una questione cruciale: la «roba» delle donne, cioè i beni e le proprietà femminili, in questo sollecitata anche dai rimandi esistenti nel *Merito* della Fonte, che ricorda gli abusi operati da padri, fratelli, mariti e figli, specialmente verso la dote. La situazione che è stata illuminata dagli studi più recenti, si pensi a quelli di Stanley Chojnacki,⁵ più che evidenziare le donne «come pedine di attente strategie matrimoniali che miravano a favorire gli interessi e soddisfare l'orgoglio dei componenti maschili della famiglia» (p. 219), pare dare un risultato assai più complesso e con ampi margini di negoziazione da parte delle donne. La particolare legislazione veneziana, in merito alla capacità di trasmettere beni e di tutela della dote, derivante dal suo regime repubblicano, dalla necessità di garantire l'uguaglianza all'interno del patriziato, e dalle origini mercantili, ha prodotto – come ha ben sintetizzato Anna Bellavitis nei suoi lavori – dei diritti femminili specifici riguardo alla proprietà e alla successione.⁶

Nel capitolo successivo viene esaminato lo stato matrimoniale, dalla stipula dell'accordo ai vari momenti successivi, che definivano il passaggio dalla podestà paterna a quella maritale. Bene fa l'A. a rimarcare come la scelta del coniuge fosse dettata da motivazioni sociali ed economiche che poco avevano a che vedere con le volontà della giovane donna. Tuttavia vale la pena di specificare alcune questioni di fondo che riguardano sia le relazioni tra generazioni che le aspettative sul matrimonio. Neppure i giovani maschi venivano interpellati su tale scelta: le nozze dei figli erano una faccenda squisitamente 'familiare', in cui tra l'altro il padre firmava un accordo, che era stato sovente gestito a monte dalle trattative informali delle donne.⁷ Se violenza c'era, bisogna dunque inserirla nel rapporto di tipo autoritario e gerarchico tra generazioni, ceti e sessi, che nel passato imbeveva la cultura ed era vissuto in maniera meno drammatica. Che cosa infatti si aspettavano le persone dal matrimonio? Con buona probabilità, tutto tranne la felicità, almeno come la intendiamo oggi. Le unioni erano instabili e di durata limitata: la documentazione ci mette di fronte a una popolazione urbana per un terzo composta di famiglie rette da vedove: malattie, morte acciden-

⁵ S. CHOJNACKI, *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice. Twelve Essays on Patrician Society*, Baltimore-London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

⁶ Si veda la sintesi su questo tema di A. BELLAVITIS, *La dote a Venezia tra medioevo e prima età moderna*, in *Spazi, poteri, diritti. Donne a Venezia in età moderna*, a cura di A. Bellavitis, N. M. Filippini, T. Plebani, Verona, Quiedit, 2012.

⁷ D. LOMBARDI, *Giustizia ecclesiastica e composizione dei conflitti matrimoniali (Firenze, secoli XVI-XVIII)*, in *I tribunali del matrimonio secoli XV-XVIII*, a cura di S. Seidel Menchi, D. Quagliani, Bologna, il Mulino, 2007, pp. 601-602.

tale o per parto, spostamenti, guerre ed epidemie, facevano dei coniugi dei compagni di vita assai provvisori. Nel 1575, quando Modesta Pozzo aveva vent'anni, a Venezia infuriò la peste che in due anni sterminò un terzo degli abitanti della città, tra cui il celebre Tiziano. Molte donne, come dimostra la ricerca di Monica Chojnacka,⁸ si trovarono a essere di fatto capofamiglia.

La trattazione ci conduce all'interno della vita matrimoniale, sotto «l'imperio del marito», seguendo gli affanni e i rischi dei parti, nel confronto con una sessualità spesso violenta, tanto da far concludere che «nel Merito la donna onesta appare in un deserto dei sensi e dei sentimenti», pur ammettendo che talvolta l'unione matrimoniale poteva far nascere un affetto vero. Il mercato della prostituzione – che ripetendo vecchie analisi si crede a Venezia assai più fiorente che altrove, mentre la percentuale era sostanzialmente simile a quella delle altre città⁹ – per l'A. costituiva il vero nemico delle donne: esso plasmava l'immaginario maschile compresa la scena artistica. Se ne considera una prova il dilagare al tempo dei quadri di donne nude dipinti dai pittori contemporanei. Interpretare le splendide e potenti donne di Tiziano o di altri come meri oggetti sessuali o strumenti di eccitazione pare però davvero fuorviante: gli studi di Rona Goffen forse avrebbero offerto una riflessione su cosa potesse significare al tempo attribuire alla figura femminile una dimensione reale, al di fuori dello schema angelicato. La lezione di Rona Goffen ci conduce all'interno del 'femminismo' di Tiziano che attribuì alle donne ritratte, tutte diverse e non omologabili, una soggettività forte e una piena realizzazione anche del desiderio.¹⁰

Si passa poi nel volume a descrivere le attività femminili, sia all'interno dei tradizionali 'lavori donneschi' sia negli impieghi extradomestici, per poi prendere in considerazione il *patronage* femminile e le reti di assistenza, ricordando benefattrici e fondatrici di istituti. Anche per questo recupero di figure femminili il volume è meritorio e apprezzabile ma colpisce la costante operazione di *diminutio*: l'opera delle istitutrici di ospedali e luoghi di assistenza, quella delle governatrici, come le tante gastalde e degane delle scuole piccole, rappresenta agli occhi dell'A. una prosecuzione del ruolo domestico. La responsabilità sociale e lo spazio conquistato nella scena pubblica è liquidabile come «percorso di autorealizzazione», non sono poteri e visibilità che abbiano costruito nella storia un valore sociale e culturale, e che sono confinabili all'interno della categoria della maternità sociale.

Giustamente nel trattare il lavoro delle donne si fa osservare che è un territorio su cui solo ora alcuni studi hanno cominciato a fare luce; nonostante

⁸ M. CHOJNACKA, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, Baltimore-London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

⁹ Si veda, ad es., per Roma, J. DELUMEAU, *Vita economica e sociale di Roma nel Cinquecento*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1979, p. 108.

¹⁰ R. GOFFEN, *Titian's women*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 1997; EADEM, *Titian's Venus of Urbino*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997.

vincoli e limitazioni va sottolineato, come l'A. fa, che non può essere considerato come un mero apporto sussidiario al salario maschile: l'esperienza e la pratica del mondo, le relazioni, i contatti, rafforzavano l'identità e la capacità femminile di parola. Viene tralasciata per altro l'analisi dell'incidenza e della rilevanza dei lavori femminili per l'intera economia cittadina, il ruolo delle donne come consumatrici e motori di sviluppo di nuove produzioni e commerci, un tema che sta invece mostrando prospettive piuttosto fruttuose.¹¹

Negli ultimi capitoli della seconda parte si prendono in rassegna le pratiche di guaritrici e incantatrici, vite che incrociavano la magia, l'alchimia, sempre più in odore di eresia, per poi occuparsi brevemente dei processi per stregoneria. Come è noto, a Venezia non condussero al rogo alcuna donna, elemento che dovrebbe far maggiormente riconsiderare il tema della maggiore libertà che si respirava nella città lagunare, pur senza ricadere nei rischi del mito. In poco spazio si restringe lo straordinario apporto che Moderata Fonte offre nel secondo giorno di conversazione del *Merito*, su cui in genere le trattazioni scivolano senza percepirne il valore. Le nozioni di alchimia, botanica, medicina, dietetica che vengono riferite rappresentano ben più che una enciclopedia di saperi popolari ma si incardinano nel processo di nascita della scienza e dimostrano la chiara volontà di Moderata Fonte di inserirsi e di farlo in un'ottica di genere.¹²

Il volume ci conduce tra gli 'spassi' donneschi, in villa e nelle riunioni di sole donne, come quelle narrate da Moderata Fonte, e nella loro presenza all'interno dei rituali cittadini; si tratteggia con dovizia di particolari l'abbigliamento femminile tra moda, distinzione, rivendicazioni femminili e camuffamenti, infine due capitoli riassumono il tema delle monacazioni forzate e quello delle meretrici.

La terza parte presenta un profilo biografico dedicato a Modesta Pozzo e alla sua fortuna storiografica. Chiude l'opera una bibliografia di oltre cinquanta pagine e un accurato indice dei nomi.

Il corposo volume di Martelli è in realtà un dialogo fitto tra lei stessa – il suo sguardo di donna odierna, la sua cultura, la sua militante e appassionata difesa della dignità e della libertà femminile – e l'opera di un'altra donna, lontana cinque secoli, nutrito da una fitta rete di riferimenti culturali. Se questo itinerario non lascia indifferenti per la sua indubbia autenticità, paga inevitabilmente lo scotto sul piano storico: il libro è un testo a tesi che intende denunciare l'oppressione delle donne veneziane del Cinquecento e

¹¹ Cfr. il fascicolo monografico a più Autori *Donne, lavoro, economia*, a cura di A. Bellavitis, L. Guzzetti, «Archivio Veneto», in uscita nell'autunno 2012; *I consumi. Una questione di genere*, a cura di A. Arru, M. Stella, Roma, Carocci, 2003.

¹² M. K. RAY, *Prescriptions for Women: Alchemy, Medicine and the Renaissance Querelle des femmes*, in *Women writing back/writing women back: transnational perspectives from the late Middle Ages to the dawn of the modern era*, ed. by A. Gilleir, A. C. Montoya, S. van Dijk, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2010, pp. 135-161.

che per riuscire utilizza documenti e studi di altri forzandone in tale direzione le ricerche. Mentre la storiografia di genere ha abbandonato da tempo questo territorio ritenendo più interessante muoversi sulle tracce dell'*agency* femminile, della negoziazione di spazi, delle pratiche e dei poteri informali, questo testo non ne accoglie le preziose indicazioni; il risultato ha sovente un sapore anacronistico per quel suo rivolgersi al passato con lo stesso armamentario culturale con cui giudichiamo la realtà di oggi.

Inoltre, anche se questo certamente non era l'obiettivo dell'A., l'impressione finale è una costante sottrazione alle donne di capacità decisionale e di autonomia. Val la pena di fare almeno un esempio significativo. Il giudizio sui risultati dell'intellettualità femminile è tagliato con l'accetta: solo pochissime, e tra queste Moderata Fonte, avrebbero espresso un'autentica consapevolezza di genere mentre per lo più avrebbero invece trasmesso l'ordine patriarcale dominante e si sarebbero adeguate a modelli culturali profondamente intrisi di misoginia. L'adesione al petrarchismo, in quest'ottica, esemplifica al meglio tale 'camuffamento'. Negli studi più recenti tuttavia si è posta maggiore attenzione sia alle complesse implicazioni della battaglia di affermazione del volgare, che non fu facile né lineare e che comportò una 'democratizzazione' della circolazione del sapere e un ampliamento dei generi letterari, sia al contributo offerto da queste donne a tale importante svolta culturale.¹³ Ciò che l'A. interpreta come percorsi di omologazione furono anche frutto di una preziosa alleanza tra donne e uomini, una battaglia comune per la difesa o l'ampliamento di spazi culturali e politici: i patroni, gli amici, gli editori di queste donne, non sono quindi liquidabili o, almeno non tutti, attraverso la categoria del paternalismo più o meno illuminato.

Il modello petrarchesco fu inoltre uno strumento utilizzato dalle donne per farsi avanti e appropriarsi di un repertorio da plasmare e per innescare processi di autodefinizione. Molte ricerche hanno evidenziato una radicale rilettura del petrarchismo 'al femminile', nel senso di una 'riscrittura' o di una sottile messa in discussione del canone: «un io lirico femminile che utilizzava un canone maschile con l'intenzione di espanderne i confini e esprimere la propria soggettività».¹⁴ Furono soprattutto le donne a beneficiarne anche per imporsi come compositrici e *performers* di madrigali, facendo della musica uno dei territori in cui il loro protagonismo si fece via via più notevole,¹⁵ acquistando competenze in grado in seguito di definirsi come professioniste della voce e del suono.

¹³ Cfr. COX, *Women's Writing in Italy 1400-1650*, cit., spec. il secondo capitolo, pp. 37-78.

¹⁴ F. BASSANESE, *Male Canon/Female Poet: The Petrarchism of Gaspara Stampa*, in *Interpreting the Italian Renaissance: Literary Perspectives*, ed. by A. Toscano, New York, Forum Italicum, 1991, pp. 43-54. Cfr. anche N. RIZZI, *E donna son, contra le donne dico: il canzoniere di Isabella di Morra*, «Carte italiane», 17, 2001, pp. 17-30.

¹⁵ I. B. JAFFE, G. COLOMBARDO, *Shining Eyes, Cruel Fortune. The Lives and Loves of Italian Renaissance Women Poets*, New York, Fordham University Press, 2002.

La lirica su modello petrarchesco è stata dunque la testa d'ariete dell'intellettualità femminile, che intraprese poi anche altre strade e sperimentò una vasta gamma di tipologie testuali,¹⁶ come dimostra la stessa Moderata Fonte o la sua conterranea Lucrezia Marinella. In alcune donne il linguaggio d'amore permise inoltre di esplorare una spiritualità non conformista o comunque in maggiore sintonia con l'esperienza femminile.¹⁷

Infine merita una nota sullo stile narrativo: *Polifonie* è un libro che con una scrittura scorrevole e piacevole ci accompagna lungo la sua articolata struttura, composta di brevi capitoli con sapiente intento didascalico. È un volume ricco di materiali e spunti, da leggere cogliendo tutte le direzioni che si aprono: un'opera tutta da discutere e che può accendere o riaccendere la passione della ricerca a tutto campo.

TIZIANA PLEBANI

Precenico. Una comunità nella storia, a cura di Edi Pozzetto, Udine, Forum, 2012, pp. 206.

CONTINUA in Friuli la lodevole operazione portata avanti dalle amministrazioni locali di favorire lo studio delle storie di paese, affidandola a studiosi seri e in grado di fornire un valido contributo alla conoscenza del territorio e del suo ambiente. È questa volta il caso del Comune di Precenico, paese in riva al fiume Stella, poco lontano dalla laguna di Marano, oggi in provincia di Udine, un tempo feudo del conte di Gorizia, poi commenda dei Cavalieri Teutonici, quindi dei Gesuiti, posta sotto le dipendenze ora del capitanato di Gorizia, ora di quello di Gradisca, passata a un singolare mercante triestino di origine siriana dopo lo scioglimento della Compagnia di Gesù, quindi a una ricca famiglia ebrea della città giuliana. Si tratta di una situazione singolare, quasi anomala. Il villaggio era un 'isolo' imperiale, come in Veneto si chiamavano le *enclaves*, circondato integralmente da villaggi sudditi della Repubblica di Venezia.

Edi Pozzetto, giovane studiosa udinese, curatrice dell'opera, e che già ha pubblicato un contributo sulla storia di Precenico,¹ che dev'essere il suo paese di elezione e di cui è stata consigliere comunale per una legislatura (2004-2009), ha diviso il volume in due parti, una intitolata *La Storia* e l'altra *La Comunità*. Infatti, con oculatezza, la curatrice ha scelto di evidenziare alcuni aspetti peculiari della storia secolare di Precenico evitando di ripercorrerne pedissequamente gli eventi dalle origini ai giorni nostri.

¹⁶ M. ZANCAN, *Il doppio itinerario della scrittura. La donna nella tradizione letteraria italiana*, Torino, Einaudi, 1998.

¹⁷ Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, cit.

¹ E. POZZETTO, *La signoria di Precenico. Tra cavalieri teutonici, gesuiti e mercanti mediorientali*, in *Il Tagliamento*, a cura di F. Bianco et alii, Sommacampagna (VR), Cierre, 2006, pp. 447-455.

Dunque, la prima parte, quella propriamente storica, si avvale di quattro contributi: il primo dedicato alla Compagnia di Gesù² e il secondo allo studio della fattoria di Precenico³ comprende i secc. XVI-XVIII. Il terzo studia la demografia ottocentesca del villaggio⁴ e il quarto è dedicato agli ultimi titolari della commenda.⁵

Una delle curiosità stimulate dalla lettura dei saggi è la ragione della diversa giurisdizione di Precenico, terra imperiale, rispetto alla prossima Palazzolo, terra veneta. Il caso strano non è dovuto solo alla commenda teutonica donata ai cavalieri nel sec. XIII dal conte di Gorizia. Ma soprattutto all'estinzione di quei conti nell'anno 1500 e al passaggio della contea stessa al dominio diretto degli Asburgo. La guerra tra Massimiliano e la Repubblica fu chiusa dal trattato di Vormazia (Worms) nel 1521. Più che una pace, fu una tregua fondata sull'*uti possidetis*, ossia, grossomodo, ciascuno rientrava in possesso di ciò che deteneva prima dell'inizio delle ostilità e manteneva ciò che aveva occupato militarmente. Dunque, i possessi feudali del conte di Gorizia tornarono agli Asburgo. Venezia rinunciò, sia pur malvolentieri, a una parte del Friuli ma mai avrebbe rinunciato alle marine. Così, a tradimento, secondo gli Austriaci, la Repubblica prese la fortezza di Marano nonostante la tregua. Sostanzialmente è questa una delle ragioni, se non la principale, per cui non si pervenne mai a un trattato di pace che demarcasse razionalmente i due Stati confinanti; mai, prima della seconda metà del Settecento, gli Asburgo riconobbero la sovranità veneta su Marano e le lagune, compreso il porto di Lignano che Venezia manteneva grazie alla sua supremazia navale. Ecco perché Precenico, come molti altri isoli imperiali intersecati nel Friuli veneto, rimase asburgica. Tra le due Capitali si era giunti a una specie di tacito accordo. La Repubblica si teneva le coste, l'Impero quei villaggi, vere spine nel fianco veneto, rifugio di contrabbandieri e di banditi.

Gli Asburgo favorirono l'insediamento dei Gesuiti a Precenico, offrendo in cambio ai cavalieri teutonici un'altra commenda in territorio imperiale. Poi, la presenza in riva al fiume Stella della Compagnia ebbe un ruolo singolare negli anni dell'Interdetto, quando i seguaci di s. Ignazio furono cacciati dal territorio veneto. Ebbene, questa *enclave* permise loro di mantenere comunque comodamente i contatti con Venezia, sotto la protezione imperiale. E di continuare l'educazione di alcuni rampolli dell'aristocrazia veneziana, fino al 1657, quando fu revocato il provvedimento restrittivo nei loro confronti (p. 17). Insomma, quell'*enclave* pare aver fatto comodo a chi

² C. FERLAN, *Precenico e la Compagnia di Gesù*, pp. 13-40.

³ F. BIANCO, *Una grande azienda nei domini imperiali del Friuli. La commenda di Precenico tra i secoli XVII e XIX*, pp. 41-76.

⁴ A. MAUCHIGNA, *Una comunità e la sua popolazione nell'Ottocento*, pp. 77-92.

⁵ E. POZZETTO, *La famiglia Hirschel De Minerbi*, pp. 93-113.

non voleva privare i propri figli di validi insegnanti, inviandoli in una scuola comodamente raggiungibile via mare o addirittura, tramite Precenicco, al Collegio di Gorizia. Ma anche i Gesuiti ne trassero grande vantaggio, potendo comunicare con i loro fedeli tramite quel porto, visto che proprio dopo il loro allontanamento dai territori della Repubblica avevano rafforzato la loro presenza nel Goriziano. Anche se, dal 1647, con la divisione del territorio in due contee, Precenicco sarebbe transitata sotto la giurisdizione del titolare del nuovo capitanato di Gradisca, Giovanni Antonio Eggenberg.

Anche in queste contrade si ebbero ripercussioni dopo la creazione del porto franco di Trieste, nel 1719, che sottraeva traffici a quello di Precenicco. E lo si capisce dalla lite che la Compagnia intentò per il diminuito gettito del dazio sul sale che evidentemente ora veniva scaricato su quelle più ampie e nuove banchine (p. 26). Trieste non faceva concorrenza solo a Venezia, ma anche a tutti i porti minori del litorale, compresi quelli austriaci. Questo, paradossalmente, deve aver favorito la ricerca di una soluzione al problema dei confini di Stato, essendo ormai poco vantaggiosa l'ostinazione asburgica a considerare un usurpo il possesso veneto di Marano. Un porto finalmente l'Impero lo aveva. Questa politica di attenzione ai confini iniziata da Ulfeld, primo ministro di Maria Teresa, e continuata dal principe di Kaunitz, limitò le pressanti pretese del Collegio gesuitico di Gorizia, che voleva estendere le sue prerogative. Infatti, la Compagnia voleva approfittare del Congresso austro-veneto per estendere la propria giurisdizione fino alle foci del Tagliamento cosa che le fu impedita, anche se, l'anno dopo, nel 1754, il Collegio fece buon viso a cattivo gioco dichiarandosi soddisfatto del recupero di alcuni terreni che erano semplicemente la divisione dei pascoli promiscui fra le comunità viciniore. Nel frattempo, soppresso il patriarcato di Aquileia, Precenicco fu inserita nella nuova diocesi di Gorizia. Curiosa questa continua mutazione di confini politici e religiosi e che non termina perché quando Giuseppe II caccia il vescovo di Gorizia ostile alla sua politica giurisdizionalista, fa istituire la diocesi di Gradisca a cui sottostà Precenicco.

Ma quanto valeva la fattoria di Precenicco? Difficile rispondere alla domanda, innanzitutto, perché prima del 1754 neppure si sapeva quali fossero i suoi confini; e poi perché gli introiti non derivavano solamente dalla produzione agricola ma anche da altri diritti pretesi e riscossi dai gesuiti come la riscossione dei dazi di transito. Insomma, per avere qualche notizia precisa bisogna attendere la soppressione della Compagnia nel 1773 e il catasto dei beni dell'ex fattoria gesuitica dell'anno successivo. La superficie calcolata è di campi 2.222 pari a ettari 767 ca. (un campo ca. ettari 0,34), per un valore, compresi i fabbricati, di fiorini 89.772 ossia grosso modo in valuta corrente veneta, 56.000 ducati, cifra molto elevata (al cambio di un fiorino per lire 5 venete e di un ducato di lire 8). Cui vanno aggiunti altri 22.728 fiorini (ducati 14.205) per capitali enfiteutici e diritti giurisdizionali come quello di pesca, di caccia o di transito (p. 43).

Per quel che riguarda i canoni, solo nei sette poderi di Titiano, piccolo borgo soggetto a Precenico, consistevano in 240 staia di frumento, dieci di cereali inferiori, ben 34.200 fascine e la quota parte del vino. Si tratta dunque della classica coltura promiscua comune a tante campagne venete e friulane fondata sul binomio cereali e vino con qualche scorta prativa e boschiva; ma, nel caso di queste aree paludose e dai confini incerti, la rendita poteva trarre vantaggio dagli ampi pascoli ancora posseduti dalle comunità di villaggio.

L'Erario subentrato ai Gesuiti diede la signoria di Precenico in affitto per 3.450 fiorini, ca. il 3% del suo valore. La gestione fu presa da un fittaniere, un capitalista mercante di granaglie, che si limitò a operare come un intermediario fra i coloni e la proprietà statale. Non essendo suo interesse apportare migliorie, il suo guadagno derivava sostanzialmente da un'estensione della superficie messa a coltura e da un inasprimento dei patti agrari a danno dei contadini. Alla fine del contratto tuttavia non mancò di chiedere un rimborso all'Erario camerale che alla fine, forse per evitare noie, decise la vendita della fattoria di Precenico.

Tra gli acquirenti si presentò attraverso un proprio fiduciario un ricco patrizio veneziano che preferì mantenersi anonimo, con l'offerta di fiorini 150.000 (ducato 93.750). L'amministrazione contro propose la somma di fiorini 136.000 ma con l'obbligo di bonifica delle paludi i cui oneri poi si potevano ripartire su tutti i proprietari e conduttori, lavori stimati fiorini 40.000. La causa principale delle alluvioni stava nei «gonfiamenti del Tagliamento, nelle località prossime al villaggio veneto di Fraforeano e alle sue risaie» (p. 53). L'annotazione è interessante poiché testimonia come la corsa al riso intrapresa dalla grande proprietà terriera veneziana fosse in corso anche nelle campagne friulane. Ed è probabilmente proprio alla coltura del riso che puntava il capitalista veneto, così come stava accadendo sul delta del Po. Forti quantitativi di riso mantovano e, forse, veronese, infatti, proprio dalla punta di Goro partivano per Trieste e per l'Istria, carenti di cereali in genere. E si capisce come la prospettiva di ottenere grandi risaie stabili ancora più vicine al porto giuliano fosse giudicata di grande redditività. Insomma, solo la risicoltura poteva giustificare investimenti così importanti di capitale. Tuttavia, probabilmente per questioni politiche, mal si sopportava che la ex fattoria gesuitica passasse in proprietà a un Veneziano e, nel 1788, si preferì vendere a un imprenditore siriano da poco trapiantato a Trieste, Antonio Cassis Faraone, per una somma inferiore a quella offerta dal nobile veneto, ossia fiorini 125.000.

Il nuovo proprietario della fattoria eseguì opere di bonifica per fiorini 11.600 (dunque meno dei 40.000 inizialmente stimati) che ripartì anche a carico della comunità di Precenico, generando scontri con quegli abitanti che dal bosco e dalle paludi traevano sostentamento. Infatti, il nuovo titolare non mutò la destinazione colturale ma si limitò all'ampliamento della superficie coltivata mediante disboscamenti. L'unica innovazione fu il ten-

tativo d'introdurre il tabacco, che si giustificava, era evidente, con la facilità del contrabbando in Stato estero. E infatti, si allarmarono subito i magistrati veneziani che distaccarono una ferma di spadaccini a Codroipo. Insomma non erano certo opportunità agronomiche a spingere per coltivare il tabacco e, difatti, se ne perse traccia dopo la caduta della Repubblica.

Con i catasti ottocenteschi si può avere qualche indicazione più precisa della superficie dell'ex fattoria gesuitica. Nel 1823, furono perticati ettari 1.028, di cui oltre la metà a seminativo nudo o arborato e a prato stabile. A metà Ottocento, quando, indebitati, gli eredi di Cassis Faraone cedettero la fattoria di Precenico a Moisè Hierschel la superficie era di ettari 1.010, mentre la superficie comunale rilevata a catasto era di ca. ettari 2.570. La popolazione di Precenico nel 1821 era di 751 abitanti, dunque, un regime demografico tipico di un'agricoltura ancora tradizionale e che difatti a fine secolo non riuscirà a sopportare l'aumento della popolazione che in buona parte sarà costretta a emigrare.

Acquistata la tenuta di Precenico, la famiglia Hierschel decise di trasferirsi nel villaggio, assumendo un atteggiamento e uno stile di vita tipico della grande nobiltà di campagna come dimostrano gli ingenti capitali investiti per abbellire la dimora signorile e per la cura del giardino rifatto seguendo la nuova moda inglese e affidato al celebre architetto Giuseppe Jappelli. Curioso come la famiglia Hierschel ebbe un percorso simile alla bistrattata vecchia aristocrazia veneziana. A metà Settecento, la famiglia triestina era ancora tutta dedita all'attività mercantile e al commercio, poi iniziò gli investimenti in immobili fino a lasciare Trieste e ritirarsi a Precenico, soprattutto dopo le nozze fra Leone e l'ebrea veneziana Enrichetta Clementina de Minerbi. Ciò, se ha contribuito a mantenere un carattere pittoresco al borgo, non ha certo favorito il suo sviluppo economico, come dimostra la diffusa emigrazione di fine Ottocento.

La seconda parte del libro dedicato alla comunità dedica ampie trattazioni alla storia della parrocchia di S. Martino Vescovo e agli edifici di culto. Sfogliando le pagine di questa sezione tutta scritta da Edi Pozzetto colpisce come un fatto in sé singolare non lo sembri affatto agli uomini di quel tempo. Precenico non era parrocchia ma dipendeva da Palazzolo. Ebbene, quel curato doveva attraversare un confine di Stato per curare le anime dei propri fedeli. Questo pare avvenisse tranquillamente e se non accadeva era per l'indolenza del prete di turno e non certo per complicazioni politiche. I legami fra sudditi veneti e sudditi austriaci erano strettissimi, tanto da non far pensare minimamente che tra loro intercorresse un limite fra Stati. Il complicato confine politico non aveva cambiato quello religioso, poiché tutto il Friuli dipendeva dal patriarca di Aquileia che aveva scelto Udine come propria sede. I conflitti fra i fedeli di Precenico e il curato di Palazzolo sorsero per la scarsa cura che costui prestava alle anime. Infatti, i fattori ambientali spesso impedivano al parroco di varcare il fiume Stella e di dare

l'estrema unzione ai malati. Questa e non altra fu la principale motivazione che spinse quei fedeli a chiedere l'istituzione di una nuova parrocchia, cosa che ottennero nel 1651. Poi, dopo la soppressione del patriarcato di Aquileia, quella che un tempo era una sola parrocchia si trovò addirittura divisa fra due diocesi, con Precenico assegnata a Gorizia, fino al 1818, quando il borgo sullo Stella venne finalmente affidato alla cura della diocesi di Udine.

I legami con lo Stato veneto si esercitavano stretti anche via mare. Precenico era un borgo imperiale ma legato alle popolazioni delle lagune. Ad es., nel 1710, un commerciante di Burano, Vittore D'Este, si stanziò nella piazza del paese dove fece costruire un fabbricato collegato a uno scivolo verso il fiume, forse una spezieria, visto il suo soprannome di «canele». Queste notizie sono tratte dalla voce *D'Este* una delle tante schede che elencano le famiglie di Precenico tentando con successo di ricostruirne la storia, con rapide pennellate.

Chiude questo bel volume la pubblicazione di un documento inedito, l'elenco degli emigranti di Precenico in America steso dal parroco a partire dal 1880 fino al 1890. Il curato non dà solo il nominativo dell'emigrante, ma specifica se è partito da solo o con la famiglia, se è rimpatriato o se ne ha avuto notizia, come ad es. quella del naufrago Pasquale Matassi che, emigrato nel 1884, «mori 26 luglio 1887 in mare nel ritorno».

Una menzione merita anche l'apparato iconografico, non solo perché rende più gradevole la lettura del volume, tanto da invogliare chi lo ha avuto fra le mani a visitare Precenico, ma soprattutto perché le immagini sono strettamente collegate al testo, dialogano con esso e lo rendono più comprensibile e interessante anche per chi non è un lettore provetto. Così, basta una semplice occhiata alla mappa del 1689, intitolata «Disegno in pianta del principal contado di Gradisca con la separazione delle città, terre e villaggi a questo sottoposti», conservata nella Biblioteca statale isontina (pp. 20-21), per rendersi subito conto della complicazione del confine fra la Repubblica e i domini della Casa d'Austria in queste contrade.

MAURO PITTERI

Paolo Sarpi. Politique et religion en Europe, éd. Marie Viallon, Paris, Garnier, 2010, pp. 478.

IL volume raccoglie gli Atti di un Colloquio internazionale tenuto a Lione nel novembre 2008: pur tra luci ed ombre, il Convegno ha avuto il merito di ravvivare l'interesse per il servita Sarpi nella nazione che fu per tanti versi al centro della sua meditazione storica e religiosa, e proprio in quella città che lungo tutto il Rinascimento mediò i contatti, non solo economici, fra l'Italia e la Francia.

Il rapporto fra il Sarpi e gli ambienti gallicani dell'età di Enrico IV è sta-

to, non a caso, al centro degli interessi storiografici di Corrado Vivanti, qui presente con un denso saggio su *I due governi del mondo negli scritti di Paolo Sarpi* (pp. 29-54), dove le tesi sarpiane sulle relazioni tra la Chiesa e le potestà temporali sono esaminate alla luce dei consulti redatti dopo l'Interdetto ed anche sulla base di un'opera incompiuta, il *Della potestà de' prencipi*, riscoperta e pubblicata nel 2006 da Nina Cannizzaro, dove emerge con prepotenza «l'esigenza di scuotere la subordinazione dello Stato alla Chiesa e di respingere ogni inframmettenza di questa nel governo civile» (p. 48).

Se il Vivanti è stato fra i maggiori protagonisti del rinnovamento degli studi sarpiani degli anni '60, accanto ai più anziani Cozzi e Ulianich, la cui attenzione si concentrò principalmente sulle relazioni politiche e culturali del servita e quindi sugli scambi culturali intrattenuti con dotti e diplomatici di tutta Europa, è toccato invece a Corrado Pin, già allievo di Benedetto Nicolini e Luigi Firpo, dimostrare, negli studi pubblicati a partire dagli anni '70, l'inesauribile ricchezza degli scritti giuridici del Sarpi, editi ed inediti, dei quali solamente una piccola parte era stata analizzata da Federico Chabod nel celebre corso universitario su *La politica di Paolo Sarpi*, pubblicato postumo nel 1962. Negli ultimi anni Pin ha allargato i suoi interessi anche agli scritti più intimi ed enigmatici di fra Paolo, i famosi *Pensieri*; ha dimostrato su solide basi filologiche il loro debito verso un autore come Charron e il costante interesse del Sarpi, anche dopo l'Interdetto, per la conservazione di quelle sue inquietanti riflessioni filosofiche e religiose. Non è perciò un caso che in questo volume egli abbia scelto di trattare il tema difficile e delicato della rappresentazione di un «Paolo Sarpi senza maschera» (pp. 55-103). Il sottotitolo, «l'avvio della lotta politica dopo l'Interdetto del 1606», illustra bene la tesi principale dello studioso: è un Sarpi senza infingimenti (salve solo le cautele indispensabili in un'età di Indici ed Inquisizioni) quello che – nella sua veste di consultore – propone al patriziato veneziano di riprendere, in modi ancor più radicali, la controversia con Roma, solo temporaneamente ricomposta nella primavera del 1607. I consulti sarpiani risultano quindi, come aveva fuggevolmente intuito il Cozzi, «tessuto connettivo dell'esperienza religiosa e politica del Sarpi dell'ultimo quindicennio di vita» (p. 71). Particolare attenzione viene dedicata dal Pin, in questo contesto, al consulto *Sopra l'ufficio dell'Inquisizione* e alla vertenza sull'abbazia della Vangadizza.

Altri studiosi italiani largamente noti per i loro studi su Venezia nell'età barocca, come Stefano Andretta, Mario Infelise e Filippo De Vivo, affrontano con sicura competenza i temi loro assegnati, trattando, rispettivamente, le relazioni con Roma (pp. 163-188), gli sforzi romani volti ad imporre, intorno alla metà del Seicento, un totale silenzio intorno al pensiero e all'opera di fra Paolo (pp. 349-368) e le prime reazioni francesi e inglesi all'Interdetto (pp. 163-188).

Il saggio di Andretta su Sarpi e Roma è di grande freschezza: non si basa su nuove fonti archivistiche, e tuttavia colma una lacuna degli studi. Finora

infatti la ricostruzione degli anni romani del Sarpi era stata prevalentemente affidata ai cenni sparsi nelle pagine del servita o ai ricordi filtrati attraverso la *Vita* di Fulgenzio Micanzio; e l'ottica in cui la vicenda romana del servita era stata rievocata dallo stesso Gaetano Cozzi risentiva di una certa ispirazione crociana, sia pure arricchita dall'attenta lettura di Jedin e Prodi. Andretta, che in passato aveva dedicato molte pagine alla illustrazione di una Venezia seicentesca ben diversa da quella del Sarpi ed incline, piuttosto, all'inevitabile intesa con Roma, pone qui in rapporto dialettico l'incendiario pensiero del servita, ancora in fase di formazione, e l'assoluta grandezza delle istituzioni e delle personalità della curia romana da lui conosciute fra il 1585 e il 1588.

La rottura con Roma durante la crisi dell'Interdetto è studiata da Filippo De Vivo nell'ottica delle reazioni francesi e inglesi. Si citano storici come Jacques Auguste de Thou, diplomatici come Sir Henry Wotton (autore della famosa definizione secondo cui «Legatus est vir bonus, peregre missus ad mentiendum Reipublicae causa») e Philippe Canaye de Fresnes, per concludere che l'Inghilterra ed il suo re tributarono a Venezia una simpatia incondizionata, ma poco produttiva di effetti, mentre la Francia si mosse con prudenza, sempre pensando alla necessità di una mediazione tra la Santa Sede e la Serenissima. Per quanto attiene poi alla guerra delle scritture, l'ambasciatore veneziano a Londra Giorgio Giustinian e quello a Parigi, Pietro Priuli, assunsero atteggiamenti opposti. Il primo, filocuriale, non manifestò alcun interesse per la produzione e la circolazione di testi e documenti filoveneziani, il secondo incoraggiò i letterati francesi a produrne: si manifesta già qui quella dualità di orientamenti che, variamente atteggiandosi, caratterizzerà lungo tutto il Seicento il rapporto della Repubblica con la complessa e ingombrante eredità dell'Interdetto.

Come è noto, dopo la morte del Sarpi nel 1623, il clima a Venezia cambiò rapidamente. L'opera del servita continuò ad essere conosciuta e apprezzata da un ristretto gruppo di patrizi, e fu oggetto di attento esame da parte dell'ufficio dei Consultori in iure, come è stato ampiamente dimostrato dagli studi di Corrado Pin e Antonella Barzazi. Ma non si trattava certo, neppure a Venezia, di una libera circolazione di testi sarpiani: difatti un attento studioso dell'editoria veneziana e dell'Indice come Mario Infelise non può non riconoscere il parziale successo di Roma nel rimuovere la figura del servita dal dibattito culturale veneziano di metà Seicento, cioè in un'epoca segnata dal riavvicinamento alla Santa Sede e dal ritorno dei Gesuiti a Venezia (*"Che di lui non si parli". Inquisizione e memoria di Sarpi a metà '600*, pp. 349-368).

L'ultimo fra i contributi italiani di cui dobbiamo rendere conto è quello su Marcantonio De Dominis, Paolo Sarpi, Roberto Bellarmino e il problema dell'autorità dopo il concilio tridentino (pp. 257-307) di Eleonora Belligni, ricercatrice dell'Università di Torino, che ha al suo attivo una biografia di Marc'Anto-

nio De Dominis (il celebre arcivescovo di Spalato, fuggito clamorosamente in Inghilterra, rientrato a Roma e processato dall'Inquisizione, su cui resta fondamentale la voce di Silvano Cavazza nel *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, xxxiii, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1987, pp. 642-650). Nel riesaminare la classificazione cantimoriana delle ultime fasi della Riforma in Italia (pp. 260-261), la Belligni rileva «l'esistenza di una relazione e un'omologia» fra il Sarpi, il Bellarmino e il De Dominis (p. 262): infatti i tre autori «nei loro scritti e durante la loro carriera di intellettuali e religiosi [...] avevano concentrato energie e competenze principalmente sull'analisi di una questione: quella dell'autorità» (p. 266). Purtroppo, però, le «vite parallele» non sono un buon modello storiografico e poche affinità profonde si possono ritrovare fra pensatori così diversi: perciò il saggio affonda nella genericità di affermazioni che abbracciano la tarda scolastica e Benedetto XVI.

I contributi degli studiosi francesi, presenti negli Atti con sei relazioni, affrontano invece temi cruciali per la storia del pensiero religioso, filosofico e politico del primo Seicento. Sylvio Hermann De Franceschi, *Romanité et universalité de la communauté ecclésiale. Le débat catholique sur les caractères de la véritable Église au temps de Paolo Sarpi* (pp. 105-137) contrappone efficacemente la concezione della Chiesa universale dei Gesuiti a quella di un Sarpi, in larga misura debitore del pensiero gallicano. È un contributo erudito, largo di citazioni, che, nell'esaminare le violente controversie interne al mondo cattolico, allarga il suo respiro sia alle fonti patristiche e canonistiche, sia alla più recente riflessione ecclesiologica, bene esemplificata dal pensiero del teologo Yves Congar. Le conclusioni dello studioso, che ha recentemente pubblicato un'ampia monografia sull'atteggiamento francese durante l'Interdetto del 1606-1607 (*Raison d'État et raison d'Église. La France et l'Interdit vénitien (1606-1607): aspects diplomatiques et doctrinaux*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 2009) e un altro ponderoso volume sull'antiromanismo nella Francia del primo Seicento, *La crise théologico-politique du premier âge baroque: antiromanisme doctrinal, pouvoir pastoral et raison du prince: le Saint-Siège face au prisme français (1607-1627)*, Rome, École française de Rome, 2009), sembrano perciò porsi in continuità con quelle dell'Ulrich.

Della dimensione europea del pensiero e dell'opera del Sarpi (in curioso contrasto con la ridotta esperienza di viaggi del servita) avevano parlato a più riprese gli storici italiani, dallo Chabod al Cozzi, e nuovi elementi a sostegno di questa interpretazione sono venuti dagli studi del Wootton e del Frajese sugli scritti filosofici. Géraud Poumarède, docente a Bordeaux III, accoglie e sviluppa il tema (*L'Europe de Paolo Sarpi*, pp. 333-348), sottolineando come dall'epistolario sarpiano successivo all'Interdetto emerga il quadro di un'Europa pacificata, un'Europa – ahimé – spagnola e gesuita, che può rappresentare una minaccia per Venezia; perciò il Sarpi cerca i suoi corrispondenti fra i gallicani, come Leschassier, Gillot, fra i calvinisti, come Philippe Duplessis-Mornay e Jérôme Groslet de l'Isle, e in generale fra quan-

ti detestano come lui la prospettiva di una pace ignominiosa. Il linguaggio del Sarpi è perciò in questi anni sovraccarico di espressioni che inneggiano alla guerra, intesa non solo metaforicamente, contro il papato, i Gesuiti, gli Spagnoli: questo aspetto della prosa del Sarpi, rilevante non solo sul piano stilistico, ma per un effettiva incidenza sulla sua riflessione politica e filosofica, è persuasivamente illustrato da Romaine Descendre (*“Un'altra sorta di guerra”: Paolo Sarpi penseur de la guerre, après l'Interdit*, pp. 309-332), che non trascura i noti legami coll'opera del Guicciardini e del Machiavelli, ma mette in rilievo anche l'originalità del servita, palese nell'uso di espressioni nuovissime come «la congiuntura del tempo».

Non mancano quindi elementi di interesse in queste relazioni; ed anche il saggio dell'olandese Paul van Heck aggiunge qualche notazione erudita alla storia della fortuna del Sarpi in Olanda (anche se per il tema complessivo del Seicento veneto-olandese resta sempre fondamentale il dotto studio di Eco O. G. Haitisma Mulier, *The myth of Venice and Dutch republican thought in the seventeenth century*, Assen, Van Gorcum, 1980).

Ma quando si viene al contributo, anzi ai contributi della curatrice Marie Viallon, l'elenco degli errori, derivanti da una lettura distratta della bibliografia, lascia un po' sorpresi. Nell'*Introduzione* il calvinista Groslet de l'Isle, con il quale Sarpi discuteva per lettera le sorti della Chiesa riformata di Francia, diventa, per la prima volta nella plurisecolare storiografia sarpiana, un gallicano (p. 17); mentre nel saggio firmato dalla Viallon assieme a Bernard Dompnier (*Le Traité de la matière bénéficiaire: le rapport à la France*, pp. 209-252) il tedesco Christoph von Dohna, che venne apposta a Venezia per incontrare il Sarpi e raccogliere dalla sua viva voce il suo pensiero (nel celebre *Colloquio* pubblicato in edizione critica da Boris Ulianich) è inserito in un elenco di corrispondenti del Sarpi che non vennero mai a Venezia (p. 212). Ancora, nel 'ridotto' del pio Andrea Morosini e del futuro vescovo Alvisé Lollino, che professavano una piena ortodossia, e che quindi tollerarono a malapena l'occasionale presenza di Giordano Bruno, vengono disinvoltamente fatti entrare il calvinista Asselineau, l'ambasciatore inglese Sir Dudley Carleton (che mai avrebbe potuto frequentare patrizi veneziani come il Morosini o Nicolò Contarini), ed il cappellano dell'ambasciata inglese William Bedell (convinto anglicano, vicino alle idee dello Abbott). Se il Sarpi incontrò di persona alcuni di questi personaggi, fu in ambienti meno compromettenti, come la bottega degli Zecchinelli o Sechini, o in altri luoghi più appartati (e sarebbe bastata la lettura del recente studio di De Vivo sulla comunicazione politica a Venezia per rendersene conto; così come è chiarissima la puntualizzazione di Corrado Pin in questo stesso volume, p. 63).

Anche la revisione dei saggi, in vista della loro pubblicazione in volume, è stata carente: infatti, dopo la chiara ed esauriente esposizione di De Vivo e De Franceschi sulle relazioni con la Francia, non vi era motivo di sovrapporvi il saggio di D. Foucault sull'ambasciatore francese a Venezia Canaye

de Fresnes: contributo insoddisfacente, che sembra ignorare il magistrale studio di Gaetano Cozzi sullo stesso Canaye (puntualmente citato, invece, da de Vivo).

La difficoltà di padroneggiare la vasta letteratura sarpiiana porta a superficialità e imprecisioni (come quando si afferma che i Consultori in iure furono sempre Frati Serviti: p. 210, nota 1): ciò rende inutile la pretenziosa bibliografia finale, che «eccede quinci e quindi la misura» (perché la bibliografia meno recente è assai più povera e meno ordinata di quella di W. J. Bouwsma, mentre l'aggiornamento comprende opere sicuramente non indispensabili, come quella di Ivone Cacciavillani). E come si fa ad affermare che manchino a tutt'oggi opere sull'ecclesiologia di fra Paolo (p. 452)? I nomi di Buffon e Ulianich non dicono nulla alla Viallon? In conclusione, l'apporto della curatrice, sicuramente fondamentale sotto il profilo organizzativo, non ha soverchiamente giovato alla scientificità del volume, che si raccomanda però per l'indiscusso valore di molti degli studiosi coinvolti nell'iniziativa.

GIUSEPPE TREBBI

Liturgie di violenza lungo il Lago. Riviera del Garda tra '500 e '600, a cura di Claudio Povolo, testi di Alessandra Sambo, Giovanni Pellizzari, Claudio Povolo, Giuseppe Piotti, Giuseppe Zordan, Piergiovanni Mometto, Laura Amato, Anna Di Qual, Francesca Poggetti, Salò-Brescia, Ateneo di Salò, 2010, pp. 302.

NEL bel volume (anche perché dotato di un ricco apparato iconografico) dedicato a un famoso bandito di Salò, fin dalle epigrafi, il lettore viene proiettato nell'ambiente fosco e violento che caratterizza la società rivierasca agli inizi del Seicento. A Salò e nei centri limitrofi vivono «persone industrie» ma «facili agli odij» e così vendicative che «per una picciola ombra di sospetto l'un l'altro si priva crudelmente della vita». I codici locali dell'onore prevalgono ancora sulla Giustizia amministrata da uno Stato centrale che stenta a imporsi, soprattutto nelle province periferiche e montuose, fenomeno complesso e in quel ferreo periodo comune a tutta Europa. Il protagonista, il celebre bandito Zanzanù rappresenta però un caso peculiare e che è quasi un *unicum* nel panorama della storia del banditismo non solo italiano di quegli anni, a detta degli Aa. dei saggi del volume. Innanzitutto perché, come testimonia il saggio conclusivo di storia orale, le sue gesta si sono tramandate nel tempo, giungendo fino ai giorni nostri, avvolte in una sorta di leggenda che fa del bandito, a seconda delle situazioni, un terribile orco o un nostrano Robin Hood.¹ Tuttavia, l'aspetto più singolare è che pro-

¹ Si tratta del pregevole lavoro d'indagine di L. AMATO, A. DI QUAL, F. POGGETTI, *Un*

prio i suoi uccisori hanno contribuito alla creazione del mito; infatti con una parte dei soldi della taglia riscossa per la sua morte, hanno commissionato al pittore Giovan Andrea Bertanza un *ex-voto* in cui si rievoca la battaglia sui monti di Tignale dove il bandito ha terminato la sua esperienza terrena il 17 agosto 1617, dipinto conservato ancora nel santuario della Madonna di Monte Castello a Tignale e che essendo il documento più importante di tutta la faccenda è stato riprodotto nel volume (p. 224) anche evidenziandone dei particolari (pp. 231-232 e 260-261), tuttavia, non con la sufficiente cura che avrebbe meritato.²

L'immagine della battaglia è l'atto finale del racconto che inizia con un cadavere eccellente, il corpo privo di vita del podestà bresciano Bernardino Ganassoni, ferito a morte nel duomo di Salò, durante una solenne funzione liturgica, il 29 maggio 1610. La vicenda ha prodotto un profluvio di documenti³ perché s'inserisce in un tormentato contesto già provato da conflitti che hanno origine nella concorrenza spietata che si fanno tra loro i mercanti salodiani, nella cui rivalità si mescolano interessi economici e puntigli d'onore. Insomma, proprio la ricchezza della riviera con le sue cartiere e il suo olio è alla base di gelosie e ambizioni di potere. Una di queste feroci dispute, detta la faida di Salò, che aveva armato la mano di alcuni spietati assassini, si era conclusa solo nel 1607, appena tre anni prima del delitto clamoroso, con una sentenza arbitrale che aveva per il momento ristabilito un equilibrio fra il potente Alberghino Alberghini e una famiglia rivale di mercanti, capeggiata dai fratelli Ceruti.⁴

Il mercante Alberghini, poi lo si ritrova coinvolto nelle indagini volte a stabilire i colpevoli del delitto del duomo, come torbido manovratore di trame volte a produrre false testimonianze per colpire la parte avversa, (p. 165) e capace d'indirizzare le indagini in una certa direzione per far ricadere le responsabilità dell'omicidio sulla fazione facente capo appunto ai due nobili e anch'essi mercanti fratelli di Salò (p. 164). Anzi. È forse proprio l'Alberghini la vera anima nera della storia, capace addirittura di pagare un sicario per assassinare il proprio socio, con cui aveva pur lavorato fianco a fianco per

bandito e molte storie. La vicenda di Zanzanù fra memoria e mito. Un'inchiesta di storia orale, pp. 249-286.

² Si è rimediato nel volume di C. POVOLO, *Zanzanù. Il bandito del lago (1576 – 1617)*, Tignale (BS), Comune di Tignale, 2011, dove il dipinto è ripreso a doppia pagina, inserito tra le pp. 38 e 39.

³ Molti documenti sono consultabili nel sito illustrato da P. MOMETTO, *Un anno sulle tracce di Zanzanù: il caso di websideofhistroy.it*, pp. 217-248, alla cui raccolta ha contribuito una rete di ricercatori.

⁴ Tratta diffusamente di questa faida G. PELLIZZARI, *Poteri e conflitti a Salò nei primi due decenni del Seicento. La faida di Salò*, pp. 55-94. I Ceruti poi saranno accusati di essere tra i mandanti dell'assassinio del podestà.

18 anni, dopo il fallimento della loro compagnia commerciale e la protesta delle cambiali operata dai loro maggiori creditori (p. 94).

Il contesto in cui si è svolto il fatto criminoso è ancora quello della contrapposizione fra le due fazioni che non si erano poi così pacificate nel 1607; quella che deteneva il potere nel consiglio cittadino di Salò e l'altra, «ferocemente avversaria», forte di famiglie già residenti a Salò e di altre provenienti dai centri vicini della riviera che premevano per ottenere maggiori poteri politici in virtù della ricchezza acquisita con i commerci (p. 131). Forse (formula dubitativa obbligatoria in qualsiasi processo indiziario), il podestà Ganassoni si è inserito in queste dinamiche, schierandosi, e la prova del suo maldestro tentativo sta proprio nella spettacolarità dell'omicidio commesso davanti a tutti con un colpo a bruciapelo esploso dalla pistola (un terzarolo) in mano al «bravo» Antonio Bonfadino detto Tonina (p. 116). Insomma, un'esecuzione monito. Nel saggio principale del volume,⁵ si dimostra e si fa capire al lettore che il movente è da ricercare nel codice d'onore che ancora vincolava quegli uomini. Qualche settimana prima il podestà Ganassoni era stato offeso e, anziché seguire le 'liturgie' rituali dell'onore locale, si era rivolto alle magistrature veneziane; quando i criminali agiscono, sta per scadere la convocazione alle carceri di Brescia dei denunciati, emanata da quei rettori veneziani, incaricati dal Consiglio dei X d'istituire il processo, secondo il loro rito, processo seguito con trepidazione dal provveditore e capitano di Salò Giovan Battista Loredan, che l'A. sospetta coinvolto personalmente nella vicenda e anch'egli timoroso di fare la stessa fine del podestà.

La faida interna che ha colpito il rappresentante della città di Brescia a Salò, ha provocato anche un regolamento dei conti a livello più alto tra la città capoluogo, che non vuole perdere prerogative e giurisdizione nei confronti del centro considerato minore, e la città rivierasca oggetto di spinte centrifughe. Il processo deve servire anche a ridurre all'obbedienza la fazione salodiana più autonomista, colpendone alcuni membri significativi. Leonardo Mocenigo, provveditore straordinario inviato sul posto per dare giustizia, diventa così lo strumento, consapevole, di chi usa i suoi poteri d'indagine per eliminare pericolosi avversari. Con quel processo, la città di Brescia si aspetta una conferma della sua superiorità giurisdizionale rispetto a Salò.

Dunque, pur essendo innocente, almeno di quel delitto, il bandito Giovanni Beatrice degli Zanoni detto Zanzanù viene trascinato nel processo da false testimonianze, fino ad essere accusato di aver partecipato attivamente all'omicidio e poi, addirittura, nell'immaginario collettivo, di esserne l'ese-

⁵ C. POVOLO, *Sacerdoti di una liturgia della violenza (scene di un crimine lungo il lago nell'anno 1610)*, pp. 95-178. Il saggio è ripreso e ampliato nel bel volume sempre di IDEM, *Zanzanù. Il bandito del lago (1576 - 1617)*, cit. Aveva già scritto *Storia di un uomo che divenne bandito, in Banditismi mediterranei, secoli XVI-XVII*, a cura di F. Manconi, Roma, Carocci, 2003.

cutore materiale. Confermato questo impianto accusatorio dal provveditore Mocenigo, distrutta la sua casa a Gargnano già il 25 ottobre 1610, tagliati per sempre i legami sociali con il villaggio d'origine, inizia la sua peregrinazione per i monti circostanti,⁶ aiutata da alcuni che ancora gli rimangono amici,⁷ ma che alla fine sotto il peso delle taglie e delle «voci di liberar banditi» promesse a chi lo toglie di mezzo, termina dopo sette anni con la sua uccisione in un agguato sui monti di Tignale. Dunque, due fattori hanno determinato la fine del bandito: la ferma posizione della città di Brescia prima a sostegno del suo podestà insultato e poi nella ricerca dei suoi assassini; e lo scontro tra le fazioni salodiane, di cui quella capeggiata da Alberghino Alberghini ha pensato di mettere definitivamente fuori gioco gli avversari, inserendo appunto il bandito Zanzanù fra coloro che avevano premeditato l'omicidio del podestà (p. 177).

Queste dovrebbero essere le fasi principali della vicenda che non è certo facile riassumere. C. Povolo, nel saggio principale, cerca di usare la tecnica cinematografica della sceneggiatura per rappresentare i luoghi e gli stati d'animo dei personaggi. La vicenda è così divisa in dieci scene con ampio uso del *flashback*, retrospezione che però mette in difficoltà un lettore che non sia attento ma che comunque è aiutato da un utile indice dei nomi e dei luoghi per riprendere le vicende di un personaggio di cui eventualmente ha perso le tracce. Documentatissime le note, com'è abitudine dello studioso vicentino, uno dei pochi accademici che ancora frequentano assiduamente gli archivi, e che a volte nell'impaginato superano di gran lunga il testo. Tuttavia, sia pur suggestive, rimane un dubbio sulle descrizioni paesaggistiche che risentono di un influsso romantico che forse i protagonisti di quel primo Seicento non avevano e che rispecchiano di più la sensibilità dell'A. Fondamentale invece è la descrizione dell'ambiente che certamente non può essere disgiunto dal fenomeno del banditismo. Quello salodiano è un ambiente in cui il banditismo trova maggior facilità di sviluppo, data la vicinanza del confine di Stato, la possibilità di rifugiarsi nel feudo dei conti di Lodron,⁸ sudditi imperiali, l'incertezza della linea di confine, l'estensione dello stesso, la protezione e la complicità dei contrabbandieri. La Repubblica era delimitata da una lunghissima linea territoriale che nel Seicento non era ancora stata fissata stabilmente da trattati condivisi, se non in qualche breve tratto. E i monti, i confini di Stato, gli anfratti vallivi sono luoghi ideali per chi vuole contrastare la lenta espansione dello stato territoriale e per

⁶ Un itinerario dei luoghi della per così dire latitanza del bandito è descritto da G. ZORDAN, *Nel regno di Zanzanù. Covi, tane e rifugi, fra storia, mito e leggenda*, pp. 205-216.

⁷ Uno di questi è Bersanino Guizzerotti, che ospitò il bandito nella sua casa e per questo fu condannato e ricordato in una lapide posta sulla facciata di un edificio di Salò, la cui vicenda è raccontata da G. PIOTTI, *Il mistero della lapide*, pp. 179-203.

⁸ Affronta questi temi il saggio iniziale del volume di A. SAMBO, *Fazioni, tiranni e Dominante in lotta per il controllo della Terra. La parabola di Francesco Bertazzolo*, pp. 15-54.

chi vuole mantenere in vita arcaici codici d'onore che alla fine sono sempre legati alla dura superiorità del più forte o del più prepotente che quasi mai corrisponde anche al più equo e più giusto.

MAURO PITTERI

DANILO GASPARINI, *Serenissime campagne. Terre, contadini, paesaggi della Terraferma veneta*, Sommacampagna (VR), Cierre, 2011, pp. x-564.

C'è aria di famiglia nel volume che raccoglie alcuni saggi di Danilo Gasparini, fin dalla copertina; aria di frequentazioni comuni, di lungo percorso condiviso di amore per la ricerca e per la terra. Va detto subito che il volume conferma essere la lettura la principale dote dell'A. Gasparini è un grandissimo lettore, un divoratore di libri, fino a quello che deve averlo influenzato di più visto il tributo versatogli alla fine della sua breve prefazione che c'invita «solo a immaginare le scene a mo' di cineografo» (p. VIII). Non lo svela ma è lampante.¹

I saggi raccolti sono sedici apparsi nelle più diverse collocazioni dal 1985 al 2005, da riviste a volumi miscelanei, sei degli anni ottanta, cinque degli anni novanta e cinque del primo lustro del duemila. Quasi un saggio all'anno a dimostrare la prolificità del Nostro. Sono stati raggruppati dall'A. non in ordine cronologico ma per argomento.

I primi quattro riguardano la terra natia delle ricerche dell'A., la contea di Valmareno, prosecuzioni della sua tesi di Laurea, di cui relatore è stato Marino Berengo. Si parte dal mercato della contea,² mercato settimanale che per volontà del conte Brandolino fu istituito nel 1581 a Follina, in un prato comunale detto il Saletto (p. 6), spostato poi a Cison e tornato nel 1647 a Follina, divenuto mercato di granaglie, grazie alla migliore ubicazione stradale e alla vicinanza dell'abbazia, voluto e imposto dall'autorità feudale. Si tratta di un saggio ancora militante, dove si cerca la definizione del mercante capitalista e dove non si manca di citare nel testo e non solo in nota autori come Kula e Marx (pp. 16-17). Come capita all'A. fin dal suo esordio, la lingua va stretta alla febbre della ricerca, e così si passa in poche righe da un secolo all'altro, da una località a quella vicina, con una miriade d'informazioni, quasi a fare del saggio un'enciclopedia fino a indicarci come la quantità di biade maggiore condotta da Venezia in valle era la fava. Tesi del saggio è che il mercato funzionava poco e male perché la bottega era più competitiva grazie al credito. In campagna era poca la disponibilità di denaro liquido e perciò era difficile acquistare a credito al mercato, mentre la bottega del villaggio poteva permettere di dilazionare i pagamenti (p. 27).

¹ G. CORAZZOL, *Cineografo di banditi su sfondo di monti. Feltre 1634-1642*, Milano-Feltre, Unicopli-Libreria Pilotto Editrice, 1997.

² *Alla ricerca di un mercato. Contadini, artigiani, mercanti e botteghe nella Contea di Valmareno. Secoli XV-XVIII*, pp. 3-40, già in «Il Flaminio», IV, 4, 1985, pp. 3-36.

Si passa poi al castagno in Valmareno,³ la prima grande passione gastronomica dell'A. (un paragrafo è dedicato alla «castagna in cucina», pp. 69-70) con attenzione e alla superficie destinata a «legne dolce e castegnari», circa duemila ettari nel 1685 (p. 43), e alle disposizioni precise impartite dalla comunità di villaggio per la raccolta di foglia, legna e, naturalmente, delle castagne, soprattutto a Combai, dove proprio in quegli anni riprendeva vigore una fortunata festa dedicata ai marroni. Il saggio non è solo una descrizione delle pratiche colturali, e neppure solo la descrizione dell'emarginazione economica di queste aree montane, descritta con la metafora delle «castagne per terra» di Luigi Meneghello, altro grande a cui l'A. è debitore (p. 78); ma anche lo scontro tra coltivatori e raccoglitori accusati di vivere in modo parassitario procacciandosi un frutto spontaneo (p. 48), contrasto di «natura ideologica e antropologica».

Dopo il mercato e un prodotto, le castagne, tocca ai trasporti.⁴ In questo saggio l'A. descrive la dura fatica degli zattieri, che, nel viaggio di ritorno da Venezia, giunti a Nervesa, risalivano a piedi verso Belluno attraversando Passo S. Boldo. Avevano portato nella Dominante soprattutto legname e botti di vetriolo (p. 109). E qui entriamo anche nella seconda grande passione gastronomica del nostro che è il vino, legato però in questo caso a un vagabondare conturbante, a un'emarginazione sociale di chi fa questo mestiere che mette la vita in continuo pericolo. Con una qualche indulgenza l'A. si è soffermato sui tavoli dell'osteria di Tovena, partecipando quasi a quella rissa, a quella baldoria, a quel gioco, che contrassegnavano i viaggi di questi solidi montanari bellunesi. In realtà il vino è un alimento, la paga dello zattiere è insufficiente ad assicurare un'adeguata alimentazione fatta di pane e carne, il vino era decisamente più a buon mercato. A p. 116 la prima citazione del mais, quello che sarà il vero grande amore alimentare del nostro, riscopritore addirittura di una sua qualità nostrana come il bianco perla. Nel 1607, un debito fu pagato in formaggio e «sorgo turco» di buona qualità.

Chiude questa prima serie di saggi un'altra incursione nella Valmareno, intesa stavolta non come un'idilliaca area del buon tempo antico ma come un luogo di aspre contese tra masieri, coloro che avevano la possibilità di avere un'azienda in conduzione, e braccianti che in altre località del Veneto sono detti «pisnenti» o «repetini» (pp. 142 e 145), ossia, coloro che non possiedono nulla e che possono sopravvivere solo arrotondando il salario con

³ *Il castagno a Combai e nella Valmareno in età moderna e contemporanea*, pp. 41-107, in *La Civiltà del castagno*, 3 voll., Combai (TV), Associazione pro loco di Combai, 1986-1988.

⁴ *Brentane, vino... e vetriolo. Documenti per la storia degli zattieri "di là da Piave" e nella Contea di Valmareno*, pp. 109-130, già in *Zattere, zattieri e menadàs. La fluitazione del legname lungo il Piave*, a cura di D. Perco, Castellavazzo (BL), Comune di Castellavazzo, Fameja dei zater e menadàs del Piave, 1988, pp. 91-114.

la raccolta dei generi che offrivano le terre comunali;⁵ e per questo accusati di parassitismo dai masieri. Le liti per l'uso di quei beni erano frequenti e ancora una volta il vino diventa metafora dell'esistenza.

Durante una lite a Belluno, di fronte al giudice arbitro, una delle parti in causa minaccia: «sino allora avevano bevuto vin dolce, ma che in avvenire voleva farle beber vin garbo di quel bestiale» (p. 136). Tuttavia, le dispute maggiori non erano tanto all'interno del villaggio, ma tra villaggi vicini per appurare la vera estensione del pascolo a cui ciascuna comunità aveva diritto e la Valmareno era in perenne conflitto per l'uso dei beni comunali con Mel, Tovenà e con la Pieve di S. Stefano. Questi conflitti per certi versi sono proprio il motore della storia alpina moderna e in base a loro si determinano alleanze politiche e interessi particolari, come hanno dimostrato ad es. i recenti studi per l'area bellunese di Roberto Bragaglia. Risente forse del clima dell'epoca, di una certa ideologia che sta avanzando nella nostra regione, la sottolineatura di come spaccava il comune l'ammissione di nuovi regolieri, la distinzione tra i nativi e i forestieri e come, a Miane, l'arrivo di un foresto agitava sempre gli animi e, citazione illuminante, nel 1595, quelli di Solighetto lamentavano di «essere al presente tanto danificadi dalli forestieri che ne sono attorno li nostri confini» (p. 145), ossia dei villaggi vicini, una chiusura antica che s'illude di preservare l'esistente escludendo chi non appartiene a quella comunità, ma risultata vana anche in montagna dov'era più facile arroccarsi attorno alle proprie valli.

La seconda serie di articoli quasi tutti pubblicati negli anni novanta è dedicata in gran parte all'arte di misurare la terra, sostanzialmente, ai periti agrimensori.

Il saggio che si occupa dell'estimo trevigiano è quello più importante di tutta la raccolta, quello dove la ricerca dell'A. ha dato i suoi frutti migliori e ha gettato le basi per studi successivi di questa preziosa fonte fiscale conservata nell'Archivio di Stato di Treviso.⁶ Qui l'A. ha chiarito molto bene che cosa sia un estimo e quali differenze vi siano fra quello personale e quello reale, che si divide in generale, ossia, che riguarda tutto il trevigiano, e particolare, dedicato cioè a una sola podesteria. Il carato, le polizze e i perticatori erano i tre elementi fondamentali di questa rilevazione fiscale (pp. 161-162). In questo saggio sono ripercorse tutte le vicende dell'estimo particolare auspicato dal Senato fin dal 1664 per la podesteria di Treviso, iniziato nel gennaio del 1680, sospeso nel 1687, ripreso nel 1710 e concluso solo nel 1719 (p. 165).

⁵ Il territorio conteso: «masieri» e «bracenti» in alcune comunità della montagna veneta. La contea di Valmareno (secoli XVI-XVII), pp. 131-159, già in «Cheiron», 7-8, 1988, pp. 103-136.

⁶ «Il general disegno» della campagna trevigiana. Estimo e agrimensori fra innovazione e tradizione, pp. 161-231, già in Montebelluna. Storia di un territorio. Cartografia ed estimi tra Sei e Settecento, a cura di D. Gasparini, Venezia, Archivi, 1992, pp. 11-40.

Il perito agrimensore è il protagonista di quest'impresa, poiché si è pensato a un estimo di tipo misto, ossia, assieme ai libretti si sarebbero redatti anche i disegni. Dunque, la prima fase dell'operazione era un censimento dell'esistente a cui solo in un secondo momento sarebbe seguita la stima calcolata dalle module composte dai rappresentanti dei quattro corpi contributivi: clero, cittadini, distrettuali e foresti, dove, dentro la categoria foresti, vi erano anche i patrizi veneziani. La novità più importante e forse un primato del Trevigiano, almeno in Italia, è stata quella di assegnare un numero ad ogni particella posta in mappa così da risalire facilmente al suo proprietario grazie al libretto. Si trattava di un primo disegno particellare. Se l'estimo non fu portato a compimento nel sec. xvii, ciò non si dovette all'imperizia dei tecnici ma alle difficoltà finanziarie (p. 168).

In seguito fu il magistrato all'Adige a far proprio il tipo di estimo con disegno particellare e lo fece nel Polesine avvalendosi di due periti, Zuanne Rizzi e Pietro Tessari che avevano lavorato ad alcune tavole dell'estimo trevigiano (p. 170). In questo saggio, l'A. già sottolineava come uno dei problemi maggiori da risolvere era stabilire l'esatto confine tra i villaggi; infatti inserire un'azienda sotto la giurisdizione di un paese significava mutarne il carato. Meno campi in estimo, meno fazioni personali (p. 173). Contrariamente a quanto accade per i beni collettivi, dove si preferiva allargare i confini, per quelli privati conveniva restringerli. Insomma, il sistema adottato a Treviso fu per l'A. l'anticipazione del moderno catasto (p. 183). Densè le pagine dedicate ai periti agrimensori di cui è anche calcolata la paga, 10 lire al giorno (erano retribuiti a cottimo: p. 193) e alla loro pertica che doveva misurare m 2,04 (p. 202). Del tutto imbarazzante il confronto con il catasto del 1740, che pur prendendo spunto da alcuni risultati degli estimi trevigiani, non ne fa propria la struttura di fondo, ossia l'uso dei periti agrimensori e da ciò buchi importanti in una fonte che a lungo è stata sopravvalutata. Chiude il saggio un tributo alla classe dirigente trevigiana dotata di una cultura amministrativa che ha saputo «operare una vera e propria rivoluzione in un'antica e radicata prassi» (p. 210).

Anche il saggio seguente è dedicato ai periti agrimensori.⁷ L'A. è stato uno dei primi a mettere in evidenza come la magistratura dei Provveditori sopra Beni comunali fosse stata una delle grandi scuole dove si forgiavano periti e ingegneri (p. 233). Infatti, la magistratura è impegnata a produrre una mole di disegni, solo in parte censiti e fotografati, in occasione delle vendite dei beni comunali. Grazie a questa consuetudine, nel 1758 furono delegati dal Senato a emanare una serie di provvedimenti di modi e tempi di accesso alla carriera

⁷ «*L'arte di misurar et poner in disegno» campi e paesi. Spunti per una storia dell'agrimensura in età moderna (secoli xvi-xix)*, pp. 233-267, già in *La podesteria di Castelfranco nelle mappe e nei disegni dei secoli xv-xviii*, a cura di G. Cecchetto, Castelfranco Veneto (tv), Banca Popolare di Castelfranco Veneto, 1994, pp. 233-280.

di perito (p. 237). Basti pensare che nella podesteria di Castelfranco il 60% dei disegni inventariati nel volume da cui è tratto questo saggio, è stato prodotto dai periti dei Provveditori sopra Beni comunali, che potevano esercitare in tutta la Terraferma (p. 238). Qui il lettore più curioso può trovare la descrizione dei loro strumenti, lo squadro agrimensorio, il bossolo magnetico, la tavoletta pretoriana e l'immancabile pertega o compasso agrimensorio.

Dopo i prodotti, i campi e chi li misura, un saggio racconta chi quei campi avrebbe dovuto lavorarli, i bovini. Il pretesto per parlare della zootecnia veneta è il ritrovamento di un eccezionale documento che qui viene regestato: la cronaca della mortalità bovina che si è avuta a Treviso nel 1711 scritta l'anno dopo dal deputato alla Sanità Giacomo Olivi.⁸ Commentando il documento pubblicato, l'A. scrive note che confermano la tesi per cui la penuria di allevamento bovino nelle campagne venete non era una situazione agricola subita, ma, come già aveva spiegato Ugo Tucci, il «risultato di precise scelte economiche» (p. 301). I buoi conviene importarli dall'Ungheria. Gli stessi oratori trevigiani inviati a Venezia fecero un calcolo se non esatto certamente indicativo. Per allevare tremila buoi da cui ricavarne gli 800 che servono agli usi agricoli, occorrono 12mila campi atti a produrre 12.000 carri di fieno. Ma se si vogliono mantenere quei buoi, bisognava rinunciare a 60 mila stari di biava che servono a sfamare dodici mila persone. Per loro, dunque un campo a cereali sfamava una persona. Perciò, «dove sono assai persone bisogna che siano assai terre arative et poche prative», com'è il caso della Trevisana (p. 304). Con buona pace di chi considera un segno di arretratezza l'eccessiva estensione dei cereali.

La passione per i documenti di Gasparini continua nel contributo successivo,⁹ la pubblicazione di un interessante contratto di mezzadria stipulato a Farrò di Follina nel 1581, relativo a un'azienda di ettari 12, fra l'agente dei monaci e un abitante della contea di Valmareno. Le clausole sono tali da far ritenere l'agente Cucchetto, un Lombardo, lettore dei grandi trattati di agronomia del Cinquecento (p. 327). Temi ripresi, specie quello degli agronomi, nel contributo successivo, in lingua francese.¹⁰

Il quarto gruppo di saggi è stato pubblicato nella collana dedicata ai fiumi

⁸ *Mortalità de' bovini seguita nel territorio Trivigiano nell'anno MDCCXI*, pp. 269-321, [versione arricchita nella bibliografia e nei dati del saggio apparso in *Malgari e pascoli. L'alpeggio nella provincia di Belluno*, a cura di D. Perco, Feltre, Comunità Montana Feltrina, Centro per la documentazione della cultura popolare, 1991, pp. 171-204].

⁹ *Tra il dire e il fare ... un contratto di mezzadria del 1581*, pp. 323-350, [che è probabilmente, ma non è indicato in maniera esplicita, la traduzione dal francese di *Le savoir e la pratique. Un bail de métairie en Vénétie au xvr^e siècle*, «Histoire & Sociétés Rurales», 4, 1995, pp. 273-298].

¹⁰ *Contrats agricoles et culture agronomique en Vénétie (xvr^e-xvii^e siècles)*, pp. 351-366, già in *Exploiter la terre. Le contrats agrarie de l'Antiquité à nos jours. Actes du colloque international de Caen 10-13 septembre 1997*, Caen, Association d'histoire des sociétés rurales, 2003 («Bibliothèque d'histoire rurale», 7), pp. 221-232.

del Veneto dalla Casa editrice Cierre di Sommacampagna. Nel primo, rivolto al Sile, «cordone ombelicale che unisce il Trevigiano a Venezia» (p. 373),¹¹ si nota immediatamente nelle prime pagine il salto linguistico di chi sente la frase troppo stretta per le cose che bisogna dire e che perciò cerca la sintesi attraverso la metafora, un metodo che non sempre aiuta il lettore se non viene ben padroneggiato. Dopo alcune pagine il discorso si rifà piano, segno che la causa linguistica è ancora combattuta. L'A. qui mette a frutto i volumi che si stavano via via pubblicando della ricerca sulle Campagne Trevigiane promossa dalla Fondazione Benetton. Già aveva in saggi precedenti messo in evidenza come la «penetrazione fondiaria dei veneziani» dovesse scendere da un'impostazione ideologica e farsi concreto studio dei documenti. Ora ne ha il destro e, grazie ai dati degli estimi, può sottolineare come la proprietà veneziana nel Trevisano a circa metà Cinquecento fosse pari a un quinto della superficie censita, segno di una tenuta dei nobili di Consiglio e dei distrettuali. Dunque il massiccio acquisto di ricchezza fondiaria da parte dei residenti nella Dominante andava spostato più in là e difatti, ai primi del sec. XVIII, i Veneziani avrebbero detenuto il 54% della superficie censita (p. 375). Le motivazioni molteplici sono un crollo dei nobili di consiglio, l'acquisto dello *status* di patrizio da parte di alcuni di loro, come i Minnelli, la vendita dei beni comunali, aggiungerei, la crisi contadina di metà Seicento con il rispettivo indebitamento locale. Il risultato è la formazione di quel grande paesaggio veneto fatto di villa e piantata.

Con il saggio dedicato al Piave, la lingua usata si fa sempre più impasto di riferimenti ad epoche diverse e a moduli inclusi a volte in una frase come questa: «Quelli di Condugol di Ciano, nel costruire in grava, mica hanno rispettato un cin di normativa urbanistica relativa a zone a rischio», siamo sulle grave del Piave nel primo Cinquecento (p. 410).¹² Si passano in rassegna attraverso le alluvioni del fiume i raccolti con alcune indicazioni sui prezzi del grano, la proprietà terriera, ove si sottolinea come esista una 'linea del Piave' che i patrizi veneziani non hanno superato (p. 414) proprio nei Quartieri del Piave. Qui nel Cinquecento la proprietà contadina era ancora attestata tra il 40 e il 60% a seconda dei villaggi. Poi i beni comunali e le loro alienazioni, l'allevamento, per chiudere con un'indicazione paesaggistica sulle campagne, con il risalire della vite in collina fino a Follina, dove s'invitano i coloni a «piantar verdiso». Saggio discorsivo dunque e che del resto era stato previsto per un volume destinato a un pubblico più vasto dei soli specialisti.

¹¹ *La città e la campagna: contadini, patrizie e fattori in età moderna tra Piave e Sile*, pp. 367-407, già in *Il Sile*, a cura di A. Bondesan, G. Caniato et alii, Sommacampagna (VR), Cierre, 1998, pp. 152-181.

¹² *Andar per campi «di qua e di là della Piave» tra grebani, grave, saletti e zappadi*, pp. 409-432, già in *Il Piave*, a cura di A. Bondesan, G. Caniato et alii, Sommacampagna (VR), Cierre, 2000, pp. 273-290. Questo saggio non usa materiale d'archivio ma sola bibliografia tra cui otto sue opere, alcune delle quali in questo volume.

Le stesse caratteristiche ha il saggio successivo,¹³ dedicato alle seriole del Brenta. Emerge la figura di un imprenditore veneziano, Filippo Balbi Valier che nel secondo Settecento investe cospicui capitali per irrigare una tenuta di ca. 900 campi trevigiani presso S. Floriano, vicino a Castelfranco, ma che usa acque del Brenta. Si tratta di un patrizio che mitiga in parte l'idea di un patriziato settecentesco tutto dedito alla rendita fondiaria (p. 434). Parlare di rogge significa parlare di misure di portata d'acqua. Qui si sbriga troppo frettolosamente la questione indicando tramite vecchi lavori di Salvatore Ciriaco un quadretto d'acqua come un quantitativo capace in una settimana di irrigare una risaia di campi 80 veronesi. E si cita il famoso trattato del Tartaro fra l'imperatrice Maria Teresa e la Repubblica del 1765. Non è proprio così, quei quadretti erano lasciati agli utenti per tutto il tempo delle irrigazioni delle risaie, ossia, all'incirca il periodo estivo, non solo una settimana. E poi si misurava il livello dell'acqua sopra la soglia della bocca della seriola, in once. Ecco la definizione data di un quadretto da quel trattato: «Per quadretto veronese d'acqua si dovrà intendere quella quantità d'acqua che entra per pura pressione dell'acqua sovrastante alla soglia in una bocca di un piede veronese quadrato che abbia due once d'altezza di acqua appoggiata al lembo superiore o sia capello della bocca». «Per computare la quantità d'acqua che entra per pura pressione in una bocca di un quadretto o più quadretti si dovrà osservare la legge adottata da più accreditati matematici e confermata dall'esperienza che la velocità dell'acqua sovrastante è come la radice quadrata dell'altezza dell'acqua medesima e che la quantità d'acqua è in ragione composta della grandezza della luce e della radice quadrata dell'altezza dell'acqua permanente».¹⁴ Non è operazione semplice e poi i matematici del Trattato dicono che per irrigare i prati basta un quadretto d'acqua per un giorno per ottanta campi e non alla settimana come ripreso da Ciriaco.

Nel penultimo saggio del testo si torna a parlare di allevamento, stavolta ovino.¹⁵ E si ritorna anche agli estimi, soprattutto quelli di Treviso del sec. xv che bene dimostrano lo stretto legame tra i drappieri che risiedevano in città e l'allevamento ovino nelle campagne della podesteria, soprattutto nel Quartier del Piave (p. 465). Treviso era anche il punto d'arrivo della transumanza dei pastori provenienti dal Feltrino e dai villaggi imperiali di

¹³ *Le campagne "adaquate" del Brenta in età moderna*, pp. 433-458, già in *Il Brenta*, a cura di A. Bondesan, G. Caniato et alii, Sommacampagna (VR), Cierre, 2003, pp. 301-319. Qui si fa uso anche di alcuni documenti dei *Provveditori sopra Beni Inculti*.

¹⁴ Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Sovrintendente e Provveditori alla Camera dei confini*, b. 55, doc. n. 66. Chiarificazioni al Trattato di Ostiglia del 19 giu. 1765. Il piede veronese di once 12 misura m 0,46.

¹⁵ *Pecore di montagna... poste di pianura: allevamento ovino e agricoltura nelle terre trevigiane in età moderna*, pp. 461-480, già in *Montagna e Pianura. Scambi e interazione nell'area padana in età moderna*, a cura di A. Gardi, M. Knapton, Udine, Forum, 2001, pp. 19-37.

Castel Tesino e di Fiera di Primiero, che vantavano tale diritto per antiche consuetudini e che resterà loro anche dopo le riforme settecentesche (p. 474).

Chiude la rassegna anche in ordine cronologico di pubblicazione, un saggio dedicato a due prodotti industriali come la canapa e il lino.¹⁶ In realtà, la canapa, a parte alcune aree della bassa padovana, in Veneto sarà relegata negli orti dall'autoconsumo contadino, unica ragione della sua sussistenza anche nel sec. XIX. La Repubblica infatti si forniva nel Bolognese per fabbricare i cordami e le gomene delle sue navi, anche se esisteva, come ha dimostrato David Celetti, una buona produzione a Montagnana. Più interessante lo sviluppo del lino e delle telerie e non manca un'attenta disanima della fabbrica di Giacomo Linussio in Carnia, esempio tra i più famosi della protoindustria friulana (p. 490).

Due appendici chiudono il volume, una metrologica e l'altra meteorologica, ma in realtà si tratta di un omaggio alle origini, di un ritorno per certi versi in famiglia, poiché sono i due saggi pubblicati dall'A. nella monumentale storia di Vidor da lui stesso curata.¹⁷

La raccolta di propri saggi scritti in epoche diverse espone a numerosi rischi. Il primo è quello della ridondanza a cui è impossibile sfuggire se non si vuole intervenire sul testo. Il secondo è quello di cercare di mettere insieme ciò che non sempre può combinarsi come, ad esempio, le pagine dedicate alla canapa dell'Ottocento che non è più «serenissima». Sullo stile si è detto, ma soprattutto si nota come da ricercatore d'archivio l'A. sia divenuto frequentatore di biblioteche, soprattutto la sua, di sicuro molto ricca e specializzata. Lo straniamento maggiore però che il lettore deve sopportare con pazienza è il brusco salto da saggi divulgativi a opere di spessore specialistico. E poi, alcuni lavori, tolti dal contesto, perdono in parte l'aroma, il profumo, come di un fiore che viene tolto dal giardino per cui era stato coltivato.

Per buona sorte di chi ha fiato corto, non serve leggere tutte le dense pagine del volume, grazie a un prezioso indice dei nomi e delle località che rendono le fatiche del Nostro anche un'utile opera di consultazione.

MAURO PITTERI

¹⁶ «L'una in dosso e l'altra in fosso»: la canapa in Veneto tra Sette e Ottocento, pp. 480-513, già in *Una fibra versatile. La canapa in Italia dal Medioevo al Novecento*, a cura di C. Poni, S. Fronzoni, Bologna, CLUEB, 2005, pp. 117-152.

¹⁷ *Pesi e misure in uso a Treviso e nella podesteria in età medievale e moderna*, pp. 517-524 e *Le vicende meteorologiche nei protocolli di Girolamo, Vettor e Antonio De Conti notai in Mosnigo 1560-1650. Materiali e documenti per uno studio del clima nelle campagne trevigiane in età moderna. Secoli XVI-XVIII*, pp. 525-541, già in *Due villaggi della collina trevigiana: Vidor e Colbertaldo*, a cura di D. Gasparini, Vidor (TV), Comune di Vidor, 1989, vol. II, pp. 339-345; vol. III*, pp. 341-354.

L'impegno e la conoscenza. Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Egidio Martini, a cura di Filippo Pedrocco, Alberto Craievich, Verona, Scripta, 2009, pp. 374, 185 ill.

IL volume di studi dedicati a Egidio Martini attraversa, con parole e immagini, il vissuto di un personaggio segnato profondamente dalla storia dell'arte. In questa raccolta di scritti, editi prima della sua scomparsa nel marzo 2011, è possibile ripercorrere le vicende umane e professionali di Martini, che fu artista, restauratore instancabile e cultore della pittura antica, specialmente di scuola veneziana del Seicento e del Settecento, come si evince dalla sua collezione di opere d'arte – nota come Pinacoteca «Egidio Martini» – lasciata in dono ai Musei Civici di Venezia per essere esposta nel Museo di Ca' Rezzonico.

Dalle testimonianze di amici, colleghi e studiosi emerge il ritratto di un conoscitore assiduo e curioso, che rispetto ai docenti accademici ha il vantaggio di avere esercitato il mestiere di pittore e restauratore, indispensabile per comprenderne la familiarità con la tecnica e la materia pittorica degli antichi maestri.

La frequentazione assidua del mercato antiquario e delle raccolte private gli ha permesso di reperire numerosi quadri 'da stanza', di tema sacro e profano, dapprima studiati e catalogati con intento quasi enciclopedico, e in seguito destinati alla sua collezione.

Spiccano, tra i pittori prediletti, Alessandro Varotari detto il Padovano, e Giulio Carpioni, alla cui fortuna rendono omaggio i contributi di Mario Saccardo, Giuseppe Maria Pilo e Flavia Casagrande (pp. 135-137, 138-154, 155-161), attraverso la pubblicazione di opere inedite, che idealmente arricchiscono il *corpus* raccolto da Martini, appassionato estimatore dell'artista vicentino.

Gli scritti di altri studiosi documentano, per lo più, episodi e frammenti di ricerche su Giambattista Tiepolo, Gian Antonio e Francesco Guardi, Jacopo Amigoni, Rosalba Carriera, e su molti autori meno illustri, come Giuseppe Nogari, Francesco Fontebasso e Gaspare Diziani, un tempo forse considerati di secondo piano, e che invece nel loro insieme rappresentano, come già intuito da Martini, i tasselli dello straordinario sviluppo della scuola pittorica veneziana e il suo radicamento in un territorio che oltrepassa i confini della Serenissima.

DEBORA TOSATO

GIULIA VERTECCHI, *Il «masser ai formenti in Terra Nova». Il ruolo delle scorte granarie a Venezia nel XVIII secolo*, Roma, CROMA - Università degli Studi Roma Tre, 2009, pp. 196, 10 ill. a colori.

SCRITTO in maniera semplice ed efficace e poggiato su una base consistente di fonti archivistiche inesplorate, questo saggio contribuisce a gettare la luce su un argomento poco frequentato della storia economica ed amministrativa della Serenissima. Al sistema di approvvigionamento granario della Capitale lagunare in età moderna sono stati infatti dedicati in anni non lontani studi storico-economici da Maurice Aymard e Ivo Mattozzi, e più recentemente da Donatella Calabi ed Ennio Concina, per quanto riguarda la storia e l'architettura di edifici e strutture adibite alla conservazione e vendita dei grani. Al centro di questa ricerca vi è invece il sistema di conservazione e gestione delle riserve granarie nel corso del XVIII sec., considerato non solo come ammortizzatore di possibili squilibri sociali ma anche – ed in questo sta una delle novità del lavoro – come attività economica capace anche di generare risultati economici utili.

Il volume è articolato in quattro capitoli. Nel primo si ripercorre la discussione scientifica riguardo ad alcuni termini e concetti-chiave quali 'granaio', 'deposito', 'scorte', 'fondaco', introducendo il lettore alle specificità dell'argomento. Il secondo capitolo esamina invece il sistema annonario nella sua intera filiera: dalle regole e prassi dell'approvvigionamento in Terraferma fino alle pratiche dei consumi in città. Il terzo capitolo è dedicato al personaggio centrale della trattazione, il *Masser ai formenti*, una figura burocratica solo apparentemente minore che aveva la responsabilità amministrativa ed economica della conservazione delle enormi riserve granarie di Venezia. Infine, il quarto capitolo prende in esame i diversi tipi di edifici utilizzati per la conservazione dei grani, analizzandone tipologia, funzione, collocazione urbanistica ecc.

Quattro ci sembrano anche le prospettive dalle quali l'argomento è considerato, tutte particolarmente innovative. In primo luogo non troviamo al centro dell'analisi un membro della classe aristocratica lagunare ma un 'semplice' funzionario intermedio. In secondo luogo, nonostante l'edificio centrale del sistema veneziano di conservazione dei grani (il magazzino di Terra Nova) fosse prospiciente al bacino di S. Marco, l'ottica dalla quale l'A. guarda allo Stato non è lagunocentrica. Apparendo anzitutto come la Capitale di uno Stato agricolo e produttore di grani, Venezia è, in qualche modo, osservata dalla sua Terraferma.

Il terzo punto di vista eccentrico che caratterizza la trattazione consiste nel fatto che il funzionamento del sistema di approvvigionamento e conservazione del grano non è studiato principalmente o esclusivamente nelle sue

fasi negative (carestie), come sarebbe prevedibile, bensì nelle congiunture eccedentarie. Queste furono numerose nel corso del Settecento, almeno fino al grande cambiamento meteorologico-produttivo degli anni '60, e il loro studio consente di valutare l'efficacia del sistema in modo inaspettato. Infine, come già accennato, l'attenzione principale è rivolta allo stoccaggio e ai suoi problemi, piuttosto che ai meccanismi per lo smaltimento (vendita) del grano.

L'analisi di Giulia Vertecchi giunge ad alcuni interessanti e convincenti ipotesi. Attorno al 1650 si verificò un cambiamento sostanziale nella funzione del sistema di conservazione dei grani. Se, fino ad allora, esso era principalmente finalizzato a gestire le situazioni di emergenza provocate da penuria o carestia, «dalla seconda metà del XVII secolo, invece, i magazzini furono utilizzati in maniera programmatica per sostenere il prezzo del grano e scongiurare il pericolo di annate continue di abbondanza che avrebbero seriamente compromesso gli interessi dei proprietari terrieri» (p. 37).

Questo cambiamento sostanziale di 'filosofia' delle scorte granarie, poté aver luogo a seguito dell'istituzione della cosiddetta 'decima verde', un dispositivo che rimase in vigore tra 1665 e 1787 e consentì ai possidenti veneziani di pagare parte del loro carico fiscale in grano, 'vendendo' così allo Stato la propria produzione cerealicola ad un prezzo (si badi bene) che veniva sopravvalutato rispetto a quello corrente di mercato. Soprattutto nella prima metà del Settecento, attraverso soprattutto la destinazione di grano all'industria del biscotto' cioè alla produzione di pane biscotto per la flotta, che fungeva da camera di compensazione dei momenti di maggiore eccedenza frumentaria e depressione dei prezzi di mercato, le autorità della Repubblica gestirono il sistema annonario cittadino in modo da rendere economicamente vantaggiosa la cerealicoltura veneta, di cui i patrizi lagunari erano tra i principali produttori.

Questo aumentato ruolo statale sull'economia granaria dello Stato necessitò degli adattamenti importanti nel sistema di smercio cittadino del grano: tra 1692 e 1699 entrò in vigore un nuovo sistema di gestione dei fondaci, che furono approvvigionati solo con farine pubbliche, vennero aumentati da due (S. Marco e Rialto) a otto e furono distribuiti nel tessuto urbanistico cittadino.

Il nuovo ruolo assunto dall'amministrazione delle scorte aumentò l'importanza dell'ufficio tecnico preposto alla direzione pratica di tale sistema, la *Masseria ai formenti di Terra Nova*. L'ufficiale che ricopriva tale incarico agiva di fatto come il vero responsabile operativo del sistema, mentre ai patrizi Provveditori alle Biave competeva la funzione normativa e di indirizzo politico generale. Fino al 1744 la carica di *Masseria ai formenti in Terra Nova* fu elettiva, rinnovata di quattro in quattro anni, ed assegnata ad un cittadino originario, come usava per tutti gli uffici intermedi dell'amministrazione centrale veneziana. Dal 1747, invece, essa fu alienata e acquistata da tal Luca

Castelli, un giovane laureato a Padova che l'acquistò sborsando la considerevole cifra di 8.703 ducati e che la possedette fino alla sua morte avvenuta nel 1794.

Assieme alla carica, Castelli acquistò anche un appalto ad essa legato, il cosiddetto 'partito dei cali'. Questo consisteva in sostanza in un accordo tra la Serenissima Signoria e il *Masser ai formenti* con il quale lo Stato si premuniva che le scorte stoccate in città non superassero una certa percentuale di 'calo' concordata (inferiore all'1%). La gestione economica di questo appalto, la cui funzione era quella di assicurare che i granai non fossero svuotati per deterioramento, incuria, furti, ecc., rappresentava per il *Masser ai formenti* la prima forma di remunerazione del capitale investito per l'acquisto della carica.

Il paragrafo dedicato dall'A. alla questione della conservazione e qualità del grano è centrale nell'opera. Ne emergono i problemi che la conservazione di grandi masse di granaglie rivestiva in una città acqueea come Venezia; problemi accentuati dalla bassa qualità del grano tenero prodotto in Terraferma: un cereale poco predisposto per la conservazione e per il trasporto. Anche per questo, nota l'A., la discussione settecentesca sul «libero commercio de' grani» aveva poco significato in una realtà economica come quella veneta dove raramente i grani potevano essere esitati su lunghe distanze senza perdite cospicue.

L'analisi della struttura e articolazione degli edifici (corredata da una selezione di disegni e rappresentazioni dell'epoca), degli interventi di manutenzione ordinaria e straordinaria e una scelta di trascrizioni di documenti chiudono un volume condotto incrociando competenze diverse e con una profondità di indagine tematica e archivistica ormai rara.

ANDREA ZANNINI

ANTONIO COLBERTALDO, *Storia di Caterina Corner regina di Cipro, la prima biografia*, a cura di Daria Perocco, Padova, Il Poligrafo, 2012, pp. 208, 42 ill. f.t.

QUESTO libro ha una caratteristica curiosa, che salta subito agli occhi: la sua curatrice Daria Perocco infatti non vi fa mistero delle perplessità e quasi del disgusto provocatole dall'A. che con ricco apparato di commenti e note ha pur tratto dall'ombra e innalzato agli onori della stampa: «I lettori d'oggi che cercano in Colbertaldo la descrizione della realtà storica a lui vicina possono solo restare delusi»; così la Perocco (p. 31). E per il lettore ignaro che pensa «Magari, a compenso della sua inattendibilità come fonte, la biografia del Colbertaldo avrà almeno pregi di vigore fantastico e di forza espressiva» è pronto il disinganno della studiosa, che senza ambagi lo avvisa

della «modestia letteraria del testo» (p. 57). Perché dunque quest'edizione? Circostanza ancor più curiosa: se lo chiede, prevenendoci, la stessa filologa, proprio nell'esordio del suo libro: ricordatoci che «le nostre biblioteche sono ricche di testi inediti ... tralasciati o dimenticati dagli studiosi», assicura: «spesso, molto spesso ... il loro permanere nel limbo dell'incognito ... è in realtà frutto dello scarso, per non dire nullo, pregio della loro forma e dei loro contenuti»; e, con ancor più precisa allusione all'A. e alla sua biografia, riconosce in questa tipologia di testi, una «decisiva, disastrosa mancanza di ogni tipo di eccellenza» (p. 13); salvo poi lasciar evaporare quel suo soprassalto di franchezza, che altrimenti avrebbe comportato per il libro una sconcertante dichiarazione preventiva di inutilità. Si dirà – e lo dice naturalmente anche la curatrice del volume – che la prima, seppur tarda, biografia della regina di Cipro abbia almeno il pregio di costituire un documento della fortuna d'un mito; e sarebbe vero, se da lì avessero attinto nei secoli gli artisti e gli scrittori, e più in generale i lettori in vena di fantasticherie rievocative. Ma la modesta fortuna della *Storia*, come appunto mostra Daria Perocco, è semmai ottocentesca e mediata. Ben altro primato, nel cristallizzare il mito di Caterina, ebbe incontestabilmente il Bembo, nell'ambientazione degli *Asolani*, e grazie al patetico ed incalzante colloquio di Giorgio Corner con la sorella nel primo della sua *Storia viniziana*.

L'avere concepito la prima biografia d'un personaggio, indipendente dal valore della riuscita – più registrazione inerte d'un mito che suo momento propulsivo, se non generativo – costituisce ragion sufficiente per proporlo ai lettori d'oggi? La domanda potrebbe apparire impertinente e perfino offensiva, se non fosse, ancora un volta, la stessa Perocco ad esprimersi in proposito, e in termini perentori: «Nel caso di questa biografia è avvenuto esattamente l'esatto [*sic*] contrario di quanto in genere si verifica con un'opera letteraria "alta": non è l'autore che ha contribuito a far perdurare nel tempo il suo personaggio, ma è stato il personaggio stesso, e l'interesse che continua a suscitare, a far sì che il Colbertaldo non fosse dimenticato del tutto...» (p. 15). Semmai, le 'fantasie' mitizzatrici tardo-ottocentesche e novecentesche hanno avuto come punto di partenza non il Colbertaldo, ma l'uso originale, fatto del suo testo dal Correr, che si serve della biografia tardocinquecentesca dell'asolano come d'un pretesto narrativo, per rievocare, attraverso la mediazione d'un suo personaggio, la figura della regina veneziana di Cipro: sfruttando la sua fonte con molta sagacia, il Carrer allontana dunque da sé ogni responsabilità critica, immaginando che due viaggiatori, accingendosi a visitare un'Asolo percossa in quei giorni (il dialogo è ambientato trentacinque anni prima, nel 1803) da un forte terremoto, ne siano dissuasi da un cittadino asolano che, accompagnandosi con essi per qualche ora, e avviandoli verso Venezia fintantoché duri la calamità, presta intanto loro il manoscritto del Colbertaldo, non senza avvisarli che non molto di buono potranno trovarvi: quasi a dire: «in mancanza di meglio, acconten-

tavi di questo». All'indomani, quello dei due viaggiatori che ha letto il manoscritto, pur giudicandolo «un osso spolpato», tagliatane via senza rimorsi le ottanta mortali pagine della storia di Cipro, espone al compagno il succo della biografia di Caterina: ed è un bell'esempio di scaltra riscrittura, questa del Carrer,¹ che gioca, fra realtà e illusione, ribaltando la funzione narrativa romantica assegnata al *topos* del manoscritto ritrovato, grazie alla finzione mediatrice non d'un testo ipotetico, ma di un lettore immaginario d'un testo ben reale, ancorché mediocrissimo, e d'autore ben identificato.

Accade allora che il medesimo lettore possa trovare attraente venire a capo da sé delle ragioni che giustificano tale edizione, con tutta le laboriose e sapienti cure filologiche prodigatevi dalla studiosa, filologa di professione, e le non lievi fatiche erudite cui la medesima si sobbarca. Ma intanto, trattandosi, a detta della stessa Perocco, d'un «Carneade» (p. 15), diamo qualche cenno in merito ad Antonio Colbertaldo e alla sua finora inedita *Storia di Caterina Corner regina di Cipro*.

I Colbertaldo, feudatari minori, secoli prima, castellani, come pare, dell'omonima località collinare trevigiana, ora in Comune di Vidor, appartennero dall'anno 1459 al Nobile Consiglio di Asolo. Nel Cinquecento li troviamo notai e dottori di leggi, ad integrare, con le minori magistrature e l'attività professionale, come gran parte della nobiltà minore di Terraferma, le non pingui rendite terriere. Il nonno del biografo di Caterina, anch'egli di nome Antonio, pare studiasse a Vicenza, forse sotto il Sabellico, legandosi di giovanile amicizia con Luigi da Porto, l'autore delle *Lettere storiche*. Fu quest'Antonio, ricorda il nipote, cui toccò l'insigne onore di comporre una pastorale, recitata, una domenica di aprile, in presenza di Caterina, allorché la regina di Cipro, nell'ultimo anno delle sua vita, che fu il 1510, da Venezia, dove all'arrivo delle truppe di Massimiliano si era rifugiata, strappata infine dalle armi della Repubblica Treviso agli imperiali, e creduti ormai saldamente recuperati, città e territorio, in quella primavera volle far ritorno ai vaghissimi colli pedemontani di cui era signora; donde dovette ripartire in fretta e furia con le sue carrette piene di damigelle e paggi, e il drappello dei cavalieri e dignitari della sua piccola corte, appena giuntale la notizia che già dalla prossima Altivole, preso alloggio nel suo diletto Barco, la minacciava un forte contingente di soldatucci di Massimiliano, di quelli che pochi giorni appresso non ci pensarono due volte a dare alle fiamme la città di Feltre.

Ma se l'A. della *Storia*, nato com'era tre anni dopo la morte del vecchio Antonio, non poté ascoltare dalla viva voce del nonno particolari di qualche rilievo sulla sua biografata, non seppe neppure raccogliervi dalle memorie familiari e dalla tradizione orale dei suoi concittadini – e magari dei bovani di Altivole. Non seppe o non volle. Quel che gli sta a cuore è celebrare,

¹ L. CARRER, *Anello di sette gemme o Venezia e la sua storia*, Venezia, co' tipi del Gondolierre, 1838. Caterina è la seconda 'gemma' dell'anello.

attraverso i fasti di una dinastia, quella dei Lusignano re di Cipro, la gloria della signoria veneziana, compendiata nella figura di Caterina, 'figlia' della Repubblica, data in sposa a re Giacomo, poi vedova regina essa stessa, infine spossessata dal paterno Senato della sua Repubblica per ragion di Stato, ma compensata splendidamente, agli occhi entusiasti di municipale compiacenza del Colbertaldo, con il feudo di Asolo e con il mantenimento della corte e degli onori regali: prospettiva carismatica che riverbera la sua dorata luce d'Oriente, com'è ovvio, su Asolo e sui suoi cittadini.

E in realtà, poste le mire del re di Napoli su Cipro, e le pretese del sovrano d'Egitto, la minaccia prossima del Turco, allora gagliardissimo e vittorioso a Negroponte, e le mene e i disgusti dei papi, da Pio II a Sisto IV, nonché gli incessanti tentativi di golpe dell'indomita Carlotta, sorellastra del morto re dell'isola, e presto vedova d'un Savoia (dove nei secoli i duchi e poi re di Sardegna poterono fregiarsi della titolarità del trono virtuale di Cipro e di Gerusalemme); e considerati i fluttuanti andamenti dei Cavalieri di Rodi, e i risentimenti e le incessanti insidie ed appetiti di Genovesi e Catalani, per non dire dell'odio sedizioso sempre rinascente dei Greci verso il colonizzatore, depredatore di corpi santi e di codici, cattolico: insomma, posto quello che a distanza di sei secoli, a chi non sia specialista di storia del Mediterraneo orientale nel secondo Quattrocento, appare come un caos, coloratissimo, turbinante e profumato fin che si vuole, ma in cui predomina il rosso e l'odore del sangue – quello stesso di gran parte d'Europa, del resto: dall'Inghilterra frenetica delle Due Rose alla febbrile corte di Borgogna –; ce n'era, dicevo, d'avanzo per coonestare l'intervento d'una grande potenza, come allora Venezia; e il compenso della quiete e pingue Asolo con le sue vaghe ville che le fanno corona (quiete fino alla giornata della Ghiaradadda), con i fasti dell'avito palazzo veneziano e della residenza in Murano, e i viaggi e gli onori e gli agi, non ultimo lo splendore, prima del giardino da caccia della rocca, poi del Barco di Altivole: tutto questo compenso valeva pur qualcosa; e a riprova non occorre ricordare che la Reina poté vedersi trasportata nel mito già viva, lei, la sua corte e il suo parco o giardino da caccia che fosse, dalla prosa smagliante e celebratissima (ancorché oggi mortalmente tediosa) degli *Asolani*. Ben altra sorte toccò a più grandi regine del tempo, per quanto prestigioso fosse il regno di Cipro: quale fu quella ch'ebbe Leonora d'Angiò, sposa al deficiente Enrico VI, re d'Inghilterra.

Ora l'A., come fonte, non val quasi nulla, la lunghissima premessa al matrimonio cipriota-veneziano essendo costituita da un compendio o goffa parafrasi della *Chronique* del Bustron; per alcune circostanze politico-militari probabilmente l'A. mutua dal Giovio; il colloquio decisivo, preludio alla rinuncia al Regno, fra Caterina e il fratello Giorgio derivando pari pari dalle *Storie* del Bembo, e la parte 'asolana' riducendosi ad un profluvio di trite circostanze sfocate e osannanti, in parte peraltro mutate dal Bonifacio, autore dell'allora freschissima *Storia di Trevigi*. Ecco una tipica cronaca che Gino

Benzoni chiamerebbe paratattica: ovvero di chi procede dall'una all'altra circostanza col naso sulle carte, senza disporre di distanza prospettica propria; come dire sprovveduto di intelligenza di ciò che annota, essendo incapace di gerarchizzare gli eventi, di riconoscerne la sostanza e le conseguenze, e di serrarli in nessi contesti e prospettive significanti, per difetto ambientale di esperienza, passione, cultura politica: diciamo di viscere etico-politiche, prima ancora che per pochezza personale. Bisognava altrimenti, ad un Colbertaldo, strapparsi a quella sartriana «situation» narcotizzante e regressiva, quella «situazione» complessiva che, secreta dall'ambiente, s'infiltra e s'impasta con la stessa personalità, irrigidendola mortalmente in carattere, poi in macchietta, infine in pupazzo; «fuir la-bas, fuir!», fuggire da Asolo, strapparsi via da quella mota, per altri lumi, altri climi: ma, una volta fuori, e diventato un altro, il dottore di leggi asolano, che ragione avrebbe avuto per raccontare, con altre penne, le vicende della Signora di Asolo?

Si legga intanto a riprova questo campione della scrittura del Colbertaldo:

Ma da questi e altri pensieri mosso il re, fece la scelta di Giovanni Montefico e Torello Paurato per suoi ambasciatori a Savoia per dar compiuto fine al sposalizio di Carlota, quali arrivati fu concluso. Ma non restorno in questo tanto li emuli del figliolo [= Giacomo] da ritrovar novo modo per farlo precipitare e alienarsi dalla gratia paterna et massime conoscendo alquanto esser dalla colera dominato, cominciorno darli ad intender che Missier Marco Corner, che molto era amico del re, cercava di fare che fusse conferito il suo arcivescovado nella persona de Andrea suo fratello, sapendo ch'il pensier suo era di far la rinuncia ad Hettore Chievedeno. Ma accortosi dell'inganno [...]. Ma pochi giorni doppoi [...]. Ma inanzi che chiudesse gli occhi...

(p. 106, corsivi ed *omissis* miei)

Provi il lettore di buono stomaco a leggere le ottanta pagine di *item* ciprioti su questo andare, che precedono le nozze di Caterina, e mi dica se potrà celare una sorta di educato rancore nei confronti di chi ha deciso di proporci la lettura.

Oltre che di processo di 'celebrazione' idealizzante della protagonista, che, per difetto di chiaroscuro, ne appiattisce e sfoca i contorni, la curatrice parla d'un gusto «romanzesco» del proprio A. (p. 42): ma forse la categoria del «romanzesco», inteso evidentemente in senso lato (Colbertaldo scrive nell'ultimo quindicennio del Cinquecento), non è così appropriata: semmai la modesta cultura e personalità dell'autore sembra infiocchettarsi volentieri di certo *pathos* tipico della letteratura popolare, e forse più di quella devota incline alla *sensiblerie* edificante. Siamo, si direbbe, in un'area di sensibilità e di gusto affine a quello delle tante suppliche rivolte al governo veneziano, di cui non è ancor, ch'io sappia, stato studiato il genere e i modelli, ma che sono certamente opera di notai e uomini di legge. Solo che anche qui la goffaggine leziosa non dà requie: nessuna donna è mai vedova: sempre 'vedovella'; vergine, fanciulla, adolescente, non sarà mai altro che 'verginella'.

«Vedovella» è ad es. la feroce principessa Carlotta, emula implacabile di Caterina: qui la tenerezza del bacchettone si fonde, si direbbe, con una specie di ghigno melenso:

Ma la vedovella Carlotta che nel fiore degli anni s'attrovava et ancora con dolci laccioli l'andava impinguando il petto, li pareva più malagevole cosa vedova astenersi dal cominciato piacere, che quando verginella ancor gustato non havea i coniugali abbracciamenti

(p. 105)

Considerazione neppure originale, ma che ricalca quella riportata dall'orazione pronunciata dal letterato asolano Taddeo Bovolino (p. 151) per il solenne insediamento della regina.

Ecco Caterina bimbetta:

Costei adunque ancor che tenera bambina fosse (come l'illustre sangue appartiene)² sotto la custodia di nobilissime nutrici fu allevata e nutrita et si come a lei gli anni crescevano ancor l'andava crescendo la bellezza e la virtù ad un tal che sommo diletto vi haveano i parenti dell'indole della figliola. Hor cominciando a poco a poco la fanciueta a snodare la lingua uscendole qualche bella e semplice paroleta inteneriva in tal modo il cuore della madre che de lacrimete riuscivano dagli occhi, ma tosto erano asciute dai labreti della figliola...

(p. 103)

Sdilinquimenti dell'agiografo da cui traspare sgradevolmente il fondo viscido di snobismo servile, che non è solo del suo tempo e della sua condizione.

Talora, ma raramente, il disgusto cede il posto ad un sentimento quasi di simpatia, per qualche guizzo di comicità involontaria del cronista. Un Girolamo Colbertaldo, notaio, e il già citato Taddeo Busolino, dottore di leggi, vengono mandati ad incontrare Caterina che, per la strada di Treviso, è in viaggio per venire a prendere possesso di Asolo:

Incontrorno essa Madama a mezo il camin di Trevigi e ivi inginocchiati gli fecero riverenza e stringendo le labra ed ingrespate le ciglia teniano volti gli occhi verso il fronte della sua Signora, parendo in quella trasparere quella nobiltà in cui era posta.

È innegabile il processo di smaterializzazione carismatica cui Colbertaldo sottopone la memoria di Caterina; e fa bene Daria Perocco a sottolinearla, così come, pur nell'abisso che corre fra i due, il suo accostamento fra Bembo e Colbertaldo, sotto l'insegna della storiografia celebrativa ed apologetica, ha certo del vero; ma, attenzione, perché, sol che si leggano le correzioni apportate al testo del veneziano dall'intervento del Senato, si vede che la mano censoria era stata tutto sommato leggera e discreta, né sarebbe poi

² Sembrerebbe necessario emendare «e come <ad> illustre sangue <s'>'appartiene».

giusto dire, come sembra fare la Perocco, che l'autore degli *Asolani* avesse già provveduto da sé, a smorzare e addolcire i crudi colori del Sanudo, e a stender sul suo racconto un'uniforme vernice brillante, sia per tipica autocensura preventiva e spirito patriottico d'un patrizio veneziano, sia perché corazzato entro la sua mentalità classicistica. In realtà il raffronto con il Sanudo non è proponibile, e, se non è un Guicciardini o un Machiavelli, lo storico ufficiale di Venezia, che non fu uomo d'esperienze politiche e militari, è tutt'altro che un superficiale compilatore.

E, a proposito, se nel colloquio della *Storia* già citato, in cui Bembo mette in bocca a Giorgio Corner le ragioni cogenti che indurranno la sorella ad accettare i decreti del Senato veneziano, rinunciando al trono, non si può dire né che lo storico veli troppo la nuda rapacità della ragion di Stato, che si dice 'ragione' ma è pura *voluntas*; così come non adonestà l'aperto interesse personale e familiare che ha mosso il Corner ad accettare l'incarico odioso: ed è, si direbbe, quest'ultimo argomento a prevalere sull'animo della riluttante regina: che alla fine piega il capo, sì, ma con parole che sono tutt'altro che serene ed edificanti. Ora il curioso è che qui il gusto teatrale del *pathos* tradisce per un attimo il lealismo del *minor*, e minimo, cronista asolano, osannante suddito veneziano, e la sua propensione per l'idillio edificante: sicché va contemplata un'importante eccezione alla sentenza della Perocco, quando, accertato il fine celebrativo ed elogiativo del Colbertaldo, ne ricava la conseguenza che «nessun episodio, nessun comportamento negativo riferito alla protagonista vi potrà essere presente» (p. 30). Negativo, d'accordo, ma in che senso? Perché, quando si tratta d'un conflitto fra l'attaccamento al trono e l'obbedienza alla propria patria, Colbertaldo non si limita, copiando Bembo, a mostrare la Regina apertamente riluttante alle deliberazioni del Senato, e fortemente turbata dalla venuta del fratello; infine persuasa a fatica da questi, grazie al familistico, diremmo ricattatorio, discorso di lui. Ché egli aggiunge in proprio un'altra circostanza. Ammainato il vessillo dei Lusignano, innalzato in sua vece quello di S. Marco, alla fine Caterina s'imbarca, in una ressa di popolo commosso, che si spinge fino quasi all'estreme arene della spiaggia per vederla e salutarla ancora:

Et ella, non scordata di tanto amore da lei mostrato, sino che gli occhi indietro penetrar poteano, rivolta alla sua cittade in tal modo, non mancò mirarla et vederla.

Ma poi che li fu tolto dalla lontananza il poter vedere più oltre, a basso della galera ov'era col fratello montata con una strida tramortita rimase, et quasi un terzo d'ora stette; pur in sé ritornata da dolci ricordi [*esortazioni*] del fratello più motto fino a Venetia non fece.

(p. 132)

Circostanza che, come ognun vede, anche fosse inventata, ha una sua storicità profonda e demistificatrice. Giusta l'osservazione di Aristotele, che anche un bruco cela una sua bellezza.

Torniamo alla ragion d'essere del libro. La causa occasionale è presto individuata: nel 2010 ricorreva il v centenario della morte di Caterina, e in questi casi è prassi che per tempo si dia vita ad un Comitato preposto alle celebrazioni: vi fu scelto a presiederlo un'autorità in campo di studi veneziani quale Giuseppe Gullino. Da qui ad un Convegno il passo è, si direbbe, obbligato e anche commendevole, se, come in questo caso, il Convegno, tenutosi ad Asolo, è affidato a relatori eccellenti e se ne pubblicano tempestivamente gli Atti, che sono infatti usciti l'anno successivo, per cura della stessa Perocco.³ Scorrendo la bibliografia della quale, notiamo almeno cinque sostanziosi contributi alla conoscenza della figura storica, e del mito della regina di Cipro, a partire da un articolo in «Studi Veneziani» del 1993:⁴ documento d'un interesse ben radicato e differenziato nei suoi punti d'attacco. Ora, sullo slancio del Convegno asolano, fu forse la passione ancor più che erudita, evocatrice, per l'aspetto, il gusto, il gesto, il vestire, il sentire d'una donna famosa dello spirante Quattrocento, indagato soprattutto attraverso i suoi ritratti, la caccia all'immagine sparente d'un fantasma, la molla che indusse ad un'operazione culturale ibrida; dove non sai quanto la pubblicazione della 'modesta' – modesta è in realtà dir poco: goffa e greve e pedestre è forse definizione meno lontana dal vero – biografia del Colbertaldo, abbia trainato a rimorchio l'eccellente corredo erudito, fra cui, insieme con le cure ampie e rigorose che la studiosa ha laboriosamente prodigato all'edizione del testo,⁵ eccelle la sezione dedicata a *Le immagini di Caterina*, che si avvalora di una splendida rassegna di documenti pittorici; e quanto invece note e saggio introduttivo e perizia filologica vivano in realtà di vita propria, destinati al proverbiale pubblico di addetti ai lavori: quegli *happy o unhappy few*, che, peraltro, il Colbertaldo, se proprio avessero avvertito il bisogno di consultarlo, sapevano dove e come leggerlo. E così si dica delle notizie compilatorie di cui non è scarso il volume e che sembrano pensate invece per servire a un pubblico largo. Sicché anche di questo testo si può dire che nasce strabico: un occhio rivolto agli specialisti, l'altro ad un lettore forse immaginario: perché, onestamente, chi volete che, senza un fortissimo interesse professionale, regga l'eroica fatica di leggersi davvero un tetro matrone come questo del cinquecentesco dottore in legge e pedante in proprio Antonio Colbertaldo da Asolo? Quel pubblico di bocca buona ne avrà forse gradito i passi qua e là incastonati senza troppi pensieri nella svelta e garbata biografia divulgativa stesa or non è molto da Giuseppe Campolieti; come già nell'Ottocento avrà fatto il lettore della disinvolta evocazione romanze-

³ *Caterina Cornaro. L'illusione del regno*, Atti del Convegno, Asolo, 9 ott. 2010, a cura di D. Perocco, Sommacampagna (VR), Cierre, 2011.

⁴ D. PEROCCO, *Caterina Cornaro nella «Istoria viniziana» di Pietro Bembo*, «Studi Veneziani», xxv, 1993, pp. 153-167.

⁵ Documentate nell'ampia e densa *Nota al testo* (pp. 57-67).

sca del sunto o parafrasi, attribuito dal Carrer ad uno dei suoi personaggi dialogici; e più non chiedeva né era sensato chiedergli,⁶ né oggi le cose sono cambiate: semmai è vero il contrario.

Ma si può, e, dato il nome della studiosa curatrice, si deve chiedersi se il libro non sia altra cosa che un effetto di risulta, attribuibile ai vantaggi accademici derivanti dall'accumulo di titoli o ad un accesso di bulimia pubblicistica. Forse più nobilmente esso è la conseguenza d'un vagheggiare e bordeggiare la biografia che manca, forse un saggiare le proprie forze, e mettere intanto il cappello su di un posto ancor libero nella storiografia veneta. Se poi si giudichi ancora praticabile una biografia che non sia inquinata di romanzesco.

O, più semplicemente, si dubita delle proprie attitudini ad essa, nell'atto in cui pure fortemente si avverte, com'è pur chiaro, il richiamo tentatore ancora proveniente dalla vicenda, esemplare d'un inesauribile *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, della veneziana regina di Cipro, e si invita ad usare la scrittura del Colbertaldo, con i suoi tanti silenzi, neutralizzata la sua fastidiosa eloquenza, come la macchia d'un test di Rorschach, a proiettarvi ciò che si vuole, o ciò che si è?

GIOVANNI PELLIZZARI

PAUL SCHEUERMEIER, *Il Veneto dei contadini 1921-1932*, a cura di Daniela Perco, Glauco Sanga, Maria Teresa Vigolo, saggi di Glauco Sanga, Daniela Perco, Danilo Gasparini, Marta Maddalon, John Trumper, Alberto Zamboni, Maria Teresa Vigolo, Vicenza, Fondazione Giorgio Cini-Regione del Veneto-Angelo Colla, 2011, pp. 354.

L'OTTAVO volume della collana di «Studi e Ricerche sulle Culture Popolari Venete» pubblica importanti materiali inediti di Paul Scheuermeier, svizzero di Zurigo (1888-1973), ricercatore principale dell'*Atlante Linguistico ed etnografico dell'Italia e della Svizzera meridionale*, di Karl Jaberg e Jakob Jud, i suoi maestri. Si tratta del diario che lo studioso elvetico ha compilato durante la sua campagna di ricerca, iniziata a Venezia, il 27 marzo 1921, domenica di Resurrezione, e terminata a Verona il 29 giugno 1922, stazione ferroviaria da dove prese il rapido per Como, via Milano (pp. 91-102). Poi, nel volume sono edite le descrizioni degli informatori, in tutto ventitré,¹ e le osservazioni fonetiche

⁶ G. CAMPOLIETI, *Caterina Cornaro Regina di Cipro Signora di Asolo*, Milano, Camunia, 1987.

¹ Sono informatori delle seguenti località, secondo l'ordine dell'itinerario di Scheuermeier: Cavarzere, Cerea, Raldon di S. Giovanni Lupatoto, Fratta Polesine, Albisano, Arabba di Livinallongo, Zuel di Cortina d'Ampezzo, Pozzale di Cadore, Padola, Vas, Ponte nelle Alpi, Cencenighe, Istrana, Campo S. Martino, Romano degli Ezzelini, Teolo, Crespadoro, Tonezza, Gambarare, San Stino di Livenza, Tarzo, Montebello e Venezia.

fatte sul campo (pp. 103-124). Una serie di fotografie, definite dalla curatrice «piccoli musei etnografici»,² (pp. 127-211), in tutto centosessantotto, che danno prova di come Scheuermeier fosse anche un ottimo fotografo.

Il volume contiene anche un approfondimento etnografico che l'A. fece dieci anni dopo, a Scaltenigo di Mirano (Venezia), dal 3 al 5 ottobre 1931, con un questionario e una serie di schizzi di suo pugno (pp. 212-224), perciò, il titolo dato all'edizione non tragga in inganno, non si tratta di un'unica campagna durata oltre due lustri, ma di due distinte perlustrazioni della provincia veneta. Poi ancora il cultore della materia troverà una serie di sessantacinque disegni etnografici di Paul Boesch (pp. 225-240) che raffigurano soprattutto attrezzi rurali. Una seconda serie di novanta fotografie scattate in quei tre giorni di ottobre a Scaltenigo e a Mirano durante l'approfondimento etnografico. In appendice, i più interessati potranno esaminare il carteggio fra Scheuermeier e i suoi maestri per la parte relativa al Veneto, curato da Carla Gentili, che è anche la traduttrice dei testi (pp. 291-311). Poi, ammirare una serie di tredici cartoline e due fotografie inviate, dal Veneto, da Scheuermeier a Jakob Jud, fra il 1921 e il 1922 (pp. 313-329). Chiude il libro, per la delizia degli specialisti, la riproduzione anastatica delle didascalie originali delle foto pubblicate (pp. 331-354).

L'opera mantiene l'impegno preso dai partecipanti al Seminario permanente di Etnografia Alpina svoltosi nel 1997 a S. Michele all'Adige (Trento), volto a promuovere la pubblicazione degli inediti regionali dell'opera di Scheuermeier. Nel quadro di questo progetto promosso da Giovanni Kezich,³ sono già stati dati alle stampe tre volumi dedicati alla Lombardia e due al Piemonte; e questo del Veneto rappresenta una sua virtuosa continuazione. Si tratta di materiali di grande utilità non solo per gli specialisti del settore, linguisti ed etnologi, ma anche per gli storici e per i semplici lettori interessati alla cultura materiale del Veneto.

Va detto subito, la documentazione fotografica non ha la pretesa di essere esaustiva, ma serve di corredo alla ricerca specifica dello studioso svizzero, interessato a cogliere la continuità della tradizione più che le innovazioni del Novecento. Infatti, nelle oltre duecento belle fotografie pubblicate, non si trova una macchina, ad eccezione delle ruote idrauliche dei mulini. La campagna veneta pare lavorata ancora come in epoca preindustriale, se non fosse per qualche rifinitura in ferro ad alcuni attrezzi agricoli. Il sistema usato per tirar su il secchio dal pozzo a Scaltenigo nel 1931 (p. 260), una rudi-

² D. Perco così le ha definite durante il suo intervento alla presentazione del volume nell'ambito della manifestazione *Libri a San Giorgio*, Isola di S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venezia, 5 apr. 2011.

³ Nella stessa giornata, Kezich ha confidato di essergli sembrato «fra il 1995 e il 1997, del tutto naturale» cercare di conoscere e far arrivare a Trento parte di quel materiale, dopo aver saputo che a Berna vi era un «archivio stracolmo» di materiali inediti dedicati alle campagne italiane del primo dopoguerra.

mentale leva fatta di rami e appesantita da un sasso, è lo stesso che si vede nelle tele di Giovanni Bellini. In pianura, molte abitazioni hanno ancora il tetto di paglia, come i casoni di antica data, visibili nelle tele di Cima da Conegliano o del Giorgione (p. 182). Persino le barche ritratte sono solo a vela, eppure lo stesso Scheuermeier scrive di aver preso un vaporetto da Chioggia a Cavarzere. L'unica foto che allude a una fabbrica è scattata a S. Giovanni Lupatoto (p. 146) dove si vedono almeno trenta donne, alcune giovanissime, praticamente bambine, assiegate su due carri, più altre sette a terra, definite da Scheuermeier «operaie che alla fine del primo turno tornano dal Cotonicificio San Giovanni». Insomma, il rischio è che ne venga fuori una provincia veneta ancora più povera e arretrata di quanto già non fosse. L'industria non interessa l'etnologo e, soprattutto, il linguista alla ricerca dell'idioma antico. Non stupisce perciò che Scheuermeier fugga da Piovene «un centro industriale e capoluogo dei comunisti vicentini» (p. 13). Per ragioni di carattere linguistico, gli ambienti d'indagine prescelti dallo studioso svizzero erano necessariamente rurali, perciò poveri perché povera era ancora l'agricoltura veneta, ad eccezione forse di Istrana nel Trevigiano. Infatti, già negli anni venti era difficile trovare informatori veramente autoctoni, senza le contaminazioni linguistiche di chi ha frequentato luoghi diversi dal borgo natio, dovute ai più o meno lunghi soggiorni in città, per guadagnarsi di che vivere, soprattutto a Venezia, o a emigrazioni all'estero di molti uomini (le donne rimangono in posizione subalterna e nessuna di loro è scelta come informatrice).

Privi di competenze linguistiche od etnografiche, ci si limita qui a segnalare che i contributi in tal senso sono di notevole livello scientifico e condotti da studiosi importanti come il compianto Alberto Zamboni, a cui mi sia lecito porgere un affettuoso ricordo.⁴

Dal punto di vista storico, i due saggi più utili sono quelli di D. Perco⁵ e soprattutto di D. Gasparini.⁶ La direttrice del Museo Etnografico di Seravella di Cesio Maggiore mette bene in evidenza come il nostro Svizzero prediligesse la montagna, mentre la pianura lo annoiava, perché abitata da un «proletariato» servile che tende a rispondere alle domande del questionario non per ciò che sa, ma per ciò che crede di dover dire. Abituato forse al contadino proprietario delle sue valli alpine, lo studioso non entra in sin-

⁴ Chi scrive, a suo tempo collega di scuola della moglie, ha approfittato della cortesia e della disponibilità del prof. Zamboni, scomparso nel 2010, per sottoporgli il glossario relativo a un impianto di mulini del Trevisano, pubblicato poi in *I mulini del Sile. Quinto, Santa Cristina al Tiveron e altri centri molitori attraverso la storia di un fiume*, Quinto di Treviso, Zappelli, 1989.

⁵ *Un viaggio tra uomini e cose: il Veneto di Paul Scheuermeier*, pp. 14-36.

⁶ *Le ubertose ... calde campagne venete. Essere contadini in Veneto prima, durante, dopo la Grande Guerra*, pp. 37-54, dove l'aggettivo «calde» è riferito alle lotte agrarie promosse dalle leghe bianche di Giuseppe Corazzin e da quelle rosse nel Polesine di Giacomo Matteotti.

tonia con il Veneto di pianura che è soggetto a due grandi trasformazioni. La ricostruzione dopo i disastri della grande guerra e la sempre maggiore mobilità dei suoi abitanti, dovuta a un sovraccarico demografico delle campagne, come del resto dimostrano le stesse fotografie delle famiglie degli informatori. Un'altra particolarità, stavolta sociale, differenza tra le altre le campagne venete visitate da Scheuermeier da quelle piemontesi: la centralità del parroco. Mentre in Piemonte si era rivolto a funzionari dello Stato o personalità laiche del borgo per individuare gli informatori giusti e per avere una qualche indicazione più precisa, in Veneto, si è dovuto rivolgere al sacerdote. L'arciprete di Albisano nel Veronese è anche immortalato in una foto (p. 151), preso come se avesse appena alzato lo sguardo dalla lettura del breviario, in posa tra l'informatore e sua moglie, punto di riferimento decisivo dei contadini veneti descritti dal ricercatore svizzero metà fedeli e metà superstiziosi. Un'altra trasformazione che il ricercatore elvetico coglie è lo sviluppo dell'industria turistica a Cortina, diventata veneta appena due anni prima, uno dei rari paesi dove c'era poca emigrazione e dove i giovani andavano all'estero non solo per lavorare ma soprattutto per imparare le lingue.

Tra le righe, la studiosa feltrina inserisce un altro elemento di novità nel Veneto fra gli anni venti e trenta: lo sviluppo di Porto Marghera, trascurato spesso da quegli storici economisti che considerando il Veneto un tipico esempio dell'economia di distretto, danno solo uno sguardo distratto a questo grande complesso industriale perché metterebbe in crisi il loro modello. Marghera dà lavoro in un raggio di km. 40, quelli raggiungibili con la bicicletta negli anni cinquanta, quando l'operaio/contadino alternava la sua giornata fra l'industria chimica e il piccolo appezzamento. Probabilmente negli anni trenta il fenomeno era già in corso e ciò spiegherebbe come a Gambarare di Mira (vicino a Marghera) si potesse vivere coltivando un semplice appezzamento di soli 6-7 campi (p. 27). Evidentemente s'integrava. Si continuavano a coltivare cereali, frumento, granoturco e saggina per i maiali e per le scope (p. 33), ma si doveva anche lavorare in fabbrica.

Nel suo saggio Gasparini indica le ragioni della povertà veneta: una proprietà ancora ferma su posizioni di rendita, scarse propensioni agli investimenti e alla modernizzazione, un carico demografico insostenibile (p. 40). Per superare queste condizioni di arretratezza, nel 1920 fu istituito l'Ente di Ricostruzione e di Rinascita Agraria per le Tre Venezie con sede a Treviso. Quella veneta era ancora considerata «regione agricola per eccellenza». La situazione non cambia neppure con la bonifica fascista e con la politica di ruralizzazione del regime. L'A. accompagna nel suo viaggio per le campagne italiane Arturo Marescalchi, che fece un giro per esaltare le gloriose conquiste del regime, pubblicandone un resoconto nel 1936. E ne mette in evidenza le contraddizioni, confrontandolo con un altro viaggio per la provincia italiana, quello dello studioso americano Carl Schimdt, anch'esso del 1936. Nel lavoro del ricercatore d'Oltreoceano, si sottolinea invece l'arretratezza gene-

rale del Veneto in un contesto d'area, quello dell'Italia settentrionale, dove si erano già sviluppati poli di forte modernizzazione (p. 43). Il dato decisivo che evidenzia la mancanza di lavoro nel Veneto di quegli anni è il seguente: tra il 1921 e il 1930 sono espatriate dalla regione 250.000 persone.

La domanda a cui occorrerebbe rispondere è quando il Veneto è diventato povero. Altrimenti il rischio è pensare che sia sempre stato povero. In realtà nel secondo Settecento l'agricoltura veneta riusciva a sfamare la sua popolazione. Lo stesso accadeva nella prima metà dell'Ottocento, anche se i moti del 1848 sono il segnale di un equilibrio che si sta rompendo, messo in luce dalle prime rivolte contadine, specie in montagna, dove l'individualismo agrario sta portando poderosi attacchi agli usi collettivi dei prati e dei boschi. La soluzione che la povertà cominci con il grande incremento della popolazione è una risposta convincente ma non esaustiva. Popolo di emigranti dunque, necessariamente, anche quando il fascismo chiuse le frontiere, basti pensare che su 2.953 famiglie d'immigrati nell'Agro pontino, dopo le grandi bonifiche del regime, ebbene, 1.748 di esse, quasi il 60%, erano venete.⁷

A conclusione di queste considerazioni su di un libro che è un testo utile per gli specialisti e di gradevole lettura per i profani, grazie all'apparato iconografico, si cerca di soddisfare una curiosità sorta sia durante la presentazione del libro, il 5 aprile 2011 a S. Giorgio, sia dopo la lettura del testo. Il diario inizia a Venezia, lo si è detto, il 27 marzo 1921 e tra le cose accadute in città in quella domenica di Pasqua, Scheuermeier scrive: «Spargimento di sangue e fucilati davanti al monumento equestre» (p. 91). Ora, per quanto fossero agitati gli animi in quegli anni concitati, appare incredibile che vi sia stata una fucilazione in città, sotto un monumento equestre (Colleoni? Vittorio Emanuele?)

Ora per certi versi Scheuermeier (o chi traduce i suoi scritti) non è precisissimo. Ad es., nella didascalia dell'immagine a p. 146, si parla di un cavallo mentre quello fotografato è chiaramente un asino. A p. 130, i *caparazzoli* sono definiti come «pesciolini oblunghi», mentre è noto a tutti i Veneziani essere molluschi, vongole veraci. A p. 133, si dice che i tetti dei mulini natanti sono generalmente di paglia: pare strano, visto il rischio d'incendi e, difatti, quello fotografato a Cavarzere ha il tetto in lamiera.

Tornando ai fucilati, la «Gazzetta di Venezia» di martedì 29 marzo 1921 (lunedì 28, Pasquetta, il giornale non era uscito) a p. 4, pubblica un lungo articolo dedicato a una «tragedia improvvisa e sanguinosa» che ha funestato il giorno di Pasqua. Un dramma della gelosia che ha visto un capitano di marina inseguire per le calli con la rivoltella in pugno il presunto molestatore della sua donna. Il militare raggiunse l'uomo in un'osteria dove aprì il fuoco ferendolo, ma uccidendo anche un malcapitato astante. Poiché in

⁷ *Veneti Pontini. Popolazioni venete in terra pontina tra bonifica integrale e grande trasformazione (1930-1970)*, a cura di G. Bianchi, Roma, Agrilavoro Edizioni, 2010, p. 87.

quel giorno Scheuermeier scrive di aver fatto «una passeggiata nei canali con una gondola» è probabile che abbia sentito dei colpi di arma da fuoco e magari visto il ferito in fuga. Probabile dunque che il vero senso della frase sia «Spargimento di sangue e *fucilate* [nel senso di spari] davanti al monumento equestre».

MAURO PITTERI

NORME REDAZIONALI DELLA CASA EDITRICE*

CITAZIONI BIBLIOGRAFICHE

UNA corretta citazione bibliografica di opere monografiche è costituita dalle seguenti parti, separate fra loro da virgole:

- AUTORE, in maiuscolo/maiuscoletto sia il nome che il cognome; da omettere se l'opera ha soltanto dei curatori o se è senza attribuzione. Se vi sono più autori, essi vanno posti uno di seguito all'altro, in maiuscolo/maiuscoletto e separati fra loro da una virgola, omettendo la congiunzione 'e';
- *Titolo* dell'opera, in corsivo alto/basso, seguito dall'eventuale *Sottotitolo*, in corsivo alto/basso, separato da un punto. Se il titolo è unico, è seguito dalla virgola; se è quello principale di un'opera in più tomi, è seguito dalla virgola, da eventuali indicazioni relative al numero di tomi, in cifre romane tonde, omettendo 'vol.', seguite dalla virgola e dal titolo del tomo, in corsivo alto/basso, seguito dall'eventuale *Sottotitolo*, in corsivo alto/basso, separato da un punto;
- eventuale numero del volume, se l'opera è composta da più tomi, omettendo 'vol.', in cifre romane tonde;
- eventuale curatore, in tondo alto/basso, preceduto da 'a cura di', in tondo minuscolo. Se vi sono più curatori, essi, in tondo alto/basso, seguono la dizione 'a cura di', in tondo minuscolo, l'uno dopo l'altro e separati tra loro da una virgola, omettendo la congiunzione 'e';
- eventuali prefatori, traduttori, ecc. vanno posti analogamente ai curatori;
- luogo di edizione, in tondo alto/basso;
- casa editrice, o stampatore per le pubblicazioni antiche, in tondo alto/basso;
- anno di edizione e, in esponente, l'eventuale numero di edizione, in cifre arabe tonde;
- eventuale collana di appartenenza della pubblicazione, senza la virgola che seguirebbe l'anno di edizione precedentemente indicato, fra parentesi tonde, col titolo della serie fra virgolette 'a caporale', in tondo alto/basso, eventualmente seguito dalla virgola e dal numero di serie, in cifre arabe o romane tonde, del volume;
- eventuali numeri di pagina, in cifre arabe e/o romane tonde, da indicare con 'p.' o 'pp.', in tondo minuscolo.

Esempi di citazioni bibliografiche di opere monografiche:

SERGIO PETRELLI, *La stampa in Occidente. Analisi critica*, iv, Berlino-New York, de Gruyter, 2000⁵, pp. 23-28.

ANNA DOLFI, GIACOMO DI STEFANO, *Arturo Onofri e la «Rivista degli studi orientali»*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1976 («Nuovi saggi», 36).

FILIPPO DE PISIS, *Le memorie del marchese pittore*, a cura di Bruno De Pisis, Sandro Zanotto, Torino, Einaudi, 1987, pp. VII-14 e 155-168.

Storia di Venezia, v, *Il Rinascimento. Società ed economia*, a cura di Alberto Tenenti, Umberto Tucci, Renato Massa, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 1996.

UMBERTO F. GIANNONE et alii, *La virtù nel Decamerone e nelle opere del Boccaccio*, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1974, pp. XI-XIV e 23-68.

★

* FABRIZIO SERRA, *Regole editoriali, tipografiche e redazionali*, Pisa-Roma, Serra, 2009², § 1. 17 (Euro 34.00, ordini a: fse@libraweb.net). Le Norme sono consultabili e scaricabili alle pagine 'Pubblicare con noi' e 'Publish with us' del sito Internet www.libraweb.net.

Una corretta citazione bibliografica di articoli èditi in opere generali o seriali (ad es. enciclopedie, raccolte di saggi, ecc.) o del medesimo autore oppure in Atti è costituita dalle seguenti parti, separate fra loro da virgole:

- AUTORE, in maiuscolo/maiuscoletto sia il nome che il cognome; da omettere se l'articolo ha soltanto dei curatori o se è senza attribuzione. Se vi sono più autori, essi vanno posti uno di seguito all'altro, in maiuscolo/maiuscoletto e separati fra loro da una virgola, omettendo la congiunzione 'e';
- *Titolo* dell'articolo, in corsivo alto/basso, seguito dall'eventuale *Sottotitolo*, in corsivo alto/basso, separato da un punto;
- *Titolo* ed eventuale *Sottotitolo* di Atti o di un lavoro a più firme, preceduto dall'eventuale Autore: si antepone la preposizione 'in', in tondo minuscolo, e l'eventuale Autore va in maiuscolo/maiuscoletto (sostituito da IDEM o EADEM, in forma non abbreviata, se è il medesimo dell'articolo), il *Titolo* va in corsivo alto/basso, seguito dall'eventuale *Sottotitolo*, in corsivo alto/basso, separato da un punto;
- eventuale numero del volume, se l'opera è composta da più tomi, omettendo 'vol.', in cifre romane tonde;
- eventuale curatore, in tondo alto/basso, preceduto da 'a cura di', in tondo minuscolo. Se vi sono più curatori, essi, in tondo alto/basso, seguono la dizione 'a cura di', in tondo minuscolo, l'uno dopo l'altro e separati tra loro da una virgola, omettendo la congiunzione 'e';
- eventuali prefatori, traduttori, ecc. vanno posti analogamente ai curatori;
- luogo di pubblicazione, in tondo alto/basso;
- casa editrice, o stampatore per le pubblicazioni antiche, in tondo alto/basso;
- anno di edizione e, in esponente, l'eventuale numero di edizione, in cifre arabe tonde;
- eventuale collana di appartenenza della pubblicazione, senza la virgola che seguirebbe l'anno di edizione precedentemente indicato, fra parentesi tonde, col titolo della serie fra virgolette 'a caporale', in tondo alto/basso, eventualmente seguito dalla virgola e dal numero di serie, in cifre arabe o romane tonde, del volume;
- eventuali numeri di pagina, in cifre arabe e/o romane tonde, da indicare con 'p.' o 'pp.', in tondo minuscolo.

Esempi di citazioni bibliografiche di articoli èditi in opere generali o seriali (ad es. enciclopedie, raccolte di saggi, ecc.) o del medesimo autore oppure in Atti:

SERGIO PETRELLI, *La stampa a Roma e a Pisa. Editoria e tipografia*, in *La stampa in Italia. Cinque secoli di cultura*, ii, Leida, Brill, 2002⁴, pp. 5-208.

PAUL LARIVAILLE, *L'Ariosto da Cassaria a Lena. Per un'analisi narratologica della trama comica*, in IDEM, *La semiotica e il doppio teatrale*, iii, a cura di Giulio Ferroni, Torino, UTET, 1981, pp. 117-136.

GIORGIO MARINI, SIMONE CAI, *Ermeneutica e linguistica*, in *Atti della Società Italiana di Glottologia*, a cura di Alberto De Juliis, Pisa, Giardini, 1981 («Biblioteca della Società Italiana di Glottologia», 27), pp. 117-136.

★

Una corretta citazione bibliografica di articoli èditi in pubblicazioni periodiche è costituita dalle seguenti parti, separate fra loro da virgole:

- AUTORE, in maiuscolo/maiuscoletto sia il nome che il cognome; da omettere se l'articolo ha soltanto dei curatori o se è senza attribuzione. Se vi sono più autori, essi vanno posti uno di seguito all'altro, in maiuscolo/maiuscoletto e separati fra loro da una virgola, omettendo la congiunzione 'e';

- *Titolo* dell'articolo, in corsivo alto/basso, seguito dall'eventuale *Sottotitolo*, in corsivo alto/basso, separato da un punto;
- «Titolo rivista», in tondo alto/basso (o «Sigla rivista», in tondo alto/basso o in maiuscoletto spaziato, secondo la specifica abbreviazione), preceduto e seguito da virgolette 'a caporale', non preceduto da 'in' in tondo minuscolo;
- eventuale curatore, in tondo alto/basso, preceduto da 'a cura di', in tondo minuscolo. Se vi sono più curatori, essi, in tondo alto/basso, seguono la dizione 'a cura di', in tondo minuscolo, l'uno dopo l'altro e separati tra loro da una virgola, omettendo la congiunzione 'e';
- eventuali prefatori, traduttori, ecc. vanno posti analogamente ai curatori;
- eventuale numero di serie, in cifra romana tonda, con l'abbreviazione 's.', in tondo minuscolo;
- eventuale numero di annata e/o di volume, in cifre romane tonde, e, solo se presenti entrambi, preceduti da 'a.' e/o da 'vol.', in tondo minuscolo, separati dalla virgola;
- eventuale numero di fascicolo, in cifre arabe tonde;
- luogo di pubblicazione, in tondo alto/basso (opzionale);
- casa editrice, o stampatore per le pubblicazioni antiche, in tondo alto/basso (opzionale);
- anno di edizione, in cifre arabe tonde;
- eventuali numeri di pagina, in cifre arabe e/o romane tonde, da indicare con 'p.' o 'pp.', in tondo minuscolo; eventuale interpunzione ':', seguita da uno spazio mobile, per specificare la pagina che interessa.

Esempi di citazioni bibliografiche di articoli editi in pubblicazioni periodiche:

BRUNO PORCELLI, *Psicologia, abito, nome di due adolescenti pirandelliane*, «RLI», XXXI, 2, Pisa, 2002, pp. 53-64: 55.

GIOVANNI DE MARCO, *I 'sogni sepolti': Antonia Pozzi*, «Esperienze letterarie», a. XIV, vol. XII, 4, 1989, pp. 23-24.

RITA GIANFELICE, VALENTINA PAGNAN, SERGIO PETRELLI, *La stampa in Europa. Studi e riflessioni*, «Bibliologia», s. II, a. III, vol. II, 3, 2001, pp. v-xii e 43-46.

Fonti (Le) metriche della tradizione nella poesia di Giovanni Giudici. Una nota critica, a cura di Roberto Zucco, «StNov», XXIV, 2, Pisa, Giardini, 1993, pp. VII-VIII e 171-208.

★

Nel caso di bibliografie realizzate nello 'stile anglosassone', identiche per volumi e periodici, al cognome dell'autore, in maiuscolo/maiuscoletto, segue la virgola, il nome e l'anno di pubblicazione fra parentesi tonde seguito da virgola, a cui deve seguire direttamente la rimanente specifica bibliografica come prima esposta, con le caratteristiche tipografiche inalterate, omettendo l'anno già indicato; oppure, al cognome e nome dell'autore, separati dalla virgola, e all'anno, fra parentesi tonde, tutto in tondo alto/basso, segue '=' e l'intera citazione bibliografica, come prima esposta, con le caratteristiche tipografiche inalterate. Nell'opera si utilizzerà, a mo' di richiamo di nota, la citazione del cognome dell'autore seguito dall'anno di pubblicazione, ponendo fra parentesi tonde il solo anno o l'intera citazione (con la virgola fra autore e anno), a seconda della posizione – ad es.: De Pisis (1987); (De Pisis, 1987) –.

È da evitare l'uso di comporre in tondo alto/basso, anche fra apici singoli, il titolo e in corsivo il nome o le sigle delle riviste.

Esempi di citazioni bibliografiche per lo 'stile anglosassone':

DE PISIS, FILIPPO (1987), *Le memorie del marchesino pittore*, a cura di Bruno De Pisis, Sandro Zanotto, Torino, Einaudi, pp. 123-146 e 155.

De Pisis, Filippo (1987) = FILIPPO DE PISIS, *Le memorie del marchesino pittore*, a cura di Bruno De Pisis, Sandro Zanotto, Torino, Einaudi, 1987.

★

Nelle citazioni bibliografiche poste in nota a pie' di pagina, è preferibile anteporre il nome al cognome, eccetto in quelle realizzate nello 'stile anglosassone'. Nelle altre tipologie bibliografiche è invece preferibile anteporre il cognome al nome. Nelle citazioni bibliografiche relative ai curatori, prefatori, traduttori, ecc. è preferibile anteporre il nome al cognome.

L'abbreviazione 'Aa. Vv.' (cioè 'autori vari') deve essere assolutamente evitata, non avendo alcun valore bibliografico. Può essere correttamente sostituita citando il primo nome degli autori seguito da '*et alii*' o con l'indicazione, in successione, degli autori, separati tra loro da una virgola, qualora essi siano tre o quattro.

Per completezza bibliografica è preferibile indicare, accanto al cognome, il nome per esteso degli autori, curatori, prefatori, traduttori, ecc. anche negli indici, nei sommari, nei titoli correnti, nelle bibliografie, ecc.

I nomi dei curatori, prefatori, traduttori, ecc. vanno in tondo alto/basso, per distinguerli da quelli degli autori, in maiuscolo/maiuscoletto.

L'espressione 'a cura di' si scrive per esteso.

Qualora sia necessario indicare, in forma abbreviata, un doppio nome, si deve lasciare uno spazio fisso fine pari a ½ pt (o, in subordine, uno spazio mobile) anche tra le lettere maiuscole puntate del nome (ad es.: P. G. GRECO; G. B. Shaw).

Nel caso che i nomi degli autori, curatori, prefatori, traduttori, ecc. siano più di uno, essi si separano con una virgola (ad es.: FRANCESCO DE ROSA, GIORGIO SIMONETTI; Francesco De Rosa, Giorgio Simonetti) e non con il lineato breve unito, anche per evitare confusioni con i cognomi doppi, omettendo la congiunzione 'e'.

Il lineato breve unito deve essere usato per i luoghi di edizione (ad es.: Pisa-Roma), le case editrici (ad es.: Fabbri-Mondadori), gli anni (ad es.: 1966-1972), i nomi e i cognomi doppi (ad es.: ANNE-CHRISTINE FAITROP-PORTA; Hans-Christian Weiss-Trotta).

Nelle bibliografie elencate alfabeticamente sulla base del cognome dell'autore, si deve far seguire al cognome il nome, omettendo la virgola fra le due parole; se gli autori sono più di uno, essi vanno separati da una virgola, omettendo la congiunzione 'e'.

Nelle bibliografie, l'articolo, fra parentesi tonde, può essere posposto alla prima parola del titolo – ad es.: *Alpi (Le) di Buzzati* –.

Nei brani in corsivo va posto in tondo ciò che usualmente va in corsivo; ad esempio i titoli delle opere. Vedi *supra*.

Gli acronimi vanno composti integralmente in maiuscoletto spaziato. Ad es.: AGIP, CLUEB, CNR, ISBN, ISSN, RAI, USA, UTET, ECC.

I numeri delle pagine e degli anni vanno indicati per esteso (ad es.: pp. 112-146 e non 112-46; 113-118 e non 113-8; 1953-1964 e non 1953-964 o 1953-64 o 1953-4).

Nelle abbreviazioni in cifre arabe degli anni, deve essere usato l'apostrofo (ad es.: anni '30). I nomi dei secoli successivi al mille vanno per esteso e con iniziale maiuscola (ad es.: Settecento); con iniziale minuscola vanno invece quelli prima del mille (ad es.: settecento). I nomi dei decenni vanno per esteso e con iniziale minuscola (ad es.: anni venti dell'Ottocento).

L'ultima pagina di un volume è pari e così va citata. In un articolo la pagina finale dispari esiste, e così va citata solo qualora la successiva pari sia di un altro contesto; altrimenti va citata, quale ultima pagina, quella pari, anche se bianca.

Le cifre della numerazione romana vanno rispettivamente in maiuscoletto se la numerazione araba è in numeri maiuscoletti, in maiuscolo se la numerazione araba è in numeri maiuscoli (ad es.: xxiv, 1987; XXIV, 1987). Vedi *supra*.

L'indispensabile indicazione bibliografica del nome della casa editrice va in forma abbreviata ('Einaudi' e non 'Giulio Einaudi Editore'), citando altre parti (nome dell'editore, ecc.) qualora per chiarezza ciò sia necessario (ad es.: 'Arnoldo Mondadori', 'Bruno Mondadori', 'Salerno Editrice').

OPERA CITATA

Nel ripetere la medesima citazione bibliografica successiva alla prima in assoluto, si indicano qui le norme da seguire, per le opere in lingua italiana:

- può essere usata l'abbreviazione '*op. cit.*' ('*art. cit.*' per gli articoli; in corsivo poiché sostituiscono anche il titolo) dopo il nome, con l'omissione del titolo e della parte successiva ad esso:

GIORGIO MASSA, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

ove la prima citazione era:

GIORGIO MASSA, *Parigi, Londra e l'Europa. Saggi di economia politica*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1976.

- onde evitare confusioni qualora si citino opere differenti dello stesso autore, si cita l'autore, il titolo (o la parte principale di esso) seguito da ', cit.', in tondo minuscolo, e si omette la parte successiva al titolo:

GIORGIO MASSA, *Parigi, Londra e l'Europa*, cit., p. 162.

- se si cita un articolo inserito in un'opera a più firme già precedentemente citata, si scriva:

CORRADO ALVARO, *Avvertenza per una guida*, in *Lettere parigine*, cit., p. 128.

ove la prima citazione era:

CORRADO ALVARO, *Avvertenza per una guida*, in *Lettere parigine. Scritti 1922-1925*, a cura di Anne-Christine Faitrop-Porta, Roma, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1996.

BRANI RIPORTATI

I brani riportati brevi vanno nel testo tra virgolette 'a caporale' e, se di poesia, con le strofe separate fra loro da una barra obliqua (ad es.: «Quest'ermo colle, / e questa siepe, che da tanta parte»). Se lunghi oltre le venticinque parole (o due-tre righe), vanno in corpo infratesto, senza virgolette; devono essere preceduti e seguiti da un'interlinea di mezza riga bianca e non devono essere rientrati rispetto alla giustezza del testo. Essi debbono essere riprodotti fedelmente rispetto all'originale, anche se difforni dalle nostre norme.

I brani riportati di testi poetici più lunghi e di formule vanno in corpo infratesto centrati sul rigo più lungo.

Nel caso in cui siano presenti, in successione, più brani tratti dalla medesima opera, è sufficiente indicare il relativo numero di pagina (tra parentesi tonda) alla fine di ogni singolo brano riportato, preceduto da 'p.', 'pp.', evitando l'uso di note.

ABBREVIAZIONI

Diamo qui un breve elenco di abbreviazioni per le opere in lingua italiana (facendo presente che, per alcune discipline, esistono liste specifiche):

a. = annata

A., Aa. = autore, -i (m.lo/m.tto)

a.a. = anno accademico

a.C. = avanti Cristo

ad es. = ad esempio	N.d.A. = nota dell'autore
ad v. = <i>ad vocem</i> (c.vo)	N.d.C. = nota del curatore
an. = anonimo	N.d.E. = nota dell'editore
anast. = anastatico	N.d.R. = nota del redattore
app. = appendice	N.d.T. = nota del traduttore
art., artt. = articolo, -i	nota = nota (per esteso)
art. cit., artt. citt. = articolo citato, articoli citati (c.vo perché sostituiscono anche il titolo)	n.s. = nuova serie
autogr. = autografo, -i	n.t. = nel testo
°C = grado Centigrado	op., opp. = opera, -e
ca = circa (senza punto basso)	op. cit., opp. citt. = opera citata, opere citate (c.vo perché sostituiscono anche il titolo)
cap., capp. = capitolo, -i	p., pp. = pagina, -e
cfr. = confronta	par., parr., §, §§ = paragrafo, -i
cit., citt. = citato, -i	<i>passim</i> = <i>passim</i> (la citazione ricorre frequente nell'opera citata; c.vo)
cl. = classe	r = <i>recto</i> (per la numerazione delle carte dei manoscritti; c.vo, senza punto basso)
cm, m, km, gr, kg = centimetro, ecc. (senza punto basso)	rist. = ristampa
cod., codd. = codice, -i	s. = serie
col., coll. = colonna, -e	s.a. = senza anno di stampa
cpv. = capoverso	s.d. = senza data
c.vo = corsivo (tip.)	s.e. = senza indicazione di editore
d.C. = dopo Cristo	s.l. = senza luogo
ecc. = eccetera	s.l.m. = sul livello del mare
ed., edd. = edizione, -i	s.n.t. = senza note tipografiche
es., ess. = esempio, -i	s.t. = senza indicazione di tipografo
<i>et alii</i> = <i>et alii</i> (per esteso; c.vo)	sec., secc. = secolo, -i
F = grado Farenheit	sez. = sezione
f., ff. = foglio, -i	sg., sgg. = seguente, -i
f.t. = fuori testo	suppl. = supplemento
facs. = facsimile	<i>supra</i> = sopra
fasc. = fascicolo	t., tt. = tomo, -i
Fig., FIGG. = figura, -e (m.lo/m.tto)	t.do = tondo (tip.)
lett. = lettera, -e	TAB., TABB. = tabella, -e (m.lo/m.tto)
loc. cit. = località citata	TAV., TAVV. = tavola, -e (m.lo/m.tto)
m.lo = maiuscolo (tip.)	tip. = tipografico
m.lo/m.tto = maiuscolo/maiuscoletto (tip.)	tit., titt. = titolo, -i
m.tto = maiuscoletto (tip.)	trad. = traduzione
misc. = miscellanea	v = <i>verso</i> (per la numerazione delle carte dei manoscritti; c.vo, senza punto basso)
ms., mss. = manoscritto, -i	v., vv. = verso, -i
n.n. = non numerato	vedi = vedi (per esteso)
n., nn. = numero, -i	vol., voll. = volume, -i

Diamo qui un breve elenco di abbreviazioni per le opere in lingua inglese:

A., AA. = author, -s (m.lo/m.tto, <i>caps and small caps</i>)	b.c. = before Christ (m.tto, <i>small caps</i>)
A.D. = <i>anno Domini</i> (m.tto, <i>small caps</i>)	cm, m, km, gr, kg = centimetres, ecc. (senza punto basso, <i>without full stop</i>)
an. = anonymous	cod., codd. = codex, -es
anast. = anastatic	ed. = edition
app. = appendix	facs. = facsimile
art., artt. = article, -s	f., ff. = following, -s
autogr. = autograph	lett. = letter

misc. = miscellaneous	s. = series
ms., mss. = manuscript, -s	suppl. = supplement
n.n. = not numbered	t., tt. = tome, -s
n., nn./no., nos. = number, -s	tit. = title
n.s. = new series	v = <i>verso</i> (c.vo, <i>italic</i> ; senza punto basso, <i>without full stop</i>)
p., pp. = page, -s	vs = <i>versus</i> (senza punto basso, <i>without full stop</i>)
PL., PLS. = plate, -s (m.lo/m.tto, <i>caps and small caps</i>)	vol., vols. = volume, -s
r = <i>recto</i> (c.vo, <i>italic</i> ; senza punto basso, <i>without full stop</i>)	

Le abbreviazioni FIG., FIGG., PL., PLS., TAB., TABB., TAV. e TAVV. vanno in maiuscolo/maiuscoletto, nel testo come in didascalia.

PARAGRAFI

La gerarchia dei titoli dei vari livelli dei paragrafi (anche nel rispetto delle centrature, degli allineamenti e dei caratteri – maiuscolo/maiuscoletto spaziato, alto/basso corsivo e tondo –) è la seguente:

1. ISTITUTI EDITORIALI

1. 1. Istituti editoriali

1. 1. 1. Istituti editoriali

1. 1. 1. 1. ISTITUTI EDITORIALI

1. 1. 1. 1. 1. Istituti editoriali

1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. Istituti editoriali

L'indicazione numerica, in cifre arabe o romane, nelle titolazioni dei vari livelli dei paragrafi, qui indicata per mera chiarezza, è opzionale.

VIRGOLETTE E APICI

L'uso delle virgolette e degli apici si diversifica principalmente tra:

- « », virgolette 'a caporale': per i brani riportati che non siano posti in corpo infratesto o per i discorsi diretti;
- “ ”, apici doppi: per i brani riportati all'interno delle « » (se occorre un 3° grado di virgolette, usare gli apici singoli ‘ ’);
- ‘ ’, apici singoli: per le parole e le frasi da evidenziare, le espressioni enfatiche, le parafrasi, le traduzioni di parole straniere, ecc.

NOTE

In una pubblicazione le note sono importantissime e manifestano la precisione dell'autore.

Il numero in esponente di richiamo di nota deve seguire, senza parentesi, un eventuale segno di interpunzione e deve essere preceduto da uno spazio finissimo.

I numeri di richiamo della nota vanno sia nel testo che in nota in esponente.

Le note, numerate progressivamente per pagina (o eccezionalmente per articolo o capitolo o saggio), vanno poste a pie' di pagina e non alla fine dell'articolo o del capitolo o del saggio. Gli autori sono comunque pregati di consegnare i testi con le note numerate progressivamente per articolo o capitolo o saggio.

Analogamente alle poesie poste in infratesto, le note seguono la tradizionale impostazione della costruzione della pagina sull'asse centrale propria della 'tipografia classica' e di tutte le nostre pubblicazioni. Le note brevi (anche se più d'una,

affiancate una all'altra a una distanza di tre righe tipografiche) vanno dunque posizionate centralmente o nello spazio bianco dell'ultima riga della nota precedente (lasciando in questo caso almeno un quadratone bianco a fine giustezza). La prima nota di una pagina è distanziata dall'eventuale parte finale dell'ultima nota della pagina precedente da un'interlinea pari a tre punti tipografici (nelle composizioni su due colonne l'interlinea deve essere pari a una riga di nota). Le note a fine articolo, capitolo o saggio sono poste a una riga tipografica (o mezzo centimetro) dal termine del testo.

IVI E *IBIDEM* · IDEM E *EADEM*

Nei casi in cui si debba ripetere di séguito la citazione della medesima opera, variata in qualche suo elemento – ad esempio con l'aggiunta dei numeri di pagina –, si usa 'ivi' (in tondo alto/basso); si usa '*ibidem*' (in corsivo alto/basso), in forma non abbreviata, quando la citazione è invece ripetuta in maniera identica subito dopo.

Esempi:

Lezioni su Dante, cit., pp. 295-302.

Ivi, pp. 320-326.

BENEDETTO VARCHI, *Di quei cinque capi*, cit., p. 307.

Ibidem. Le cinque categorie incluse nella lettera (1, 2, 4, 7 e 8) sono schematicamente descritte da Varchi.

Quando si cita una nuova opera di un autore già citato precedentemente, nelle bibliografie generali si può porre, in luogo del nome dell'autore, un lineato lungo; nelle bibliografie generali, nelle note a pie' di pagina e nella citazione di uno scritto compreso in una raccolta di saggi dello stesso autore (vedi *supra*) si può anche utilizzare, al posto del nome dell'autore, l'indicazione 'IDEM' (maschile) o 'EADEM' (femminile), in maiuscolo/maiuscoletto e mai in forma abbreviata.

Esempi:

LUIGI PIRANDELLO, *Il fu Mattia Pascal*, Milano, Sonzogno, 1936.

—, *L'umorismo*, Milano, Arnoldo Mondadori, 1998.

LUIGI PIRANDELLO, *L'esclusa*, Milano, Arnoldo Mondadori, 1996.

IDEM, *L'umorismo*, Milano, Arnoldo Mondadori, 1999.

MARIA LUISA ALTIERI BIAGI, *La lingua in scena*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1980, p. 174.

—, *Fra lingua scientifica e lingua letteraria*, Pisa-Roma, Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 1998, pp. 93-98.

MARIA LUISA ALTIERI BIAGI, *La lingua italiana*, Pisa-Roma, Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 2004.

EADEM, *Fra lingua scientifica e lingua letteraria*, Pisa-Roma, Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 1998, pp. 93-98.

PAROLE IN CARATTERE TONDO

Vanno in carattere tondo le parole straniere che sono entrate nel linguaggio corrente, come: boom, cabaret, chic, cineforum, computer, dance, film, flipper, gag, garage, horror, leader, monitor, pop, rock, routine, set, spray, star, stress, thè, tea, tic, vamp, week-end, ecc. Esse vanno poste nella forma singolare.

PAROLE IN CARATTERE CORSIVO

In genere vanno in carattere corsivo tutte le parole straniere. Vanno inoltre in carattere corsivo: *alter ego* (senza lineato breve unito), *aut-aut* (con lineato breve unito), *budget*, *équipe*, *media* (mezzi di comunicazione), *passim*, *revival*, *sex-appeal*, *sit-com* (entrambe con lineato breve unito), *soft*.

ILLUSTRAZIONI

Le illustrazioni devono avere l'estensione EPS o TIF. Quelle in bianco e nero (BITMAP) devono avere una risoluzione di almeno 600 *pixels*; quelle in scala di grigio e a colori (CMYK e non RGB) devono avere una risoluzione di almeno 300 *pixels*.

VARIE

Il primo capoverso di ogni nuova parte, anche dopo un infratesto, deve iniziare senza il rientro, in genere pari a mm 3,5.

Nelle bibliografie generali, le righe di ogni citazione che girano al rigo successivo devono rientrare di uno spazio pari al capoverso.

Vanno evitate le composizioni in carattere neretto, sottolineato, in minuscolo spaziato e integralmente in maiuscolo.

All'interno del testo, un intervento esterno (ad esempio la traduzione) va posto tra parentesi quadre.

Le omissioni si segnalano con tre puntini tra parentesi quadre.

Nelle titolazioni, è nostra norma l'uso del punto centrale in luogo del lineato.

Per informazione, in tipografia è obbligatorio l'uso dei corretti *fonts* sia per il carattere corsivo che per il carattere maiuscoletto.

Esempi:

Laura (errato); *Laura* (corretto)

LAURA (errato); LAURA (corretto)

Analogamente è obbligatorio l'uso delle legature della 'f' sia in tondo che in corsivo (ad es.: 'ff', 'fi', 'ffi', 'fl', 'ffl'; 'ff', 'fi', 'ffi', 'fl', 'ffl').

Uno spazio finissimo deve precedere tutte le interpunzioni, eccetto i punti bassi, le virgole, le parentesi e gli apici. Le virgolette 'a caporale' devono essere, in apertura, seguite e, in chiusura, precedute da uno spazio finissimo.

I caratteri delle titolazioni (non dei testi) in maiuscolo, maiuscolo/maiuscoletto e maiuscoletto devono essere equilibratamente spaziati.

Le opere da noi edite sono composte in carattere *Dante Monotype*.

Negli originali cartacei 'dattiloscritti', il corsivo va sottolineato una volta, il maiuscoletto due volte, il maiuscolo tre volte.

È una consuetudine, per i redattori interni della casa editrice, l'uso di penne con inchiostro verde per la correzione delle bozze cartacee, al fine di distinguere i propri interventi redazionali.

COMPOSTO IN CARATTERE DANTE MONOTYPE DALLA
FABRIZIO SERRA EDITORE, PISA · ROMA.
STAMPATO E RILEGATO NELLA
TIPOGRAFIA DI AGNANO, AGNANO PISANO (PISA).

★

Luglio 2014

(CZ 2 · FG 13)



STORIA DI VENEZIA

pubblicata dall'Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, con la collaborazione scientifica della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, e con gli auspici e il concorso della Regione Veneto.

Della collana «Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima» sono stati pubblicati i volumi:

I *Origini-Età ducale*, a cura di LELLIA CRACCO RUGGINI, MASSIMILIANO PAVAN, GIORGIO CRACCO, GHERARDO ORTALLI, pp. 961.

II *L'età del comune*, a cura di GIORGIO CRACCO, GHERARDO ORTALLI, pp. 961.

III *La formazione dello Stato patrizio*, a cura di GIROLAMO ARNALDI, GIORGIO CRACCO, ALBERTO TENENTI, pp. 996.

IV *Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura*, a cura di ALBERTO TENENTI, UGO TUCCI, pp. 985.

V *Il Rinascimento. Società ed economia*, a cura di ALBERTO TENENTI, UGO TUCCI, pp. 985.

VI *Dal Rinascimento al Barocco*, a cura di GAETANO COZZI, PAOLO PRODI, pp. 977.

VII *La Venezia barocca*, a cura di GINO BENZONI, GAETANO COZZI, pp. 985.

VIII *L'ultima fase della Serenissima*, a cura di PIERO DEL NEGRO, PAOLO PRETO, pp. 962.

Della collana «Temi» sono stati pubblicati:

Il mare, a cura di ALBERTO TENENTI, UGO TUCCI, pp. 914.

L'arte (2 volumi), a cura di RODOLFO PALLUCCHINI, pp. 980 e pp. 1003.

Pubblicato, infine, il volume, a cura di MARIO ISNENGHI, STUART WOOLF, *L'Ottocento e il Novecento*, di complessive 2443 pp., distribuite in tre tomi.

*

Per informazioni sull'acquisto rivolgersi all'Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, Direzione Vendite, Piazza della Enciclopedia Italiana 4, 00186 Roma, tel. 06 68982159.

ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER GLI STUDI FILOSOFICI

PAOLO SARPI

CONSULTI

VOLUME PRIMO

Tomo primo: *I Consulti dell'Interdetto 1606-1607*

Tomo secondo: 1607-1609

A cura di

CORRADO PIN

Due tomi di complessive 1100 pp.,
in VIII grande,
brossura, Euro 180,00



ISTITUTI EDITORIALI E POLIGRAFICI INTERNAZIONALI®

PISA · ROMA



**CENTRO INTERNAZIONALE
DI STUDI DELLA CIVILTÀ ITALIANA
“VITTORE BRANCA”**

Intitolato a **Vittore Branca**, italianista di fama mondiale e storico Segretario Generale della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, il Centro è un polo internazionale di studi umanistici e lo strumento principale di attuazione della strategia di apertura e valorizzazione del grande scrigno di tesori dell'arte e del pensiero custodito presso la **Fondazione Giorgio Cini** sull'Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore a Venezia.

Il Centro “Vittore Branca” garantisce **soggiorni di studio a Venezia** in una situazione propizia alla riflessione e al confronto a **condizioni economicamente sostenibili** anche per periodi prolungati. Sin dall'apertura, nel giugno 2010, è stato frequentato da **studiosi di provenienza internazionale** interessati allo studio della civiltà italiana e afferenti a prestigiose istituzioni.

I **destinatari** dell'offerta del Centro “Vittore Branca” sono sia giovani ricercatori, come studenti *post lauream* e dottori di ricerca, sia studiosi affermati, scrittori e artisti che intendono svolgere **ricerche sulla civiltà italiana** (e in special modo veneta) con un orientamento interdisciplinare, in una delle sue principali manifestazioni: arti, storia, letteratura, musica, teatro. La durata della permanenza deve risultare coerente con gli obiettivi del progetto di ricerca; sono favoriti soggiorni di studio di lungo periodo – a tale proposito sono disponibili **borse di studio e co-finanziamenti**.

**“VITTORE BRANCA”
INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR THE
STUDY OF ITALIAN CULTURE**

*Named after **Vittore Branca**, a world-renowned Italianist and for a long time Secretary General of the Giorgio Cini Foundation, the Vittore Branca International Center for the Study of Italian Culture is a new international resource for humanities studies, designed by the **Giorgio Cini Foundation** as a means of implementing a strategy to open up and make good use of the great store of art and documental treasures housed on the Island of San Giorgio Maggiore.*

*The residential facilities on the Island provide scholars and researchers with the opportunity to work and stay at length in Venice at **economically reasonable conditions** in a setting conducive to reflection and intellectual exchanges. Since its opening in June 2010, the Vittore Branca Center hosted international scholars studying Italian culture.*

*The Vittore Branca Center aims to provide a place of study and meeting for **young researchers, expert scholars, writers and artists** interested in furthering their knowledge in a field of Italian civilisation (especially the culture of the Veneto) – visual arts, history, literature, music, drama – from an interdisciplinary point of view. Scholars are expected to stay permanently in the Vittore Branca Center residence for a period in keeping with the aims of their project: long-term stays are preferred – **scholarships and co-financing** are available.*

Informazioni:

Fondazione Giorgio Cini *onlus*

Segreteria del Centro Internazionale di Studi della Civiltà Italiana “Vittore Branca”

Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore, 30124 Venezia

tel. +39 041 2710253 · email: centrobranca@cini.it · web: www.cini.it/centro-branca

facebook: Fondazione Giorgio Cini



FABRIZIO SERRA EDITORE

Pisa · Roma

www.libraweb.net

Fabrizio Serra

Regole editoriali, tipografiche & redazionali

Seconda edizione

Prefazione di Martino Mardersteig · Postfazione di Alessandro Olschki

Con un'appendice di Jan Tschichold

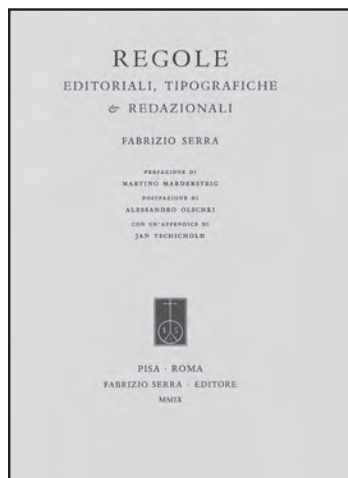
DALLA 'PREFAZIONE' DI MARTINO MARDERSTEIG

[...] **O**GGI abbiamo uno strumento [...], il presente manuale intitolato, giustamente, 'Regole'. Varie sono le ragioni per raccomandare quest'opera agli editori, agli autori, agli appassionati di libri e ai cultori delle cose ben fatte e soprattutto a qualsiasi scuola grafica. La prima è quella di mettere un po' di ordine nei mille criteri che l'autore, il curatore, lo studioso applicano nella compilazione dei loro lavori. Si tratta di semplificare e uniformare alcune norme redazionali a beneficio di tutti i lettori. In secondo luogo, mi sembra che Fabrizio Serra sia riuscito a cogliere gli insegnamenti provenienti da oltre 500 anni di pratica e li abbia inseriti in norme assolutamente valide. Non possiamo pensare che nel nome della proclamata 'libertà' ognuno possa comporre e strutturare un libro come meglio crede, a meno che non si tratti di libro d'artista, ma qui non si discute di questo tema. Certe norme, affermate e consolidate nel corso dei secoli (soprattutto sulla leggibilità), devono essere rispettate anche oggi: è assurdo sostenere il contrario. [...] Fabrizio Serra riesce a fondere la tradizione con la tecnologia moderna, la qualità di ieri con i mezzi disponibili oggi. [...]

*

DALLA 'POSTFAZIONE' DI ALESSANDRO OLSCHKI

[...] **Q**UESTE succinte considerazioni sono soltanto una minuscola sintesi del grande impegno che Fabrizio Serra ha profuso nelle pagine di questo manuale che ripercorre minuziosamente le tappe che conducono il testo proposto dall'autore al traguardo della nascita del libro; una guida puntualissima dalla quale trarranno beneficio non solo gli scrittori ma anche i tipografi specialmente in questi anni di transizione che, per il rivoluzionario avvento dell'informatica, hanno sconvolto la figura classica del 'proto' e il tradizionale intervento del compositore.



Non credo siano molte le case editrici che curano una propria identità redazionale mettendo a disposizione degli autori delle norme di stile da seguire per ottenere una necessaria uniformità nell'ambito del proprio catalogo. Si tratta di una questione di immagine e anche di professionalità. Non è raro, purtroppo, specialmente nelle pubblicazioni a più mani (atti di convegni, pubblicazioni in onore, etc.) trovare nello stesso volume testi di differente impostazione redazionale: specialmente nelle citazioni bibliografiche delle note ma anche nella suddivisione e nell'impostazione di eventuali paragrafi: la considero una sciatteria editoriale anche se, talvolta, non è facilmente superabile. [...]

2009, cm 17 x 24, 220 pp., € 34,00

ISBN: 978-88-6227-144-8

*Le nostre riviste Online,
la nostra libreria Internet*
www.libraweb.net

★

*Our Online Journals,
our Internet Bookshop*
www.libraweb.net



Fabrizio Serra
editore®



Accademia
editoriale®



Istituti editoriali
e poligrafici
internazionali®



Giardini editori
e stampatori
in Pisa®



Edizioni
dell'Ateneo®



Gruppo editoriale
internazionale®

Per leggere un fascicolo saggio di ogni nostra rivista si visiti il nostro sito web:

To read a free sample issue of any of our journals visit our website:

www.libraweb.net/periodonline.php