The *Fondaco dei Turchi* in Venice: Voyage of people and concepts

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Abstract: The institution of the *Fondaco dei Turchi* is a unique phenomenon in early modern Christian Europe. The *funduq* is a medieval Levantine concept of mercantile hospitality and foreigner control that managed to take root only in Venice with the institution of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. However, it was the *Fondaco dei Turchi* that after 1574 saw the greatest renegotiation of Venetian practices and imported concepts. Envisioned to host all Muslims coming to Venice, the building needed to respond to their different housing and religious needs while limiting contact with the locals. From the get-go, Venetian authorities were made aware of the particular eating, sleeping, and hygienic customs of their guests, along with the more general need for (commercial) accessibility, safety, and privacy. To resolve this problem, public interpreters (*dragomans*) were employed as consultants and after lengthy negotiations the first *fondaco* was instituted in 1579 in the refurbished *Osteria all'Anzolo* on the Rialto. In 1621, it was moved to the lavish Pesaro palace on the Canal Grande, better known precisely as the *Fondaco dei Turchi*. After its accommodation and refurbishment, the palace was separated externally from the city, and internally into two parts between the Asian and European Muslims. Relatively standardised living and storage units were put into place and the building was furnished with stoves, fireplaces, sleeping benches, toilets, baths, and a sewage system, while even a prayer room was set up in the 1750s. Thus a Venetian palace was enriched with aspects of Muslim housing culture imported indirectly through mediated cultural transfer, producing a space both of hospitality and segregation.

"All languages are mixed. Neighbouring each other, they borrow from each other."[1]

The famous quote by Martin Luther well illustrates the inevitably of cultural transfer. It encapsulates the central argument of this chapter, in which translation and linguistic borrowing form the basis for the transfer of architectural concepts. The French word *fondouk*, Greek *foundax*, Italian *fondaco* or Venetian *fontego* are all loanwords from the Arabic *funduq*. But the term, signifying a building for foreigner hospitality, underwent a long process of accommodation and many translations from the Ancient Greek original *pandokeion* ("receiving all"), mentioned in the parable of the Good Samaritan in the Gospel of Luke (10.30–35). While the Biblical *pandokeion* was simply a hostelry – an inn, by the High Middle Ages it evolved in Egypt and the Levant into a state-sponsored system of control for visiting European merchants and pilgrims.[2] From there, it spread around the Mediterranean as testified by linguistic bor-

rowing from Arabic, or the famous example of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* in Venice, first instituted in the 1220's (Fig. 137).

This intertwined process of borrowing, translation, and accommodation is well reflected in the case of the institution and building of the *Fondaco dei Turchi* as the house where all Muslims had to sojourn while in Venice. From its first conception in 1574 to Napoleon's dissolution of the system (and the Republic) in 1797, the *Fondaco dei Turchi* testifies to the complex process of translation and mistranslation, understanding and misunderstanding of housing cultures and architectural concepts in the early modern Adriatic. Rather than being the exclusive *Golfo di Venezia*, the Adriatic can be imagined as a shared sea with the Ottoman Empire, the Aragonese, and the Habsburg realms on its shores, together with the Papal States, and the semi-autonomous republics of Ancona and Ragusa (Dubrovnik). While the ever-increasing Ottoman trade in the 16th century resulted in short-term realisations of *fondachi* for Muslims in Dubrovnik and Ancona,[3] the Ottoman Empire underwent a re-constellation of its commercial policy after the War of Cyprus (1570–1573), investing considerably in Balkan infrastructure and preferring its own traders over foreigners while choosing Venice as the preferred trading partner.[4] This led to the strong increase in the presence of Ottoman subjects, mainly Muslims, in Venetian lands that the Republic deemed necessary to regulate.[5]

Religious minorities and Venetian politics

The increase in the number of Muslims in Venice coincided with the general Western European effort of establishing homogenous religious societies. In this Age of Confessionalisation, states instead of churches prescribed everyday religious customs and imposed strict boundaries on those not part of the *Holy body*, such as religious minorities.[6] As a result of this and following many Jewish expulsions from Western Europe, Venice instituted the first Jewish Ghetto in 1516, its existence rhetorically positioned between tolerance and persecution.[7]

Ottoman Muslims were noted in Venice for the first time that same year in the parish of San Giovanni e Paolo.[8] An important organisational step was made in 1541, when it was decreed that the official translator (*dragoman*) needed to be present in all transactions between Christians and Muslims.[9] Trade expanded further, which led to religious conflicts so Grand Vizier Damat Rüstem Pasha (1500–1561) wrote in 1546 to Doge Francesco Donà (1468–1553) that protection must be guaranteed to the many Ottoman merchants, as is done in his sultan's lands.[10]

What seems to have been the turning point was the mentioned War of Cyprus. Following the outbreak of the War, 75 Muslims and 97 Jews from the Ottoman Empire were confined to the Cannaregio palace of the Venetian *bailo* Marcantonio Barbaro (1518–1595), who was previously arrested in Constantinople together with all other Venetians. As two separate chronicles tell us, this was not done only to reciprocally segregate potential enemies, but also to

provide for their safety. After the Catholic victory at Lepanto (1571), the *Turks* barred themselves inside out of fear of being stoned to death by the celebrating mobs.[11] The double argument of safety for the *Turks* and safety for them would be repeated throughout the history of the *Fondaco*. In any case, violence should be an extraordinary situation. However, everyday contact between Muslims and Catholics was a preoccupation for the Venetian government, above all for the Inquisition. Living in close proximity to the *infidels*, talking with them, eating, drinking, and even sleeping with them without any control was a problem that the Inquisition addressed in several cases, prosecuting the patrons of Ottoman guest houses for fear that this proximity might cause apostasy to spread.[12]

Envisioning a Fondaco dei Turchi

To resolve this apparent problem for the government, Francesco di Dimitri Lettino, a Catholic Greek broker, proposed to the Venetian Senate in 1574 to institute a rather *particular hostelry* ("un albergo particolare") for the *Turks* "as they have provided to the Christian nation in the Levant" and as other nations have in Venice.[13] His proposal wields a double argumentation, claiming the roaming *Turks* (meaning all Muslims) are an offence to God and bring dishonour to Christian Venice because they steal, corrupt, and kidnap the youth, and sleep with Christian women. On the other side, he stated that the *Turks* were complaining about being robbed and attacked by their hosts. In return he asked for himself and his descendants the monopoly to operate this building where all Muslims were to stay while in Venice. After his supplication was preliminarily accepted in 1575 because of the "experience he has of the Turks, of their nature and customs",[14] Lettino sent a separate letter to play the card of the experienced broker. He explained that he would make money from this hostelry in the same way as it is done in the *fondachi* for Christians in Syria, furthermore confirming that his numerous family would live outside the *Fondaco* because the goal was to separate Muslims from Christians. He referred to the Muslims' peculiar eating and sleeping habits, positioning himself throughout the letter as both a knowledgeable mediator and a loyal Venetian.[15] The Senate was convinced, finally approving the supplication as "a most Christian and beneficial act for the City and the Turks". The public dragoman Michiel Membré (c. 1510-1594) was entrusted with recommending a location and overseeing the establishment of such a "good and saintly work".[16] Simply locking away the affluent Ottoman merchants would not work. The solution need to be both legitimised as something they were accustomed to, and furnished to suit their housing needs. Otherwise they would not come, and the Republic would risk a diplomatic scandal. A competition for the location ensued (Fig. 138). The mediation efforts of Membré and Lettino shed light on how a space serving Ottoman Muslims in Venice was envisioned and negotiated.

Andrea Malipiero proposed a new building in the *contrada* San Fantin to house the entire *Mohammedan nation*.[17] It would have had a ground floor, a

mezzanine, and a first floor organised around an internal portico. The ground floor would have had three wells and warehouses, with a wide staircase leading to the rooms above. An apartment for the custodian would have been made above the single entrance to the building. All rooms would have been furnished with a fireplace and small high windows so that nobody could see in or out.[18] Otherwise, Malipiero would have provided a stove (*stufa*), toilets ("necessarij alla loro usanza"), and a separate bathroom ("bagno, che è molto necessario a questa nazione").[19]

Zaccaria Gabriel sent two separate proposals. In the first (Fig. 139), he proposed a complete reconstruction of an urban block he owned between the church of San Giovanni Crisostomo and the Grand Canal. He would have isolated his block with small windows, and re-orientate it towards the private street – repurposing it into an internal court.[20] After this was rejected, Gabriel proposed a completely new project in the Calle della testa in the parish of Santa Maria dei Miracoli.[21] The accompanying drawing was lost, but the short description mentions a several-floor, vaulted building with uniform rooms, high windows, a large cistern and multiple bathrooms.[22] This new structure was exactly what the government was searching for, so it was accepted but construction never even started.[23] Domenico Bosello aimed to fill this gap with a project "similar to the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, with rooms, vaults, warehouses, apartments, and other amenities".[24] This proposal was swiftly rejected, the model been considered inappropriate for the *Turchi*.[25]

The most elaborated proposal was the former *Osteria dell'Anzolo* of Bartolo Vendramin, located on the Rialto. The building had two wells and numerous rooms of various qualities. It comprised the entire block so outside communications could be controlled easily.[26] Vendramin already built stoves (*stufe*), washing facilities (*lavatoi*), and displays for the merchandise on the advice of Membré and Lettino "so the Turks would voluntarily come". Dragoman Membré was sent to survey the building and he comprised 11 points for its refurbishment.[27] He confirmed that the former osteria had a ground floor, a mezzanine, and three other floors; a very comfortable and bright portico, and various warehouses and rooms. Membré was more elaborate in the proposed changes and management rules, stating that all windows should be placed high and made small, closed with glass and an iron grille so that no one could see, speak, or enter through them because "this was done in the fondachi of the Levant, Turkey, and Syria". The patron (Vendramin) was obliged to keep the two cisterns always full of water and remove waste daily to keep the building continually clean, as is done in the Levant. A guard was to keep the single entrance locked during the night and prohibit access to women and young people during the day. The dragoman further acknowledged that the Muslim merchants, although of the same faith, were from different nations and lands, and had different customs. He anticipated problems, but nothing was done in this regard. In carefully weighing in the Venetian requisites of segregation, and the Ottoman ones of comfortable living, Membré referred to Ottoman models of merchants' accommodation such as the khan and the caravanserai to see

where these requisites overlap and to provide the merchants with acceptable solutions. In referencing these Levantine experiences, Membrè set a precedent for future decision-making.

The Vendramin house was selected as the temporary *fondaco* until a better solution could be found.[28] However, the Anatolian Turks filed a petition against the institution of the system altogether on the basis of their customs and previous Venetian legislation.[29] They stated that the *hosteria Vendramin* was a completely unreasonable solution unable to host the entire *Muslim nation*. The Anatolians were unwilling to share the same space with the Greek and Bosnian Muslims ("nationi di Gretia et Bosna") as it was never done so in the Empire. Moreover, in the Ottoman lands they could stay wherever they wanted. They said that if the Serenissima wanted to force all the Muslims into a single building, it needed to be large and well-situated.

This reaction repositions the reciprocity argued by Lettino and Membré. A plethora of *khans*, *caravanserais*, *funduqs*, and other mercantile hostelries were at disposal in the Ottoman Empire, but for non-Europeans they were not obligatory, and even the Europeans had to observe this rule only in Egypt and Syria. Furthermore, Levantine national *funduqs* were spaces of national more than religious grouping, and their implementation was not rigorous. The Venetians, Pisans, Genoese, Catalans, and all others had separate buildings.[30] However, the perplexity of the situation was not explained to the Venetian authorities by Membré and Lettino, who only notified them that precedents in the Ottoman Empire existed. Nonetheless, the government was willing to make certain concessions – if not on the existence of the place, then on where it was and how it should be organised and furnished. In this constant negotiation on the details, mediators were always involved. While trusted by the authorities, these mediators better understood the realities of Ottoman and Muslim cultures. Nevertheless, the request was rejected and the Anatolians simply ignored the *fondaco* for the meantime, staying around town in places of their choosing.[31]

Building the Fondaco dei Turchi

The Vendramin establishment proved to be an inadequate solution due to the proximity of the church of San Matteo di Rialto. Tensions escalated on the Feast day of Saint Matthew (21 September 1619), when a group of Bosnians fired their guns just outside the church window during mass. Soon rumours spread that the *Turks* often go in and around the church, mocking its rituals, and teasing the pious women.[32] Because of these happenings, the owner evicted the *fondaco* and the government had to find a new place.[33] At that moment, Doge Antonio Priuli (1548–1623) reiterated his proposal made in 1608, of the 13th-century Palazzo Pesaro better known today precisely as the *Fondaco dei Turchi* (Figs. 140–143). The palace was considered optimal because of its large size and position on the Canal Grande 500 meters north from the Vedramin establishment, which allowed for easy cargo handling on both land and water.

It had a large courtyard, two wells, and two quays. Therefore, it was claimed even the *Turks* would find it more convenient than the old *osteria*.[34] Membré's successor, dragoman Giacomo da Nores, was tasked with surveying the building and making a proposal for its reconstruction.[35] In his view, the large palace could easily be divided in two parts between the European Muslims (*nazione Bosinesi et Albanesi*) and the Asian Muslims (*nazione Asiatica*) with a partition wall, thus solving their previous complaints. As Membré before him, da Nores held that the need for the seclusion of all Muslim merchants stems from examples in Syria, Alexandria, and Constantinople. Concerning the particular exigencies of Ottoman Muslim housing culture, he held that baths needed to be built.[36] When Palazzo Pesaro was formally accepted as the new *Fondaco* in 1621,[37] da Nores made specific instruction for the reconstruction of the building.[38] He pointed out that windows should be elevated and encased in iron bars for safety, corridors made to establish a new communication scheme, baths and displays made for the camlets while underlying the need for partition walls (*tramezzi*) to divide the main hall and the rest of the building between the Asian and Constantinopolitan Turks on the somewhat smaller side, and the Bosnian and Albanian Muslims on the larger side. Each part would have its separate entrance, staircase, and courtyard. A separate wing would also exist for the custodian and his family, completely divided from the rest of the building. He repeated that external gates should be locked at sunset and opened at sunrise, while no Christian woman or young person should be permitted entry during the day. He also repeated Membré's recommemdation that wells must always be kept full of water "because that nation consumes a lot of it".

On the basis of this consultation process, the government established the 33 points for the modification of the building and its future management, "so the Turks can enjoy as much comfort as possible".[39] According to it, all land entrances were walled up except the main gate. The existing canal bank was expanded to the sides and enclosed in a high wall – with gates opened only in need of transport. Isolation was further accentuated in the large open court. As the court was on the southern end of the plot, two private houses were just on its border. The low wall toward the *Fondaco* was elevated and all the windows looking in were walled up. The custodian was obliged to keep the wells always full of water "so the Turks, who consume a lot of it, can be satisfied". The building was to be cleaned several times a day. The gates were to be guarded, locked at sunset and opened at sunrise. Entry was prohibited to women and young people. All external windows were raised, enclosed in iron bars and larch window shutters (*trombi di larese*) "so the neighbours could not see inside". The Canal Grande loggia and the main hall of the *piano nobile* were divided into two equal parts, as was the rest of the building. The half towards the East was assigned to the Asians and Constantinopolitans, and the one toward the West to the Bosnians and Albanians. Both wings would have two sets of bathrooms (*lavatoggio*) and toilets (*loco commune*) – on the mezzanine and the first floor. Two corner towers on the Canal Grande façade were

demolished (to the roof level). All the rooms needed to have a separate single door indicated with a number, a fireplace, and raised connected planks used as beds ("tavolati per habitarvi e dormirvi secondo l'uso loro").

While these modifications can be considered minor in terms of construction, they dramatically changed the spatial disposition of the palace. Most contemporary palaces were parcelled spaces, with parts functionally separated from the whole and rented out separately as apartments, shops, and warehouses. The repurposing of the palace into the *Fondaco* reoriented the entire building to the inside, rigorously uniting it and shifting its axis towards the two courtyards. Once separated, particular internal modifications were provided on the advice of the dragoman, such as baths, toilets, ample water supply, and the *tavolati*.

The Muslim merchants reacted strongly to the institution of the *Fondaco*, which almost turned into an international incident due to the involvement of a regional administrator, and subsequently, the sultan. In 1625 a group led by the Sanjak-bey of Szekszard (Hungary) appeared on the *Collegio* with a petition in hand, stating that "the roof was leaking, the neighbours were mean, and the location [...] was too far from the Rialto market."[40] Furthermore, they were attacked recently and were protesting the nightly closure. Due to the delicate situation involving a high-ranking Ottoman official, Doge Giovanni Cornaro (1624–1630) proceeded to remedy the matter personally. Firstly, he claimed that the attackers were severely punished to deter any future attacks, continuing that the *Fondaco* was indeed established to guarantee safety to the *Turks* at the best possible place, with the consent and participation.[41] The *Turks* were not convinced and the discussion continued. This turn, they objected to the *fondaco* system as such, claiming it was inconvenient to hold all Muslims under the same roof. The dragoman Giovanni Battista Salvago (1607–1644) was ordered to summon three to four influential traders and convince them that the *Fondaco* is beneficial. If the traders would still object, they were given the unlikely possibility of finding a different house to host all of them, as big and convenient as the Palazzo Pesaro. Except in abolishing the *fondaco*, the government was willing to accommodate the merchants in all things.[42] After all, unlike the Jews who also directed great financial value, the Ottoman Muslims had outside representation – one far stronger than Venice. Thus, the *Fondaco* involved a degree of appeasement and negotiation – not in its establishment, but rather in the way it was presented and in the accommodations and facilities provided to the users.

In 1626 the government decreed that the mezzanine door that directly connected the custodian's wing with the rest of the *Fondaco* was to be walled up. Also, the warehouse floors were to be repaired and an additional bathroom made on the ground floor. The roof the merchants mentioned was repaired previously.[43]

From that moment, there were no significant repairs which resulted in a series of structural problems pointed out in the 1670 tenants' letter to the Doge.[44] A building survey confirmed the terrible situation of the building, but only cosmetic repairs were made. The building became dangerous when the

floor collapsed under two of the merchants, and around fifty *Turks* compiled another petition in 1740.[45] After a series of negotiations and surveys, a complete reconstruction was agreed upon in 1750, on the project of engineer Paolo Rossi (1699–1769).[46] In this new reorganisation, a more organic division was put into place. The western part of the building was separated and reorganised as rented apartments for Christians. The Muslims *nations* were separated into floors with more uniform rooms, each *nation* having its own mosque, and the appertaining toilets and baths.[47] Finally, any new rules for the management of the new *Fondaco* were to be made by the public dragoman Iseppo Volta and confirmed by the government, continuing earlier practice.[48] Several days later, the *Senate* approved the project, paying particular attention to the well "which was to be made in a way in which it could keep the water clean, which is very necessary to the needs and practices of the Turks".[49]

The particular attention paid to the prayer spaces and hygienic facilities is testified in the report and plans that architect Bernardino Maccaruzzi (c. 1728–1798) made in 1768 to confirm that the works were completed as agreed (Figs. 144–146).[50] Maccaruzzi also made rectifications to the Rossi project. The most obvious of these was the displacement of the mosques and the appertaining baths. While Rossi envisioned the *piano nobile* mosque and its ablution room positioned centrally next to the *sala grande* (Maccaruzzi's room 16, Fig. 146), Maccaruzzi found this impractical and undignified due to the second-floor staircase that was supposed to be built close by. Understanding the connection between prayer and washing (through the employment of dragoman Giovanni Bellato as advisor), Maccaruzzi instead moved the mosque and the bath to the corner of the building, where the bath was built as a hanging element outside the walls, so the splashing water would not damage the support structure. With the relocation of the mosque and the baths, the toilets (*luochi comuni*) and the corresponding cesspits (*cloaca*) dominate the spatial disposition, demonstrating visually the centrality of hygienic facilities discussed in the earlier projects.

Translating architecture: Venetian public interpreters and the question of cultural transfer

The *Fondaco dei Turchi* in its long history demonstrates a process of repositioning between segregation and accommodation, of a mediated negotiation between the Venetian government and the Muslim merchants. The *fondaco* as a form of mercantile control is itself a concept imported in the 13th century from Egypt to Venice with the institution of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* whose main goal was to keep the more competitive merchants.[51] What distinguished the German *fondaco* and brings it close to Levantine examples is the overnight locking of a mercantile establishment that has a degree of ethno-religious grouping. However, non-merchants, even Protestants, could stay wherever they wanted. Moreover, the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* is a highly visible and accessible building on the Rialto. Only one Venetian solution before the *Fondaco*

dei Turchi unites overnight locking, religious segregation, and regulated contact – the Ghetto. What makes the Ghetto a specific Venetian invention different from earlier Jewish quarters are controlled entry and overnight locking. The aim of these measures was to prevent Jews and Christians from socialising during those hours not dedicated to work but leisure.[52] The Ghetto could not have existed without the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, nor could the *Fondaco dei Turchi* without the Ghetto. Contrary to the Ghetto however, the *Fondaco dei Turchi* was not inhabited by long-term residents exiled from elsewhere, but by short-term merchants with significant diplomatic representation. This means the Venetian government could not just have imposed the system, it needed to be accommodated to users with different housing needs and expectations, and well-argued not as a space of segregation, but as a practice based on Levantine examples. This required significant intellectual effort for which public interpreters were employed, shifting the discourse from a segregated place to a secure one in which the *Turks* could have all their needs fulfilled, from bathing to translation.

Instruments of acceptable segregation were first established, such as high perimeter walls, elevated windows, and guarded semi-accessible entrances locked during the night. Interestingly enough, the Muslim merchants never protested against these because all could be found in the Levant, as the dragomans correctly claimed.[53] What the merchants protested against was that they could not freely choose where to stay, and that they had to stay with other ethnic groups, completely against Levantine practice. However, internal separations solved this issue, made after the merchants complained and in consultation with the dragoman da Nores.

What necessitated and legitimised grouping of Muslim merchants in a single place was their housing culture, made of cultural and religious habits such as eating, sleeping, praying, washing, and relieving oneself. Arguably, these needs could not have been met anywhere else in Venice to a proper degree. Thus the imported concept of the *fondaco,* naturalized in Venice, was enriched with imported elements of Ottoman Muslim housing culture.

The first and simplest of these is the *tavolato* – a raised wooden surface used for sleeping. Sleeping on a matt or a thin portable mattress on a wide bench or on the floor was the norm in the Islamic world, while the bed was strictly a European cultural mode. It was present in all European households – whether rich or poor, and was expensive, large, and difficult to move, signifying the room in which it stood as the bedroom.[54] However, *tavolati* existed in the Venetian repertoire both as a term and a form, and one can find similar sleeping benches in prisons and barracks. Thus a local paragon was used to sufficiently substitute a foreign concept.

Food is regulated in Islamic tradition. Water sources and kitchen appliances needed to be kept separate because contact with a non-halal substance (such as alcohol and pork) would make them impure for Muslim use.[55] This explains the prevalent separate mentions of fireplaces, ovens, and stoves – used both for cooking and heating.

Prayer spaces are particularly interesting in the context of cultural exchange. They are only mentioned in the 1750 reconstruction by the proprietors, never requested by the Muslims or the dragomans. In the Islamic context, specific prayer spaces are unnecessary. As God is indifferent to places, the five daily prayers could be made anywhere.[56] However, in the Venetian worldview religion is the basis of segregation. As the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* had its protestant chapel, and the Ghetto its synagogues, a *Fondaco dei Turchi* had to have its mosque if it was to function as a place and a community separate from the city. In parallel, all European *funduq* in the Levant had chapels and churches.[57] The mosque was one of the repurposed rooms, with mats and carpets on the floors and inscriptions made by the tenants on the eastern (*qibla*) wall.[58]

The tripartite organisation of bath-vestibule-mosque shows certain understanding of Islamic religious spaces, all of which respect this general organisational scheme to provide the transition from the wider secular world into the religious space of the prayer hall. Generally, walled courtyards, atriums, and porches are used to separate religious spaces from the outside. In them, an ablution space is found. It is universally forbidden to practice prayer if ritual ablution is not made beforehand – that is, valid prayer cannot be made if not in the state of purity. Spiritual purity involves physical cleanliness. After ablution, the faithful proceed to a foyer – functionally a cloakroom, where outer garments and, necessarily, shoes are removed and deposited before entry to the prayer hall. Therefore, this spatial disposition required a degree of cultural mediation, possibly made in consultation with dragomans Volta or Bellato. Otherwise, hygienic facilities were correctly recognised as the staple of Islamic housing culture, apparent in the constant mention of abundant and separate water supply, baths, the cleaning regimen, and toilets. It can be argued that no contemporary Venetian building would have adequately sufficed in this regard.

The toilet was mentioned in every project. It also shows the greatest degree of cultural accommodation. The usual European domestic interior did not have a dedicated room used as a toilet, but either an external one or a waste chute into which chamber pots were emptied.[59] However, there were notable exceptions in private houses and public palaces, as well as public latrines. The most important differing cultural norm could be observed in the level of privacy. European toilets were generally not private spaces, but narrow niches that opened to the room in front, while public latrines contained open rows of seats without any compartments.[60] The typical communal toilet, a narrow niche or a chamber pot would not have worked in the case of the *Fondaco dei Turchi*, because the Islamic *hijab* regulation prohibits communication while on the toilet, seeing other people's genitals, and olfactory offence to other people and causing olfactory offence to others.[61] As such, toilets as separate spaces are found in Islamic households in a regular and standardised manner. This explains the repetition of the need for the toilet in almost every building, and their outlook in the Maccaruzzi plans where they have a cesspool, are divided into stalls, centrally placed but well-ventilated and separated from other rooms.[62]

Thus, the institution and construction of the *Fondaco dei Turchi* included cultural transfer on several levels. First, the organisational model of the *fondaco* was chosen as best suited because it was equated with the caravanserai ("caravassarà zoè fontego"),[63] that is – the *khan* ("i loro fontegi chiamati han").[64] However, while all belong to the pan-Mediterranean network of mercantile hospitality and commerce, the *fondaco-khan* meant different things to an Ottoman Muslim, or a Venetian. To an Ottoman Muslim it was a place of voluntary sojourn, while to a Venetian it was a place of *national* and commercial control at home and in the Levant. Its general outlook was correctly translated by the dragomans and was thus acceptable to the Muslim merchants, but its segregatory aspect was not – because from their point of view it did not exist in the Ottoman Empire.

The second level can be observed in the gradual implementation of selected aspect of Muslim housing culture, including eating, sleeping, and hygienic habits. If any of these solutions were lacking, the merchants would petition the Venetian institutions, and a negotiation effort ensued. This constant renegotiation and accommodation of the *Fondaco* between various actors makes it a plural project that modifies local Venetian forms to suit foreign concepts translated by the Venetian dragomans – a translated Venetian solution to Ottoman housing problems.

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NOTES

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[1] "Omnes linguae inter se permixtae sunt, quia, cum regiones inter se sint vicinae, mutuatur altera ab altera aliqua vocabula." LUTHER 1566, n. 2758.

[2] CONSTABLE 2003, p. 80–82.

[3] MAKUŠEV 1874, p. 188–189; TADIĆ 1939, p. 28.

[4] COSTANTINI 2014, p. 267–270.

[5] Cf. KAFADAR 1986.

[6] Cf. TROELTSCH 1906; HEADLEY / HILLERBRAND 2004.

[7] Cf. CALABI / GALEAZZO / MASSARO 2016.

[8] PRETO 1975, p. 127.

[9] PRETO 1975, p. 128.

[10] TURAN 1968, p. 275–276.

[11] GALLICCIOLLI 1795, p. 101–102; BENEDETTI 1571, not paginated. Cf. GRENET 2013, p. 283.

[12] BURKE 2006; ORTEGA 2014, p. 25–26, 33; SALZBERG 2019.

[13] ASVe (Archivio di Stato di Venezia), Cinque Savi alla mercanzia (henceforth *V Savi*), 2. s., b. 187, fasc. 1, unpaginated, Oct. 28, 1574; PRETO 1975, p. 130; CONCINA 1997, p. 222–223; ROTHMAN 2011, p. 198.

[14] ASVe, V Savi, 2. s., b. 187, fasc. 1, May 17, 1575

[15] ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, fz. 67, Aug. 16, 1575.

[16] Ibid. Michiel Membré a Cypriot-born Greek with Circassian roots. His mother tongue was Greek, he spoke Italian and Turkish, commanded Arabic, Syriac, and limited Persian. During his youth, he worked as a commercial agent in Syria and Anatolia. In 1539 he successfully led a Venetian diplomatic mission to Persia, for which he filled a long report in 1542. He managed to draw on this adventure to become the dragoman of the Republic in 1550 until his death. During his long career, he monopolised the craft and became wealthy, influencing Venerian commercial policy. For the Republic, he also negotiated in Constantinople, Cairo, and Dalmatia. ARBEL 2013; PEDANI 2020.

[17] ASVe, Secreta, Materie miste e notabili, b. 55, fasc. II, f. 28r, Sept. 7, 1575. Cf. CONCINA 1997, p. 234–235.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] BMC (Biblioteca del Museo Correr), PDc 740, item II, p. 25; drawing: ASVe, Secreta, Materie miste e notabili, b. 55, fasc. II. Cf. CONCINA 1997, p. 226, fig. 62.

[21] BMC, PDc 740, item II, p. 27, no date indicated; can be dated between April and August 1579.

[22] ASVe, V Savi, 2. s., b. 187, fasc. 1, Jan. 4, 1600 m. v.

[23] ASVe, V Savi, 2. s., b. 187, fasc. 1, Aug. 4 1579.

[24] ASVe, V Savi, 2. s., b. 187, fasc. 1, Dec. 3, 1618.

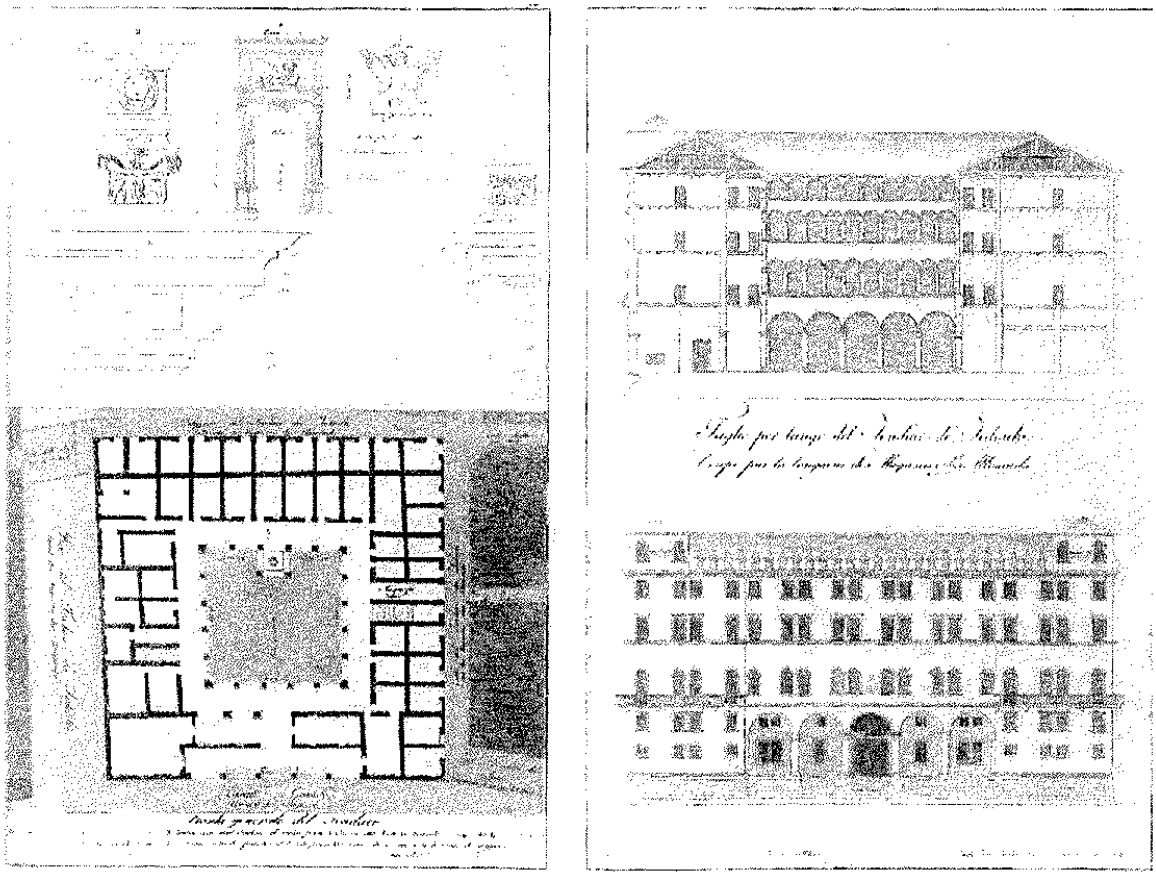
[25] ASVe, V Savi, 2. s., b. 187, fasc. 1, Feb. 18, 1618 m.v.

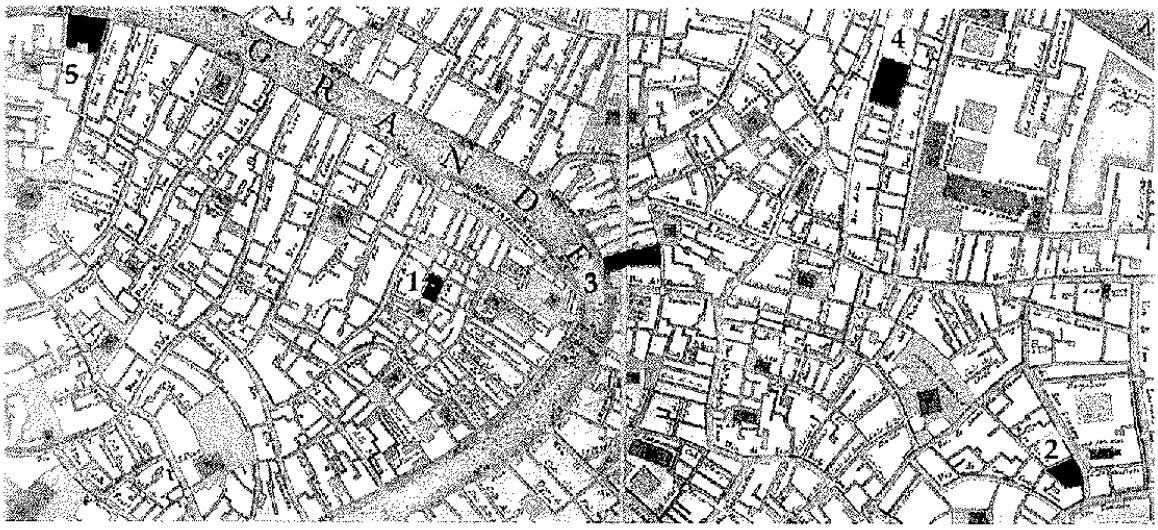
[26] BMC, PDc 740, item II, p. 8.

[27] ASVe, Secreta, Materie miste e notabili, b. 55, fasc. II, ff. 11r–13v, Sep. 21, 1575; Cf. PRETO 1975, p. 135; CONCINA 1997, p. 324.

[28] ASVe, V Savi, 2. s., b. 187, fasc. 1, Aug. 4 1579.

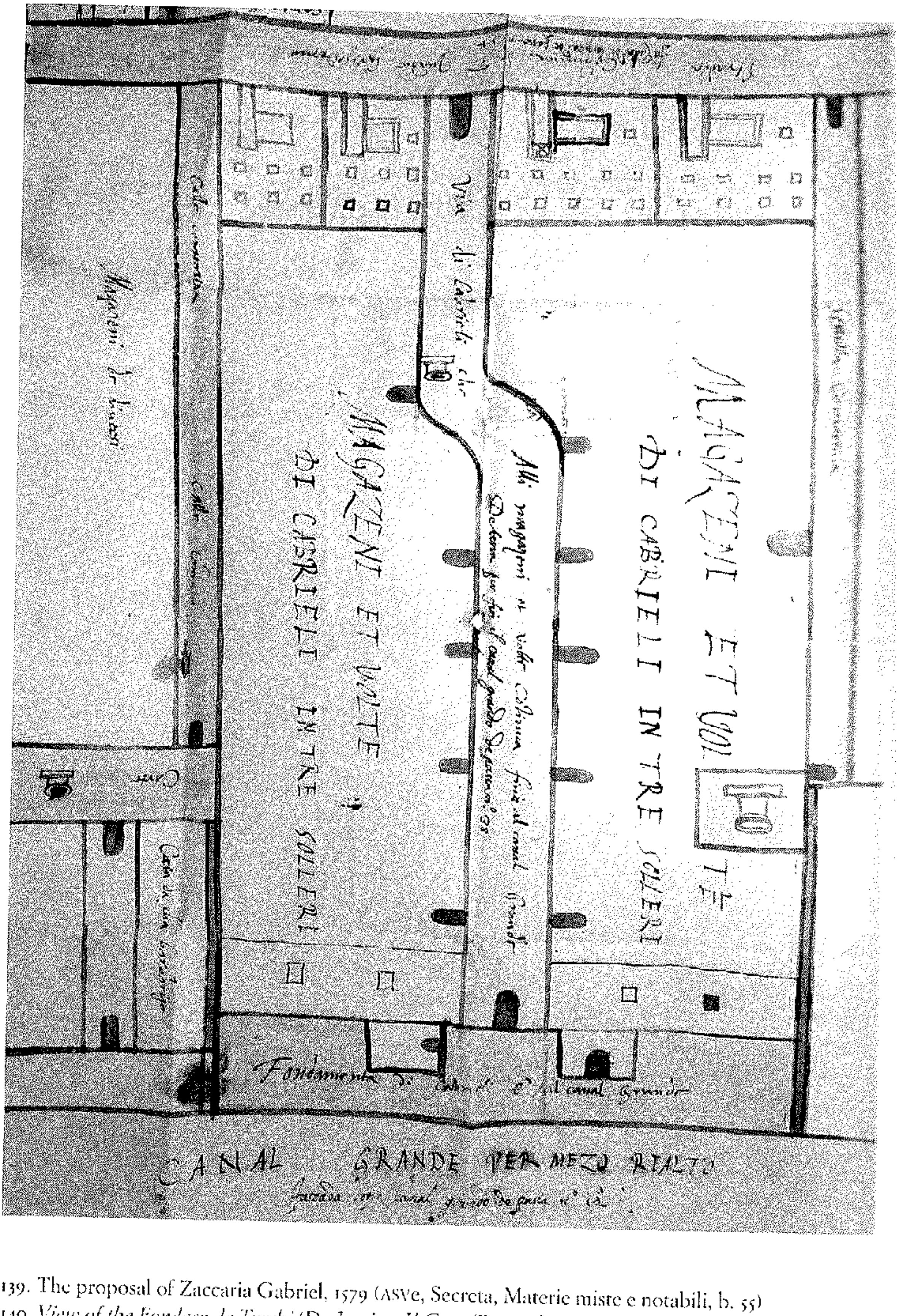
[29] ASVe, V Savi, 2. s., b. 187, fasc. 1, May 2, 1579. *Turchi de Anatolia* is a self designation.
[30] Constable 2003, p. 8.
[31] ASVe, Secrera, Materie miste e notabili, b. 55, fasc. II, May 21, 1579.
[32] ASVe, V Savi, 2. serie, b. 187, fasc. 1, Mar. 12, 1620; Cf. Preto 1975, p. 133; Concina 1997, p. 231.
[33] ASVe, V Savi, 2. s., b. 187, fasc. 1, June 8, 1620.
[34] ASVe, V Savi, 2. s., b. 187, fasc. 1, Nov. 11, 1620.
[35] Giacomo da Nores was born around 1569 in Nicosia, then-Venetian Cyprus, in a distinguished noble family. During the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1571 he was enslaved and raised in the service of an Ottoman officer, traveling with him around the Empire until he was ransomed in 1587 and employed by the Venetians as a dragoman under Membré two years later. Da Nores had to learn Italian after arriving in Venice, but commanded his native Greek, as well as Turkish, and Persian. Ravid 1987, p. 240; Rothman 2021, p. 189–190.
[36] ASVe, Collegio, Notatorio, fz. 237, attached to the decision May 28, 1621. Cf. Concina 1997, p. 236.
[37] ASVe, V Savi, 2. s., b. 187, fasc. 1, Mar. 11, 1621.
[38] ASVe, V Savi, 2. s., b. 187, fasc. 1, Mar. 29, 1621. His recommendations and later narrative sources can be compared to the three plans of the palace made by Cesare Torello just two decades before it was converted into the fondaco (Figs. 5–7).
[39] ASVe, Compilazione delle leggi, b. 210, ff. 184r–192r, May 27; May 28, 1621; ASVe, Collegio, Notatorio, fz. 237, May 27, 1621. A partial transcription published by: Chambers / Pullan 2001, p. 350–352. Cf. Preto 1975, p. 133; Concina 1997, p. 236–237; Rothman 2021, p. 201.
[40] Rothman 2011, p. 203.
[41] Ravid 1987, p. 241.
[42] Ravid 1987, p. 242–243.
[43] ASVe, V Savi, 2. s., b. 187, fasc. 2, May 4, 1626.
[44] ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, fz. 1917, July 30, 1740 (with appendices: July 30, 1670; Dec. 2, 1670; Dec. 18, 1670). Cf. Schulz 2004, p. 141–142.
[45] ASVe, V Savi, 2. s., b. 187, fasc. 9, Mar. 7, 1740. Cf. Schulz 2004, p. 138.
[46] BMC, PDc 740, item II, p. 161, May 2, 1750.
[47] The second mosque should have been on the second floor, but the floor was never realised.
[48] ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, fz. 2128, attachment dated Feb. 9, 1750 m.v.
[49] ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, fz. 2128, Feb. 11, 1750 m.v.
[50] ASVe, V Savi, 1. s., b. 372, fz. 131, item 3; the plans are kept in: ASVe, Miscellanea mappe, n. 571. Cf. Schulz 2004, p. 143.
[51] Braunstein 2016, p. 146.
[52] Kaplan 2007, p. 295–296.
[53] Cf. Mortada 2003, p. 80–82, 95–96; Hakim 2010, p. 33; Fumagalli 2018.
[54] Cf. Thornton 1991, p. 111–167; Sarti 1999.
[55] Constable 2003, p. 275.
[56] The hadith says: "Wherever the hour of prayer overtakes thee, thou shalt perform the salat and that is a masjid." Cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam 1991, s.v. "masdjid" (p. 645, 655).
[57] Constable 2003, p. 98, 119.
[58] Sagredo / Berchet 1860, p. 68.
[59] Thornton 1991, p. 245, 248–249. As a piece of furniture, the chamber-pot was incorporated into a box, a night cabinet, or most often a chair – then called a close-stool (*sedietta*).
[60] Pagliara 2001.
[61] Hakim 2010, p. 49–54.
[62] The only European typologies that included screens between toilet seats were in monasteries, but there the toilet is always peripherally located. Magnusson 2001, p. 156.
[63] Membré 1969 [1542], p. 10–13, 22.
[64] Giacomo da Nores, BMC, PDc 740, item II, p. 53.



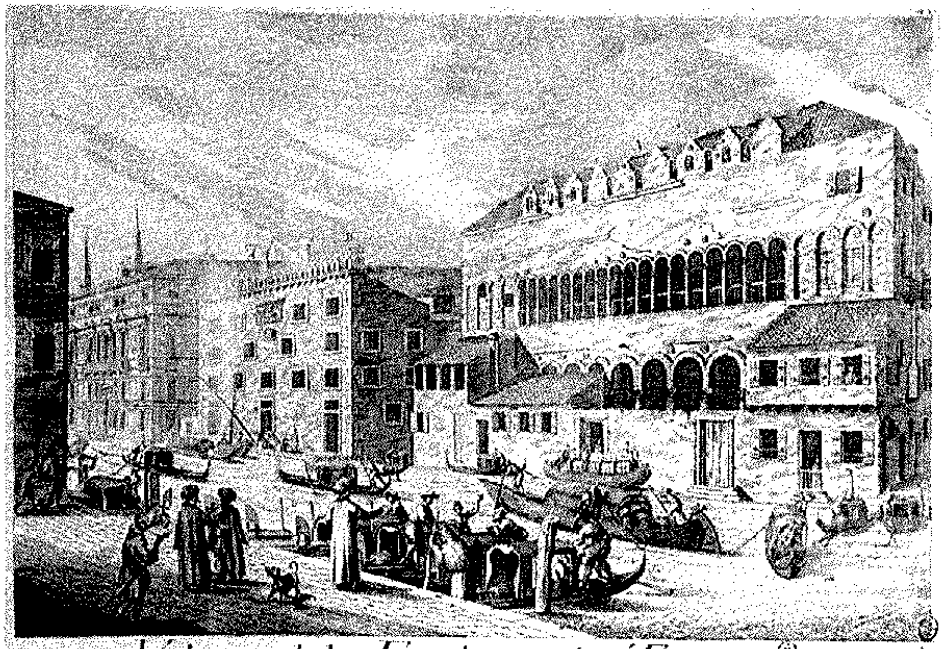


137. *The Fondaco dei Tedeschi* (L. Cicognara, A. Diedo, G. Selva, *Le fabbriche e i monumenti cospicui di Venezia*, 1858, tav. 93–94)

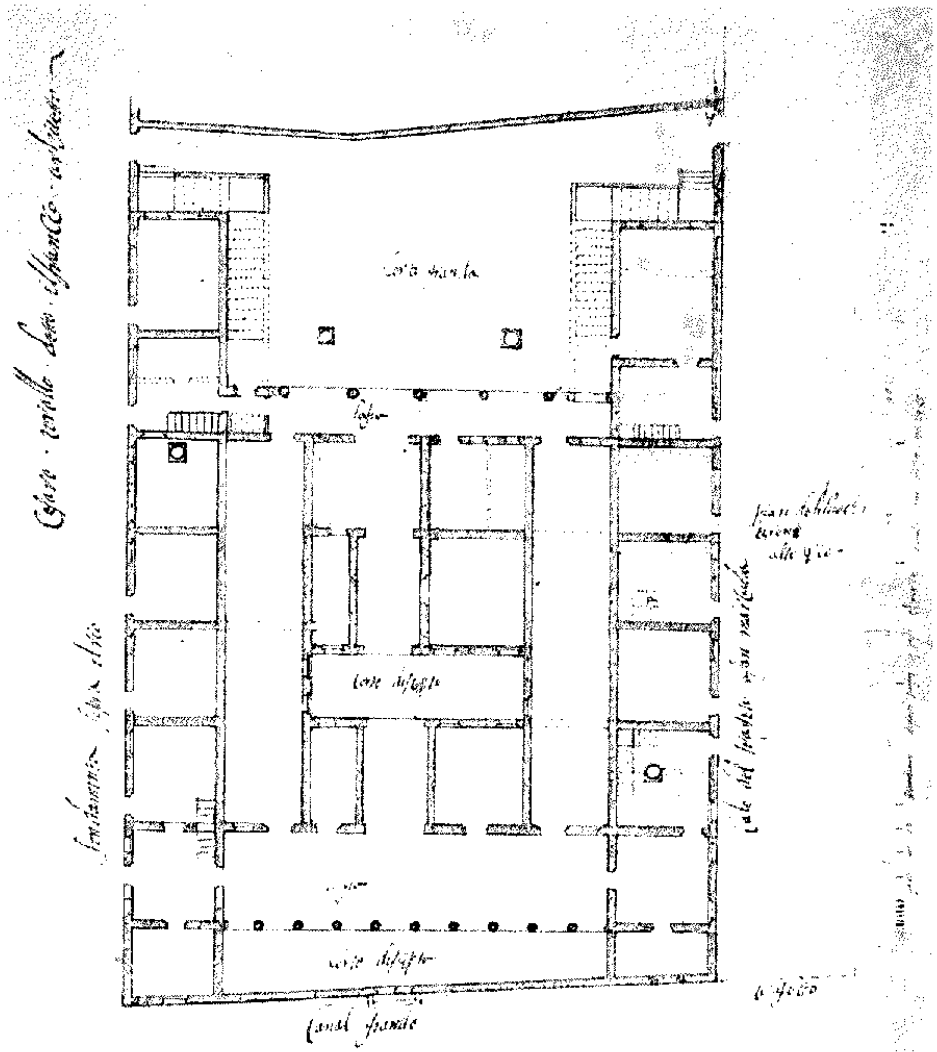
138. The proposals of: 1) B. Vendramin; 2) B. Zane; 3) Z. Gabriel; 4) Z. Gabriel; 5) A. Priuli (based on: L. Ughi, *Iconografica rappresentatione della inclita città di Venezia*, Venice 1729)

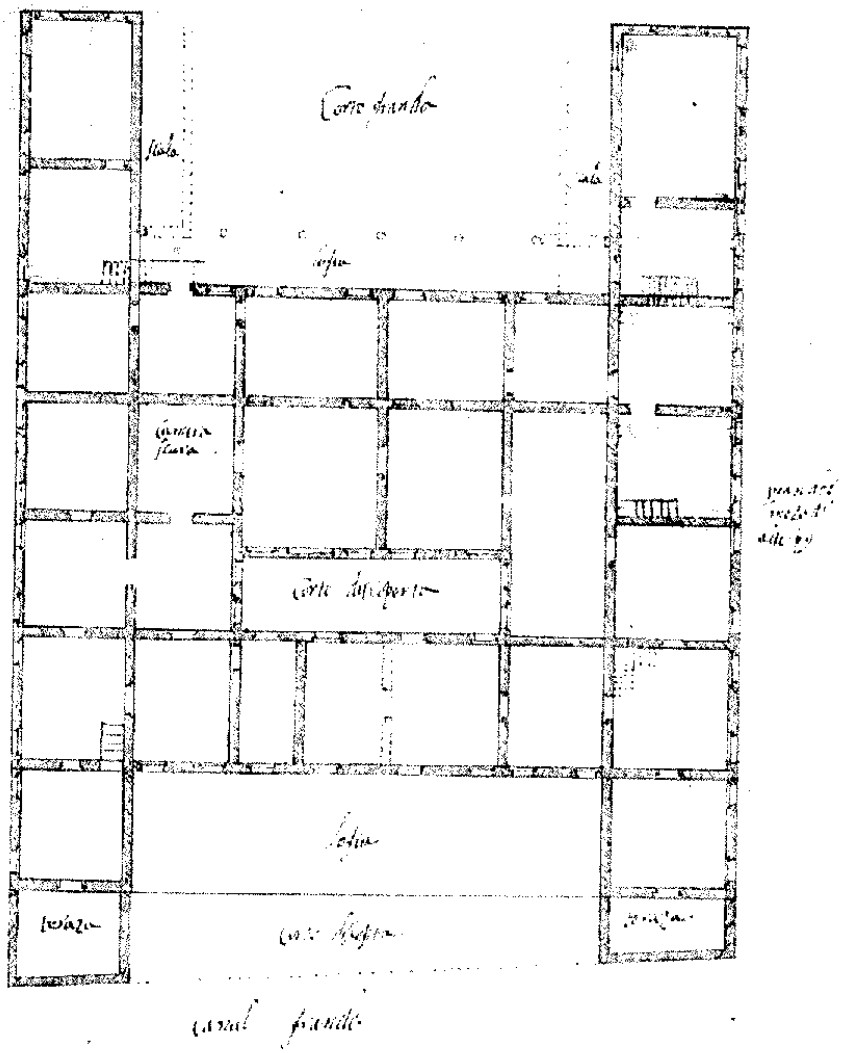


139. The proposal of Zaccaria Gabriel, 1579 (ASVe, Secreta, Materie miste e notabili, b. 55)
140. *View of the Fondaco de Turchi* (Do.Lovisa, *Il Gran Teatro di Venezia*, c. 1720, tav. XLVIII)
141. Cesare Torello, *Ground-floor plan of the Palazzo Pesaro*, ca. 1600 (Archivio di Stato di Modena, Mappario Estense, n. 329)

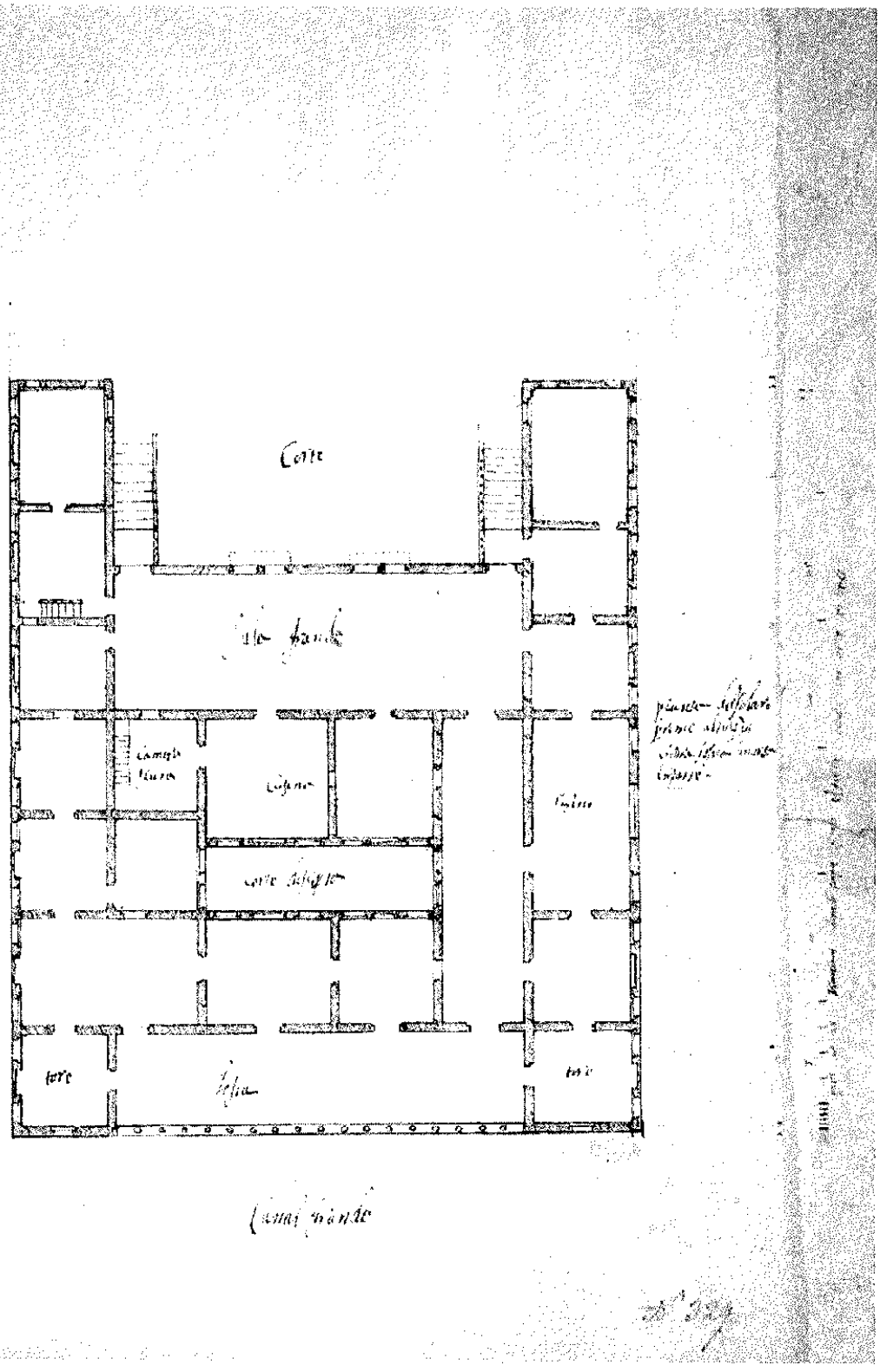


Veduta del Fondaco de Turchi

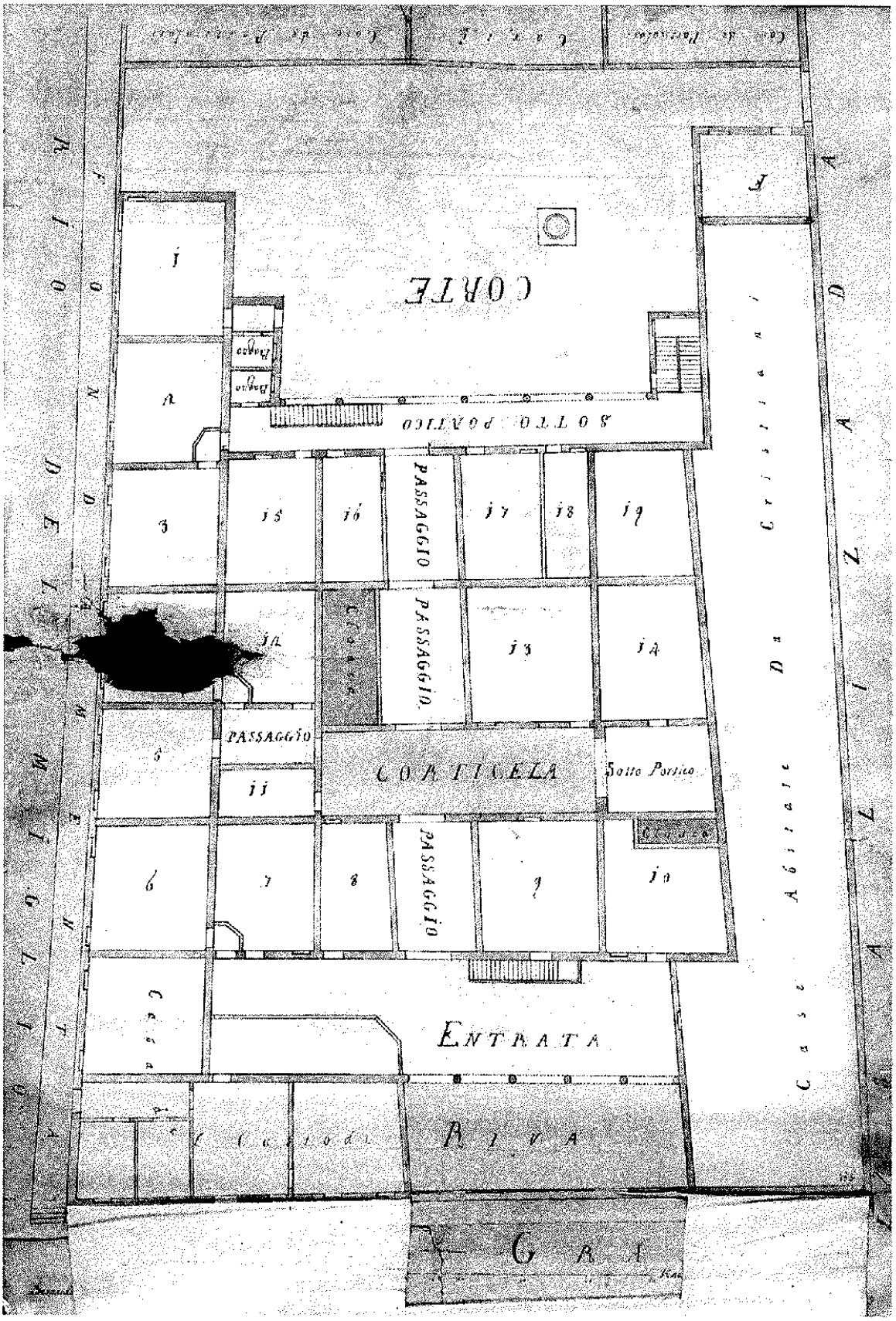




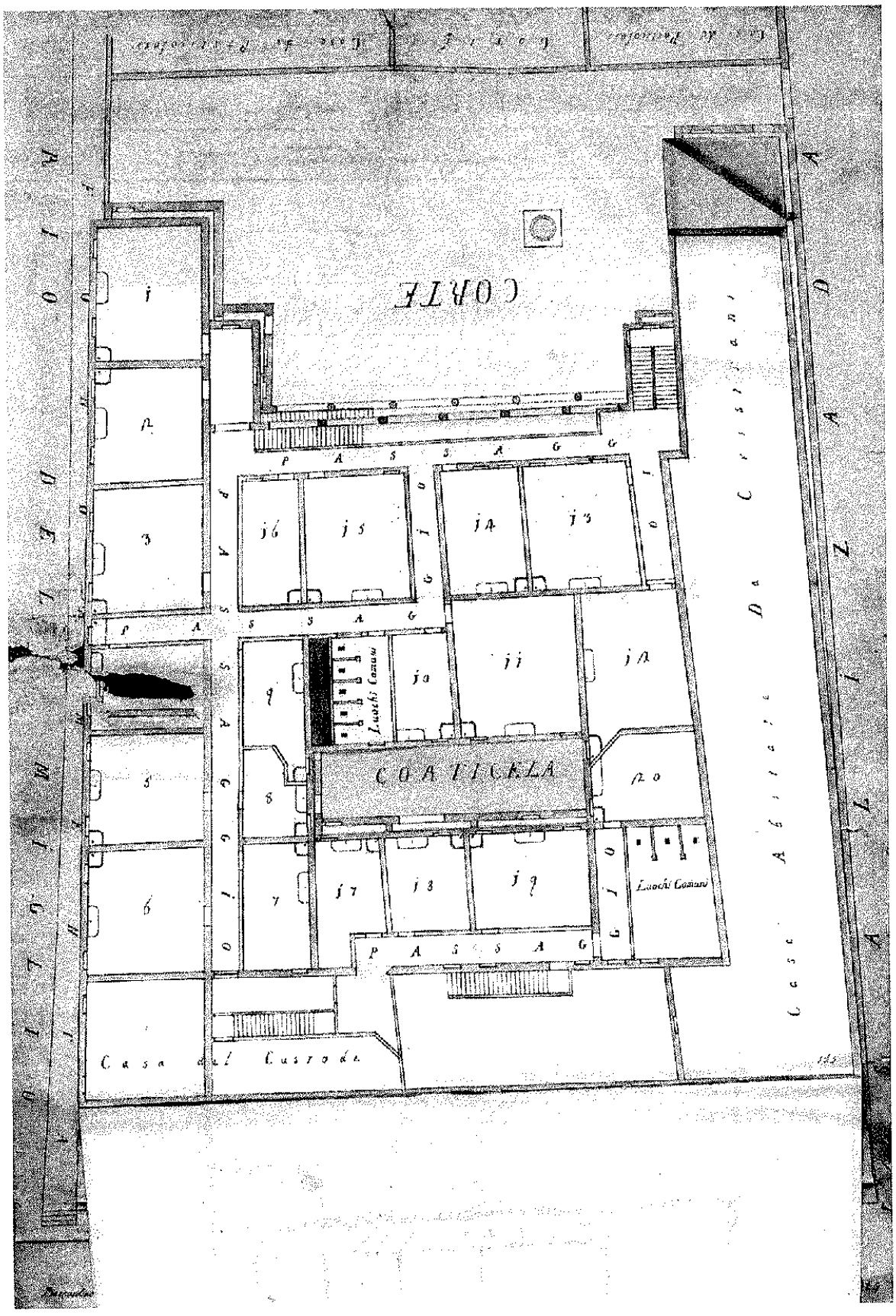
142. Cesare Torello, *Mezzanine plan of the Palazzo Pesaro*, ca. 1600 (ASMo, Mapparo Estense, n. 329)



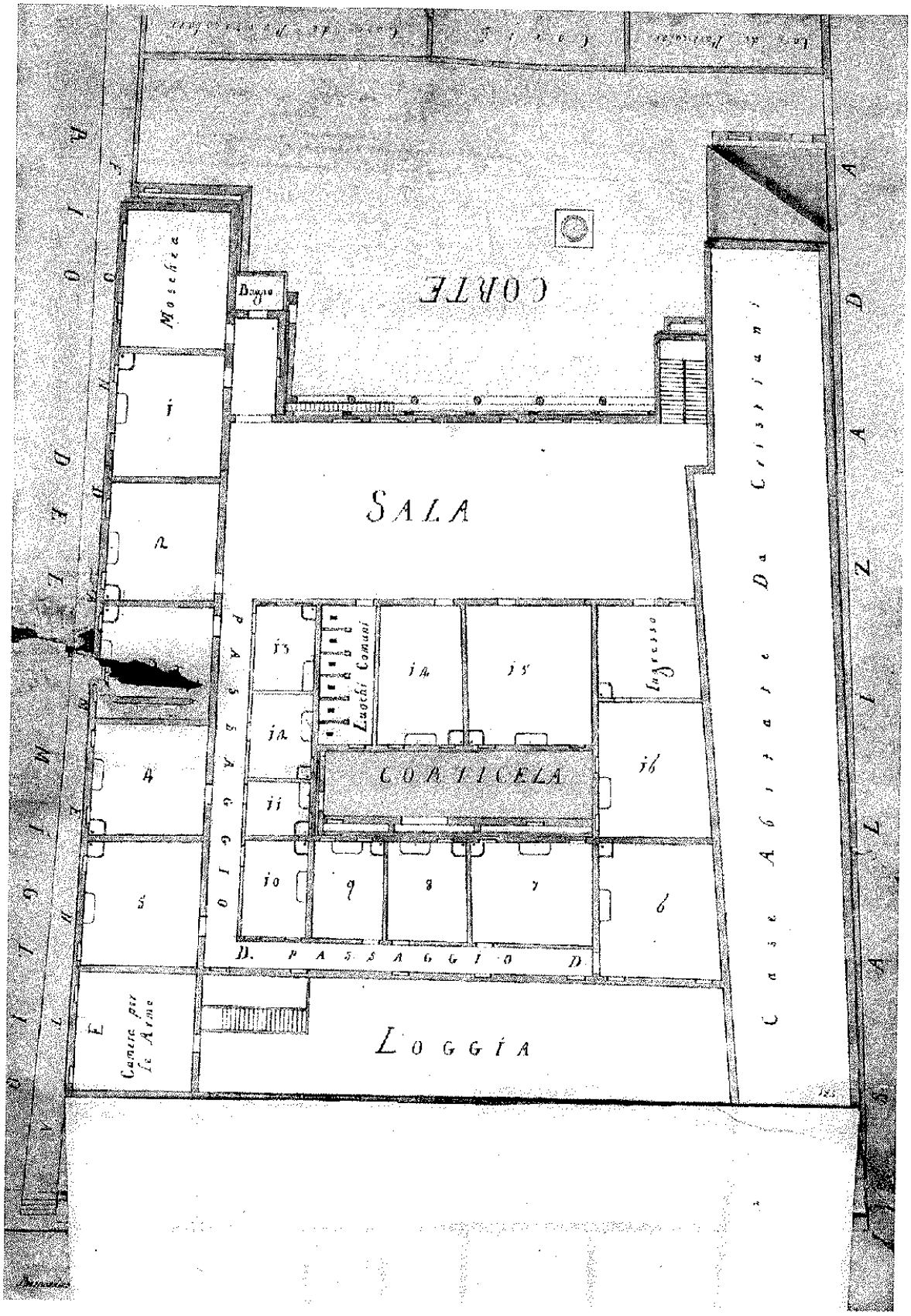
143. Cesare Torello, *First-floor plan of the Palazzo Pesaro*, c. 1600 (ASMo, Mappario Estense, n. 329)



144. Bernardino Maccaruzzi, Fondaco dei Turchi – *ground-floor plan of the Palazzo Pesaro*, 1768 (ASVe, Misc. mappe, n. 571)



145. Bernardino Maccaruzzi, *Fondaco dei Turchi – mezzanine plan*, 1768 (ASVe, *Miscellanea mappe*, n. 571)



146. Bernardino Maccaruzzi, *Fondaco dei Turchi – first-floor plan*, 1768 (ASVe, *Misc. mappe*, n. 571)