

Market Spaces, Production Sites, and Sound Landscape of European Cities: From History to Regeneration

Edited by Elena Svalduz



PADOVA
UP

PADOVA UNIVERSITY PRESS

This publication has been funded by



1222 · 2022
800
A N N I



UNIVERSITÀ
DEGLI STUDI
DI PADOVA

First edition 2022 Padova University Press
Original title *Market Spaces, Production Sites, and Sound Landscape of European Cities: From History to Regeneration*

© 2022 Padova University Press
Università degli Studi di Padova
via 8 Febbraio 2, Padova
www.padovauniversitypress.it

Design: Padova University Press
Lay-out: Padova University Press
Translations and proofreading of english texts: Carla Toffolo and Lucian Comoy
Cover image: Fulvio Pendini, *Fiera del Santo*, Padua, oil on canvas, 1936, Private collection

With regard to image rights, the Publisher and the Editor undertake to fulfill any obligation to the entitled parties

ISBN 978-88-6938-303-8



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution International License (CC BY-NC-ND) (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/>).

**Market Spaces, Production Sites, and
Sound Landscape of European Cities:
From History to Regeneration**

edited by
Elena Svalduz

PADOVA
UP

Table of contents

Reflections in the Shadow of the Covered Market («Sotto il Salone»): An Introduction	7
Elena Svalduz	
The Structure of the Rialto Market: Yesterday, Today and... in the Future?	11
Donatella Calabi	
The Emporia of Syria: Damascus and Aleppo in the Venetian Mercantile Imagination	23
Deborah Howard	
Women, Work and Economy in Early Modern Venice	37
Anna Bellavitis	
Renaissance Venice: A City of Innovation	45
Luca Molà	
On the Market: Buying and Selling Artworks in Early Modern Venice	57
Laura Moretti	
The Venetian Archipelago: Society, Everyday Life, and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Lagoon	69
Ludovica Galeazzo	

The Fish Market in Venice: from the History of Markets in Early Modern Period to the Use of History Today	79
Solène Rivoal	
A Historical Journey to the Rialto Market (The Past – The Present – The Future)	89
Martina Massaro	
The Soundscape of Venice	97
Roberto Calabretto, Giovanni Dinello, Paolo Notargiacomo, Nuria Schoenberg Nono, Paolo Zavagna	
Architecture and Market Spaces: Padua and the Venetian Mainland in the Early Modern Age	119
Elena Svalduz	
Houses and Workshops in Seventeenth-Century Padua. Research Hypotheses through the <i>Inquisizioni</i>	129
Andrea Caracausi, Umberto Signori	
Late Victorian Market Buildings as the Ideal for The New Museum of London at West Smithfield	141
Sharon Ament	
From Sanitary Aesthetic Design to Architectural Heritage. The Central Market of São Paulo City	171
Maria Stella Bresciani	
The City of Squares and Markets, the City of People	185
Antoni Vives	
The Participants' Project Works for the International Summer School	189
Giulia Becevello	

Reflections in the Shadow of the Covered Market («Sotto il Salone»): An Introduction

Elena Svalduz

In most of the historic Italian and European cities, market spaces, artisan shops, and places of production are facing a significant and deep crisis. Everywhere citizens have lost interest in traditional markets. There are, however, some exceptions. The cities of Bologna, Florence, Turin, and Milan in Italy and Barcelona, Toulouse, Hamburg, Lübeck, Paris, and London in Europe have all rethought their markets by proposing their revitalization through both economic and cultural activities. Because of its continuity of use, the centrality, and the monumentality of its structures, the *Salone* in Padua (notoriously the oldest covered market in Europe) represents a significant case, even though not adequately exploited in a European perspective yet. In this context, a cultural reflection about the meaning of places and architecture of markets is still missing, as well as a serious discussion on the need to restore their role as great social and cultural buildings and, at the same time, proposals for protecting this heritage within the wider general sustainable development goals.

Starting therefore from the centrality of culture as a flywheel, as a vital component for the economy and society, the International Summer School *Market Spaces, Production Sites, and Sound Landscape of European Cities* promoted by the University of Padua in collaboration with the University of Warwick, and the Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi proposed a broad reflection on the regeneration of spaces for market and places of production thanks to their

cultural and historical heritage. The Scientific Committee, led by myself and composed by Donatella Calabi, Roberto Calabretto, and Luca Molà conceived the project with the consciousness that Cultural Heritage, in a more integral approach with its material and immaterial values, can play a central role in the regeneration of historical markets. For this reason, the program included a broad reflection on the topic of regeneration of market spaces and production sites by analyzing their history and impact as a cultural heritage, also in terms of sound landscapes.

Since the first ideas for a Summer School project, which was conceived around mid 2019 but changed because of the restrictions imposed by the health emergency, the Committee decided to invite a group of international scholars differently involved in the subject to enhance a multidisciplinary perspective. For this purpose, various universities and institutions were called into play: among others, the Museum of London and Save Europe's Heritage and the Universities of Antwerp, St Andrews, and Cambridge. The program included three different types of activities: introductory lectures (which were mainly focused on substantive content and methodological tools); an in-depth analysis of some important interventions developed on European market areas (such as those of London/Smithfield; Padua/the *Piazze*; Florence/the Market of San Lorenzo; Turin/the Market of Porta Palazzo); and finally, a more practical component (field work) related to the Venetian case of Rialto and the Paduan system of market squares. In the intentions of the Scientific Committee, these project works, developed by all participants under the guide of teachers and research assistants led by the Scientific Secretary Martina Massaro, should constitute a proposal for the cultural regeneration and reorganization of the activities around the Rialto market, including the so-called «Fabbriche Nuove». This large building, along with its pertinent surrounding spaces, are currently empty and of uncertain destination as extensively described by Donatella Calabi in her essay. Through these several activities, participants were asked to reflect on the complex dynamics and mechanisms of the urban history while dealing with present experiences and case studies, but also to produce hypotheses for the future.

Lectures and workshops were to take place in Padua (University) and Venice (Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi) while class and laboratory activities were meant to be accompanied by visits to specific sites of the two cities, collections (archives and museums), and artisan shops. The idea was that these small tours would have allowed participants to explore and compare economic strategies, spaces, and real architecture in connection with relevant historical sources, in order to reconstruct the history and structure of market places.

After the covid outbreak, however, the program had to be remodeled: at first we envisaged a dual-mode program consisting of online classes and face-to-face

activities, then, due to the persistence of the health problems, we had to schedule it just remotely through Zoom meetings, instead of in-person activities. As a consequence, the Summer School was virtually held in Padua from 14 to 16 September 2020 (first part) and from 22 to 24 March 2021 (second part). In the timespan between the two slots, all participants – previously divided into working groups – remotely developed their projects. These were later collected in a platform suited for sharing materials and facilitating contacts between participants, organizers, and speakers. All contributors were inspired not only by the impelling need to reorganize spaces and architectures, but also by the idea of restoring the social and cultural values rooted in urban living, including the intangible heritage components that represent the soul of each urban settlement.

The project works carried out by the participants in the Summer School were mostly conducted on the topic of cultural regeneration and reorganization of the activities of the Rialto market and, more specifically, of the Fish Market. Nevertheless, also the Paduan *Salone* was considered from this point of view. Through the workshop experience, the different groups were offered the opportunity to reflect on the complex mechanisms of history.

As a conclusion of the Summer School activities and with the intention of having a tangible memory of this initiative, we decided to publish not only the lecturers' contributions but also all the material submitted by participants and other guest contributors (Stella Bresciani). About thirty participants from all over the world and with different backgrounds (postgraduate, MA graduates, postdocs or young professionals) – although all committed to the theme of Cultural Heritage – joined this initiative. Because of the great variety of materials presented (videos, podcasts, power points), we resolved to create a repository within the Cultural Heritage Department's web page: <https://www.beniculturali.unipd.it/www/corsi/summer-schools/international-summer-school-market-spaces-production-sites-and-sound-landscape-of-european-cities-from-history-to-regeneration/>. The department agreed to co-sponsor the activities as well as providing all the necessary logistic and administrative support. This page also includes the Historical Journey to Rialto, here discussed by Martina Massaro.

Drawing the attention on this volume, I would like to briefly analyze its structure and the main topics, leaving to the readers the opportunity to learn more from each contribution. A core group of essays is dedicated to Venice, something that, as Donatella Calabi explains in her text, it is certainly no coincidence given the city's sound and environmental peculiarities. A second set of contributions, based on an attempt to compare very different case studies (from London to Padua and Barcelona, to name but a few), allows us to observe

that the historical market heritage is something that characterizes not only the culture but also the “real” life of a city, so much that this has been increasingly perceived as a tourist destination. The successes of some markets, such as those of Palermo, to cite just one example of how the phenomenon has become pervasive, prompted Maria Bakhareva and Anna Desnitskaya to write a compelling text with the emblematic title: *Paese che vai, market you find*, translated from Russian in 2021. Until 100-150 years ago, the authors note, markets were the only place where you could buy foodstuffs. On the contrary, today many people have never visited a market. Nonetheless, there are countries where markets are still important spaces. They are “natural” malls particularly suitable for enhancing and regenerating historical centers such as those of Italian cities. In addition, they can become, as we have tried to demonstrate, expedients to tell the urban history.

«Coming back to the territories»: this is the invitation addressed to all of us by the well-known economist Giacomo Becattini (*La coscienza dei luoghi. Il territorio come soggetto corale*, Roma: Donzelli, 2015). With this book we would like to emphasize his call: being aware of places and their historical and cultural heritage as well as recognizing their history as a patrimonial wealth helps improve the well-being and happiness of people.

The Structure of the Rialto Market: Yesterday, Today and... in the Future?*

Donatella Calabi

Historical Markets and Urban Regeneration

For about a thousand years the island of Rialto constituted the commercial heart of the city of Venice and for centuries was also the true centre of a «world economy» – as the French historian Fernand Braudel defined it in 1949, referring in particular to the period between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹ In the words of an eyewitness in 1493, the chronicler Marin Sanudo, it was «the richest part of the whole world». Only a year later, a Milanese pilgrim called Pietro Casola described it as being «inestimable» in terms of the «multitude of merchants». So much so that it seemed to him that «the whole world» converged there.²

Today, to those who walk through Rialto, the area makes plain a problem that is increasingly typical of most European cities, that of the need to revitalise their historic markets, emptied of their original functions, impoverished by an

* This essay was written under the circumstances of the pandemic when Venice and Rialto were substantially empty. Today the situation is fairly different and the city is again overcrowded.

¹ Braudel, *Civiltà e imperi del Mediterraneo*, p. 454; see also: *Rialto. Centro di una "economia mondo"*, pp. 11-4.

² Sanudo, *De origine*, p. 27 [original edition Biblioteca Museo Correr, Venezia, codice Cicogna n. 969, 1493, c. 13r]; Casola, *Viaggio a Gerusalemme*, p. 87.

inevitable competition caused by alternative retail systems, and in part even degraded due to the abandonment of some buildings and the neglect of open spaces.

In the case of Venice, which has undergone a rapid transformation since it has become one of the main centres of attraction for mass tourism, the commercial structure itself has also changed rapidly. Products needed for the daily life of citizens and visitors are increasingly sold in small supermarkets where you can find a bit of everything (from fresh and preserved food to detergents and household items).

Before the outbreak of the pandemic, making use of what are at times very well-made films from a technical point of view, the *media* advertised the city as a spectacle, as the scene of a permanent carnival, whose history is represented mainly by great literary and musical *topoi* such as Goldoni, Vivaldi, or Thomas Mann, without ever describing it in its capacity as a productive centre with links to the whole world. This has been exacerbated by the scant attention given to traditional mercantile artefacts. Some recent investments (such as those effected in the T Fondaco, formerly Fondaco dei Tedeschi) suggest the notion that the city is now destined principally for Chinese, Koreans, Arabs and Russians who come to spend two days here to take some photographs in St Mark's Square to show off back home and, at the same time, to buy the products of leading Italian fashion brands.

The old trading places have suffered greatly (often – and it is a paradox if we think of the centrality of the place – with buildings that are now completely unused); however, this is also true elsewhere in Europe, where many of the large central markets have begun to rethink their commercial offer and to restructure themselves in a new way. These balances appear particularly precarious today after Covid 19: following a year of declining tourist numbers and forced closures, the whole landscape of traditional commerce is under threat but has also conversely once more become a reference point for citizens, thanks to the greater flexibility of “neighbourhood” shops with regard to less mobile customers.

It is with this awareness that the University of Padua launched the *Summer School* we are talking about, based on an attempt to compare very different cases: London, Barcelona, Antwerp and the Flemish cities, Florence, and also Venice and Padua. The following pages are intended as a summary of some of the themes discussed, bearing in mind that the proposal made to all participants was to reflect and formulate new working hypotheses for the Rialto, as well as on the system of Padua's squares.

In parallel, for a couple of years now, the Associazione Progetto Rialto, a

non-profit organisation made up of scholars, citizens and visitors interested in the history and events of Venice and the Veneto cities, has been organising meetings and lectures, and constructing a website that deals with these issues, trying to monitor the acceleration that some urban transformation processes have undergone during the pandemic of 2020.³

Rialto: The View from ‘Outside’

«What news on the Rialto?» asks Shylock of Bassanio in William Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice*, underscoring the fact that in the sixteenth century the market was, with its news, at the centre of economic and political life, and not only in the city, and that it was there that important communications on international conflicts, on decisions taken by the government, on price trends could be learned.⁴ Indeed, in Venice, as in Istanbul, Antwerp, Seville, Amsterdam and Barcelona, the centres of commerce had for centuries been the places for the exchange of goods, money, people and information, and it is for this very reason that they appeared to visitors so rich in colours, smells, suggestions, novelties, events and a host of languages. In the lagoon city these characteristics had been such since very remote times.

But before Shakespeare, what was the *insula* of Rialto like, when in 1442 the Florentine matchmaker, Jacopo D’Albizzotto Guidi, moved to Venice, enrolled in the merchants’ guild and described the guilds, trades, magistracies in verse? Descending from the wooden bridge over the Grand Canal, he followed a route that passed in front of «a beautiful loggia of marble and wood where the merchants (knights, counts and marquises) used to meet». Then he noted – in a vibrant passage – the coexistence of trade and craft production activities that were crammed together, often rather too closely.⁵ These years in the middle of the fifteenth century saw the Senate of the Republic involved in reorganising the area, with the aim of moving the «highly bothering stench» of the fish market from Campo di San Giacometto, thus seeking to separate the fish stalls from the main meeting place of the great merchants. The need to «bring order» to which numerous archive documents for the area refer in this period is accompanied and explained by the poet’s gaze, fascinated as he was by the proximity between those selling and those producing. He noticed the proximity between those playing dice or cards and the major money changers and then, right next door, the display of fish from the lagoon and stockfish imported from afar, fresh and dried fruit, available both in summer and winter, poultry, game, sausages.

³ <https://www.progettorialto.org/>.

⁴ Shakespeare, *The merchant of Venice*, Act III, sc. 1, 91.

⁵ D’Albizzotto Guidi, *El sommo della condicione di Vinegia* (1442), pp. 15-20.

But the area was also home to taverns and inns, bakeries, soap manufacturers, barbers, tooth-pullers, shoemakers, along with other workmen making ropes, cloths, clothes, furs for men or women, those who carded wool, or worked silk, those who made buttons, those who made slippers, those who produced cups, spoons, forks and sharp knives, or sugared almonds intended mainly for foreigners; all shops in which the owners worked together with their children or with some employees. There was also the large butcher's shop with benches for cutting up meat from Hungary (calves, kids, pigs) and people standing around tasting boiled and roasted meats. Not far away there was also a large number of Venetian and non-Venetian goldsmiths, intent on working – even by night – on gold, silver and precious stones to create expensive jewellery. The Florentine merchant was as astonished at the manufacture of barrels here as he was at the “foreign” skills of the embroiderers, who used threads of many colours, and at the numerous drapers who showed their wares to passers-by, nobles and citizens alike. The author of the poem was also clearly awed at the public scales that weighed correctly, and the unloading on shore by a large number of boats of wine, oil, copper, iron. Nearby were the offices that checked and taxed incoming goods, as well as the great Fondaco to which flour arrived from every country. All purchases had to be made in cash.

And how did an English traveller from Somerset, Thomas Coryat, who was probably also intrigued by its uniqueness, see the same area 150 years later, in 1608? He described its «affluence and exuberance», as well as a great «abundance» of all possible merchandise: «a man may very properly call it rather *Orbis* than *Urbis forum*, that is, a market place of the world, not of the citie»,⁶ where lords and merchants met in large numbers to discuss their business twice a day in the public square, at what was a real “stock exchange” in Venice.

Rialto was therefore, and certainly for a long time, a place of great attraction not only for merchants and citizens for their own reasons, but also for foreign visitors, intrigued by the richness and variety of products, customs and habits that they encountered there. Their stories are a precious and effective testimony for us.⁷

The Distribution of Activities in Medieval and Modern Times: Documents

For those who wish to study its history, by cross-referencing iconographic and archival documents, we can note that the Rialto market was first of all located on an island – an aspect stressed by Fernand Braudel when he speaks

⁶ Coryat, *Crudities*, vol. II, pp. 29-32, pp. 68-74; 1905 ed., pp. 172, p. 314, pp. 384-99.

⁷ Del Negro, 'Lo sguardo su Venezia e la sua società'.

of all the markets in Mediterranean cities of the old regime – a circumscribed and controlled place for the wealth deposited there. In the case of Venice, the island is not a metaphorical figure; it is the principal physical feature of the area. An island with easy moorings for those who, on large boats, sailed up the canal from St Mark's basin, or entered it and descended from the mainland: it had become an area destined for trade, subject to the control of the State, which gradually, through bequests or purchases, had come to own a large part of it.⁸

Rialto is in fact that place full of monumental buildings, crowded with people of all origins, with different customs and languages, depicted by Vittore Carpaccio in his *Miracle of the Relic of the Cross* (1494);⁹ the centre of a city rendered cosmopolitan thanks to trade, around the junction between water and land routes on the Grand Canal, with a bridge that was still wooden and openable in the middle. This image is confirmed a few years later by Jacopo de Barbari's perspective view, in which, using archive documents, it is possible to reconstruct the very dense map of the various activities present, thus discovering that the graphic representation corresponds to contemporary descriptions.

On the basis of detailed historical research, in fact, we are now able to describe and to “draw” the road and building layout of the *insula* with good margins of reliability, as it consolidated over a long period of time and as it appeared in 1500. It is precisely the view to which we have referred, cross-referenced with the information arising from a series of archival documents relating to decisions taken by the governmental magistracies from the twelfth century to the end of the fifteenth, that allows us to do this.¹⁰ The descriptions of the foreign visitors mentioned give us confirmation of this.

The great fire that struck the entire market area and its buildings in January 1514 partly modified, but did not substantially alter, the street pattern of the *insula* that is still legible in today's itineraries.

Since the Middle Ages, the use of the canal banks and of the open spaces and the organisation of the activities that took place in the area can be reconstructed mainly on the basis of the ordinances collected in the *Capitolare* of the *Ufficiali sopra Rialto*, a magistracy with an executive mandate established between 1229 and 1248 to regulate the functions and behaviour of the operators present in the market.¹¹ After 1428 and until the fall of the Republic, the most precious archive fund for us is that of the *Provveditori al Sale*, the magistracy that inherited and carried out all the tasks of the former, playing a role of primary importance.¹²

⁸ Calabi and Morachiello, *Rialto. Le fabbriche e il ponte*, pp. 6-15.

⁹ Vittore Carpaccio, *The Miracle of the Relic of the Cross*, 1494, Venezia, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

¹⁰ Calabi, *Rialto. L'isola del mercato*.

¹¹ Princivalli and Ortalli (eds.), *Il capitolare degli Ufficiali sopra Rialto*.

¹² Calabi and Morachiello, *Rialto. Le fabbriche e il ponte*, pp. 28, 57.

It is worth remembering here that Venice founded an important part of its fortune also on the monopoly of salt in the Adriatic, which only the ships of the Serenissima could transport, as well as on the construction of salt pans in the lagoon and on the Greek islands.¹³ In the fifteenth century it fought one of the most important salt wars with Ferrara, basing its hegemony on what was considered «white gold». Salt was for centuries the main food preservative, one that Homer described as a «divine substance» and which Plato considered was «loved by the Gods». Although taxes on salt covered part of the military expenses of the European kingdoms engaged in never-ending wars until the seventeenth century, in the lagoon these had already been providing the Republic with the money needed for the maintenance of public buildings in the fifteenth century; it is no coincidence that the *proto* (the surveyor) of the *Provveditori al Sale* was the expert responsible for the city's building work.

In addition to the resolutions of the Rialto magistrates, a large number of contracts, letters and notarial acts preserved in the State Archives of Venice bear witness to the vast geography of trade of Venetian merchants and bankers: from India to the Americas, from Constantinople to Cairo. For centuries, the wealth of goods that flowed into Rialto from all over the world and those produced by the city's manufacturers reflected the protection offered by the government of the Republic to the inventors of new objects and machines through registration in an office located in the heart of the island, where not only material goods were exchanged, but also knowledge, innovations and technical know-how.¹⁴

As in the ancient Roman forum, but also as in the great mercantile squares of Europe, the functions present in the Venetian market area, especially between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, were therefore numerous and very varied: that is to say, they were not only commercial ones and, of these, certainly not all were related to food products, but also included financial operations and a great number of notarial acts, as well as the control and administration of justice. This area also included some fundamental city landmarks (for example the «stone» for the dissemination of news, or the globe for the study of sea routes).

In short, the place was able to identify and summarise the many relationships that the Serenissima entertained for a very long period with the whole world. The historical reconstruction has allowed us to locate the distribution of offices, taverns, banks, the drapery and the places for the sale of gold, silver and jewels, the meeting place of the nobles and the great merchants, the churches of the island and their civil as well as religious functions, the *Fondaco delle Farine*

¹³ *Acqua e cibo a Venezia*, pp. 161-3.

¹⁴ *Rialto. Centro di una «economia mondo»*, pp. 74-81.

(Warehouse of the flour) governed by the State, the meat and fish markets, the herb markets, and establish the limits laid down in city regulations.

The Transformations Undergone: The Reconstruction after the fire of 1514

A separate chapter in the long story that interests us is needed to cover the urban transformations of the spaces and buildings on the island following the great and dramatic fire of 1514. The projects presented and the choice made by the Republic's governing magistrates not to upset consolidated interests, help us to reflect on the long duration of the modifications undergone by the open spaces for pedestrian traffic, by the buildings and their functions, and on the processes of "political" decision-making put in place to achieve them. Even the rejection of fra' Giocondo's "revolutionary" design for a new *forum*, which would have modified the pre-existing layout, goes in this direction.

Today, the site is still substantially the same as it was intended by Doge Leonardo Loredan and the Senate when they chose the project of the *proto al sale* Antonio Abbondi, known as lo Scarpagnino.

The main building, also known as the *Drapperia* because it was once used as the market for precious goods (not just jewellery, but especially fabrics and silks), is the result of the reconstruction of the entire Campo di San Giacomo, which the *proto* clearly wanted to be unified and capable of acting as the heart of the island. Together with the building that surrounds the open space, it is also equipped with vaulted porticoes, delimited by square pillars in Istrian stone, surmounted by two floors with wide corridors and vaulted rooms, the latter illuminated by silhouetted windows resting on uninterrupted entablatures with a high plastered frieze. The complex is also called *Fabbriche Vecchie*, as compared to the building constructed later by Jacopo Sansovino along the Grand Canal, called *Fabbriche Nuove*.

The complex built in the wake of the fire is also characterised by an intermediate service lane (*calletta*) between the two long parallel structures, which separates and connects the main Ruga and the Campo di Rialto Novo behind it through short transversal branches, thus constituting the principal framework of the area. Under the 37 arches of the complex that run along the Ruga, a series of shops open up, now no longer just selling jewellery and watches, nor textiles, but also other local crafts (glass jewellery, slippers, old pearls). The shops are all equipped – as initially wanted by Scarpagnino – with an attic, intended for storage, which is accessed via an internal staircase. The vaults of the arcades on this side of the square are also splendidly frescoed.

Emblematic of this phase of major redevelopment, aimed at assuring a “measured” magnificence in the city’s public buildings, and not only in Rialto, is the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi which, stepping down from the Rialto bridge, stands on the right side, in front of the *Drapperia* and on the corner with the Grand Canal, almost surrounding the wide trapezoidal stretch of the Erbaria bank. Once again, it manifests the importance gained in the area for the administration of justice and money, alongside the commercial activities intertwined with them. The building is now the seat of the Court of Auditors. Completely faced in Istrian stone, with inserts of polychrome marble, and with three floors (two of a greater height) separated by horizontal, richly decorated bands, it is a strange building composed of two pre-existing parts. The decorative bands, in some parts crooked to join different heights, underline the fact that inside there are different supporting structures, which outside appear unified by a stone shell. On the façade facing the Grand Canal an inscription recalls the Doge Andrea Gritti as the promoter of the work in 1525.

Studying the documents, however, we realise that 1525 is not the date of the completion of the work, as some historians have assumed, but that of the beginning of the works for the recomposition of the tripartite complex in a single “royal palace”, clearly visible in de’ Barbari’s view). Already in the years preceding that image, the offices housed there had undergone internal and external maintenance, but «that ingenious distribution of the halls and rooms» that the *proto* had been able to draw in the outline for the reconstruction of the whole area after the fire «from a very irregular plan» dates back to the three years 1525-1528. Tommaso Temanza, the famous Venetian architect and historian of the eighteenth century, described this embellishment operation in the words quoted above, thus indicating that this was a key period for the construction of the *palazzo* as we see it today and as it was certainly desired by the Doge of the *Renovatio Urbis* as a celebration of himself and of the wealth of the Republic.

Over time the island of Rialto has also become famous for the presence of its “monuments” such as the *Fabbriche Nuove* by Jacopo Sansovino (an architect from Rome steeped in its culture and expert in antiquities, who became the *proto* of the *Procuratori de’ Supra*). At the behest of the Senate, his project was intended to embellish the view of the market from the Grand Canal. However, at the same time, at the back, medieval elements remain, including the brothel district run directly by the State and considered fundamental in a trading town.¹⁵

We must not forget the importance of public ownership of the land in this area: banks and market buildings belonged to the State and were governed and

¹⁵ Scarabello, *Meretrices. Storia della Prostituzione a Venezia*; Clark, ‘The Business of Prostitution’; Weddle ‘Mobility and Prostitution in Early Modern Venice’.

controlled directly by the magistrates, but their maintenance was the responsibility of the private individuals who used them. In this context, as more generally in the history of Venetian public buildings, the role of the numerous *proti* (surveyors) of the *Provveditori al Sal* is fundamental (the figures of Scarpagnino, first, and then Antonio da Ponte deserve special attention in this story),¹⁶ as well as of the *Provveditori di Comun*, the *Savi* and *Esecutori alle acque*, the *Procuratori di San Marco*¹⁷...

From the Wooden Bridge to the Stone Bridge

Finally, we must turn our attention on the long history of indecision regarding the replacement of the old wooden bridge, finally concluded with the construction of the stone one in 1587. We must underline the practicality of the experts of the Republic who for centuries preferred to effect minor adjustments and partial restorations, rather than take a radical decision full of uncertainties with regard to stability and construction, in a city in which the continuous changes in the waterlogged substrata caused not a little worry.

It should be noted, among other things, that until the nineteenth century the Rialto bridge was the only one across the Grand Canal, thus uniting the two banks of the city. Today there are four bridges crossing the same canal, built at different times and in different traffic points. The first after Rialto was the Carità bridge, today known as the Accademia bridge (1854, 1933); the Scalzi bridge was built to connect the station with the city centre as soon as the railway line was completed in 1858, and the most recent is the Costituzione bridge (2008). Despite the existence of these new passages, the sixteenth-century stone bridge that connects the heart of the market, the Campo di San Giacomo, with the Campo di San Bartolomeo and from there with St Mark's Square, is still the most important and busiest.

The subject of one of the most common picture postcards sent by hundreds of tourists to their loved ones, it remains one of the most recognisable architectural structures, almost an icon of the city of Venice. It is no coincidence that today, in the midst of the Covid 19 pandemic, it should have been chosen by the City Council as the Venetian monument *par excellence*, to be illuminated with the colours of the Italian tricolour to evoke the solidarity of the whole country in the battle it is waging; or that in the past, in the face of other moments of national trial, it has been used as a support to manifest the civil and political orientation of the populace.

¹⁶ Gaier, *Architettura «venetiana»*, pp. 241-81, 322-6.

¹⁷ Zaggia (ed.), *Fare la città: salvaguardia e manutenzione urbana a Venezia*.

Once again, as when it had been a question of accepting the Greek *forum* proposed by fra' Giocondo, this was achieved by rejecting the project of a great architect, Andrea Palladio, whose design (1566) is worth studying in order to try to understand how, after another twenty years or so of dithering following Palladio's proposals, the governing magistrates adopted a certain stance with respect to the city and its transformations.

Archival research has made it possible to reconstruct the long process that saw the project of a famous architect, Vincenzo Scamozzi, and that of a *proto*, a construction worker used to carpentry work and a good connoisseur of Venetian factories, Antonio Da Ponte, opposing each other. It was the latter who, between 1587 and 1591, had the better of it, with real invention in the manner of making the foundations of a bridge with a single arch, and therefore with a very large span, and with regard to the old existing buildings next to the two abutments of the bridge that did not have to be demolished.¹⁸

Historical Background and Work Prospects

The island of Rialto and its surroundings, with all the banks, widenings, passages and market buildings, do not constitute a traditional tourist destination. In this area, most guides mention only a few features as monuments worthy of attention: the bridge, the long building that runs along the Grand Canal – currently used for the Courts – called *Le Fabbriche Nuove*, and the small church of San Giacomo (emblem of a legendary origin of the city).

As is often the case in other famous city centres, visitors are usually urged to take a closer look at the “works of art”, whether they be artefacts designed by great architects, or collections of paintings of recognised value.

In Venice the quantity of public and private palaces, churches and museums existing in the central areas and in the peripheral ones is such as to attract the attention of a varied public interested also in different historical periods. As a result, the centuries-old history of a centre of refined artisan production, of a place of exchange of daily and luxury goods arriving from the islands of the lagoon or from far away, of a place that was a magnet for a population of the most diverse origins has been the subject of academic studies rather than of popular knowledge and curiosity.

However, despite the fact that for years the landscape of this area was dominated by the presence of groups of tourists clustered behind a listless flag-waving “cicerone”, this year, with the spread of Covid 19 and the subsequent safety and distancing regulations established by national and local government, the

¹⁸ Calabi and Morachiello, *Rialto. Le fabbriche e il ponte*, pp. 173-300.

nature of the places has changed very quickly. Some of the spaces described here now appear “empty” in a way that leaves one almost disoriented or are barricaded to enforce measures intended to safeguard the health of market workers and customers.¹⁹

The studies that I have summarised here began long before the pandemic broke out or could have been foreseen: the emergency situation could represent only a long, dismal parenthesis. The events narrated may thus help the citizens and make them reflect in a more conscious way on the possibility of a turnaround, or a revival of some of the places most beloved by Venetians. This possibility is part of a necessary and pondered rethinking of overall urban strategies, which it is hoped will no longer be based exclusively on a monoculture of tourism, and which will forcefully address the problem of attracting productive activities compatible with the fragility of the city and, consequently, residents for whom daily services can be provided.

In short, I believe that presenting such a long history of choices that have to do with politics, economy, daily life and even architecture – in short, a reflection on a very rich mixture of activities and suggestions – may perhaps be a way of helping to rethink the city, in a moment of “rupture” that has had no equal in these years between the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. For those who want to try to revitalise an area that is still felt by citizens and visitors to be the “heart” of the lagoon city, finding new ideas today while maintaining awareness of the necessary changes under way, seems a civil duty.

Bibliography

- Acqua e cibo a Venezia. Storie della città e della laguna*, ed. by Donatella Calabi and Ludovica Galeazzo (Venezia: Marsilio, 2015)
- Braudel, Fernand, *Civiltà e imperi del Mediterraneo nell'età di Filippo II* (Torino: Einaudi, 1953)
- Calabi, Donatella, *Rialto. L'isola del mercato. Una passeggiata tra arte e storia* (Verona: Cierre, 2019)
- Calabi, Donatella and Morachiello, Paolo, *Rialto. Le fabbriche e il ponte* (Torino: Einaudi, 1987)
- Il capitolare degli Ufficiali sopra Rialto. Nei luoghi al centro del sistema economico veneziano (XIII-XIV)*, ed. by Alessandra Princivalli and Gherardo Ortalli (Milano: La Storia, 1993)

¹⁹ Massaro and Mantegazza, *Historical Journey in the 'Rialto Market Place' (The Past- The Present - The Future)*: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ie24MVkUXMU>, here discussed by Martina Massaro. See also: International Summer School “Market Spaces, Production Sites, and Sound Landscape of European Cities: from History to Regeneration” Dipartimento dei Beni Culturali: (unipd.it).

- Casola, Pietro, *Viaggio a Gerusalemme* [1494], ed. by Anna Paoletti (Alessandria: ed. dell'Orso, 2001)
- Clark, Paula, 'The business of Prostitution in the early Renaissance Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. LXVIII, 2 (2015), pp. 419-64
- Coryat, Thomas, *Crudities* [1608], reprinted from the edition of 1611 (London, Cater, 1776 and edition of Glasgow: University Press, London: Macmillan, MXMV)
- D'Albizzotto Guidi, Jacopo, *El sommo della condicione di Vinegia* (1442), ed. by Marta Ceci (Roma: Zauli, 1995)
- Del Negro, Piero, 'Lo sguardo su Venezia e la sua società: viaggiatori, osservatori politici', in *Storia di Venezia*, vol. VI, *Dal Rinascimento al Barocco*, ed. by Gino Benzoni and Gaetano Cozzi (Roma: Treccani, 1994)
- Fare la città: salvaguardia e manutenzione urbana a Venezia in età moderna*, ed. by Stefano Zaggia (Milano: Bruno Mondadori ed., 2006)
- Gaier, Martin, *Architettura «venetiana». I protti veneziani e la politica edilizia nel Cinquecento* (Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed arti; Verona: Cierre, 2019)
- Rialto. Centro di una "economia mondo"*, ed. by Donatella Calabi, Luca Molà and Paolo Morachiello (Venezia: Supernova, 2019)
- Sanudo, Marin, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae, ovvero La città di Venetia (1493-1530)* ed. by Angiola Caracciolo Aricò (Milano: Cisalpino, 1980)
- Scarabello, Gianni, *Meretrices. Storia della Prostituzione a Venezia tra il XIII e il XVIII secolo* (Venezia: Supernova, 2006)
- Shakespeare, William, *The merchant of Venice* [1596-99], ed. by Charles Knox Poole (London: Methuen, 1905)
- Weddle, Sandra, 'Mobility and Prostitution in Early Modern Venice', *Early Modern Women: an interdisciplinary Journal*, 14 (2019), pp. 95-108

The Emporia of Syria: Damascus and Aleppo in the Venetian Mercantile Imagination*

Deborah Howard

Over the past decade the civil war in Syria has devastated the ancient cities of Damascus and Aleppo, which have suffered more structural damage than any other Syrian town.¹ Yet in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these were two of the most important destinations for Venetian merchants in the Levant. Indeed, they were considered so familiar that travellers felt no need to describe them. In 1478 on his return from Persia, the Venetian envoy, Giosafat Barbaro referred to Aleppo as «a place with which we are familiar, and very famous».² In his *Tariffa de Pexi e Measure*, published in Venice in 1503, Bartolomeo di Paxi only reluctantly listed the commodities in the markets of Damascus, knowing this information to be common knowledge.³

After Beirut was chosen as the destination of one of the officially escorted state galley convoys in 1375, Syria became a major hub of Venetian Levantine

* This short essay synthesises research extending across three decades. Among the many colleagues who have helped and advised me over this time, I mention in particular Benjamin Arbel, Francesco Bianchi, Michele Lamprakos, Reinhold Mueller, and Heghnar Watenpaugh.

¹ More of the fabric has been destroyed or seriously damaged in Aleppo than in any other Syrian city. <https://towardsdatascience.com/damage-caused-by-the-syrian-civil-war-what-the-data-say-ebad5796fca8> [accessed 30 April 2021]

² Cited in Howard, *Venice & the East*, p. 21. See also Arbel, 'The Last Decades', pp. 41-3.

³ Bianchi and Howard, 'Life and Death', p. 241.

trade.⁴ During the Mamluk sultanate (1260-1517) the principal emporia of Syria were not the ports, but rather, the inland cities – as reluctant seafarers, the Mamluks depended on Venetian merchants to ship their goods to the west.⁵ United by the threat of Ottoman expansion, the Venetian Republic and the Mamluks recognised the need for co-operation, and – apart from the usual disputes over extortion and tariffs – both regimes benefited from the maintenance of an effective trading relationship.⁶ By the end of the fifteenth century 45% of Venetian investment in overseas commerce involved trade with the Mamluks.⁷

In Mamluk Syria, Venetian merchants concentrated their commerce in Damascus, but after the Ottoman conquest of 1516 the centre of gravity gradually shifted northward to Aleppo.⁸ This chapter explores the ways in which mental images of Damascus and Aleppo were assembled in the mercantile experience and communal memory of Early Modern Venice, for trade was not only an instrument of commercial gain, but also a vehicle for the transmission of culture.

Venetian “Colonies” in Syria

Through carefully negotiated trading treaties in the later Middle Ages, the Venetian Republic established overseas trading posts in the major mercantile cities of the eastern Mediterranean, beginning with the first Venetian “colony” in Constantinople in 1082.⁹ The consulate in Damascus was established in 1375, the year of the first officially escorted state galley convoys to Beirut.¹⁰ In each so-called “colony”, the small resident community included a consul, a priest (who also served as the notary), a barber-surgeon and a baker.¹¹ In mid-fifteenth-century Damascus the Venetian colony also comprised goldsmiths, jewellers, physicians and a tailor.¹² A “Council of XII” elected by the Venetian residents governed their local affairs.¹³ The centre of each colony was the *fondaco*

⁴ At this time Syria comprised what we would now call Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel.

⁵ Arbel, ‘The Last Decades’, pp. 37-39. The Mamluk Sultanate falls into two distinct periods: the Bahri Mamluks 1260-1382, followed by the Burji Mamluks 1382-1516.

⁶ Bianchi and Howard, ‘Life and Death’, p. 239.

⁷ Ashtor, *The Levant Trade*, pp. 478-9.

⁸ Masters, *The Origins*, pp. 10-11. On the Ottoman conquest of Syria, see Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, vol. II, p. 667.

⁹ Howard, *Venice & the East*, pp. 29-36.

¹⁰ Concina, *Fondaci*, p. 89.

¹¹ Bianchi and Howard, ‘Life and Death’, p. 235.

¹² Bianchi and Howard, ‘Life and Death’, p. 239.

¹³ Bianchi and Howard, ‘Life and Death’, p. 239-40. The process of election is still little understood: according to Steensgaard, ‘Consuls and nations’, pp. 36-7, it was the consul who appointed the Council of XII.

or *khan*, arranged around a quadrangular arcaded courtyard, with warehousing and sometimes stabling below, and living quarters above. The outside wall facing the street was usually lined with shops, and the entrance, a monumental gateway with large wooden doors and a smaller wicket gate, was closed at night for security reasons.¹⁴ Most colonies included a Christian chapel, a bakery and a bath-house.

The trading treaties with the Mamluks drawn up in 1421 and 1442 conferred special privileges on Venetian merchants in Syria, offering more concessions than those afforded to most European visitors.¹⁵ In 1421 the Venetians asked to have these privileges inscribed on a stone tablet at the main crossroads in the centre of Damascus, the Mamluk provincial capital.¹⁶ On their overland travels Venetians were allowed to «dress in the clothes of Muslims, Mamluks and Bedouin on their journeys, so that there be no temptation to rob them».¹⁷ Although Christians were not allowed to enter mosques, some Venetians did so in disguise, and in certain circumstances they could set foot in Muslim houses, for example, to sign legal documents.¹⁸ They were permitted to join overland “caravans” or groups of travelling merchants to venture further east into Central Asia.¹⁹ It seems from the travel narrative of the Burgundian pilgrim Bertrand de la Broquière, who took advantage of their hospitality in both Beirut and Hama, that Venetian merchants also lived in other Syrian towns.²⁰

Damascus

Considerable numbers of Venetians lived in Damascus in the fifteenth century. The notarial documents of the colony’s priest-notary, Cristoforo del Fiore, in 1455-7 mention around seventy names, although some may have been transitory visiting merchants.²¹ A single list compiled in 1482 records 41 Venetian merchants in Syria, most of these in Damascus, but in the longer term many

¹⁴ Concina, *Fondaci*, pp. 41-8; Howard, *Venice & the East*, pp. 120-6; Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, pp. 266-305. Constable gives a very full account of the development of the Mediterranean *khan/fondaco* from antiquity onwards.

¹⁵ Wansbrough, ‘Venice and Florence’.

¹⁶ Archivio di Stato di Venezia (henceforth ASVe), Senato Misti, reg. 53 (copia), fol. 482, 23 Dec. 1421, cited in Howard, *Venice & the East*, p. 32; Bianchi and Howard, ‘Life and Death’ p. 241.

¹⁷ Wansbrough, ‘Venice and Florence’, p. 518, privilege of 1442 mentioned in later treaty; cited in Howard, *Venice & the East*, p. 38. For the original clauses from the treaty of 1442, see Wansbrough, ‘Venice and Florence’, pp. 493, 495, 497; cited in Bianchi and Howard, ‘Life and Death’, p. 247.

¹⁸ Howard, *Venice & the East*, pp. 40-1.

¹⁹ Lampracos, ‘Life in the Khans’, p. 131.

²⁰ Howard, *Venice & the East*, pp. 38-40.

²¹ Bianchi and Howard, ‘Life and Death’, p. 287, Appendix 5, pp. 287-94.

more individuals appear in the documents.²² Numerous merchants' names recur in the records for several years in succession, indicating their semi-permanent residence in the Syrian provincial capital. It is notable that, apart from the consul's female slave, no women are recorded in the Venetian colony in Damascus in the cache of records of the mid 1450s.²³ Thus, because few Venetian women had direct experience of life in Mamluk Syria, they were completely dependent on their menfolk for the transfer of local knowledge.

As early as 1375, Venetian merchants in Damascus were authorised to live outside the *fondaco* when on long-term visits, renting houses elsewhere in the city. In 1442 this privilege was extended to those in Amman: «And the said merchants may stay in a house and live wherever they like in the land, paying their own rent».²⁴ Legal documents suggest that their lifestyle could be both settled and refined. One merchant, Roberto Morosini, who died in the city in 1436, owned both musical instruments and a book of Petrarch's songs on parchment, while he stored his textiles in a wardrobe from Padua painted with chiaroscuro scenes. His landlord, Piero da Molin, was one of a succession of members of the Da Molin family with enduring connections with Syria.²⁵

We know from the inventories of merchants who died in Damascus that their residences consisted of several spaces arranged in sequences of rooms, as in a Venetian palace, including a private *studiolo*.²⁶ The merchants Stefano Ravagnino and Stefano di Bossina, who died in the city in 1455, inhabited houses belonging to Venetian landlords from patrician families, although we do not know the location of these dwellings. Like Jerusalem, Damascus was divided into quarters inhabited by communities of different faiths, but the Venetians seem to have had little contact with the local Syrian Christian sects and did not necessarily live in their district. The Genoese visitor, Anselmo Adorno, who visited Damascus in 1470-1471, remarked that there are «many Venetians, all living together in one place, who are shut up in their houses at night by the Moors».²⁷ This has been interpreted to imply that all the Venetians lived in a single street, but it is more likely that this comment refers specifically to the Venetian *fondaco*.²⁸

²² Vallet, *Marchands vénitiens*, pp. 105-6.

²³ Bianchi and Howard, 'Life and Death', p. 240.

²⁴ Bianchi and Howard, 'Life and Death', p. 242.

²⁵ ASVe, Cancelleria Inferiore, b. 122, Atti Tebaldo Manfredi, registro dated 1420-1465, 3rd July 1436, among goods belonging to Ruberto Morosini in the house of Piero da Molin, f. 16 sin., 24 sin. Dr Susan Connell Wallington kindly drew these documents to my attention. See Howard, 'Venice and the Mamluks', p. 81.

²⁶ Bianchi and Howard, 'Life and Death', p. 246. See also Howard, 'Death in Damascus'.

²⁷ Adorno, *Itinéraire*, p. 333: «Sunt multi Veneti omnes simul in un loco habitantes, qui in domibus suis nocte ab Mauris includuntur», cited in Bianchi and Howard, 'Life and Death', p. 246.

²⁸ Vallet, *Marchands vénitiens*, pp. 208-9.

The Image of Damascus

In Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities*, Marco Polo reveals to the Chinese Emperor Kublai Khan, that he views every city as a version of Venice.²⁹ This literary device highlights the spontaneous response of travellers to any new place through comparison with their own environment. Because Venetian merchants often sailed to the Eastern Mediterranean as adolescents to learn the rudiments of commerce, many young men experienced overseas emporia at an impressionable age. Yet the *oltremare* remained essentially different from home, separated by the long sea voyage and by the long time-delay in receiving news.³⁰ Recognising differences while taking similarities for granted, Venetians viewed Damascus through what this writer has termed the "Mirror of the Familiar".³¹ Apparently banal comments such as «The cost of living is roughly as in Venice» by an Italian Jewish visitor in 1521-2 reveal how the lagoon city provided a yardstick for observation.³² As the same observer commented:

There are many beautiful markets, those where trade is carried on, being covered on top. Damascus has a large population and much commerce. In it are to be found all kinds of trades and crafts, *to an even greater extent than in Venice*. In particular silk manufacture and trade are on a large scale.³³ (my italics)

The reputation of Damascus penetrated deeply into Venetian culture. The biblical narrative of Saul's conversion on the road to Damascus gave the city a familiar Christian context. Different faiths co-existed there, both in time and space. The Great Mosque, begun in 706 CE, was erected on the site of a Byzantine church, formerly a Roman temple.³⁴ Only 218 kilometres from Jerusalem, Damascus lay close enough for Venetian merchants to take time off to visit the holy sites, such as Barbon Morosini in 1514, who recorded his short overland pilgrimage in a hand-written diary.³⁵

Damascus had been a Moslem city since the installation of the Umayyad caliphate in 635 CE, and unlike much of the Holy Land it never fell to the Crusaders. Apart from its sacking by Timur (Tamerlane) in 1401-2, the city flour-

²⁹ Howard, *Venice & the East*, p. 45.

³⁰ On the speed of the transmission of news see Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, vol. II, pp. 355-71: the 'normal' time for letters to pass between Damascus and Venice was 76 days, varying between 28 and 102 days (p. 362).

³¹ Howard, *Venice & the East*, pp. 45-8.

³² Lewis, 'A Jewish Source', p. 182.

³³ Lewis, 'A Jewish Source', p. 181.

³⁴ See especially Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus*.

³⁵ Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms Marc. It. VI, cod. 6 (= 5887). See also Howard, *Venice & the East*, pp. 589-90.

ished thanks to its strategic position at the intersection between two overland caravan routes: north-south from the Red Sea to Turkey, and east-west between Central Asia and the Mediterranean. Astride this confluence of trade routes, the markets of Damascus received goods from both the Indian Ocean and the Silk Route. Although many craftsmen had fled to Samarkand after Timur's invasion, local manufacturing quickly recovered.

Travellers noted the abundance of merchandise as well as the thriving local crafts. The French traveller Bertrand de la Broquière, who had several Venetian contacts in Syria, described Damascus as a

large spacious town where there are most beautiful gardens, the largest I have seen anywhere, and the best fruits and great abundance of water, for there are few houses without a fountain, so they say. A river runs around various places and there is a fine fortification, although the suburbs are larger than the part within the walls.³⁶

The commodities on sale in the *sugs* of Damascus (fig. 1) – textiles and furs, carpets, paper, metalwork, steel, jewellery, spices, dyes, aromatics and ceramics – also filled the houses of Venetian merchants who lived in the city, as we know from the inventories of the mid 1450s.³⁷ Crucially, these objects were returned to their families in Venice after their deaths, just as living merchants transported their goods and possessions home. While the merchandise found its way to the markets of Rialto, private possessions displayed in Venetian households acted as potent transmitters of memories and experiences of life in Syria.

Even the city's name permeated everyday language. The phrase “*alla damaschina*” was a term often used in inventories, both in Venice and in the *oltremare*, to describe ornamental patterns on a range of Islamic artefacts. But the name also bore association with an array of other crafts. The specific term “*damasco*” (“damask” in English) refers to woven cloth, usually silk, with a reversible vegetal pattern in a single colour.³⁸ “Damascene” steel is a term used to describe watery patterns on the surface of a blade, and alludes to the fame of Damascus as a centre for the production of swords and knives, although those made in the city did not necessarily display marbled effects.³⁹ Mercantile sensibilities associated Damascus with a variety of other high-quality luxury objects

³⁶ Bianchi and Howard, ‘Life and Death’, p. 241. Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, p. 294.

³⁷ These documents are analysed in detail and transcribed in Bianchi and Howard, ‘Life and Death’.

³⁸ See Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters*, p. 251.

³⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Damascus_steel ‘Damascene’ steel may refer to steel made in Damascus; to steel purchased or traded from Damascus; or to the similarity the pattern in the steel has to damask fabric.

such as enamelled glass, blue and white ceramics, inlaid metalwork and carpets.⁴⁰ The small plums known as “damaschini” (“damsons” in English) similarly derived their name from their abundance in the city.⁴¹

How did Venetian communal memory assemble the collage of reminiscences, oral and written descriptions and visual clues to the identity and appearance of Damascus? The frequent comparisons with Venice must have hinted at the similarities and differences between the two cities. Like Venice, Damascus had an extensive network of canals, diverted from the River Barada, although many of these are no longer visible.⁴² Its residential quarters were as labyrinthine as those of Venice, with its magnificent palaces hidden behind high walls. At the same time, however, the legacy of the Roman city with its *cardo* and *decumanus* meant that the Syrian capital was arranged more like a mainland Italian town. The paradisaical quality of the gardens and orchards of Damascus particularly impressed travellers.

The land is blessed with an abundance of food and fruits and all kinds of royal dishes, and a man may find every kind of pleasure in it. [. . .] The houses are beautiful inside, with gardens and fountains and in the market also there are fountains in plenty. There are two rivers, side by side, outside the town.⁴³

Even the Great Mosque invited comparison with San Marco, for its courtyard appeared similar in size to Piazza San Marco,⁴⁴ and both buildings were richly decorated with mosaics.

Yet, despite the first-hand experience of visiting merchants, the image of Damascus for stay-at-home Venetians remained fragmentary, consisting of little more than a collage of verbal and written observations. Returning travellers brought back luxury objects as well as everyday possessions, and must have entertained family members with their reminiscences, but the coherent townscape remained elusive, given the absence of maps and plans in any surviving documentation.

An exceptional piece of visual *ekphrasis*, however, was provided by the view of Damascus by an unidentified follower of Gentile Bellini, dated 1511, four years after Gentile’s death (fig. 2). This large picture, more than two metres wide, reflects the fruits of direct observation, even if it was presumably painted in Venice from sketches by a returning draftsman. The canvas depicts the reception of a

⁴⁰ On the manufactured products of Syria see Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*: on blue and white ceramics pp. 97-9; on glassware pp. 113-6; on inlaid metalwork pp. 139-40; and on carpets pp. 24-5.

⁴¹ Coco, *Venezia levantina*, p. 67.

⁴² Bianchi and Howard, ‘Life and Death’, pp. 240-2.

⁴³ Lewis, ‘A Jewish Source’, p. 182.

⁴⁴ Lewis, ‘A Jewish Source’, p. 182.

Venetian ambassador by Mamluk dignitaries in Damascus, just five years before the city fell to the Ottomans.⁴⁵

The unknown artist has assembled a jigsaw of identifiers, such as the dome of the Great Mosque and distant hills in the left background, the perforated dome of a *hammam*, a total of three minarets, a fine palace with a rooftop terrace and *mashrabiyya* (screened balcony), and on the right a tree-top glimpse of a garden. At the same time the topography is invented, with the landmarks composed in a way that distorts their actual spatial relationships. Many of these features bear comparison with familiar elements in the Venetian townscape, with its domes, *campanili*, rooftop *altane*, screened balconies (*liagò*), gardens hidden behind high walls, and far-away mountains. Yet the “otherness” of the scene is underlined by the exotic headdresses of the Mamluk delegation, the palm tree, the city gate decorated with Mamluk blazons, and the Arabic inscription over the gate (nonsensically painted in reverse).

The discovery of the date of 1511 under the horse’s legs during the most recent restoration has raised many questions about the picture’s authorship as well as the identity of the Venetian envoy depicted.⁴⁶ The ambassador may represent the Venetian consul Pietro Zen, who was replaced in that year after he had been accused of treason by the Mamluk Sultan.⁴⁷ The picture’s provenance is uncertain, but it had reached France by the mid-seventeenth century. The composition was sufficiently famous to be copied at more than twice the size in a French tapestry of 1545, now at Powis Castle in Wales.⁴⁸ Although the painting shares many characteristics with the oriental biblical scenes in Venetian *scuole* around the turn of the century, its spatial generosity and luminous palette seem to evoke a more direct experience of the sunlit vistas of Syria. This picture must have provided the most complete and evocative visual image of Damascus available in Venice, but it was almost certainly in private hands, perhaps commissioned by the Zen family, and would only have been accessible to an elite group of viewers.

Aleppo

Before the mid-sixteenth century fewer Venetians lived in Aleppo than in Damascus – just 17 names were recorded there in 1484, but the fact that these

⁴⁵ Among the many discussions of this work, see especially Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, pp. 55-65; Campbell, *Bellini and the East*, cat. n. 22, pp. 22-3; Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, pp. 294-6.

⁴⁶ Campbell, in Campbell and Chong, *Bellini and the East*, pp. 22-3, cat. n. 2.

⁴⁷ On the complex history of Zen’s embassy to the Mamluks see Lucchetta, “L’affaire Zen”.

⁴⁸ Campbell and Chong, *Bellini and the East*, p. 23 and fig. 7 on p. 21.

included a chaplain suggests that the community was already semi-official.⁴⁹ Indeed, privileges had first been sought in the early thirteenth century, and an attempt to establish a Venetian factor in Aleppo had been made as early as 1395.⁵⁰ By the 1460s the colony was sufficiently settled to justify the appointment of a vice-consul.⁵¹ A treaty was negotiated in 1512 in the last years of the Mamluk sultanate.⁵²

Under Sultan Suleyman (1520-1566) notable efforts were made to facilitate Venetian trade.⁵³ Among the specific concessions, Venetians were allowed to set their own prices for imported wool, silk and glass, and were also authorised to pay for goods with coinage, especially silver.⁵⁴ In turn they bought gems from India, as well as silk, spices, dyes and cotton. Those who paid their rent correctly could not be evicted from their homes. The Venetian consulate moved definitively to Aleppo in 1548, and in 1560 the Senate made provision for church furnishings for the Venetian church in the city.⁵⁵ In 1537 the Vice-Consul in Aleppo, Domenico Da Molin, was a member of the same patrician family as the consul in Damascus a century earlier.⁵⁶

Until the seventeenth century, the Venetian colony was the only foreign community to have its own *fondaco* in Aleppo, and indeed seems to have used two *khans*, described as «small *ahidnames*» (agreements).⁵⁷ The Venetian *fondaci* occupied different sites over time, as the researches of Michele Lamprakos have shown.⁵⁸ In the mid sixteenth century the Venetian consul lived in the Khan al-Banadiqa, linked to the adjoining Khan al-Jadid (popularly called Khan Jaki). The Venetian church probably occupied a vaulted space on the ground floor of the Khan Jaki – in 1599 a visiting traveller admired its rich furnishings.⁵⁹ The other Venetian *fondaco* was the Khan al-Nahhasin, built after 1556, oppo-

⁴⁹ Vallet, *Marchands vénitiens*, pp. 105-6.

⁵⁰ Lamprakos, 'Life in the Khans', pp. 130-131. Venetian trading concessions in Aleppo and the nearby port of Latakia had been approved by the Ayyūbids as early as 1225-6, and there was already a khan for Frankish (European) merchants in the fourteenth century (Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, pp. 124-5, 292). See also Concina, *Fondaci*, pp. 94-5.

⁵¹ Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, p. 397.

⁵² Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, p. 293.

⁵³ Farokhi 'The Venetian Presence', pp. 375-82.

⁵⁴ See Arbel, 'Venice's Trade', pp. 43-56.

⁵⁵ Watenpaugh, *The Image*, p. 57; Lamprakos 'Life in the Khans', pp. 125, 134.

⁵⁶ Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, p. 549; Lamprakos 'Life in the Khans', p. 133.

⁵⁷ Farokhi, 'The Venetian Presence', p. 381.

⁵⁸ The fundamental study on the Venetian presence in Aleppo and its buildings is Lamprakos 'Life in the Khans'.

⁵⁹ Lamprakos 'Life in the Khans', p. 134. The church thrived until its closure in 1633 (p. 137).

site a *hamman* or bathhouse.⁶⁰ The date «1559» on a wall plaque, apparently inscribed in a Venetian hand, survives in this complex. Its unusual plan, with rooms arranged along either side of a central corridor, has been linked to the plan of the typical Venetian *palazzo* with its central *portego* (fig. 3). The much larger Khan al-Ghumruk, built in 1574 for the Grand Vizir Sokollu Mehmet Pasha, was probably designed, from Istanbul by the great Ottoman architect Sinan.⁶¹ This monumental *khan* with its domed mosque in the centre initially housed the French consul was used by various European nations over several centuries.⁶²

Venetian merchants were more deeply rooted into life in Aleppo than those of any other European nation. Outside their two *fondaci* they rented workshops, warehouses and dwellings elsewhere in the city, usually in properties endowed by *waqf* charitable foundations.⁶³ In 1575, for example, Venetians also lived in the Khan al-Abtrak.⁶⁴ A series of letters by the Venetian merchant Andrea Berengo, who was in Aleppo in 1556-56 as an agent for other traders, throws light on the life of the Venetian community in Syria.⁶⁵ His letters allude to the social life of the Venetian merchants who had weekly suppers at the Consul's residence, although he himself was reluctant to attend these. Berengo suffered from homesickness, melancholia and kidney problems, and died before he could return to Venice, where he had a glove business at Rialto.⁶⁶ By the eighteenth century, English, Dutch and French traders had become dominant among the western merchants in Aleppo, but the English traveller Alexander Russell still singled out the Venetians as the most deeply integrated into local life.⁶⁷

The Townscape of Aleppo

Situated 360 km north of Damascus, Aleppo lies in the very north of Syria. The nearest Mediterranean ports are Iskenderun (Alexandretta), now in Turkey, and Latakia.⁶⁸ Like Damascus the city stood at a major crossing point be-

⁶⁰ Lamprakos 'Life in the Khans', p. 143.

⁶¹ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 471.

⁶² Steensgaard, Niels, 'Consuls and nations'; Watenpaugh, *The Image*, pp. 102-11; Starkey, 'The Continuity of Social Space'; Lamprakos, 'Life in the Khans', pp. 127-8.

⁶³ Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, p. 360. In the early sixteenth century the Pisani family had workshops or warehouses in Aleppo (Lamprakos, 'Life in the Khans', p. 146).

⁶⁴ Lamprakos, 'Life in the Khans', p. 146.

⁶⁵ Tucci (ed.), *Lettres d'un marchand*.

⁶⁶ Tucci, 'Berengo, Andrea'; Howard, *Venice & the East*, pp. 22, 30, 35, 48-9.

⁶⁷ Russell, *The Natural History*, pp. 8-9; Masters, *The Origins*, pp. 14-5, 24-5.

⁶⁸ On the rise of Iskenderun, see Masters, *The Origins*, pp. 16-7.

tween east-west and north-south trading links.⁶⁹ Connected by overland routes to Central Asia and the Silk Road, Aleppo was likewise an important stopping point on the north-south connection between the Black Sea and Egypt.

Although Aleppo lacked the beautiful gardens and orchards of Damascus, it lay within an important agricultural hinterland. Its townscape, however, was severe, urban and monumental, built of greyish sandstone and dominated by the citadel near the eastern end of the old walled city. It was the magnificence and extent of the *suqs* and *khans* that most struck visitors. As the Spanish Muslim traveller Ibn Jubayr remarked admiringly in 1184,

As for the town, it is massively built and wonderfully disposed, and of rare beauty, with large markets arranged in long adjacent rows so that you pass from a row of shops of one craft into that of another until you have gone through all the urban industries. These markets are all roofed with wood, so that their occupants enjoy an ample shade. And all hold the gaze from their beauty.⁷⁰

In the sixteenth century the Ottomans remodelled the east-west *cardo maximus* of the Roman city by lining the street with splendid new *khans* and mosques through the charitable endowments known as *waqfs*.⁷¹ The enhancement of this east-west street created a regal commercial artery from the royal garden palace on the western fringes to the citadel at the east end, a policy of urban renewal apparently masterminded from Istanbul by the architect Sinan.⁷²

The arrangement of the *suqs* of Aleppo bears comparison with the layout of the Rialto market, although on a much larger scale (figs. 4-5). In the Syrian city, parallel streets, most of them covered with wooden vaults, are lined with shops which spill out into the street to display their merchandise, shaded from the strong sun. The wooden vaults cast a soft, intimate glow over the abundance of goods. The sensory impact of this array of valuable commodities – cosmopolitan, aromatic, colourful, often exotic – bore comparison with travellers' comments about the Rialto market. As at the Rialto, certain streets and *khans* in the Syrian city specialised in specific crafts.⁷³ Like the Rialto the central core of Aleppo was not a residential quarter but was «dedicated to commerce, craft, law and religious practice».⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Masters, *The Origins*, pp. 8-36; Watenpaugh, *The Image*, pp. 54-5. On the caravans themselves, see Masters, *The Origins*, pp. 110-21.

⁷⁰ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels*, p. 262.

⁷¹ Sauvaget, *Alep*, vol. I, pp. 104-5; Watenpaugh, *The Image*, pp. 50-4, 56, 58.

⁷² Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 471.

⁷³ Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, p. 259.

⁷⁴ Watenpaugh, *The Image*, p. 59.

Although there is no evidence that the *suqs* of Aleppo had a specific impact on the design and layout of the Rialto market, the reluctance of the Senate to accede to fra' Giocondo's radical proposal to convert the area into a Roman-style forum may have concealed an emotional bond to the Levantine style of market.⁷⁵ The narrow parallel shop-lined streets, some of them covered, the *fondaci* on both sides of the Grand Canal, the opulent displays of eastern merchandise, and the hubbub of trading activity could have aroused recollections of Aleppo among Venetian traders.⁷⁶ Through the criss-crossing of international trade and travel, the phenomenon known by literary theorists as "intertextuality" meant that travellers going east for the first time would also have felt a certain familiarity with the "otherness" of the emporia of Syria.

Conclusion

The frequent travels of Venetian merchants to both Damascus and Aleppo ensured that these cities were embedded in the Venetian consciousness. Syria was the source of a plethora of valuable commodities, from the plant ashes essential to glass manufacture to the Lebanese cedarwood supplied for the rebuilding of the Palazzo Ducale after the fire of 1577. Even Shakespeare cited Aleppo as the faraway destination of a character who had gone away on business.⁷⁷ In both cities many Venetians lived for extended periods, surrounding themselves with a profusion of eastern and western possessions. Although most patrician merchants now traded through agents, certain families such as the Pisani, the Loredan, the Zen and the Da Molin remained active in the eastern Mediterranean as merchants, consuls, bankers and landlords. Despite the risks, commerce in the Early Modern period could still yield rich rewards.

Yet although in both cities Venetians were better integrated than most European merchants, they were still separated by political, social and religious differences. The *oltremare* was a source of wealth, risk, and sensory pleasure in equal measure, but it remained distinct from home, not least because most women had only second-hand knowledge of the Eastern Mediterranean. Architectural influences were less specific than the impact on local crafts and manufactures, but the Rialto market could still evoke intense memories of the bazaars of Damascus and Aleppo.

⁷⁵ Calabi and Morachiello, *Rialto. Le fabbriche e il ponte*, pp. 50-60.

⁷⁶ Howard, *Venice & the East*, pp. 115-9.

⁷⁷ In *Macbeth* written in 1609 (Act I Scene 3 Line 9), the witches report that «Her husband's to Aleppo gone». Cited in Masters, *The Origins*, p. 1.

Bibliography

- Adorno, Anselmo, *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470-1471)*, ed. by Jacques Heers and Georgette de Groer (Paris: CNRS, 1978)
- Arbel, Benjamin, 'The Last Decades of Venice's Trade with the Mamluks: Importations into Egypt and Syria', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 8 (2004), pp. 37-86
- Ashtor, Eliyahu, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983)
- Barbaro, Josafat, *Ambrogio Contarini. Travels to Tana and Persia*, ed. by Lord Stanley of Alderley (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873)
- Bianchi, Francesco and Howard, Deborah, 'Life and Death in Damascus: The Material Culture of Venetians in the Syrian Capital in the Mid-Fifteenth Century', *Studi Veneziani*, n.s. 16 (2003), pp. 233-301
- Braudel, Fernand, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (London: Collins, 1972-73)
- Campbell, Caroline and Chong, Alan (eds.), *Bellini and the East*, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery, 2005)
- Carboni, Stefano (ed.), *Venice and the Islamic World 828-1797*, exh. cat. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New Haven & London: Yale UP, 2007)
- Coco, Carla, *Venezia levantina* (Venezia: Corbo e Fiore, 1993)
- Concina, Ennio, *Fondaci: Architettura, arte e mercatura tra Levante, Venezia e Alemagna* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1997)
- Constable, Olivia Remie, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge UP, 2003)
- Faroqhi, Suraiya, 'The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman Empire (1600-1630)', *The Journal of European Economic History*, 15/2 (1986), pp. 345-84
- Flood, Finbarr Barry, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2001)
- Howard, Deborah, *Venice & the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500* (New Haven & London: Yale UP, 2000)
- Howard, Deborah, 'Death in Damascus', *Muqarnas*, 20 (2003), pp. 143-57
- Howard, Deborah, 'Venice and the Mamluks', in *Venice and the Islamic World 828-1797*, ed. by Stefano Carboni, exh. cat. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New Haven & London: Yale UP, 2007), pp. 72-89
- Jubayr, Ibn, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr, Being the Chronicle of a Mediaeval Spanish Moor concerning his Journey to the Egypt of Saladin, the Holy Cities of Arabia, Baghdad the City of the Caliphs, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, transl. and ed. by Roland Joseph Callender Broadhurst (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952)

- Lamprakos, Michele, 'Life in the Khans: The Venetians in Early Ottoman Aleppo', *Muqarnas*, 34 (2017), pp. 125-55
- Lewis, Bernard, 'A Jewish Source on Damascus just after the Ottoman Conquest', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London*, 10/1 (1939), pp. 179-84
- Lucchetta, Francesca, "'L'affare Zen" in Levante nel primo Cinquecento', *Studi veneziani*, 10 (1969), pp. 109-219
- Mack, Rosamond E., *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300-1600* (Berkeley & London: University of California Press, 2002)
- Masters, Bruce Alan, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600-1750* (New York: New York UP, 1988)
- Monnas, Lisa, *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Painters 1300-1550* (New Haven & London: Yale UP, 2008)
- Necipoglu, Gülru, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005)
- Raby, Julian, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (London: Islamic Art Publications, 1982)
- Russell, Alexander, *The Natural History of Aleppo*, 2nd edn. rev. by Pat. Russell (London: G.G. & J. Robinson, 1794)
- Sauvaget, Jean, *Alep: Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne, des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1941)
- Starkey, Janet, 'The Continuity of Social Space: Khan al-Jumruk within the Bazaars of Aleppo', in *The Bazaar in the Islamic City: Design, Culture and History*, ed. by Mohammad Gharipour (Cairo & New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2012), pp. 115-48
- Steensgaard, Niels, 'Consuls and nations in the Levant from 1570 to 1650', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 15/1-2 (1967), pp. 13-55
- Tucci, Ugo (ed.), *Lettres d'un marchand vénitien Andrea Berengo (1553-56)* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1957)
- Tucci, Ugo, 'Berengo, Andrea', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 9 (1967) https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-berengo_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ [accessed 4 May 2021]
- Vallet, Éric, *Marchands vénitiens en Syrie à la fin du XV^e siècle* (Paris: ADHE, 1999)
- Wansbrough, John, 'Venice and Florence in the Mamluk commercial privileges', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 28 (1965), pp. 483-523
- Watenpaugh, Heghnar Zeitlian, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2004)

Women, Work and Economy in Early Modern Venice

Anna Bellavitis

Venice was a port, an international market, an industrial centre, the capital of one of the most important States of early modern Europe.¹ Immigration was very important and it is thank to the immigration that Venice could overcome the demographic crisis caused by the frequent epidemics during the medieval and early modern periods. Across Europe, women represented between 52 and 57 percent of the urban population, albeit with specific chronologies. In Venice, in 1563 males were 51.6% of the total population, but 49.3% in 1642 and 48.9% in 1790.² Between the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, 4,924 men were heads of households compared to 935 women, of which 84 per cent (= 788) were widows.³

Textile crafts, domestic service and retail were the most frequent female occupations in the urban contexts but, most of the time, population censuses and fiscal sources only registered the occupations of the heads of households, and to have specific data on women's activities can be very difficult. Also, women's activities were often defined in terms of 'doing' rather than 'being'. For example, in the 1805 Venetian population registers, compiled during the Austrian government, some women's occupations are entered next to their names: «fustagnera»

¹ The following pages are based on my book, *Women's work and rights in early modern urban Europe*.

² Favero et alii, 'Le anime dei demografi'.

³ Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*.

(fustian-weaver), «revendigola» (saleswoman), «impiraressa» (threader of glass beads), but there are also sentences like «she makes shoes», «she makes beads», «works with linen», «works in fashion», «spins wool» or even «she picks up paper from the streets»: women's activities were often more precarious than men's and less identified with specific trades.⁴

Some female occupations were typical of Venice: in the wage books of the Arsenal, the most important State industry, there were, in the mid-seventeenth century, between 25 and 40 *velere* (female sailmakers). For a daily wage between 14 and 16 *soldi*, they sewed sails under the guidance of a 'mistress' who was paid two *soldi* more. Contemporary accounts of foreign travellers, however, spoke of hundreds of women busy repairing sails in their homes or on their homes' doorsteps. It was a flexible work that, when necessary, the 'mistresses' could subcontract. A dozen more women were employed to prepare the oakum for caulking the ships and were paid a higher wage, up to 30 *soldi* per day. In the *calli* and *campi* around the Arsenal, we find also women heads of families with less predictable jobs: a *marangona* (female carpenter), a *remera* (female oar maker), three *favre* (female blacksmiths), a *cestera* (female basket maker), two *barilere* (female coopers) and half a dozen *marinere* (female sailors).⁵

The rapid development of international trade at the beginning of the early modern age had important consequences on women's activities, creating new job opportunities. This was the case of the glass beads that were produced in Murano and used as currency in the African market of slaves sent to the American colonies; during the seventeenth century, their production was also started in the Netherlands. Women worked in the production and in the threading of beads in long threads, from which necklaces and ornaments of all kinds were made. The «impiraressa», as the threaders were called in the Venetian dialect, held in their hands up to sixty needles, arranged in a fan, which they used to "fish" the beads out of a basin, a repetitive but specialised operation, passed on by women from generation to generation, which took place in their homes or, more often, in the street, on their doorsteps, where women and girls worked together. The mistresses organised the work done at home by the threaders and by the women who made the beads. This activity, which had grown considerably since the seventeenth century, employed in the nineteenth century thousands of women, but went abruptly downhill during the twentieth, following a decline in demand from the colonies. To quote a 1934 note from the management of the main Murano beads' factory, sales fell due to the «rapid development in civilisation of African and Asian countries

⁴ Bellavitis, Filippini and Segà (eds.), *Perle e impiraperle*, p. 80.

⁵ Davis, *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal*; Lanaro, 'Le donne *velere* nell'Arsenale di Venezia'.

with the consequent fatal evolution in the natives' taste also with regard to their traditional ornaments».⁶

Another important female activity was lace making: it was a skilled craft, that grew considerably during the sixteenth century and continued to expand during the seventeenth. Needle lace, for which Venice became particularly known, was made with a needle and thread; in the 1600s, the lace was constructed by means of thousands of tiny stitches built up on top of guiding threads pinned on to a pattern. Laces were made by women, at home, or in small groups, but also, and even more, in charity institution and nunneries. For example, the charter of 1667 of the foundling hospital of the Derelitti, stipulated that the orphan girls had to work at least six hours a day, more in summer than winter, and were paid daily, according to the type of lace which they made. Daily work quotas were to be set for the young lace-makers, and their productivity was to be reviewed weekly. The girls were meant to be paid thirteen *soldi* a day in summer for needlepoint lace (eleven in winter) and twelve *soldi* for gold bobbin lace (ten at other times of the year). They were not meant to receive their pay directly: two thirds was supposed to go towards the institution's running costs, and one third towards their individual dowry fund.⁷ Lace making was also a typical occupation for nuns, but such "secular" activities were subject to strict controls, at least in theory, as in some cases the nuns engaged in sewing items that were too precious and refined, producing lace and embroidery that, in actual fact, they used for themselves, or donated to their numerous visitors rather than to the religious or civil authorities which supported the monastery, or even sold for personal profit and not to supplement the resources of their community. Thus, for example, in 1571, the prioress of the convent of San Giuseppe in Castello denounced one of her sisters, Deodata, to the *Provveditori sopra Monasteri* (Superintendents of Monasteries). Sister Deodata was able to work «miraculously with pearls and jewels», but also had the terrible habit of giving away handkerchiefs, shirts and hats «resplendent with gold and silver lace» to some friars from the Augustinian convent of Sant'Antonio and San Salvador. For this reason, in the thirteen years spent at the convent, «she never worked for the monastery, and everything that she earned she used for herself, and spent everything».⁸ Such activities with the outside world were far from encouraged by the religious authorities and, at times, they even came into conflict with the guilds, as it happened in 1529 when silk weavers wrote to the Senate to complain about the competition from the city's monasteries in the preparation of warps.⁹

⁶ Bellavitis, Filippini and Segà (eds.), *Perle e impiraperle*, p. 18.

⁷ Allerston, 'An indisciplined activity?.'

⁸ Campagnol, 'Penelope in clausura'.

⁹ Molà, 'Le donne nell'industria serica veneziana'.

In the medieval statutes of textile and food guilds the term *puellae* (girls) is used and in some cases, as in the guild of silk velvet weavers, even that of *magistrae* (mistresses). In the early modern age, however, restrictions were imposed: in 1596, the guild of fustian weavers limited access to the widows or orphaned daughters of «chief masters», and in 1632 they were also forbidden to have apprentices and workers. In 1680, silk weavers decided that «from now on [...] no one from our guild will be allowed to let women or girls of any kind weave at the loom, unless they are the wives or daughters of masters». As in many other European cities of that time, these were steps taken to deal with a particular economic situation and the trend was later reversed. In 1744, in the guild of fustian weavers, there were 21 female and 41 male master craftsmen, in addition to around fifty more women employed in the workshops. The expansion of production in the first half of the century was accompanied by the demand for new products, whose production began in the 1740s in the Hospital of Santa Maria Maggiore, where orphaned girls were paid a third of what the guild weavers received. In 1745, apprentices of both sexes were admitted, with no restrictions imposed on their wages.¹⁰

The wives and children of master craftsmen were a constant presence in workshops, in all European cities. Workshops and paternal trades were not always passed on to sons: in Venice, in the guild of the pork butchers, not only the sons, but also the daughters could take over the shop, but only for a limited time. In some cases, guilds allowed specific economic privileges to women who were not their members: it was a system of ‘moral economy’ intended to prevent the impoverishment of urban populations. For example, in 1520, the mercers’ guild authorised women who had no «kinship or agreement» with the master haberdashers to sell up to ten ducats worth of ribbons, bonnets, silk cords and ornaments fashioned from ostrich feathers on the street, but this rule was repealed just five years later by the guild’s authorities, that ruled that «each woman selling her wares [...] has to become a member of our guild and pay the usual fee and have to renew her membership year after year». In 1586, the mercers’ guild had 31 mistresses and 366 masters and, in a list of 305 workshop apprentices, 122 were women. In 1704, it was the competition from travelling female mercers, who «with the liberty typical of their gender gain access to the houses of nobles, citizens and to monasteries, and when there are marriage celebrations sell their wares depriving the poor mercers of the profit they should be making» to prompt the request, by the «brothers mercers», to no longer admit women «as mistresses of this guild, whether they have workshops or not, whether in the major or in the minor crafts, or as members». The mercers’

¹⁰ Panciera, ‘Emarginazione femminile’.

request may have been based on a pretext, but it also clearly reflects the ability of these women, too 'at liberty' to take advantage of every opportunity, legal and illegal, available to them.¹¹

The transmission of technical skills through apprenticeship is at the core of the guilds system, but more generally of the reproduction system of ancient societies. In Venice, at the end of the sixteenth century, the apprenticeship or service contracts involving girls were about 7 per cent of the total. In fact, given the intermingling of working and living spaces typical of the artisan and mercantile world, the confusion between domestic service and apprenticeship was the rule, especially in the case of girls. In the female apprentices' contracts we find expressions like: «to sew women's capes and serve», «rags collector and servant», «to weave silk and serve», «to serve and the craft of the haberdasher», or even baby-sitting, as in the 1576 contract of «Marieta, daughter of the deceased Baldissera from Portogruaro, cobbler», aged thirteen, who «signs up to stay and work at the craft of making silk drapes» and, added in the margin, «look after lady Barbara daughter of Sygismundo son of the deceased Vincenzo Bonelli, weaver». The average age to begin an apprenticeship was 12 for girls and 14 for boys, but there are contracts even for children (boys and girls) aged five or seven, which often did not include accommodation: they are needlework or knitting (*agucchia*) contracts, where women were frequently mistresses as well as apprentices. However, the meaning of an apprenticeship in this craft seems to have been quite different for boys and girls even if, at the same age, they received equal wages: sewing and knitwear seemed to be temporary solutions for boys who tended to be, more often than in other jobs, fatherless orphans, whereas they were a true "career" for girls, sometimes chosen for their daughters, even by fathers who practised the same profession.¹²

In Venice, as in many other European cities, the manufacture of silk was a typical female activity, at all stages of production. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century, as it was the case in Genoa or Cologne, patrician women were active in the production and trade of silk and golden fabrics and managed the work of other women, spinners and weavers.¹³ However, the majority of women were occupied in the first stages of production. The winding, doubling, warping and spinning of precious metals for the manufacture of silk-and-gold fabrics were mostly done by women, who represented a flexible and low-cost workforce. In the sixteenth century, the winding mistresses lived in all the parishes of the city and often in houses shared by several people or families. Given the value of the raw material, fraud was a frequent problem: the silk thread stolen from

¹¹ Bellavitis, 'Donne, cittadinanza, corporazioni'.

¹² Bellavitis, 'Apprentissages masculins, apprentissages féminins'.

¹³ Clarke, 'Le 'mercantesse' di Venezia'.

the silk merchants was used to produce a wide range of light fabrics, which competed with the authorised production, also monopolised by women, of veils and other types of small-size fabrics manufactured by mixing the scraps with silk thread. These were cheap products, whose manufacture was controlled by mercers; they would give the work to female weavers working at home, with the help of their daughters or other family members and paid on a piecework basis and sometimes even in kind. However, there were also many female independent weavers, who sold the finished product in the weekly markets or to the mercers themselves. The Venetian government intervened several times to protect women's activities in the silk sector, for example in 1534 and 1535, by prohibiting the import of silk yarns from abroad, in order to protect the winding mistresses' work.¹⁴

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in a context of increased international competition, in particular following the development of silk production in Lyon, more and more women were hired by the guild masters. This underpaid workforce, flexible and with no rights, as they did not belong to the guild, in practice worked illegally; nevertheless, the frequent complaints to the guild court were generally resolved with no action or with symbolic convictions. In 1754, the Venetian silk weavers' guild was opened to women in order to counteract the competition from Lyon by lowering production costs. It was an initiative of the merchants that was opposed by the master craftsmen, as the silk weavers mistresses accepted lower fees and therefore represented a competition compared to the workshops run by the male masters. It was also a matter of recognising an existing situation: out of a thousand looms in the city, 655 were operated by women, mostly daughters and wives of masters, but also 247 female paid workers. The main purpose of the reform was to allow merchants direct access to the female workforce without the master weavers acting as 'middle men'. In 1766, mistresses represented 10 per cent of the total number of masters, and 12 per cent of the merchants' commissions went to the female weavers' workshops, which charged lower prices. Some of the mistresses were very poor, lived alone and had a single loom «in their bedroom», but there were also some who ran workshops with four or six looms and some of them, just like their more affluent male counterparts, devoted themselves exclusively to managing the workshop, taking care of the business side of things, supervising the work, in practice without doing any manual work.¹⁵

These are just a few examples of the working activities of women in Venice in the early modern age. We could also have talked about prostitutes, certainly

¹⁴ Molà, 'Le donne nell'industria serica veneziana'.

¹⁵ Della Valentina, 'Parone'; Della Valentina, 'Il setificio salvato dalle donne'.

very numerous in Venice as in all the great port cities, or about domestic work, one of the activities most easily accessible to young women, especially if they were immigrants. What is important to emphasise is that women's work, in Venice as in the rest of Europe, made a fundamental contribution to economic, manufacturing and mercantile development. It is essential that this contribution be better taken into account in the 'grand narrative' of early modern economic history, which is too often still depicted only in male terms.

Bibliography

- Allerston, Patricia, 'Un indisciplined activity? Lace Production in Early Modern Venice', in *Shadow economies and irregular work in urban Europe, 16th to early 20th century*, ed. by Thomas Buchner and Philip R. Hoffman-Rehnitz, (Wien, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2011), pp. 63-72
- Bellavitis, Anna, 'Apprentissages masculins, apprentissages féminins à Venise au XVII^e siècle', *Histoire urbaine*, 15 (2006), pp. 49-73
- Bellavitis, Anna, 'Donne, cittadinanza, corporazioni tra Medioevo ed età moderna: ricerche in corso', in *Corpi e storia. Donne e uomini dal mondo antico all'età contemporanea*, a cura di Nadia Maria Filippini, Tiziana Plebani and Anna Scattigno (Roma: Viella, 2002), pp. 87-104
- Perle e impiraperle. Un lavoro di donne a Venezia tra '800 e '900*, a cura di Anna Bellavitis, Nadia Maria Filippini and Maria Teresa Segà (Venezia: Arsenale, 1990)
- Bellavitis, Anna, *Women's work and rights in early modern urban Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)
- Campagnol, Isabella, 'Penelope in clausura. Lavori femminili nei monasteri veneziani della prima età moderna', *Archivio Veneto*, 3 (2012), pp. 117-26
- Chojnacka, Monica, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001)
- Clarke, Paula, 'Le 'mercantesse' di Venezia nei secoli XIV e XV', *Archivio Veneto*, 3 (2012), pp. 67-84.
- Davis, Robert C., *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal. Workers and Workplace in the Preindustrial City* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991)
- Della Valentina, Marcello, 'Il setificio salvato dalle donne: le tessitrici veneziane nel Settecento', in *Spazi, poteri, diritti delle donne a Venezia in età moderna*, ed. by Anna Bellavitis, Nadia Maria Filippini and Tiziana Plebani (Verona: QuiEdit, 2012), pp. 321-35
- Della Valentina, Marcello, 'Parone. Donne alla guida di una bottega artigiana a Venezia nel '700', *Archivio Veneto*, 3 (2012), pp. 145-59

- Favero, Giovanni, Moro, Maria, Spinelli, Pierpaolo, Trivellato, Francesca, and Vianello, Francesco, 'Le anime dei demografi. Fonti per la rilevazione dello stato della popolazione di Venezia nei secoli XVI e XVII', *Bollettino di demografia storica*, 15 (1991), pp. 23-110
- Lanaro, Paola, 'Le donne velere nell'Arsenale di Venezia: donne e lavoro operaio in una società preindustriale', in *L'Arsenale di Venezia. Da grande complesso industriale a risorsa patrimoniale*, ed. by Paola Lanaro and Christophe Austruy (Verona: CIERRE, 2020), pp. 57-82
- Molà, Luca, 'Le donne nell'industria serica veneziana del Rinascimento', in *La seta in Italia dal Medioevo al Seicento. Dal baco al drappo*, ed. by Luca Molà and Reinhold C. Mueller, Claudio Zanier (Venezia: Marsilio, 2000), pp. 423-59
- Panciera, Walter, 'Emarginazione femminile tra politica salariale e modelli di organizzazione del lavoro nell'industria tessile veneta nel XVIII secolo' in *La donna nell'economia, secc. XIII-XVIII*, ed. by Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1990), pp. 585-96

Renaissance Venice: A City of Innovation

Luca Molà

The first general regulation of patents and intellectual property rights recorded in history was issued in Venice in 1474, preceding by a century and a half the English Statute of Monopolies. The law opened mentioning the large number of people from different places, «able to think up and find various ingenious devices», who converged on Venice and would be happy to make their inventions public if these were given government protection. The Venetian Senate established that anybody could present an invention to a state office and request a patent, which would grant him monopoly rights on the exploitation of the innovation for ten years, guaranteeing him legal protection from plagiarists. One of main purposes of the law was, in fact, that of incentivating skilled and ingenious men to bring forward new devices, technical procedures or objects without being worried that others could steal the fruits of their ingenuity, implicitly giving them the freedom to transfer the rights to their heirs or sell them on the market.¹

As the Venetian government had foreseen, the law of 1474 induced artisans, merchants, architects, engineers, technicians and a variety of professionals from abroad, from the cities of the Venetian state or from Venice itself (including several nobles) to propose innovative technologies, fostering the transmission of knowledge and creating a virtuous circle of experts who often ended up

¹ Mandich, 'Le privative industriali veneziane'.

communicating and doing business with each other. This led to a proliferation of the requests for patents presented to the Venetian government, which in the course of the sixteenth century totaled more than 1,000 and created an international ‘myth’ of the city as the European centre of technical innovation. The people who presented an invention to the government often reminded that the city councils had always «favoured and helped all those who, straining their intellect and ingenuity, had been able to create new instruments and devices that were convenient and useful for the people willing to use them, granting them a special privilege so that they alone could exploit their inventions».² In just a few decades the practice of granting industrial privileges spread to all the Italian states, and was then imitated after the middle of the sixteenth century by most European governments and even applied in Spain’s American colonies.³

The starting point for obtaining a patent was invariably a written petition that the inventor presented to a state council, in which he summarily described the invention, glorified its advantages in both the public and private spheres, and finally requested a privilege specifying the number of years during which he wanted a monopoly. Frequently the petition was then passed on to more specialized offices and institutions with the request for an opinion, and at this stage the inventor might be requested to produce a memorandum, a drawing or even a small model or sample of the innovation in order to support his claims and influence the governmental decision. Models were submitted primarily when the innovation consisted of a medium or large size machine. They were kept in a room of a state office at the Rialto and catalogued with a paper note attached reporting the name of their creator and the date of their presentation.⁴ Sooner or later, however, it was necessary to stage a demonstration that could either testify about the possible outcomes of the discovery or prove that it had been put in operation successfully. The testimonies who judged on the experiment could be state officers, but as frequently it was deemed advantageous to summon experts of the craft – including guild officers – related to the innovation, hoping that they would approve it, support its candidacy for a privilege and subsequently, knowing its merits, buy it once it had been patented.

Even though many patents were issued in the name of single individuals, we know that in most cases a partnership was at work behind the scenes. The inventor was only one element of these companies, at times not even the most

² Archivio di Stato di Venezia (henceforth ASVe), Collegio, Risposte di dentro, filza 7, n. 177, 2 April 1583.

³ Molà, ‘Stato e impresa’.

⁴ Popplow, ‘Protection and Promotion’; for the cataloguing system see ASVe, Provveditori di Comun, Atti, b. 17, reg. 32, fols. 24v-25r (7 November 1588).

important one, and each partner might have different roles and tasks. A frequent occurrence saw the association of a technician and a businessman, who joined their skills so as to guarantee not only the ideation of patentable innovations, but also the necessary capital for the development and completion of the invention and for its marketing once the patent had been obtained. When a partnership for the exploitation of an invention was established before obtaining a patent – a common occurrence – there was the need of involving in it a person who, thanks to his political connections, could favour the grant or at least speed its approval. At times the partnerships for inventions included artisans in their ranks, especially carpenters, with the option of according them a limited percentage of the gains that would be made.⁵

The division of the rights on the company, and therefore on its profits, was frequently divided in 24 shares called *carati* [karats], which could be bought or sold in what was quickly becoming a market for innovation. By the last decades of the sixteenth century investments in technology and the profits obtained from the exploitation of a patent were considered as any other good, that could be bequeathed, transferred to relatives and heirs, or used for guaranteeing the dowry of young girls and enriching the rent of a married woman. In short, partnerships for inventions did not differ substantially from other commercial enterprises. At times these companies included clauses that regulated the acquisition of new technology. In a partnership contract drawn up in Venice in 1569, for example, the four partners decided that their company should concentrate on the search for any type of innovations and machines on which to invest all over the globe («devices and inventions of every kind and in any part of the world, under the dominion of any Prince or Lord»), setting the deadlines within which the proposals of one of the partners could be agreed upon by all the others.⁶

The variety of inventions for which a patent was requested and obtained in Venice during the sixteenth century is kaleidoscopic, covering all the craft and industrial sectors of the age. Innovations, however, could be summarily divided into three main categories: those of technical procedures (such as chemical and dyeing recipes), of large and small machines and working implements (mills, hydraulic pumps, cauldrons and vats, etc.), and of objects and consumer products (textiles, glass, ceramics and many others). Frequently a patent involved innovations in more than one of these categories, since a new working procedure or tool could bring to the creation of a good that had not been produced before, or, conversely, an innovative product might require the employment of techni-

⁵ Molà, 'Le società per lo sfruttamento delle invenzioni'.

⁶ ASVe, Notarile, Atti, b. 2577, notary P. Contarini (12 November 1569).

cal instruments and methods never adopted in the past. At times legal protection was asked for machines without any practical use, mechanical curiosities whose principal aim was probably that of surprising and entertaining. A true apotheosis of automation and an ambitious celebration of human ingenuity, the great wooden machine that Girolamo Soracroda devised and patented in 1567 showed the operation of no less than 98 «arts», all put in motion by a single – presumably hydraulic – wheel, which also served to supply two fountains with water.⁷ More prosaic and utilitarian, on the contrary, was the mincer machinery that allowed to produce any type of sausages «and every other things that are contained in bowels» for the salami-maker craft, with a notable saving in manpower and a semi-finished product of greater fluidity.⁸

Several patents were in fact granted for food processing and products. A privilege was issued in 1587 for making, selling or licensing the production of very thin hand-made lasagne without any tool and macaroni Apulian style produced with a new invention, and another privilege in 1588 for various types of noodles, macaroni and ravioli without holes, made in the Milanese and not the Apulian style, «of a different shape from those that are commonly made in this city» – as the applicant remarked.⁹ In 1602 a device for the making of spaghetti, lasagne and macaroni was patented in the nearby subject city of Vicenza, where the penury of those goods, usually imported from Apulia, had caused a steep rise in their price.¹⁰ Even more remarkably, in 1592 the government gave its official protection to new types of meat and fish pies, provided that the two partners who obtained the privilege did not challenge the traditional production of salty pastries made at home or by inn-keepers and confectioners.¹¹

In the food sector there were also several attempts at making new types of bread mixing traditional flours with other ingredients that had never been used before. Among all these recipes, the one that a company of Genoese businessmen headed by Taddeo Spinola patented in Venice made a sensation, promising an increase of 20 per cent in the production of bread by mixing rice and lupin flour with grain flour. The partnership advertised the modified product through the operations of a famed physician, who, though admitting that the colour of

⁷ ASVe, Collegio, Risposte di dentro, filza 2, n. 150 (17 April 1567); ASVe, *Senato Terra*, reg. 46, fol. 153v (3 May 1567).

⁸ ASVe, *Senato Terra*, filza 79, under 5 December 1579 (6 November 1579); *ibid.*, reg. 52, fol. 259r (5 December 1579).

⁹ ASVe, *Provveditori di Comun*, Atti, b. 16, reg. 31, fol. 79r-v (2 June 1587); *ibid.*, b. 17, reg. 32, fols. 4v-5v (5 August 1588).

¹⁰ Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana di Vicenza, Archivio Torre, Parti (4), 866, fols. 517r-518r (2 December 1602).

¹¹ ASVe, *Provveditori di Comun*, b. 17, reg. 33, fols. 62v-63r (19 September 1592).

the newly devised bread was not too appealing, guaranteed for its quality and healthiness in front of the Venetian College of Medicine.¹² News of the discovery of this food spread quickly, to the point that just a few days after the concession of the patent a Florentine living in Venice wrote to prince Francesco de' Medici claiming he had tried it and found it tasty, and offering to steal the recipe and send it to Tuscany.¹³ These mixtures, however, did not always prove a success. The partners of a company who had gotten hold of a recipe never experimented before discovered this at their expense: they put on sale in several centres of the Veneto and Lombardy such a noxious kind of bread that in some cases – in Bergamo, for instance – they had to flee in order to escape from being lynched by the mob.¹⁴

The institutional support for novelties, however, was only one aspect of the innovative environment of sixteenth-century Venice. For the production of luxury objects, for instance, the creativity of local and foreign artisans working in the city did not require the incentive of a patent but was fueled simply by high-level international demand. Indeed, Venice had a long-standing tradition of producing artefacts in rock crystal, jewels, hard stones and gold or silver works for the courts of Asian princes that dated back to the times of Marco Polo and the opening of the silk roads to western traders.¹⁵ By the early sixteenth century Venetian jewellers, in collaboration with other artisans, took a new step in the creation of highly elaborate and imaginative pieces for Asian rulers and elites. In 1512, for instance, the merchant Martino Merlini wrote to his younger brother in Syria, asking him to send either a real middle-eastern armour or a model in leather, wood, cloth or a drawing on paper. Martino had devised the audacious plan of creating a unique object, «of a kind that a similar one won't be found in the whole world»: a full battle-set for a mounted warrior - composed by a helmet, cuirass, gauntlets and all other protections for shoulders and legs - made in crystal-glass and splendidly decorated with enamelled silver, rubies, diamonds, emeralds and sapphires, so «that in the sun and in full light there won't be a man who could stare at it, because of the great brightness that will reverberate from all those jewels, glass and enamels». The Venetian merchant thought that the armour could be used «as adornment, to be worn by a slave who would precede the Sultan, for pomp and lustre». The craftsman who could

¹² ASVe, Collegio, Risposte di dentro, filza 5, n. 58 (31 July 1572); ASVe, Senato Terra, reg. 49, fol. 107v (3 December 1572); *ibid.*, fol. 151r (27 April 1573); *ibid.*, fols. 190v-191r (26 September 1573).

¹³ Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo*, doc. 49, p. 52.

¹⁴ ASVe, Notarile, Atti, b. 5773, notary B. Fiume, fols. 275r-276r (7 May 1588).

¹⁵ Molà, 'Venezia, Genova e l'Oriente', pp. 137-9.

produce such a wonder was the glass-maker Vettor dei Anzoli of Murano, who had just finished a crystal saddle and had insisted with him to have suggestions for «a new fantasy» that could be made for the Levant. The plan was to sell the armour to the Mamluk Sultan, possibly through the intermediation of one of his top officers. In another letter, Martino proposed even to create a second identical set for the Persian Shah, emblazoned with this ruler's coat of arms.¹⁶

The same adaptability of a luxury object to different Asian princes emerged in 1527, when a round chess-board «wrought with gold and silver and set with chalcedony, jasper, and other jewels», and chess pieces «made of the purest crystal», was brought to the Ducal Palace and shown to the Doge and Senators. This unique artefact had been commissioned more than ten years earlier by a Venetian nobleman with the aim of selling it to the Mamluk Sultan al-Ghawri. However, after the fall of the Mamluk dynasty in 1517 the chessboard had remained in the family possessions. It was now proposed to the government – for the considerable price of 5,000 ducats – as a possible gift to be sent to Suleyman the Magnificent with the new Bailo leaving for Constantinople.¹⁷ Over the following years partnerships of Venetian goldsmiths and merchants, several of them belonging to the nobility, invested large sums of money and employed the most skillful workers to produce a number of refined and valuable 'gadgets' and ritual objects in response to the passion for jewellery prevailing at court in Constantinople under Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha (1523-1536). This was the case, for instance, of the gold ring with a miniature watch shown by Francesco Zen around the Rialto in 1531, that was intended for sale in the Turkish capital. Even more remarkable was the output of two partnerships operating in the following years, each of which invested over 100,000 ducats in the production of objects for the Ottoman court: they created the famous four-tiered imperial crown that was eventually sold to Suleyman the Magnificent, a jewel-studded saddle, a throne, a sceptre, a horse cloth with precious stones and pearls, a – supposedly – perpetual-motion clock and other valuable things. Several of these marvels were paraded in the Ducal Palace before leaving the city, demonstrating that even private commercial enterprises had a public dimension when they concerned the exchange between Venice and Constantinople.¹⁸

The Ottoman capital was one of the main centres for the international trade of precious stones and an important outlet for the refined jewels produced in the "Goldsmiths' Street" (*Ruga dei orèsi*) at the Rialto, so that several Venetian

¹⁶ Dalla Santa, 'Commerci, vita privata e notizie politiche', pp. 1566-69.

¹⁷ Sanudo, *I Diarii*, vol. 43, col. 599; Curatola, 'Marin Sanudo', p. 175; Labalme and Sanguineti White, *Venice*, pp. 263-64.

¹⁸ Curatola, 'Marin Sanudo', p. 178; Kurz, 'A Gold Helmet'; Necipoğlu, 'Süleyman the Magnificent'.

artisans opened up shop in Constantinople. Antonio Paruta was one of the leading Venetian traders in late-sixteenth century Constantinople, where he arrived in 1581 as agent for the rich merchant Guglielmo Helman in order to deal in diamonds, rubies and pearls. In 1587 the jeweller Paolo Studendoli sent Paruta a letter from Venice with the description of a fabulous piece of jewelry on which he had been working for over four years – «with great effort and wasting much time and money» – and proposing to sell it on commission in Constantinople. According to Studendoli it was an object never seen before, which could be used as crown or recomposed to make a necklace or a bracelet, and even be divided into 40 separate pieces to adorn clothing. He made it by setting in gold 800 diamonds and 10 pairs of pearls of 12-14 karats each, so that when seen at a distance it would look like a jewel worth 100,000 ducats.¹⁹

Diplomatic gifts of glassware to the Ottoman court were the cause of further technical challenges for Venetian producers. Usually, orders of lamps, crystal glass and other items included drawings and descriptions with the desired shapes and measures. Sometimes the objects commissioned were so oversized that the craftsmen of Murano could make them only with great difficulty, as in the case of the 400 pieces ordered in 1563.²⁰ In other instances old techniques, almost forgotten, had to be revived. In 1590 the Sultana Safiye wanted 75 glass vases imitating chalcedony stone, a type of artefact invented in Venice around 1460 and of great popularity until the early decades of the sixteenth century, but totally out of fashion by the end of the century. The Senate had trouble in finding the only master in the city still able to produce chalcedony glass, someone who was not even particularly skilled at that: he managed to complete just ten vases with great effort, breaking many others in the process.²¹ An even more complex request came in 1583, when the wife of Grand Vizier Mehmed Sokollu asked to receive from Venice the biggest mirror ever made, with a height of two braccia and a width of one braccio (136x68cm). At first, the Sultana had contacted Guglielmo Helman, a rich international merchant of Flemish origins based in Venice, who was unable to find an object of the size required.²² Then the Republic took the matter directly in its hands, opening a public competition for the making of an even larger mirror of two by one-and-a-half braccia (136x102cm). Since nothing of the kind had been produced before in crystal glass, an artisan came forward proposing to make the mirror

¹⁹ ASVe, *Miscellanea Gregolin*, b. 12 ter I (1587).

²⁰ ASVe, Senato, *Deliberazioni Costantinopoli*, reg. 2, fol. 103r-v (14 December 1563).

²¹ ASVe, Senato, *Deliberazioni Costantinopoli*, reg. 8, fol. 35r (23 September 1590), and fol. 49r-v (19 January 1591).

²² ASVe, *Miscellanea Gregolin*, b. 12 ter I, letter of Guglielmo Helman from Venice to Antonio Paruta in Constantinople (27 August 1583).

in polished steel and was officially entrusted with the task; once the mirror was completed, however, he asked the exorbitant sum of 3,000 ducats, which the Senate refused to pay. At that point another craftsman, Piero Ballarin - who ran one of the most important furnaces in Murano and was the official purveyor of luxury glass for the gifts sent by the Venetian state to the Ottoman empire - offered to “put all his energies and skills in experimenting how to make such a mirror in crystal”. Asking just financial help to cover the high costs of the enterprise, in 1585 the Senate granted him a loan of 100 ducats to be deducted from the final compensation if he succeeded.²³

A wider and truly global market was available for glass beads in various shapes and colours (in the documentary sources called *rosette*, *smaltini*, *paterostrami*, *contarie*, *margaritine*) that imitated precious stones or had multi-coloured designs within them, and whose technology underwent a continuous evolution throughout the Renaissance. Indeed, Venetian artisans and merchants supplied Seville, Lisbon and Amsterdam with a wide range of beads that the Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch traders afterwards exchanged for much more valuable products in the markets of Asia, Africa and America.²⁴ According to a secret report written for the Grand Duke of Tuscany in the early 1590s, among the main export markets for Venetian beads, mirrors, and crystal objects in the shape of lions, ships or fountains were the Iberian peninsula and the Indies, a trade that was worth tens of thousands of ducats every year.²⁵ Interested in the commercial possibilities that this information documented, the Florentines were soon able to attract Venetian artisans to Pisa, where, on commission from a Portuguese converso (former Jew belonging to the Sephardic community) merchant based in Antwerp, they started producing a peculiar type of round bead with a light blue-yellowish hue that imitated a Western African marble much in demand on the coastal markets of Angola.²⁶

Silk fabrics, too, were one of the most important global commodities during the Renaissance, being highly appreciated and frequently craved by the elites and ‘middling sorts’ in all continents. A piece of brocaded silk velvet with a crimson colour produced in Venice around the middle of the sixteenth century provides us with one of the best examples of a ‘virtual’ Renaissance global object, which could have been made – and probably was made – by processing and assembling together raw and semi-finished materials coming from all the known corners of the world. Indeed, for heavy fabrics such as brocades, Vene-

²³ ASVe, Senato Mar, reg. 47, fols. 131v-132r (19 December 1585).

²⁴ Zecchin, ‘La nascita delle conterie’.

²⁵ Corti, ‘L’industria del vetro di Murano’.

²⁶ Zecchin, “Conterie” e “contarie”.

tians commonly employed silk threads originating in different parts of Asia, where local reelers – usually women – joined together smaller or greater numbers of cocoons' filaments in order to obtain a thread with variable degrees of thickness. Caravans loaded with thick silk produced in the regions around the Caspian Sea arrived from Persia to the eastern Mediterranean shores, where they were joined by hundreds of parcels of thinner Syrian threads and then carried on board ships to Venice. Here the two different types of silks were mixed together to form the warp and weft of luxury textiles such as our brocaded velvet. The pigments employed for dyeing these silks in crimson – the most valuable and noble of all colours – had also for a long time been supplied by the Asian continent. In the early 1540s, however, a new red dye arrived for the first time in Venice from the New World and quickly conquered the greatest share of the market. This was Mexican cochineal, a material obtained from the parasites of a particular species of cactus that was produced in New Spain by native peasants under the control of Spanish colonial landowners, and then massively exported across the Atlantic to Europe with the annual Royal Fleet. Cochineal had the same chemical composition of traditional kermes but had a much higher colouring power and fastness, all qualities that made this dye immediately popular among silk cloth producers. The Asian silks dyed with American pigments, and treated with Turkish or Italian alum as mordent, were then enriched for the weaving of brocades with metal thread made with strips of beaten gold, which by the middle of the sixteenth century was still reaching Venice from the mines of sub-Saharan Africa thanks to the intermediation of Muslim and Portuguese merchants. Finally, all these global materials were processed and then woven by Venetian artisans into a brocade with a typical Renaissance design (in its turn mutated and modified through the centuries from original Oriental and Middle Eastern flower patterns), using Italian know-how in combination with techniques that had originated in different parts of the world – velvet making, for instance, seems to have arrived in Italy in the early fourteenth century from China via Persia, while the application of cochineal to silk was first discovered by a Spanish immigrant to Mexico in 1537.²⁷ The global trading connections that had acted as a centripetal force for the concentration in Venice of all these goods were afterwards converted into a centrifugal motion that disseminated Venetian silk fabrics for the consumption of elite customers across the globe.

²⁷ Molà, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice*, pp. 55-137; Tucci, 'Le emissioni monetarie di Venezia'; Desrosiers, 'Sur l'origine d'un tissu'.

Bibliography

- Collezionismo mediceo. Cosimo I, Francesco I e il Cardinale Ferdinando. Documenti 1540-1587*, ed. by Paola Barocchi and Giovanni Gaeta Bertelà (Modena: Panini Editore, 1993)
- Corti, Gino, 'L'industria del vetro di Murano alla fine del secolo XVI in una relazione al Granduca di Toscana', *Studi Veneziani*, 13 (1973), pp. 649-54
- Curatola, Giovanni, 'Marin Sanudo, Venezia, i doni diplomatici e le merci orientali islamiche', in *Islamic Artefacts in the Mediterranean World. Trade, Gift Exchange and Artistic Transfer*, ed. by Catarina Arcangeli Schmidt and Gerhard Wolf (Venezia: Marsilio, 2011), pp. 173-82
- Dalla Santa, Giuseppe, 'Commerci, vita privata e notizie politiche dei giorni della lega di Cambrai (da lettere del mercante veneziano Martino Merlini)', *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 76 (1916-17), pp. 1548-1605
- Desrosiers, Sophie, 'Sur l'origine d'un tissu qui a participé à la fortune de Venise: le velours de soie', in *La seta in Italia dal Medioevo al Seicento. Dal baco al drappo*, ed. by Luca Molà, Reinhold C. Mueller and Claudio Zanier (Venezia: Marsilio, 2000), pp. 35-61
- Kurz, Otto, 'A Gold Helmet Made in Venice for Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 74 (1969), pp. 249-58
- Venice, Città Excelentissima. Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, ed. by Patricia H. Labalme and Laura Sanguineti White (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008)
- Giulio Mandich, 'Le privative industriali veneziane (1450-1550)', *Rivista di diritto commerciale e del diritto generale delle obbligazioni*, 34 (1936), pp. 511-47
- Molà, Luca, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000)
- Molà, Luca, 'Le società per lo sfruttamento delle invenzioni nell'Italia del Cinquecento', *Cheiron*, 42 (2006), pp. 149-68
- Molà, Luca, 'Stato e impresa: privilegi per l'introduzione di nuove arti e brevetti', in *Il Rinascimento Italiano e l'Europa*, III, *Produzione e tecniche*, ed. by Philippe Braunstein and Luca Molà (Treviso: Fondazione Cassamarca, 2007), pp. 533-72
- Molà, Luca, 'Venezia, Genova e l'Oriente: i mercanti italiani sulle Vie della Seta tra XIII e XIV secolo', in *Sulla Via della Seta. Antichi sentieri tra Oriente e Occidente*, ed. by Mark Norrell, Luca Molà et al. (Torino: Codice Edizioni, 2012), pp. 124-66
- Necipoğlu, Gülru, 'Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry', *The Art Bulletin*, 71 (1989), pp. 401-27

- Popplow, Markus, 'Protection and Promotion: Privileges for Inventions and Books of Machines in the Early Modern Period', *History of Technology*, 20 (1998), pp. 103-24
- Sanudo, Marin, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, vol. 43 (Venezia: Fratelli Visentini, 1895)
- Tucci, Ugo, 'Le emissioni monetarie di Venezia e i movimenti internazionali dell'oro', in Tucci, Ugo, *Mercanti, navi, monete nel Cinquecento veneziano* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1981), pp. 275-316
- Zecchin, Luigi, "Conterie" e "contarie", in Zecchin, Luigi, *Vetro e vetrai di Murano: studi sulla storia del vetro*, vol. 1 (Venezia: Arsenale Editrice, 1987), pp. 85-91
- Zecchin, Paolo, 'La nascita delle conterie veneziane', *Journal of Glass Studies*, 47 (2005), pp. 77-92

On the Market: Buying and Selling Artworks in Early Modern Venice

Laura Moretti

Starting from the Trecento, collecting practices gradually expanded in the Italian peninsula. The trend developed steadily in the following centuries, not only in terms of quantity, but also of quality of the objects gathered by private individuals.¹ The early modern collector was at the centre of a complex system of purchases, commissions, exchanges, attributions, evaluations, restorations, studies, and production of artworks.² With the spread of these practices in wide sectors of the society, in the early Cinquecento – thanks to the initiative of strong-minded personalities and the work of artists of the highest calibre – collectors started to be depicted surrounded by artworks, and more broadly by objects characterised by substantial cultural values.³ These pictures testify the vitality of the phenomenon, offering an important indication of how it was seen and interpreted by contemporary eyes.⁴ One of the most significant examples is the portrait of Andrea Odoni (1488-1545) by Lorenzo Lotto (1480-1557), signed

¹ For an introduction, see De Benedictis, *Per la storia del collezionismo italiano*, with further references.

² Franzoni, “Rimembranze d’infinite cose”, p. 303. Cfr. Cecchini, ‘Collezionismo e mondo materiale’, p. 165.

³ See esp. Borean, ‘Ritratti di collezionisti’, with further references.

⁴ Franzoni, “Rimembranze d’infinite cose”, p. 303.

and dated 1527 (fig. 6).⁵ This work, along with the portrait of a collector by Parmigianino (1503-40) now at the National Gallery, London – executed perhaps a few years earlier⁶ – paved the way for a series of portraits which represent the sitter in close contact with specific categories of objects, such as ancient and contemporary sculptures, antique coins, books, and precious craftworks. In these portraits, the personality of the sitter is defined not only by their physical presence and clothing, but also by the surrounding objects and the relations established between the sitter and the objects.

Together with Rome and Florence, Venice was undoubtedly one of the major centres for the development of collecting practices in the Italian peninsula.⁷ New furnishings and artworks «sine quibus commode vivi non potest», as Giovanni Pontano wrote in 1498,⁸ could be commissioned and acquired in various ways. Giovanni Bellini (ca. 1430-1516) produced dozens of «ritratti di naturale», which were displayed «per tutte le case di Venezia» – as Giorgio Vasari wrote in the first edition of his *Lives*.⁹ Along with portraits, Venetian houses were more and more filled with artworks and precious objects. Some collectors expressed particular interest in displaying their belongings in well-organized and sophisticated ways, as testified by the opening of a manuscript, currently preserved at the Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, which shows the display of Andrea Vendramin's collection at the turn of the seventeenth century (fig. 7).¹⁰ The setting included vases, amphoras, urns of different sizes and dimensions, possibly one painting or a sculptural relief in the middle, several statuettes (probably in bronze or terracotta), a bust, a couple of animal heads, and statues on pedestals in two niches.

But where could the sixteenth-century Venetian collector find these objects? Which were the channels that facilitated the transfer of large quantities

⁵ On this portrait, see esp. Schmitter, “‘Virtuous Riches’”; Schmitter, ‘Odoni’s Façade’; and, more recently, Schmitter, *The Art Collector in Early Modern Italy*.

⁶ See esp. Vaccaro, *Parmigianino*, cat. n. 39, pp. 192-3, with further references.

⁷ On this theme, see esp. Hochmann, Lauber and Mason (eds.), *Il collezionismo d’arte a Venezia*; Borean and Mason (eds.), *Figure di collezionisti*; Aikema, Lauber and Seidel (eds.), *Il collezionismo a Venezia e nel Veneto*.

⁸ Pontano, *De beneficentia*. Cfr. Welch, ‘Public Magnificence and Private Display’.

⁹ Vasari, *Vite* (1550), p. 456: «Rimasto Giovanni vedovo di Gentile che sempre amò tenerissimamente; andava lavorando & passandosi tempo, ancora che egli fusse vecchio: & perché e’ si era dato a far ritratti di naturale, introdusse una usanza in quella città: che chi era niente di grado, si faceva fare da lui o da altri il suo ritratto: come appare per tutte le case di Venezia, che son tutte piene di quegli: & vi si vede per infino in quarta generazione i discendenti, nella pittura». See esp. Humfrey, ‘The Portrait in Fifteenth-Century Venice’; and, specifically on Bellini’s portraiture, cfr. Tempestini, *Giovanni Bellini*.

¹⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS D’Orville 539, cc. Vv-VIr. Cfr. Borenus, *The Picture Gallery of Andrea Vendramin*; Lauber, *Andrea Vendramin*, with further references.

of works of art and precious craftworks into these residences? Each case should be analysed separately, but in what follows we shall try and make some general observations, before focussing on a significant case study.¹¹

The main area for the sale and purchase of objects in Venice in the early modern period was, of course, Rialto.¹² This was the centre for the exchange of goods, but also an important node for the circulation of ideas and knowledge. It is not uncommon to recognise in the visual representations of the Rialto bridge area and market something that looks like a work of art or a piece of furniture that could perfectly fit into the house of a wealthy and enthusiastic collector. A good example is the painting by Canaletto representing the Campo San Giacomo di Rialto (ca. 1760) now in Berlin (fig. 8). On the right you can see a painting, and various pieces of furniture leaning on the pillars of the *Fabbriche Vecchie di Rialto*, while on the left we see a few “things”, not better identifiable, which could easily fall into these categories.

We could also ask ourselves where supply and demand could meet in early modern Venice. There were several different places in which you could go if you wished to assemble – but also dismantle – your collection of artworks. For instance, you could go and buy an artwork directly into a painter’s workshop. There you could see various items, compare them, discuss about the price, establish a personal relation with the artist and other artisans and craftsmen gravitating around him.¹³ Another portrait by Lorenzo Lotto (fig. 9) conveys a sense of what a collector could find going to an artist’s workshop to buy something.

An important channel for the purchase of works of art were the auctions, or *incanti*, which were held in the Campo of San Giacomo di Rialto.¹⁴ The auctions had to take place in the open air – and not below the porticoes – and a full list of items had to be circulated in advance. Normally the lists were not categorised, so works of art could be found alongside pieces of furniture and other kinds of goods. If we delve into Canaletto’s depictions of Campo San Giacomo (figs. 8 and 10), we can easily imagine some auctions in progress, with people bidding on their favourite pieces. From the acts of the *Giustizia Vecchia*, we know that in the mid-sixteenth century *incanti* were held daily,¹⁵ while in the seventeenth

¹¹ For a general introduction, see Cecchini, *Quadri e commercio*, pp. 192-263.

¹² See, among others, Cecchini, ‘A cosa serve una piazza mercantile?’; Matthew, ‘Were there open markets for pictures?’; Welch, ‘Luoghi e spazi di mercati e fiere’. See also the essays by Donatella Calabi and Martina Massaro in this volume.

¹³ Cfr Mason, ‘Ritratti, perizie, acquisti e vendite’; Cecchini, ‘Troublesome Business’, p. 125; Cecchini, ‘Al servizio dei collezionisti’; Cecchini, *Quadri e commercio*, p. 198.

¹⁴ See, among others, Cecchini, ‘A cosa serve una piazza mercantile?’ p. 417, with further references.

¹⁵ Archivio di Stato di Venezia (henceforth ASVe), *Giustizia Vecchia*, b. 23, quoted in Corazza, *Il*

century they had to be regulated and scheduled in advance.¹⁶ An embarrassing episode occurred in 1506 when Isabella d'Este, hearing the news of the death of the jeweler Michele Vianello, wrote to three of her correspondents because she wanted to acquire the *Submersion of the Pharaoh* attributed to Jan van Eyck (now lost).¹⁷ Vianello's assets were auctioned off to repay his creditors, but Isabella's emissaries let the painting escape. It was bought by Andrea Loredan, the doge's brother. After much insistence, Loredan sold it to Isabella at the purchase price. This was not at all uncommon: the same Lorenzo Lotto, in his will dated 1546, wrote that he wished his properties were «poste a l'incanto».¹⁸

The lottery – a game introduced in Venice in the early modern period – spread very quickly and could be played at San Polo and Rialto.¹⁹ It consisted in raising funds from a private individual by selling tickets, and giving the possibility for players (i.e. buyers) to win any kind of object, including artworks, but also jewels and even land property, as testified by a rare print listing the items of the *Lotto dell'università de creditor del Banco Dolfin*.²⁰ The lotteries of works of art (or which included them) began to spread in the sixteenth century; and although they cannot be considered a primary vehicle for sales but rather a complementary circuit, they gave the possibility to all citizens to participate and – if lucky – to own some objects of a certain commercial and aesthetic value.

And then there was the Fiera della Sensa, which was held on the occasion of the feast of the Ascension (in Venetian, Sensa), which lasted several days and is still celebrated today.²¹ Gabriele Bella, in a famous painting now preserved at the Pinacoteca Querini Stampalia (fig. 11), represents the temporary structure which was erected in St Mark's Square for this festivity. On the bottom-right corner we see various items of clothing, but also pieces of furniture, a couple of mirrors and one painting, while on the left, several paintings are up for sale. Through an opening on the wall we can see two men, who are probably discussing the price of one of the paintings. The products on display were on sale at every price range, within the reach of even those with little in their pockets. The “Arte dei Pittori” had a specific place where painters could sell their works,

mercato di quadri, p. 131.

¹⁶ Cecchini, 'Collezionismo e mondo materiale', p. 182; Cecchini, *Quadri e commercio*, pp. 199-200.

¹⁷ Corazza, *Il mercato di quadri*, pp. 133-4. Cfr Brown and Lorenzoni, 'An Art Auction in Venice in 1506'.

¹⁸ Lotto, *Il Libro di spese diverse*, p. 304, quoted in Corazza, *Il mercato di quadri*, p. 133.

¹⁹ Sanudo, *I Diarii*, vol. XXXII, pp. 500-1. For a general introduction, see Lorizzo, 'Per una storia delle lotterie'; Dolcetti, *Le bische e il giuoco d'azzardo*. Cfr. Corazza, *Il mercato di quadri*, pp. 134-40; Cecchini, 'I modi della circolazione', pp. 146, 148; Cecchini, *Quadri e commercio*, pp. 200-1.

²⁰ Biblioteca Museo Correr, Venezia (henceforth BMC), Opuscolo Cicogna, 686, n. 13, quoted and reproduced in Corazza, *Il mercato di quadri*, pp. 136-7 and fig. 3, p. 139.

²¹ Welch, 'Luoghi e spazi di mercati e fiere', pp. 83-7; Cecchini, *Quadri e commercio*, pp. 203-4.

and also well renown painters participated in the event. Giorgio Vasari wrote that he saw a portrait of the doge Leonardo Loredan by Giorgione at the *fiera della Sensa*,²² alongside a magnificent self-portrait by Palma il Giovane.²³ Artists like Albrecht Dürer, Lorenzo Lotto, and Jacopo Bassano regularly participated in the sales.²⁴

As Sanudo attests, there were two weekly markets, one in Campo San Polo and the other in Piazza San Marco.²⁵ The one in San Polo was held on Wednesdays, while the one in Piazza San Marco on Saturdays. Venetians went there to buy and sell all kinds of objects. Probably the one in Campo San Polo, considering its proximity to the Rialto bridge, was more active. In 1534 the *Provveditori di Comun* stated that it was forbidden to «tenir tende» (i.e. to mount temporary structures) in these spaces in other days of the week, confirming in fact that these places were used for market purposes also on different days.²⁶ *Rigattieri* and *strazzaroli* (i.e. second-hand dealers) were authorized, since 1233, to sell textiles and other objects that were given to them at a predetermined price.²⁷ The *rigattiere* in particular was a profession, with a training of 5 years.²⁸ They were forbidden to sell newly manufactured objects, but the line was clearly feeble – we know of several artisans declaring that some *rigattieri* were selling new products. Several *rigattieri* came from abroad: we can find frequent mentions of «ebrei Tedeschi», the only group which was allowed to sell and buy second-hand products, operating in the ghetto.²⁹ The products were clearly given to them by former owners who wanted to sell them. Some illegal practices like theft and burglary were apparently quite common. The shops were located mainly in the Ghetto Nuovo, but also in the areas of Rialto and San Marco, where local *rigattieri* could be found.³⁰ They operated also during auctions and *incanti*. As demonstrated by Isabella Cecchini, this was the circuit frequently used by rich Venetians who were in financial difficulties and gave their objects to sell to *rigattieri* and *strazzaroli*, who could operate lawfully.³¹ In 1577 they

²² Vasari, *Vite* (1568), vol. II (part III, vol. I), p. 13; Cecchini, *Quadri e commercio*, p. 204.

²³ Vasari, *Vite* (1568), vol. II (part III, vol. I), pp. 140-1.

²⁴ Corazza, 'Il mercato di quadri', p. 143; Dal Pozzolo, 'Cercar quadri e disegni', p. 52.

²⁵ Sanudo, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis venetae*, p. 25, quoted in Corazza, 'Il mercato di quadri', p. 144.

²⁶ ASVe, *Provveditori di Comun*, Atti, b. 10, reg. 8, c. 16v, quoted in Corazza, 'Il mercato di quadri', p. 144.

²⁷ Cecchini, 'Collezionismo e mondo materiale', p. 182.

²⁸ Allerston, 'The market in second-hand clothes', pp. 179-81; Corazza, 'Il mercato di quadri', p. 145.

²⁹ Corazza, 'Il mercato di quadri', p. 265.

³⁰ Cecchini, 'Collezionismo e mondo materiale', p. 182.

³¹ Cecchini, *Quadri e commercio*, pp. 233-6.

were allowed to sell also jewels and precious metals, and we know they were often asked to evaluate collections of works of art (this testifies that they were active in the circuit of the Venetian nobility).³²

It was also possible to buy works of art directly on the streets. This was quite frequent in Piazza San Marco, but also elsewhere, if in 1551 il Consiglio dei Pregadi forbade to occupy public spaces with goods and stuff of any sort.³³ Feast days were special occasions for doing business: in 1577 it was forbidden to sell objects outside the churches, and in the following years this was reiterated several times, attesting that the practice was rather common.³⁴ The main advantage of this kind of exchange was that it was released from the rules of the corporations or guilds. It is also important to notice the kind of visibility this practice allowed. In Canaletto's view now at the National Gallery, London (fig. 12), for instance, we see some paintings displayed in Campo San Rocco, on the façade of the Scuola Grande and on adjacent buildings.

And, of course, works of art passed from generation to generation. We could consider, for example, the two panels by Hans Memling, owned by the Bembo family in the early sixteenth century, which were possibly part of the same small altarpiece (figs. 13-14).³⁵ Pietro Bembo's father Bernardo, art lover and bibliophile, probably acquired these and bequeathed them to his son. Bernardo's collection passed in fact «di padre in figlio» to Pietro. The same happened between Pietro and his son Torquato, who though showed a very different attitude and dispersed his father's collections.

Another channel was of course the direct trade between collectors. The so-called Frick St Francis (fig. 15), for instance, in 1525 was in the house of Taddeo Contarini, and later ended up in the house of a certain Zuan Michiel, a secretary of the Consiglio dei Dieci, together with some illuminated parchment sheets decorated by Jacometto Veneziano, which passed into different hands before landing in Michiel's house.³⁶ These exchanges were certainly prompted by the specific needs of the parts involved (whether of the buyer or of the seller) and the peculiarities of the objects in question. An important role was played by experts and *connoisseurs*, who could participate in the sales acting as brokers or agents. For example, we could mention the Flemish broker Daniel Nijs (1572-1647), who established himself in Venice and in the 1620s played a prominent role in the sale of the Gonzaga collections.³⁷

³² Allerston, 'The market in second-hand clothes', p. 55; Corazza, 'Il mercato di quadri', p. 146.

³³ ASVe, Provveditori di Comun, Atti, b. 1, c. 343r, quoted in Corazza, 'Il mercato di quadri', p. 147.

³⁴ ASVe, Giustizia Vecchia, b. 5/12, c. 33v, quoted in Corazza, 'Il mercato di quadri', p. 148.

³⁵ Gasparotto, Tura and Beltramini (eds.), *Pietro Bembo e l'invenzione del Rinascimento*, p. [...].

³⁶ See, for all details and further references, Rutherglen and Hale (eds.), *In a New Light*.

³⁷ On Daniel Nijs, see Anderson, *The Flemish Merchant*.

A Case Study: Leonardo Mocenigo

Around the mid-sixteenth century, the Venetian patrician Leonardo Mocenigo (1523-75) gathered one of the most important collections of the time, mentioned among the “Studi di Anticaglie & di medaglie” by Francesco Sansovino in his *Venetia citta nobilissima et singolare*.³⁸ Tommaso Garzoni, in his *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*,³⁹ lists Mocenigo among the «sommi amatori d’anticaglie» («greatest lovers of antiquity») in the chapter titled «De’ professori di medaglie, et d’altre Anticaglie, Antiquarij detti», while Vincenzo Scamozzi, in 1615, still recalls the collection among the «studij di Nobili» he saw during his youth. The highlights of the Mocenigo collection included a coin cabinet modelled on the Arch of Constantine (now lost), designed by Andrea Palladio, a marble statue at the time known as *Endymion* (fig. 16), and the so-called *Adorante* (fig. 17), a bronze statue considered the work of Boedas – one of the sons of the prolific and famous Greek sculptor Lysippos (active ca. 370-315 BCE).⁴⁰ This case study is of particular interest in this context because the collection – or at least a conspicuous part of it – was assembled and dismantled in a relatively short period of time, allowing us to reflect upon methods of acquisition but also of sale.

Leonardo Mocenigo, of the branch «dalle zogie» or «dalle perle», was born in Venice on January 23, 1523, the son of Antonio, a Procurator of St Mark. In 1544 he married Marina Capello, the niece of Cardinal Francesco Pisani, and they had two sons, Antonio and Alvise.⁴¹ The name of the family branch was due to Leonardo’s grandfather Alvise (1480-1541), a rich merchant. Leonardo held several appointments for the Republic of Venice: between 1557 and 1559 he was the Venetian ambassador at the court of the Emperor Ferdinand I, who made him a *cavaliere* and granted him the privilege of using the imperial eagle in his coat-of-arms. When he left Vienna, the Emperor presented him a «coppa d’oro» later valued 1,200 *ducats* and acquired by Guglielmo Gonzaga.⁴²

From a «lasciate passare» dated June 18, 1570, we know that a group of 20 busts, five «pilli antichi» and two other marble bases for statues, two marble figures «del naturale» and two smaller statues, three «putti di mezo rilievo che dorme», a piece of mosaic, and two marble pieces left Rome directed to Ven-

³⁸ Sansovino, *Venetia citta nobilissima et singolare*, cc. 138r-v.

³⁹ Garzoni, *La piazza universale*, p. 918.

⁴⁰ For an introduction, see Borean, ‘Leonardo Mocenigo’; Brown and Lorenzoni, ‘The “studio del clarissimo Cavaliero Mozzanico”’.

⁴¹ See esp. Stefani, ‘Famiglia Mocenigo’.

⁴² Brown and Lorenzoni, ‘The “studio del clarissimo Cavaliero Mozzanico”’, p. 56.

ice.⁴³ The document states that Mocenigo could bring the objects wherever he preferred.

Unfortunately, we don't know for sure where Leonardo kept his collection. In the *Condizione di decima* of 1566,⁴⁴ he stated to own several properties in Venice and Padua, but to reside in the house of Francesco, Giacomo and Zuane Marcello at San Vidal (current Palazzo Cavalli Franchetti). In the 1550s and 1560s he commissioned Palladio to rebuild his family palazzo in Padua (works carried out between 1558-66); a villa in Dolo, near Venice (built 1560-64, now destroyed); another villa in Marocco, near Treviso (designed 1560-61, partially built and now destroyed).⁴⁵ Clearly Leonardo was financially exposed on many fronts, and in late 1573 he went bankrupt. His son Alvise lent him conspicuous sums, derived from his wife's dowry, and several properties and goods – including his artwork collection – were used as security («cauzione».)⁴⁶

Leonardo died in 1575, and in the the following decade Alvise sold the vast majority of his objects. Part of the collection was acquired by Mario Bevilacqua (1536-93), the most important collector in Verona in the second half of the Cinquecento, and was displayed for more than 200 years in the family palazzo.⁴⁷ The so-called *Adorante* is currently preserved at the Antikensammlung of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. After its sojourn in Venice (where it had arrived in 1503) and Verona, the statue travelled throughout all Europe, becoming a property of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga (1562-1612), King Charles I (1600-49), Nicolas Fouquet (1615-80, from 1653 Superintendent of Finances of Louis XIV), Prince Eugene de Savoy (1663-1736), Prince Wenzel of Liechtenstein (1696-1772), and Emperor Frederick the Great (1712-86). Several marble statues with a Mocenigo provenance were sold in 1811 by Bevilacqua's heirs to Prince Ludwig I of Bavaria who had them installed in the Glyptothek in Munich. *Endymion* – originally in the Maffei collection in Rome, where it was seen and depicted by several artists, including Marteen van Heemskerck⁴⁸ – was not included in the «lasciate

⁴³ Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Roma, Diversa Cameralia, t. 237, c. 107, Rome, 18 June 1570: «Lasciate passare – (a) dodici teste con li petti, antiche et restaurate, – (b) sei teste senza petti, antiche, restaurate, – (c) un pezzo di musaicho antico grande palmi tre e mezo in circa, – (d) cinque pilli antiche, doi grandi et tre piccoli, – (e) un triangolo per posamento d'une figurina et un altro pure posamento, – (f) tre putti di mezo rilievo che dorme, restaurati, tutti in un pezzo – (g) un Cupido alto palmi doi in circa, – (h) un Baccho del naturale, – (i) una Venere similmente del naturale, – (j) doi pezzi de istiria [sic] alti palmi tre in circa, – (k) una figurina alti palmi tre in circa, – (i) doi teste moderne con li petti, quali l'ostensor delle presenti conduce da Roma a Venetia [...] per servizio del [...] cavalier Lionardo Mocenigo, gentilhuomo venetiano».

⁴⁴ ASVe, Dieci savi alle decime, Redecima 1566, b. 127, c. 472.

⁴⁵ See esp. Puppi, 'Palladio e Leonardo Mocenigo'.

⁴⁶ BMC, Ms P.D., b. 506/4, 6. Cfr Puppi, 'Palladio e Leonardo Mocenigo'.

⁴⁷ See, for all references on the Bevilacqua collection, Moretti, *In the House of the Muses*.

⁴⁸ Moretti, 'The Te Papa Endymion', with further bibliography.

passare» of 1570, but was possibly brought (somewhat illegally) to Venice in 1573 via the sculptor Giovanni Battista della Porta. Mocenigo was fined for this transferal.⁴⁹

As far as the collection of coins and medal was concerned, we know that Leonardo Mocenigo was in touch with some of the most influential collectors operating in the Italian peninsula (Celso, Contarini, Foscarini and Loredan).⁵⁰ He negotiated the purchase of his objects with the main brokers and antiquarians of his time, like for instance Ercole Basso, Cesare Targone, Giulio Calestano and Domenico dalle Due Regine, all active on the Venetian art market with profit. When the Mocenigo collection was dispersed, it attracted the interest of Francesco de' Medici, Alessandro Farnese and Fulvio Orsini.

It is possible that Leonardo was thinking of displaying his collection in his Paduan residence. The building has been altered over the centuries, but it presents several features that suggest that it was – at least in part – used for artwork display. The main building was frescoed by Zelotti, and the property presents a conspicuous garden, which was in direct communication with a water way, as can be seen in Giovanni Valle's map (1784).

We saw very briefly the birth and death of a Venetian collection. The objects were acquired in various ways – inheritance, import from abroad, direct exchange, purchase via intermediaries – and sold rapidly by Leonardo's son.

Bibliography

- Agosti, Giovanni, 'Sui teleri perduti del Maggior Consiglio del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia', *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, 30 (1987), pp. 61-87
- Il collezionismo a Venezia e nel Veneto ai tempi della Serenissima*, ed. by Bernard Aikema, Rosella Lauber and Max Seidel (Venezia: Marsilio, 2005)
- Allerston, Patricia A., 'The market in second-hand clothes and furnishing in Venice c.1500-1650', PhD Dissertation, European University Institute, Florence, 1996
- Anderson, Christina M., *The Flemish Merchant of Venice. Daniel Nijs and the Sale of the Gonzaga Art Collection* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2015)
- Borean, Linda, 'Leonardo Mocenigo', in *Il collezionismo d'arte a Venezia. Dalle origini al Cinquecento*, ed. by Michel Hochmann, Rosella Lauber and Stefania Mason (Venezia: Marsilio, 2008), pp. 297-8

⁴⁹ ASVe, Notarile, Atti, notary Vettor Maffei, 8172, cc. 278v-279v. I am currently working on this document.

⁵⁰ Brown and Lorenzoni, 'The "studio del clarissimo Cavaliero Mozzanico"', p. 56.

- Borean, Linda, 'Ritratti di collezionisti a Venezia tra secondo Cinquecento e prima metà del Seicento. Alcune considerazioni', *Artibus et Historiae* 68 (2013), pp. 105-19
- Figure di collezionisti a Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento*, ed. by Linda Borean and Stefania Mason (Udine: Forum, 2002)
- Il collezionismo d'arte a Venezia. Il Seicento*, ed. by Linda Borean and Stefania Mason (Venezia: Marsilio, 2007)
- Borenus, Tancred, *The Picture Gallery of Andrea Vendramin* (London: Medici Society, 1923)
- Brown, Clifford M., and Lorenzoni, Anna Maria, 'An Art Auction in Venice in 1506', *L'arte*, ser. III, 5, nos. 18-19/20 (1972), pp. 122-3
- Brown, Clifford M. and Lorenzoni, Anna Maria, 'The "studio del clarissimo Cavaliere Mozzanico in Venezia": Documents for the Antiquarian Ambitions of Francesco I de' Medici, Mario Bevilacqua, Alessandro Farnese and Fulvio Orsini', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 41 (1999), pp. 55-76
- Cecchini, Isabella, 'A cosa serve una piazza mercantile? Il ruolo di Rialto', *Theaurismata*, 48 (2018), pp. 415-28
- Cecchini, Isabella, 'Al servizio dei collezionisti: la professionalizzazione nel commercio di dipinti a Venezia in età moderna e il ruolo delle botteghe', in *Il collezionismo a Venezia e nel Veneto ai tempi della Serenissima* ed. by Bernard Aikema, Rosella Lauber and Max Seidel (Venezia: Marsilio, 2005), pp. 151-72
- Cecchini, Isabella, 'Collezionismo e mondo materiale', in *Il collezionismo d'arte a Venezia. Dalle origini al Cinquecento*, ed. by Michel Hochmann, Rosella Lauber and Stefania Mason (Venezia: Marsilio, 2008), pp. 164-91
- Cecchini, Isabella, 'I modi della circolazione dei dipinti', in *Il collezionismo d'arte a Venezia. Il Seicento*, ed. by Linda Borean and Stefania Mason (Venezia: Marsilio, 2007), pp. 141-65
- Cecchini, Isabella, 'Troublesome Business: Dealing in Venice, 1600-1750', in *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe 1450-1750*, ed. by Neil De Marchi and Hans J. Van Miegroet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 125-34
- Cecchini, Isabella, *Quadri e commercio a Venezia durante il Seicento: uno studio sul mercato dell'arte* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2000)
- Corazza, Lucia, *Il mercato di quadri nella Venezia del Cinquecento*, Tesi di Laurea, Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia, anno accademico 2016-17
- Dal Pozzolo, Enrico Maria, 'Cercar quadri e disegni nella Venezia del Cinquecento', in *Tra committenza e collezionismo. Studi sul mercato dell'arte nell'Italia settentrionale durante l'età moderna*, ed. by Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo and Leonida Tedoldi (Vicenza: Terraferma, 2003), pp. 49-65
- De Benedictis, Cristina, *Per la storia del collezionismo italiano. Fonti e documenti* (Milano: Ponte alle Grazie Editori, 2002)

- Dolcetti, Giovanni, *Le bische e il giuoco d'azzardo a Venezia (1172-1807)* (Venezia: Libreria Aldo Manuzio, 1903, rist. anast. Vittorio Veneto: De Bastiani, 2010)
- Franzoni, Claudio, "‘Rimembranze d’infinite cose’". Le collezioni rinascimentali di antichità, in *Memoria dell’antico nell’arte italiana*, ed. by Salvatore Settis, 3 vols (Torino: Einaudi, 1984-86), vol. I, *L’uso dei classici* (1984), pp. 304-60
- Garzoni, Tommaso, *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo* (Venezia: Giovanni Battista Somasco, 1585)
- Pietro Bembo e l’invenzione del Rinascimento*, exhib. cat. ed. by Davide Gasparotto, Adolfo Tura and Guido Beltramini (Venezia: Marsilio, 2013)
- Il collezionismo d’arte a Venezia. Dalle origini al Cinquecento*, ed. by Michel Hochmann, Rosella Lauber and Stefania Mason (Venezia: Marsilio, 2008)
- In a New Light: Giovanni Bellini’s ‘St. Francis in the Desert’*, ed. by Susannah Rutherglen and Charlotte Hale (London: Giles, 2015)
- Humfrey, Peter, 'The Portrait in Fifteenth-Century Venice', in *The Renaissance Portrait. From Donatello to Bellini*, ed. by Keith Christiansen and Stefan Wepelmann (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 48-63
- Lauber, Rosella, *Andrea Vendramin*, in *Il collezionismo d’arte a Venezia. Dalle origini al Cinquecento*, ed. by Michel Hochmann, Rosella Lauber and Stefania Mason (Venezia: Marsilio, 2008), pp. 316-7
- Lorizzo, Loredana, 'Per una storia delle lotterie e delle vendite all’incanto di opere d’arte in Italia tra Cinque e Seicento', in *Fare e disfare. Studi sulla dispersione delle opere d’arte in Italia tra XVI e XIX secolo*, ed. by Loredana Lorizzo (Roma: Campisano, 2011), pp. 75-85
- Lotto, Lorenzo, *Il Libro di spese diverse con aggiunta di lettere e d’altri documenti*, ed. by Pietro Zampetti (Venezia: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1969)
- Mason, Stefania, 'Ritratti, perizie, acquisti e vendite: l’artista nel collezionismo e nel mercato del Cinquecento', in *Il collezionismo d’arte a Venezia. Dalle origini al Cinquecento*, ed. by Michel Hochmann, Rosella Lauber and Stefania Mason (Venezia: Marsilio, 2008), pp. 107-19
- Matthew, Louisa Chevalier, 'Were there open markets for pictures in Renaissance Venice?', in *The Art Market in Italy (15th-17th centuries)*, ed. by Marcello Fantoni, Louisa Chevalier Matthew and Sara F. Matthews Grieco (Modena: Panini, 2003), pp. 253-61
- Moretti, Laura, 'The Te Papa Endymion. A study on the subject of two sketches on a sheet attributed to Maarten van Heemskerck', *Tuhinga XXX* (2019), pp. 5-28
- Moretti, Laura, *In the House of the Muses: Collection, Display, and Performance in the Veronese Palace of Mario Bevilacqua (1536-93)* (Turnhout/London: Brepols/Harvey Miller, 2020)

- Pontano, Giovanni Gioviano, *De beneficentia; De magnificentia; De splendore; De conviventia* (Napoli: Johannes Tresser and Martinus de Amsterdam, 1498)
- Puppi, Lionello, 'Palladio e Leonardo Mocenigo', in *Klassizismus: Epoche und Problem*, ed. by Jürg Meyer zur Capellen and Gabriele Oberreuter-Kronabel (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1987), pp. 337-62
- Sansovino, Francesco, *Venetia citta nobilissima et singolare* (Venezia: Giacomo Sansovino [Domenico Farri], 1581)
- Sanudo, Marin, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis venetae overo La città di Venetia (1493-1530)*, ed. by Angela Caracciolo Aricò (Venezia: Centro di studi medievali e rinascimentali "E. A. Cicogna", 2011)
- Sanudo, Marin, *I Diarii*, 58 vols (Venezia: Visentini, 1879-1903, facs. ed. Bologna: Forni, 1969-70)
- Scamozzi, Vincenzo, *L'idea dell'Architettura Universale* (Venezia: *expensis auctoris*, 1615)
- Schmitter, Monika, "Virtuous Riches": The Bricolage of Cittadini Identities in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly* 57/3 (2004), pp. 908-69
- Schmitter, Monika, 'Odoni's Façade: The House as Portrait in Renaissance Venice', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 66/3 (2007), pp. 294-315
- Schmitter, Monika, *The Art Collector in Early Modern Italy: Andrea Odoni and His Venetian Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021)
- Stefani, Federico, 'Famiglia Mocenigo', in *Famiglie celebri d'Italia*, ed. by Pompeo Litta et al. (Milano-Torino: Paolo Emilio Giusti, Giulio Ferrario, Luciano and Francesco Basadonna, 1819-83), s. I, fasc. 89, tav. VIII (1872)
- Tempestini, Anchise, *Giovanni Bellini. Catalogo completo* (Firenze: Cantini & C., 1992)
- Vaccaro, Mary, *Parmigianino. I dipinti* (Torino: Umberto Allemandi & C., 2002)
- Vasari, Giorgio, *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani*, 2 vols (Firenze: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550)
- Vasari, Giorgio, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori scultori, e architettori*, 3 vols (Firenze: Giunti, 1568)
- Welch, Evelyn, 'Luoghi e spazi di mercati e fiere', in *Il Rinascimento Italiano e l'Europa*, 6 vols (Treviso: Angelo Colla, 2005-10), vol. VI, *Luoghi, spazi, architetture*, ed. by Donatella Calabi and Elena Svalduz (2010), pp. 65-88
- Welch, Evelyn, 'Public Magnificence and Private Display: Giovanni Pontano's "De Splendore" (1498) and the Domestic Arts', *Journal of Design History* 15/4 (2002), pp. 211-21

The Venetian Archipelago: Society, Everyday Life, and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Lagoon

Ludovica Galeazzo

One of the earliest representations of Venice's lagoon is a miniature in a Ptolemy *Cosmography* of 1470, made by the French secretary Hugue de Comminelles for Alfonso II, Duke of Calabria (fig. 18).¹ This document embodies both physical and metaphoric ideals of the capital in the second half of the fifteenth century. In a still primordial portrait of the lagoon's topography, the city and its islands appear as a composite, although simplified, archipelago. The central core of Venice, made up of separate lands connected by bridges, stands out as a successful artifact sitting on placid waters and surrounded by an orderly protective belt of settlements. Stylized labeled churches identify the outlying islets. However, upon closer view, one can note some details that capture the distinctiveness of this peculiar urban entity. On the lower right corner, a *cavàna*, a typical houseboat, testifies to the long-lasting use of lagoon settlements as places of shelter and welcome. On the opposite side, a mill suggests the islands' role in food production and supply exchange. So far as these elements disclose it, the early modern lagoon was a unique organic environment where the mingling of human action and natural ecosystem was enduring and profound. Occupying a hybrid position between Venice and the mainland, the cluster of over

¹ Huegues de Comminelles, *Venetia* from Claudius Ptolomaeus, *Cosmographia*, Florence, 1470 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Latino 4802, fol. 132).

sixty islands of varying size scattered throughout the basin has always been strongly tied to the urban fabric, even following the Republic's territorial and maritime expansion. More than an ornamental frame, these spaces functioned as capillary structures for the political, socio-economic, and cultural interests of the city.

From the eleventh century, the archipelago hosted ecclesiastical communities of an impressive array of different orders: Benedictine, Franciscan, Dominican, Carthusian, Augustinian, to name but a few.² These spiritual places were more than retreats for people seeking isolation and the contemplative life. While being forerunners in early landfilling operations,³ religious congregations also played an active role as connective hubs in a synergistic network called upon to sustain the social and economic life of Venice's urban framework.

First of all, they helped maintain its food supply.⁴ In a city deprived of any agricultural territory and where it is impossible – to use a famous expression by the Roman prefect Cassiodorus – to «drive the plough or wield the sickle»,⁵ inhabitants looked to the natural extensions of their environment to ensure their survival. Therefore, the compelling need for food became the business of peripheral islets and, more specifically, of the water-bound monasteries and convents. Orchards, vegetable gardens, and vineyards were established within the walls of almost every religious house, securing the food independence of the cenobies, while also contributing to the city's general supply. Both the islands of Le Vignole and Sant'Erasmus were renowned for the quality and great variety of their grapevines, while the land stretching behind the complex of Sant'Andrea della Certosa provided a wide range of agricultural products (fig. 19).

Within the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, long lines of wooden pergolas were suited for the extensive cultivation of roses, whose petals were sold outside the Benedictine precinct for both medicinal and culinary use. These latter agreeable oases were also active centers of humanistic pursuits. The garden of San Giorgio, just like the monastery, was the core of the most advanced spiritual and intellectual Venetian culture of the first half of the sixteenth century. Here, Antonio Brucioli in 1537 set one of his dialogues on moral philosophy in which he depicted the English Cardinal Reginald Pole strolling through the garden and discussing virtue with the humanist Gregorio Cortese, abbot of

² On the religious life in the Venetian lagoon see: *Monasteri benedettini nella laguna veneziana*, Vecchi, *Chiese e monasteri medioevali scomparsi*, and the more recent Moine, *Chiostru tra le acque*.

³ Crouzet-Pavan, "Sopra le acque salse".

⁴ On the water and food supply in Venice see *Acqua e cibo a Venezia*.

⁵ Cassiodorus, *Epistulae variae*, XII, 24, p. 379.

the Cassinese complex.⁶ Similarly, Father Vincenzo Maria Coronelli reported that the open grass area outside the Carthusian monastery of La Certosa was renowned as a meeting place for the groups of young Venetian nobles affiliated to the many *Compagnie della Calza*.⁷

Even smaller islands, however, contributed to the social and economic life of the urban fabric. A text by Domenico Codagli (1562-1610), prior of the tiny monastery of San Secondo located along the homonymous canal that connects Venice to Marghera, provides some insight into the arrangement of the open spaces within the Dominican complex.⁸ In his *Historia*, published in 1609, the friar recalled the island covered with high-growing plants and fruit trees of all sorts and varieties, such as pears, apples, peaches, plums, figs, almond trees, but also jujubes, olive trees, and vineyards. The vegetable garden was equally abundant and offered pumpkins, eggplants, watermelons, as well as medicinal and aromatic herbs. Codagli's text is certainly a passionate description that sometimes strays into self-praise. The engrossment in detail conveys his intimate bond to the site but also sheds light on the significance of the island's green areas in the everyday activities of the city. The abundance and luxuriance of these greeneries are indeed confirmed by several sixteenth-century tenant farmers' contracts.⁹ These documents testify to the common use of renting religious lands out to private citizens for cultivation, displaying the peculiar Venetian coexistence of sacred and secular activities within ecclesiastical complexes.

Manufacturing beyond religious walls could sometimes take the form of proto-industrial activities. This is the case of watermills, better known as *aquimoli*, that from the fourteenth century were established in several monastic islands before the Republic could draw upon the mainland rivers. The most famous structures were located in the north-western area of Murano, behind the convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli (fig. 20).¹⁰ Not totally surprisingly, they were owned and managed by the two parish churches of San Salvador and Santi Maria e Donato, which were important landowners both in Venice and in the mainland. As the precious drawing on parchment shows, the watermill's system exploited the tidal rise and fall: a semi-circular banking and dam formed a suitable basin that was filled twice a day as the tide came in. When the tide was low enough, the stored water was released to turn the four water wheels that

⁶ Brucioli, *Dialogi di Antonio Brucioli*, dialogue 11, fol. 82v.

⁷ Coronelli, *Isolario*, fol. 45.

⁸ See Codagli, *Historia dell'isola e monasterio di San Secondo*, in particular fols. 6v-7r.

⁹ Archivio di Stato di Venezia (henceforth ASVe), San Secondo, b. 8. On the coexistence of sacred and secular institutions within islands see Galeazzo, 'Autorità ecclesiastica e civile'.

¹⁰ The drawing is preserved in ASVe, Santa Maria degli Anzoli, b. 32. On this, see Caniato, 'Veduta parziale dell'isola di Murano', cat. II.7, p. 150.

ground the grain. Although these ingenious constructions were not actually highly productive, for almost two centuries they represented Venice's principal source of flour and epitomized the city's mastery over its physical environment.

The interlocking exchange between water-bound institutions and Venice, however, did not concern only food. Along with spaces devoted to the spiritual life, infrastructures and commodities served the daily needs of the broader Venetian community, such as customs houses, public houseboats, or gunpowder magazines. Religious complexes were also regularly called upon to open their spaces to passengers in transit across the lagoon. Public guest houses and inns erected by Venetian authorities offered shelter to sailors, fishermen, and merchants during storms and were administered by the monastic communities themselves (fig. 21). These lodging places were well-known and much frequented as detailed lists of monasteries' food expenditures reveal. They annotate day-by-day the meals served, their cost, as well as the number of 'mouths' to feed, giving us a rare glimpse into the everyday life of the lagoon communities.¹¹

Yet, the archipelago was not used only by travelers. If Murano and the Giudecca with their lavish villas, palaces, and extensive gardens offered major places for suburban *villeggiatura*,¹² monastic islands were also chosen as desirable settings for vacation or spiritual retreat. Lists of commemorative masses regularly held in the lagoon churches include numerous 'vacation ceremonies,' corroborating the idea of these settlements as pleasant accommodations for noble and wealthy citizens even for long stays.¹³ San Clemente became one of the chief destinations and provided a peaceful escape from the social and political pressures of the city. In the aftermath of its purchase by the Camaldolese Hermits of Monte Corona in 1645, prior Anselmo Martinengo expanded the island and surrounded the monastery with fourteen eremitic cells, each of them equipped with its own study room, library, oratory, bedroom, and garden. Construction works were largely sponsored by members of patrician families — above all the Doge Francesco Molin (1575-1655) — who later used to regularly join the monks in their spiritual activities.¹⁴

The aqueous environment was also the stage set on which the Republic promoted the glory and power of the State through ostentatious ceremonies and events contested on water. Ingeniously staged parades, marine fêtes, competitive regattas, and musical dinners on the water offered extravagant pleasures to participants and spectators alike. These choreographed festivities were an inte-

¹¹ See Faugeron, 'Du bon usage du marché', pp. 387-431.

¹² Monahan, 'Sanudo and the Venetian villa suburbana', pp. 45-64.

¹³ See for example the documentation preserved in ASVe, San Secondo, b. 2 (1770).

¹⁴ Seguso, *L'isola di San Clemente*, pp. 11-3.

gral part of the statecraft of the period.¹⁵ Awestruck chronicles, travelers' memoirs, and prints vividly record the pageantry laid out for popes, emperors, kings, cardinals, and ambassadors visiting the city. Islands were pressed into service as intermediate stately reception points. Each guest's solemn entry was personally tailored, although it would usually entail a procession through the lagoon. This operated not only as a symbolic display of the aqueous setting, but also a potent rhetorical reminder of the sacred geography of the Venetian environment. State ceremonial books and official accounts allow the reconstruction of the diplomatic visits' protocol, which always started at the edge of the lagoon.¹⁶ Foreign rulers and diplomats alongside their parties were usually received by groups of twenty to seventy senators sent by the Serenissima at one of the four main access portals of the lagoon, which symbolized the starting points for the triumphal entry: Marghera in the north, Chioggia to the south, Lizzafusina for visitors sailing down the Brenta River, and the port of San Nicolò for those who came from the sea. Then, based on their nationality, guests were brought to given islands for the official accreditation before leaving to their allotted residence in the city center. From the sixteenth century, papal nuncios and diplomats from France, Spain and, at since 1606, also England were received in Santo Spirito, imperial ambassadors were greeted in the island of San Secondo, while representatives from Mantua were met in Santa Maria delle Grazie.¹⁷ In some cases, secular visitors of higher rank were also accommodated in the islands for their whole stay and lodged in bespoke rooms richly furnished for their use.

Besides the notorious guest house in San Giorgio Maggiore – which hosted Cosimo de' Medici during his exile – a lavish apartment in San Clemente provided hospitality to the leading European statesmen, such as the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (1452 and 1469), the Duke of Ferrara Ercole I d'Este (1499), and the Duke of Milan Francesco II Sforza (1530).¹⁸ Each official welcome involved a chain of ceremonial moments that culminated with a formal handshake between the guest and a senator selected among patricians who served as Venetian ambassadors to European courts. The ritual formally took place within the given monastic churches, stunningly decorated for the occasion. These carefully curated diplomatic visits turned the lagoon into theater proper. Venetian islands officially became the threshold and the frontline contact zones of international exchanges, thus entering the imagery of the principal European

¹⁵ See Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* and Korsch, 'Renaissance Venice', pp. 105-24.

¹⁶ State ceremonial books are preserved in ASVe, Collegio, Cerimoniali, Registri, reg. 1 and in Ufficiali alle rason vecchie, b. 222 (seventeenth century). See Fortini Brown, 'Measured Friendship, Calculated Pomp'.

¹⁷ Cossalter, 'Dai porti alle isole'.

¹⁸ Da Portogruaro, *Una gemma della laguna*, pp. 22-5.

courts. Likewise, their buildings began to embody the distinctive civic identity of a capital that promoted itself as the gateway to Europe.

The significance acquired by these places can be assessed in the context of the relocation of Santo Spirito works of art in 1657. In the aftermath of suppression of the Canons Regular promulgated by Pope Alexander VII, almost all paintings, furniture, and liturgical objects belonging to the island were transferred to the sacristy of Santa Maria della Salute.¹⁹ The items are listed in an inventory that followed the accurate survey of the Augustinian complex made by the architect Baldassare Longhena, who at the time was also overseeing the Basilica worksite. As well known, the repositioning included the Old Testament cycle that Titian painted for the church ceiling between 1541 and 1544.²⁰ By contrast, almost unnoticed – because the object is not included in the inventory – is the transfer of part of Santo Spirito church's pavement to the Salute. We can recognize it in the small remnants of red and yellow paving that are situated in front of the eight pedestals of the rotunda, in stark contrast to the elaborate and richly colored pattern of marble slabs of the body of the basilica (fig. 22).²¹ The insertion of these *spolia* in the new votive church of the Republic could be traced in the authorities' desire to create an ideal relationship between the two temples. Both *loci* of civic devotion and ceremony, they welcomed the procession of the highest status visitors and represented key sites in the context of the Republic's international entanglements.

Within the inextricable parallelism of Venetian hospitality and healthcare, the very same lagoon settlements that welcomed citizens and foreigners alike, proved also to be crucial for the public health apparatus of the city. Venice is known for establishing the first permanent state-funded hospitals for containment and prevention of epidemics.²² From the beginning of the fifteenth century, two monastic islands were transformed into citadels of healthcare for fighting pestilences. The Lazzaretto Vecchio was founded in 1423 on the ancient island of Santa Maria di Nazareth to care for the plague sick. About fifty years later, in 1468, the Lazzaretto Nuovo was built on the islet of Vigna Murata to quarantine both people and merchandise suspected of infection, as well as those convalescing from the disease.²³ However, the pioneering Venetian healthcare program was certainly more far-reaching.²⁴ Like contemporary emergency

¹⁹ Boaga, *La soppressione innocenziana*, pp. 118-30.

²⁰ Biferali, 'Arte e Riforma a Venezia'.

²¹ ASVe, Procuratori di San Marco de supra, Chiesa, b. 153, proc. 309, fol. 10. See Hopkins, 'Processional Pavements for Santa Maria della Salute'.

²² See *Venezia e la peste*, in particular pp. 84-91.

²³ Stevens Crawshaw, *Plague Hospitals*.

²⁴ See Galeazzo, 'Oltre i Lazzaretti'.

plans, the whole archipelago was repeatedly deployed as an overflow site in times of crisis, and a selection of additional islands were converted to function as supplementary shelters. Since the early twenties of the Cinquecento, San Clemente was chosen as the 'aristocratic branch' of the two lazarettos and used to quarantine Venetian noblemen returning from infected locations. Therefore, when needed, the island's lodging rooms were converted into hospital structures and patricians or statesmen were entrusted to the care of the Augustinian Canons Regular.²⁵

The plague outbreak of 1575-77 obliged the Republic to conduct a frantic search for additional space to cope with the large number of plague-stricken people. As a first attempt, the physical boundaries of the Lazzaretto Nuovo were extended with a ring of boats anchored around its contours. The Senate ordered workers at the Arsenal to collect all the available vessels and build a hundred new barges to enlarge the hospital's capacity.²⁶ This pragmatic solution resulted in a 'floating city,' which Rocco Benedetti in his *Novi avisi di Venetia* depicted as an «armada» containing over 10,000 people.²⁷ The choice of this term is peculiar. Only three years before, the chronicler had used the very same word to describe the impression made by the «great forest» of galleys, brigs, and gondolas that, duly gilded for the occasion, welcomed the arrival of Henry III, king of France and Poland, at the Lido.²⁸ Indeed, healthcare solutions adopted by the Republic made large use of the hospitality and welcoming practices embodying the building blocks of Venice's cosmopolitanism, as well as sites and buildings already clearly structured, such as monasteries and hospitals.

During the same epidemic, the island of San Lazzaro, the site of the earlier leper colony, was allotted as an extension of the Lazzaretto Vecchio, while empty spaces within San Francesco del Deserto, San Giacomo in Paludo, and Le Vignole were used to disinfect or burn infected goods. In some cases, as it happened for San Secondo and La Certosa, the Health Office stipulated that only parts of the sites should be used in the first instance to, later, extend the measure to the whole islands.²⁹ Therefore, entire religious communities were displaced while their monastic buildings were requisitioned and transformed into hospital-wards and rooms. In addition, healthy people living in houses or

²⁵ Sanudo, *I Diarii*, vol. XXXIV, col. 433 (20 September 1523) and col. 456 (26 September 1523). See also voll. XXXIII, col. 258 (22 March 1522) and col. 328 (28 June 1522), and vol. XLV, col. 343 (17 June 1527).

²⁶ ASVe, *Miscellanea materie miste notabili*, b. 95, fol. 30r (June 1576).

²⁷ Benedetti, *Novi avisi di Venetia*, fol. 3v. See also *Novi Avisi di Venetia*.

²⁸ Benedetti, *Le feste, et trionfi*, p. 6.

²⁹ See ASVe, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra*, reg. 51, fol. 112r (2 July 1576) and *Miscellanea materie miste notabili*, b. 95, fol. 1r (20 September 1575) and fol. 75v (22 August 1576).

neighborhoods possibly infected by plague were sent to the islands of Mazzorbo and Sant'Erasmus while their permanent inhabitants were shipped out and split between Torcello and Burano.³⁰

If all these vigorous actions reveal the receptiveness of the Venetian public health strategy in redistributing sizable groups of people from one island to another, they also disclose the considerable dynamism and flexibility of the lagoon settlements that, like pieces on a skilled player's chessboard, at various moments addressed the different needs of the city. At least until the fall of the Republic in 1797, Venice's archipelago acted as an integrated system of calculated politic, socio-economic, and cultural interactions. In contrast to today's detachment, the early modern wreath of islands encircling the capital was a whole, interwoven, and mutually beneficial space that played as an integral contributor to Venice-making processes.

Bibliography

- Acqua e cibo a Venezia. Storie della laguna e della città*, ed. by Donatella Calabi and Ludovica Galeazzo (Venezia: Marsilio, 2015)
- Benedetti, Rocco, *Novi avisi di Venetia ne quali si contengono tutti i casi miserabili, che in quella, al tempo della peste sono occorsi [...]* (in Urbino: Battista de Bartoli, 1577)
- Benedetti, Rocco, *Le feste, et trionfi fatti dalla serenissima signoria di Venetia, nella felice venuta di Henrico III christianissimo re di Francia, et di Polonia [...]* (in Firenze: appresso Giorgio Marescotti, 1574)
- Biferali, Fabrizio, 'Arte e Riforma a Venezia. Tiziano in Santo Spirito in Isola', *Ateneo Veneto*, CCV, third series, 17/1 (2018), pp. 25-36
- Boaga, Emanuele, *La soppressione innocenziana dei piccoli conventi in Italia* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1971)
- Brucioli, Antonio, *Dialogi di Antonio Brucioli* (Vinegia: per Gregorio de Gregori, 1526)
- Caniato, Giovanni 'Veduta parziale dell'isola di Murano', in *Acqua e cibo a Venezia. Storie della laguna e della città*, ed. by Donatella Calabi and Ludovica Galeazzo (Venezia: Marsilio, 2015), cat. II.7, p. 150
- Cassiodorus, 'Epistulae variae', in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi*, ed. by Theodorus Mommsen (München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1894)
- Codagli, Domenico, *Historia dell'isola e monasterio di San Secondo di Venetia [...]* (in Venetia: presso F. Rampazetto, MDCIX)

³⁰ ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 51, fol. 118r-v (16 July 1576).

- Coronelli, Vincenzo Maria, *Isolario, descrizione geografico-historica [...]*, parte Seconda (In Venetia: a' spese dell'autore, 1697)
- Cossalter, Stefanie, 'Dai porti alle isole. Cerimoniali di accoglienza nella Serenissima', in *Spazi veneziani. Topografie culturali di una città*, ed. by Sabine Meine (Roma: Viella, 2014), pp. 125-48
- Crouzet-Pavan, Élisabeth, "Sopra le acque salse". *Espaces, pouvoir et société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Âge. Collection de l'École française de Rome 156* (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992)
- Da Portogruaro, Davide Maria, *Una gemma della Laguna. L'isola di S. Clemente in Venezia. Monografia storico-artistica con documenti e illustrazioni inedite* (Venezia: Giudecca Industrie Poligrafiche Venete, 1934)
- Faugeron, Fabien, 'Du bon usage du marché dans una congrégation religieuse du XV siècle à Venise: les "spese di bocha" de S. Giorgio in Alga', *Studi Veneziani*, LXVII (2013), pp. 387-431
- Fortini Brown, Patricia, 'Measured Friendship, Calculated Pomp: The Ceremonial Welcomes of the Venetian Republic', in *All the World's a Stage ...". Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, Part I, *Triumphal Celebrations and the Rituals of Statecraft*, ed. by Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University, 1990) vol. 6, pp. 136-86
- Galeazzo, Ludovica, 'Autorità ecclesiastica e civile nell'iconografia dell'arcipelago veneziano tra XVI e XVII secolo', *In_Bo, Dominio del Sacro. Immagine, cartografia, conoscenza della città dopo il Concilio di Trento*, v. 12, 16 (2021), pp. 186-97
- Galeazzo, Ludovica, 'Oltre i Lazzaretti: le isole della laguna veneziana come cordone sanitario d'emergenza in età moderna', in *La città e la cura. Spazi, istituzioni, strategie, memoria / The City and Healthcare. Spaces, institutions, strategies, memory*, ed. by Marco Morandotti and Massimiliano Savorra (Torino, Aisu International, 2021), pp. 47-60
- Hopkins, Andrew, 'Processional Pavements for Santa Maria della Salute', in *I pavimenti barocchi veneziani*, ed. by Lorenzo Lazzarini, Mario Piana and Wolfgang Wolters (Caselle di Sommacampagna-Venezia: Cierre-Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 2018), pp. 93-103
- Korsch, Evelyn, 'Renaissance Venice and the Sacred-Political Connotations of Waterborne Pageants', in *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance. Essays in Honour of J.R. Mulryne*, ed. by Margaret Shewring assisted by Linda Briggs (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 105-24
- Monasteri benedettini nella laguna veneziana*, exhib. cat. (Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana), ed. by Mazzucco, Gabriele, *Quaderni di materiali veneti* 18 (Venezia: Arsenale, 1983)

- Moine, Cecilia, *Chiostri tra le acque. I monasteri femminili della Laguna nord di Venezia nel Basso Medioevo* (Borgo S. Lorenzo: all'insegna del Giglio, 2013)
- Monahan, Patrick, 'Sanudo and the Venetian villa suburbana', *Annali di architettura*, 21 (2009), pp. 45-64
- Muir, Edward, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: University Press, 1981)
- Novi Avisi di Venetia. La città e la peste in una drammatica cronaca del Cinquecento*, ed. by Donatella Calabi, Luca Molà, Simone Rauch and Elena Svalduz (Verona: Cierre Edizioni, 2021)
- Sanudo, Marin, *I Diarii*, [1496-1533], ed. by Regia Deputazione veneta di storia patria (Venezia: Visentini, 1879-1903)
- Seguso, Angelo, *L'isola di San Clemente ed il nuovo manicomio centrale femminile delle provincie venete: notizie* (Venezia: Prem. Tip. di Giuseppe Cecchini, 1873)
- Stevens Crawshaw, Jane L., *Plague Hospitals. Public Health for the City in Early Modern Venice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012)
- Vecchi, Maurizia, *Chiese e monasteri medioevali scomparsi della laguna superiore di Venezia. Ricerche storico-archeologiche* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1983)
- Venezia e la peste: 1348-1797* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1979)

The Fish Market in Venice: from the History of Markets in Early Modern Period to the Use of History Today*

Solène Rivoal

The aim of this paper is to show how the whole city of Venice was used in the trade and distribution of fish in the modern era, and thus how the city, from the *Pescaria* (fish market) of Rialto to the smallest *calle* (street) in the parish of San Nicolò dei Mendicoli to the west could become market spaces for fish products consumed by all. This history of fish markets is in part revived today to serve Venice's urban marketing policies.

A Fish Market the Size of the Whole City

On 13 April 1706, Antonio Borizza and his son Santo, two fishermen from Chioggia, arrived in Venice early in the morning after an overnight crossing of the Lagoon.¹ They moored their fishing boat, a *tartana*, on the Riva di San Biagio, near the Arsenale, not far from the grain warehouses. The arrival of the boat caused a commotion of many small boats that approached the *tartana*. On the shore many retailers also approached Borizza with their baskets, ready to be filled with the fish brought by the two fishermen: sardines and anchovies. Once they finished their business at San Biagio, Antonio and Santo crossed the

*Images accompanying the text can be seen here: "<https://www.progettorialto.org/contributi/rivoal/>" Il pesce fresco: alimento di base per i Veneziani nel Settecento | [progettorialto.org](https://www.progettorialto.org)

¹ Archivio di Stato di Venezia (henceforth ASVe), Giustizia Vecchia, b. 81, f. 70, fasc. 76, April 1706.

basin of San Marco, heading for the parish of Sant'Eufemia alla Giudecca. The two had a house there, which allowed them to stay overnight in Venice when they were in town to sell their catch. And there, once darkness had fallen, the two received the visit from some Venetian fishermen, who Santo helped in the transshipment of baskets loaded with fish on to small boats, which then went to San Nicolò dei Mendicoli, one of the parishes where most of the Venetian fishermen lived. After spending the night in Venice, Santo and Antonio returned to Chioggia, but the family's business did not end with the return of the two: another *tartana* skippered by Francesco, Antonio's brother, made its way that same day to Venice, thus ensuring sure that the same exchanges and circuits continued on a daily basis. Thanks to this system, the Borizzas' boats were able to bring hundreds of pounds of fish to Venice five times a week.

The system worked very well, but at the beginning of the eighteenth century all these activities of the Borizza family were wholly illegal and, for this reason, they were prosecuted at least twice: they did not have the right to sell fresh fish in those areas and they did not have the right to sell it to those buyers.² The fishermen from Chioggia were supposed to go directly to the Rialto market. It is thanks to these trials that we know the illegal circuits so well and which demonstrate a different use of the city than those required by the law. And how did the Borizza trial unfold? On 18 April 1706, the officials of the *Giustizia Vecchia* wrote a complaint against the two. For months, they asked more than twenty people to come to the office to testify. In this way, the magistrates were able to reveal a very large network of illegal vendors that involved many people, from small pedlars to wealthy merchants who supplied fresh fish to the cities of Padua and Vicenza. The same family was reported again in 1715 for the same reasons: this second time, they were also accused of selling fish in the Lagoon, near some small islands such as San Clemente.³

This story is an exemplary case of fish smuggling in Venice and reveals all the issues at stake in the organisation of fresh fish markets in the city in the eighteenth century. The problems of supply, distribution, food safety and ecosystem conservation were very much felt by both magistrates and fishermen: how to feed the population of a city of about 140,000 inhabitants in the eighteenth century without exhausting the resources of the sea and their renewal? How to control the quantity and quality of goods while preserving the resources? How to sustain the food requirements of all the inhabitants while assuring reasonable prices? Where to sell these products?

² ASVe, Compilazione delle leggi, S. 1, b. 302, fols. 1083-4, 647.

³ ASVe, Giustizia Vecchia, b. 81, f. 70, fasc. 181, August 1715.

In such a peculiar European capital, built in a vast lagoon, fishermen and magistrates negotiated the organisation of the fresh fish circuits sold daily in the markets with a constant concern for the fragility of the resources and the social and professional aspects that needed consideration for their sale. These concerns were strengthened between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, with Venetian institutions attempting to modify a circuit that had been stable since the Middle Ages, in order to make it more efficient and less vulnerable; this marked a change that was also influenced by the development of liberal ideas in Europe.

A Food for All for a Wide Urban Market

Fish has long been considered by specialists as a food that was little consumed by European societies before contemporary times: it was regarded as too expensive to be served on poor tables, and at the other extreme, it was little appreciated by the wealthiest since it was associated with lean periods in the Christian calendar. Too expensive or too austere? These two hypotheses about the history of food seem contradictory and suggest that we might re-examine the way seafood was consumed in modern times, following the words of Michel de Montaigne who wrote in his *Essais*: «I am greedy for fish, and I make my fat days lean days, and my feasts from fasting days».⁴

In fact, some historical and archaeological studies have shown that fish consumption has been largely underestimated, especially among poorer sections of society.⁵ In Venice, fresh fish was a key resource. Venetians applied the term 'fish' to all seafood consumed fresh: from eels, bream and sardines to molluscs and crustaceans.⁶ On the other hand, processed and preserved fish – salted, smoked or even marinated – did not belong to this category: examples being cod or herring, mostly imported from Northern Europe, which were not sold on fish counters, but in grocery stores because they were designated as 'salted', in the same way as meat was preserved.⁷ For a Venetian in the Early Modern Period therefore, fish was primarily a fresh product, mostly caught and consumed regularly.

In Venetian documents, the word «*pesce*» – «fish» – is almost always written in the singular, as if it referred more to a type of resource than a food, in the

⁴ Flandrin, 'Le goût et la nécessité', from Montaigne, *Essais*, 3-III, p. 369.

⁵ See for example Salvemini, 'Comunità separate'; Faget, *L'écaille et le banc*.

⁶ Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, p. 496: «a generic term for all animals born and living in water».

⁷ Georgelin, *Venise au siècle des Lumières*, pp. 64 and 185; for salted fish, see Van Gelder, *Trading places*.

same way as bread, wood or drinking water, which the inhabitants needed on a daily basis. In 1765, the magistrates of the *Giustizia Vecchia* who were responsible for controlling this trade estimated that an inhabitant of Venice consumed between 25 and 32 kilograms of fresh fish per year.⁸ For comparison, the FAO estimates that today a person in the world eats an average of 20 kilograms of fish per year, in a very different context, with mechanised and globalised fishing, which is having the effect of depleting the world's fish stocks. Venice was not an exception: similar per capita consumption figures can be found in other large European coastal cities, such as Naples or Marseille, where fish was one of the primary food resources.⁹

Since fish was a staple food, it had to be available for all purses. Thus, around 1760, the servant of a wealthy Venetian patrician could go to the Rialto market to buy a piece of sturgeon, the most expensive fish in the market, which sold for 52 *soldi* a pound, the same price as a pound of coffee, then a luxury exotic product.¹⁰ On the other hand, an Arsenale worker with a modest income could buy octopus at 2 *soldi* a pound, a price that defied all competition: for the poorest population, seafood was certainly among the main sources of protein, since cheese or meat could be more expensive.¹¹ Fish was thus everywhere on the quays, in the *campi* and the *calli*, displayed on stalls or sold door to door by vendors who carried it in large baskets. At that time, therefore, in Venice as in the Mediterranean, the small products of the sea played a crucial role in the daily diet: certain types of oysters or shellfish, which today are expensive products, were often little sought after and destined for popular consumption: all this was destined to change at the end of the modern era.

The *Pescarie* of Rialto and San Marco, the Moral Principles of a 'Fair' Market

By entering the city with their fish, the Borizza family failed to respect any of the rules in force. Theoretically, the fish from the boats should have arrived in the city after being checked by the *Provveditori alla Sanità* in the *Pescaria* (fish

⁸ Document transcribed by Marangoni, *Le associazioni di mestiere*, p. 127: «[...] they eat two pounds of fish per person per week». *Terminazione* of 23 August 1765. It has not been possible to find the original document despite searching; however, it is the only document enabling such an estimate.

⁹ Faget, *Marseille et la mer*; Clemente, *Il mestiere dell'incertezza*.

¹⁰ ASVe, Senato Terra, f. 2320, unnumbered sheet (fol. s.n), decree of 4 June 1760.

¹¹ Regarding cheese, for example, see ASVe, Miscellanea a Stampa, b. 112, *terminazione* of 23 February 1722. For meat, see, by way of example, ASVe, Miscellanea a Stampa, b. 112, *terminazione* of 12 April 1728.

market) of San Marco, and then unloaded at the *Palo* of Rialto, which was the actual wholesale market.¹² Here further controls and taxation were entrusted to the foot soldiers of the *Giustizia Vecchia*, the *Rason Vecchie* and the *Pesador di Comun*, three magistracies that controlled the goods sold daily in the markets of Venice. Finally, this fish would be sold to the fishmongers who were members of the guild of *compravendi pesce* (fish buyers and sellers) who numbered between 60 and 100 in the eighteenth century.¹³

The set of rules in the *Pescherie* of Rialto and San Marco demonstrate a desire on the part of the authorities to organise a system of distribution in which profit was to be almost eradicated. These moral principles can be seen, for example, by examining the procedure defined for the *Palo*.¹⁴ When the fishermen arrived there at Rialto (at the point in which the Borizza family should have gone to sell their fish legally), they had to sell their catch to the members of the *compravendi pesce* guild who competed for the purchase.¹⁵ However, while the auction in other European cities was done aloud, in Venice the procedure was different: the auctioneer was called *vendaor alla recchia* (literally «seller by ear»), since the bids of the fishmongers were communicated to the official by whispering in a low voice into his ear, so that no one else could hear them.¹⁶ The officer received all the bids, and had to knock down the fish to the buyer who had made the highest bid.

This system was justified by the Venetian authorities in an explicit manner: in this market that was fundamental for the city, overbidding was discouraged in an aim to keep prices low. Indeed, after buying the fish, the members of the guild were subject to ambitious sales regulations. Whatever the price at which they had bought the fish, the *compravendi pesce*, like other sellers of food products consumed daily such as cheese or meat, could not set prices independently; instead, it would be the *Giustizia Vecchia* which, after consulting the fishing communities and sellers, would determine the tariff for retail sales.¹⁷ Each price for each species of fish, according to its weight and season, was to be posted near the stalls. Fish had to be sold using scales and weights previously checked by the authorities. In addition, a rule concerned exclusively the sale of fresh fish: the laws constantly reminded sellers that all goods had to be displayed on

¹² ASVe, Rason Vecchie, b. 397, reg. 2.

¹³ Biblioteca Museo Correr, Venezia (henceforth BMC), ms., cl. IV, n. 98, *mariegola dei compravendi pesce*.

¹⁴ ASVe, Rason Vecchie, b. 397, reg. 2.

¹⁵ BMC, ms., cl. IV, n. 98, *mariegola dei compravendi pesce*, p. 59.

¹⁶ BMC, ms., cl. IV, n. 98, *mariegola dei compravendi pesce*, p. 76.

¹⁷ ASVe, Giustizia Vecchia, b. 5, reg. 13, cc. 29r-31r; ASVe, Giustizia Vecchia, b. 31, f. 25, proclamation of 14 June 1752; ASVe, Senato Terra, f. 2320, fol. un., decree of 4 June 1760.

the stalls without any product being hidden in closed baskets, so that the quality of the fish could be appreciated by the consumer.¹⁸ It should be borne in mind that while since the twentieth century the *Pescaria* in Rialto has been a covered space, until the eighteenth century it was an open square and the *compravendi pesce* could not work in a closed shop; the fish trade had always to take place in open spaces and be well visible to everyone. Despite this, fraud as to the quality of fish was common: one technique adopted by some was to deposit eel blood on the gills of the fish to make it look fresher.¹⁹ Finally, fishmongers had to wear a distinctive sign to attest to their status as official sellers, as was the case with other trades.²⁰ From medieval period until the eighteenth century, one of the authorities' greatest fears was the number of middlemen, seen as the cause of inflated prices. Starting from the end of the seventeenth century, other sellers were allowed access to the *Pescaria*, which caused several conflicts with the *compravendi pesce*.

The 'Black Fish' Sold in the Streets

With the story of the Borizza family, however, as we have seen, fish sometimes followed a different circuit: it was not taxed, it was not sold at the market, and the small fishmongers who bought it directly from the boat then sold it along the *calli* – the streets – and not in the *Pescaria*. The big problem was that this circuit did not respect the system of the two distributions provided for by law since the Middle Ages:²¹

- the so-called white fish – for example gilthead – had to be sold mainly in the city markets, and in particular in Rialto and San Marco by the *compravendi pesce*,

- the fish considered of lower quality and therefore cheaper, could instead be sold on the street. This was often the small fish of the lagoon, but also crustaceans or molluscs. What the consumer pays more for today, such as oysters or mussels, was up to early modern period a food for the poorest sections of society.

Throughout the city, the small fishermen of the Lagoon distributed their catch; this catch might have been made on foot in the marshes, including crustaceans gathered on the shores and beaches around the city, or it might be mullet and gobies caught from a boat, but it was also sometimes contraband.

¹⁸ See for example ASVe, Compilazione delle leggi, S. 1, b. 302, fols. 647, 1083, 1114, 1133, 1134, 1135.

¹⁹ BMC, ms., cl. IV, n. 98, *Mariogola dei compravendi pesce*, p. 130; Zago, *I Nicolotti*, p. 146.

²⁰ ASVe, Compilazione delle leggi, S. 1, b. 302, fol. 1083, article 10.

²¹ ASVe, Giustizia Vecchia, b. 27, reg. 21, p. 16r; ASVe, Compilazione delle leggi, S. 1, b. 302, fol. 1083, articolo 6.

The fish arrived in any case on the tables of the poorest families: street vendors, sometimes even children, who sold a few sardines or a handful of clams, daily supplied families with a food that had to be cooked and consumed the same day, since there was no possibility of preserving it. This parallel circuit was tolerated by the authorities as long as the sellers remained mobile and did not maintain a fixed stall.²² This method of distribution reveals the existence and importance of what the Venetians of the time called 'black fish', a staple food for the most modest families, which the magistrates of the *Giustizia Vecchia* also called *pesce popolo* («working-class fish»).

The sale of small fish in the streets was always tolerated in the laws; so much so that it was described as a marginal circuit involving the poorest fishermen who sold the least expensive goods. And it was often this very circuit that was used to sell contraband.

An evaluation of the increase in fish consumption in the early modern period has been possible thanks to the reading of documents that allow us to take into account these informal sales channels. In fact, official documents, such as market regulations or tax archives, led the researchers first to analyse the stalls of Rialto and San Marco, which were mostly stocked with the most expensive species, such as sea bream or tuna, and where sales were more regulated. It is only thanks to the study in more recent times of judicial sources, including the trials and fines for fraud or illegal sales that took place on a daily basis, that a new chapter in the history of food procurement can now be written: it concerns what takes place far from the markets, official weigh-stations and customs points of entry.²³ In the eighteenth century, retailers were also illegally supplied by *tartana* boats, such as those of the Borizza family, far from the markets. In that case, the vendors made the authorities believe that the fish had been caught by them and therefore had the 'right' to be sold on the street.

The Venetian Fish Market in History

The memory of the fish trade is still very much alive in today's city of Venice. When one thinks of the Rialto market, it is the covered fish market, the *Pescaria*, that one has in mind but this was renovated during the nineteenth century. Until recent times, the *Pescaria* did not resemble today's Rialto market; the two large areas of San Marco and Rialto were uncovered sites where traders sold their fish on removable stalls.²⁴ The *Pescaria* of San Marco, where

²² ASVe, Compilazione delle leggi, S. 1, b. 302, fol. 1083, articolo 6.

²³ ASVe, Giustizia Vecchia, b. 81 and b. 86.

²⁴ Cessi and Alberti, *Rialto*; Calabi and Moracchiello, *Rialto. Le fabbriche e il ponte*.

the *compravendi pesce* could set up their stalls during market hours or sell their fish in large baskets displayed on the floor, extended along the *zattere* in front of the present Marciana library as far as the tourist office. As for the *Pescaria* of Rialto, this was located along the banks further south than today's fish market which was actually the *Beccaria* (slaughterhouse) until the end of the eighteenth century. Iconographic documents produced in this period reveal the areas covered by these two fish markets took on: both were the largest areas of the two commercial centres of Rialto and San Marco. The size of these areas is therefore an indication of the importance of this trade in the city.

Today's city, however, has opted to establish a heritage of Venetian history that is decidedly oriented towards a history of elites and international ties with Europe, especially in the eighteenth century. Thus, when one thinks of Venice in the eighteenth century, it is such historical aspects as the Carnival that are best-known, or the Venetian elites, from Vivaldi to Casanova, who lived in the city painted by Canaletto and Guardi, visited by the European aristocracy. Current reflections on the regeneration of Rialto and on the future of the *Pescaria* of Rialto instead seem to refer to another aspect of Venetian history: that of ordinary inhabitants, of daily markets, of subsistence, in a city whose organisation at the heart of the Lagoon was original. And while studies are numerous in the academic sphere, the history of Venetian everyday life is touched upon very little in the establishment of a heritage of the city's history.

Thinking about the re-evaluation of market spaces around the history of daily markets, and in this case of fish markets, also shows how important it is for historians to examine all the issues of the evolution of urban social spaces within the historical centres of cities: history is often used today to serve urban marketing policies in the interest of tourist activities, and Venice is a good example of this. Nevertheless, historians could play a fuller role in these operations: that of better advising policy makers in decisions regarding major works and re-evaluation of spaces to preserve an urban heritage that is not disconnected from history over the long term, as patiently studied and documented by specialists. In this sense, these are the challenges posed by public history today: to repopulate urban policies and decisions concerning the historical heritage with historical expertise and thus refine historical knowledge for a wide audience.

Bibliography

- Boerio, Giuseppe, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, third ed. (Venezia: Giovanni Cecchini editore, 1867)
- Calabi, Donatella and Morachiello, Paolo, *Rialto. Le fabbriche e il ponte* (Torino: Einaudi, 1987)

- Cessi, Roberto and Alberti, Annibale, *Rialto. L'isola, il ponte, il mercato* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli Editore, 1934)
- Clemente, Alida, *Il mestiere dell'incertezza. La pesca nel Golfo di Napoli tra XVIII e XX secolo* (Napoli: Alfredo Guida ed., 2005)
- Faget, Daniel, *L'écaille et le banc. Ressources de la mer dans la Méditerranée moderne* (Aix-en-Provence : Presses universitaires de Provence, 2017)
- Faget, Daniel, *Marseille et la mer. Hommes et environnement marin (XVIIIe-Xe siècles)* (Aix-en-Provence/Rennes: Presses universitaires de Provence/Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011)
- Flandrin, Jean-Louis, 'Le goût et la nécessité: sur l'usage des graisses dans les cuisines d'Europe occidentale (XIVe-XVIIe siècle)', *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 38/2 (1983), pp. 369-401
- Georgelin, Jean, *Venise au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: Mouton, 1978)
- Marangoni, Giovanni, *Le associazioni di mestiere della Repubblica Veneta (vittuaria, farmacia, medicina)* (Venezia: Filippi editore, 1974)
- Salvemini, Biagio, 'Comunità separate e trasformazioni strutturali. I pescatori pugliesi fra metà del Settecento e gli anni trenta del Novecento', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge - Temps modernes*, 97-1 (1985), p. 441-88
- Van Gelder, Maartije, *Trading places: The Netherlandish Merchants in Early Modern Venice* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009)
- Zago, Roberto, *I Nicolotti. Storia di una comunità di pescatori nell'età moderna* (Padova: Il leggio, 1982)

A Historical Journey to the Rialto Market (The Past – The Present – The Future)*

Martina Massaro

On the occasion of the Summer School *Market Spaces, Production Sites, and Sound Landscape of European Cities: From History to Regeneration* the points raised by Elena Svalduz opened an international debate around several extremely interesting Italian and European case studies, also involving some of the major interlocutors.

In particular, the case of Venice and its market, one of the highlights proposed to the participants in the Summer School as a pedagogic and workshop theme, has proven that it is possible to provide a history of the city not only from the point of view of its preservation and enhancement, but also to propose it as an element of regeneration. The usefulness of re-reading the past emerged also on this occasion: the past is useful to deeply interpret and understand the current situation and – thanks to historic analysis – it is possible to recover strategies and solutions in relation to some critical issues for the city governance. The historic analysis methods proposed during the Summer School integrated digital humanities in order to interpret more consistently the transformations of the urban area and with a view to communicating to a wider and more diversified parterre of interlocutors.

* Special thanks to Museo Correr, Museo delle Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Duke University and in particular to Donatella Calabi, Ludovica Galeazzo, Kristin L. Huffman, and Manlio Piva.

The working programme integrated the traditional methods of historic analysis (archival, bibliographic, iconographic and documentary researches) with digital instruments able to support the evolution of the study programme and refine the transmission of data, also with the purpose of a different museum set up. The challenge suggested to the working groups aimed at reviewing both deeply studied themes of urban history (by internationally renowned scholars) and unpublished topics with the aim of making new critical hints emerge in the framework of cultural heritage, in order to regenerate the market area.¹

Despite an articulated and varied programme, urban studies apparently suffer from a fracture between memory, valorisation and a concrete capability of offering rehabilitation proposals. The approach proposed by scholars such as Donatella Calabi, who are ready to communicate the outcomes of the historiographical research consolidated during studies that lasted decades, and including it in a wider civil and cultural debate is a new working direction in the service of the city more than of history.² As a matter of fact, today - more than ever - it is necessary to think of the destiny of cities such as Venice, which is under the protection of all, but actually abandoned and drag into a negative spiral that has witnessed the progressive depopulation of resident citizens and the delocalisation of the main functions to the mainland, with the purpose of exploiting its tourist vocation. The rentability of tourism was massive, but it was suddenly interrupted by the pandemic, leaving the city deserted and economically exposed to a crisis with apparently no solution.

Moreover, since the Summer School took place during the pandemic, it also was a pedagogical challenge, in consideration of the developments of the SARS-COV 2 pandemic, it was imperative to exclude physic attendance at the meetings. It was thus necessary to review most of the consolidated strategies, to find new solutions that guarantee both the quality of the contents and a rigorous methodology. Such solutions also had to compensate the lack of a vision of what is true and the efficiency of in-presence communication. This is why when confronted with the impossibility of visiting a complex site such as the Rialto's insula in Venice with the - mostly foreigners - scholars and professionals, we decided to produce a virtual visit to the site.

As a matter of fact, the Rialto's insula, by virtue of its numerous transformations, and its dense historical contents is a difficult place in order to be understood for the purposes of a historical, architectural and urban analysis.

I would like to report the development of the concept of our multi-media production, which includes several video contents: from real-life shootings to

¹ Calabi, *Rialto*.

² Cfr. the articulated programme of activities promoted by the association "Progetto Rialto" (<https://www.progettorialto.org/>)

the reconstruction of 3D models, following the tale of a visitor of the Rialto area in 1442. The ancient visitor takes an itinerary that can still be recognised and some of the protagonists of the current commercial activity at Rialto allow to deepen the knowledge of the area thanks to their contribution. The initiative aimed at suggesting how a historical and critical analysis can allow a more conscious interpretation of future uses of a main area of the city of Venice, a historical but lively site. The latter is still undergoing continuous transformations, as a function of the identity of the area, which is still unavoidably tied with its market historical function.

The collaboration of a historian with experts in land surveying and 3D modelling (Mirka Dalla Longa), together with a video maker (Diana Mantegazza) has been an essential component of the research process for the Rialto area virtual tour.

The Historical Journey to the Rialto Market aims at giving back an ancient history, not only as regards the past of Venice and its market, but also what its present is and its future could be.

The myth of Rialto was born when the city of Venice was founded and the first settlement on the insula of Rivo Alto took place. The virtual visit to the Rialto Market develops along three parallel timelines of the past, the present and the future of this pivotal place in the city of Venice. The images of the market area, as it is today, integrate digital reconstructions of some parts of city that no longer exist. They are drawn from ancient maps, drawings, etchings and paintings and accompanied with the vivid witnesses of operators, shopkeepers and artisans who work in the area of the market. Our special thanks must be addressed to Andrea Vio, fishmonger at Rialto Fish Market, Gino Mascari, grocer, in the Rialto Ruga, Marina and Susanna Sent, entrepreneurs and glass designers, in the Sottoportico degli Oresi; Daniele and Stefano Attombri, two jewellery designers, in the Sottoportico degli Oresi as well.

The virtual visit is based on the ideal itinerary of a fifteenth century poet's tale, Jacopo D'Albizzotto Guidi³ who wrote it on the 20th of May 1442.⁴ The witness of the past allows us to find our way across modern Rialto by describing still well recognisable places and, even more, reviewing stores and artisan workshops that, even if they have decreased in number and are less diverse,

³ Jacopo D'Albizzotto Guidi was a merchant or a middleman born in Florence in 1377. He lived in the Tuscan city until he was fifty years-old. In 1427 he moved to Venice where he enrolled in the *Scuola dei mercanti di San Cristoforo* (St Christopher's Merchant Scuola). By virtue of his poem, he was considered one of the first poets who wrote in vulgar Italian in Venice. The short poem is written in 4,800 hendecasyllables, divided into 16 chapters of 300 verses each.

⁴ Rossi, 'Jacopo D'Albizzotto Guidi'. Cfr. also the note by Donatella Calabi in <https://www.progettorialto.org/contributi/contributi-5/>

still prove a centuries-old mercantile vocation. Guidi stated – and we cannot but agree – that it is «worth going to» Rialto and starts his visit right from the ancient wooden bridge, which is particularly «well built». At one of its ends the wooden and marble loggia is located, which usually hosted the gatherings of noble merchants (knights, counts and marquis), which can still be seen in Jacopo de' Barbari's view of 1500. The poet walks in the places animated by a colourful crowd of people, currently only a memory of the ancient city which was inhabited by 150,000 persons. He lingers in describing the people he meets along the streets; some of them play cards others play dice. The campo di San Giacomo is on his left, the scribe's desks are under the vaults: the scene is not very different from the one described in the painting depicting Saint Matthew by Vittore Carpaccio at the Scuola Dalmata di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni (1502). The evangelist, who is the patron of bankers, is before his modest desk, simply covered by a rug, where he shows the money, the evidence of his credibility. Guidi leaves the centre of the insula and reaches the pescheria (the fishmonger market, with a wealth of fish of any kind, the production of the numerous valli da pesca (protected fishing areas) that characterise the morphology of the Venetian lagoon. Our tale about the fishmonger market is even more captivating thanks to the testimony of Andrea Vio, who is the heir of his family tradition, that has been present at the Rialto market for several successive generations and had to adjust to the deep changes of the city.

While continuing along the bank, Guidi reaches the area where fresh and dried fruits are sold – all over the year – and then to the poultry and game market. Today – as in the past – you can find spices and wines at the Rialto: our virtual tour depicted it with an incursion into the magnificent Igino Mascari's *bottega da spezier*. He is a proud representative of Rialto shopkeepers and reiterates what could still be done to save the identity of the city and its market.

The area of the *osteria* and taverns and their foreign guests is interesting for the narrator, because foreigners used to stay here for their business. The array of *botteghe* along the *calli* where you can buy various food items, from bread to sausages, to salted fish imported from far away, to soap manufacturers, barbers, tooth-pullers, *calegheri* (shoemakers) and, to conclude, the *beccheria* (the butcher's shop) and the slaughterhouse. The carousel of activities is not much different from what still exists today between the *campo* and the *rio* named after them. So, the old tale overlaps the current description of the Rialto area, where many shops are used for artisans' workshops where not only ropes, shoes, clothes, woman and man furs are produced, but also wool is carded, silk is woven, strazzarie (second hand objects) are sold. Some shopkeepers had employees; others employed their children. Guidi paid a special attention to the

goldsmiths that worked silver night and day. Some of them were venetians. Some others were foreigners.

A large portion of the tale describes the wide variety of products available: on-site produced buttons, slippers, cups, spoons, forks, knives, or sweets and *confetti* meant for foreigners above all. He is surely charmed by the mix and the closeness of artisans and shopkeepers, the locals and the foreigners, who are the true richness of the market. The author goes walks in the *Ruga degli Oresi* and meets people who work gold, rings with pearls and skilfully tied sapphires, and others who produce extremely expensive jewels cutting precious stones (rubies, turquoises and diamonds), at the point that there is no other city in the world where a comparable number of jewels can be found along the same street. And our narrated tour stays here a little bit longer, looking at the reconstruction of an ancient shop in the sottoportego of the same name. The latter was based upon a philological restoration, where nowadays two sisters, Marina and Susanna Sent, sell their glass creations. According to them, and to the Attombris, two brothers, whose workshop is also in *Sottoportico degli Oresi*, craftsmanship and design are a growth and development resource for the Rialto area. Such resource should be fostered, involving both Venetian and foreign young generations who decide to get their education in Venice.

The poet, even if he is distracted by the astonishment for such treasures, recalls the place where barrels were made, that is to say the current *Calle dei Botteri*, where people were lively working at day and night. Listing the different arts, he also describes the embroiderers who use threads of different colours and the skilled sellers of clothes in the *Drapperia*, showcasing their goods and finishing to respond to any request.

Guidi also recounts the public offices – located in the current *Palazzo dei Camerlenghi* which was at the time, as in the de' Barbari's time, a tripartite building –, and the *Camera delle imposizioni* and the *Camera degli Imprestiti*. The description of the *Stadera* (the steelyard balance), which weighs any type of good and guarantees equitable market prices, is essential.

Along the *Riva del Ferro* (now *Riva del Vin*), our author counts the shops where metals such as copper, lead, tin and iron are sold. He then writes of shops selling oil, soap, legumes and forage for horses. The shops are right next to the office of the *Dazio del Vino* (the wine customs), which is particularly profitable for the *Repubblica*, next to the *Dogana da Terra* (the Land Customs office), the place where goods from Friuli, the Treviso area, Tuscany, Lombardy or Ferrara are downloaded and evaluated.

He reaches the *Fondaco delle Farine* (the flour warehouse), a building which is not much different from the one in St Mark, always open, where you can find goods from anywhere, divided in several *fontegherie*, where sales can take place

only if you pay cash. Several boats are moored along the same bank, which belong to locals, foreigners or peasants, obliged to comply with market prices to sell their goods. Vittore Carpaccio, in his renowned canvas *Miracle of the Relic of the Cross* (1494) shows the crowd along the bank, next to the ancient *Fondaco delle Farine*.

Also Guidi's and our author's illustrations conclude at the *Fontego dei Tedeschi*, from where we can give a last glimpse of the market from the opposite bank. It is even better to look at it from the wonderful rooftop terrace. In the past this was the venue where Germans exchanged their goods with product that arrived via the sea to Venice, and today it hosts a luxury department store. The redevelopment of this space to its ancient commercial vocation appears convincing on one hand but on the other it leads to a number of perplexities regarding the points of sale, which are clearly meant more for the tourist market than for the citizens. In this temple of modern luxury, Germans traded, to export any kind of fabrics (wool, silk, Syrian cotton), spices (pepper, saffron, cloves, nutmegs, ginger, and cinnamon). They also imported fustian, hats, haberdashery, silver and gold. But we should not forget sugarloaves, small spices and medicinal herbs. The functioning of the *Fontego* and the relations with the German minority are also an example of government management of foreigners, a "pretty" palace surrounded by solid walls is offered. It directly overlooks the Grand Canal, has a side rio (small canal) and on its doorways – both on the water and on the land – Mark, the evangelist, is sculpted on the stone and painted with gold, to remind that the building did not belong to the Germans, but to their hosts. And both doors are closed at night, to protect their properties.

We visited the same places and described the commercial activities of the Rialto area with the purpose of showing its transformations and similarities. The city's vital economy flourished thanks to its port, a portion of a trade corridor with market exchanges which reached the Mediterranean Sea. At that time Venice was one of the most populous and multi-cultural cities of the Early Modern period. The city, which identified itself as *Civitas Mercatorum*, was an emporium of trade with transcultural connections within the eastern Mediterranean and to northern Europe. At that time, the city strategically positioned itself to serve global trade, welcoming foreign merchants (today the city still welcomes a true melting pot of people). Hundreds of different merchandise shops overlooked the Rialto market area, offering the huge variety of the Venetian market for sale, as Marin Sanudo described in his diaries: «Here is all the merchandise you can think of, and whatever you ask for is there».⁵ We'll also provide a reflection on future opportunities, with the aim of interacting in a virtuous manner with the market area, its identity and traditions, enhancing high quality local craftsman-

⁵ Sanudo, *De origine, situ, p. 25.*

ship and also by favourably considering the integration of proposals coming from young generations: artists, artisans and entrepreneurs. The revamping of the commercial tradition of the Rialto market is a hypothesis made in parallel with its artistic and creative features. The precise purpose is to avoid the temptation of selling the area cheaply for tourist commodification.

However, at the time Venice is rethinking its economic position, which cannot be based on tourism only, it should address the current issues in a more conscious way by enriching the awareness of communities' similarities and differences in the past and in the present. The cosmopolitan identity of the lagoon city life is something rooted since its origin, but nowadays Venice needs to find a new way to increase the number of its permanent inhabitants of the new generations. This characteristic deeply conditioned the city's urban identity in the past but it also should enforce the city's life in the future. This should prompt us to rethink Venice's cosmopolitanism in term of cultural heritage.

In the light of these considerations, it appears crucial to focus on the Venetian cosmopolitan identity and places where migrants, who are often members of minorities group, fixed their residence in a number of historical moments.

Interviews: Marina e Susanna Sent, designers and artisans of glass objects and jewels. Their workshop is in Murano, and they own a shop in Ruga degli Oresi. The restoration of the shop was undertaken with a deep philological respect for Scarpagnino's architecture. They are among the founding members of the Associazione Progetto Rialto.

Stefano and Daniele Attombri, designers and artisans of decoration objects and jewels. They own a shop in Ruga degli Oresi in the Rialto area.

Andrea Vio, the owner of the fish shop F.lli Vio, in the Pescheria di Rialto. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the Associazione Progetto Rialto.

Iginio ("Gino") Mascari, owns an ancient grocery and wine store with his brother in Rialto, in Ruga degli Spezieri. He is a member of the Associazione Progetto Rialto.

Bibliography

- Calabi, Donatella, *Rialto. L'isola del mercato a Venezia. Una passeggiata tra arte e storia* (Venezia: Cierre, 2020)
- Rossi, Vittorio, 'Jacopo D'Albizzotto Guidi e il suo inedito poema su Venezia', *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, V (1893), pp. 397-451
- Sanudo, Marin, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae ovvero La città di Venezia (1493-1530)*, ed. by Angela Caracciolo Aricò (Milano 1980)

The Soundscape of Venice

Roberto Calabretto, Giovanni Dinello, Paolo Notargiacomo,
Nuria Schoenberg Nono, Paolo Zavagna

The Soundscape

Roberto Calabretto

Apollo and Dionysus, protagonists of the most ancient myths about music, symbolically represent two different and complementary conceptions of this art. In the myth of Dionysus, whose instrument is the *aulos* – the famous double flute – music is revealed as a magical and obscure power and his instrument celebrates the Pan-like joy of nature with a sound that bursts forth from the depths of the human soul. In the myth of Apollo, on the other hand, the sound is sent to men by the divinity and, in this way, reminds him of the harmony of the universe. Therefore, we have the subjective principle as the matrix, the true creative force, of the sound universe; from another point of view, music is born from the discovery of the sound landscape in which man is inserted. If the principle of creative subjectivity conceives sound as an instrument to express one's ego on the basis of the general aesthetic postulate that music, like any other artistic experience, is a direct consequence of life, silence, on the contrary, is a

fundamental attitude for discovering the musical reality that pervades all our existence and that we have to discover each time.¹

We have deliberately started from these well-known adages of musical aesthetics because we think they offer the best way to introduce the notion of soundscape, that reality that the subject progressively discovers by listening to his surrounding environment. Usually, when we talk about soundscape, intended as «field of acoustic study», we refer to the famous definition of Murray Schafer, who sees

The sonic environment. Technically, any portion of the sonic environment regarded as a field for study. The term may refer to actual environments, or to abstract constructions such as musical compositions and tape montages, particularly when considered as an environment.²

In the *Introduction* to his *Soundscape*, a text that is an obligatory reference point for this brief preface, Schafer has no hesitation in claiming that the world in his eyes is a «macrocosmic musical composition». He then goes on to underline how this «unusual idea» has already received a significant endorsement from the music and reflections of John Cage, who also defined music as «sounds around us whether we're in or out of concert halls».³

The American musician, one of the fathers of the musical avant-garde who more than anyone else has meditated on the musical value of silence,⁴ and with the constant ironic attitude with which he has proposed his philosophy has provocatively absolutised this dimension of sound by writing – even though, clearly, using the term «writing» is an improper thing to do – a piece entitled 4'33" in which the music, understood as the art of sounds, is silent for the entire duration of time indicated by the title, leaving space instead for total silence.

I meant – he would say in one of his many interviews released to clarify some of his strongly atypical compositional approaches – that there are always sounds to hear, and that if we don't stop making our own, we will never have the opportunity to listen to them. I live on 6th Avenue in New York, at 18th

¹ Enrico Fubini shrewdly notes that this antinomy reproposes the Greek antithesis that sees music as the harmony of the spheres and as a human creation. «The first, inaudible, ideal limit, can be heard in *interiore homine*; it resonates independently of us and we only need to know how to listen to it; the second, pale reflection of the first, is nothing but a craft creation, for communication between men. The first puts us in communication with the absolute, the eternal; the second is nothing but a chatter» (Fubini, *Musica e linguaggio nell'estetica contemporanea*, p. 130).

² Schafer, *Il paesaggio sonoro*, p. 372. Schafer's volume has given rise to many other reflections. See those of Tagg, 'Leggere i suoni', pp. 145-160; and Bull Back (ed.), *Paesaggi sonori*.

³ Schafer, *Il paesaggio sonoro*, p. 15.

⁴ Cf. Cage, *Silenzio*.

Street; it's more or less the spince of Manhattan; the traffic is constant and the sounds are wonderful! I never have a dull moment.

A few lines below, talking about the fundamental lines of his own musical poetics, he states: «The result is that my music is not conventional because I have not studied the conventions of writing music, which allow you to hear it already on paper, before it is heard in reality».⁵ Such stances have had considerable repercussions, not only on the act of composing, but also on the way of listening to music, which has increasingly highlighted the importance of the place where the music itself is heard.

According to a famous adage by Brian Eno, music necessarily lives within well-defined spaces and serves to modify these environments by making possible a different perception of objects, sounds, lights and places.⁶ In this way it leads the spectator to an involvement with reality and not to an escape from it, as happens instead with pop music and other genres of today's musical consumption. The new relationship that has been created between music and the places associated with it has influenced the way we listen; through music we materially experience the place where we live, thus strengthening our sense of belonging to reality. More and more today, music creates sensory experiences rather than forms of symbolic representation. In this way the construction of meaning is not delegated to a horizon outside the works in a contemplative and detached way, but rather is directly inscribed in the experience of the work itself.

The profound innovations that have taken place in the field of the technology of musical instruments, such as the synthetic production of sound or computer music, has led to new ways of interacting with the environment, sometimes explicitly requiring adequate spaces for listening. The re-appropriation of space by the sound language occurred as a natural consequence of some changes de-

⁵ Porzio, *Piccola Conversazione*, p. 15. Talking about *4'33"*, on another occasion, Cage says: «Nobody grasped the meaning. Silence does not exist. What they thought was silence [in my *4'33"*] turned out to be full of accidental sounds, since they did not know how to listen. During the first movement [of the first performance] you could hear the wind blowing outside. In the second, raindrops began to drum on the ceiling, and during the third, finally, it was the audience itself that produced a whole series of interesting sounds, when some spoke or left» (Interview given to John Kolber in 1968 and now collected in Cage, *Lettera a uno sconosciuto*, pp. 110-111). «It seems to me that the underlying message of *Silence* is that everything is allowed. Everything is allowed if we take zero as the basis. This is precisely the part that is often not understood. Everything is allowed if we free ourselves from intentions. If, however, we manifest intentions, for example if we want to kill someone, then this is not allowed. As I said before, I don't like to feel constraints when I listen. I like music that allows me to have my own listening» (Interview with Rob Tannenbaum in 1985 and now contained in Cage, *Lettera a uno sconosciuto*, pp. 286-7).

⁶ Cf. Eno, *Futuri impensabili*.

rived from the new way of learning and conceiving the sound phenomenon. According to Hugues Dufourt, these changes derive from a series of mutations due to the instruments of microanalysis and recording, to the new analytical compositional methodologies and to the advancement of technique.⁷

It follows that the space, the main characteristic of acousmatic music, began to be conceived as a real parameter, to be referenced not only in the act of listening but also in that of composition, which gradually began to involve itself with the spatial dislocation of the sound.⁸ This concern would be a real *leitmotif* of European experimental music that, among the many consequences implicit in this way of relating to the sound event, would conceive the sound itself as a result of the environment in which it is produced and not simply in the concert hall in front of the listener.⁹

Suffice it to consider Karl Heinz Stockhausen's *Gesang der Jünglinge* for which the composer said that he went in search of a new spatial dimension, setting up five groups of loudspeakers in the space around the listener that become fundamental elements for the understanding of the work: «from which side, from how many loudspeakers simultaneously, whether directed to the left or to the right, whether partially rigid or in motion, the sounds or the groups of sounds are irradiated into space».¹⁰ A situation that became extreme in 1970 at the Osaka Expo, when the Japanese Iron and Steel Federation set up a Space Theatre in which the music of Toru Takemitsu was diffused by 1300 speakers, four six-track recorders and five consoles: it filtered through the ceiling, the walls, the floor and all the space in between.¹¹

The change in the conception of sound, «which from being a formed element, endowed with specific properties, to be composed according to historically determined cognitive maps, becomes mere material (not in the Adornian

⁷ Russo, 'Lo spazio come fonte di ispirazione nella musica del secondo Novecento', p. 80.

⁸ See, to this end, the experiments that take place within Ircam [*Institut de Recherche et Coordination Acoustique/Musique*] in Paris in which the space of music becomes an active element of constructive participation in the final compositional result. See Favaro, *Spazio sonoro. Musica e architettura tra analogie, riflessi, complicità*, p. 32; Szendy, 'Espace'; Pozzi (ed.), *La musica e il suo spazio*.

⁹ Concerning the new arrangement of the orchestra see Boulez, *Par volonté et par hasard. Entretiens avec Cécilestin Deliège*; Boulez, *Penser la musique aujourd'hui*.

¹⁰ Stockhausen, 'Musica nello spazio'. Again Stockhausen proposes, with his usual utopian vision, the building of «new auditoriums suited to the needs of such music. For me – he continues – the ideal would be a spherical environment provided with speakers arranged in a circle. In the center of this spherical environment should be hung a transparent platform that would allow the sound to pass for the listeners. They would hear from above, below, and from all directions» (Russo, 'Lo spazio come fonte di ispirazione nella musica del secondo Novecento', p. 82).

¹¹ See Favaro, *Spazio sonoro. Musica e architettura tra analogie, riflessi, complicità*, p. 35.

sense), an object, and thus loses the abstractions and parameterisations to which it has been subjected over the centuries», on the one hand favours audiovisual synaesthesia and, on the other, makes possible «the connection of action and reception, which makes the user a responsible co-author of the work», as Golo Föllmer points out.¹² This is a situation that Roland Barthes had foreseen when, many decades ago, he wrote: «While for centuries it was possible to define listening as an intentional act of hearing (listening means *wanting to hear*, in a fully conscious way) currently it is recognised as having the power, almost the function, of exploring unknown terrain».¹³ In pendant with what, in more recent times, Peter Szendy has instead declared: «Nous autres, auditeurs, nous sommes devenus des arrangeurs»: the listener, indeed, has become an actual composer.¹⁴

The notion of soundscape, in pendant with the new horizon of the sound space *tout court*, has underlain the renewal of music during the last decades. Not only that. José Iges has rightly invited us to reflect on the ways in which cinema and radio have revived the notion of soundscape, stating that «when talking about the origins of artistic interest in the sounds of the environment, apart from the instrumental descriptions of some baroque or romantic music, we have to go back to the beginnings of audio recording technology».¹⁵ This is the reason why *Week-end* (1930) and *Berlin, die Symphonie einer Grosstadt* (*Berlin. Symphony of a big city*, 1927) by Walter Ruttmann would be two works of great interest to verify the effectiveness of the application of the notion of landscape in the language of radio and cinema. In more recent times, Paola Valentini has also stressed that «after the late-Renaissance myth brought forward by classical cinema of the perspective dominion of sounds, contemporary cinema tends to make the spectator also taste this primordial condition of submission to sounds and loss of spatial coordinates, completely questioning the consistency of the off-screen».¹⁶

¹² «It is therefore a definition based on the sum of three characteristics: as far as the sound dimension is concerned, the liberation of sound from the musical superstructures stratified in history and, as far as the definition of installation is concerned, the multimodality of the work and the active relationship between the work and the user. These are three fundamental tendencies in the history of twentieth-century art and music, which have had repercussions on all the production of the second half of the century, not only in the sphere of the installation genre. However, these are aesthetic premises that cannot be used to construct a definition of the genre» (Albert, 'Sound sculptures and sound installations', p. 39).

¹³ Barthes, *L'obvie et l'obtus. Essai Critiques*, p. 249.

¹⁴ Szendy, *Écoute. Une histoire de nos oreilles*, p. 136.

¹⁵ Iges, 'Un approccio alla storia del paesaggio sonoro'.

¹⁶ Valentini, *Il suono nel cinema*, pp. 146-7.

In illustrating how he used to shoot a scene, Michelangelo Antonioni had said:

I like to find myself alone in the environment in which I have to shoot and begin to feel the environment without the characters, without the people. It's the most direct way to relate to the environment, the easiest way to let the environment suggest something to us.¹⁷

Antonioni, therefore, preferred the sounds of the surrounding reality to the music: the soundscape that he carefully reconstructed to shoot his films.

A similar concern also makes itself felt in the approach of Luigi Nono who, at a certain point of his composing experience, sought out the industrial soundscape, to denounce the working and living conditions of the working class, and of that of his city, Venice, and to draw inspiration for some of his works. The sounds of Venice, therefore, are one of the fundamental components of his sensitivity.

The Sounds of Venice

Nuria Schoenberg Nono

My house on Giudecca in Venice,
is constantly reached by the sounds of various bells,
variously repeated, variously signifying, by day and by night,
through the fog and with the sun.
They are signs of life on the lagoon, on the sea.
Invitations to work, to meditate, warnings

Luigi Nono
(from the presentation of ... *sofferte onde serene* ...)

When Luigi Nono mentioned the sounds of his city, the listenings that Venice offered him, he also listed noises and sounds that we normally do not consider. Some of them have a particular meaning like the sirens announcing the phenomenon of *acqua alta*, the devastating high tides. Others come from the sky, like the thunder that precedes a storm. The cries of seagulls calling from the roofs of the highest houses. These are ordinary sounds that are also present in other cities. But in Venice there are different, original sounds: for example,

¹⁷ Michelangelo Antonioni in Tassone, *I film di Michelangelo Antonioni. Un poeta della visione*, pp. 186-7.

the rippling of the water in the canals, the noises caused by the wind that pushes the sea water towards the land and then makes it flow back. Venice is crowded with all these sounds, as well as with the cries of children playing in the courtyards and gardens; these also can be heard within the house. Especially at night, even a single person walking normally on the stones of the *calli*, the narrow streets of Venice, can be heard up to the fifth floor of houses giving on to the street. Thus Venice, considered silent, manifests itself with the echoing sound of an innocent pedestrian! Of course, there are no cars, which in other cities produce a continuous base of sound, interspersed with squealing brakes and noisy horns, but it is not really completely silent.

In the canals and in the lagoon you can hear the rhythm of the oars on small and large boats, of the historic gondolas that carry citizens and tourists from one part of the city to another. Or the sound of the sturdy wooden motor boats, *tope*, which are the city's 'trucks' on the water. In the lagoon, fishermen beat on the bottom of the boat to corral the fish into the nets. Once upon a time there were songs that accompanied the various trades in Venice. You can still find the scores with the work songs. My husband owned some of them. There are many characteristic sounds that can be heard from the small boatyards that build and repair the typical Venetian boats: from the graceful, slender wooden boats (*sandoli*, *mascherete*, *puparini*) to the gondolas: all of them rowing boats.

Motorboats and *vaporetti* have recognisable sounds that can be heard especially when they draw close, when they change gear, and when they bump into the dock at the jetty. In the winter fog you can hear the *vaporetti*, boats and ships producing sound signals announcing their presence and passage, as they are not visible to other vessels. In recent years the arrival of large ships passing through the Giudecca Canal and St Mark's Basin, damaging the foundations of the city with their vibrations, can be felt! The windows tremble at their passage.

But perhaps the most peculiar sounds are those produced by the citizens, who call each other from the windows still using the dialect (and each Sestiere has its own linguistic variant), which is disappearing and gradually giving way to the Italian language.

A few days ago I heard a person representing the municipality of Venice at a meeting with the «Giudecchini» – the inhabitants of the island of Giudecca – speaking to them in dialect; even these 'sounds' are rarely heard elsewhere. Another typical sound is that 'Venetian cry' that my husband recorded to use in a composition; I'm talking about the 'chorus' of vendors at the Rialto market who speak in dialect to draw attention to their wares: fruit, vegetables, fish (*i xè viiiiivi, pescai sta mattina!* - 'They're alive, fished this morning!').

The windows of our family home overlook a children's playground whence the yells and cries and laughter rise loud and piercing in our rooms. What disturbed me most when I lived in this house was not the children playing but their mothers who with horrible threats and desperate voices scolded them at every turn. Another thing. When the children weren't there, there would instead be the local women who would bring chairs and sit in a circle and play bingo. Whoever pulled out the numbers would shout loudly, «seventy-seven: women's legs»!

Unfortunately, when my husband was composing *Prometheus: A Tragedy about Listening*, the noises in the garden became too intrusive and disturbed him greatly. The park remained open until night. Fortunately he was able to return to the house on the Zattere, where he had grown up. His parents had passed away a few years earlier and the house was empty. There he found the silence to work and to think.

In short, Venice is particular, there is no doubt about it. There are no roads or motorways; cars have to be parked in garages or parking lots before entering the city of water. That alone makes it more liveable. The other sounds that surround us, that are part of the 'soundscape' differentiate and define it. The bells, the *calli*, the *campi*, the streets and the *rii*, the canals and the boats, the inhabitants who add their own 'sound' to the acoustic panorama of Venice, weave a complex and overall 'sound' that causes wonder to those who visit our city.

During the lockdown due to the pandemic, televisions around the world showed St Mark's Square completely empty. All the journalists were commenting on this fact, because normally this beautiful and famous square is packed full of tourists from all over the world. And likewise their voices in many different languages could not be heard. There was silence. The shops and bars were closed.

This is the silence that Venice will never want to hear again.

Sound Images of Venice in the Poetics of Luigi Nono

Roberto Calabretto

Nono's music is crowded with sound images of Venice. But it is his own life which was so crowded, as Nuria Schoenberg Nono has evocatively recalled. In a beautiful documentary dedicated to the Venetian composer, *Archipel Luigi Nono* (1988), Olivier Mille dedicates many sequences to highlight this singular relationship that united him to his city. We thus find Nono talking about some problems dear to him, such as listening, the soundscapes of the islands of the

lagoon, the voices of the market and the reflections of this universe that can be caught in his music.

I tried to show Venice as Nono presented it to us – the director specified – as far as possible from the image of the postcard. Venice, not as the ideal place of harmony, but as a world of contrasts and conflicts, a crossroads of different languages and cultures. I took special care of the sound, since the image to be shown of Venice was above all a sound-based one. A city in which both sound and image are incomparable and which has given birth to one of the strongest musics of our time.¹⁸

Nono's words concerning the sounds of the Venetian space, silences and the capacity of water to reflect sounds are very beautiful and full of intensity.

This southern part of Venice is extraordinary, because there is this enormous space, this infinity, this silence, these changes of colour and time. [...] I often stay here, motionless, watching and listening to everything that happens: as you can see now, the colours, the seasons, the wind, the voices, the sounds are constantly changing [...] It is what Venetians call the '*gibigiana*': the reflection of the water, which comes to change the trees, which comes to add dynamism to the walls. There is nothing static [...]. So not only the water, but also the land is active and these two elements come to move the motorboat as well. [...] How is it possible really to perceive the various qualities of sound? This is fundamental for me: to talk about the quality, not so much the substance of the sound. Types of sounds, types of arrivals, of departures: how do you hear this sort of obstinate siren, very distant, that goes on [...]. Sometimes, when there's fog, there are the various bells that mark out the islands and there's like a continuous 'dong! dong! dong!' and soundscapes of endless magic are created.

Likewise when he talks about the sound space in his garden, which he describes with these images.

So there is the variety of sound, the variety of quality and combination, the composition in space, on the water, of the walls, of the reverberations, of the *gibigiana* [...]. It is all this that really creates, in my opinion, a way of thinking about music that is totally distinct from technical music, from academic music, but of truly feeling it as an element of life, an element of the ear, an element of the soul, of pulsation, of feelings [...] of living feelings [...] in what should be called the magic, the real magic, the real mystery of this Venetian space.

Nono does not seem to take from his city only the propensity to listen and to accept the movement of sound in space: rather he derives from it the characteristics of some of his works and of his writing music *tout court*, as we have seen from his own words. When he speaks of ... *sofferte onde serene...* (1977), he

¹⁸ Olivier Mille at <http://www.luiginono.it> [last accessed on 28 July 2021].

speaks again of his house on the Giudecca which «is constantly reached by the sounds of various bells, variously repeated, variously signifying, by day and by night, through the fog and with the sun. They are signs of life on the lagoon, on the sea». The work, therefore, does not include elements of the soundscape «but interprets its character through the editing and processing of the sound of Maurizio Pollini's piano recorded in the studio».¹⁹ The superimposition of unattached sounds therefore reflects what exists in Venice, as he confided to Albèra, where «there are echoes, reverberations in the sounds where one never knows where they begin and where they end, to what extent they are sounds or colours».²⁰

This attitude can also be found in *Contrappunto dialettico alla mente* (1968) in which Nono openly declares it to be a homage to Adriano Banchieri's *Festino nella sera del giovedì grasso* (1608). In indicating the source materials he used, he states:

voices and noises of the Rialto fish and vegetable market in Venice. By means of elaboration and electronic composition, the initial naturalism is also transformed semantically into the voices and noises of the people – the people expressing themselves with regard to the assassination of Malcolm X (first episode) or the imperialist aggression against Vietnam (fourth episode).²¹

Noises of water and bells of San Marco in Venice. But used semantically and integrated into the situations of the fourth episode.

Semantic and phonetic material of the five voices (four female voices and one male voice).²²

The Venetian soundscape is, therefore, «used semantically» within the composition: a true musical material to be placed alongside the other components of the score.²³

¹⁹ Lazzarini, *Luigi Nono: spazio e composizione*, p. 79.

²⁰ Luigi Nono in *Interview by Philippe Albèra* [1987], in Nono, *Scritti e colloqui*, vol. II, p. 427.

²¹ «In the dialectical counterpoint to the mind the parodistic spirit of Banchieri is transformed into ironic and political allusion. The whole, however, tends towards a play of combination. This work was also subjected to censorship: commissioned by the RAI for the 1968 Premio Italia dedicated to musical works, it was not presented because the last episode appeared offensive towards the United States» (Gentilucci, *Gli anni Sessanta*, in Nono, *Scritti e colloqui*, vol. II, p. 164).

²² Nono, 'Contrappunto dialettico alla mente', in Nono, *Scritti e colloqui*, vol. I, pp. 463-4.

²³ A detailed and careful analysis of these materials has been conducted by Arne Gadomski, 'Venedigs Vergangenheit und Gegenwart', in Geiger und Janke (Hgg), *Venedig. Luigi Nono und die komponierte Stadt*, pp. 81-104: 98-104. The book, in the complexity of its essays, explores the role that Venice in all its components played in Nono's compositional thinking.

Mapping Sounds. The Soundscape between Document and Creative Material

Paolo Zavagna

Although a sound map may seem – and in some ways is – a paradox, maps that ‘include’ or ‘encompass’ acoustic sounds or phenomena are ancient practice. In the map reproduced in figure 23 we can see the two angels surrounding God announcing, through their trumpets, a text that, inserted in a sort of ‘comic strip’, speaks to us within the map (figs. 23-24).

Maps like this one are frequent in the history of geography.²⁴ But we must wait for the advent of sound recording (1877) and especially of multimedia documents to be able to say that we are in front of a sound map. Despite the first CD-ROMs, but above all the websites, that combine cartographic representation and sound documents are very varied and numerous,²⁵ the sound map presents a basic contradiction: it is not possible to fix in space an event such as sound that by its nature requires a temporal development. The abstraction of the map, although also subject to obsolescence, aims at fixing a phenomenon (the road network, the orography, the interweaving of streets and squares in the urban landscape) that does not change instantaneously over time; its change over time is linked to phenomena of more or less long duration. Sound, on the other hand, necessarily develops over time. A sound map will therefore be an approximation and document incomparable events in their temporal unfolding.

Sound maps are born to document a problem that emerged during the work of the *World Soundscape Project* in the late 1960s in Canada:²⁶ *noise pollution*, of which we can read an updated definition taken from wikipedia:

[...] also known as environmental noise or sound pollution, is the propagation of noise with ranging impacts on the activity of human or animal life, most of them harmful to a degree. The source of outdoor noise worldwide is mainly caused by machines, transport, and propagation systems.

Poor urban planning may give rise to noise disintegration or pollution, side-by-side industrial and residential buildings can result in noise pollution in the residential areas.

²⁴ See McMurray, ‘Ephemeral cartography: on mapping sound’, pp. 110-42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/20551940.2018.1512696>.

²⁵ A sampling of this variety can be seen and heard at the following url: <https://soundcartography.wordpress.com>

²⁶ <https://www.sfu.ca/~truax/wsp.html>.

Some of the main sources of noise in residential areas include loud music, transportation (traffic, rail, airplanes, etc.), lawn care maintenance, construction, electrical generators, explosions, and people [...].²⁷

This may be compared with that given by Barry Truax, a composer and theorising member of the *World Soundscape Project*:

a recent [1978] term used to suggest the destructive effects of excessive sound, usually based on properties of loudness and irritation.

Some adverse effects of NOISE may be physiological, others psychological (anxiety, nervousness, loss of sleep, etc.) and still others communicational.

The problem of noise pollution is complex and it is difficult as yet to know whether noise pollution in the community is being brought under effective control.

Comparisons between recent surveys suggest that the ambient noise level of cities is continuing to rise, perhaps by as much as 0.5 dB per year.²⁸

In the first definition, the importance of the *sources* of sound pollution is evident: «loud music, transportation (traffic, rail, airplanes, etc.), lawn care maintenance, construction, electrical generators, explosions, and people»; while in the second definition, the *effects* of sound pollution are more emphasised, particularly on human beings: «Some adverse effects of NOISE may be physiological, others psychological (anxiety, nervousness, loss of sleep, etc.) and still others communicational».

If sound maps are therefore born to document a clinical state of our landscape (see the works of Michael Southworth on the soundscape of Boston and Murray Schafer on that of Vancouver at the end of the sixties), in both cases, however, the field of study is more related to the senses in general and to planning in particular: the first in the field of urban planning, the second in the field of sound design, a discipline that was born in the context of the work of Schafer and the group formed around the *World Soundscape Project*, which included many composers.²⁹

But sound maps can also be something else: they can tell stories, emotions, moods; they can describe our relationship with the landscape. «I argue that sound maps have the potential to chart personal and collective, imagined and

²⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Noise_pollution.

²⁸ http://www.sfu.ca/sonic-studio-webdav/handbook/Noise_Pollution.html.

²⁹ For a brief history of soundscape composition I refer to Zavagna, 'Paesaggio sonoro e composizione musicale: breve storia'.

remembered, invisible and physical relationships between sound, the world, and ourselves».³⁰ Although, as McMurray states, «soundmapping is an exercise in temporal cartography – sound demands time, especially in the form of audio recordings that require real-time playback to experience», maps are a spatial representation while sounds are a temporal representation. We have to live this contradiction if we want to deal with, or even just enjoy, sound maps. For this reason, we must shift our attention from the map-in-space phenomenon to the sound-in-time phenomenon. To make this shift we have to think about sound in a different way.

During the development of the project of mapping the sounds of Venice, many subjects dealing with sound were involved, in the most disparate ways. I would like to report here three testimonies, taken from the documentaries shot during the project, which testify to the different perspectives from which sound can be described.

Pauline Oliveros (1932-2016, composer and accordionist, has dedicated her entire life to listening and music; she founded an institute dedicated to deep listening, to awareness listening):

The word *soundscape* did not exist in 1953. The concept of soundscape did not exist then. I put a microphone in the window and recorded whatever was sounding [...] and then I listen to the recording and I discovered that I had not heard as many sounds as the microphone had heard. So [...] I told myself that I had to listen to everything, all the time, and then to remind myself when I was not listening [...] and so, for all this many years, since 1953, in that experience, that what I have been doing is listening [...] and trying to expand my listening as far as possible. I think that today you have the means to carry this much, much further [...] you are starting on a really interesting journey, an interesting path and so I wish you well in that [...]³¹

Monica Fantini (radio producer, radio author, and a sound keeper, leader of the European project *Ecouter le monde* and editor of the web site *Ecouter le monde* that hosted a world sound map):

In my opinion sound also has to do with death, with what remains. Sound is alive, it's something that lives, unlike a photograph; to have the experience of listening to the voice of a person who has disappeared, who is dead, is a very strong experience, because the voice is a living presence, as if it were there [...]. The greatest quality of sound is that it's not a dead thing, it's a living thing that

³⁰ Anderson, *Soundmapping Beyond The Grid: alternative cartographies of sound*, 2016. <https://www.researchcatalogue.net/view/234645/234646/0/0>.

³¹ Ziche, *Skeep – Venice Sound Mapping*, Embtool, 2013-2017, <https://vimeo.com/304630981>, 41'12"-42'36".

makes us be there at that moment. When we listen, for example, to the street vendors in Hanoi singing in a small street it's like being there... more than an image, which can be extremely evocative but is a dead object [...]. For me sound is life.³²

Séverine Janssen (sound keeper and sound artist, leader of the *Bruxelles Nous Appartient* project):

What is sound for me, what does it mean? [...] How does it sound [...] to me? [...] For me [sound] is just like a country [...]. I have a very physical relation to sound [...]. I feel the volume, the deep [...]. For me sound is a space [...]. I can just walk inside the sound [...] and sound can be a note, a part of a composition but also a word. For me a word is really a sound. It's just like a dream to go inside [...]. To have the feeling to just like as a material thing, just like a very safe space [...]. For me sound is a safe space. If there is a sound I feel in security.³³

The idea of building a sound map of Venice came from the particular and extreme variety of the sounds of the Serenissima. In the topics of the electroacoustic music composition courses held at the Conservatorio «Benedetto Marcello» in Venice, I often proposed themes based on the sounds of Venice; from these didactic and creative experiences arose the need to collect systematically and make available to a wider community the sounds collected in field recording campaigns.

Other experiences of using the sounds of the landscape relating to a specific territory had struck me. In particular I remember two of them: some sound installations of Annae Lockwood,³⁴ based on the description of a river by sounds and the processing of the sounds collected along the Taurion river to realise musical compositions.³⁵

In 2009, thanks to Professor Giovanni Morelli, we started a multidisciplinary project, the *Laboratorioarazzi*,³⁶ dedicated to electroacoustic music. We involved students from Università Ca' Foscari, the Accademia di belle arti di Venezia and the music conservatories of Padua and Venice. We began a campaign of field recordings in the historic centre of Venice.

³² Ziche, *Ecouter le monde*, Conservatorio «B. Marcello», Venice – 26 May 2018, <https://backend.ecouterlemonde.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Ecouter26518.mp4>, 15'04"-15'52".

³³ <https://backend.ecouterlemonde.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Ecouter26518.mp4>, 16'21" 17'44"

³⁴ Among others, *A Sound Map of the Danube* (2005), 5.1 sound installation, 2 hrs. 47'. Recorded on a Sound Map of the Danube (Lovely Music 2083). <http://www.annalockwood.com/composition-s/a-sound-map-of-the-danube/>.

³⁵ <http://www.kaon.org/category/la-riviere/>.

³⁶ Here you can see the programme of the 2010 edition: <https://www.cini.it/eventi/laboratorioarazzi-2010-it>. More information: <https://www.zavagna.it/paolo/laboratorioarazzi.htm>.

The resulting website, www.venicesoundmap.eu,³⁷ is deliberately very simple: a map that ‘contains’ the sounds and compositions made using those same sounds.

A Creative Journey through the Soundscape of Venice

*Giovanni Dinello*³⁸

My path in *soundscape composition* began in 2015, thanks to the programme of workshops and meetings curated by Professor Paolo Zavagna. The first of these events that marked my artistic career was the workshop with the American composer Pauline Oliveros, who with her *Environmental Dialogue* made me think a lot about the relationship between music and the context in which it is enjoyed. Later, still at the Conservatory, I took part in the workshop *Composing with the sounds of the landscape*, with journalists and composers such as Monica Fantini, Andrea Liberovici, Lorena Rocca, Stefano Alessandretti and Julian Scordato. On that occasion I was able to make underwater recordings for the first time with the aid of a hydrophone microphone and, together with Giacomo Sartori, I produced *Venezia Piange*, a composition that was broadcast by Rai Radio 3, *Nowtilus – Storie di una laguna urbana del 21esimo secolo*, and which is now hosted by *Ocean Archive*.³⁹

In 2016, together with the Electronic Music Class of the Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello, I collaborated on the installation *La Piazza de le Piazze*, conceived by Paolo Zavagna, which was set up inside the site for the M9 Museum in Mestre on the occasion of ArtNight 2016.⁴⁰ For this installation I recorded the sound of the bells in St Mark’s Square, as well as the evocative surrounding sound environment, and thus opened another interesting chapter in my experience with the sounds of the landscape.⁴¹ In the same year, through the Conservatory, I was able to collaborate with the French public broadcaster *Radio France Internationale*, as part of the European project *Ecouter le Monde*. Together with Riccardo Sellan, another student at the Conservatorio, I went to Paris and together we made several recordings, including a very close one of the bells of

³⁷ Currently hosted by the Fondazione Ugo and Olga Levi.

³⁸ Composer and sound designer, student at the Conservatory of Music Benedetto Marcello in Venice and president of the Cultural Association Venice Electroacoustic Rendez-Vous (VER-V).

³⁹ <https://ocean-archive.org/view/1971>. All websites were visited on July 28, 2021.

⁴⁰ <http://www.piazzapiazze.net/>.

⁴¹ The recording, *Campane di San Marco, Mezzanotte*, can be found at the following url: <http://www.venicesoundmap.eu/sounds/entry/232/>.

the church of Saint Eustache, whose vibrant energy still lingers in my memory, as well as in my hard disk.

There have been many other occasions in which I found myself thinking about the relationship between music and the environment, as well as about the concept itself of “environment”, which is often identified, in my opinion erroneously, as something external to the human being. This path of mine has not yet come to an end, and probably it never will as long as there are sounds around me. In 2020 I won a national call for proposals entitled *Prospettive Sonore*, which will see me in residence in Udine and the surrounding area to create a composition and a CD with the sounds of the landscape and an instrumental ensemble, together with five other composers from all over Italy.

At the same time, with Venice Electroacoustic Rendez-Vous (VER-V) association, a Venetian network of composers and musicians interested in research and artistic experimentation in the field of electroacoustic music, we wanted to support the growth of the open-source database Venice Sound Map through the workshop *Venice Sound Mapping, a laboratory of sound mapping of the city of Venice*, in collaboration with teachers and students of the *Buchmann Mehta School of Music TAU* in Tel Aviv.⁴² In collaboration with Ofer Gazit, professor of Musicology at this institute, and his students, we made more than thirty recordings that were included in the database.⁴³ With the same sounds we also collaborated on the realisation of *Acoustic Venice. Diario di un cacciatore di suoni* (*Acoustic Venice. Diary of a hunter of sounds*), a radio programme for RAI Radio 3 conceived as a piece of music in eight movements/episodes, edited by Andrea Liberovici. The recordings were made in early 2019 and this particular episode aired on 16 June.⁴⁴

Also in 2019, on the occasion of the extraordinary high tide that disrupted the city of Venice, we created the interactive installation *Emergence* in conjunction with the *Venice Project Center (SerendPT)* 30th anniversary exhibition. The installation explores the Venetian soundscapes, recomposing them in a vertical stratification of field-recordings, liquefactions and interactions, inside an ancient and unknown bell tower.⁴⁵ In the vertical reconstruction of the Venetian soundscape we created three levels of sound diffusion: one at the base of the campanile, with the aquatic sounds recorded above and below the surface, another in the middle, with the sounds of the *calli*, and a third at the top of the

⁴² <https://www.facebook.com/events/1096275573861194>.

⁴³ An example, made by Paolo Piaser, member of the association, and Ofer Gazit, can be heard at the following url: <http://www.venicesoundmap.eu/sounds/entry/193/>.

⁴⁴ <https://www.raiplayradio.it/audio/2019/05/Radio3-Suite-VeneziAcustica-ba26c54c-4dfa-4d76-9411-e5fb46f32ec2.html>.

⁴⁵ <https://zero.eu/it/eventi/182151-verv-emergence-w-grao-dj-set,venezia/>.

structure, with the aerial landscape rich in the sounds of seagulls, the echoes of the middle sound world and, above all, the bells, whose chimes were marked by the passage of visitors to the upper floor. A process of data sonification also controlled the rise of water sounds to “submerge” those in the middle in response to the rise of the average sea level from 1800 to the present day.⁴⁶

Venice Soundmap at Work

Paolo Notargiacomo

My presentation aims to illustrate and exemplify one of the possible uses of the sounds contained in the archiving and sound documentation platform Venice Soundmap. This digital space offers the opportunity to tackle the sounds of the Venetian landscape with different approaches and objectives, relating in general to the double approach underlying the philosophy of soundscape: on the one hand to document the acoustic reality of a given environment, for purposes of study, research and interest, and on the other hand to interact artistically with this reality to create works that make significant reference to it. These are not, however, two parallel tracks; quite the contrary. Both the documentation and the artistic elaboration have as their primary interest that of increasing the knowledge and awareness of the world in which we live, to promote its care, protection and good management.

As regards the use of the sounds of the landscape for an artistic work, the possibilities are endless, both as regards the procedures for their elaboration and composition, and from the point of view of the forms of diffusion and use. Regarding the first aspect, they range from the electronic manipulation of a track, to a more elaborate editing and to the insertion of the acoustic document within a wider project, while for the second aspect they range from the simple sharing on a digital platform, to an installation or a concert.

What I intend to present here is an example of the use of the sound material of the Venice Soundmap within a wide and articulated musical composition, that of my chamber opera *Venezia salva*. It is, in short, a drama in music based on the unfinished tragedy *Venise sauvée* by Simone Weil, for solo singers, an actor, choir, chamber ensemble (flute, sax, violin and harp) and, precisely, fixed media. The plot of the play concerns the conspiracy hatched in 1618 against the government of the Serenissima and foiled thanks to the self-disclosure of one of

⁴⁶ You can listen to an example at the following url: <https://www.venicesoundmap.eu/sounds/entry/246/>.

the conspirators, but the philosopher Weil makes it a metahistorical exemplum to illustrate the spiritual dynamics that can destroy or preserve the life of a city and a community.⁴⁷

The presence of acoustic material of the real Venetian soundscape inside the work is closely linked both to the dramaturgy and to the deep sense that, through Simone Weil's vision, we want to communicate. The city of Venice, in fact, comes simultaneously to represent a concrete socio-historical reality and the symbol of that complex material, psychic and spiritual organism that is a community. In Weil's words, it is «a human environment of which one is no more aware than of the air one breathes».⁴⁸ It is under the sign of this philosophy and this vision that the idea of inserting concrete documents of the Venetian soundscape in some points of the work was born, to reinforce the feeling of reality required by such a representation on both a literal and on a symbolic level, as well as to stress the link that unites on the one hand the Venice of the past to the Venice of the present, and on the other hand the Venice on the stage to the Venice outside it.

The tracks of the Venice Soundmap chosen for *Venezia salva* are four and within the work they are variously elaborated and manipulated. Each of them documents a particular aspect of the Venetian soundscape and, in turn, with its poignancy and meaning, interacts with the dramaturgical levels of the work.

The first track to appear is *Campo dei Carmini*, by Michele Deiana.⁴⁹ It is a recording lasting about four minutes of an ordinary afternoon in a Venetian square. In its simplicity, this document is, in my opinion, an emblematic representation of the humble and very rich daily existence: children laughing and playing ball, adults talking, seagulls chirping, bells marking the passing of time, a boat passing by, a cart being pulled. In short, that wonderful city life which the conspirators of the tragedy, blinded by hatred and greed, plot to destroy. To this we have to add an observation about the very specific nature of the acoustic quality in the *campi* and the *calli* of Venice, due to a synergy of factors: apart from the pervasive presence of water, it is the absence of cars and the peculiar urban and architectural conformation of the city, which determines levels and quality of reflection and reverberation such as to make the acoustic response of outdoor environments similar to that of an enclosed space.

In its position within my work, therefore, *Campo dei Carmini* represents the image of the soul of the city, of its inner beauty. This variously elaborated

⁴⁷To view excerpts from the work *Venice save*: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5H-qxmcF7u2U&t=6247s>.

⁴⁸Weil, *Venezia salva*, p. 23.

⁴⁹<http://www.venicesoundmap.eu/sounds/entry/187/>. All websites were visited on 28 July 2021.

trace emerges above all in the Prologue, where it creates a dialogue with the acoustic instruments, overlapping and alternating with them, and accompanies the recited interventions of the actor, who impersonates the Secretary of the Council of Ten. But it also re-emerges at other points in the work, always evoking the vital essence of Venice, its spiritual lymph.

The second track used is *San Marco Bells, 6AM*, by Giovanni Dinello.⁵⁰ As is explicit in the title, it is the recording of the bells of San Marco at dawn. The sonic beauty of this document lies, in my opinion, in its transparency and clarity: at that time there are no voices or people walking by, nor boat engines, nor the noises of any human activities, but only the tenuous natural background of the lagoon, on which the majestic bells stand out. The insertion of this sonic reference in my work is based on a spatiotemporal analogy with a moment in the dramaturgy: at the start of the fourth act the Secretary tells his servant about the declaration that has just been made by the conspirator Jaffier, confiding to him not only his worry about the danger that has been evaded but also his apprehension about the delicate decisions to be taken on the matter. It seemed to me, therefore, that the solemn and austere pealing at six o'clock in the morning perfectly reflected the gravity of that moment, as well as establishing a more objective and anecdotal link with it, since the dialogue in question takes place at dawn in the rooms of the Doge's Palace, and, therefore, the Secretary and his servant may well have heard «the bells of St Mark's at six o'clock in the morning».

The third track is *Imbarcadero (Waterbus Stop) Giardini Biennale*, again by Giovanni Dinello.⁵¹ It is one of the most characteristic sounds of the Venetian soundscape: the harsh and shrill squeaking of the steel components that make up the floating piers where the public vaporetti dock. This strident and annoying sound seemed to have been made on purpose for another moment of the tragedy, when the conspirators are led to the scaffold in chains: in fact, this noise, besides literally evoking the chains, also represents the psychic atmosphere of deafening anguish in which the condemned are plunged.

The last track is, instead, the opposite of the previous one, a less specific and anecdotal one that we could say is more symbolic and universal. *Sea – Ai Murazzi*, by Michele Deiana is the clear and limpid recording of the delicate sound of a calm sea along the beach (which does not exclude, on the other hand, a certain anecdotal element in the choice of a specific bathing area of the Lido called «i Murazzi».⁵² In *Venezia salva* this sound element intervenes

⁵⁰ <http://www.venicesoundmap.eu/sounds/entry/233/>.

⁵¹ <http://www.venicesoundmap.eu/sounds/entry/189/>.

⁵² <http://www.venicesoundmap.eu/sounds/entry/200/>.

at the end of the fourth act, before the Epilogue, to accompany what is happening on the stage at a symbolic and choreographic level: the chorus, which at that moment embodies the Venetian citizenship, surrounds and engulfs the protagonist Jaffier, who disappears there as if submerged by a high tide. The element of water thus comes to assert itself as a force of renewal, which can destroy and purify.

Bibliography

- Albert, James, 'Sound sculptures and sound installations', *Acoustical Arts and Artifacts: Technology, Aesthetics, Communication*, 7 (2010), pp. 37-87
- Boulez, Pierre, *Par volonté et par hasard. Entretiens avec Célestin Deliège* (Paris: éditions du Seuil, 1975)
- Boulez, Pierre, *Penser la musique aujourd'hui* (Mainz-Paris: Schott-Éditions Denoël-Gonthier, 1964)
- Barthes, Roland, *L'obvie et l'obtus. Essai Critiques*, Tome 3 (Paris: Seuil, 1982)
- Cage, John, *Silenzio* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1981)
- Cage, John, *Lettera a uno sconosciuto*, ed. by Richard Kostelanetz (Roma: Socrates, 1996)
- Di Croce, Nicola, *Suoni a margine. La territorialità delle politiche nella pratica dell'ascolto*. Linee 19 (Milano: Meltemi, 2018)
- Eno, Brian, *Futuri impensabili* (Milano, Giunti, 1997)
- Favaro, Roberto, *Spazio sonoro. Musica e architettura tra analogie, riflessi, complicità* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2010)
- Fubini, Enrico, *Musica e linguaggio nell'estetica contemporanea* (Torino: Einaudi, 1973)
- Geiger, Friedrich und Janke, Andreas (Hgg), *Venedig. Luigi Nono und die komponierte Stadt* (Münster - New York: Waxmann, 2015)
- Handbook for Acoustic Ecology*. 2nd ed. The Music of the Environment Series 5, ed. by Barry Truax (Cambridge Street Publishing, 1999), <http://www.sfu.ca/sonic-studio-webdav/handbook/index.html>
- Iges, José, 'Un approccio alla storia del paesaggio sonoro', *Musica/Realtà*, XXII/65 (July 2001), pp. 55-66
- Lazzarini, Giulia, *Luigi Nono: spazio e composizione*, PhD Thesis in Architecture, University of Bologna, 2014
- McMurray, Peter, 'Ephemeral cartography: on mapping sound', *Sound Studies*, 4.2 (2018), pp. 110-42
- La musica e il suo spazio*, ed. by Raffaele Pozzi (Milano: Unicopli [Quaderni di Musica/Realtà], 1987)

- Nono, Luigi, *Scritti e colloqui, vl.1 e vl. 2*, ed. by Angela Ida De Benedictis and Veniero Rizzardi (Milano: Lim [Le Sfere, 35], 2001)
- Nono, ed. by Enzo Restagno (Torino: Edt, 1987)
- Paesaggi sonori. Musica, voci, rumori: l'universo dell'ascolto*, ed. by Michael Bull Back (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 2008)
- Porzio, Michele, *Piccola conversazione*, in *John Cage, Sonora Itinerari oltre il suono* (without publication details)
- Russo, Marco, 'Lo spazio come fonte di ispirazione nella musica del secondo Novecento', *Rivista italiana di acustica*, XXVI/2-4 (2002), pp. 79-102
- Schafer, Raymond Murray, *Il paesaggio sonoro* (Milano: Ricordi-Unicopli, 1985)
- Schafer, Raymond Murray, *The Tuning of the World* (New York: Knopf, 1977)
- Southworth, Michael, 'The Sonic Environment of Cities', *Environment and Behavior*, 1 (June 1969), pp. 49-70
- Stockhausen, Karl Heinz, 'Musica nello spazio', *La Rassegna Musicale*, (XXXI/4) 1961, pp. 397-417
- Szendy, Peter, *Écoute. Une histoire de nos oreilles* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit Taylor, 2001)
- Szendy, Peter, 'Espace', *Les Cahiers de l'Ircam*, 5 (1994)
- Tagg, Philip, 'Leggere i suoni. Saggio sul paesaggio sonoro e la musica, la conoscenza, la società', *Music and Reality*, IX/25 (April 1988), pp. 168-83
- Tassone, Aldo, *I film di Michelangelo Antonioni. Un poeta della vision* (Roma: Gremese, 2002)
- Valentini, Paola, *Il suono nel cinema* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2006)
- Weil, Simone, *Venezia salva* (Milano: Adelphi, 2012)
- Zavagna, Paolo, 'Paesaggio sonoro e composizione musicale: breve storia', in *I suoni dei luoghi. Percorsi di geografie degli ascolti*, ed. by Lorena Rocca (Roma: Carocci, 2019), pp. 37-78

Online resources

- Ziche, Alberta, *skeep*. 2010. <https://vimeo.com/17981041>
- Ziche, Alberta, *<S>KEEP. Venice sound mapping*. [Long version]. 2010. <https://vimeo.com/304630981>
- Ziche, Alberta, *labarazzi 2010 Venice Sound Map*. 2010. <https://vimeo.com/38020488>
- Anderson, Isobel, *Soundmapping Beyond The Grid: alternative cartographies of sound*. 2016. <https://www.researchcatalogue.net/view/234645/234646/0/0>
- Carlyle, Angus, *The God's Eye and The Buffalo's Breath: Seeing and Hearing Web-Based Sound Maps*. In: *Invisible Places sounding cities. Sound, Urbanism and Sense of Place*. Jardins efemeros, July 2014, pp. 141-152. <http://invisibleplaces.org/2014/>

- Krygier, John, *Making Maps with Sound*. Mar. 2008. <https://makingmaps.net/2008/03/25/making-maps-with-sound/>
- Signorelli, Valerio, *Unfolding the Soundmaps. Suggestions for Representing and Sharing the Sensory Form of Urban Spaces Through Virtual Environments and Web-Mapping Technologies*. In: *Invisible Places sounding cities. Sound, Urbanism and Sense of Place*. Jardins efemeris, July 2014, pp. 153-167. <http://invisibleplaces.org/2014/>
- Voegelin, Salome and Wright, Mark Peter (eds.), *Points of Listening*. 2014-. <https://pointsoflistening.wordpress.com>
- Waldock, Jacqueline, *Soundmapping: Critiques and reactions on this new publicly engaging medium*. 2018. <https://www.researchcatalogue.net/view/214583/214584>
<https://www.facebook.com/events/1096275573861194>
<http://www.luiginono.it>
<http://www.piazzapiazze.net/>
<https://www.raiplayradio.it/audio/2019/05/Radio3-Suite-VeneziAcustica-ba26c54c-4dfa-4d76-9411-e5fb46f32ec2.html>
<http://www.venicesoundmap.eu/sounds/entry/232/>
<http://www.venicesoundmap.eu/sounds/entry/193/>
<http://www.venicesoundmap.eu/sounds/entry/246/>
<http://www.venicesoundmap.eu/sounds/entry/187/>
<http://www.venicesoundmap.eu/sounds/entry/233/>
<http://www.venicesoundmap.eu/sounds/entry/189/>
<http://www.venicesoundmap.eu/sounds/entry/200/>
<https://zero.eu/it/eventi/182151-verv-emergence-w-grao-dj-set,venezia/>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5HqxmCF7u2U&t=6247s>
<https://ocean-archive.org/view/1971>

Architecture and Market Spaces: Padua and the Venetian Mainland in the Early Modern Age

Elena Svalduz

My contribution is based upon the researches developed during the past two decades which were discussed in the framework of meeting and, in some cases, they have been published. The main topic I wish to deal with is the relation between architecture and spaces meant for trade purposes in a limited territory: the Venetian mainland centres, including Padua, where the Summer School *Market Spaces, Production Sites, and Sound Landscape of European Cities: From History to Regeneration* took place.¹

In general terms, nonetheless, the ultimate aim of this paper is to introduce some aspects that may be useful for our topic (architecture and market spaces from a historical point of view). As a consequence, I am not going to touch upon all the questions which this kind of research study involved. On the contrary, I will simply try to give a brief summary or an overview of the most important cases, keeping in mind how the thematic and critical horizons have developed in parallel.

The starting point may be the volume *Fabbriche, piazze, mercati* (1997).² It was a good opportunity to work on a common ground, i.e. the transition between two fields of study not only for me but also for the young scholars in-

¹ Padua is also the topic here discussed by Andrea Caracausi and Umberto Signori.

² *Fabbriche, piazze, mercati*.

volved by Donatella Calabi: Urban History, which is less attentive to questions of style than Architecture History. The latter is less attentive to socio-economic, political and institutional aspects and spaces for collective uses.

As Stefano Zaggia,³ the author of important contributions on the history of Padua's squares (the first one was published in the volume released in 1997) highlighted, the study of the modes and choices for urban transformation enacted by the Venetian power in the public spaces of cities under its domination is «among the most complex and evocative» you can think of. If it is an urban strategy pursued in full awareness, without paying a special attention to spaces layout, starting from the renewal of individual public buildings, is being discussed and proposed again with a wide range comparison in the sixth volume of the collection *Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa* devoted to *Luoghi, spazi, architetture (Places, Spaces, Architecture)* (2010).⁴ It may not be by chance if some of the participants in the Summer School *Market Spaces* were involved in that publishing initiative, with the purpose of dealing of a number of experiences and their integration by means of a fragmented and diverse route.

This research line on urban spaces and architecture also nurtured a series of studies – some of which were general studies and others were focused on the regional level.⁵ It is worth focussing on a more limited context, the one of the Venetian mainland towns in the Early Modern Age, in order to evaluate if the history of market spaces is providing a first example of urban regeneration: some areas have been granted a new function thanks to one or more ad hoc architectural works. So, the first part of this contribution deals with the different types of public squares, market spaces and the buildings which enclose them. Starting from the beginning of the fifteenth century, Venice acquired a large territory in the Northeast of the Italian Peninsula, which was called *Stato da Tera* or *Terraferma*. By the mid-fifteenth century the *Stato da Tera* extended from Udine in the East, via Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, to Brescia and Bergamo in the West. The urban structure of some of these cities was studied in recent years paying a special attention to renovation phenomena which took place in the time we are studying. We will thus refer to this context.

The second part of this contribution focuses on a comparative perspective: the analysis will stem from a series of cases outside the borders of the Venetian *Stato da Tera*, and will look at the physical features of urban sites, places and buildings, with a specific attention on ideas and models that have led to a new

³ Zaggia, 'Ornamenti e memoria', p. 73.

⁴ Svalduz, 'Palazzi pubblici'.

⁵ Balchin, *Urban Development in Renaissance Italy; Lo spazio nelle città venete*; Cozzi, *Ambiente veneziano, ambiente veneto*.

design or to a new project during the Early Modern Age: we will take into account architectural treatises, documents on theory and practice, maps and archive drawings, written descriptions, descriptions by travellers.

It is no secret that there is a certain internal logic behind the approaches adopted for the areas of public gathering, made up of elements which keep re-appearing within the urban structure.

One of the first information which emerged from recent researches is related to the fact that many cities are characterized by a similar sequence of urban elements, although they are put together according to different local and specific situations. If we look at them as a sequence of elements, of buildings and spaces, we will be helped in our research of analogies. A quite well-known question is that the central areas of the Venetian mainland towns are very similar: they have a system of squares (fig. 25).

Let us look at the physical features of urban sites or places and to the specific buildings used for civil governments, public institutions, goods and money exchanges: we can see a lot of analogies. The placenames help us in this research of analogies: *Piazza delle Erbe* (the square for vegetable sale), *dei Frutti* (for fruits) *dei Signori* (the square of the main institutions, the rulers), *Pescaria* (where the fish stores were located), *Beccaria* (the area for butcher's shops) (fig. 26). However, it is not only a question of names: these places have got similar features and similar buildings. First of all the Communal palace, the one of the *Ragione* (Justice palace), of the *Rettore*, of the *Podestà* (the civil and justice authority), the Council lodge, the pawnshop, the column and the St Mark flag or the lion. No other Renaissance state used that much its patron Saint for political purposes: the Venetian Republic reserved the right to set up the symbol of St Mark, as an expression of its political rule.

In order to understand the rationale of renewal interventions in these spaces during the Modern Age, it is important to study its representation: descriptions and iconographic witnesses are – as we know – particularly relevant sources. I shall mention a few examples. The so-called «Pianta del Peronio», conserved in the Biblioteca Bertoliana of Vicenza and dated of 1481, shows us the placenames we have talked about: the square for the wine sale (*Piazza del Vino*), the one of the grain (*Biade*), the old *Pescaria* divides from the square of the *pesse menudo*. We can read the names of guilds (*Orefici*, *Pelliciai*: goldsmiths, fur-coat makers) (fig. 27). Their shops stand all together, in the same place, in front of the *Palazzo della Ragione* (before Andrea Palladio's work, and so it was not already called *Basilica Palladiana*).

Two years later (1483) Marin Sanudo, together with a group of other Venetian ministers, crisscrossed the mainland territory to control all the subject

towns. He wrote his impressions in his *Itinerario per la terraferma veneziana* (1483).⁶ As we know, Sanudo's descriptions of the different cities could be summarised with a common theme, that is true above all when he spoke about the central squares: «Treviso has a palace, a loggia with a clock like the one in Padua; above it there is the house of the *Rettore*».⁷ In Vicenza there is «the palace of the *Ragione* that they are building like the Paduan one [...] and on the other side of the square there is the palace of the *Capitano* [...] and the clock tower is on top». The new organisation of the Padua's *Palazzo della Ragione* – the communal palace hosting large rooms on top of a floor of shops – is proposed again in Vicenza.

Sanudo described several elements which were quite similar in every town he visited. They are not numerous, but in the hearth of the city, so that they can define the features of the Venetian mainland empire. They represent the topography of the Venetian institutions. The major cities, like Padua, have more than one square: the most important is the *Piazza dei Signori* (the rulers), around them the others (*Beccaria*, *Pescaria*, *Piazza delle Erbe*) (fig. 28). We have to underline that Sanudo's journey took place in the Renaissance age. A process of urban reorganization was developing not only in the Venetian cities, but also in most European cities.

Starting from the last decades of the Middle Ages, big monumental buildings were constructed in many European cities. Each country gave its own name to these buildings: *Palazzi Comunali* in Italy, *Hôtel de Ville* in France, *Town Hall* in England... they were different in shape, size and urban importance. They are generically called City Halls. Being places of self-representation for the local authorities («civic architecture») they have always been attentively looked at and they had a strong impact in public life and above all on urban spaces.⁸ If we take into consideration the *Palazzo della Ragione* in Padua, we notice that the building interacts with market and exchange spaces,⁹ and defines a «porous» system (this definition was created by Renzo Piano), that is to say a permeable system. It is an interaction system between full and empty spaces, but also a continuous transformation/adaptation that Joseph Connors called «Institutional Urbanism».¹⁰ This process is activated by the large build-

⁶ *Itinerario per la Terraferma veneziana*; Toffolo, *Describing the City*; Romano, 'City-State and Empire'; Melchiorre, 'Conoscere per governare'.

⁷ Free translation from Italian/Venetian: «A' piazza, palazzo e loza, con uno horologio como quello di Padoa sopra la caxa dil Retor».

⁸ Svalduz, 'Palazzi pubblici'.

⁹ Bortolami, '«Spaciosum, immo spaciosum palacium»'; Dolcetta, 'Il Palazzo nella struttura urbana'.

¹⁰ Connors, 'Alliance and Enmity'.

ings hosting institutions along with trade buildings, which are the real motors of urban renewal.

What is the peculiarity of the Italian cases? In many cities in central and northern Italy we can find the Communal Palace, a big monumental building that performed several political and social functions. In the Venetian State it was called «Palazzo della Razon» and it was the institutional seat of the city council and the justice authority as well. The construction of the Communal Palace was often an opportunity for civic magistrates to plan urban renovation: to enlarge central districts and reshape roads and squares. This topic is well known for the Middle Ages.¹¹ However, Communal Palaces played a key role in urban settings well beyond the end of the Medieval Age. Their long history has been neglected except for a few cases; as a consequence, in a long period perspective the history of most Italian Public Palaces remains unknown. From this point of view, the case of Venice and its subjected cities is particularly significant.

How did the construction and re-construction of public buildings and the reorganization of market spaces around them reflect and reinforce the city's Republican system? Could we consider this as a first case of regeneration of market spaces?

Starting from the last decade of the fifteenth century, many of the centres we are analysing witnessed a period of urban renewal that clearly modified the functions and the structures of the central squares (public, market spaces). Their origins are very ancient: sometimes the *Piazza delle Erbe* (cfr. Verona) stand over the site of the ancient Roman forum, so that it developed into trading functions. They have been market's squares for a long time, since the Middle Ages. But at a certain point a new shape was designed: from the end of the fifteenth century to the first years of the seventeenth century. The question was well explained by Wolfgang Lotz in a very important contribution about the transformation of some Italian squares during Renaissance age: Italian squares are particularly ancient, but in that age they were given a new shape.¹²

The rulers wanted to give more uniformity to these central spaces, they wanted to create regular spaces. In the majority of the cases, the construction of a new building (a clock tower, a pawnshop, a fountain) or the reconstruction of an old building (*Palazzo della Ragione*) was the opportunity to renovate the configuration of the public spaces. This is illustrated by Andrea Palladio in his *Quattro Libri* published in Venice in 1570, in the chapter devoted to «contemporary Basilicas and the designs of the one in Vicenza». He clearly identified the difference between ancient and contemporary structures: «ancient ones were

¹¹ Tosco, 'L'architettura delle Repubbliche'.

¹² Lotz, *Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture*.

set at ground level [...] while ours stand on vaults in which are arranged shops for the various trades and business of the city». He continued mentioning the city of Padua, where «there is a striking example of one of these modern halls in which gentlemen gather every day; it acts as a covered square for them».¹³ These remarks anticipate the description of his intervention in the *Basilica* in Vicenza, which can be viewed as a «shopping mall».¹⁴ According to Lotz, the need of reorganizing the public squares arose together with the formulation of architectural treatises. The idea of the «ideal square» joins the one of «ideal city». However, what is the model for this type of organization? Could the Greek or the Roman forum be the model for the reorganization of public spaces?

The image of a *forum* surrounded by arcades was translated by Vitruvius from antiquity. It reappeared in Italy around 1450 in *De re aedificatoria* by Leon Battista Alberti. The type of the antique forum described by Vitruvius and later by Alberti appeared in Vigevano around 1490, outside the borders of the Venetian State, of course. This is the earliest example of a square constructed at one time and surrounded by uniform loggias. Vigevano was the birthplace of the Duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza called «il Moro». In 1492, after demolishing several houses in the town centre, he built the square: the façades were uniform on three sides and the new *Palazzo Comunale* was integrated into this design. We can mention several instances in which individual *Signori* aimed at transforming their place of residence (or place of birth) into an organized space according to the parameters which characterized full-scale cities.¹⁵

However, I would like to emphasise the difference between this kind of urban organization and the system of squares we have seen in the Veneto's region.

Shortly after 1460, Filarete described a type of square closer to Veneto's central squares, more than the image of ancient *fora*. In the centre of Sforzinda (the town dedicated to the Duke of Milan Francesco Sforza) he put two large squares: the *Piazza dei Mercanti* (the financial and administrative centre) and the *Piazza del Mercato* (the marketplace where food was sold: «piazza dove si vende herbe et altri fructi») (fig. 29). The *Piazza dei Mercanti* is the most important one: its name reflected the power of the guilds. Around this square most of the town's public buildings were to be erected. In the middle, the *Palazzo Comunale* with its open arcades at the ground level. The manuscript of Filarete shows the complete separation of the food market from the public square (he called «dei Mercanti»): this is a separation observed in the larger Italian cities, as in the

¹³ Palladio, Andrea, *The Four Books on Architecture*, p. 203.

¹⁴ Burns, 'Da naturale inclinazione', p. 403.

¹⁵ Svalduz, 'The Minor Courts'.

Venetian mainland towns. In the great commercial centres (Venice, Florence), as in medium size ones (Mantua, Verona, Vicenza, Bologna, Padua) a different role was always attributed to the government and its representative square on one hand and the market on the other. The decisions of the magistrates, inspired by some choices of decorum and beauty, seem to be more important than the words of architectural treatises. In the Venetian mainland the decisive factor is a new consciousness of the political significance of urban decorum.¹⁶ Taking a look at the cases of market spaces re-design or at situations in which a complete rebuilding of an area was undertaken, we find that they are never the result of a punctual (formally completed) design project. The remaking or the addition of some buildings (the *Palazzo del Podestà*, when Padua, Treviso or Vicenza were conquered by Venice), even a fountain, a column or a series of arcades became the instruments of a necessary definition of the market limits. The usual praxis was to start from the objects, with a totally empirical approach when they had to deal with the entire shape of the surrounding urban spaces.¹⁷

The drawings of the *Peronio* (we have seen the one in Vicenza), the rare plans of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the dimensions and lines of the shops, wooden stalls (we can find them in almost all the studied cases) are very important, not only because they are among the few iconographic documents referring to precise places, but also because they were the basis of a *longue durée* programme, which received modifications from time to time. For us they are a precious instrument to provide the effected choices: as a guideline for the use of the urban space.

We would probably not be able to get a complete knowledge of these processes; nonetheless we could reach a better knowledge of both public and market building and spaces taking into account the elements which hinder a new design for a market area. And this is definitely a very important factor.

As Donatella Calabi shows in her contribution, the humanist friar fra' Giocondo presented a highly idealized plan for rebuilding the Rialto market destroyed by the fire in 1514: it was a symmetrical rectangular complex surrounded by canals (fig. 30). This scheme is known from the long description made by Vasari in his *Lives of the Artists*. It was refused by the committee of patricians who judged the design in favour of Scarpagnino's cheaper alternative, which preserved most elements of the previous layout of the market. In relation to fra' Giocondo's project, Marin Sanudo commented: «qual non è qui et loco non capisse».¹⁸

¹⁶ Calabi, 'La «platea magna»: il disegno, il committente, l'architetto'.

¹⁷ Foscari and Tafuri, *L'armonia e i conflitti*, p. 77.

¹⁸ «He is not here and he does not understand this place».

A deep understanding of market spaces and their history can guide us in the middle of complex choices needed for their future and Venetian ruling *Magistrature* knew it.

This is why it is important to listen to the reasons of the lace in the framework of regeneration processes, it is essential to understand the place, listen to its noise, savour its perfumes and sounds, and also to design starting from the resources born by the cities themselves. Old markets can reborn to strengthen – among other things – the meaning of a place with its identity, keeping their crucial role both in the community life and in the cultural landscape. Without losing the human scale,¹⁹ without radical upheavals, as history suggests as regards the use of community spaces. After all, the presence of a market ensures social, economic and cultural relations that define urban complexities. The regeneration of markets does not mean enacting authoritative decisions, with projects inappropriate for the context, such as the one conceived by fra' Giocundo for Rialto, but giving room to daily activities and the needs of those who go there and keep them alive. I believe that this is the most important lesson we can learn from history: highlighting the complexity of phenomena to allow us understand how we should act.

Bibliography

- Balchin, Paul N., *Urban Development in Renaissance Italy* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd, 2008)
- Bortolami, Sante, '«Spaciosum, immo spaciosum palacium». Alle origini del Palazzo della Ragione di Padova', in *Il Palazzo della Ragione di Padova. La storia, l'architettura, il restauro*, ed. by Ettore Vio (Padova: Signum, 2008), pp. 39-73
- Burns, Howard, "«Da naturale inclinatione guidato»: il primo decennio di attività di Palladio architetto', in *Storia dell'architettura italiana. Il primo Cinquecento*, ed. by Arnaldo Bruschi (Milano: Electa, 2002), pp. 372-413
- Calabi, Donatella, 'La «platea magna»: il disegno, il committente, l'architetto', in *Fabbriche, piazze, mercati. La città italiana nel Rinascimento*, ed. by Donatella Calabi (Roma: Officina, 1997), pp. 9-32
- Connors, Joseph, 'Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 25 (1989), pp. 207-94
- Cozzi, Gaetano, *Ambiente veneziano, ambiente veneto. Saggi su politica, società, cultura nella Repubblica di Venezia in età moderna* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1997)
- Dolcetta, Bruno, 'Il Palazzo nella struttura urbana di Padova', in *Il Palazzo della Ragione di Padova. La storia, l'architettura, il restauro*, ed. by Ettore Vio (Padova: Signum, 2008), pp. 121-39

¹⁹ Vives, *Restituire la città alla città*; and his contribution to this volume.

- Fabbriche, piazze, mercati. La città italiana nel Rinascimento*, ed. by Donatella Calabi (Roma: Officina, 1997)
- Foscari, Antonio and Tafuri, Manfredo, *L'armonia e i conflitti. La chiesa di San Francesco della Vigna nella Venezia del '500* (Torino: Einaudi, 1983)
- Itinerario per la Terraferma veneziana*, ed. by Gian Maria Varanini (Roma: Viella, 2014)
- Lotz, Wolfgang, *Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1976)
- Melchiorre, Matteo, *Conoscere per governare. Le relazioni dei Sindici inquisitori e il dominio veneziano in terraferma (1543-1626)* (Udine: Forum, 2013)
- Palladio, Andrea, *The Four Books on Architecture*, translated by Robert Tavernor and Richard Schofield (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002)
- Romano, Dennis, 'City-State and Empire', in *Venice and the Veneto*, ed. by Peter Humfrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 9-30
- Lo spazio nelle città venete, 1348-1509: urbanistica e architettura, monumenti e piazze, decorazione e rappresentazione*, atti del 1° Convegno nazionale di studio, Verona, 14-16 dicembre 1995, edited by Enrico Guidoni and Ugo Soragni (Roma: Kappa, 1997)
- Svalduz, Elena, 'Palazzi pubblici: i luoghi di governo e le sedi dell'amministrazione cittadina', in *Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa*, 6 vols (Treviso: Angelo Colla, 2005-10), vol. VI, *Luoghi, spazi, architetture*, ed. by Donatella Calabi and Elena Svalduz (2010), pp. 125-58
- Svalduz, Elena, 'The Minor Courts of the Po Valley', in *Courts and Courtly Arts in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Marco Folini (Milano: Officina Libraria, 2010), pp. 203-17
- Toffolo, Sandra, *Describing the City, Describing the State: Representations of Venice and the Venetian Terraferma in the Renaissance* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020)
- Tosco, Carlo, 'L'architettura delle Repubbliche nel tardo Medioevo italiano', *Studi e Ricerche di Storia dell'Architettura Rivista dell'Associazione Italiana Storici dell'Architettura*, II (2018), pp. 8-43
- Vives, Antoni i Tomàs, *Restituire la città alla città. La sfida dell'urbanizzazione nel XXI secolo* (Padova: Padova University Press, 2018)
- Zaggia, Stefano, 'Ornamenti e memoria. Divagazioni su città, piazze, monumenti: l'arco di Falconetto in Piazza dei Signori a Padova', in *Lo spazio narrabile. Scritti di storia della città in onore di Donatella Calabi*, ed. by Rosa Tamborrino and Guido Zucconi (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2014), pp. 75-82

Houses and Workshops in Seventeenth-Century Padua. Research Hypotheses through the *Inquisizioni**

Andrea Caracausi, Umberto Signori

Introduction

One of the major urban centres of the Veneto hinterland, between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the city of Padua was characterised by the presence of numerous productive and commercial activities, supported also by the presence of one of the most important universities in Europe. During the sixteenth century in particular, demographic increase – an essential characteristic of many urban economies – was in full swing. The consequences of the war of the League of Cambrai (1509-1516), the recurring plague epidemics and frequent famines had a strong negative impact; however, within thirty years the city began to repopulate again, reaching a total of 34,075 inhabitants in 1548, 2,056 of whom lived in the *Termini*, houses located outside the city walls but included in the city from an administrative and fiscal point of view.¹ The demographic growth was therefore intense, even though the subsequent plague of San Carlo (1576-1577) caused more than 12,000 victims in total.² The threshold

* Although the result of a joint work, paragraph 1 is by Andrea Caracausi, while paragraphs 2-3-4 are by Umberto Signori.

¹ For data on Paduan demography and social economic context, see Caracausi, *Dentro la "bottega"*.

² Biblioteca Civica di Padova, Ms. BP 147, *Storia di PD dal 1562 al 1621*, cc. 155, seventeenth century.

of 35,000 souls was already reached at the beginning of the seventeenth century, although shortly thereafter the new Manzoni plague caused great losses to the city. In 1632 there were only 12,122 inhabitants, down to a third of the total of just ten years earlier.

During this century and a half, the city underwent several economic transformations. Firstly, there was an increase in activities linked to the food sector, trade and catering, a sign of the progressive specialisation of the urban economy in the service sector. The importance of the tertiary sector is evident not only through the increase in the number of merchants, who sold a wide range of products, or of innkeepers, who provided accommodation or lodging, but also in the number of artisans and shopkeepers who were only apparently of lesser importance, such as stable renters and horse hirers, vendors of ice, painters and sellers of books or musical instruments. These sectors became more and more fundamental due to the requirements for social distinction between the local nobility, the Venetian patrician class and a rapidly growing merchant class and, above all, due to the presence of the already mentioned local university. Already in the mid-sixteenth century the *podestà* Bernardo Navagero noted that the *Studium patavinum* contributed to keeping the level of duties high and to employing many craftsmen «giving them a way to live», calculating – according to his very personal estimate – a considerable spin-off income in the order of 100,000 ducats a year.³

Various changes can also be seen within the various sectors. In the textile sector, for example, the old woollen industry remained intact, accompanied by an increase in other processes linked to the silk industry, in particular the production of trimmings. Still in the wool sector, instead, the main change is the passage from a production centred on the manufacturing of cloths and bonnets to one including a wider range of fabrics, such as knitwear and hats. Apart from economic considerations, the phenomenon greatly affected the presence and distribution of production and commercial activities. The decrease in the number of drapers' shops (retailers) was compensated for by the increase in the number of merchants' shops, which now sold knitted garments or other fabrics, such as *zambellotti* and Flanders cloth. Another consequence was the decrease (if not the complete disappearance) of the urban weaver's shops, against an increase in rural areas, albeit limited.

In an essay published in 2009, one of the authors of the present chapter had proposed a study on the mobility of productive and commercial activities within the city neighbourhoods.⁴ The investigation was based on the analysis of the

³ *Relazioni dei rettori veneti in Terraferma*, p. 24.

⁴ Caracausi, "Stazi e botteghe".

libri delle fraglie (literally «books of the brotherhoods»), presented on the occasion of the general censuses of 1562 and 1668. The wardens of each guild had to provide the authorities with a list of members, which would later be compared with the relevant *polizze d'estimo* (property tax records) and with the *inquisizioni* (inspections) in the various houses and shops.⁵ These sources showed some limitations. The research project «From noble palaces to university seats. New models of study and representation of the architectural heritage of the University of Padua»,⁶ focused on the study of the Palazzi Contarini, Luzzato Dina, Mocenigo and Sala Francesconi, today seats of the University, making it possible to start a more in-depth research on these issues from a historical and urban point of view, extending the considerations relating to the productive and commercial environment to the residential one in a broader sense. The insertion and the quantitative analysis of the data preserved in the *estimi* holding of the State Archives of Padua concerning the properties of the seventeenth century were the main tools used to conduct the investigation. In particular, in this initial phase this analysis focused on the information concerning the Duomo quarter (*quartiere*) and the parishes of Santa Sofia, San Massimo and San Lorenzo, areas where the buildings that were the object of the research project are located. In the following pages we will present the initial results of the ongoing research.

The Source: The Registers of the *Inquisizioni* for the *Estimi*

The registers of the «*inquisizioni* of city houses» are particularly suitable for collecting data on Paduan property. Like the property tax records, the *inquisizioni* or inspections also had the aim of recording the property income of a territory for tax purposes.⁷ However, unlike the sources for the *estimi*, inquisitorial registers did not follow the boundaries of tax privileges, which distinguished people between «exempt», «non-exempt» and «Veneto» (i.e. Venetian). These registers were not compiled respecting the logic of the different corporate bodies of the city, clergy and territory that made up the social fabric of Padua. Nor were they drawn up on the basis of the documents presented by the owners concerning their income from property. The inquisitorial registers, in other words, did not directly take into account either the fiscal quality of the properties or the direct testimony of their owners. They recorded all property

⁵ Cherubini, «Artigiani e salariati», p. 717; Lanaro, «Le botteghe e la città», p. 104.

⁶ Conducted since December 2018, the research was promoted by the Department of Cultural Heritage of the University of Padua and coordinated by Elena Svalduz.

⁷ Vigato, «Gli estimi padovani»; Alfani and Caracausi, «Struttura della proprietà e concentrazione della ricchezza».

in a neighbourhood that could potentially have generated a profit, whether the possessors enjoyed tax exemption or claimed to have no rents.

The 'inquisitorial' registers were made in the joint names of all three «presidents» of the *estimo*, that is, the landowners representing the corporate bodies (of the city, the clergy and the territory) that fiscally constituted the various neighbourhood communities. These presidents then drew up an *estimetto* in which they assigned estimates of the rents of the properties on the basis of the records of the inspections, taking into account, however, the tax privileges of the owners. In investigating the veracity of the policies submitted by the owners of the properties, the presidents thus reproduced the language of the tax hierarchy of the *estimo*. In contrast, the 'inquisitorial' procedure previously operated by the commission officers focused on recording the income earned by the property through the testimony of third parties, regardless of the social status of the possessor. Indeed, the register of the inspection of the *estimo* of 1668 relating to the Duomo quarter states that the notary of the commission proceeded to register «house by house» on the basis of «notes produced by reverend parish priests». The notes of the parish priests were in any case formed by the declarations of those who «held» (*tenere*) in rent or «inhabited» the properties under investigation, or in case of their absence by their relatives, agents or neighbours.⁸

Moreover, based on the testimony of those who «held» or «inhabited» these buildings, the inspections recorded both the houses «that are held (*tenute*) for [personal] use» and those «rented». The principle of registering all property⁹ that could have yielded an income for the owner was therefore reaffirmed, even if at the time of registration the property was not rented out, either on a *livello* basis (the right of use of the building was recognised to the tenant) or under the rarer emphyteusis contract (upon payment of a fee, the user enjoyed the tenure of the building, but not of the land). In some cases it is in fact possible to find that the registration of a property was accompanied by the annotation «solita affittarsi» (customarily rented).¹⁰

The fiscal subdivision of the city's *estimo* was represented by quarters and *centenari* (a term of medieval origins to indicate a group of 100 houses). In the 'inquisitorial' registers of the quarters of Ponte Altinate, Ponte Molino and Torricelle the subdivision between *centenaro* and parish overlapped almost system-

⁸ Archivio di Stato di Padova (henceforth ASPd), Estimo 1668, b. 624, Inquisizioni città; Saviolo, *Compendio delle origini*, p. 125.

⁹ Mainly buildings, also for commercial or productive use, while the registration of vegetable gardens and gardens not dependent on buildings is very rare.

¹⁰ Some examples in ASPd, Estimo 1615, b. 288, Centenaro S. Sofia, notes 773, 829.

atically, so that the names of the centenarians were dictated by the names of the parishes (with the sole exception of the *centenaro* of San Giacomo, in the quarter of Ponte Molino, which also included the *centenaro* of Codalunga).¹¹ In the Duomo quarter, however, within the *centenaro* of the same name, six different parish priests were noted, each with his own jurisdiction, thus denoting a further subdivision of the inspections with respect to the *estimi*. And this subdivision confirms precisely which was the main instrument on which these inspections were based, i.e. the annotations of the parish priests, who in the *estimo* of 1615 also reported the total number of souls residing in the properties registered under their jurisdiction.

These records show the importance that the inspections attached to those possessing the usufruct of the property that is, the owners. The officers of the commissions accompanied the description of the property with the annotation of the name of the person who «possesses/has» the property, or of whom has the «use» of the property, not to be confused with the person who «held» or «inhabited» it. However, this possessor does not fully coincide with the figure of the owner in modern liberal societies, where the cornerstone of private, exclusive and individual property is in force. Early modern European societies instead foresaw the existence of more than one owner of the same property and the presence of a multiplicity of ways of owning property.¹² In the ‘inquisitorial’ procedure, therefore, the owners of the tenure of property were considered to be the ones most responsible for taxation. Indeed, they were the ones who had to declare their property income by submitting a document which was collected in the registers of the *estimi*. This was due to the fact that the owner of the right of use of the property was the one who had the most power over the property and who was most likely to receive an income from it.¹³ In the alphabetical index placed at the end (in the inspection of 1615) or at the beginning (in those of 1668) of the registers dedicated precisely to these owners, the officers referred to them as the «patroni» (owners) of the houses and buildings. Moreover, although the inspection was indifferent to the social status of the «patroni», the registers faithfully indicated their appellation: «eccellentissimo signor kavalier», «clarissima signora», «molto reverendo don» or «illustrissimo signor conte» were titles that clearly indicated the social and fiscal status of the owners.

¹¹ ASPd, Estimo 1615, b. 290, Centenaro S. Giacomo and Codalunga.

¹² Grossi, *La proprietà e le proprietà*; Barbot, ‘Per una storia economica della proprietà dissociata’.

¹³ Simple tenants did have the capacity to use a property for a limited time and to sublet it (a right recognised in the documents by the action of «tenere» or «habitare»), but this did not imply a participation in the sphere of property such as to result into ownership of the right to use the building under contract (i.e. the right to «possess»).

The care taken in the registration of the names of the tenants, subtenants or emphyteutas was certainly less and their names are sometimes absent. An alphabetical index listing them is also absent. The sum paid to the «patron» in accordance with the lease contract had always to be indicated, as well as the sum that the possessor would have had to pay to eventual emphyteutas; the possessor of the tenure was in fact considered responsible for the payment of taxes on this income.

An exceptional case, however, is the ghetto of Padua, where property income in this case was not the subject of testimony by the parish priests. Although they lived and exercised a profession in buildings belonging to Christian owners in exchange for the payment of rent, the Jews of the ghetto were registered in the inspections as owners of the property. This is due to the fact that they were probably held responsible for taxes on property rents earned by landlords.¹⁴

The officers of the commission of the *inquisizione* therefore continued the annotation methodically quarter by quarter, parish by parish, and property by property so as not to omit any property that could give rise to a taxable income. Religious and public buildings (churches, the port, the tax chamber, the prisons, the guardroom of the square, etc.) were also recorded, but since they were not income-producing buildings their annotation was rather summary, especially as regards the houses attached to them. Each registered property was framed in the territory of one of the four quarters (Duomo, Ponte Altinate, Ponte Molino, Torricelle), provided with a progressive number, located within parish jurisdictions, and registered with the indications relative to the name of the owner/«patron», to the type of property (house, shop, vegetable garden, mill...), to the destination of use (rent or sublease, use or dwelling by the possessor, concession), the eventual tenant, subtenant, concessionaire or emphyteuta and the consequent payment of a fee constituting the rent subject to tax. These criteria for the creation of 'inquisitorial' registers therefore guarantee their reliability and comprehensiveness.

The Realisation of the Database

The 'inquisitorial' registers for the 1615 *estimo* covering the Duomo quarter and the parishes of Santa Sofia, San Massimo and San Lorenzo provided the

¹⁴ ASPd, Estimo 1615, b. 292, Descrittioni del ghetto degli hebrei. In general, Jews were strictly forbidden to own property or land. In 1602, however, they were granted access to «possession of the use only of the plots» as «patroni». This resulted into the right of the Jews to intervene in the buildings and to freely dispose of these properties. Possession, however, could not be confused with the right of ownership, which always belonged to Christians: Saviolo, *Compendio delle origini et relazione*, p. 126; Zaggia, *Lo spazio interdetto*, pp. 14, 19-20, 35, 58, 60, 62.

information for the creation of a database (Padua_1615). An Excel table has absorbed all the data and includes 2,360 lines, corresponding to 2,359 main property units registered, regardless of the presence of any annex building (often shops or rooms). According to the parish priests' notes, a total of 13,599 individuals resided in these buildings out of a total of 34,811 inhabitants in the entire city.¹⁵ Within the Duomo quarter, the six parish priests who had jurisdiction over the parish of the same name attested to the presence of 5,170 people living in the 826 buildings registered with this inspection. This parish was therefore the most populous in the city. By way of comparison, another Excel table of 727 lines shows the data of the 'inquisitorial' registers of the 1668 inspections concerning just the Duomo parish. The difference in the number of buildings recorded between the two inspections is probably due to the decrease of buildings classifiable as income-producing and therefore worthy of note (for instance, 23 buildings for religious and public use recorded in 1615 against 6 in 1668, 60 properties given in exclusive concession in 1615 while 49 are recorded in the following inspection).

These tables include five types of information: the number assigned by the inspectors to each property, the location of that property, the parish priest under whose jurisdiction the property was located (useful data especially for the Duomo parish), the property and finally on any notes in the margin of the document. As for the location of the property, we have indicated the neighbourhood and the parish of reference, which in the 'inquisitorial' registers represent the main subdivisions of the city. If indicated in the registers, for each property we have also inserted the data relating to the districts (*contrade*) or hamlets (*borghi*) of reference, while we have systematically taken note of any indications such as the boundaries with other districts, if the property was at an angle or if it was located near or in front of other buildings. With regard to the registered property, on the other hand, the type of property was indicated (i.e. whether it was a *palazzo*, dwelling, stable, warehouse, or land such as fields and vegetable gardens), any annex building and the intended use. In order to standardise the information regarding the type of property, this data was then reworked and classified into different categories, distinguishing in particular between public, religious and private buildings with residential or commercial/production purposes. Data on their intended use were also standardised, differentiating between property used by the owner and property given in concession, rented, or used for a mixed, dedicated to religious or institutional purposes.

Therefore, a third Excel table was created with information on the owners («patroni»), the possible tenants of each property (those who "holds" or "inhab-

¹⁵ For total estimates of parish priests, see: ASPd, Estimo 1615, b. 289, cc. nn., b. 290, cc. 158v, b. 291, c. 127r, b. 292, cc. nn.

it”), the amount foreseen by the rental contract, and any emphyteutic leases or «censi» weighing on the properties. These data were classified in such a way as to allow the precise identification of the various holders of rights on property (owners, tenants and sub-tenants, concessionaires and any emphyteutas) through the assignment of a unique code, taking particular care not to assign different identification codes to subjects whose names could be repeated in the same categories (e.g. owners who owned several properties) or different ones (e.g. owners who paid rent for other properties). In addition to the first name, surname, patronymic and gender of each person, what makes it easiest to classify the various figures in the database are the professions exercised (subject to standardisation through the use of codes taken from the “historical international classification of occupations”), the marital status (widow, wife, *uxor nomine*, heirs) and the appellative (useful especially for the social classification of ecclesiastics, noblemen from Padua and Venetian patricians). In this way the various individuals who possessed rights of use, abuse or usufruct towards registered property can be classified into different types, distinguishing in particular different social categories or individuals from institutions. As for the identification of the owners, carried out first, the alphabetical indexes of the «patroni» present at the end (or at the beginning in the case of the 1668 inspection) of each quarter register and containing the total indication of their property in the reference neighbourhood were also used. We then proceeded to the identification of the other registered subjects by linking the data collected from the different quarters and relating to each individual in such a way as to provide any owners of various rights to properties scattered in different parts of the city with a single identification code.

The re-processing of the data of the 1615 inspection confirms that, among the buildings registered as principal, those used for commercial and artisanal production (mostly shops and stalls, to which taverns could be added) were located mainly in the parish of San Clemente (43.37%) and in that of Santa Lucia (18.88%); namely where the market squares are located. However, if we analyse the data regarding the buildings where similar commercial activities were registered as annexes, we can see that the most representative jurisdictions were the parish of San Lorenzo (26.98%) and that of the Duomo (23.75%).¹⁶ Finally, information concerning the activities of buildings with a productive and commercial vocation, rarely present in the inspection, can be deduced from the annotations pertaining to the occupation of the tenants.¹⁷

¹⁶ In these parishes, businesses were registered as principal properties at 12.05% in San Lorenzo and 15.26% in Duomo, respectively.

¹⁷ 78.31% of shops registered as main property were leased, while rental contracts show 66.86%

Despite the fact that the reworking has some limits in detecting agricultural activities, since the extension and the profitability of vegetable gardens and gardens are not taken into account, the result makes it possible to identify where land ownership could have generated more frequently property incomes among the investigated parishes. The highest values are from the Duomo parish (31.82%: the lands were located especially in the area behind the cathedral itself, from the borgo «todesco» up to via Vescovado and the entrance with *ponte* San Giovanni delle Navi) and in that of Santa Sofia (30.91%). It is not by chance that these parishes also hosted the highest number of larger buildings (big houses and *palazzo*) and of churches compared to the other parishes studied (35.37% of these buildings were located in Santa Sofia and 28.05% in the Duomo), a characteristic which could confirm the difference in focus with regard land rents in these areas compared to the areas with a greater commercial vocation.

According to the 'inquisitorial' data of 1615, of the 2,359 main registered properties with relative annexes, 63.71% were held in rent, 20.39% were kept for the exclusive use of the «patron», while the remaining percentage was mainly conducted in mixed use (part in rent and part in use by the «patron», or in part rented out and the rest given in concession, or again property used by the *patron* but partly given in concession) or given wholly in concession. The number of owners was small (1,155), both with respect to the number of properties registered (2,359) and to the total number of individuals residing in those parishes (13,599). Buildings indicated for public use (0.93%) or for celebrating religious services (0.68%) are, of course, an unrepresentative part of the property in the town.

Finally, if we compare the two inspections of 1615 and 1668 concerning the Duomo parish, we can see that during the course of the century the percentage of tenants increases moderately (61.27% against 64.63%) with a consequent slight decrease in the percentage of properties used exclusively by «patron» families (from 21.30% to 18.29%).¹⁸

Future Research

The Padua_1615 database created with the *Inquisizioni* therefore appears to be a rich instrument for the history not only of the built heritage of the University and of the context within which they were located, but also of the economic

when businesses were listed as annex buildings to other buildings (plus a 13.78% classified as mixed use).

¹⁸ Buildings for religious and public use have been excluded in the calculation of this percentage, since in the inspection of 1668 the number of churches and property employed directly by the government had drastically decreased.

and social history of the city. At the current state of research, the data included make it possible on the one hand to frame the seventeenth-century vocation of the area where the buildings now belonging to the University were located, and on the other hand to understand better the symbolic value of owning a site with which prestigious and influential families had identified themselves for generations. In the case of Palazzo Luzzatto Dina, where the Department of Historical and Geographic Sciences and the Ancient World is located nowadays, for example, we learn that in 1615 the various houses owned by the noble Selvatico family and later united in a single building were mostly rented out. The «casa granda», which constituted the central and residential nucleus of the noble family's possessions, was, however, subject to an emphyteutic agreement. An emphyteutic agreement characterised the residential property of the Selvatico counts also in the 1668 inspection, that is, after the joining of the various houses into a single *palazzo*. Similar analyses can now be easily carried out not only for the other *palazzi* investigated, but also for the less representative university buildings located in these areas.

Future activities may integrate this database with information on other parishes in the city where the university's properties are located. It will also be possible to standardise the distinction between nobility, clergy, and non-privileged, as well as between individuals and institutions, in order to analyse the distribution of the properties of the various social groups. From a social and economic point of view, this will make it possible further to enhance the analysis of the distinction already made between property for the use of the owner from rented property, and buildings for productive and commercial use from those for residential or land use.

A further step could be to link the database information to a spatial unit on a map using Geographic Information Systems (GIS). The cartographic support used could be the map of Padua by Giovanni Valle (1779-1784). Its realisation would allow the fast production of thematic maps to evaluate different hypotheses, rather than just limiting itself to a mere illustrative function. The results would initially highlight the contrast between the central area, such as the Duomo parish with a dense, regular and ancient urbanisation, and the area a little further out, such as the parish of Santa Sofia, with more rural, irregular characteristics and a lower population density. In addition to the possibility of a precise location of property, GIS would allow a quick understanding of the distribution of properties that became the property of the University of Padua at a later time. Such a tool would also allow us to understand if the spaces occupied by the University afterwards were mostly linked to the commercial and hand-craft activities of the city (mainly represented by the shops and the properties

of the guilds) which, together with the institutions of power, were those located in the most central and accessible areas, or to agricultural activities (the vegetable gardens and fields that still occupied an important part of the city's land), to ecclesiastical properties (churches or monasteries), to places of worship and hospitals, to residential buildings owned by the nobility (large houses and palaces), to rented property or property for the use of the owner. The GIS created with the information from the database would therefore make it possible to assess whether there were precise urban investment strategies on the part of the University of Padua, and whether these were guided by an economic logic (the purchase of property generating a income or in any case providing a source of funds) or by geographical criteria (the search for a socially distinct neighbourhood or proximity to institutions).

Bibliography

- Alfani, Guido and Caracausi, Andrea, 'Struttura della proprietà e concentrazione della ricchezza in ambiente urbano: Ivrea e Padova, secoli XV-XVII', in *Ricchezza, Valore, Proprietà in Età Preindustriale, 1400-1850*, ed. by Guido Alfani and Michela Barbot (Venezia: Marsilio, 2009), pp. 188-91
- Barbot, Michela, 'Per una storia economica della proprietà dissociata. Efficacia e scomparsa di un "altro modo di possedere" (Milano, XVI-XVII secolo)', *Materiali per una storia della cultura giuridica, Rivista fondata da Giovanni Tarello*, 1 (2008), pp. 33-62
- Caracausi, Andrea, *Dentro la "bottega". Impresa e mercato del lavoro in età moderna (Padova, Arte della lana, secc. XVI-XVII)*, Ph.D. thesis in Economic and Social History, XVIII cycle, "Luigi Bocconi" Business University of Milan, academic year 2005-2006
- Caracausi, Andrea, 'Stazi e botteghe fra regolamentazione urbana e forze di mercato (Padova, s. XVI-XVII)', *Cheiron*, 52 (2009), pp. 29-46
- Cherubini, Giovanni, 'Artigiani e salariati nelle città italiane del tardo Medioevo', in *Aspetti della vita economica medievale*, Atti del convegno di studi del 10° anniversario della morte di Federigo Melis, Firenze, Università degli Studi di Firenze, 1985, pp. 707-27
- Grossi, Paolo, *La proprietà e le proprietà nell'officina dello storico* (Napoli: Editore Scientifico, 2006)
- Lanaro, Paola, 'Le botteghe e la città. Artigiani e luogo di lavoro a Verona (secolo XV)', in *Lo spazio nelle città venete, 1348-1509: urbanistica e architettura, monumenti e piazze, decorazione e rappresentazione*, atti del 1° Convegno nazionale di studio, Verona, 14-16 dicembre 1995, edited by Enrico Guidoni and Ugo Soragni (Roma: Kappa, 1997), pp. 101-12

Relazioni dei rettori veneti in Terraferma, IV, Podestaria e Capitanato di Padova
(Milano: Istituto di Storia economica dell'Università di Trieste, 1975)

Saviolo, Pietro, *Compendio delle origini et relazione delli estimi della città di Padova* (Padua: per gli Heredi di Paolo Erambotto, 1667)

Vigato, Mauro, 'Gli estimi padovani tra XVI e XVII secolo', *Società e storia*, 43 (1989), pp. 45-82

Zaggia, Stefano, *Lo spazio interdetto: il ghetto ebraico di Padova. Saggio di storia urbana* (Padova: Padova University Press, 2020)

Late Victorian Market Buildings as the Ideal for The New Museum of London at West Smithfield

Sharon Ament

Summary

In spring 2015 artist Grayson Perry unveiled the potential site of a new Museum of London at the North West edge of the City of London known as West Smithfield. Since that moment the collective efforts and energies of thousands of people have created an exciting plan that will locate the museum in a campus of buildings that have lain empty for over thirty years. Described by Julian Harrop (Conservation Architect) as: «the last ruin in London», the General Market, Annexe and West Poultry Avenue, together with the Poultry Market,¹ are a set of historic market buildings that are proving to be highly adaptable and ideally suited to culture and the mechanics of being a museum. It is the very nature of the market, in its design, location and intent that enables the core purpose of The Museum of London to be expressed and ultimately delivered as *London's Shared Place, in the middle of it all* where we *enrich the understanding and appreciation of London and all its people - past present and future*. This paper is the story of the recreation of The Museum of London or perhaps a better description is the creation of a new museum with London. It is a story in the making, one that

¹ For the purposes of this paper this range of buildings and roads that will comprise the Museum of London with associated development is called the West Smithfield Museum Campus.

will never finish, as London is never finished. It is a story of unexpected delights and discoveries, it is a story of coincidence and crafting, of curation and design, it is a story of intelligence and emotions and, ultimately one of how a market can shape a museum creating opportunities that exquisitely express new ideals of contemporary museology (fig. 31).

Introduction

Wandering back in time across the ages from March 2015 when the decision to relocate to West Smithfield was taken by The Museum of London's Board of Governors – to when the Romans navigated a tributary of the Thames that is now known as The Fleet River – a rich story unfolds of a place that is rooted in the public consciousness. A place of many events and some turbulence. A place outside the walls of the City of London. A Roman burial site, medieval jousting fields,² a place of healing and worship, a meeting place, a place of ferment and disorder and notably a place where people came together to buy and sell goods. Significantly, from the twelfth century it was the location of St Bartholomew Fair, one of the two then most important fairs in England. The Fair took place around 24 August each year and included a cloth fair, after which streets are still named to this day and whilst the great St Bartholomew Fair is no longer, a legacy in the form of the August Bank Holiday delightfully remains.

Within the area of Smithfield St Bartholomew's Hospital (the oldest hospital in Britain) was founded in 1123 and at the time of writing this paper preparations are underway to celebrate its 900th anniversary. Because it was a large open space, described as a «rude, vast place» it was used for all manner of public spectacle. The open fields of Smooth Field as it was known, became a site of public executions of martyrs of all denominations and of political «opponents or dissidents».³ William Wallace the leading figure in the first war of Scottish Independence was one. He was executed on 23 August 1305 and has a monument in his honour located on the walls opposite The Smithfield Rotunda Garden. It is now a place of pilgrimage for many Scots.

Smithfield has many layers and has much to its credit. It is a place that embodies innovation, creativity and commerce, for example it is traversed by the world's first underground train line. The Metropolitan Railway opened in January 1863 running between Paddington and Farringdon. It saw the early

² I am grateful to Emma Levitt who gave the 2019 Smithfield Annual Lecture, *Royal Tournaments at Smithfield (1350-1470)*.

³ *British History Online*, Chapter XLII for an overview of Smithfield: Smithfield | British History Online (british-history.ac.uk).

adoption of a number of new technologies. Refrigeration was one example. In 1899 the Red House was opened and operating as a cold store for the Fish Market as London Central Markets Cold Storage Co Ltd and close by at Holborn Viaduct the first coal-fired power station called the Edison Electric Light Station opened in 1882.

Over the centuries Smithfield has also been a place of entertainment and pleasure. Today is perhaps most famous for the nightclub Fabric and it retains an array of pubs and eateries, cafés (such as the evocative Beppe's Café) and bars. At night, it buzzes with the sounds chattering people out on the pavements drinking and of the Central Meat Market gearing up for the night's trade.

Above all it is this trade, the sale of meat and poultry, that Smithfield is now known, as Greg Lawrence Chairman of the Smithfield Market Traders Association (SMTA)⁴ described to me: «Smithfield is known across the world to be the most influential and perhaps the most famous of all meat markets».

Now Smithfield, along with the City of London Corporation's other wholesale markets, Billingsgate and New Spitalfields, is being lined up to move out of the centre of London to a more modern, consolidated site in the London Borough of Barking & Dagenham. A borough on the edge of Greater London, with what is considered by city planners to be more adequate and appropriate transport links on a site that will enable the creation of a modern state-of-the-art integrated market facility.

Innovation and change continues apace and Smithfield is set to evolve once more at the centre of London, with the Museum as the catalyst.

The unfolding development of the New Museum Project has revealed something unexpected and profoundly significant. It is that there could be no better place to create a new museum with London than in the collection of buildings known for the purposes of this paper as the West Smithfield Market Campus.

Recent History & The New Museum Project Development

The recent history of the General Market and Annexe is one of turbulence. The buildings are owned and managed by the City of London Corporation,⁵ which is the local government of the City of London. After designating, the buildings as being *surplus to requirements* the City of London Corporation were able to repurpose them for other uses. The right to develop the site was sold, firstly to developers Thornfield Properties who lost a planning battle in 2008.

⁴ www.smithfieldmarket.com/the-market/tenants-association the representative body for the 60 plus meat traders at Smithfield

⁵ See Travers, *London's Boroughs at 50*.

TIAA Henderson then developed a scheme that was fought by the heritage conservation groups SAVE and The Victorian Society who won their battle in court on 8 July 2014. The Minister for Planning Nick Boles said the benefits of the (TIAA Henderson) scheme «were not enough to outweigh the potential harm to an area of such historic value» and the Minister Eric Pickles considered that the alternative proposal for use put forward by SAVE «would be possible, viable and deliverable». This meant that the City of London Corporation had to find an alternative use for a set of heritage buildings.

As the new Director of the Museum of London (from September 2012) I had been determined to improve the buildings at London Wall in which a large proportion of the London Collection is stored or on display. I had begun to consider a new masterplan for London Wall and had reignited an enthusiasm for the Museum within the City of London Corporation Members. The strength of the London Collection, some 7.5 million objects, and the power of displaying them became evident in *The Cheapside Hoard Exhibition* that opened in October 2013. Visitors flocked to the exhibition, which attracted international publicity, acclaim and sponsorship. The City of London Corporation took notice and in their inimitable style came up with an exciting and very ambitious proposition that was put to me in September 2014 by Nicolas Gill of the City Surveyors Department; to relocate the whole Museum from London Wall to West Smithfield.

The City of London Corporation being landlord of our 150 London Wall site as well as owning the General Market, formally proposed to The Museum of London Board of Governors that they consider relocating to the site in West Smithfield. A winning proposition all round; with a new use for the General Market and Annexe; a new and more appropriate home for the Museum of London; the regeneration of an unused part of the City and a great cultural offer that met the ambitions of those who had campaigned to save the buildings. Moreover, with the funds released from London Wall the scheme made economic sense.

The first step in the process was to establish the basis upon which such a momentous decision could be made. We were determined to do things “the right way” basing any decision on analysis and whatever evidence we could find. So an appraisal of the comparative strengths of the Smithfield and the London Wall sites was commissioned, it considered two options; a retrofitted General Market and Annexe at West Smithfield to house the Museum and a new-build to house the Museum on London Wall in a mixed development. Under the snappy title; *Museum’s Site Options Appraisal Exercise*, it was published on 11 February 2015.

All of our initial instincts that Smithfield would be a wonderful place to be for the Museum of London was born out by the analysis and deliberations of the Panel that assessed the findings.

Chaired by Museum Board Governor Evan Davis the Panel comprised of experts drawn from the Museum's Board with external input. Panel members were: Sally Balcombe, Lord Paul Boateng, Simon Fanshawe OBE, Dominic Reid OBE, Professor Sir Rick Trainor, Professor Ricky Burdett CBE and Justin King CBE.

Analysis to inform the decision, was undertaken by BOP Consulting and Whetsone Strategy Consultants. They considered each site, its location, transport links, attractiveness to visitors, costs and overall potential as a Museum. Architects John McAslan & Partners undertook a feasibility of the London Wall and Smithfield sites and cost consultants Turner & Townsend considered potential costs. The panel made a recommendation to the Board and a decision was taken at the meeting of the 11 March 2015.

Decision: The Board of Governors of the Museum of London decided that the Smithfield General Market complex (West Smithfield) presents the most favourable option for the location of the museum. The Museum Executive are mandated to continue to explore this option considering the conditions for such a move and reach a conclusion in line with the draft Heads of Terms. If conditions are such that the Smithfield site option does not proceed, the Board's view is that a redevelopment of the existing museum building would be the next best option.⁶

Between 2015 and the date of this article the complex process of creating a new museum in a set of historic market buildings began and has continued since, only pausing for a few weeks as a result of the pandemic of 2020.

The Museum set up a team lead by David Spence Director of Transformation, he was joined later by Alec Shaw Project Director and Programme Director Laura Wilkinson.

Between 2015 and 2021 robust mechanisms were set up to oversee the governance of the project, funding has been aligned and important milestones have been met.

Perhaps the most defining achievement was the appointment of the architectural team who have proven to be the perfect choice in their match with the Museum Team and through their understanding of the buildings and the needs of contemporary culture. How they have articulated a vision for a museum and created a set of exquisitely meaningful spaces that responds perfectly to the brief is both joyful and inspiring.

⁶ Minute of the meeting of The Board of Governors of the Museum of London 11/3/2015.

Architects Stanton Williams, Asif Kahn and Julian Harrap, with landscape designers J+L Gibbons were appointed from an international competition. They began work in 2017. A New Museum Board was established chaired, in a non-executive capacity, by David Camp CEO of Stanhope PLC. A governance structure was approved. Funding has been agreed with the two primary institutional funders, City of London Corporation, the Greater London Authority (GLA) and a fundraising campaign has been launched to raise £70m, at the time of writing £36.5 million has been pledged. Over 25,000 people have been engaged in various consultations about the project. We achieved planning consent in the summer of 2020. The first major gallery space *Our Time* is being designed with exhibition designers Atelier Brückner. We have begun the *Preparation and Move Project* in anticipation of closing down London Wall and relocating the collections from its stores. RIBA Stage 4 has completed and a number of significant works on the site are underway or have been completed by building contractors; PAYE and more recently Keltbray.

What we have learned is that it takes thousands and thousands of hours of intense work to create a museum of this scale in such a set of long unused market buildings. So far it's absorbed the passion and creativity of more than 300 people and 43 companies. It is an enormous endeavour driven hard through the strong partnership of the Museum and the Design Team, the City of London Corporation, the GLA and most importantly with the people of London. We can see the excitement that the project elicits and it is this, which drives all those who are working on it. This passion ensured the project has maintained momentum even during a global pandemic (fig. 32).

History of the Buildings

The buildings that comprise West Smithfield Museum Campus are on the western end of a series of meat markets in Smithfield, they run parallel to Farringdon Road. It is a complex, multi-layered historic site and is within the Smithfield Conservation Area. This is an evocative part of London that is described as having a unique character derived from a long and colourful history, the diversity of built form and uses, a rich townscape with great contrasts of scale and a large concentration of historic buildings.⁷

There has been a meat market at Smithfield for some 900 years and it was the conditions of the live meat market, to which cattle were driven and then slaughtered for sale, that Charles Dickens describes in *Oliver Twist* published in 1838.

⁷ City of London Corporation, Smithfield Conservation Area, Character Summary & Management Strategy SPD.

It was a market morning. The ground was covered nearly ankle deep with filth and mire; and a thick steam perpetually rising from the reeking bodies of the cattle, and mingling with the fog, which seemed to rest upon the chimney tops, hung heavily above.

In 1855 the live meat market was shut down and 13 years later a magnificent banquet took place in the aptly named Grand Avenue to mark the opening of the East & West Central Markets. I hope the evening of the 24 November 1868 was mild in temperature as Grand Avenue was designed for the hygienic flow of cool air by being open at either end.

The events and machinations of the years between 1855 and 1868 that saw the creation of the of what we know today as the «East & West Central Markets» are representative of any major contemporary urban development. It wasn't until the late 1890's that the General Market and Annexe were built and the full potential of the whole market complex could be realised.

The Metropolitan Meat market was a municipal project deemed necessary by the City of London Corporation, who imposed a grand urban scheme after a period of slow decision-making and extensive consultation. There were many different suggestions about what could be done within the Smithfield area and some opposition to its use as a meat market. However, in the end, the City of London Corporation won out and after an architectural competition in the form of a public request for designs, the newly appointed City Architect Horace Jones' design was approved in 1866 and work began.

A comprehensive history of the Victorian development of the market buildings *Smithfield and the London Central Markets 1860 -1890* was given at the lecture to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Smithfield on 23 October 2018 by Alex Werner Lead Curator of the Museum of London Project.⁸ It outlines the events that resulted in the creation of the market buildings that we have since come to love and which we are transforming into a museum.

In his lecture Alex Werner suggests that the delays resulting from the long deliberations played well for the markets as a whole enabling the City to take advantage of the new advances in urban transportation with the invention of the underground railways. The world's first underground line (the Metropolitan Railway which opened in 1863) ran under Smithfield. Thus Horace Jones was able to design the Central Markets so that meat carcasses could be transported by train beneath the trading floor and shifted in hydraulic lifts to where it could be cut up and sold.⁹

⁸ Werner, *Smithfield and the London Central Markets 1860 -1890*.

⁹ Alex Werner describes the various changes in nomenclature of the markets: «This time a new act of parliament was needed which led to the renaming of the markets as a whole as the London

Land was purchased by the City for the location of Farringdon station and then later for another station at Moorgate, thus putting the City at the heart of one of what was to become one of the world's most comprehensive public transport systems

I am grateful to the farsighted ambitions of the then Court of Common Council¹⁰ and the various Committees of the City of London Corporation as much as I am grateful now the modern day Court, whose ambitions on behalf of London more than match those of their Victorian predecessors.

The buildings of what we now call the West Smithfield Museum Campus were in effect the second phase of development. Four years after the banquet in Grand Avenue the Poultry Market designed by Horace Jones was opened in 1872.

Plans for a Fruit & Vegetable Market (General Market) and Fish Market (Annexe) quickly followed, they too had a train line running underneath, fortuitously for us. These markets quite soon after opening were given-over to the sale of meat, the most profitable commodity. The increasing population and booming economy of London fuelled demand.

The invention of refrigeration and its adoption at Smithfield, which is evidenced by the large cold stores on Charterhouse Street and Snow Hill, was a significant innovation. It opened up the meat trade as a global business linking it to S America, Australia and New Zealand. A cold store was built, called the Red House, next to the Annexe and alongside it a small Engine House to run the cooling system. For the New Museum project the capacious basement spaces designed for the storage of goods are ideally suited as galleries and object stores for the London Collection.

Two further events are notable in this discussion; the first was caused by the blitz of London during WWII. On 8 March 1945 one of the last V2 rockets hit the NW Tower of the General Market, known as Harts Corner. This was one of the highest casualty rates of any V2 attack. 110 people died and many more were injured. A terrible event that seems even more tragic because the number of people queuing at the time to buy meat when the rocket landed, was unusually high. News had spread that there were rabbits for sale, a rarity during the rationing of the war years.

The whole corner of the market was rebuilt in 1953-54 by the City Surveyor George Halliday in what seems to me to be a quintessential 1960's municipal

Central Markets. The existing Metropolitan Meat and Poultry Market became 'The London Central Meat Market', the Poultry market 'The London Central Poultry and Provision Market' and the new Vegetable Market authorised to be constructed by the new act as 'The London Central Fruit, Vegetable, and Flower Market». Werner, *Smithfield and the London Central Markets 1860 -1890*.

¹⁰ The Court of Common Council is the senior decision-making body of the City of London Corporation, for a description go to London Metropolitan Archive Collections Catalogue Research Guide #13.

style. At the same time as rebuilding Harts Corner, it was deemed expedient to replace the central lantern of the General Market (which had given cause for the nickname given by the market traders of *The Village* shortened from *The Japanese Village*) with a reinforced concrete dome.

The second event took place in 1958. Starting on 23 January a fire began and raged through Horace Jones' Poultry Market, it lasted for three days. It was a notable incident, which changed health & safety and fire-fighting protocols. Tragically two fire fighters; Station Officer Jack Fourt-Wells and Firefighter Richard Stocking died and a further 50 other firefighters were injured or treated for smoke inhalation. The extent of the fire and its impact is described in an article¹¹ on the Museum of London's website by Museum of London Curator Kate Sumnall. Today it is marked by a plaque in commemoration of the men who died.

The destruction of the original Poultry Market paved the way for a new modernist approach.

The Poultry Market as we know it today was designed by T P Bennett & Son with structural engineers Ove Arup & Partners. West Poultry Avenue and its parallel street East Poultry Avenue, were covered over. This building is recognised for its remarkable design and extraordinary single-span shell concrete roof, because of this it has Grade II listing status, designated as being nationally important.

The Architects Journal 21 August 1963 described it as «the most efficiently equipped centre for the exchange of dead meat in Europe».¹²

This brief description of the history of the market buildings that we know today is remarkably resonant. Certainly, when I consider the past 5 years and all that has happened in relation to our project it seems that the oft-remarked notion of “history repeating itself” has a ring of truth.

I address later how this history, the characteristics of place, the foresight of the City of London Corporation and the innovative utilitarian designs of the market buildings, has created a new set of remarkable possibilities for a New Museum of London.

Buildings Timeline

East & West Central Markets were opened in 1868 (they are not part of the West Smithfield Museum Campus) but will have a new life should there be a change of use after 2028.

The Poultry Market Horace Jones opened in 1872. (burned down 1958).

The General Market was opened 1883

The Annexe (Fish Market) opened 1888

Red House and Engine House 1899 (turned into a toilet block before being closed)

The Poultry Market and West Poultry Avenue (T P Bennett & Son, Ove Arup & Partners, job engineer Jack Zunz) opened in 1963

¹¹ www.museumoflondon.org.uk/discover/remembering-smithfield-poultry-market-fire

¹² Architects Journal 21 August, (1963), 369, see also www.historicengland.org.uk Smithfield Poultry Market

Smithfield the Perfect Place for a Museum of and for London

The formulation of the New Museum of London is a collective effort based on the work and input of many, with two distinct inputs; one driven from what could be termed the DNA of the current Museum of London the other the input of London itself.

DNA of The Museum of London, explained. The Museum of London was formed by the coming together of two museums The Guildhall Museum founded in 1826 and The London Museum founded in 1911, and was opened in November 1976 in a new purpose-built museum on London Wall. It clings to the edge of the huge Barbican complex the innovative post-war concept for a new way of living. This has been evocatively described by Sir Nicolas Kenyon in his recent lecture¹³ for Gresham College, where he explained the development of the Barbican and its modern concept of urban living.

The Museum of London's building at London Wall was designed by architects Philip Powell and Hidalgo Moya. It is approximately 17,000 m², its galleries are organised in a descending chronological sequence from before London began to the modern day. It contains a large percentage of the 7.5 million items which comprise the *London Collection* and which is either on display or in store. Since it opened in 1976 it has had a commitment to engage deeply with London. Various it has been viewed as a "city museum", a "social history museum", and of course simply a "history museum", it is all of these and much more.

The "DNA of The Museum of London" was established early on, during the days of The Guildhall Museum and The London Museum. An example of this can be seen in the approach to contemporary collecting which was undertaken by both of those museums, this early work built and contributed to the richness of what is now the *London Collection*. The very latest manifestation is the *Collecting the Pandemic Programme* that began in March 2020. Other elements of the Museum of London DNA quite literally can be found in the archaeological collection, derived from active digs all across London, it forms the world's largest archaeological archive and is another form of collecting that through research informs our understanding about the past and at the same time illuminates our present.

As well as these foci, certain other museological practices characterise the Museum of London such as; collecting oral histories and contemporary commissioning, collecting based on the everyday experiences of the ordinary person alongside that of the most celebrated Londoners, the drive to be open and accessible, a commitment to equity and a deep commitment to Learning and evidence.

¹³ The Annual Gresham Lecture 10 June 2021 Sir Nicolas Kenyon *The Barbican Centre at 40 – Past, Present and Future* www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/thomas-gresham-21.

The original founding principles of the Museum of London can be read in its articles of association set out in The Museum of London Act of 1965.¹⁴

Since its inception the rationale and mission of the Museum has remained as current and applicable as it ever was, our latest iteration in words below have been simply refined to be more inclusive and have been boosted by making that which has remained implicit, explicit i.e. being a “social good”. This is a bold statement, it is an aspiration and a challenge to the Museum and to London itself.

Our Mission: We are here to enrich the understanding and appreciation of London and its people – past, present and future.

In doing this we aspire to be a force for good in London, as London must be for the world.

As a young museum (45 years old) we have the good fortune of being able to draw on the knowledge and experience of all of the previous directors, Max Hebditch, Simon Thurley and Jack Lohman. Both Max Hebditch and Simon Thurley are active in culture and heritage in the UK they have fulsomely engaged with our plans and given their support. Max Hebditch as the “founding” director set the tone from the outset and each subsequent director brought their own emphasis to the mission and guided it to be ever more effective for its audiences, more sustainable and more compelling.

In 2016 to mark the 40th anniversary, we held a meeting with the original Museum team from 1976. In an open conversation at the Museum of London's the Weston Theatre we sought to understand what it had been like in those early days of creating the Museum of London at London Wall.

Contributing from the stage were Max Hebditch (former Director), Chris Elmers (Modern Department), John Clark (Medieval), Philippa Glanville (Tudor & Stewart galleries), Chris Newbery (Modern Department), Cliff Thomas (Technician on the original exhibition build and currently employed at the Museum of London).

It was an illuminating conversation for many reasons, but perhaps the most significant aspect was the sense of innovation that was embedded in the thinking of the team in the 60's and 70's and the extraordinary drive of the original team to create a “social history museum” that was welcoming and connected to visitors.

Some of the innovations highlighted were explained by Max Hebditch; no grand staircase to enter, no uniformed gallery assistants, background sounds and music to the galleries and exhibitions, a sense of theatre, the prominence of Learning as a department influencing the whole organisation, and children

¹⁴ www.legislation.gov.uk.

being very much welcome. It seems strange nowadays to look back at this modern approach to interpretation and customer service as being innovative, we are so used to these as features of contemporary museums. Of all the innovations, it has been the recognition of and focus on the diversity of people who live in London that is recognised to be ground-breaking. Exhibitions such as *The Peopling of London* in 1993 achieved plaudits even retrospectively such as that by Sylvia L. Collicott: «The Peopling of London was a remarkable exhibition for a number of reasons, not least that for the first time a major museum in London had addressed the truly multicultural history of London Life».¹⁵

In describing these characteristics as the DNA of the Museum of London I am being purposeful because like biological DNA it is enduring and fundamental. It is the very essence of who we are. As we look forward to the emerging design and content of the Museum of London Project at West Smithfield I am assured that our DNA continues to be expressed as an essential characteristic, however, importantly it has evolved with some characteristics becoming more amplified and others changing to meet the needs of the environment.

The New Museum Project has inspired the Museum executive to consider how to express better the essence of the Museum. Resulting in deeper thinking and further consideration of what the Museum of London is about. This has happened in tandem with the project.

With the help of 500 people we assessed our mission, what we stand for, what we are setting out to achieve and through what mechanisms. We reconfirmed it and codified our position and where we want to be as a cultural learning organisation within London. Recognising that we are with London and for London. We summed it all up in this simple set of words:

«What we are; LONDON'S SHARED PLACE IN THE MIDDLE OF IT ALL – WHERE ALL THE CITY'S STORIES CROSS AND COLLIDE.

The museum is London's shared place in the middle of it all. Slap bang in the middle of rush hour, of 10,000 years of history, of London's biggest arguments, trade routes and memories. No matter where you've come from, how long you're staying for, or what side of the river you live on, we offer a home for exploration and adventure where all of London's stories cross and collide».

This explanation of what we are has been stimulated by the prospect of our new home in West Smithfield, it is who we are at present and an aspiration of who we want to be in the future as well. In the set of buildings that will comprise the Museum we will be able to live it with much more gusto and so much

¹⁵ Collicott, 'Looking Back'.

more effectively. It will be embodied in our new location and what surrounds us, how we structure the intellectual content of the Museum, our galleries, the events we put on, our partnerships, our opening hours, the books we sell, the exhibitions we stage, the objects that are displayed, the food we make and much more. In fact every aspect of what we do and how we operate.

By chance we landed in a location that fits our mission like a jacket and we are discovering that Smithfield and the Markets are the perfect place for a Museum of London.

To my mind there are four factors which make it so these are:

Hyper connected

Messy Edge of the City of London

Public space with a great sense of utility

24 Hour

Hyper connected

Smithfield derived from «smooth field», sits on the east bank of a river. Since Roman times this river has been navigable and so connected to the continent and with a flight of fantasy, we can travel from Londinium (the Roman name for London) across the Roman Empire to the far reaches of the globe. A tributary of the Thames it is the River Fleet and is still geographically evident, if you know what to look for. Just imagine the busy Farringdon Road filled with water not traffic and consider the Holborn Viaduct as a bridge. Farringdon Road is a main traffic route that follows the course of the river descending down to the Embankment and the Thames. The Fleet River itself now flows in a Victorian brick culvert some 7metres deep as it passes the General Market, but at certain points it comes close enough to the surface for people to hear the water when it is flowing fast.

With a River, train lines and roads that converge Smithfield is a nodal point. Just two train stops from Paris and connected to every airport of London. Just jump on the tube at Farringdon Station buy yourself a ticket at St Pancras International and arrive a few hours later at Gare du Nord. Walk from the New Museum, through St Barts NHS and within minutes you can be gazing the wonders of the great dome of St Pauls Cathedral, before popping over the Millennium Bridge to TATE Modern and the South Bank.

In the seventeenth century Daniel Defoe described Smithfield as the greatest meat market in the world and for Smithfield good transport links would have been particularly important when you consider the numbers of beasts being traded there. Defoe recorded that 150,000 Turkeys were driven from East Anglia to London each year, a journey that took months to complete. Look at the

statistics for just one year. In 1846; 210,757 cattle, 1.5 million sheep and 250,000 pigs were sold at Smithfield, all in a space of just four acres. It is unimaginable today. Cattle arrived driven through the thoroughfares of London from across the whole of Britain in such numbers it must have been both a spectacle and a huge inconvenience.

Living in South London one of my routes to work takes me past the Kentish Drovers Pub on Peckham High Street (a drover is a person who drives cattle either on foot or by horseback, often with dogs across long distances). This is a reminder of those days and the infrastructure that was required to sustain this four-legged or two-legged traffic.

As highlighted earlier, the live cattle market was closed in 1855 and the dead meat carcasses were transported by different more modern means, including by underground rail. The design of the markets with their huge basements and with the train line running under West Poultry Avenue between the General Market basement and the Poultry Market Cold Store makes for exciting possibilities for the Museum. Not least of which will be the fact that from the galleries in the General Market known as *Past Time* views onto the Thames Link train line that carries people between the towns of Bedford and Brighton will remain. People will be able to pass through the Museum whilst sitting on a train, and visitors in the Museum will see the trains go by. What better way to show the machinery and inner-workings of the city.

The sense of Smithfield as a node in a connected world is undeniable. The developments of refrigeration opened up far-flung international markets, meat transported by ship and stored in the big cold stores that inhabit the area add another dimension to the story and are worth researching further. Alex Werner in his lecture¹⁶ tantalises us with questions about how Smithfield may have influenced the environments of New Zealand and Australia.

The New Museum's ability to connect with more people will be enhanced further with Cross Rail, it is huge rail infrastructure project that carries the Elizabeth Line and it will bring even more up-to-date connectivity. It opened in May 2022, and has three stations in close proximity to what will be the New Museum; Farringdon, Farringdon East and Barbican. It is projected to increase capacity by 10%, bringing 1.5 million people within a 45 minute journey time to the New Museum. It is a high-capacity, speedy service linking 41 stations from Reading and Heathrow in the west to Shenfield and Abby Wood in the east. The New Museum at West Smithfield is designed to accommodate two million people annually.

¹⁶ Werner, *Smithfield and the London Central Markets 1860 -1890*.

Work by transport consultancy Momentum has confirmed that the Museum's visitors will almost completely arrive by public transport, walking or by cycle. In this we will be plugged into the sustainability ambitions of the City of London and the Mayor of London. We are planning to make the Museum the friendliest it can be for people arriving in all of these forms.

I am reminded that in the original proposal by architects Stanton Williams, Asif Kahn, Julian Harrap and J&L Gibbons in which West Smithfield was identified as the new centre of London, as developments in the East of London form.

As Michael Hebbert, Professor Emeritus, UCL Bartlett School of Planning and member of the Museum's Academic Panel pointed out: «London's metropolitan centre-point used to be Charing Cross, but with the opening up of the Elizabeth Line it will shift to Farringdon, where east-west Cross Rail meets north-south Thameslink. What better place for the Museum of London than the city's new omphalos?»

Messy Edge of the City of London

As it developed from the twelfth century, under the governance of the Corporation of the City of London and with the Livery Guild system, the City of London became the control centre of commerce, trade and quality control. Known now by the moniker «The Square Mile», recognised globally as «the world's financial centre», it feels to me to be a uniquely historically saturated Central Business District.

The footprint of the City is small, defined by the old boundaries of the City Walls the vestiges of which are still to be seen, with the river on the Southern edge and a range of gates controlling entry. The names of streets including; London Wall, Moorgate, Aldersgate, Bishops Gate, indeed even the Barbican indicate what went before; and if you are in any doubt of the boundary lines, The City is marked at entry-points by proud red dragons carrying a shield, this is the symbol of The City.

This paper is not the place to go deeply into the history of The City of London, but suffice to say that the “smooth field” lay outside of the highly regulated wards of The City of London. Whilst today it is firmly part of the jurisdiction of the City of London Corporation there is emotionally a very different attitude towards Smithfield than there might be towards other parts that are more central to the district such as Cheap, Cordwainer and Walbrook.¹⁷ The name of the Ward that Smithfield is in «Farringdon Without» gives a clue.

¹⁷ The City of London Corporation is divided into 25 wards, each ward elects one Alderman and two or more Common Councillors, these are collectively referred to as Members.

This difference between inside and outside (the city walls), with some messiness and a touch of chaos outside, is to my mind an important factor in Smithfield's character. This provides some licence for the Museum to spill out onto the streets, to create events that go into the night, to welcome millions of visitors of all ages and attitudes, and to undertake all of manner creative cultural activity that is ambiguous, challenging, playful and highly stimulating. Cutting across the boundaries of people, place and time and robustly exploring history.

Smithfield rubs against two other London Boroughs; Islington and Camden and is adjacent to other creative areas such as Clerkenwell with its design emphasis and Hatton Garden the jewellery quarter. These adjacencies will facilitate the forging of new partnerships, new liaisons and new stories. It is also at one end of a new cultural district called Culture Mile that stretches from Farringdon Road to Silk Street, with the Barbican Centre and Guildhall School of Music and Drama at the other end.

With the recognition of the special character of the environment and the critical mass of creative and heritage organisations Culture Mile has a particular focus and is gaining strength through partnership. It will become stronger through its mix of business, cultural, learning and not for profit organisations. It is developing precisely because of the freedom bestowed from being on the edge, its governance structure will be independent and focussed on commerce, creativity and culture.¹⁸

We have become painfully aware, over the past 18 months of global pandemic and lockdown, of just how much we as citizens and individuals engage with culture in its many forms, how it is fundamental to our wellbeing and that it is a driver of economy. This recognition has placed it firmly as a pillar of the recovery of London coming out of 2020 and the Pandemic.

As a response the City of London Corporation published the work of its Commerce & Culture Taskforce in February 2021, in a report titled *Fuelling Creative Renewal* declaring that its recovery would have creativity and culture at its heart.

Public Space with a Great Sense of Utility

Smithfield has been a place of utility for hundreds of years, a market place for nearly 1,000 and thus a public space. The utility of the area pertains today with the Central Meat Markets a very evidential working environment and a world away, but not geographically far, from the corporate locus of the Square

¹⁸ Plans to create a Business Development Area (BID) with culture as a key component are underway, driven by the City of London Corporation.

Mile. The character of the businesses from nightclubs to hospitals has been described earlier in this paper, this together with the open low-rise aspect of the whole space which is traversed by thoroughfares such as Grand Avenue, East Poultry Avenue and West Poultry Avenue gives it the natural air of a place of congregation. The *Smithfield 150* weekend festival held on the August bank holiday in 2018 gave an indication of what Bartholomew Fair would have been like, with 10,000 people participating in street activities.

With the City of London Corporation formulating a plan for consolidating its wholesale markets including Smithfield after 2028, the future public use of the space is once again under consideration and prospective ideas by Urban Designers Hawkins\Brown for the public realm have been set out.¹⁹

The City of London Corporation takes the long-view and as has been shown earlier has an unparalleled ambitious and innovative attitude. The shared ambition of the area's redevelopment is to "land lightly", and to change incrementally so as to safeguard the personality of the place and to perpetuate the feeling of democracy and accessibility.

A neighbourhood in which people feel comfortable and which is not exclusive is the perfect place for a museum for London.

24 Hour

Mayor of London Sadiq Kahn launched the first 24hour Night Tube train service in August 2016 this heralded in new ambitions for London's night-time economy, championed by Deputy Mayor and Night-time Czar Amy Lamé. Until then London was not seen to compare as a truly 24 hour city to other Global cities such as New York or Berlin because of its early closing.²⁰

The report by GLA Economics;²¹ *London at Night, the evidence base for a 24 hour city 2018* highlighted the then 1.6 million workers (a third of all workers) for whom the night-time is the usual time for work.

Anyone who lives in the Central boroughs of London will tell you that the hum of the city is continuous, only diminishing to a background thrum at night. In our somnolence we may be just aware that things are happening all around us in the dark hours but if our beds were to miraculously move to Smithfield we would be rudely awakened. In Smithfield at night the background hum changes to a more energetic and insistent chorus of the market. I think of Smithfield as

¹⁹ <https://news.cityoflondon.gov.uk/city-corporation-opens-consultation-on-preferred-site-to-relocate-historic-wholesale-food-markets/>.

²⁰ *What makes a 24hour City?* Future London October 9 2014 www.ourfuturecities.co/2014/10/what-makes-a-we-hour-city/.

²¹ *London at Night*, www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/london-at-night-full-final.pdf.

the most hyperbolic 24 hour part of London. With the meat market reaching its stride from midnight and trading through the night. Lorries that have travelled in from all parts of the UK and Europe, and which have been sitting patiently from the afternoon are unloaded. The business of the Market begins, trade happens and eventually meat is transported away in white vans. The Market employs 1,500 people directly and has an annual turnover of £750m.

St Bartholomew's NHS Trust Hospital employs about 1,000 people with medics and support staff on night-time shifts and the night buses go up and down Farringdon Road. The bus I know the best is the N63, which takes me from St Pancras Station to the end of my road in East Dulwich. The Bars and restaurants get into the full throw of evening service from 8 pm and are then superseded by Fabric nightclub which opens at 11 pm and closes at 8 am. Situated in the Poultry Market itself is the Oriel Bar serving cocktails to the sound of vintage live music. Smithfield is a truly 24 hour place, famous for its special licensing laws which allowed pubs to open early. These were known as Early Houses and were often situated around markets across the whole of England, they allowed night-time workers to have a pint of beer at 7 am at the end of their shift.

What better place for a museum than to be located in the middle of 24 hour London. Not only will we be telling the story of the city at night but we will also be operating into the night, with our Cocoa Rooms restaurant open 24 hours a day, and our regular late nights given over to different modes of programming. What better challenge to a museum than to ask ourselves «how can we be more London» than to consider how we too can be a 24 hour museum. There is much work yet to be done in this regard, over the forthcoming years we will be testing the appetite for a night-time museum, and who knows who we will be serving as a Museum in the early hours and what ideas and intelligence about London will arise as a result (fig. 33).

Sensory Smithfield – Underpinning Research to These Four Conditions of Place

My analysis of the four conditions (connection, messiness, utility and 24 hour) that will support the Museum of London in its new endeavour to act and operate in new more effective and participative ways comes from my being fully immersed in the development of the project itself. For another sort of analysis that provides a research underpinning to this direct experience of creating the Museum, it is worth delving into the work of a team from Brunel University. Their summation of the qualities of the Smithfield as space is as follows;

The “feel of place” at Smithfield refers to the entanglement of features in the built environment, social interactions and everyday practices which create distinct sensory constellations at different times of the day and the week and thereby produce particular place identities. While all cities are defined by heterogeneity, a key feature of the Smithfield area is the mixed use of public space by different social groups across a 24 hour cycle which creates particularly dense and juxtaposed sensory atmospheres. Our findings reveal that these rich multiple place identities emerge from contradictory flows and mobilities around the site which include goods, people, transport, ideas and images. In our survey, all of our respondents commented on how the diversity of social uses gives the area an especially vibrant character contributing to a deep sense of attachment to the unique feel of the area. Moreover, Smithfield’s feel is strongly informed by a strong sense of history and nostalgia which is due to the unique built environment with architectural styles dating back to the thirteenth century and the longevity of cultural institutions and businesses in the area. Continuity with the past has resulted in a narrative of Smithfield as a liminal place which has contested wider processes of change.²²

The suitability of Smithfield the place was summed up by Evan Davis in 2017 with these words;

It’s got so much potential, and London could do with more of those kinds of spaces. It’s a brilliantly historic site, it’s a fantastic location that’s itching to be developed, it is a site that’s about to be the nexus of various different transport routes. For a museum, it’s just great to be in such a location. I think London will love this museum because it will be everything a traditional museum offers as well as a living space, that will reflect fantastically well on the City and what Londoners do. For that reason it’s a really exciting project for London. London will be proud of the museum that stands in its name.

The Market Buildings - the Very Essence of a Modern Museum what do These Buildings Allow Us to Do and Be?

The four neighbourhood factors of Smithfield work well with the characteristics of the buildings that comprise the West Smithfield Museum Campus. Together these have inspired the architects and the Museum team to create and shape a design that has a different feel to other museums.

I first saw the buildings in 2014 when in a fit of enthusiasm Eric Reynolds, then a Governor of the Museum, but also one of the key opponents to the de-

²² The Changing Feel of Smithfield; exploring sensory identities and temporal flows www.sensorysmithfield.com Brunel University, Dr Monica Degen, Dr Camilla Lewis, Prof Astrid Swenson and Isobel Ward.

velopment plans for Smithfield by TIAA Henderson, rushed me along to the General Market. I had called him to say: «The City have suggested we consider moving to the General Market in Smithfield, what do you think»? Eric's passion and energy along with that of Marcus Binney (President of SAVE) had saved the buildings, here was the Museum with the opportunity to inhabit them, it all made great sense to him.

From the first moment I visited, it was apparent that this set of buildings was extraordinarily suited to being a museum, and not just any museum, a museum for London. From my first encounter with the basement of the General Market and the grinding thud that came from a Thameslink Train as it trundled past in full view, it was immediately apparent that I was immersed in the very essence of London. It was evident from then on that, there could be no better location for a Museum of London. To have the sounds and even the sight of a train running through the middle of it all made me say to myself «This really is London».

The qualities of the buildings: their functional design, the residual stories buried in the walls, their many and different parts, the ways in, the ways out, the height, the scale, the light, the ambience, the high-street, indeed their every essence are ideally suited to a transformation from market of goods to market of ideas and all the particulars of a museum. However, this is more than simply inhabiting a found set of buildings, it is about the careful, considered and intelligent response to a set of buildings and their environment embodied in the curatorial nature of the design approach applied by Stanton Williams, Asif Kahn and Julian Harrap. The design for the New Museum of London is a response to the site, not an overbearing imposition of one set of functions or criteria upon another.

Sonita Alleyne OBE, Master of Jesus College, Museum of London Governor and member of the Jury who chose the architects said;

The Design Team's concept; it was about ideas – an idea for London, for what the museum of London could be like for London, an idea for the Museum of London as a meeting place for ideas, we are a city of ideas, that's what I really liked about it.

The buildings and specifics of each building have created opportunities that mean that we are not able to impose a grand design, but we are working within the constraints of what is possible.

A museum about a City has a number of dimensions; People, Place and Time, in considering the overarching organising principle of the Museum how we would deploy the Content of London an Intellectual Framework was developed. It had to iterate. I maintain that if we had had to build a new museum

from scratch we would not have been as creative and thoughtful as we have had to be in trying to fit into the building campus as it stands now (fig. 34).

The Overarching Intellectual Organisational Structure is This (Diagram) Based on Time

Real Time: West Poultry Avenue
 Our Time: General Market Ground Floor
 Past Time: General Market Basement
 Contemporary Time: Poultry Market Ground Floor
 Future/Imagined Time: Poultry Market Upper Floor
 Deep Time: Poultry Market Cold Store.

A run-through of the particulars of the West Smithfield Market Complex shows how each part is being shaped and has shaped the design of the museum.

The buildings' factors and original design elements will support a highly effective museum. With their porosity, having large trading floors, big basements and cold-stores, houses facing inwards and outwards the creative possibilities are manifest. All of which opens up possibilities; of being open 24 hours a day, of managing the buildings as artefacts, of riffing off of old ideas such as public graphic lettering, to deploy a 360 degree curation approach and to work deeply through collaboration (fig. 35).

Porosity – with many openings and entrances, a street and train running through it, our aim is for the Museum to be highly permeable and connected to London itself.

There are twelve ways in and out of the buildings. I can imagine them all flung wide open on big carnival days, however, on a more normal operating mode we will be more modest with five of our doorways open on a daily basis. Some of these entrances have special purposes such as that for school pupils, others offer more of a big destination arrival or departure such as those located at either end of West Poultry Avenue, our museum street. We will reopen Harts Corner, which leads up from Farringdon Road and under its eaves imagine a flower seller and a London Honey shop selling honey from every London Borough. Other ways in such as that on Snow Hill may be used at night. As well as these ways in and out there will be opportunities to enter spaces such as The Cocoa Rooms, or the café on Farringdon Road (yet to be named) which are connected to the street. These are definite museum spaces but do not transition from Street to gallery.

Through this permeable crust we will connect with the street, in fact the whole A to Z of London. The threshold between museum and life in London will

be physically diminished, as Horace Jones originally intended, there should be no barrier to trading. Here we are designing a way to avoid a barrier to our sort of trading, the trading of ideas and experiences. Asif Kahn often asserts; like any part of London people will find their own favourite way into the Museum, people will have their own special entrance, their personal door.

This porosity is intrinsic to markets, with many being totally permeable and it's something we are celebrating and magnifying. Even as markets moved from outdoor uncovered events to being located under large architectural canopies, or became totally enclosed, they retain an openness and fluidity allowing people to pass through and inside. The markets that I have used during the past two years exemplify this range; Mercado de Rialto Venice, Marché aux Poissons Marseille, North Cross Road Saturday Market London, Poissonnerie Municipale Le Trèport and Mercado de la Boqueria Barcelona. This is to name but a few as I really do like to use markets.

In the Museum of London Planning Submission 2019, Julian Harrap described the original entrances of the General Market:

The General Market was originally planned for carriage access to the building to deliver produce to the market stalls. These double height vehicular entrances on the north, south and east sides were one of the most important elements of the architectural design and function of the market, expressed architecturally by a decorative arch and pediment. [...] On the east side, the central entrance was aligned on a central axis with the adjacent Poultry Market but was remodelled in the 1950's

it leads straight off of West Poultry Avenue.

Two pedestrian entrances at the North-West and south-West corners are by contrast more modest in scale.²³

Trading Floors – the General Market and Poultry Market have large naturally ventilated atria, but the height and scale are human and not over-facing. Each has a different quality derived from their architecture. *Our Time*, *Contemporary Time*, and *Future/Imagined Time* are located in these atria.

The General Market ground floor will be *Our Time*, from c1945 to today it will be London in living memory. It will be the most programmed part of the Museum, ever changing, filled day and night with events. It will contain the best bookshop in London, it will have the Clerk's House Restaurant, it will have *Show Space* an interactive theatre, it will sell the best of London-made produce and from it you will enter down to *Past Time*.

²³ *Museum of London, West Smithfield, Planning Submission, 2019*, Stanton Williams, Asif Khan, Julian Harrap Architects, J&L Gibbons, Plan A, ARUP, AKTII, Momentum, Gerald Eve, Studio Fractal, Buro Happold, Dunbar Boardman.

Contemporary Time is located in the Poultry Market ground floor, it will contain large, flexible temporary exhibition galleries, which will be inserted creating a new space under the shell roof which will be *Future/Imagined Time*. From there one can go down into the Poultry Market cold stores below ground into *Deep Time*.

Basements & Cold stores – the heights of both basements under the General Market and the Poultry Market are ideal for museum displays and objects. In fact the very nature of the buildings designed for the storage of goods equips them for uses sympathetic to museums. In *Deep Time*, located in the Poultry Market cold store, will be a significant part (some hundred thousand items) of the London Collection, in storage, ready for use by researchers or for the public to explore.

Past Time galleries will be in the basement of the General Market, this will be the story of London from pre-history to the *City Machine*. It will have tell the story of London chronologically and through expanded moments. It will be an intense, object rich display.

The Houses facing inwards and outwards – around the General Market there are what were termed *The Houses*. They make-up a terrace of twelve: six will be used by the Museum and six will be tenanted to “partner institutions”. The Museum houses include street-facing galleries and places to eat and drink, offering the Museum direct frontage to the public highway

They will be a sort of creative, thoughtful, hub. Compellingly described here by Asif Kahn;

Intermingled with the Museum Houses are the Partner Institute Houses. These Houses enable the Museum to curate an ecosystem of diverse organisations that reflect the historic diversity of the General Market. They are accessed independently from the museum and will have uniquely designed shop fronts that reflects the diversity of London’s streets.²⁴

The concept of the *Institute*, is one dedicate to understanding London, with partner organisations inhabiting the curious and quite special spaces. It seems that the need for smaller and shared office space with interesting and unique facilities are now in high demand.

The opportunity to create and curate a dynamic museum space with partners in the form of a high-street is extraordinarily exciting and particularly in a post-pandemic world where the whole rationale of the high-street is being called into question.

²⁴ *Museum of London, West Smithfield, Planning Submission*, 2019, Stanton Williams, Asif Khan, Julian Harrap Architects, J&L Gibbons, Plan A, ARUP, AKTII, Momentum, Gerald Eve, Studio Fractal, Buro Happold, Dunbar Boardman.

In consideration of the question «how can we be more like London?» it is evident that each of these partner institutions must embody London, be of London and contribute to London in some way that has empathy and brings “additionality” to the Museum. The next exciting phase will see this idea taking form as we reach out to those organisations and individuals who share our vision.

A useful benefit to writing this paper and participating in the meetings and conference, is that I have had the chance to reflect back on our early proclamations and ideas it is gratifying to see that some of those have remained valid. In 2014 in the vision for the New Museum I stated that;

we want to connect Londoners with the London they never lived in, and weave the London that was into the London that is and will be. As a kind of urban think tank, we address big city issues, amplify London’s voices and provoke the vigorous conversations that make London the world’s more exhilarating capital. We will do this as no one else can. But we won’t do it alone. We are networked and our projects are collaborations.

The possibilities of the *Institute*, the enquiry and creation of new intelligence by the partners which comprise it, and the research on the London Collection will add meaning to being «a shared place in the centre of it all». This gives me confidence that we will succeed with our vision.

24 Hour Museum – the West Smithfield New Museum Campus will enable us to be 24 hour through being able to open late all or parts of the Museum and by baking that into our business plan model from the start. The Institute partners on the edges of our buildings will have a 24 hour emphasis and through our ambitions for the *Cocoa Rooms* we can be that place you get a hot drink with friends at 3 am. We aim for the *Cocoa Rooms* to be recognised in due course like *Beigal Bake* on Brick Lane in the East End which is open 24 hours 7 days a week. We want it to be an integral part of London life where you will find yourself at 3am connecting with people you might not otherwise meet and conversing with a stranger. Through our digital connections we will have 24 hour content and we will display and use live data throughout the day and of course we will consider night-time London in our galleries, exhibitions and displays.

Being truly 24/7 is both an exhilarating and scary prospect. We will be venturing into the unknown as a museum. But what I do know is that the active conversations that we will have in our next stage of development with those who want to partner with us will stimulate all sorts of new ideas and currently unimaginable possibilities (fig. 36).

Buildings as Artefacts – the campus of buildings will become our largest object in the London Collection at the same time as being a “vessel” for London Collection itself.

The Museum team has been consciously collecting found objects from the vacant buildings since we got the keys in 2015. They have been archaeological in their intent. It was as though the doors had just been locked behind them after the last tenants departed leaving everything in place. In the slow process of dismantling the precarious and unsafe inner offices the building contractor PAYE saved much for the Curators to pour over. We wanted to understand the history of the General Market through the material culture left behind. From the Trade Union records to the signage, the meat hooks to the security safes all of this has been kept and is being analysed. It tells a part of the story.

Equally, embedded within the walls is 140 years of history, which is evident when above, around and underfoot in the General Market. All around is the evidence of previous generations and for a Museum of London this is important.

The Design Team has been in a process of strategically peeling back the historic layers of the building revealing the past inhabitation to display the patina of surfaces and stories that have been hidden from the Londoner's view for over 20 years.

It could be said that because we are a history museum we care about the history of this building in a way that has not be necessary for other cultural institutions that live in repurposed buildings. I would argue that the original purpose of Bankside Power Station, who worked there, why and how it was built together with the social history of it all is less important to the mission of TATE modern than the buildings of West Smithfield are to the Museum of London.

For the Museum of London what precedes it at West Smithfield, the histories embedded the buildings and in the 800 year old market site, is important. We could not inhabit a building that had a previous life and not tell that story, the story that is specific to a place within the context of London over time.

It is also why the names of the spaces within and around the buildings have significance and will remain. These are both formal and informal including; *West Poultry Avenue, Hart's Corner, The Salt Store, Lockhart's Cocoa Rooms, The Clerk's House, The Village* as well as all the others yet to be discovered. We are intent on retaining these names and not forgetting them as time goes by. For our way-finding consultants whose job it is to create an easily navigable museum, this is an added complexity, it but for me it retains the richness of meaning and the layers of time.

The utility of the buildings is shaping the Design Team's approach to the materials that will be used, the colour schemes, what is removed, what is stabilised and retained and what is celebrated. They are approaching this design with forensic attention.

Lettering the sense of history and place has inspired Asif Kahn, who is focussed on the design of the General Market, to create a contemporary response

to the graphic advertising that festooned London's buildings in nineteenth century. This is an example of how the interplay between history, place and contemporary needs, match.

The idea to wrap the building in a piece that has both utility and artistic intent, is magical. It is at concept stage currently and will be worked on over the next period.

360 degree Curation – content, objects, story-telling all over the place in every corner.

The Stanton Williams, Asif Kahn and Julian Harrap design approach to the campus will enable the unexpected to happen.

In the nooks and crannies, the liminal spaces, the corners, the vitrines on West Poultry Avenue, the platforms high in the General Market, the toilets, the cloakrooms, the offices, the windows, the shop fronts, the vaults, the walls and in many more places, we will be able to display the London Collection. We will tell stories outside of the big narrative arenas of our content framework of *Past Time, Our Time, Contemporary Time, Deep Time, Imagined & Future Time and Real Time*.

In our Interpretation Masterplan we set out the direction for what we call 360 Degree Curation:

We apply a 360 degree curation approach, across everything that we do, every space that we occupy, and at every moment of the day and night. The new museum's architecture, its content and every part of the visitor experience is carefully choreographed - from the food we serve to the partners with whom we work - extending into every corner, to create a distinctive, thoroughly intriguing and profoundly London museum.

Everything about the museum is steeped in London's history, spirit and character – it is like no other museum, and could be nowhere else. We work with partners and Londoners, so drawing in, nurturing and reflecting out the multifarious talents and creativity of the city.

We interpret the buildings that we occupy, and their history, drawing them in as active agents in the visitor experience. We acknowledge the importance of the buildings to the history of the meat trade and consumption of meat, but will also provide opportunities for current perspectives and debates on the ethics and economics of the trade today.

Content is embedded throughout the new museum – beyond the formal displays, even beyond the buildings themselves, and in the most surprising places – ensuring that the depth and richness of the London Collection has an unmistakable and defining presence. We bring together architecture and content to create unique and memorable moments.

What does this mean for visitors? Traces and echoes of Smithfield's history and people are revealed in the fabric and features of the buildings. Objects from the London Collection sit in dialogue with their contemporary compatriots – lifts, signs, even toilets. Micro histories occupy nooks and crannies: prehistoric pottery that has endured for millennia, a Great Stink in smell-o-vision, a nineteenth century card-playing automaton eternally dealing a hand. Shoes from the breadth of London's history trace paths across the floor. Animals from the London Collection stalk the buildings – up high, down low, a glimpse in a corner of the eye. London voices whisper. And everything within the new museum – from the offer in the bookshop to the food in the restaurant – is carefully curated to channel the spirit of London.²⁵

The complexity of the buildings allows us to intuit and play with interpretation and content is threaded throughout. Two prime examples are with our approach to toilets and the *Cocoa Rooms*.

Toilet facilities are in all parts of the museum in seven locations. Each facility will be designed specifically to amplify London content, each will be different, each will be a joy to use. We want people to explore the toilets, find a favourite, tell their friends. We want to have quite simply the best toilets in London.

As described earlier, the Cocoa Rooms were an unexpected discovery they are located on the SW corner of the General Market. Hidden behind nondescript plywood panelling in what was thought to simply be a shop are the high Victorian tiles of a café/restaurant which was part of a chain of *Temperance Cocoa Rooms*. This will once again be a café called the *Cocoa Rooms*, it will serve the best hot chocolate drink in London and its discovery gives us the opportunity to tell the story of the temperance movement and this company that was established by Robert Lockhart Liverpool in 1875.

Collaboration - with London, throughout the process and beyond

The commitment to being *a shared place in the middle of it all*, embodies the principle driving our engagement approach and is embedded in how the content and the building is developing. Already over 25,000 people have connected with the project in many different ways. We have used the buildings as meeting places and for workshops, it is a site for displaying stories on huge hoardings and for artistic interventions and festivals. Our target is to connect with a further 75,000 more people and beyond that we have an ambition to engage with the whole of London as we open.

²⁵ *New Museum of London, Interpretation Masterplan*, 2019, Annette Day, Alex Werner, Ralph Appelbaum Associates UK.

The West Smithfield New Museum Complex will enable all manner of new collaborations, managed through our Engagement Framework²⁶ and delivered by all departments.

The buildings and site have a charisma and potency that encourages participation, perhaps because they have been designed in their original intent to be widely accessible and efficient they carry a sort of sense of democracy and have the potential for everyone to be welcome and for everyone to share (fig. 37).

Conclusion

In their formulation of an Engagement Framework for the Museum of London, colleagues at Leicester University Research Centre for Museums and Galleries referred to the work of Lefebvre who in 1968 published *The Right to the City*. Lefebvre's analysis is illuminating in relation to our project.

Professor Sandell and his colleagues assessed the qualities of spaces and design in the socially-engaged museum as related to the New Museum of London: «Cultural spaces here are purposefully anti-monumental. Often slightly scruffy or worn, these spaces actively seek to counter the often impressive and humbling architecture of cultural institutions and to reach out instead at a human level. Space that is open to appropriation makes movement easy. With multiple routes in and out, these institutions are porous to the world outside and work hard to provide friction-free and graded routes into the institution. Working hard to meet visitors on their own terms and as part of their own lives, this space is littered with surfaces welcoming to human bodies and the use of space is ambiguous – cafes bleed into exhibition spaces and circulation spaces allowing me to make a decision about how I want to use the space and make it my own. Rather than closing decisions down – where space is so clearly demarcated that space use is set out for us – these places offer a greater breadth of possibility, they open up a greater range of opportunities and, as a result, a more relaxed encounter. Spaces that are open to appropriation may be mixed use (relieving the pressure to be in museum visiting mode) and, importantly, they take concrete steps to enable a full welcome that is not dependent on access to money. Spaces that are open to appropriation use every means possible to let people know that they are welcome and that resources are accessible and for shared and equal use». This description is a good place to end, I hope it resonates with readers of this article and fills people with anticipation for what is to come.

My contribution to this International Summer School has been to show how an historic market place and an historic set of market buildings can be repur-

²⁶ *Engagement Framework*, Museum of London, 2020, Leicester University, Research Centre for Museums and Galleries, led by Professor Richard Sandell Co-Director of the Centre.

posed, exquisitely and fundamentally to serve the public as a museum. My argument is that markets make great museums as both share a similar intent; to be open, accessible and part of the democratic life of exchange in a city.

Markets come and go and I sincerely hope that the experience of creating a new museum for London has relevance in how city governments, academics, town planners and citizens think about the future uses of their markets that are no longer viable in their original form.

However, above all I hope that cities continue to build markets in city centres and neighbourhoods and that each urban environment has a network of these social centres of trade. This is because they can play an important role in the daily life of citizens selling goods derived and sourced locally. Such markets are more sustainable and effective in providing all of the forms of nourishment that are requisite to support a thriving society, the social, cultural and physical nourishment that is essential for human life.

Smithfield is the last ruin in London, it was abandoned in 1993, so we have an opportunity to recapture an abandoned, derelict ruin, and that's one of the most exciting things about this project. It's not just recapturing the building but the whole environment is changing [...] It's my belief that Smithfield is only at the beginning of a journey.²⁷

Bibliography

- Collicott, Sylvia L., 'Looking Back', *History Workshop*, Journal, Volume 38, Issue 1, Autumn 1994, pages 261-263, <https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/38.1.261>, Published: 01 October 1994
- Harrap, Julian, *Project Inception Workshop*, Museum of London 2017
- Werner, Alex, *Smithfield and the London Central Markets 1860-1890* (London: Museum of London, 2019), copies available from the Museum of London

Online resources

- Smithfield | British History Online (british-history.ac.uk)
- Travers, Tony, *London's Boroughs at 50* (www.bitebackpublishing.com)
- www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/thomas-gresham-21
- www.historicengland.org.uk
- www.legislation.gov.uk
- www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/london-at-night-full-final.pdf
- www.museumoflondon.org.uk/discover/remembering-smithfield-poultry-market-fire

²⁷ Harrap, *Project Inception Workshop proceedings*.

<https://news.cityoflondon.gov.uk/city-corporation-opens-consultation-on-preferred-site-to-relocate-historic-wholesale-food-markets/>
www.ourfuturecities.co/2014/10/what-makes-a-we-hour-city/
www.sensorysmithfield.com
www.smithfieldmarket.com/the-market/tennants-association

From Sanitary Aesthetic Design to Architectural Heritage. The Central Market of São Paulo City

Maria Stella Bresciani

In the early years of the twenty-first century, the *Mercado Central* (Central Market), popularly called the *Mercadão*, was already recognized as a symbolic landmark of the urban landscape of the São Paulo city (fig. 38). When its renovation and regeneration project was presented in 2003, it was thus described:

Its dimensions and influences in the cereal region of the Center and Pari are undeniable, as undeniable is its importance as a landmark in its almost eight decades of activities in the life and architectural landscape of the city.¹

In 2004, the city of São Paulo² celebrated 450 years of its foundation. Like almost all cities shaped by colonization, its origin myth includes the names of its founders – the Jesuit Fathers José Anchieta and Manoel da Nóbrega– and the day, month, and year – January 25, 1554. Today, with more than 12 million inhabitants, the structured city and its informal counterpart deriving from invasions, slums and street commerce coexist in dramatic contrasts. Until the early 1990s, it remained the largest metropolitan center in the country, surrounded by a powerful belt of industrial cities, where contemporary trade unionism,

¹ 'Requalificação do Mercado Municipal Paulistano'.

² The city of São Paulo is the capital of the State of São Paulo, in Southeastern Brazil. Municipal area is 1,532,22 km², urban area, 949.42 km²; total population - 2017: 12,252,023 inhabitants (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística- IBGE).

the basis of the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Workers' Party), was formed. Today, tertiary activities driven by new technologies predominate in the city. The increase of the urbanized area, generally considered disorderly, actually obeys a radio-concentric model defined by the *Plano de Avenidas para a cidade de São Paulo*³ (Avenues Plan for the city of São Paulo), published in 1930, when the Central Market construction was in its final stages.

However, the rapid expansion of the city followed a predatory route and, on this path of displacements, the central and oldest area gradually lost important parts of its functions. Especially, the finance and service sectors deserted the center towards southwestern areas and successively settled on Paulista, Faria Lima, Luiz Carlos Berrini, and Nações Unidas Avenues and part of the Marginal Avenue by River Pinheiros.⁴

This succession of displacements was accompanied by the disinterest of government authorities in the central area, which, although it concentrates good urban equipment, kept only some of its old activities - part of the popular commerce, the São Paulo Investment Exchange, and the center of the judiciary. Real estate speculation was undoubtedly at the core of these relocations by opening the possibility of building corporate buildings, in a fragmented expansion and without giving way to new centralities.⁵

Only in the late 1980s, under the administration of Mayor Luiza Erundina de Souza (1988-1992), of the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (PT), did the municipal authorities turn their eyes to the central area, refurbish the old building of the Palace of Industries (1933), occupied by a Police Department, and install the City Hall there. This was undoubtedly a significant action to draw attention to the center, to the process of deterioration that disfigured and alienated part of the population from this area, considered to be at risk. It can also be seen as part of an attempt to direct the revitalization to the old and first industrial and workers' districts, located in the eastern zone, such as Pari, Mooca, and Brás.⁶

This renewed interest for the "old" Center by public and private power was motivated by concerns about violence, illegal occupation of empty buildings by members of the Homeless and Tenement Houses movement and, not least, driven by the worldwide process of recuperation of degraded areas of large cities. In the midst of this "reconquest" action, the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* (OESP) announced, on December 3, 2003, a 100 million dollars loan from the In-

³ Maia, *Introdução*.

⁴ The distance from Mercado central to Berrini Avenue is 10,3 km; and from the Sé Place [the zero point of the city] to Berrini Avenue is 9,2 km.

⁵ Iziq, 'Metamorfose ambulante'.

⁶ Frúgoli, *Centralidades em São Paulo*.

ter-American Development Bank to be applied to the Central Action Program, whose objective was to revitalize the central region. Without commenting on the dubious meaning of the word «revitalization» or other synonyms loaded with prejudice towards the poor population, partly excluded from the formal labor market, one can recognize the positive dimension of these interventions. Several old buildings in the central area underwent renovation and reconversion: banks transformed into cultural centers, two old railway stations converted into concert hall and cultural center; the old (Dops) police building housed a Pinacotheca; commercial buildings were renovated to house lofts and give way to the expansion of museums, including the Museum of Brazilian Art. Also, as part of this plan, shopping streets should be converted into boulevards and cultural corridors. The list extends to traditional, deteriorating neighborhoods of the expanded center. In other words, the Central Market renovation project exposes the restoration dimension of the built environment of the old central area:

The project of recovery and regeneration of the *Mercado Municipal Paulistano* is not limited to the building itself, even though this is the main goal, but extends to the surrounding area, stagnated as a result of relations that the region maintains with the *Mercado*. Its regeneration also aims at promoting the development of this microregion through the regeneration of the urban and economic fabric via the physical and programmatic restoration of the building and its immediate surroundings.⁷

in the central area, the main focus was evidently on buildings considered “precious” (OESP – 07.02.2004, p. D1), which dated from the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century and some exemplary buildings of modernist architecture. In the midst of this revitalizing enthusiasm, the *Mercado Municipal*, *Mercado Central*, or *Mercadão*, inaugurated in January 1933, was considered a unique case because it maintained its original function and many of the merchants or their families had been there since the beginning. A process of threats of displacement to an area less congested by traffic and more suitable for both purposes thus came to an end.

Interregnum: Threats and Indecision

In May 1969, when CEASA,⁸ the new supply center, began its activities in an area further away and contiguous to Marginal Pinheiros, the *Mercadão*

⁷ ‘Requalificação do Mercado Municipal Paulistano São Paulo’.

⁸ The Companhia de Entrepósitos e Armazéns Gerais de São Paulo – GEAGESP (São Paulo Warehouse and General Warehouse Company) is a State-owned company with public-private capital. The shortest name CEASA (*Centro Estadual de Abastecimento*) is generally preferred. The CEASA is 13,7 km far from the Central Market.

was no longer the largest supply center in the city and region. However, it maintained a unique position for offering varied and high quality goods, combined with a meeting and sociability place, something quite unique amid the rapid multiplication of buildings for collective use, mere supports for flows and consumption, the so-called «non-places».⁹ Even so, the permanence of the *Mercadão* was successively threatened by the municipal authority: in 1965, the mayor proposed demolishing the building to give way to a square, while its occupants should be transferred to a «more suitable area»; in 1987, again, the municipal authorities proposed converting it into «a kind of shopping mall with the charm of the past».¹⁰

After all, even the technicians of the Department of Historical Heritage of the City (DPH) had considered, in 1979, the building incompatible with its use, since «the existing space for parking and loading and unloading services had become obsolete».¹¹ In fact, the area around it had been occupied by allotments, buildings had been demolished to widen avenues, and the conditions of the *Mercadão* building itself exposed the deterioration resulting from the action of time, use, and neglect in its preservation (figs. 39-40).

The large stained-glass windows, evocative of the economic and agricultural activities, by Conrado Sorgenicht Filho,¹² presented several damaged parts; the humidity coming from the inefficiency of the rain water collection system compromised the capitals; besides, there was an overload of the electric network and also the internal occupation rate had raised the height of the stalls, which hindered the planned illumination. On the external side, in the roof, slabs were not waterproofed, missing slate domes allowed the oxidation of the metallic support structure and the rotting of wood. It was therefore considered unsustainable to maintain the building's facilities.

⁹ Augé, *Non-lieux*, and Peixoto, *Arquitetura na Revista Projeto*. A paper of January 26, 1983 stated: «The market stood untouched in recent decades, when the city gained numerous supply centers, such as Ceagesp, supermarkets, retailers». *O Estado de S. Paulo*, p. 12.

¹⁰ Reforma pode mudar características do Mercado Central após final do ano. *Folha de S. Paulo*, 29.12.1987, Caderno Cidades, p. A-10.

¹¹ *Parque D. Pedro II. Mercado Municipal. Levantamento Preliminar* pelo Departamento de Patrimônio Histórico (DPH) da Secretaria de Cultura do Município de São Paulo, fevereiro de 1979, p. 443; *Bens Culturais Arquitetônicos no Município e Região Metropolitana de São Paulo*, Secretaria dos Municipal de Planejamento, 1984, pp. 443-4.

¹² Conrado Sorgenicht, a German immigrant, arrived in Brazil in 1875 and founded the Casa Conrado, Crystalleria Germania, in 1889, an atelier that crafted the stained-glass windows of many churches and several important buildings of the city of São Paulo, such as the Sé Cathedral, the *Mercadão*, the Casas das Rosas, etc. Casa Conrado was maintained for three generations and closed in 1989. that is, it worked for 100 years and today it works in the restoration of stained-glass windows. Source: Mello, *Casa Conrado*, available at: <http://www.repositorio.unicamp.br/handle/REPOSIP/284311>; *Papeis Conrado Sorgenicht* -Arquivo Histórico da Escola Politécnica. Fundo BR USP EPSP [last accessed on 10.08.2020].

However, the building and its original use did not change in contrast to others nearby, converted in their use. Some of them, privately owned, underwent radical renovation in the 1980s, that is, their façade was kept for decorative purposes but it covered up a modern building at the back. It is reported on the website of the City Council of São Paulo that:

the building was not demolished, thanks to the stall owners, marketers, and sympathizers who fought for its preservation. To that end, they registered the building with the *Conselho de Defesa do Patrimônio Histórico, Arqueológico, Artístico e Turístico do Estado* (Condephaat – Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Tourist Heritage Defense Council of the State) and obtained resources to restore it.¹³

By maintaining its original occupation, the *Mercado Municipal* gained a powerful argument in defense of its preservation. In the 1970s and 1980s, the site underwent two small renovations, but in July 1996, the *Mercadão* was restored under the careful supervision of the *Conselho de Defesa do Patrimônio Histórico, Arqueológico, Artístico e Turístico de São Paulo* (Condephaat) and maintained its original area of 22,230m². It employed about a thousand people, served more than 15,000 buyers daily and sold 350 tons of products in its 364 stalls. Its commerce, considered picturesque by a journalist of the OESP (8.7.1996), gathered gastronomic rarities, birds and other pets and stalls with more than 40 brands of whiskey and refined tobacco. The peculiar character of this supply center was also expressed in the comment that Saturday was the favorite day of the special customers, because they combined the need for shopping with the pleasure of chatting with old friends.¹⁴ The 1996 restoration put an end to the polemic about the transfer of the food trade and the reconversion of the building. At that time, the central area was the main focus of public authorities and urban planners driven by the idea of revitalizing the Center, recovering old buildings for residence and leisure for the middle classes, preserving its built network as one of the milestones of the city identity. In a city like São Paulo, notable for its

¹³ Prefeitura.sp.gov.br [last accessed on 05.08.2020].

¹⁴ About the preservation of the Market by the *Departamento de Patrimônio Histórico* (D.P.H. – Department of Historical Heritage) of the Secretariat of Culture of the City of São Paulo, a study entitled *Parque D. Pedro II. Mercado Municipal. Levantamento Preliminar* (Departamento de Preservação), dated February 1979, mentions the renovation made that year on p. 443. This voluminous work repertories the buildings considered city heritage. It is worth mentioning the importance given to the maintenance of the use of the building for the commerce of food in the inscription of cultural and architectural goods of São Paulo, published in 1984. São Paulo (Estado) Secretaria dos Negócios Metropolitanos. Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento, *Bens Culturais arquitetônicos no Município e na Região Metropolitana de São Paulo*, São Paulo: EMPLASA, 1984 (484 páginas), pp. 443-4.

little appreciation for older areas, the *Mercadão* combined until the end of the twentieth century the feat of keeping itself untouched, in form and use.

Icon in the Urban Landscape of the City of São Paulo

As it entered the twenty-first century, the *Paulicéia desvairada* (folly *Pauliceia*), named as such by the poet and writer Mário de Andrade as early as 1922,¹⁵ was involved in a preservationist wave backed by specialists linked to the public power and organized groups of civil society who, by attributing symbolic value to the traces of the past, began to defend them with direct actions and dissemination through various media.

In these circumstances, the *Mercado Central* underwent a major renovation, as of September 2003, that included the partial reconversion of its inner space.¹⁶ A significant part of it occurred in 2004: a 2,000 m² mezzanine was articulated to two of the four towers and destined to shelter restaurants with typical foods of the main immigration flows, Portuguese, Italian and Spanish, as well as Brazilian cuisine (fig. 41). In 2006, a partnership with a private enterprise added to the mezzanine a Gourmet Market, a fully equipped kitchen for classes and events related to gastronomy. Elevators and escalators were installed, as well as modern toilets, in order to offer “comfort for users who will be able to enjoy this space until 10pm”. Among the reasons for the refurbishment is the gain of visibility of its stained-glass windows and columns and their adornments. In the basement, a place was designed to realize events and, in the outer pavilions, to install two Museums, one of the Market itself and another of gastronomy (figs. 42-44).¹⁷

The project was an integral part of the recovery of the area of Parque D. Pedro II and sought to return to the surroundings part of the landscape dimension designed in the 1920s. However, several items were not carried out. among them is a glass walkway between the *Mercadão* and the parking lot of the Palace of Industries meant to be the Museum of the City. Since the intention was to transfer the City Hall to the old Matarazzo building, on the *Praça do Patriarca*, the former headquarters of Indústria Reunidas Francisco Matarazzo underwent

¹⁵ The Andrade *Paulicéia desvairada*, of 1922, is composed of poems that marked the «modernist» movement in Brazil (Andrade, *Poesias Completas*, pp. 55-115). There is also a book in Italian by Pincherle, *La città sincopata*.

¹⁶ The Project was part of a broad proposal: the environmental and urban recovery of the D. Pedro II parquet - South Diagonal Special Project, Part 1 - the Spatial Regeneration Project of the Mercado Municipal Paulistano stands out for the importance in the urban function it historically represents. ‘Requalificação do Mercado Municipal Paulistano’.

¹⁷ *Mercadão* will be renovated without closing its doors, in *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 9.8.2003, p. C1-C3.

renovation, restoration and regeneration works. so did other private buildings in the area of the old center, next to the *viaduto do Chá*, whose construction at the end of the nineteenth century gave way to the creation of the “new center” encouraging the occupation of the western area of the city. for some years, the public power undertook several revitalization actions in this area, one of the first occupied and of the most “noble” of the central urban nucleus.

the conception of a good location for large supply markets had changed and vehicle traffic had grown exponentially together with the city and the demands of its inhabitants. They were 200,000 in 1900, 579,033 in 1920 and reached 12 million in 2017, even with a decrease in population growth, whose small increase of 1.18% in the 1980s, fell to 0.88% in the 1990s.¹⁸

A Step Backwards in Time: Sanitarianism and Aesthetics

As the original function of this supply center is maintained, a question arises that takes us back to the 1920s when the site for the *Grande Mercado* was chosen. Which criterion led to an area until then undervalued and subject to periodic flooding, the *várzea do Carmo*? An article in the journal *Arquitetura e Construções* announced, in February 1930, the final phase of completion of the «great Municipal Market of São Paulo»:¹⁹

Located in one of the most accessible points of the vast *Várzea do Carmo* Park and in the Center of the city, the large building rises over a 22,230 sq. m. area. It combines its magnificent ensemble and the grace and beauty of a simple style, where the proportion and delicacy of lines is in perfect harmony with the local beauty.

The land situated on the banks of the Tamanduateí River was close to the historic hill, that is, the elevation where a chapel and the old Jesuit College marked the foundation of the city. Next to what remained of the old College was the Government Palace on the same square where the buildings of the Agricultural and Treasury Departments were located.

The Sé Cathedral was being erected on another square beside it. At the bottom of the hill was the old *Vinte Cinco de Março* Market and its annex, the *Mercado dos Caipiras*, very close to the bank of the Tamanduateí river, where mules and small boats competed for space with the laundresses and their white clothes baskets.²⁰ The proximity of industrial and working-class districts already dense-

¹⁸ Izique, ‘Metamorfose ambulante’, p. 7.

¹⁹ *Arquitetura e Construções*, vol. 1, n. 7, 2 (1930), p. 716.

²⁰ Photos and writings of memorialists show the multiple uses of this area. The name *Mercado dos Caipiras* (Caipiras Market) refers to the small farmers in the rural area around the town who are

ly populated in the 1920s - Bom Retiro, Luz, Brás, and Mooca - seemed to the municipal power an ideal place to provide São Paulo with a «model market» amidst a broad program of sanitation, urbanization, and modernization of the city.

Still in the late nineteenth century, the construction of two government offices in *Largo do Palácio* (today *Pátio do Colégio*) defined a neo-classical and eclectic architectural pattern for public buildings, mostly designed and executed by the Technical Office of architect Ramos de Azevedo. They formed a group of buildings recognized at the time «for the severity and elegance of its style, the robustness that it boasts, from the very deep foundations to the raised spire».²¹ Five school buildings - the *Lyceu de Artes e Ofícios*, the *Escola Normal* (1894), the *Prudente de Moraes* (1895), the *Escola Modelo do Brás*, the *Escola Politécnica* (1898) - and the Municipal Theatre (1911) are part of a long list to which we will add the Penitentiary (1920), the Post Office and Telegraphs (1922), the Palace of Industries (1924) and the Municipal Market.²² These and other buildings confirmed the intention of public and private authorities to give the city a «modern look» in line with international architectural styles: the demolition of the old colonial Cathedral and the expansion of the square to house the Neo-Gothic Cathedral, and the implementation of a vast plan to establish public gardens in the Anhangabaú valley²³ and in the *Várzea do Carmo*,²⁴ in addition to the farthest *Parque Antártica* and *Museu Paulista* (also known as the Ipiranga Museum) located in a large garden area of the Ipiranga neighborhood. The *Viaduto do Chá*, as for it, ensured, since 1892, the connection between the central “triangle” or “old center” and the new neighborhoods opened beyond the Anhangabaú valley.²⁵

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the occupation of the working-class and industrial districts grew larger and the access of the most populated ones, Brás and Mooca, to the central area was hindered by the Tamanduateí river and its periodic floods. Although this area deserved the attention of the municipal authority since the middle of the nineteenth century, it was only in the 1870s that several “sanitation and beautification projects of the region known as *Várzea do Carmo*”²⁶ were executed. However, a broader project was

responsible for the fruit and vegetable products brought in by small boats.

²¹ Cf. Loureiro, *Evolução da casa paulista*.

²² Lemos, *Ramos de Azevedo e seu escritório*, and Carvalho, *Ramos de Azevedo*.

²³ Retto, *Escalas de Modernidade*; Simões, *Anhangabaú*.

²⁴ Enokibara, *Para além do vazio*.

²⁵ Bruno, *História e Tradições*, pp. 937-8 and 968-87.

²⁶ Newspaper *A Província de S. Paulo*, 18.1.1889, p. 1; Sessão sobre Assembleia Legislativa in Reale, *Brás*, p. 32.

only formalized in 1914, by architect Antoine Bouvard, which provided for the sanitation of the riverside lands and the formation of the *Parque Várzea* (later *Parque do Carmo*, then *Parque Dom Pedro II*, as of 1922).²⁷ After long debates involving engineers, architects, hygienists, mayors, and members of the City Council, this was the area chosen in the 1920s to install the Municipal Market.²⁸

Its construction was decided in 1920, when the public power considered inadequate the *Vinte e Cinco de Março*, *São João*, and *Largo do Riachuelo* markets, which, together with the rather remote slaughterhouse of Vila Mariana, of 1886, were the supply centers of the city. Built in several decades of the nineteenth century, they followed the standard of common hygiene and replaced the old and precarious shops of the central area in the *Rua das Casinhas* [Little Houses Street], installed in 1773; they also had to eliminate the “kiosks” selling food and the street vendors which, clustered in the streets and on church staircases formed an open-air market.²⁹ An indication of the punctual way in which administrative decisions were made is expressed in the speed with which the installations of the Market of the *rua 25 de Março*, inaugurated in 1869, were declared inadequate and outside the sanitary prescriptions by the municipal authority in 1893. The sense attributed by specialists to the rapid growth of the city in these early years of the twentieth century is corroborated: «disorderly», with «a lack of methods and foresight», requiring, in the words of Victor da Silva Freyre (Secretary of Works of the City Hall and professor at the Polytechnic School of São Paulo), a general plan to direct the expansion of the city.³⁰

Without abandoning the idea of renovating the old 25 de Março Market, the City Council endorsed, in 1921, a plan to build a new model Market on the land gained with the sanitation of the *várzea do Carmo*, in a project commissioned from the Ramos de Azevedo office.³¹ The new market should bring together good sanitary conditions and comfort for commercial purposes. The imposing building should express the importance attributed to the city by the councilmen and municipal authorities. The debates in the City Council during 1925

²⁷ Cf. Segawa, *Prelúdio da Metrôpole*.

²⁸ *Anais da Câmara Municipal de S. Paulo* – 40th ordinary session of 20.11.1920, pp.737-8; 13th ordinary session of 12.4.1924, pp. 283-4; the debates of 33rd ordinary session of 4.11.1924 make up 22 pages (887-908) and those of 8.11.1924, 18 pages (932-49); 18th ordinary session of 16.5.1925, pp. 836-8.

²⁹ In 1923, 858 street vendors dedicated only to the milk trade in the capital were still registered. *Relatório do ano de 1923*, p. 65.

³⁰ Freire, ‘Melhoramentos de São Paulo’, and *Relatório do ano 1921*, pp. 217-50.

³¹ The Ramos de Azevedo Office owned by architect Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo was responsible for the construction of most of the public buildings in the city between the end of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century. See Lemos, *Ramos de Azevedo e seu escritório*, and Carvalho, *Ramos de Azevedo*.

focused on the hygiene issues of the markets, the creation of the Inspectorate of Hygiene in 1926 and the closing of the Slaughterhouse of Vila Mariana, a set of actions in which sanitary care was combined with a concept of architectural aesthetics defined as «modern».³²

The *Mercado Municipal* was handed over for the purposes planned on January 25, 1933. The state of São Paulo had been taken over by the federal government after the failed «1932 constitutionalist revolution». On the day of its inauguration, the *Novo Mercado Municipal* deserved a good part of the OESP newspaper's title page, which spared no praise for the building, the technical details, the material used, and the size of the usable area, the services and comfort offered to traders and users. The concern with the hygienic and technical conditions for the conservation of food are highlighted, with special emphasis on the postponement of the inauguration because it was used as a military barracks by the troops of São Paulo.

The metaphorical reference of greater scope extends a bridge between the past remembered and the present intellectually elaborated, marking with its presence one of the identifying symbols of the self-image of the city, already foreseen on the day of its inauguration:

The new municipal market of São Paulo, which is now officially inaugurated, constitutes, due to its grandiosity of architecture and proportions, not only the largest municipal building in Brazil, but, as a matter of fact, of the whole of South America (OESP: 25.1.1933).

The aura of monument was thus defined at that time as symbolically marking the resistance position attributed to the inhabitants of the state of São Paulo in the face of the military coup of Getúlio Vargas in 1930, the «Constitutionalist Revolution», and the authoritarian state imposed a few years later, in 1937. The military occupation will always be mentioned as a component of the historical and affective memory of the population of the city of São Paulo. In a city that was a construction site and notable for its unbridled expansion, the *Mercadão* building is a sign of its «first modernity», expressed in the mass and magnificence of the building and in the landscape composition with the Palace of Industries and the D. Pedro II Park.

³² The construction of the Municipal Market concluded part of Antoine Bouvard's 1911 Plan, which provided for the urbanization of the Várzea do Carmo area. About the Bouvard Plan see Segawa, *Prelúdio da Metrópole*, pp. 92-100. About the built area of Várzea do Carmo, I refer to Piccolotto who states: Crowning the Bouvard Plan, the Office also signed the two icons of Parque D. Pedro II, the Central Market and the Industry Palace. Piccolotto, 'Escritório Técnico Ramos de Azevedo'.

Living Museum in the Twenty-first Century

Since the beginning of this third millennium marked by globalization, the *Mercadão* has come to unite its original use with the historical value attributed by the DPH (Department of Historical Heritage of the City) that considered it «a late example of eclecticism, and one of the most representative of São Paulo architecture».³³ The merchants installed there were given the role of figurants in a downtown living museum, something between the utilitarian and the picturesque, a remnant of the exoticism and of the rarity of the artisan commerce, today practically disappeared. Transformed into a historical monument, it marks with iron, cement and glass a moment in the history of São Paulo, captured by the specialized memory that adds the objectivity and affective memory of those who refer to it. One can see in this process the deliberate action of reinforcing the affective memory that produces an emotion inscribed in the domain of the intellectually elaborated collective memory. When the works of renovation and reconversion are finished, the building, on the level of the icon, will remember in structural and aesthetic terms the concept of modernization prevalent in the first decades of the twentieth century. As it was described by the authorities: combining magnificence and architectural solidity to the sanitary requirements and techniques of conservation of foodstuffs, its presence marks and fixes in an indelible record the time when the city began the journey that would make it the largest in the country. An effect of memory, a backwards projection valued, therefore, in part because of the testimonies of its time, but mainly because of the symbolic value today attributed to it: that of a monument and concrete presence in the urban fabric, a temporal reference of the identity of this particular city. In the vagrancy of a city that grows disproportionately, the *Mercadão* building configures one of the relics saved from a double threat: the wear and tear of time and the impetuosity of the pickaxes of technique.³⁴

Bibliography

- Andrade, Mário de, *Poesias Completas* (São Paulo: Edusp/Itatiaia, 1987)
Arquitetura e Construções, vol. 1, n. 7, 2 (São Paulo: Estabelecimento Graphico EDANEF, 1930)
 Augé, Marc, *Non-lieux. Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité* (Paris: Seuil, 1992)
 Bruno, Ernani da Silva, *História e Tradições da cidade de São Paulo*, vol. III (São Paulo: Hucitec-Prefeitura do Município de S. Paulo, 1984)

³³ *Parque D. Pedro II. Mercado Municipal. Levantamento Preliminar*, p. 443.

³⁴ I would like to thank Professor Fernando Atique for the consultancy of iconography for this publication.

- Carvalho, Maria Cristina Wolff de, *Ramos de Azevedo* (São Paulo: Edusp-Fapesp, 2000)
- Enokibara, Marta, *Para além do vazio. As propostas elaboradas para a Várzea do Carmo na cidade de São Paulo: séculos XIX e XX*, tese de doutorado FAU-USP, 2003
- Folha de S. Paulo, 29.12.1987, Caderno Cidades, p. A-10
- Freire, Vitor da Silva Jr, 'Melhoramentos de São Paulo', *Revista Politécnica*, 6, 33 (1911), pp. 91-145
- Frúgoli, Heitor Jr., *Centralidades em São Paulo: trajetórias, conflitos e negociações na metrópole* (São Paulo: Cortez-Edusp, 2000)
- Izique, Cláudia, 'Metamorfose ambulante', in *Pesquisa Fapesp. São Paulo no olhar da ciência*, Especial São Paulo 450 anos, 01 (2004), pp. 6-7
- Lemos, Carlos A. C., *Ramos de Azevedo e seu escritório* (São Paulo: Pini, 1993)
- Loureiro, Maria Amélia Salgado, *Evolução da casa paulista e a arquitetura de Ramos de Azevedo* (São Paulo: Voz do Oeste/Secretaria de Estado da Cultura de S. Paulo, 1982)
- Maia, Francisco Prestes, *Introdução ao Estudo de um Plano De Avenidas para a Cidade De São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos, 1930)
- Mello, Regina Lara Silveira, *Casa Conrado: cem anos do vitral brasileiro*, Dissertação (mestrado), Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Artes, Campinas, 1996, available at: <http://www.repositorio.unicamp.br/handle/REPOSIP/284311>
- O Estado de S. Paulo*, 9.8.2003, p. C1-C3
- Peixoto, Elane Ribeiro, *Arquitetura na Revista Projeto (1980-1995), Identidade – memória – não-lugares*, Doutorado, FAU-USP, 2003
- Piccolotto, Beatriz Siqueira Bueno, 'Escritório Técnico Ramos de Azevedo, Severo & Villares: longevidade, pluralidade e modernidade (1886-1980)', *Revista CPC*, São Paulo, 19 (2015), pp. 194-214
- Pincherle, Maria Caterina, *La città sincopata. Poesie e identità culturale nella San Paolo degli anni venti* (Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1999)
- Reale, Ebe, *Brás. Pinheiros. Jardins. Três bairros, três mundos* (São Paulo: Pioneira/Edusp, 1973)
- Relatório do ano 1921, presented to the São Paulo City Council by Mayor Dr. Firmiano de Moraes Pinto* (S. Paulo: Casa Vanorden, 1922).
- Relatório do ano de 1923, presented to the São Paulo City Council by Mayor Dr. Firmiano de Moraes Pinto* (S. Paulo: Casa Vanorden, 1924)
- Retto, Adalberto Jr. da, *Escalas de Modernidade, Vale do Anhangabaú: estudo de uma estrutura urbana*, Tese de Doutorado FAU-USP, 2002
- Requalificação do Mercado Municipal Paulistano São Paulo, Arquitetos Asso-

- ciados [Pedro Paulo de Melo Saraiva]', *Vitruvius*, 36, 3 (2003), available at <https://vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/projetos/03.036/2259>
- São Paulo (Estado). Secretaria dos Negócios Metropolitanos, Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento, *Bens Culturais arquitetônicos no Município e na Região Metropolitana de São Paulo* (São Paulo: EMPLASA, 1984)
- Segawa, Hugo, *Prelúdio da Metrópole. Arquitetura e urbanismo em São Paulo na passagem do século XIX ao XX* (São Paulo: Ateliê Editorial, 2000)
- Simões José Geraldo Jr., *Anhangabaú: História e Urbanismo* (São Paulo: Imprensa oficial, 2004)

The City of Squares and Markets, the City of People

Antoni Vives

A city built on the scale of people is a city made up of neighborhoods at a human speed, connected to each other through civic axes, and connected to the world through information networks.

This statement was not obvious a few years ago: we were talking about people, but we were doing vehicle-focused cities. The best and most representative urban planners and architects of the twentieth century designed and built cities underestimating the human scale and forcing models that encouraged the creation of a fatal constellation of suburbs. The loss of scale, of proportion, has been the mistake of the twentieth century and, therefore, the challenge of the twenty-first century. Paradoxically, to build the future, we must return to the past through the door of the most radical digital present.

There are cities with a single center differentiated from their periphery, cities with multiple centers and cities with a distributed structure that aim to ensure that in each neighborhood you can live, work and rest. In this short article, I will use Barcelona as an example. My city is not much different from what we can find, on different scales, in cities like Padua, Lyon or Stuttgart, to name a few. We cannot say the same when talking about some of the suburbs built in recent years, which conflict with the essence of the Mediterranean city, being mirrored in the models of sprawled communities' Anglo-Saxon roots or anchored in the urbanism of zoning. Barcelona therefore gives us examples of the best and the worst.

Barcelona is a city structured based on the old municipalities that surrounded what we know today as Ciutat Vella, and the various urban developments carried out through a defined identity throughout the centuries. Barcelona is, above all, a city of neighborhoods. The places where the neighbors find everything: school, work, shop, doctor, park, market. In Catalan we use both the expression «go to the market» and «go to the square». For us it is the same thing. The neighborhood square is the market square. Squares that are everything and do all the functions during the day: space for leisure, passage, market, lodge, terrace, stage. In the past, this scale was defined by human ability to move. Today this scale is given to us by the ability to live and work where we want, thanks to the digital revolution. The square, the market, and the neighborhood built around it, once again acquire the value of the courtly proportion of town planning.

Neighborhoods are the basic territorial unit for the social, economic and cultural development of people. It is defined as the area around a home that corresponds to a distance of approximately four hundred meters or five minutes on foot. Neighborhoods are the communities closest to the citizens and are the ones that should contain all the basic services and facilities that people of any age need to live. If citizens could work and have access to basic facilities in their own neighborhood, the city would function in a completely different way because it would significantly eliminate forced mobility which is the one that collapses mobility and transportation infrastructure. Needless to say, a sum of formally provided, socially self-sufficient neighborhoods from the point of view of services, ends up with the idea of the city crushing and disconnecting people. Mandatory mobility will decrease dramatically. Our squares and our markets will once again act as the agora, the place around which we will deploy the network of equipment we need to complete the set properly.

Facilities can be classified by neighborhood, country or global scale, depending on their users and their social impact. Barcelona, for example, has a large network of neighborhood or district public libraries, but it does not have a library comparable to that of New York. However, it has a large network of neighborhood, city-scale sports centers, and some of the most important sports facilities. The location of one or another facility in various areas of the city defines the structure of neighborhoods and districts, as well as the social attraction they produce over other neighborhoods in the city. And yet it tells us about the balance of the city, which guarantees balanced growth, sustained attraction and the ability to attract people.

European cities have been working for decades to provide neighborhoods with basic facilities that become providers of local services and are easily acces-

sible on foot. In Barcelona, the city's forty-two markets, which are symbols and engines of neighborhood identity, are an essential part of this neighborhood structure. The intuition of our predecessors was to monumentalize what gave them identity. Markets are the fundamental example. Schools, during the Catalan cultural renaissance of the early twentieth century, such as health centers, sports centers, followed them. The challenges return: how do we think about these centers well into the twenty-first century? How does the need to regain citizenship impact on the one hand, with the impact of the digital revolution on our lives?

In a city of human scale, where neighborhoods concentrate facilities, we should be able to connect in a renewed way. From where we live to how we live. Lifestyles have become more flexible. The lessons of the pandemic become inspiration to change the design of our spaces, private, civic and public. All connected by civic axes, ie streets and avenues with a section wide enough to include public transport, bike lanes, trees and trade. In this way we would be able to be and travel, live and experience the city, at human speed.

Markets are the essence of neighborhood identity and, in some cases, are a testament to the city's best architecture. For decades, consistent work has been done to make each facility an opportunity to build a good building, and this principle continues to be maintained and promoted, picking up the new material and environmental parameters of contemporary architecture. Also, around the markets, the main commercial axes of the city are concentrated in the neighborhood and connect the local economy with the citizens through the public space. Among the public facilities, the manufacturing athenaeums will make it possible to make innovation and access to digital manufacturing technologies a new citizen right, which must promote an economy based on entrepreneurship and a new digital reindustrialization.

The neighborhood is the soul of the city. Any economic and social progress is manifested in the neighborhoods. For this reason, the new strategic vision of the redevelopment of the city involves rebuilding it on a human scale, promoting the systematic reform of squares, markets; generating new opportunities, invading avenues and streets to expand pedestrian space. Understanding the eve of the human scale, the eve of our markets is back to stay.

The Participants' Project Works for the International Summer School

Giulia Becevello

The Context

The *Market Spaces and Production Sites of European Cities: From History to Regeneration* International Summer School offered to the participants the possibility to reflect on the current situation of trades and commercial exchanges in the markets. On one side these human activities have a rich history and precise traditions but, on the other side, today they are also forced to face a heavy crisis.

The description of several cases in Italy and in Europe, together with many different hypotheses of reuse and development, was the starting point for a well-structured meditation realised on important themes by the participants. The most relevant one concerned the role of market spaces and their buildings, not only as a commercial site, but also as a place in which people can meet themselves, exchange experiences and express traditions. From this perspective, these places must be considered not only a physical space and a centre of production but, above all, an important cultural and historical heritage. Therefore, the participants took inspiration from these themes and from the practical examples presented by the speakers of the International Summer School. The lectures offered an in-depth analysis of some important interventions that took place in Italian cities, like Venice, Bologna, Florence, Turin, Milan, and Euro-

pean ones, such as London, Antwerp, Paris and Barcelona. They all thought over their market spaces and developed a revitalisation that considered both economical and cultural activities.

The Team Works: Hypotheses for Market Spaces Regeneration in Venice and Padua

The principal city to which the works developed by the participants of the International Summer School paid close attention was Venice, focusing in particular on the Rialto fish market. The proposal for its regeneration has been seen from several points of view, and the first draft project was developed by Tania Cerquiglioni, Marin Duic, Intaraboonsom Nussara, Pietro Tonini, Caroline Vigna and Silvia Catarina Virgens on the Rialto market linked with a proposal for urban regeneration that involved several fields of knowledge, i.e. architecture, urban planning and cultural heritage. The result was the project *Per il mercato*, that started from a consideration on the background of the market, that was also a centre in which Venetians administered justice and the historical heart of the city. With the passing of time, this place had to face several problems, like the decrease of both the importance and the number of the local market stores in the historic city centre with the consequent reduction of buyers and sellers, accompanied by a huge contrast between public and private sectors.

For these reasons, the members of the group understood the need to think in a different way the central position of the Rialto market with the development of a *Four Dimensions Branding Model for Rialto Market*, based on new commercial activities and on social events, managed also by the local artisans and traders, in order to preserve their culture and traditions. On the practical side, the main focus of this project became a modular system of fish counter, that allows to use the market space even during the closing time, so as to redesign temporal and spatial perimeters. The fish counter is designed as a flexible element, that can be modulated as a stage, as a lecture or as an outdoor kitchen setting. This could represent a first step, together with the reconstruction of the culture of the market, that should be transmitted also through the iconographic image of the Rialto Market, replicated in recyclable bags for shopping, in the notebooks to mark the lists, in the food paper used to wrap fish. *Per il mercato* becomes in this way a project that tries to trace a new trajectory towards the Rialto market, imagining new perimeters to be built and able to cross the entire city, giving back to the Rialto area its central role in Venice.

A second project focused on the Rialto Market has been realised by the group formed by Elisa Dallanoce, Lucy Gallwey, Vendula Hoppe, Lara Meneghini, Alessia Socciarelli and Kate M. Wilcox. They developed a draft project on a

museum in the Rialto market in Venice, called *SENSORIUM - Storie dal mercato di Rialto. Venezia come centro di un'economia-mondo*.

The museum concept focuses on interpreting the market as a multidimensional space to be experienced through the five human senses. Tackling its historical impact and development, the museum will offer itself as a collective space where it is possible to connect past and present. Also the idea for the location is very important in this perspective: the group members proposed the upper floor of the Rialto fish market, allowing the visitors to get a deep glance to the market from up above. The wide room of the exhibition may be organised in many designed positions in order to express all the different themes in a clear way. First of all, entering into the museum space, past and present voices are heard through voiceovers, giving a sense of the core of Venice history and trading traditions, together with a video projection of the historical evolution of the Rialto market, with audio tracks replicating the sounds of the market and its evolution. Then the exhibition starts with the first sense, smell, with an overview of the history of the trade and the history of traded goods, followed by the sight, expressed by a comparison between the architectural structure of the market area in the past and today and a description of the changes in the trading traditions. Hearing should be depicted by using the voices of merchants, asked to tell their stories and to link them with the trades of the past. Touch and taste could be expressed by several different activities, such as workshops, educational activities, the description of ancient recipes and the display of archaeological artifacts, like tableware pottery and cooking tools. The exhibition underlines the importance of an analysis of the market spaces not only from a simple historical reconstruction, but also by using all the five senses, that are constantly stimulated through the market counters.

The third project about Venice was developed by the team work whose members were Paolo Notargiacomo, Giovanni Ratti, Giacomo Tozzato and Lisa Turatello. They analysed the area of Rialto with a draft project on a virtual tour in collaboration with *Progetto Rialto*, the Venetian association that tries to revitalise the area of the market with several different initiatives. The group members tried to develop an App, called *Rialto market*, in order to allow the users to discover the most attractive «secrets of the Rialto neighborhoods». Obviously, the starting point is the market with the *Pescaria*, described by using short historical notes and pictures. A second page is dedicated to Rialto Bridge, with the reconstruction of its transformations in the centuries, shown also through its representation in paintings and photos. The third section describes the San Giacomo church, strictly connected with the near market and described by using not only photos and pictures, but also with a video. Finally, the last part is

dedicated to a focus on the figure of the Dutch poet Constantijn Huygens, who visited Venice, and the Rialto area in particular way, in 1620.

The chance to discover these important monuments by using an App, allows the users to explore this part of the city while walking through its «calli» and to appreciate all the historical facts described directly on site.

Another way to examine the Rialto market concerned the development of a draft project on the traditional arts and crafts history. The team with Federico Camerin, Maki Ueta and Francesca Zanutto decided to focus on a specific subject: *Silk road as a cultural leverage. Bringing together history and future network*. Their idea is to create a new Silk Road Museum in the island of Lido, the original gateway of Venice from the sea before the construction of the Ponte della Libertà, to enhance the cultural and commercial connections between East and West. This place should be connected with stories related to the silk heritage in Venice and in other countries also through an App. Moreover it could offer a focus on the reconstruction of the history of the Venetian silk industry and its development through the centuries, until today, when the Venetian production has lost its competitiveness. An analysis of this evolution would be useful also in order to think about the future of Venice and to find out new proposals for the rebirth of these trades in the city. The group members closed their activity underlining the role of Venice in silk trade and in the relationship between East and West. In order to rediscover the importance of the city in this context, small scale initiatives based on local productions managed by local people should be welcomed for the site regeneration. Moreover, it would attract also external people, involved in new global networks and recovery projects.

The last project related to Venice and, in particular, to Rialto market, was dedicated to a study on a hypothetical historical exhibition, *The 19th-century projects for the Rialto Pescheria*, by the team work with Philippe Arthur dos Reis, Renata Geraissati, Giulia Riconzi, Ana Carolina Silva, Tommaso Zorzi. The exhibition was conceived as a virtual tour, with an ideal background with viewer accessing virtual «rooms» as to follow an actual exhibition path. The introduction could describe the transformation in Rialto through the centuries, with a focus on the present situation of the market. But the absolute protagonists of the exhibition should be the historical projects drawings, starting from the one realised by Giuseppe Salvadori in 1838 and suggesting a covered market with a Doric facade. The second group of drawings, suggested by Federico Berchet in 1865, would have transformed the entire area of Rialto, with the realisation of a grandiose iron structure in Lombard style and a direct connection to the train station via an iron bridge that would have underlined the role of Rialto as the city centre. In 1875, Annibale Forcellini projected a new covered central market

with a single facade on the Gran Canal. Only four years later, Antonio Saccomanni imagined for Rialto a space big enough to free the Rialto bridge area from street vendors, in order to restore the bridge arches. The result would have been a complex building made by glass and iron vaults with a classicist facade on the Gran Canal embellished by a triumphal arc at the centre. At the end the municipality decided to build just the fish market on the *Rio delle Beccarie*, with the final project of Domenico Rupolo e Cesare Laurenti, finished in 1908.

The projects could be accompanied by a group of paintings and photos, showing the transformation of Rialto during the nineteenth and twentieth century, by descriptions and handbooks written by the travellers. In this way the virtual exhibition offers the possibility to show the Rialto market of the nineteenth century as a vital place, with several personalities involved.

Another city with a rich and popular market also nowadays is Padua. The group made by Giulia Becevello, Martina Ghelli, Sarah Spencer, Enrico Valserti had the possibility to work on urban regeneration, developing a draft project on main «piazze» (i.e. market squares) in the city centre. The group members tried to express their ideas and researches through the podcast *Padua and its markets*. The aim was to discuss the very particular relationship of Padua and its market squares, which pulsate with life at the heart of the city. Testified for the first time at the end of the twelfth century, the two main commercial squares of the city, *Piazza delle Erbe* and *Piazza della Frutta*, were conceived by the municipal authorities in dialogue with the institutional buildings: firstly, the *Palazzo della Ragione*, and subsequently the palaces of the *Podestà*, the *Anziani* and the Civic Council. Apart from the architectural exterior of these urban spaces, the most interesting aspect is the continuous use of the squares as places of commerce and markets throughout the centuries: a real rarity, even for a country with such strong commercial traditions as Italy. Today the squares of Padua are still urban spaces of strong social interaction and attachment to civic identity.

Yet even this symbol of a historic city today is experiencing a state of crisis, which began before the Covid19 pandemic. Amidst the risks of closures and economic difficulties, however, traders and buyers have strongly defended the social role of markets and squares in the urban fabric of Padua, and have promoted a protection consortium, known as «Il Salone».

The group members decided to interview traders and patrons of this historic city market to understand what they expect from the future and what solutions can be found to keep the medieval markets of Padua alive. The traders underlined the strong link between Padua and its markets, that are the distinctive sign of a true “market life”. They also spoke about some problems, like the difficulties to maintain traditions connected to these activities also nowadays

with globalisation or the competition of the online sites. Some solutions could be linked to a better organisation of transports and to a better management of marketing, that encourages visitors to walk around and through the city.

Also patrons expressed interesting opinions about the connection between Padua and its markets but they underlined also the competition of supermarkets: they are more convenient and they offer also a higher variety of products in the same place. However, markets are always very busy, because they take place in the most famous and popular squares, which also attract both the Paduans who go out for a walk and tourists.

The interviews showed that Padua retains a strong connection to its market spaces, even if they are nonetheless facing unprecedented challenges as shopping habits change rapidly, with consumers preferring to shop at supermarkets or online for convenience. For this reason, although the history of these market spaces and the continuous function they have served throughout the centuries, these spaces must move with the times if they are to survive. The market squares should work for everyone, but above all, for the citizens of the city itself, with the introduction of more spaces for the community. In this way the markets in Padua will not be dead spaces of the past, but will remain very much alive, today and in the future too.

Conclusions

Through these workshop experiences, the different groups had the opportunity to reflect on two particular cases, Venice and Padua. However these two examples can be considered also as a paradigm for many other cases in Italy and, more in general, in Europe. Indeed, the regeneration of market spaces can be realised in several cities, analysed by considering several points of view, such as the complex mechanisms of history, the present experiences and hypotheses for the future.

All the team works considered these ideas while working and developed their interesting draft projects by using different ways to express, such as PowerPoint presentations, Apps and podcasts. The final results have been collected and it is possible to discover more about them by visiting the link designated to the *Market Spaces, Production Sites, and Sound Landscape of European Cities: from History to Regeneration* International Summer School.¹ Every draft project offers the possibility to examine the different themes developed in depth, with a well-finished bibliography and a rich collection of links concerning related topics.

¹ <https://www.beniculturali.unipd.it/www/corsi/summer-schools/international-summer-scho->

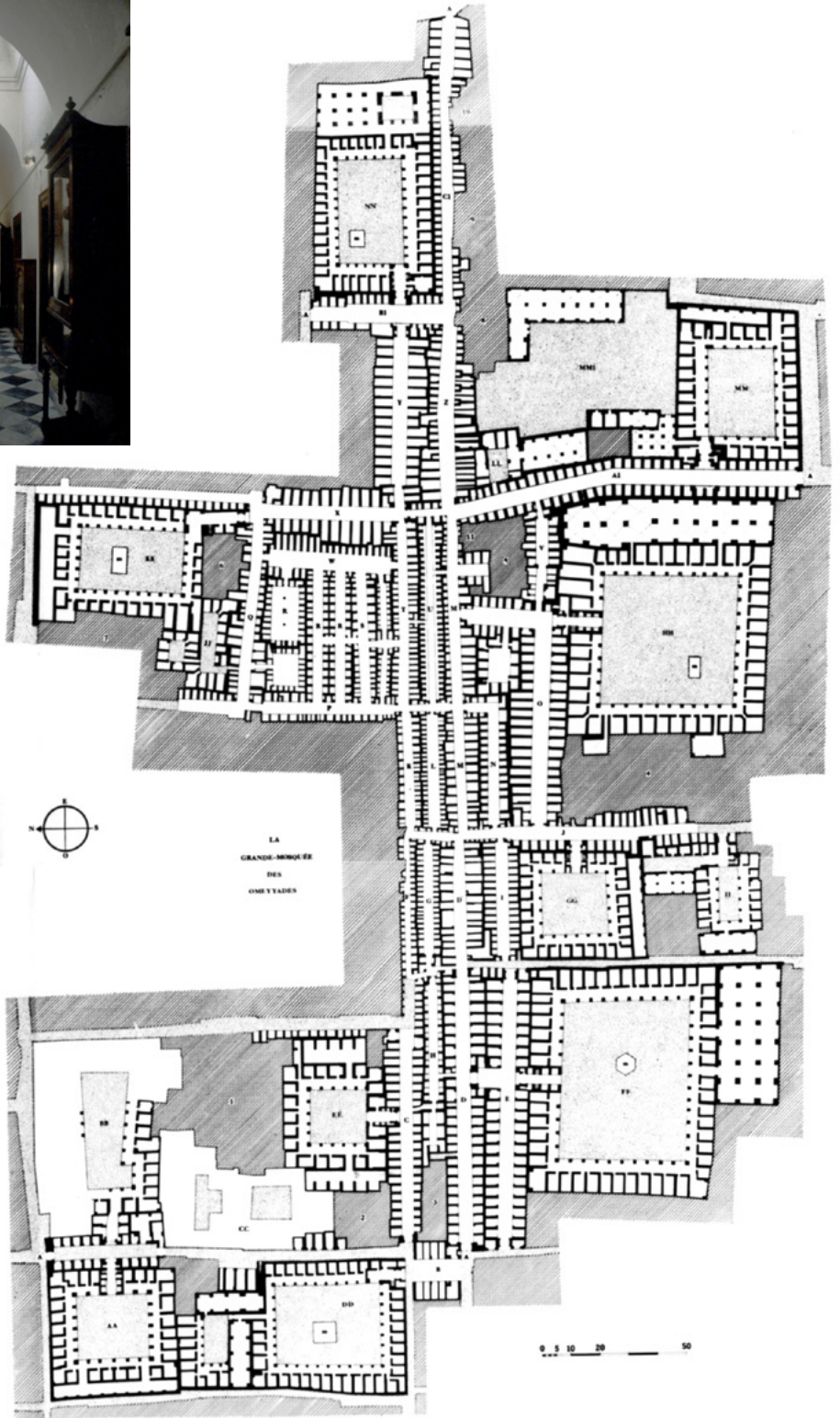
The possibility to reflect on these themes and, in particular, on the regeneration of historical markets, represents an important starting point for the safeguard and the exploitation of city centres, as witnesses of a great past but also as protagonists of the present and the future life of all the citizens that everyday walk through their counters.



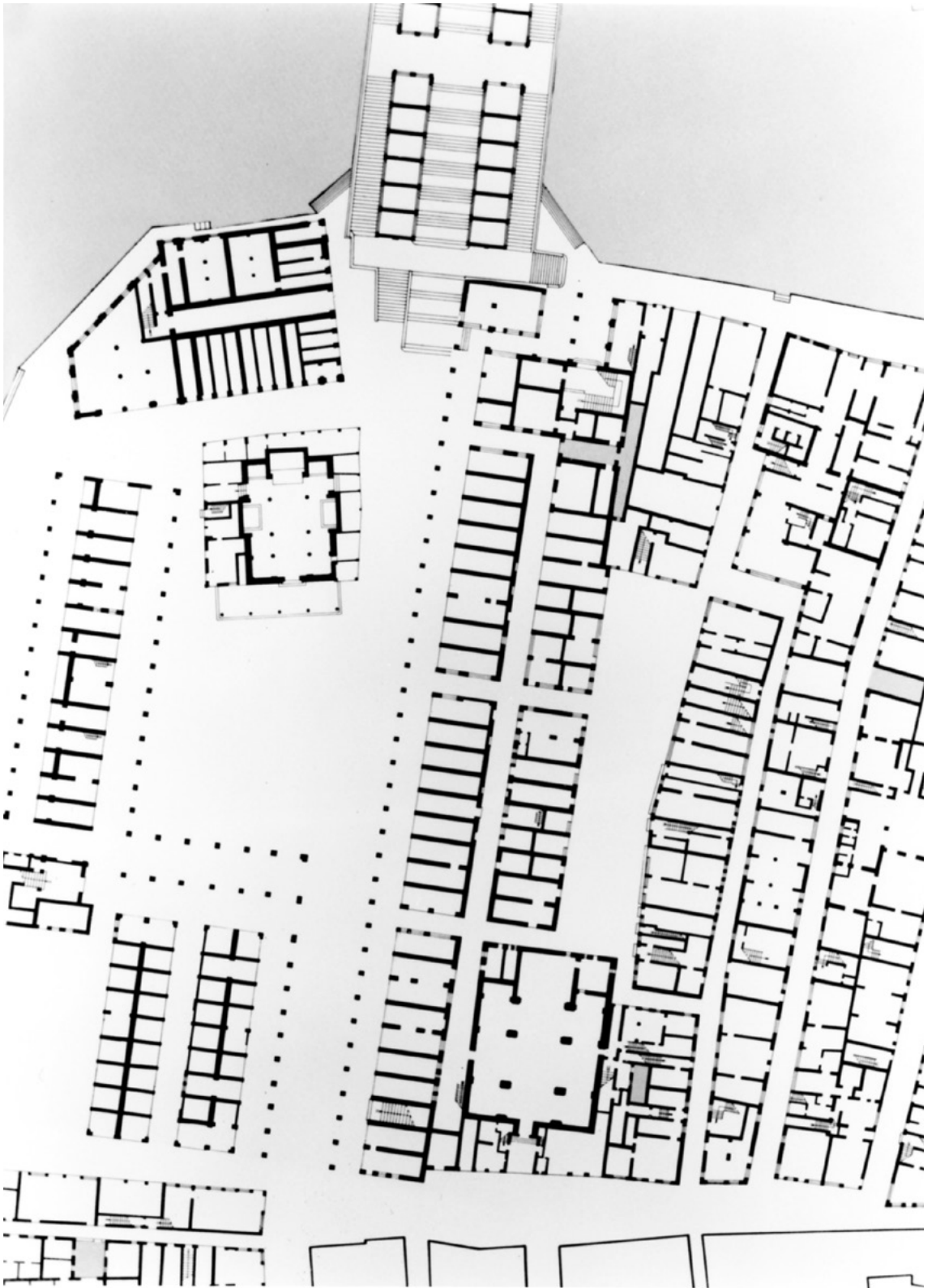
1. Damascus, suq Al-Hamidiyah, Wikipedia, photo by Bernard Gagnon.



2. Follower of Gentile Bellini, *The Reception of the Venetian Ambassadors in Damascus*, dated 1511, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. 100.



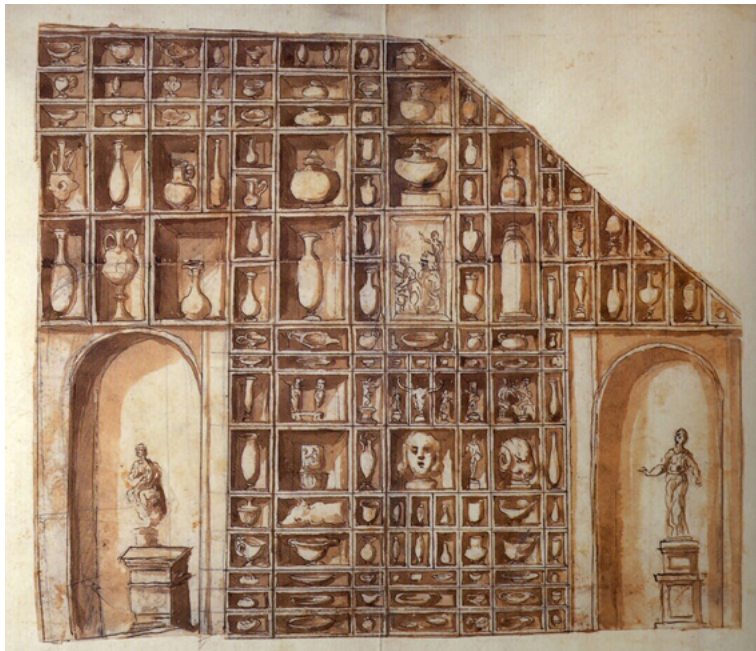
3. Aleppo, Khan al-Nahhasin: vaulted corridor on the upper floor, 2000, photo by Michele Lamprakos.
4. Aleppo, plan of the markets, after Jean Sauvaget, *Alep*, Paris 1941, vol. II, pl. LXV.



5. Rialto market, plan from Tito Talamini, *Il Canal Grande: il rilievo*, Venice 1990.



6. Lorenzo Lotto (c.1480-1556), *Portrait of Andrea Odoni*, 1527, London, Royal Collections.



7. *Andrea Vendramin's collection*, early 17th century, from Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS D'Orville 539, cc. Vv-VIr.



8. Giovanni Antonio Canal, called Canaletto (1697-1768), *Campo San Giacomo di Rialto*, c.1760, Berlin Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen.



9. Lorenzo Lotto (c.1480-1556), *Portrait of a Man in His Study*, c.1530, Mexico City, Museo Franz Mayer.



10. Giovanni Antonio Canal, called Canaletto (1697-1768), *Campo San Giacomo di Rialto*, 1725-26, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.



11. Gabriele Bella (1730-99), *Nuova fiera della Sensa*, 1780s, Venezia, Pinacoteca Querini Stampalia.



12. Giovanni Antonio Canal, called Canaletto (1697-1768), *The Feast Day of Saint Roch*, c.1735, London, National Gallery.



13. Hans Memling (c.1430-1494), *John the Baptist with the Lamb*, c.1483, Munich, Alte Pinakothek.



14. Hans Memling (c.1430-1494), *Veronica*, c.1483, Washington, National Gallery of Art.



15. Giovanni Bellini (c.1424/35-1516), *St Francis in the Desert*, c.1476/78, New York, The Frick Collection.



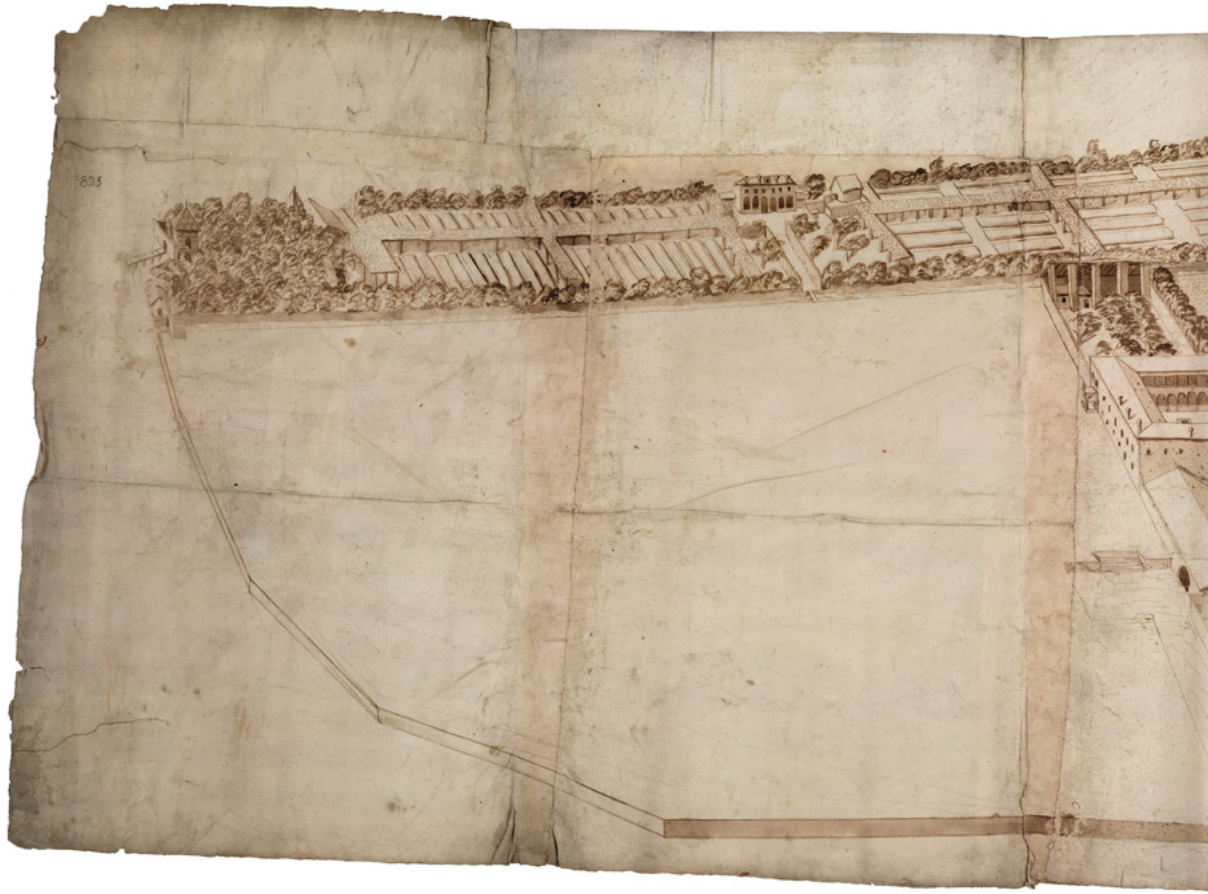
16. Unknown artist, *Dying Niobid*, also known as *Endymion*, possibly first century CE, Munich Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek.



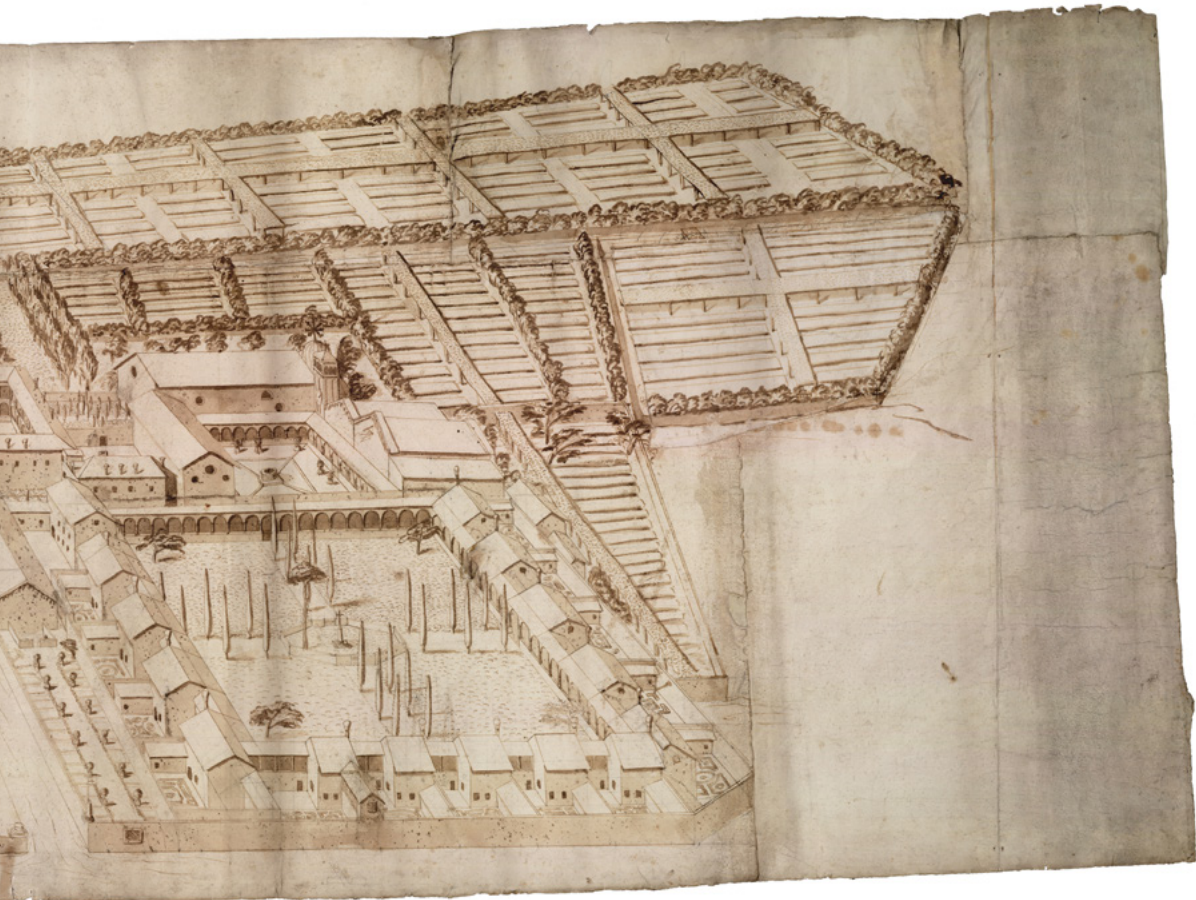
17. Unknown artist, in the manner of Lysippos, *Praying Boy (Adorante)*, c.300 BCE, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung.



18. Huegues de Comminelles, *Venetia* from Claudius Ptolomaeus, *Cosmographia*, Florence, 1470, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Latino 4802, fol. 132.



19. Orchards, vegetable gardens, and vineyards in the island of La Certosa, 17th century, Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Miscellanea mappe, dis. 825.



Confino de la diuclation fa el pienza de San saluador demora
 Aqueli ch n'esse aluelo le aque del lago per far el molino 1269

Secundo che esta aqua et palude vno suo capo parte in li agerz e parte in lo rio de calco
 E da laltro suo capo ferma parte in doe rade de do canali zoe perato et San sephano in
 suo latere fermato p tutto in lo perato. E laltro suo latere fermato parte i aqua de sanfini
 zia. E parte i aqua ch fu del g. forno quicim. Adonda p la sopradicta aqua e palude m
 to co li nui agerz. Al pnte vedemo auez eridato e dexe passa fozia d'atti agerz con nite
 la iurisdicione de la nostra gheria. etc.

Et est notandu ch qsti moterini. pag. 16. d. p. al ano al pienza de sca m. de mira zoe de san
 donado p le ag ch son detro dal lago de raxa de la dita gheria come ap p vn iustiu obligatio fero
 in 1208. adi p. marzo i ripo de mstr nati cocho podesta amia. p vn acorde seguito fra mstr lo pienza
 de sca m. e mstr slueste moter ch h'empuano i sime e h'ave za p diti i cetera molti tiffioni et iustiu
 fere la dita catta da raxa angolo a liura de Egnio chitego da treuixu pu. aplio in il nedato.

Item notadu est ch la catta de la apeda de la raxa del cano duro la qual nel. 1379. ad 22. fere fo
 qda dal pizio q grata da le stadice da venecia de la gda de san apponal da questi confini.

Secundo ch esta catta fermata a la sca raxa et otto da vno capo la via cona discente lo canal de sancto
 cyprano onde la ha intrate e exite. E da laltro capo ferma con leito p tutto le lago de moter. unde
 zere propo in terra vana del monestrio de sancta maria di agnoli de mira. E da laltro latere ferma parte
 co el muro comu a qsti ppera e ala ppera del dite p. pizio vendidore et parte co el suo raxo et parte
 propa con leito del dite p. pizio vendidore.

Et est notandu ch la catta de la iustifon appo de la dita raxa del cano duro fira co le fide e la sua not
 na e nite altre soe curre dal 12. in aqua nite dal mio lado. dixe che la confina et firmat p tutto
 i sca vana sue labente le done monate de sca m. de agnoli damuzano.



20. Watermills (aquadamoli) behind the monastery of Santa Maria degli Anzoli in Murano, 15th century, Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Santa Maria degli Anzoli, b. 32.



21. Francesco Alberti, Survey of
 the houseboat in Santo Spirito
 used for travelers, 1687, Venezia,
 Archivio di Stato, Savi ed
 esecutori alle acque, Atti, b. 139,
 dis. 14.



22. Ancient floor tiles from the church
 of Santo Spirito installed in the
 pavement of the Basilica della Salute,
 photo by Ludovica Galeazzo.



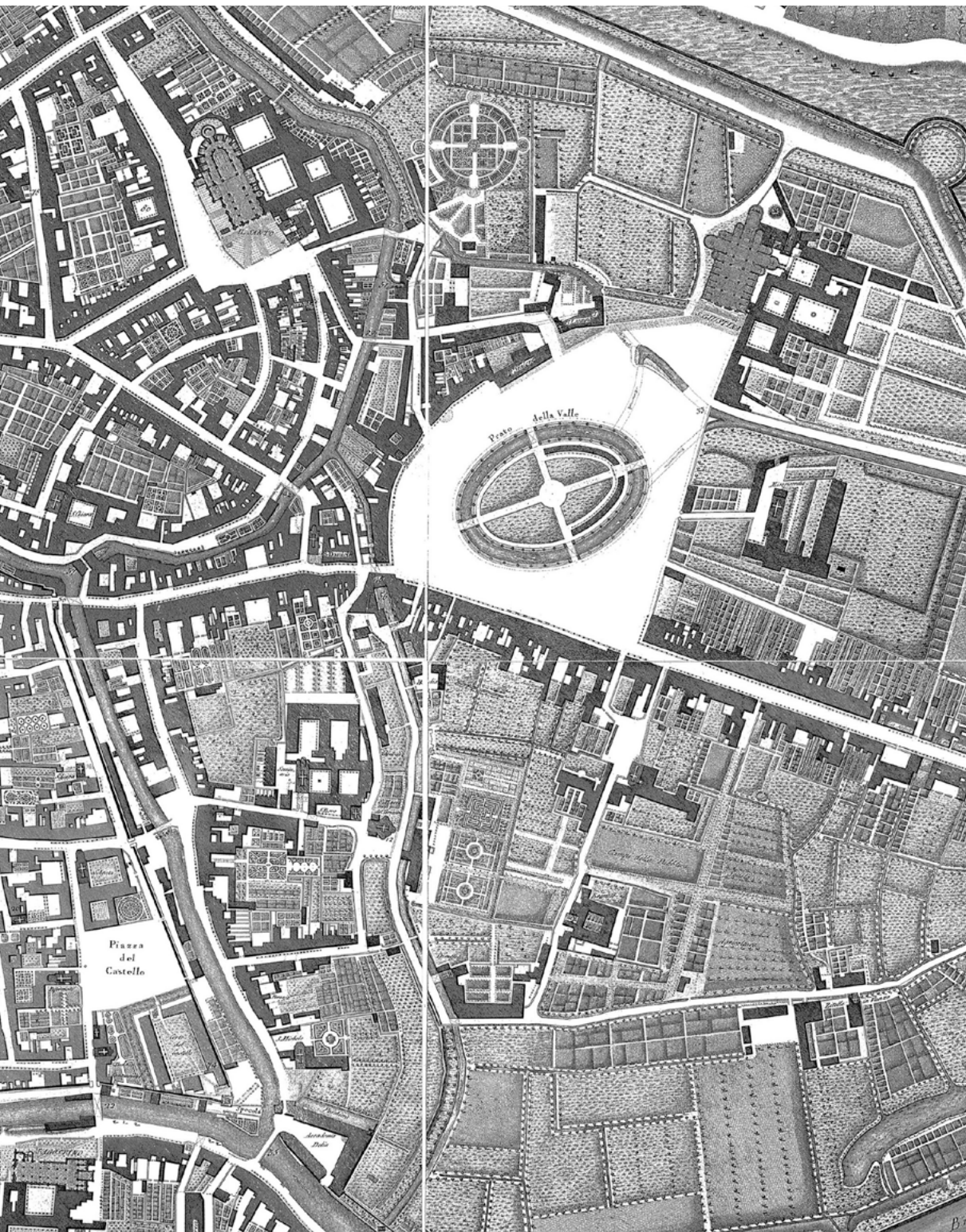
23. Mappa mundi dating from about 1300, Hereford, Hereford Cathedral, United Kingdom.

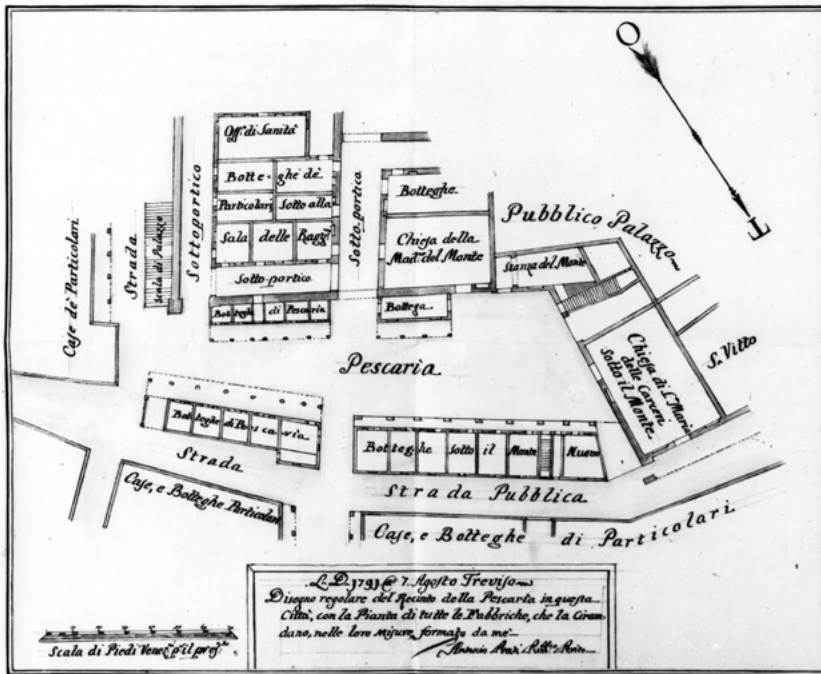


24. *Mappa mundi* dating from about 1300, Hereford, Hereford Cathedral, United Kingdom, detail.

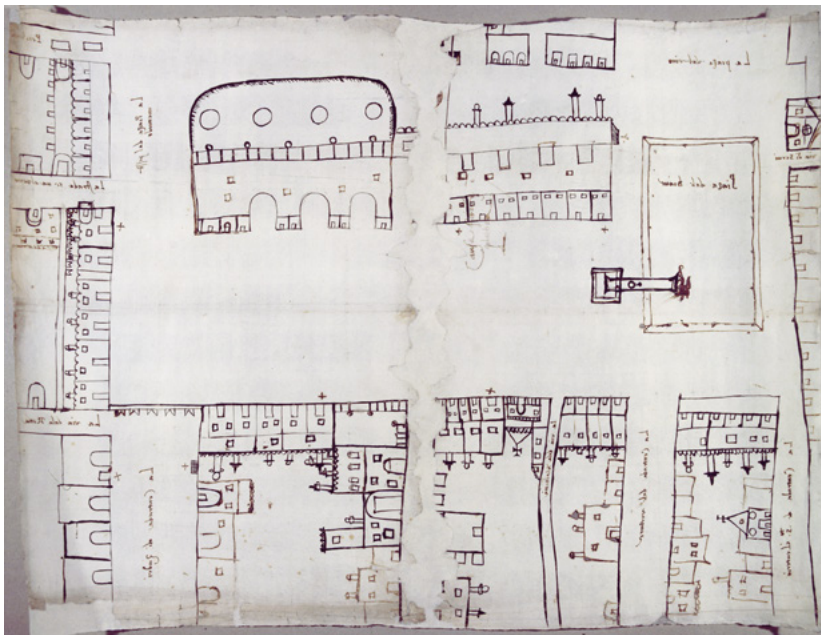


25. Giovanni Valle, Plan of Padua, 1784, detail of the central market spaces.





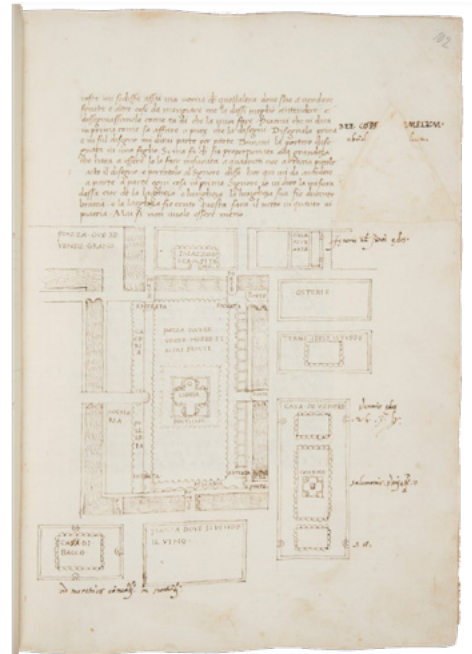
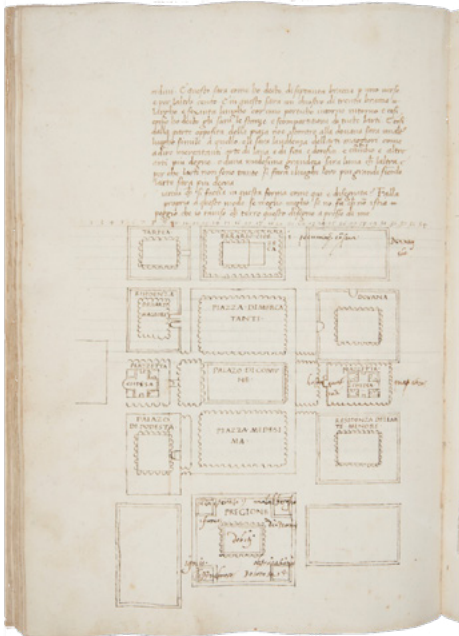
26. Antonio Prati, Plan of the *Pescaria* of Treviso, 1791, Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Scansadori alle Spese Superflue, b. 103, dis. 1.



27. Plan of the area of the central squares of Vicenza, called «pianta del Peronio», 1480-81, Vicenza, Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana.



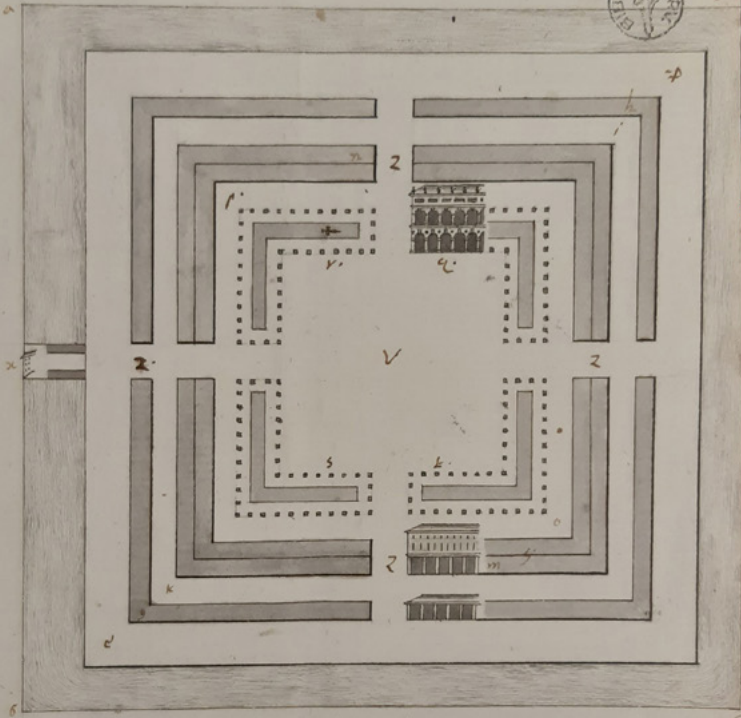
28. Padua, Piazza delle Erbe, photo by Enrico Scek Osman.



29. Antonio Averlino called Filarete, «piazza dei mercanti» and «piazza del mercato», Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. E B 15.7 (codice Palatino), cc. 101v-102r.

Tav. V.

Pianura della fabbrica mercantile disignata da Giocondo
per il Rialto in Venezia, e suo Ponte.



- 1. a. b. Canalgrande.
- 2. a. c. Corso della Baccaria.
- 3. a. d. Vico del Indaco.
- 4. e. d. Vico nuovo
- 5. X. Piazza Zanussi con
Borghe e 2 piani d'arco.
- 6. e. f. piazza o fondamenta per alloggi.
- 7. g. h. Borghe per molte magazzine
- 8. i. k. strada
- 9. g. i. Borghe e Case dell' un e l' altro
parte con strade y
- 10. o. p. strada angola
- 11. z. questo Porse
- 12. q. v. s. Loggia con Borghe e arc.
- 13. r. Chiesa di S. Matteo
- 14. s. Chiesa di S. Giovanni

0 50 100 200 300 Piedi Veneti.

30. Reconstruction of the project by fra' Giocondo for the Rialto market, from Domenico Maria Federici, *Convito borgiano*, Treviso, Biblioteca Civica, ms. 164, tav. V.



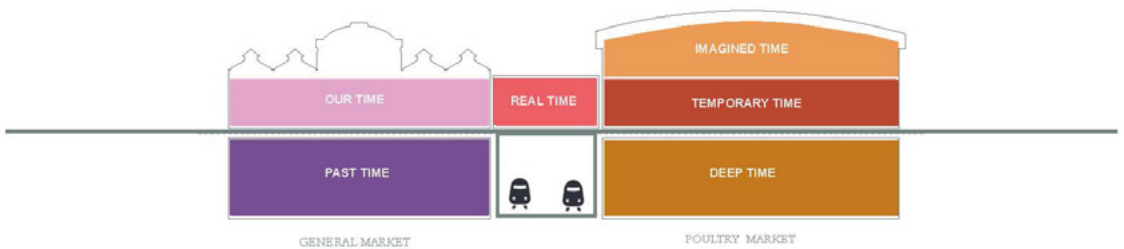
31. Aerial image of The New Museum of London at West Smithfield, as it will be when completed, imagined by Stanton Williams architects ©Stanton Williams.



32. Aerial view of the whole of the London Central Markets, including the West Smithfield Campus.



33. The New Museum, Snow Hill Entrance, an imagined scene of a late night event ©Asif Kahn.



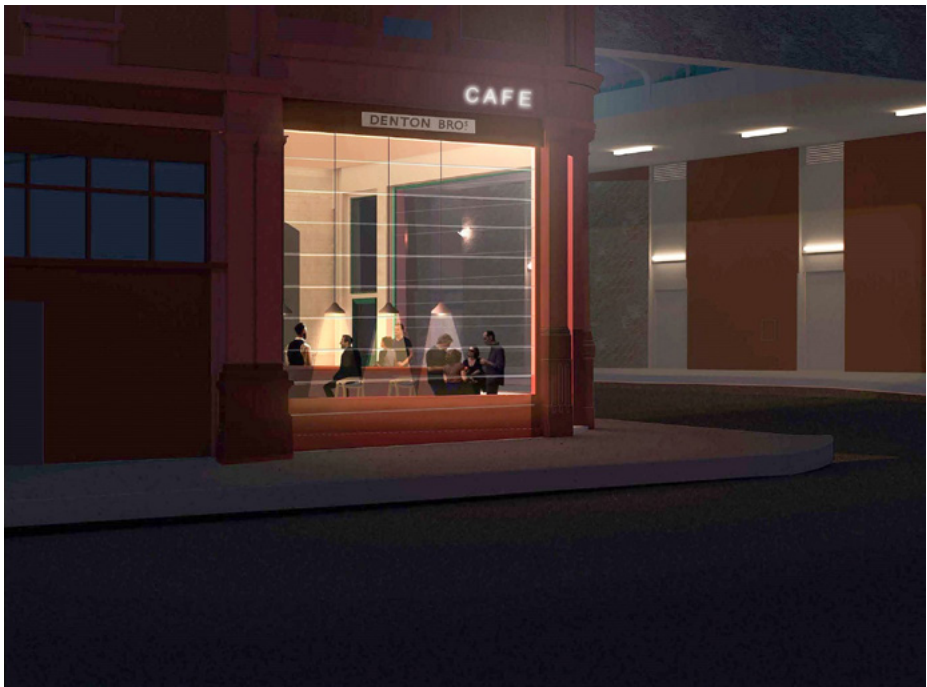
34. West Poultry Avenue today and as it will be as a new destination entrance to the New Museum at West Smithfield ©Stanton Williams.



35. Museum Interpretation Strategy, ©Museum of London.



36. The Institute a new high street, shop fronts General Market, ©Asif Kahn.



37. The Cocoa Rooms open into the night, ©Asif Kahn.



38. The main façade of the Central Market of São Paulo City at night, photo by Andrés Otero.



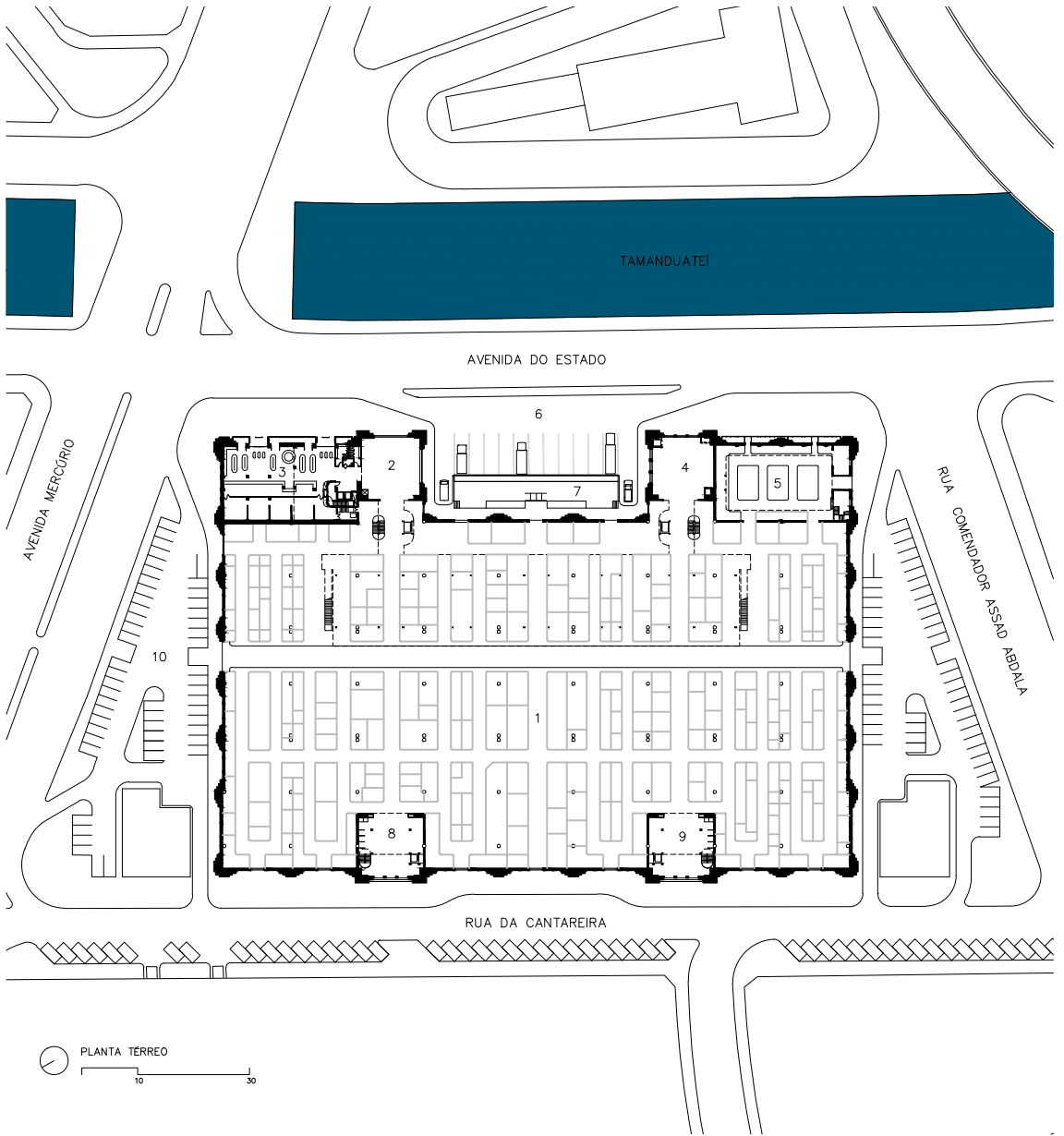
39. One of the gates with the Ceres' caryatide, photo by André Otero.



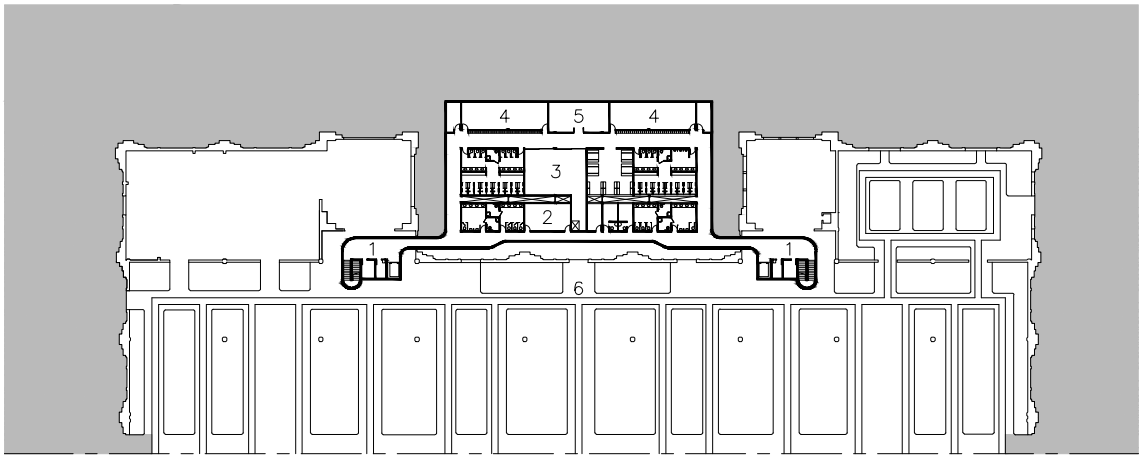
40. One of the gates, photo by André Otero.

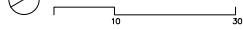


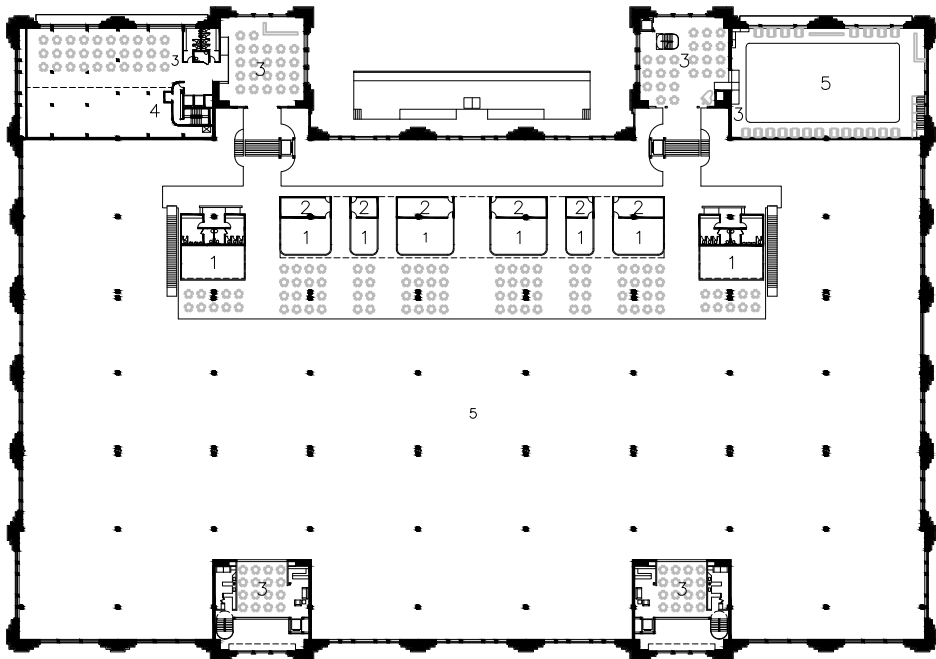
41. The mezzanine introduced inside the market, photo by Marcelo Scandaroli.

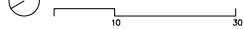


42. The urban situation of the building, close to the Tamanduateí river (above) and the Cantareira Street (below), plan provided by Romano Guerra Editora.



PLANTA SUBSOLO




PLANTA MEZANINO


LEGENDA SUBSOLO

- 1 - SAGUÃO
- 2 - SALA DE INFORMÁTICA/AGRONEGÓCIOS
- 3 - TRIAGEM DE LIXO
- 4 - SALA DE EQUIPAMENTOS
- 5 - SALA DOS TRANSFORMADORES
- 6 - CANALETAS TÉCNICAS

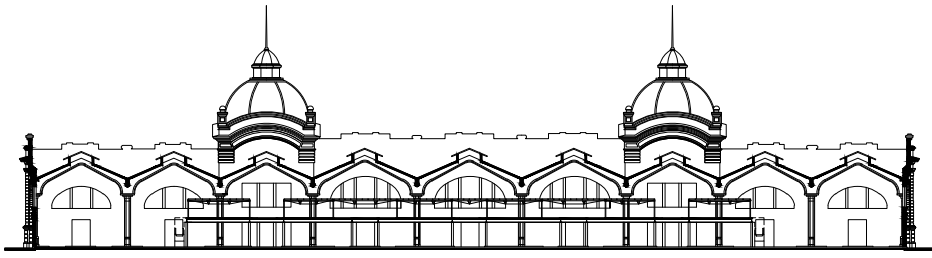
LEGENDA TÉRREO

- 1 - BOXES
- 2 - TORRE A
- 3 - PANIFICADORA
- 4 - TORRE B/RESTAURANTE
- 5 - SALA DE EVENTOS
- 6 - PÁTIO DE MANOBRAS
- 7 - DOÇAS
- 8 - TORRE C
- 9 - TORRE D
- 10 - ESTACIONAMENTO

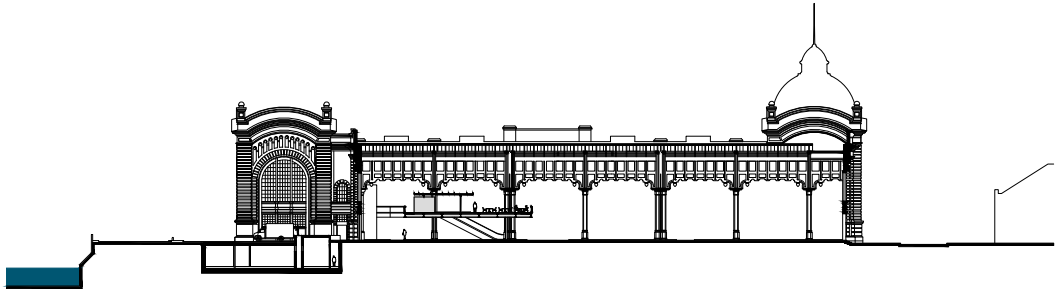
LEGENDA MEZANINO

- 1 - LOJA/ATENDIMENTO
- 2 - LOJA/DEPÓSITO
- 3 - RESTAURANTE
- 4 - COZINHA
- 5 - VAZIO

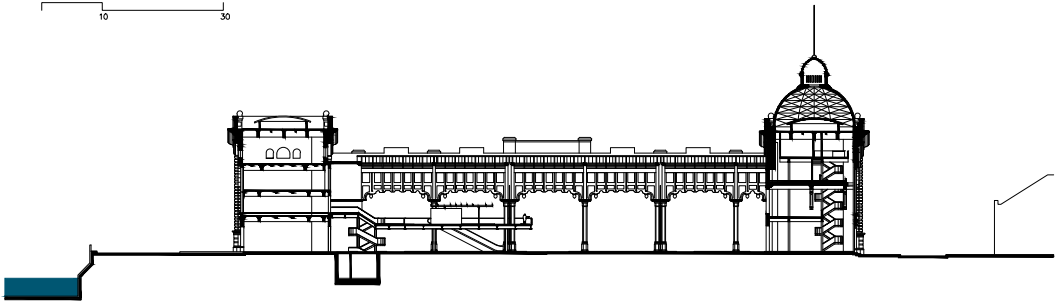
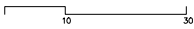
43. The basement level, drawing provided by Romano Guerra Editora; The ground floor of the building, showing the insertion of the mezzanine, plan provided by Romano Guerra Editora.



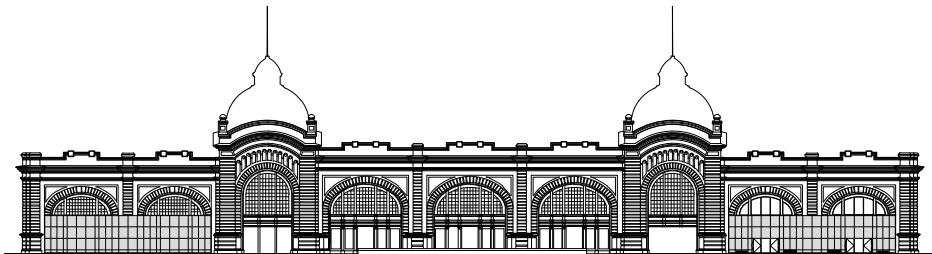
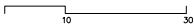
CORTE LONGITUDINAL



CORTE TRANSVERSAL 1



CORTE TRANSVERSAL 2



ELEVAÇÃO FRONTAL



44. Sections of the building, highlighting the mezzanine introduced during the renovation works, drawings provided by Romano Guerra Editora.

The book presents some contributions developed in the context of the International Summer School *Market Spaces, Production Sites, and Sound Landscape of European Cities* promoted by the University of Padua in collaboration with University of Warwick, and Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi. Building on the centrality of culture as a flywheel and a vital component for the economy and society of any given city, this edited volume provides a broad overview on regeneration of spaces and architecture for market and places of production considered as a historical heritage. It also includes a serious discussion on the need to restore their role of fundamental social and cultural buildings. At the same time, by analyzing their history and impact - also in terms of sound landscapes - it proposes practical solutions for protecting them within the wider general scope of sustainable development.

ISBN 9788869383038



9 788869 383038

20,00 €