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Özlem ÇAYKENT – Luca ZAVAGNO
Editors

PEOPLE AND GOODS ON THE MOVE

Merchants, Networks and Communication Routes
in the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean



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**Merchants, Networks and Communication
Routes in the Medieval and Early Modern
Mediterranean**



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The Construction of a Professional Minority. 'Istrian Pilots' in Early Modern Venice (15th-18th Centuries)

ALESSANDRO BUONO

*My wind cooling my broth
Would blow me to an ague when I thought
What harm a wind too great might do at sea.
I should not see the sandy hour-glass run
But I should think of shallows and of flats,
And see my wealthy Andrew [dock'd] in sand,
Vailing her high top lower than her ribs
To kiss her burial. Should I go to church
And see the holy edifice of stone,
And not bethink me straight of dangerous rocks,
Which touching but my gentle vessel's side
Would scatter all her spices on the stream
Enrobe the roaring waters with my silks,
And in a word, but even now worth this,
And now worth nothing? Shall I have the thought
To think on this, and shall I lack the thought
That such a thing bechanc'd would make me sad?
But tell not me; I know Antonio
Is sad to think upon his merchandise.*

William Shakespeare
The Merchant of Venice, act 1. sc. i. ll. 23–40.

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to report the first findings of a research regarding the professional brotherhood of the so-called *pedotti d'Istria*, i.e. Istrian ship pilots, a selected group of seamen, that, around the middle of the fifteenth century and until the fall of the *Most Serene Republic*, were awarded the legal monopoly of piloting ships between the Istrian peninsula, located at the head of the Adriatic Sea in front of the Venetian lagoon, and the city of Venice. Vessels sailing towards Venice, in order to safely reach the Venetian lagoon, were obliged by law to embark experienced pilots in the two Istrian ports of Rovigno and Parenzo (Rovinj and Poreč, nowadays in Croatia). One of the most interesting characteristics of *pedotti's* brotherhood, though, was that whilst they were forced to stay in the above mentioned ports, they had the obligation to keep their families in Venice.

This obligation, which made them a crucial group of border-crossers, leads to some questions about the formation of this sort of “professional minority” and about its role as a link between the two sides of the Adriatic Sea, “ferrying” not

only ships and goods, but creating networks. As we shall see in the following pages, between the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century the construction of what we might call a “maritime minority” involved seamen proceeding from the whole Venice Sea Dominions (*Stato da Mar*), who established their residence in Venice and merged in a handful of kinships, that would monopolize the profession of pilot since the fall of the Republic. In this process, significantly, the “national” or “ethnic” origin was not a decisive factor: permanent residence in Venice was cogent.

Finally, I will also suggest an interpretation of this corporate body as a mean of defending a local and community resource: pursuing a profession in the old regime, according to recent historiography (Cerutti, 2012), was considered not only a matter of personal skills and territorial know-how (knowledge of sea routes and Adriatic Sea morphology, cognition about the characteristics of Venice lagoon seabed, et cetera), but as a resource of a community. Only community-members, in other words, owned the right to access and exploit job opportunities, and only their corporate body could legitimately confer this right.

2. *The profession of pedotti d’Istria*

The professional activity of pilots certainly arose in the medieval era, and originated by the necessity of navigation itself (Parenzo, 1897, pp. 37-56; Sambo, 1991, pp. 837-843)¹. The organization of pilots in a corporate body, instead, is rather late compared to other guilds². The erection of the “School” of *pedotti*, in fact, occurred only in the middle of the fifteenth century, when, in 1450, the Senate (or *Consiglio dei Pregadi*) approved the charter of the brotherhood, the so-called “*Mariegola*”³.

However, unlike other “Arts corporations”, Istrian Pilots were not strictly a “guild” but a “brotherhood”⁴, which means that they were less autonomous and,

¹ There are only a few hints, in modern historiography, about the history of *pedotti d’Istria*: the article of Aldo Parenzo (1896) aimed to reconstruct the late eighteenth century reform of the entrance examination and in addition, only half a dozen pages are dedicated to them in Alessandra Sambo’s *Il lavoro portuale* (1991).

² The arts guilds in Venice and the so-called “Schools”, established especially from thirteenth century, had a somewhat different development from those of other Italian cities. Initially born as confraternities, for devotional and charitable purposes, only at a later time began to regulate the professional activities of its members. See Lane, 1973. On the specific characteristics of the corporations in Venice see Mackenney, 1987; Caravale, 1997.

³ ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, *Concession de la Schuola, e Matrichula de li Pedotti*, 2 September 1450.

⁴ «Significantly, the guilds for which there is the earliest evidence did not represent the most important professions or occupations»: for example, there was no guild for «merchants engaged in foreign trade’ or guilds ‘representing judges, lawyers, and notaries». «There was also no guild of mariners, neither of masters and mates, nor of ordinary seamen, at least no until a very late date ... The seamen lacked a guild for the same reasons general merchants did; they were too numerous». «They were, to be sure, a number of religious fraternities honouring Saint Nicholas, the patron saint

instead of being under the ordinary jurisdiction of the so-called “Executioners” (*Giustizieri*), they were subject to a specific Venetian magistracy, the *Ufficiali al Cattaver* (Lane, 1973, p. 106). This institution was already established by the Great Council at the end of the thirteenth century (in 1280) and soon merged with the Office of Smuggling (in 1292), with the very intent to control state privileges and properties, and prevent smuggling (Caravale, 1997, pp. 336-337).

The year 1440 is constantly remembered as the «beginning of the profession of Istrian Pilots» in the documents of the following centuries. However, even before this, these pilots should have been associated at least for economic purposes and mutual aid. In 1440, indeed, in responding to a *pedotti*'s plea, asking the *Consiglio dei Pregadi* among other things to punish pilots who did not respected the orders to reside in Istria or ship's masters embarking Istrian mariners instead of them, the Senate ordered to devolve the third part of all the pecuniary sanctions to ‘all pilots’⁵. A common treasury, hence, already existed.

Furthermore, at least in the fifteenth century the institution of *Cattaver* had the duty to enrol in a special book those pilots who had the privilege to perform the profession. Until mid-sixteenth century they were known in official records as ‘Pedotti de Venetia’ or ‘Pedotte Castelli’ (i.e. Venetian pilots, or pilots of the *Sestriere Castello*)⁶. Moreover, at least since 1440 the *Cattaver*, together with the *Savi agli Ordini*⁷, were entitled to biannually control *pedotti*'s professional skills, theoretical and practical, through an exam aimed at testifying that they fulfilled their tasks and had abstained from committing contrabands (Rossi, 1991, pp. 668-694)⁸.

If, then, the professional group of this specific sort of pilots existed in Venice before the mid-fifteenth century, as we have already said, the *pedotti*'s ‘School of the Holy Cross’ was officially established only in 1449–1450⁹, in the Basilica of St

of seamen, ... but the oath required of seamen was prescribed by the maritime code of 1255 [the Ranieri Zeno's code], not by any guild statutes» (Lane, 1973).

⁵ «De la ... pena pecuniaria el terzo ... sia de tutti li altri Pedotti», (ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, *In Pregadi 1440. A di 27 luglio. Cercha el star deli Pedotti a Parenzo, e a Rovigno, et el star de la Prova con i Sig. Cattaveri, et Savij di ordeni do volte alano [sic], sotto pena, uts. in capo*, 27 July 1440).

⁶ ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, *Concession de la Schuola, e Matrichula de li Pedotti*, 2 September 1450.

⁷ At the beginnings of the fifteenth century the five *Savi agli Ordini* (“Orders” were the maritime regulations) were responsible to give preliminary advice to the Senate in all affairs concerning the administration of maritime domains and the fleet. However, they progressively lost any decision-making power, and became only a stage in the governmental training of young aristocrats.

⁸ To ensure that all *pedotti* carry out their job properly, the *Savi agli Ordini* and *Cattaver* are required to congregate twice a year, to get information on *pedotti* and to approve, or disapprove those who for its own negligence, or ignorance, caused accidents, or have smuggled. See ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 27 July 1440.

⁹ For the brotherhood's charter see ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, cf. 14 January 1448 *more veneto* (i.e. 1449, because in the “venetian style” calendar the new year begun on the first day of March) and 2 December 1450.

Peter of Castello which in 1451 became the seat of the new Patriarch of Venice¹⁰. In 1450, then, the *Consiglio dei Pregadi* ratified the 15 chapters of the *pedotti's Mariogola*, the charter which settled the basic rules of the brotherhood, partially reformed in 1491 (Cassandro, 1981, pp. 281-300)¹¹.

The number of pilots forming the brotherhood varied through the decades: one of the first congregations of the “School”, held in Istria in 1458, had only thirteen participants¹². These would increase over the following centuries, but would never go beyond a few dozen people: in 1752, when the profession contemplated an internal structure based on the length of service, there were thirty Istrian Pilots.

The structure of the profession became stable in the mid–sixteenth century, when a young boy, of the minimum age of ten years, could start as an apprentice in the service of a senior pilot. After seven years of service, after an examination carried out in front of the *Ufficiali al Cattaver* and the *Savi agli Ordini*, he could access the rank of “small pilot” (*pedotta piccolo*), and after another five years of work, with a minimum age of 22 years, he could become “great pilot” (*pedotta grande*). Finally, after another twenty-two years of work he could retire (*pedotta giubilato*), enjoying all the privileges of the corporation (Sambo, 1991, p. 838). Their small number made necessary to appoint some ‘pedotti di rispetto’ (or reserve pilots), both in the category of great and small¹³.

The distinction between great and small pilots refers to the deadweight of vessels that they can control¹⁴: small pilots could control only vessels of less than one

¹⁰ «During the Schism of the West, Venice always adhered to the Roman obedience. [In 1451], upon the death of Domenico Michel, Patriarch of Grado, Nicholas V suppressed the patriarchate and the Bishopric of Castello, incorporating them both in the new Patriarchate of Venice (Bull, *Regis aeterni*), thus Venice succeeded to the whole metropolitan jurisdiction of Grado, including the sees of Dalmatia. The election of the patriarch belonged to the Senate, and this practice sometimes led to differences between the republic and the Holy See» (Benigni, 1912).

¹¹ The *Capitolo* (assembly) of the profession periodically produced new *capitolazioni* (amendments to the School’s Charter) submitted for the approval to the *Cattaveri*, since the promulgation of the *Codice per la Veneta mercantile Marina* in 1786 (ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 1491. *Adi 15 settembre. Che alcun non possi esser pedotta sel non sarà sta’ fiol de pedotta over fante, sotto pena*, 15 September 1491). See also Cassandro, 1981.

¹² ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 1458. *Adi 26. mazo. Cercha la samination, ala prova, che sia examinati. 6. pedotti da botte 100 in zoso, e quelli sara trovati sufficienti, siano de rispetto. de i grandi i qual se possino acodar con ogni fusto non se trovando li de i pedotti grandi*, 26 March 1458.

¹³ «Reserve pilots» were mentioned for the first time in 1458, when, due to the scarcity of pilots, only a dozen, compared to the ships waiting for them in Istria, the *Cattaver* dictated the creation of the figure of the *pedotta di rispetto* (ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 26 March 1458).

¹⁴ The internal partition between the big and the small pilots, according to the deadweight of vessels that they were allowed to navigate, was already established around the mid–fifteenth century gradually becoming more severely prescribed. However, a small pilot was often allowed to conduct a big vessel in absence of *pedotti grandi*. See ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, *Cercha la portata della nave, et navilij che portano stara 1000 de formento, se intenda esser de botte 100, et se porteranno oltra ditta quantità, per cadauno centenaro de stara se intenda botte 10*, undated but likely 1449 or 1450.

hundred Venetian barrels (more or less, sixty–four tons)¹⁵ (Martini, 1883, p. 818). Just to compare: «Columbus’s *Santa Maria* is estimated at 100 tons» while ordinary ships in the Mediterranean could be estimated at two hundred tons and «500 tons meant a very big ship any time before the nineteenth century»¹⁶ even in the oceans (Hocquet, 1991, p. 482; Lane, 1973, p. 46).

Also piloting tariffs, obviously, were established on the basis of ships’ deadweight and varied through the centuries: at mid–fifteenth century, for example, the cost of the crossing was three ducats¹⁷ for a voyage of about ninety miles, which lasted a day and a night (Lane, 1973, p. 58), while at the end of the seventeenth century ships embarking Istrian pilots were required to pay ten ducats¹⁸.

As with all corporations, the brotherhood task was to assist the members in case of illness, temporary disability or old age. In addition, the corporation took care to provide dowry for the orphaned daughters of members, and to pay for the burial of needy “brothers”¹⁹. Another special privilege, was the use of electing old pilots as guardians of Venice’s castles, the two fortresses of San Nicolò and Sant’Andrea (*Doi Castelli*), positioned at the two sides of the Lido’s harbour entrance (Concina 1995; Morachiello, 1991b). This was certainly a form of retirement reward, but also a demonstration of the bond existing between the profession of pilot and the acquisition of a specific knowledge crucial for Venice’s defensive system²⁰. In addition to the presence of *pedotti* in the castles, in fact, among them were chosen by the *Cattaver* the two Admirals of the ports of Lido and Malamocco, two important authorities entitled to supervise all operations of enter and exit the lagoon. The Admirals were claimed to guarantee the twofold objective of attracting and ensuring the safety of merchant vessels in the hazardous waters of lagoon’s en-

¹⁵ In the early modern centuries barrel a Venetian weighed about six hundred forty (640) kilograms or about seven hundred fifty (750) litres capacity.

¹⁶ The major vessels in the sixteenth century Venice had a tonnage of between 500 and 1.200 venetian barrels.

¹⁷ In 1512 was established a complete transportation fare table, used as benchmark still in the seventeenth century, when the previous date was cited as the «time of the construction of the professional fares» (ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, cf. 6 September 1452 and 18 July 1636).

¹⁸ At the end of the seventeenth century, the Republic was inundated with requests for exemptions and was forced (after having repeatedly refused to grant privileges to “Greek” captains of *Tar-tane* and *Saicche*) to concede English, Flemish and in the end French vessels to not embark the *pedotta* in Istria. It was a privilege aimed to facilitate the trade («facilitar il comercio») in a harsh moment, leaving to the ‘good generosity’ of foreign captains to autonomously decide whether or not to embark the Istrian pilot and consequently pay his reward. See ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 14 April 1678, 31 August 1678, 10 June 1679 and 18 December 1686.

¹⁹ See *capitolazioni* of 1513 and 1551 (ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 6 September 1513 and 11 April 1551).

²⁰ Alessandra Sambo (1991), highlights the Senate order given to the magistracy of *Patroni all’Arsenal* to confer the position of castles guardians to retired *pedotti*, but does not stress the connection between the profession of pilot and Venice’s defensive system. See ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 15 April 1519; 21 September 1530 and ASVE, Senato Mar, reg. 22, 8 October 1530.

trances, and defending the city from invasions such as the recent Genoese during the War of Chioggia (Crouzet–Pavan, 1988, pp. 625-652)²¹.

3. *Environment, defense and iurisdictio.*

We may argue that the ratification of the corporate body of *pedotti* in the middle of the fifteenth century, had, among others, an environmental reason. This century represented a crucial point (Bevilacqua, 1995; Ciriaco, 1998, pp. 613-650; Dorigo, 1995, pp. 137-191; Zannini, 2012, pp. 100-113; Zucchetta, 2000), characterized by a marine regression that had lowered the sea level by more than one meter, and precisely during this decade Venetian authorities began to conceive a set of interventions to preserve the navigability of the lagoon²². Cane thicket progressed and ebb tides made even more complicated the navigation in the lagoon: the level of the water lowered so much that the *Canal Grande* was reduced to a small canal whose embankment was occupied by vegetable gardens. In other words, the authorities were frightened by the very prospect of the drying out of the lagoon²³.

It is not therefore surprising that one of the most important duty of the *pedotti* was to periodically plumb the depths of the lagoon, and of its three main entrances, the canals («fosse») of Lido, Malamocco and Chioggia: every *pedotta*, in fact, had to present to the *Ufficiali al Cattaver* an official proof of having been «looking for water» («cerchar l'acqua») certified by the two Admirals of the ports of Lido and Malamocco. In particular, the latter became increasingly important during the first half of the sixteenth century, when the process of burial, caused especially by the sediments carried by rivers flows, severely reduced the navigability of the Lido's canal (Calabi, 1991, pp. 767-768). Therefore, the Senate periodically ordered the *pedotti* to get acquainted with the routes of Malamocco, now the principal port of the lagoon, and the *Ufficiali al Cattaver* and *Savi agli Ordini* to monitor that they

²¹ The tower of San Nicolò, considered 'ancient' and in late medieval times, was primarily a watchtower. At the beginnings of the fourteenth century the *Maggior Consiglio* resolved to use it as lighthouse. Only after the Genoese occupation of Chioggia, during the War 1378–1381, Venetian authorities began to discuss the opportunity of fortify the ports of Lido and, in the sixteenth century, Malamocco. See Morachiello, 1991b and Concina, 1995. On the War of Chioggia see Lane, 1973; Epstein, 1996; Dotson, 2003.

²² «Gênes crée à la fin du XIIIe siècle, les “Salvatores portus et moduli”, Venise ne dispose pas d'un corps d'officier responsables directement du port. La plus ancienne magistrature en charge de l'organisme urbain date de 1224. Instituée “pro ripis, pro viis publicis et pro viis de canali”, elle donne rapidement naissance à des fonctions distinctes qui se partagent les domaines de la terre et de l'eau. Mais le port n'apparaît dans aucune des formulations qui ponctuent les fluctuations des pouvoirs confiés à ces officiers. ... Les dragages du bassin de S. Marco deviennent, au XVe siècle, plus nombreux, les officiers du *Piovego* en assument la conduite. Quand, dans la seconde moitié de ce siècle, les Sages sur les Eaux fonctionnent avec une régularité accrue, ils assument en matière aquatique, lagunaire ou citadine, une juridiction générale» (Crouzet-Pavan, 1988).

²³ For the environmental crisis see especially Dorigo, 1995.

had ‘diligently’ accomplished their duty to biannually probe the deepness not only of San Nicolò, but also of Malamocco and Chioggia²⁴.

At the same time, between the first travel of a public ship through Malamocco at the beginning of the 1490s²⁵ and the first half of the sixteenth century, the charge of Admiral of Malamocco (equivalent of that of Lido) was progressively institutionalized. This charge seems to have been initially granted to the Berengo family (Antonio and his sons) as reward to their ‘intelligent and industrious activity’ of ‘measuring the deepness, width and length’ of that ‘unusual port’ and ‘against the advice and opinion of the most pilots and men of Saint Nicolas’²⁶.

In other words, the *pedotti* case could be a meaningful example of how Venice’s land and resource use policy was able to combine a strong governmental control and an ability to listen and value practical knowledge, like the one of mariners and, in our case, experienced pilots, in order to transform the lagoon according to the adage ‘great lagoon makes great harbour’ (Zannini, 2012, p. 111)²⁷.

As a matter of fact, one of the most important reasons for laws constraining vessels to embark an approved pilot in Istria was the prevention of ship sinking²⁸. The conjuncture of the mid fifteenth century, then, may have only worsened what is one of the characteristics of navigation in the Venetian lagoon and in the high Adriatic sea: the constantly shifting conditions of this sandy and shallow seabed made the service of expert pilots essential to ensure navigation.

Studies devoted to reconstruct the history of navigation in the Mediterranean Sea demonstrated that during the early modern era captains did not practice celestial navigation, but continued to use coastal navigation (*cabotaggio*) using orographic reference points (Tucci, 1991, pp. 527-559). It was common, then, to embark alongside the main captain others local pilots familiar with specific coastal areas (Hocquet, 1991, p. 490).

²⁴ The *Pregadi* repeatedly ordered the *pedotti* to plumb the depths of Malamocco’s waters, e.g. in 1520, 1526, 1533, 1542. See ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, c. 38v, *Condanna ai pedotti che siano trovati ubriachi; obbligo per i Pedotti di andare a scandagliare almeno 2 volte all’anno i porti di Malamocco e Chioggia*, 19 February 152. Cf. also, Ivi, c. 33r, *Crida fatta, che nisun pedota non possa Scandaiaar l’acqua salvo lo armiraglio overo a chi lui desse licentia*, 27 september 1520; Ivi, ‘Capitoli n. 9 presi in diverse matterie, cerca l’arte del pedottar ut in eis.’, 5 March 1533; ‘Capitoli n. 8 presi in diverse matterie, cerca l’arte del pedottar ut in eis.’, 22 March 1542).

²⁵ The first ship of the Republic crossed Malamocco’s canal just before the 1493. See Morachiello, 1991a.

²⁶ ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 28 August 1492.

²⁷ Andrea Zannini criticises (Zannini, 2012), among others, Piero Bevilacqua’s (*Venezia e le acque*) interpretation of Venetian politics in terms of “environmental safeguard”. On the relationship between technical knowledge and the primacy of the political leadership in the environmental policy of the *Serenissima* see also Caniato, 1995 and Rinaldo, 2009.

²⁸ Documents of the second half of the fifteenth century are full of references to shipwrecks, and underlined that the crossing, dangerous per se, had become even worse «for having the port become awful». See for example ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 1491. *Adi 15 settembre. Che algun non possi esser pedotta sel non sarà sta’ fiol de pedotta over fante, sotto pena*, 15 September 1491.

Within the Adriatic sea, in particular, captains showed greater preference for sailing along Dalmatian coasts (the route called *sopravento*, i.e. windward)²⁹, that, in contrast to the Italian's, «offered a vast choice of berths and channels, which prevented the formation of large waves and offered refuge to ships»³⁰ when the strong north–eastern winds blew (such as the *Bora*), in addition to a vast number of bays, islands and terrestrial points of reference that could foster the orientation (Pagratis, 2006, p. 848). Apart from these natural advantages, there were severe laws constraining the ships of the Venetians and the subjects of the Serenissima to follow the eastern route, in order to avoid the competition of Marche's and Abruzzo's fairs, like Senigallia and Lanciano ones, and the competitor port of Ancona. One of these restrictions was precisely the order to embark *pedotti d'Istria* in the two ports of Rovigno and Parenzo, the last docking places on the route to Venice.

We have already highlighted the military issues that led the *Pregadi's* Council to strictly submit the *pedotti* 'School of the Holy Cross' under the closer control of a specific Venetian court, and not to grant them autonomous jurisdiction. There are at least other two aspects of particular interest that can be mentioned, concerning jurisdictional and ceremonial issues.

From the specific point of view of early modern jurisdictional grammar of power³¹, this brotherhood should have performed a crucial role: the corporation, as far as I understand, is far more than only a mean to control and prevent smuggling. In the eyes of the *Most Serene* Republic of Venice the effort made to place an approved pilot on every ship sailing in the Northern part of the Adriatic was a jurisdictional act, because commerce indeed is an act of *iurisdiction*, that creates, constructs and identifies spaces of contested sovereignty³². This, I believe, is the reason behind the constant injunction issued by Venetian authorities imposing these pilots to actively participate in the Ascension feast³³, «the centrepiece of a great communal ritual that, more than anything else, pronounced the imperial designs of

²⁹ See, for example, the evidences given by Gerassimos D. Pagratis (2006) in his study devoted to reconstruct an history of incidents of merchant shipping in the Adriatic and Ionian Sea during the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

³⁰ See also Colak, 1969, 1972; Tenenti, 1979, 1980.

³¹ I refer, primarily, to Italian and Iberian legal historians, scholars like Paolo Grossi, António Manuel Hespanha, Bartolomé Clavero and Pietro Costa. See for example Costa, 1969 and to more recent historiography conscious of the relevance of actions and practice in creating rights and power like Torre, 2011. See also Bordone, Guglielmotti, Lombardini & Torre, 2007.

³² See Torre, 2011.

³³ The chapter nine of the School *Mariegola* stated that the profession chief (the *gastaldo*) had to tow the Patriarch toward the island of St. Helena and the port of St. Nicholas while «the rest of *pedotti* have to pilot our Serene Prince, *messer lo Doxe*» (ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, *Concession de la Schuola, e Matrichula de li Pedotti*, 2 September 1450). The *Cattaver* archive is full of admonitions and pleas against *pedotti* who did not attend to this important duty, such as in 1488 when the Court rebuked those who did «not take into proper account» («fano poco conto») this obligation, (ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, *Cerca el remurchiar del bucentoro del di de la Sension*, 21 March 1488).

the Venetians» (Muir, 1981, pp. 118-119)³⁴.

During the Feast of the *Sensa*, in fact, they had to tow both the Doge's ceremonial galley, the *Bucintoro*, and the ship of the Patriarch of Venice³⁵, to the well-known ceremony of the "Marriage of the Sea", the annual claim of sovereignty on the Adriatic Sea. *Pedotti* conducted the temporal and spiritual authorities through the Saint Nicolas port, between the above-mentioned Two Castles, which represented a sort of ceremonial gate for the Doge's triumphal march toward the "Gulf of Venice" (Concina, 1995, p. 250)³⁶. Finally, maybe it was not only a matter of expertise, but an attempt to include these pilots in this liturgical and imperial rite with a view to their role of guardians and ferrymen of the lagoon³⁷.

4. The constitution of a 'professional minority'

Obtaining information about those men and their families, especially concerning their origins, is not simple. Moreover, the historian could be misled by scholars, like the same Frederic C. Lane, asserting that 'although they were based in Istria for [the whole] year, these pilots were all Venetian [and] no Istrian was allowed to join their guild or to collect their fees' (Hocquet, 1991, p. 488; Lane, 1973, p. 18)³⁸. On the contrary: Istrian pilots were neither necessarily Venetian nor Istrian (Sambo, 1991, p. 838).

The evolution of the brotherhood's name itself can show us that, between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century, no "national" or "ethnic" origin was required to be chartered on the books of the confraternity. Until the mid-sixteenth century, in fact, in official documents the brotherhood was called "pilots of Venice" or "pilots of Castello", from the city district where they lived, the *Sestriere* called *Castello*³⁹. On the contrary, the term "Istrian pilots" referred to those who actually resided in

³⁴ See also on this topic De Vivo, 2003.

³⁵ The link between *pedotti*'s brotherhood and the Patriarchal Seat emerges not only in the *Sensa* ceremony (see for example ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 1493. *Adi 21 marzo. Instrumento fatto del loco de la Schola di pedotti, con Reverendissimo Monsignor Patriarcha, et de la obligation del pedotarlo el di de la Sension, sua Signoria*, 21 March 1493) but also in the strong bond to the Basilica of St. Peter of Castello, where the School had its altar in the chapel of the Holy Cross and *pedotti* had to attend to Masses and processions twice per month (see the first chapter of the above mentioned *Mariegola*).

³⁶ The importance of the *Doi Castelli* in the Venetian ceremonial space is highlighted by Concina (Concina, 1995).

³⁷ Significantly, the *Cattaver* was often appointed to resolve ceremonial and precedence rights conflicts that may arise between the two Admirals of the ports of Lido and Malamocco with regards to the *Sposalizio del Mare* ceremony. See for example ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 281: 24 May 1771.

³⁸ Jean-Claude Hocquet, in fact, is quoting Frederic C. Lane when asserting that Istrian pilots «were all Venetian» (Hocquet, 1991)

³⁹ In venetian, «li pedotti de Venetia», or in latin «Pedotte Castelli», see ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 27 July 1440 and 2 September 1450. See also, for example, ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 1479. *Adi 11 fever in Collegio Duodecim sapientium subsituto locho Consilij Rogator*, 11 February 1480.

Istrian peninsula. Only after the 1540s the term ‘pedotti de Istria’ is used to identify univocally the professional brotherhood⁴⁰, significantly at the end of a hundred years’ process that was leading to the monopolization of the profession in the hands of a small group of families who settled in the neighborhood of Castello.

Besides, during early modern period “Istrian” itself was not an ethnic or national definition (Ivetic, 2000, p. 289)⁴¹. As scholars like Larry Wolff or Egidio Ivetic clearly demonstrated (Ivetic, 2000, 2010; Wolff, 1994, 2001), ‘the ethnic dualism, present in every Istrian context, was not considered a matter of great importance by Venetian or Austrian rulers’ (Ivetic, 2010, p. 11; Salimbeni, 1993, p. 97; Wolff, 2001, p. 128)⁴². The Serenissima, in fact, not only did not recognize «a national distinction between Serbs and Croats among the Slavs» but considered «both Italians and Slavs of Dalmatia as amalgamated members of the same Dalmatian nation» (Wolff, 2001, p. 11)⁴³.

What was decisive in order to become an Istrian pilot, though, was not the “national”⁴⁴ origin, but to take up permanent residence in Venice: in other words, it

⁴⁰ Is at the beginnings of 1541, as far as I know, that appears for the first time in *Pregadi’s* documentation the expression ‘pedotti de Istria’ in its definitive meaning. ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 17 February 1540 *more Veneto* (i.e. 1541).

⁴¹ In 1650, the bishop Tomasini counted five different *genti* (populations) «natives (Italians), Slavs, Morlachs, Grado’s immigrants, *Friulani* and *Carnielli*» (Ivetic, 2000). For a medieval and early modern history of how people identified themselves and where identified in what is now Croatia see Fine, 2006. As anthropological research demonstrates, ‘Istrian identity’ is still a problematic issue, closely linked to political issues, see, Ballinger, 2004. On the “invention of jugoslavism” as a political project during the nineteenth century see, Ivetic, 2012.

⁴² About the Slavic and Morlachs immigrations and settlements in early modern Istria, Fulvio Salimbeni states that a much tenser dialectic exploded only in the nineteenth century, when it will be affirmed «their national conscience». The political choice of Venetian authorities to foster the immigration of these people in Istria, on the contrary, shows «a certain policy by Venice, which had, among other things, created a truly “Commonwealth”, taking also in this context the Byzantine tradition of government, for which all the subjects were the same, as long as they were faithful to Venice and St Mark’s lion: there were no language or racial discrimination, and it is well known that the laws were published in multiple columns side by side with the text in Latin, or in Venetian dialect, in Greek, or “Illyrian”, according to the different local administrative reality. [...] In fact, between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, there were no frictions and conflicts of national or ethnic type, as we conceive of them today» (Salimbeni, 1993). «In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Morlacchi were sorted out as Serbs and Croats, according to the categories of modern national identity» (Wolff, 2001).

⁴³ «From a Venetian perspective the most striking social contrast was between the more “civilized” coastal Dalmatians and the inland Dalmatian Morlacchi; moreover, the former were mostly Catholic and the latter largely Orthodox in religion ... In the eighteenth century it was coastal Dalmatians who distinguished themselves from the inland Morlacchi, and the Venetians who recognized and validated that difference» (Wolff, 2001).

⁴⁴ I obviously use the term in its early modern meaning: «generation of men born in the same county, or city» («Generazione d’huomini nati in una medesima provincia, o Città») according to the definition given by the first edition of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, printed in Venice in 1612. In recent years, scholars have renewed their interest in the subjects of citizenship and nationality in early modern and modern Europe. See Berengo, 1999; Costa, 1999-2001; Herzog,

was necessary to actively demonstrate a willingness to take root in the city by bringing one's own family there (Barbot, 2007, pp. 9-24; Cerutti, 2003)⁴⁵. So, there was a clear attempt to balance apparently contradictory goals: while both the brotherhood and the *Signoria* were trying to force pilots to reside in the two ports of Parenzo and Rovigno⁴⁶, at the same time, as the Council of Pregadi ordered, vessels should embark only pilots «whose families live in Venice».

It is not surprising, though, those Venetian authorities tried to attract pilots from Istria to Venice, promising them benefits and the same rights of local pilots:

Let's take out pilots from Istria, in order to make sure that in our land will be a greater number and better pilots of what currently we have here ... If Istrian pilots will come in this land with their families, they will have the same rights of those who live in this land⁴⁷.

A century later, in 1551, *pedotti's* gathering in Rovigno proves that the “ethnic” or “national” origins of the members of the brotherhood were still varied. The list of *pedotti's* names, shows the presence in the confraternity, for example, of people from Dalmatia, Greece, the northern-eastern Italian region of Friuli⁴⁸, and a number of people whose absence of surname is a clear pointer of a non-Venetian origin (Hocquet, 1991, p. 482)⁴⁹. We can still find a ‘Zanetto de Marco Istrian’ (i. e. Johnny of Marc “the Istrian”) in the *pedotti's* list in 1619⁵⁰.

If we analyse the eighteenth century's gatherings, on the other hand, we can see a much more clear composition of the brotherhood: in this century⁵¹ only a few families, strictly connected through matrimonial relationships, monopolized the School. In January 1763, to take just one example, the thirty pilots participating in

2003. An interesting debate between Peter Sahlins and Simona Cerutti took place on the *Annales* review: see Cerutti, 2007; Sahlins, 2008.

⁴⁵ During the early modern era, citizenship was much more the result of actions certifying the active participation in the community life than an abstract right obtained once and for all. On the primacy of custom over positive law see Grossi, 1997. On the relationship between the stable residence and the citizenship see Benfante, F. & Savelli, A. 2003 (in this issue, see in particular Chauvard, 2003; Tedoldi, 2003; Cerutti, 2003; Barbot, 2007).

⁴⁶ The Senate was often demanded by the brotherhood to punish pilots who do not respect the order to wait the ships in Parenzo and Rovigno. See ASVE, Ufficiali al cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 27 July 1440.

⁴⁷ «Sia tolti pedotti de Istria se a ben a proveder a ciò che in questa nostra terra possi esser mazor numero e megior pedotti de quello sono al presente ... se i pedotti d'Istria venissero ad abitar in questa terra con le sue fameglie siano ala condition de li pedotti di questa terra» (ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 6 September 1452).

⁴⁸ As we clearly see by names like: Zorzi «from Zara» (George from Zadar, in Dalmatia); Andrea of Nicolò «from Vegia» (Veglia or Krk, in Dalmatia); Giacomo «Griego» (Greek); Pasqualin «Furlan» (from Friuli, the region of Trieste). (ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, *Capitolo delli pedotti fratelli della Schuola del glorioso m.s San Piero*, Rovigno, 11 April 1551).

⁴⁹ Is this the case of people known only under their patronymics: according to Jean-Francois Hocquet (Hocquet, 1991), the habit to identify a person by his provenience or by the name of his father is a clear signal of a non-venetian origin, because the tradition of the surname is well established in the lagoon since the eleven-twelve century. See Addobbati, Bizzocchi & Salinero, 2013.

⁵⁰ ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 22 November 1619.

⁵¹ Incidentally, the one in which we have more documentation.

the monthly profit-sharing, had for the vast majority only three family names, and four out of the only six family names of this list were already part of the brotherhood in the sixteenth century⁵².

This situation, ultimately, is the consequence of what we may regard as a process of the creation of a really interesting “professional minority”, the result of a process driven by different interests. If the *Serenissima*, as we have already seen, was interested in controlling pilots and the navigation in the high Adriatic sea for military and commercial reasons (essentially by hiding lagoon’s secrets from the “foreigners”⁵³, potentially enemies), the brotherhood itself, on the other hand, certainly tried to restrict the access to the profession⁵⁴. It is not surprising that, the *gastaldo* of *pedotti* (the Chief of the brotherhood), in 1491 requested the approval of an amendment to the School Chart including the rule that «as always was observed in our glorious city, and ordered among us, only a son of a pilot, or a “boy” registered [as an apprentice to a pilot], can be enrolled in our profession»⁵⁵.

They were trying, as far as I can understand, to defend their privilege and to maintain the job inside a community of a few kinships (whether based on blood or on “adoption” of an apprentice). Both the interest of the Republic and of the brotherhood, basically, was the expression of the same concern: to defend and to root in the City this particular kind of “local” resource, the job know-how and the knowledge of the territory (i.e. sea-routes and sea-bed).

As Simona Cerutti (2012, p. 185) has pointed out, one of the *raison d’être* of early modern corporations was precisely the control of the young apprentices⁵⁶ and mobile workers, to tie those rootless people to the territory (p. 198)⁵⁷. Instead of

⁵² At the beginnings of 1763 we can find 8 pilots whose surname is Rochello, and respectively 10 Buranella, 8 Miani, 2 Nobile, 1 Ferrara, 1 Galeo. Only the two Ferrara and Galeo where “newcomers”: 28 out of 30 pilots belonged to families already part of *pedotti*’s brotherhood in sixteenth or even fifteenth century (ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 283, *Adi 31 genaro 1762. Poliza del Comparto del sudetto mese fatto da me Bortolo Rochello Gastaldo alli Pedotti*, 31 January 1763).

⁵³ As we have already seen, we may define “strangers” people who did not steadily belong to the community.

⁵⁴ Particularly relevant were conflicts between *pedotti* and other mariner’s guilds, such as «marinarj di San Nicolò di Chiozal (the Chioggia’s School of St Nicolas), see an example in ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 10 July, 16 and 17 September 1638 and 1 June 1639. An analogous mariner’s School of St Nicolas was established in Rovigno.

⁵⁵ «Cum sit che sempre sia stato in observantia in questa nostra gloriosa città, et eciam fra noi ordinato, che algun el qual non sia stato fiolo de pedotta, over fante scritto, non si possa meter a tal nostro exercitio» (ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 1491. *Adi 15 settembre. [settembre] Che algun non possi esser pedotta sel non sarà sta’ fiol de pedotta over fante, sotto pena*, 15 September 1491).

⁵⁶ See an example of legal case issued against a young apprentice, Pietro di Vincenzo Rochello, in ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 138, July-August 1770.

⁵⁷ «[L]’activité de contrôle et donc d’approvisionnement de la mobilité était sans doute l’ne des principales raisons d’être des corps de métier. A partir du moment où l’on considérait le travail avant tout comme une ressource locale, la condition pour y accéder était de réussir à faire partie du cercle des ayant droit. En d’autres termes, il était nécessaire de passer du rang d’“étranger” à celui de travailleur, certes mobile, mais enraciné, reconnu, ancré dans le territoire» (Cerutti, 2012). For a summary of the recent scholarly debate on the complex and enormous literature on craft guilds see Epstein & Prak, 2008 and the monographic issue *The Return of Guilds: Towards a Global History of the Guilds in Pre-industrial*

stressing the dichotomy ‘*corps versus étrangers*’ (p. 170)⁵⁸, she suggests an interpretation of craft guilds as a mean of integration, created «comme instances légitimes d’attribution des droits à exercer un métier» (Cerutti, 2012, p. 174).

It seems to me that this interpretation could fit our case. Only “rooted” workers could, in fact, access this particular resource of the territory: job opportunity. This may be the reason why the court of *Ufficiali al Cattaver* ordinarily rejected *pedotti*’s requests for moving their families in Istria, or granted it only for short periods. Pilots often lamented the obligation to be «forced to hold the family in this city, and home in Istria, and suffer many other discomforts and inconveniences»⁵⁹. Nevertheless, the *Cattaver* rarely conceded the grace: this is the case of Mian of Zuanne Miani, who received license to bring his family in Istria «during the whole month of October», or the concession granted to Bortolo Rochello to conduct there his own family «for no more than four months»⁶⁰.

Moreover, as documentation clearly shows, there were plenty of pilots from Istria, Dalmatia, et cetera, able to safely reach Venice through the so-called “parenzana” route⁶¹. Even though the *pedotti d’Istria* incorporated in the School of the Holy Cross were surely experienced pilots, their superior ability was only pretended: the *Ufficiali al Cattaver* had to blame even the venetian authority of Parenzo, the *podestà*, who allowed ships to embark local mariners instead of “approved” pilots⁶².

The corporation, hence, was not primarily meant to assure high quality professional standards but first of all, the presence of a stable bond to the local context. The contrast between norms and exceptions is significant. Usually *pedotti* passed the annual examination, even though they did not meet the requirements⁶³.

Times (Lucassen, J., De Moor, T. & van Zanden, J. L. (2008)). On the “revisionist” interpretation of the economic impact of pre-modern craft guilds see the harsh debate between S. R. Epstein and S. Ogilvie in the *Journal of Economic History*.

⁵⁸ «L’historiographie a longtemps formulé ce problème de manière assez réductrice, en l’envisageant sous l’angle d’une aversion des corps vis-à-vis des étrangers» (Cerutti, 2012). See also the (Epstein & Prak, 2008): «In spite of persistent suggestions to the contrary in the literature, guild petitions and actions against “aliens” were seldom directed against immigrants as such, but rather against non-members, or non-resident aliens. Not only did guilds tolerate migration but, especially in Central Europe, they actively encouraged it».

⁵⁹ «Siamo noi sottoposti a tener la famiglia in questa Città, e la casa in Istria et sentir tanti altri incomodi et disagi» (ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 16 November 1619).

⁶⁰ ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 280, reg. *Pedotti d’Istria, Mandati 1725–1744*. 8 October 1725; 9 January 1726 *more veneto* (i.e. 1727). In these years the *Cattaver* conceded the grace more frequently. It seems to me unusual the case of Pietro Nobile, whose privilege «to conduct his family in Istria, and there continue his profession» was granted directly by the Senate in 1708. See ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 3, reg. 5, 19 April 1708.

⁶¹ It is clearly demonstrated by the numerous legal proceedings against not privileged mariners who piloted ships between Istrian peninsula and the lagoon of Venice against the *Serenissima*’s law. See for example ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, bb. 136-139A.

⁶² See, for example, ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 280, reg. *Pedotti d’Istria, Mandati 1725–1744*, 6 March 1727.

⁶³ See the many requests to be exempt from presenting proof to have accomplished their duties (plumb the depth of the ports and have made at least four travels per year) in ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, bb. 280-283.

Furthermore, as also shown by Simona Cerutti's (2012) case study⁶⁴, it was not professional know-how that gave you the opportunity to enter the brotherhood but the very opposite (pp. 199-201). An example, that may sound paradoxical, should make the point: to become a *pedotta* one must constantly know the exact status of the lagoon seabed, through periodical probes of the depth of the ports of Venice seabed. However, only the members of the brotherhood were allowed, with the permission of the Admirals of the ports, to plumb the depth of the canals of Lido, Malamocco, and Chioggia. Only who was already part of the group was granted access to this sort of local resource, the professional know-how.

5. Istrian pilots as border crossers? Some final remarks

To conclude my contribution, I would like to devote a few words on the life of the Pilots in Istria, and their relationship with the local communities of Rovigno and Parenzo. This might probably suggest that they could have acted as mediators between the two sides of the Adriatic sea⁶⁵.

Istria was a land full of conflicts⁶⁶, a frontier region, crossed by religions, populations and a land of smugglers and bandits⁶⁷. The privileged "Istrian Pilots" (the venetian ones) certainly had conflicts throughout the early modern period against smugglers: «to smuggle – is said in a report – in some lands and especially in Rovigno and Pirano, is considered almost a right» (Ivetic, 2000, p. 216).

The disputes against the mariners of Istria, accused by the venetians to illegally pilot ships toward Venice, were frequent⁶⁸. In some cases the conflict reached critical peaks, as in 1622, when the Rector of Rovigno wrote that 'unknown malicious people plunged two big bull's horns into the door of *Pedotti's* house', just in front of the Rector Palace (Budicin, 1998, p. 159)⁶⁹: an incontrovertible warning sign

⁶⁴ With regards to shoemakers' guild the historian points out that «les syndics des corporations utilisent souvent la provenance des matières premières comme un critère implacable d'exclusion ... Tout bien considéré, dans le cas des cordonniers, la connaissance locale exigée ... concerne la connaissance du territoire et de ses ressources». Also, «Nos sources emploient ... le vocabulaire du savoir-faire et de l'aptitude au métier. Mais ces derniers sont rarement présentés comme des qualités personnelles, qu'un individu posséderait indépendamment du contexte social ou matériel. Le savoir-faire est décliné en termes d'appartenance: c'est un savoir local, dont on mesure localement l'efficacité» (Cerutti, 2012).

⁶⁵ For a useful bibliographical review essay on British imperial history facing "global history" and "connected histories" perspectives see Stern, 2009. On the Dutch case study see, Kaplan, Carlson & Cruz, 2009.

⁶⁶ As shown, for example, by the dispatches of Venetian Rectors in Istria to the *Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci*, ASVE, Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci, Dispacchi dei Rettori, b. 266 (Parenzo) and b. 272 (Rovigno).

⁶⁷ See Ivetic, 2000.

⁶⁸ See, for example, the legal cause issued against Domenico Benussi, alias Nicolò Benussi (alias *Battello*, i.e. Boat), «non-*pedotta* Istrian mariner» in 1727, ASVE, Ufficiali al Cattaver, b. 136, 27 February 1726 *more veneto* (i.e. 1727)-15 June 1728.

⁶⁹ The 'house of pedotti' appears in a drawing of Rovigno's main square. See in Budicin, 1998.

towards business and contraband rivals⁷⁰. Major local ship-owners, such as the Benussi family in Rovigno⁷¹, were particularly active in smuggling, and they often led uprisings against Venice's Rectors. It is the case of *patron* (owner) Giusto Benussi, for example, whose gang in 1656 shot a Rector's servant responsible to have notified him a chancellor charge⁷².

However, if conflict was inevitable, it did not necessarily involve everyone. In spite of a strong tendency towards endogamy, in fact, a few testaments I was able to find in the State Archives of Venice suggests the existence of matrimonies between pilots' daughters and people likely hailing from Istria or Dalmatia: for example, this appears to be the eighteenth century case of Angela Buranella, married with the merchant Giacomo⁷³. At the same time, other testaments show us the acquisition of real estate property rights in Istria by pilots' families, as in the case of Damian Miani married to Caterina Negri (two *pedotti's* kinships), who owned a 'revenue proceeding from a house in Parenzo', received by Caterina from her mother as a dowry⁷⁴.

These examples are only the first results of a research still in progress. But it is not meaningless to highlight what this kind of sources, if systematically exploited, could reveal us: on the one hand, these remarkably mobile workers, regardless of their origin (Venice, Istria, Friuli, Dalmatia, Greece, etc.), were controlled and rooted in the city of Venice by the corporate body, whilst on the other hand, to use a metaphor, they probably did much more than simply "ferrying" goods and ships. One of the most interesting path of research in the future then would be to explore and document more in detail the role of *pedotti* as border-crossers that connect networks of people in particular with matrimonial strategies, land investments, commercial relationships both legal and illegal, and become a mediator between the worlds of the Capital, Istria, and international trade itself.

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⁷⁰ ASVE, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Dispacci dei Rettori, b. 272, Giacomo Barbaro to the Capi del Consiglio dei X, 5 May 1622.

⁷¹ See Colak, 1969 & 1972.

⁷² Giusto Benussi was involved in olive oil smuggling with *patron* Piero Biancone from Caurle (probably, Caorle, a port only a few miles to the north of Venice). See ASVE, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Dispacci dei Rettori, b. 272, 7 February 1655 *more veneto* (i.e. 1656).

⁷³ ASVE, Notarile, Testamenti, b. 233, n. 45: Copy from *Libro dei Morti della Chiesa Patriarcale di Venezia, Adi 24 settembre 1783*, 24 September 1783.

⁷⁴ ASVE, Notarile, Testamenti, b. 1158, n. 158: Last will and testament of Damian Miani quondam Bernardin, notarized by Bortolamio Cardinali, 17 May 1760.

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Özlem ÇAYKENT – Luca ZAVAGNO
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This edited volume resulted from an interdisciplinary effort to examine the diverse social, political, economic and religious aspects engrossing the matrix of communications across the Mediterranean basin from the early Medieval to the Modern era. It includes papers on different aspects of the commercial dynamics- from historical to archaeological, from political to sociological- and it aims at illustrating the important interactive role trade played within different Mediterranean societies stressing the continuity emanated from people (traders and other actors) and used spaces (trade routes) from the seventh to the seventeenth century.

Divided into two parts, Medieval and Modern Mediterranean, the book brings together a constellation of articles that explore the politics and economics of trade across the Medieval and Modern Mediterranean with an emphasis on the tangible and intangible aspects of commercial relationship across political, religious and cultural frontiers of the Great Sea.

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