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Mediterranean Reflections. Venice as Myth and Model (18th-19th centuries)

Ibis

Volume published as part of the project *Riflessi mediterranei Venezia: mito e modello tra Sette e Ottocento*,
with the contribution of the Department of Linguistic and Comparative Cultural Studies of the Ca' Foscari University of Venice
and of the Regione del Veneto (in accordance with L.R. n. 39/2019)

Università Ca'Foscari Venezia
Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Culturali Comparati

Regione del Veneto

With the partnership of the Pazin State Archives
and of the Società di Studi Storici e Geografici of Piran.
Thanks also to the Fondazione Ghisleri of Pavia,
the Venice and Cagliari State Archives,
the Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice,
the Biblioteca Labronica F. D. Guerrazzi, Livorno,
the Biblioteca Civica A. Hortis, Trieste
and the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice
for the concession of the materials.

On the cover: *Le fabbriche e i monumenti cospicui di Venezia* (The Prominent Buildings and Monuments of Venice), Venice, Antonelli, 1858 – Fondazione Ghislieri, Pavia. This is an allegorical representation of Venice as a bridge between East and West, embodying the grandeur of Italian Renaissance art and serving as a model of its excellence.

www.ibisedizioni.it
I edizione: ottobre 2024
ISBN 978-88-7164-746-3

Introduction

"Venice, the eldest Child of Liberty / She was a maiden City, bright and free" wrote William Wordsworth in 1802. The myth of its original freedom was deeply rooted, and numerous studies have explored the multiple mythologies – both positive and negative – surrounding the Republic. Others have examined the institutional continuities and discontinuities between the Serenissima (as Venice was also known) and the subsequent French and Austrian phases. In the rich literature on the history of Venice, however, myth and model have often followed separate tracks, without ever intertwining.

It is this intertwining that the following pages seek to explore. As we shall see, the widespread resonance of the myth ensured that the Republic of Venice continued to be seen as an exemplary model even after its demise. At the same time, its administrative practices and governance over the centuries contributed to the maintenance of this myth.

Between the 18th and 19th centuries, the multifaceted images of Venice were the result of a continuous play of reflections involving the Adriatic coast and the maritime

centres of Istria and Dalmatia, and that eventually extended to the entire Mediterranean coastal area. The institutional models of the Serenissima continued to circulate, remaining at the centre of political and economic debates. An interconnected Venice emerged, part of an Adriatic system capable of both absorbing influences – constantly renewing itself – and radiating them, affecting regions both near and far.

The first part of the volume (*Myths*) begins with the unique perspective of Ugo Foscolo as a historian and politician who is able to lead us to a reinterpretation of the images of Venice in Restoration Europe. For Foscolo, exiled in England, the impetus and opportunity to intervene publicly in the history of Venice came from the publication of Casanova's *Memoirs*, which he reviewed and harshly criticised. Casanova's work contributed significantly to the 18th century image of a libertine and decadent Venice, which Foscolo sought to reject by emphasising Venice's contribution to the development of democratic forms of government. If the myth of Venetian exceptionalism can be traced back to Casanova, Foscolo sought to present Venice as a model integrated in European history, pointing at an Italian path to constitutionalism.

The 19th century emphasis on archival documents as a basis for either condemning or celebrating the Serenissima opens the second part (*Models*). The Venetian archival tradition was seen not only as an imaginative element but also as a true example of good governance. For centuries the archives had been the "heart of the state", and between the 18th and 19th centuries Venice was still considered a

paradigm to be followed in various fields: from public health to the statistical organisation of data and the language of diplomacy.

The volume is accompanied by an appendix, made possible by the extensive documentation preserved in Pazin, which further illustrates the Venetian Adriatic system and the enduring institutional practices of the Serenissima regarding the collection of population data.

In addition to the aforementioned partner institutions, I would like to thank the Fondazione Ghislieri of Pavia, Federico Bucci of the antique bookshop *Segni nel Tempo* and the staff of the Venice and Cagliari State Archives, the Biblioteca Labronica F. D. Guerrazzi, Livorno, the Biblioteca Civica A. Hortis, Trieste, the Library of the Correr Museum, Venice and the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice for their assistance during the research. I would also like to thank the administrative staff of the Department of Linguistic and Cultural Studies of the Ca' Foscari University of Venice for their invaluable collaboration.

Myths

Portrait of Ugo Foscolo, detail from: *Scritti politici inediti*, Lugano, Tipografia della Svizzera Italiana, 1844 – Biblioteca Labronica F. D. Guerrazzi, Livorno.

The editor of this edition was Giuseppe Mazzini, who wanted to publish it almost as a monument to Foscolo. He admired him as an example of patriotism, although he did not fully share Foscolo's political views, which he considered to be too cynical and pessimistic.

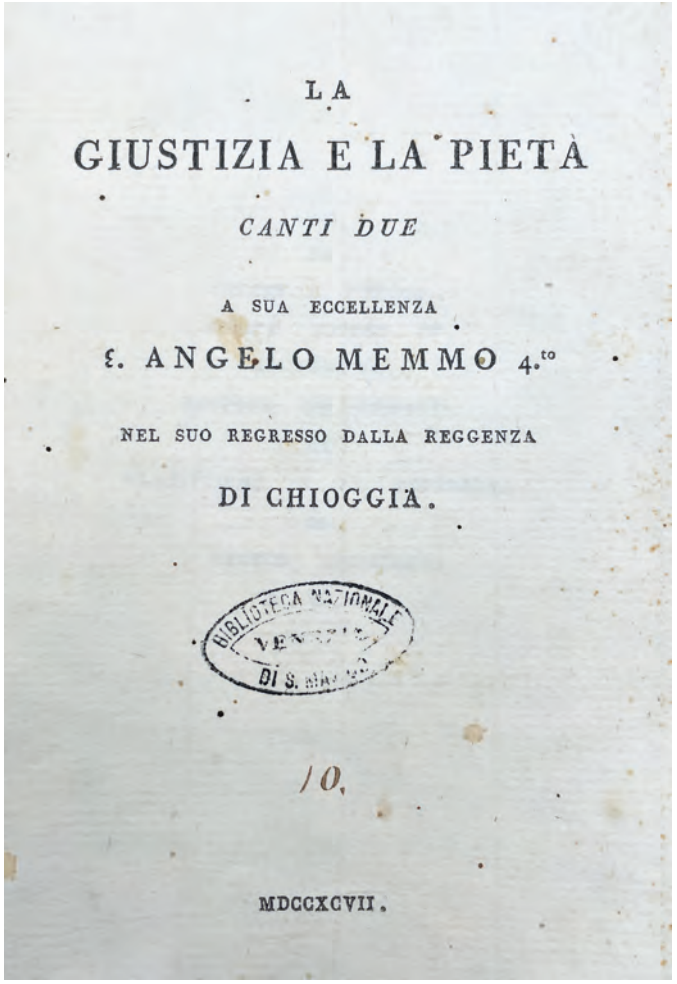
Ugo Foscolo (6 February 1778 – 10 September 1827) serves as a paradigmatic figure for capturing the transformations of the Republic of Venice and its survival within a vast political and cultural landscape, even after its fall in 1797.

Foscolo was born on the edge of the Republic, in Zakynthos, one of the Ionian islands that, along with extensive coastal territories in Istria, Dalmatia, Albania, and Montenegro, as well as the Morea, the Aegean Islands, Crete, and Cyprus, constituted the *Stato da Mar* (State of the Sea). Having grown up between Zakynthos and Split, he moved to Venice in 1792 and plunged into the city's vibrant literary society. He became well acquainted with the *Dogado* territory that surrounded the city. In 1796, he spent a period of reflection and solitude in Padua and the Euganean Hills, thus seeking refuge in the *Stato da Tera* (State of the Land).

Family circumstances and his restless nature had led Foscolo, while still very young, to travel across the various lands of the Republic before 1797. During that year he actively participated in the temporary republican government and joyfully welcomed the fall of a regime he deemed oligarchic and anti-democratic.

Hailing Bonaparte as a "liberator" in the famous ode published in 1797, Foscolo now projected himself into an Italian dimension, yet he never entirely forgot his Mediterranean roots. While it is true that, like many republican patriots, he frequently employed a Roman rhetorical repertoire populated with Brutuses and Gracchi, he nevertheless attributed to Greece the original maternity of true liberty. As he recalled in the closing lines of the *Ode a Bonaparte liberatore*: "Of liberty the incorruptible flame / Shone forth in Greece".

After the Treaty of Campoformio gave Austria most of the former Republic of Venice, there were decades of disputes over the Ionian Islands. The islands were fought over by the British, French, Russians and Ottomans, until 1863 when they became part of Greece.



LA

GIUSTIZIA E LA PIETÀ

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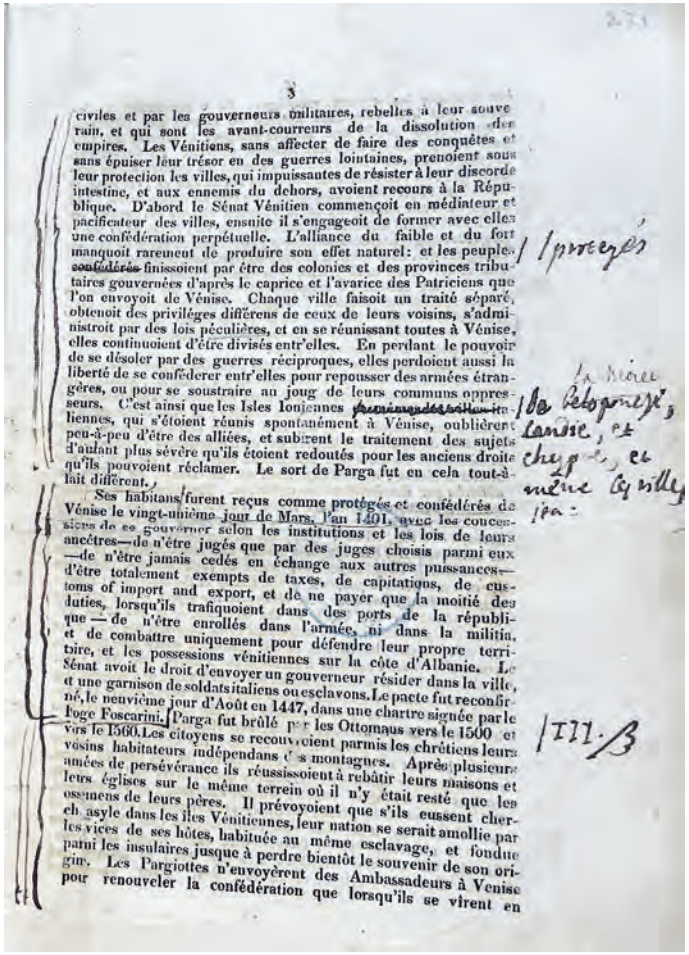
Alongside Greece, Venice would continue to occupy an important place in Foscolo's works and thoughts. He saw Venice as the heir to the classical tradition and the channel through which this tradition had passed from East to West. After the proclamation of the Republic's neutrality, Foscolo harshly denounced Venice in the sonnet *A Venezia* (presumably written in 1796 and published in 1797), describing the city as: "of a thousand tyrants, whose plunder / Stains the throne with blood, unworthy land!".

The year 1797 also saw the publication of *La giustizia e la pietà*, a poetic pamphlet dedicated to Angelo Memmo IV, who had long served the Republic in its Adriatic and Ionian territories. Beyond the homage to the Venetian patrician, a typical feature of 18th century occasional poetry, the text contains some revealing passages, especially when the poet dwells on the description of the *Stato da Mar*. A completely different image of Venice emerges, described as a maritime and composite city, that projects itself towards the Levant, bringing "justice" and "piety" to the East while simultaneously drawing vital energy and wealth from the East through trade.

The Ionian region, dominated by Venice, is described as a happy and sisterly land that "has kept […] fond memories" of the Serenissima's rule. In these lines, Foscolo offers an idea of Venice not just as a single city but as a broader Adriatic and Mediterranean system. As a result, he aligns with the traditional conception of the Serenissima as the emblem and model of good republican governance.

Foscolo's work shows an ambivalence towards Venice. He used various myths and images of the Serenissima. This is also seen in *Le Grazie*, a work he started in adulthood especially during his time in Florence (1812-1813). Here Venice is once again elevated as a descendant and political model of classical republican freedom.



civiles et par les gouverneurs militaires, rebelles à leur souverain, et qui sont les avant-courreurs de la dissolution des empires. Les Vénitiens, sans affecter de faire des conquêtes et sans épuiser leur trésor en des guerres lointaines, prenoient sous leur protection les villes, qui impuissantes de résister à leur discorde intestine, et aux ennemis du dehors, avoient recours à la République. D'abord le Sénat Vénitien commençoit en médiateur et pacificateur des villes, ensuite il s'engageoit de former avec elles une confédération perpétuelle. L'alliance du faible et du fort manquoit rarement de produire son effet naturel: et les peuples confédérés finissoient par être des colonies et des provinces tributaires gouvernées d'après le caprice et l'avarice des Patriciens que l'on envoyoit de Vénise. Chaque ville faisoit un traité séparé, obtenoit des priviléges différens de ceux de leurs voisins, s'administroit par des lois péculières, et en se réunissant toutes à Vénise, elles continuoient d'être divisés entr'elles. En perdant le pouvoir de se désoler par des guerres réciproques, elles perdoient aussi la liberté de se confédérer entr'elles pour repousser des armées étrangères, ou pour se soustraire au joug de leurs communs oppresseurs. C'est ainsi que les Isles Ioniennes [illegible] Ioniennes, qui s'étoient réunis spontanément à Vénise, oublièrent peu-à-peu d'être des alliées, et subirent le traitement des sujets d'autant plus sévère qu'ils étoient redoutés pour les anciens droits qu'ils pouvoient réclamer. Le sort de Parga fut en cela tout-à-fait différent.

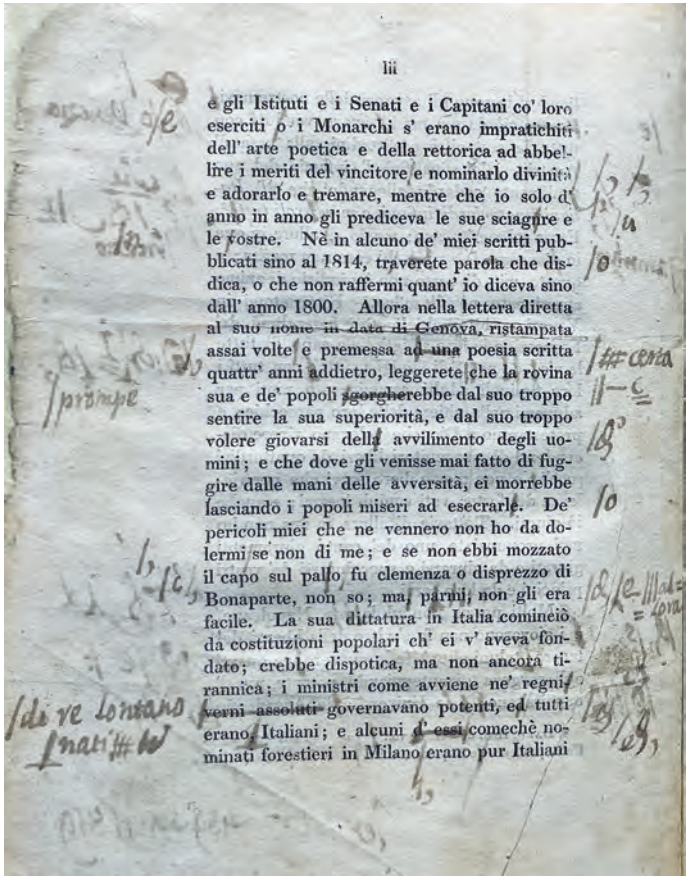
Ses habitans furent reçus comme protégés et confédérés de Vénise le vingt-unième jour de Mars, l'an 1401, avec les concessions de se gouverner selon les institutions et les lois de leurs ancêtres—de n'être jugés que par des juges choisis parmi eux—de n'être jamais cedés en échange aux autres puissances—d'être totalement exempts de taxes, de capitations, de customs of import and export, et de ne payer que la moitié des duties, lorsqu'ils trafiquoient dans des ports de la république — de n'être enrollés dans l'armée, ni dans la militia, et de combattre uniquement pour défendre leur propre territoire, et les possessions vénitiennes sur la côte d'Albanie. Le Sénat avoit le droit d'envoyer un gouverneur résider dans la ville, et une garnison de soldats italiens ou esclavons. Le pacte fut reconfirmé le neuvième jour d'Août en 1447, dans une chartre signée par le Doge Foscarini. Parga fut brûlé par les Ottomans vers le 1500 et vers le 1560. Les citoyens se recouvroient parmi les chrétiens leurs voisins habitateurs indépendans des montagnes. Après plusieurs années de persévérance ils réussissoient à rebâtir leurs maisons et leurs églises sur le même terrein où il n'y était resté que les ossemens de leurs pères. Il prévoyoient que s'ils eussent cherché asyle dans les îles Vénitiennes, leur nation se serait amollie par les vices de ses hôtes, habituée au même esclavage, et fondue parmi les insulaires jusque à perdre bientôt le souvenir de son origine. Les Pargiottes n'envoyèrent des Ambassadeurs à Venise pour renouveler la confédération que lorsqu'ils se virent en

On Parga, proof in French with corrections by Foscolo, Ms. foscoliani, vol. 33, c. 271r – Biblioteca Labronica F. D. Guerrazzi, Livorno.

It was particularly during the years of his exile in London (1816-1827) that Foscolo devoted himself to the writing of essays in which, free from poetic metaphors, he openly addressed the question of republicanism and of constitutionalism. A series of events had led the writer towards these themes: the fact that his native Ionian Islands were aspiring to become an independent republic, but were severely limited by their British tutelage; and, from a more practical point of view, as an exile living in uncertainty, he had to publish paid articles as an income. Foscolo was considered an authority on Italian and Mediterranean history. Byron himself consulted him while working on the fourth canto of *Childe Harold* and later sought Foscolo's opinion on his Venetian-themed tragedies (*Marino Faliero* and *The Two Foscari*).

This reputation, combined with his connections with Greek patriots, convinced him to embark on a project that focused on the Ionian Islands and later on the events that occurred in the city of Parga. Parga, located in Epirus (now Greece), had maintained its independence from the Ottoman Empire for centuries, thanks to its alliance with the Republic of Venice in 1401. The reorganisation that followed the Congress of Vienna resulted in it becoming a part of the Ottoman Empire, therefore losing all its autonomy. In 1819, Foscolo published a long article, *On Parga,* in the prestigious *Edinburgh Review*. It was a historically oriented text that also contained a heartfelt political appeal in defence of small republics in the competitive arena of the early 19th century.

In this phase Venice was only mentioned in passing as a "generous protector" who often became "absolute master" and "tyrannical oppressor" (E.N. XII/1, p. 67) with regard to the territories of the *Stato da mar*. The events in Parga, culminating with the flight to Corfu of a large part of the population, who refused to resign themselves to Ottoman domination, and the lack of independence of the Ionian Islands led Foscolo to focus on the recent past and the failure of another republic in Naples.



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e gli Istituti e i Senati e i Capitani co' loro eserciti o i Monarchi s' erano impratichiti dell' arte poetica e della rettorica ad abbellire i meriti del vincitore e nominarlo divinità e adorarlo e tremare, mentre che io solo d' anno in anno gli prediceva le sue sciagure e le vostre. Nè in alcuno de' miei scritti pubblicati sino al 1814, traverete parola che disdica, o che non raffermi quant' io diceva sino dall' anno 1800. Allora nella lettera diretta al suo nome in data di Genova, ristampata assai volte e premessa ad una poesia scritta quattr' anni addietro, leggerete che la rovina sua e de' popoli sgorgherebbe dal suo troppo sentire la sua superiorità, e dal suo troppo volere giovarsi dell' avvilimento degli uomini; e che dove gli venisse mai fatto di fuggire dalle mani delle avversità, ei morrebbe lasciando i popoli miseri ad esecrarle. De' pericoli miei che ne vennero non ho da dolermi se non di me; e se non ebbi mozzato il capo sul pallo fu clemenza o disprezzo di Bonaparte, non so; ma, parmi, non gli era facile. La sua dittatura in Italia cominciò da costituzioni popolari ch' ei v' aveva fondato; crebbe dispotica, ma non ancora tirannica; i ministri come avviene ne' regni, verni assolati governavano potenti, ed tutti erano Italiani; e alcuni d' essi comechè nominati forestieri in Milano erano pur Italiani

Lettera apologetica, proof with corrections by Foscolo, Ms. foscoliani, vol. 34, c. 131v – Biblioteca Labronica F. D. Guerrazzi, Livorno.

In 1821, his article titled An *Account of the Revolution of Naples during the Years 1798, 1799* was published in the *New Monthly Magazine*. Here Foscolo identified the lack of a constitution capable of providing a foundation for the state as one of the causes of the very short and ill-fated existence of the Neapolitan Republic.

In his analysis, he blamed the majority of Neapolitan patriots – "those, whose love of liberty had been enlightened more by books than experience" (E.N. XIII/2, p. 25) – for drafting constitutional projects that were too "theoretical" and not firmly anchored in the realities of governing a nation.

Most of them simply did not possess the ability and competence of figures like Vincenzo Cuoco. Exiled in Napoleonic Milan in the early 1800s, Cuoco had assessed the republican experience in his 1801 *Saggio storico sulla rivoluzione di Napoli*, which became Foscolo's primary source.

In discussing the evils of the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras, Foscolo did not succumb to resigned pessimism. Instead, he promoted the study of history and systems of government with the intention of outlining an Italian path towards constitutionalism as a first step towards laying the foundations, this time of a much sturdier kind, for an independent republic.

The theme of constitutions appears in several texts written in those years, such as the *Lettera apologetica*: "At Campoformio I saw [Napoleon] rewrite with his own hand a new constitutional statute for the Venetian Republic. […] His dictatorship in Italy began with the people's constitutions which he had established; it grew to be despotic, but was not as yet tyrannical; the ministers, as in the kingdoms of distant kings, ruled with power, and all were born Italians".

Foscolo uses this Napoleonic anecdote to introduce the concept of constitutional cycles. This idea goes from a fully democratic constitution to an aristocratic one, if not tyrannical one.

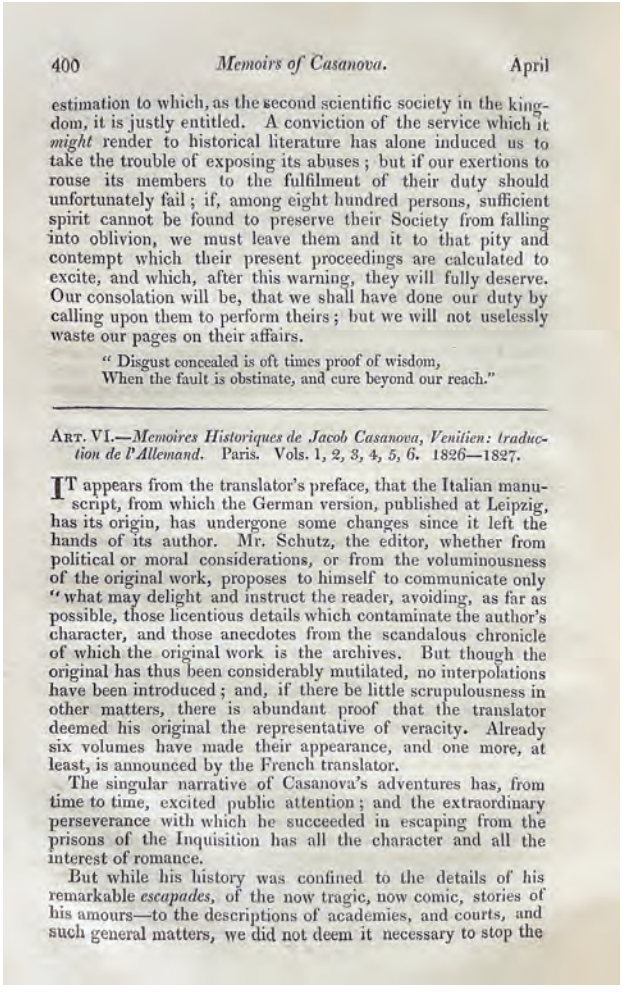
Engraving for Alessandro Manzoni's *Conte di Carmagnola* from the edition of the *Opere* edited by Niccolò Tommaseo (Napoli, 1857) – Fondazione Ghisleri, Pavia.

For Foscolo, constitutions, especially if written as they were starting to be in his time, were crucial instruments. He argued: "The written word, wherever it is inscribed, is more likely to spread, to perpetuate itself, to become embedded in the thoughts, souls and actions of people and in memory" (*Lettera apologetica*, E.N. XIII/2, p. 100).

With this conviction, he planned to return to the Republic of Venice, if only through his writing. He began an ambitious analysis of the *History of the Constitution of the Republic of Venice*, which might have remained as a manuscript had circumstances not given him the opportunity to address the English-speaking public on the history of the Serenissima. The result was two articles, one published in the *Edinburgh Review* (1826) and the other in the *Westminster Review* (1827). A third, devoted to the analysis of the "*costituzione aristocratica*" (aristocratic constitution), remained unpublished.

His main target was Casanova and his *Memoirs*, which Foscolo considered to be fake or else heavily embellished. Even Goethe's enthusiastic review of Manzoni's *Conte di Carmagnola* prompted him to intervene, criticising the tragedy as not only lacking in literary merit but also as being historically inaccurate. As Foscolo noted: "For the British, Venice was the land of wonders and novels, and it seems to still be regarded as such today", from *On the New Italian School of Drama,* 1826 (E.N. XI/2, p. 593). A public intervention was therefore necessary to dispel doubts, rumours and inaccuracies.

This was particularly important because the written word was the best vehicle for spreading ideas. Therefore, printed works such as those of Casanova or even Manzoni could seriously undermine the reconstruction of Venice's history, especially a reconstruction aimed at legitimising an Italian constitutional and republican tradition and strengthening the ideals of independence.



400 *Memoirs of Casanova.* April

estimation to which, as the second scientific society in the kingdom, it is justly entitled. A conviction of the service which it *might* render to historical literature has alone induced us to take the trouble of exposing its abuses; but if our exertions to rouse its members to the fulfilment of their duty should unfortunately fail; if, among eight hundred persons, sufficient spirit cannot be found to preserve their Society from falling into oblivion, we must leave them and it to that pity and contempt which their present proceedings are calculated to excite, and which, after this warning, they will fully deserve. Our consolation will be, that we shall have done our duty by calling upon them to perform theirs; but we will not uselessly waste our pages on their affairs.

"Disgust concealed is oft times proof of wisdom,
When the fault is obstinate, and cure beyond our reach."

ART. VI.—*Memoires Historiques de Jacob Casanova, Venitien: traduction de l'Allemand.* Paris. Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. 1826—1827.

IT appears from the translator's preface, that the Italian manuscript, from which the German version, published at Leipzig, has its origin, has undergone some changes since it left the hands of its author. Mr. Schutz, the editor, whether from political or moral considerations, or from the voluminousness of the original work, proposes to himself to communicate only "what may delight and instruct the reader, avoiding, as far as possible, those licentious details which contaminate the author's character, and those anecdotes from the scandalous chronicle of which the original work is the archives. But though the original has thus been considerably mutilated, no interpolations have been introduced; and, if there be little scrupulousness in other matters, there is abundant proof that the translator deemed his original the representative of veracity. Already six volumes have made their appearance, and one more, at least, is announced by the French translator.

The singular narrative of Casanova's adventures has, from time to time, excited public attention; and the extraordinary perseverance with which he succeeded in escaping from the prisons of the Inquisition has all the character and all the interest of romance.

But while his history was confined to the details of his remarkable *escapades*, of the now tragic, now comic, stories of his amours—to the descriptions of academies, and courts, and such general matters, we did not deem it necessary to stop the

Mémoires Historiques de Jacques Casanova, Vénitien, published in the *Westminster Review*, XIV, 1827 – private collection.

The publication of an openly political article in a British paper would have been impossible, especially after events such as the Peterloo massacre and the republican Cato Street conspiracy, which had deeply shaken Britain, as well as the uprisings of 1820-1821, which had once again brought revolutionary winds to Europe and South America.

On 1 October 1826, an extract entitled *Memoirs of Casanova by Himself* was published in the *London Magazine*, in the same issue in which Foscolo had published his piece *Italian Women*. The extract contained the English translation of his escape from the famous Venetian prison *I Piombi* (The Leads), accompanied by some reflections on Casanova's immorality, partly justified because "his vices were rather those of his country and times" (p. 254). This was the perfect opportunity to promote a completely different view of the Republic of Venice: by proposing a review of the adventurer's autobiography.

Numerous textual clues in Foscolo's piece reveal that the edition of the *Memoirs* he may have read (poorly and incompletely) was the Tournachon-Molin (Paris, 1825), which reiterated positions similar to those published in the English extract. He thought that the *Memoirs* enabled us "to better understand a century which, in the delirium of passion, has been emphatically defined as the century of philosophy, and to correctly evaluate those disastrous opinions which have stained our recent years with blood." He added that the *Memoirs* are "well suited to give an idea of the profound depravity that at the time was introduced into society by the contempt for religion and morality" (I, pp. i-iv).

Foscolo's review aims to prove the *Memoirs* is a work of fiction. Foscolo thinks Casanova might not have existed and was not a historian. Foscolo thus seeks to establish the "the truth of facts […] stripped of the delusions which fancy and rhetoric have thrown around it" (*Mémoires Historiques de Jacques Casanova, Vénitien*, p. 401).

Venetian Fiancés, from: *Storia della repubblica di Venezia*, by Léon Galibert, Genova, Bertocci, 1850 – Fondazione Ghislieri, Pavia.

Casanova's thorough condemnation, however, was only a pretext. The Casanovian text was worthy of attention and then harsh criticism only as any other piece in the black legend of Venice would be. By deconstructing and refuting Casanova's claims, Foscolo could instead affirm that the Serenissima had had a long tradition of good government: its own citizens believed it to be "the government […] the best that had ever been established, or even could exist" (*Mémoires Historiques*, p. 416). The true democratic phase lasted until the 14th century and was animated "by the fire of independence and equality" as he had already argued in 1796 in the *Monitore italiano* (E. N. VI, p. 74) and later in his *Speech to Bonaparte* and in his lectures at the University of Pavia in 1809.

For the exiled Foscolo, Venice had become both a pretext – for discussing republics, constitutions and democratic aspirations during the Restoration – and a model – for envisioning tangible precursors of success, especially for Italian independence. One of the most original elements of Foscolo's vision of Venetian history was to place it within a broader Italian context, characterised by a progressive loss of autonomy and freedom between the 14th and 15th centuries.

And what about Casanova's Venice? Beyond the various appropriations of the *Memoirs* in the 1820s, which, as we have seen, tended to reinterpret them as examples of anti-virtue to support condemnations of the 18th century as an immoral age, Casanova's pages offer a multifaceted and vibrant image of the lagoon city and its domains, from Istria to the Levant. In other words, if for Foscolo Venice was a crystallised political ideal, for Casanova it was the stage for the full range of human passions.

18th century Costumes, from the *Nuova Enciclopedia Popolare*, Torino, Pomba, 1846 – Fondazione Ghislieri, Pavia.

The 18th century Venice of Casanova's youth, as recounted in his *Memoirs*, was a city of light and shadow. It was still a crossroads of the Mediterranean networks that Giacomo himself navigated in a series of voyages that took him to Constantinople, Istria, the Ionian Islands, the free port of Ancona and its lazaretto.

It was a city of parties, amusements, gambling and intrigues featuring members of the aristocracy, foreign diplomats and even clerics. One such famous love triangle recounted by Casanova involved himself, the French ambassador (the abbé de Bernis) and the mysterious "*monaca M.M.*" (a nun known only as M.M.) on the island of Murano. It was a cultural centre, where Giacomo moved between the worlds of theatre, music (he improvised as a violinist) and classical and scientific studies (he translated *The Iliad* into Venetian). It was a place where the publication of gazettes, books, maps and engravings flourished; Casanova himself had a considerable library with works by Ariosto, Petrarch, Horace and Plutarch.

The Serenissima may have appeared to be a rigidly codified oligarchic society, but there were also many cracks in it, where talented and unscrupulous individuals could thrive. It was a place where libertine lifestyles were tolerated, at least to some extent. Giacomo's indulgent life was abruptly interrupted in 1755, when he was arrested by the State Inquisitors and imprisoned in the Piombi prison, without trial, without being able to defend himself and without even knowing the reason and the extent of the sentence.

His imprisonment in the Piombi prison which led to a daring escape eighteen months later, revealed to 19th century readers all the dark shadows of a despotic regime. Casanova's Venice, in short, stands in almost stark contrast to Foscolo's: while the latter is idealised and belongs to an almost mythical past, the former is a pulsating web of life.

Portrait of Casanova by Johann Berka (1788), from: *Histoire de ma fuite des prisons de la République de Venise*, Bordeaux, Veuve Moquet Libraire-Editeur, 1884 – private collection.

Giacomo Casanova was born in Venice in 1725, the son of Zanetta Farussi – a well-known singer and actress, favoured by Carlo Goldoni and celebrated in European theatres – and Gaetano Casanova, who was also an actor and later an amateur optician. With his mother absent and his father dead, he was raised by his grandmother and educated by Giorgio Baffo, a famous Venetian poet, and then by Abbot Gozzi in Padua, where he studied civil and canon law, receiving the tonsure and the four minor orders. However, his life was destined to be unconventional, typical of his rebellious character.

In 1741, Casanova embarked on a series of travels. He abandoned his ecclesiastical career for the military, before becoming a violinist at the San Samuele theatre; he also joined Freemasonry. Until 1755, when a single event changed his life forever: his arrest, trial and imprisonment in the Piombi prison. The following year he made a dramatic escape, which led to life as a fugitive across Europe for the next forty years, until his death in 1798 in Dux, Bohemia.

His life as a wanderer was marked by constant attempts to establish himself in the literary world and in the eyes of the Venetian Republic in order to obtain a pardon and to return home, which he managed to achieve only briefly from 1774 to 1784. He published the *Confutazione della storia del governo veneto* (1769), the *Istoria delle turbolenze della Polonia* (1773-74), his translation of the *Iliad* (1774-75), and a series of short stories and essays, even polemical ones, from *Lana caprina* (1772) to *Opuscoli miscellanei*, then *Lettere alla nobildonna* and *Messager de Thalie, Di aneddoti viniziani militari ed amorosi*. The pamphlet *Né amori né donne ovvero La stalla ripulita* cost him his second and final exile, which took him first to Vienna and then to Bohemia, where he published the account of his escape from the Piombi prison *Histoire de ma fuite des Plombs de Venise* and the utopian novel *Icosameron*.

Prospetto degli affari attuali dell'Europa, vol. 31, Lugano, 1797 – Pazin State Archive.

Casanova's life was hyperkinetic, and his *Memoirs* are the primary source for reconstructing both his itineraries and his distinctive traveller attitude – he was not interested in nature, landscapes, or monuments, as was typical of his contemporaries. Instead, he is depicted as an adventurer, libertine, infamous, unrestrained, restless, shrewd, a rascal, a misfit, strange, cynical, and licentious. He was called all this and more based on his famous *Story of My Life*, which was published posthumously in 1822.

This work is often read as a novel, but it is also a travel diary. Casanova's journey spanned approximately 65,140 kilometres, of which 55,240, or 67%, was by land and the rest by sea, using various means, travelling both alone and in company. He set off in 1741 with his inaugural journey to Corfu and Constantinople. During this expedition, he made port calls in Istria and Dalmatia on both the outward and return journeys, accompanying the Venetian *bailo* (ambassador). Two years later, he travelled to Rome, and was quarantined in Ancona. He then relocated to Naples, before embarking on a second journey to Corfu and Constantinople in 1745.

In the following years, he undertook a series of journeys across Italy, visiting Verona, Milan, Cremona, Mantua, Cesena, Parma, Ferrara, Bologna, Reggio Emilia and Turin, before continuing on to France and making his way to Lyon and Paris. After crossing Germany, he reached Vienna and Prague, where he met the celebrated poet Metastasio.

After escaping from the Piombi, he went to Augsburg, Strasbourg, Paris, Dunkirk, Amsterdam, and later Germany and Switzerland during the 1760s. He travelled to Britain, Brussels, Riga, St Petersburg, Moscow (where he met Catherine II), Warsaw, Dresden, Prague and Vienna. He only started to reconnect with Italy after 1770. He lived in Trieste for a couple of years, waiting for a pardon and hoping to return to Venice. He had to flee again in 1783 and was forced to run throughout Europe.


DELLA HISTORIA
VINITIANA DI M. PIETRO
BEMBO CARD. VOLGAR-
MENTE SCRITTA
LIBRI XII.
Aggiuntaui di nuouo la tauola delle cose piu notabili, co' nomi
di tutti i Principi, Patriarchi, & Cardinali Vinitiani
fin' al Serenissimo LVIGI Mocenico.
PER M. ALEMANIO FINO.
IN VENETIA, per Giordano Ziletti, e compagni. M D LXX.

Fondazione Ghislieri, Pavia.

Foscolo aligned himself with a centuries-old tradition of constructing the myth of Venice as the heir to ancient republican liberties, Christian values, and the civilising power of Rome. At the beginning of the 11th century, in his *Istoria veneticorum*, Giovanni Diacono – chaplain of the Venetian Doge Pietro Orseolo II – minimised the strong ties with the Byzantine Empire, presenting Venice as a city that had always been free and autonomous. An anonymous text from the late 13th century, the *Marci Chronica Universalis*, even attributed the origin of Venice to Trojan exiles led by Antenor, effectively rendering it a sister city to Rome.

Meanwhile, another myth began to spread citing a specific and very evocative foundation date: the day of the Feast of the Annunciation, traditionally celebrated on March 25th. The year was 421, a period marked by the barbarian invasions throughout the Italian Peninsula. By the 14th century, the account of Venice's foundation, which was imbued with powerful religious and symbolic significance, had become well established and was repeated in a multitude of texts.

In 1364, Francesco Petrarch celebrated Venice in his *Letters of Old Age* as "a hotel […] of liberty, justice, and peace" and "a city rich in gold, but richer in renown, powerful in strength, but more powerful in virtue, founded upon solid marble, but on more solid foundations of civil concord, both firm and unmoving".

The period between Humanism and the Renaissance saw a renewed importance being given to historical knowledge. The government of the Republic, long aware of the significance of narrating its own past, appointed a series of public historiographers. These included Marcantonio Coccio Sabellico (1436-1506), Andrea Navagero (1483-1529), Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), Paolo Paruta (1540-1598), and Pietro Garzoni (1645-1735).

The Doge of Venice, taken from: *Storia della repubblica di Venezia*, by Léon Galibert, Bertocci, Genova, 1850 – Fondazione Ghislieri, Pavia.

The 16th century debates on national interest and the origins of political science once again brought the Venetian Republic to the fore. The myth, which had been carefully constructed by the Venetian elites, began to be challenged by dissenting voices. The notion of a free, independent, and tolerant city built on trade, characterised by harmony between the different social classes and good governance, was placed in stark contrast to a completely different image. In the words of Jean Bodin, the Republic was perceived as a system of mixed government, which was regarded as imperfect and unstable, and potentially despotic and tyrannical.

In response to these criticisms, Francesco Sansovino reaffirmed that "never did any citizen of Venice, from birth to death, cease to be free. This freedom was never disturbed, thanks to the form of its excellent government". (*Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*, Venezia, Iacomo Sansovino, 1581, p. 3).

In the 17th century, the myth of Venice became increasingly ambiguous and ambivalent. The anonymous *Squitinio della libertà veneta* (1612) dismantled the notions of the origins of its independence from the Empire and the myth of the Republic as a cradle of freedom. A similar line of thought would later be taken up by Abraham Nicolas Amelot de la Houssaye, secretary to the French ambassador to the Serenissima, with his influential *Histoire du gouvernement de Venise* (1676), which was highly critical of the Venetian government. At the same time, Thomas Otway's highly successful tragedy, *Venice Preserved* (1672), though intended to be a Venetian mirror of British society, greatly contributed to conveying an image of the Serenissima as a land of scheming and unscrupulous politicians.

However, there were also admirers such as the Frenchman Jean Huguetan. In his *Curious and Novel Voyage Through Italy* (Thomas Amaulry, Lyon, 1681, p. 199), he described Venice as a prosperous and powerful city, the true "mother of liberty", open and welcoming.

View of the City and Port of Livorno (detail) – a drawing by F. B. Werner, first half of the 18th century – Biblioteca Labronica F. D. Guerrazzi, Livorno.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the famous English journalist and founder of *The Spectator*, Joseph Addison, travelled to Italy, making an inevitable stop in Venice. Upon his return, he published *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (Jacob Tonson, London, 1705), a warning to the English public about how easily ancient glories could turn into decay.

The Republic of Venice did not escape this pattern either. Its "Adriatic" and "Levantine" position, which made it an ideal hub for trade, had nevertheless failed to prevent its decline (p. 83). "Their manufactures of cloth, glass and silk", Addison recalled, "formerly the best in Europe, are now excelled by those of other countries". All sectors of the Venetian economy were in crisis and "the State" was pondering "some methods" to remedy this: "probably by making a free port, for they look with an evil eye upon Leghorne, that draws to it most of the vessels bound for Italy" (p. 84).

Addison highlights a new geography: the myth of Venice is shattered, but other myths emerge through the refraction of the Mediterranean waters. Now other places were prosperous and free, the free ports: Genoa, Livorno, Civitavecchia, Nice-Villefranche, Marseille, soon to be joined by the Adriatic ports of Trieste, Fiume and Ancona. The free ports of the early modern era were characterised by both fiscal and civil liberties: those who lived there enjoyed tax benefits, were free to practise their own faith and were not discriminated against according to their origin.

Livorno is described as an expanding city, soon to boast one of "one of the beautifullest [squares] in Italy" (p. 393); a city bringing in immense profits and "a great increase of people from alla other nations" (p. 394). Livorno therefore represented the future, while Venice began to take on the character of a melancholy city with a past of lost greatness.

FORESTIERO ILLUMINATO

INTORNO LE COSE PIU' RARE, E CURIOSE

ANTICHE, E MODERNE,

DELLA CITTA' DI VENEZIA,

E DELL'ISOLE CIRCONVICINE;

Con la descrizione delle Chiese, Monisterj, Ospedali
Tesoro di San Marco, Arsenale, Fabbri
pubbliche, Pitture celebri, Funzioni
e Divertimenti, e di quanto v'è
di più riguardevole.

OPERA ADORNATA

Di molte bellissime Vedute in rame delle Fabb
più cospicue di questa Metropol

IN VENEZIA

MDCCLXXII.

Presso GIAMBATTISTA ALBRIZZI Q. GIR.

Con Licenza de' Superiori, e Privilegio.

Private collection.

The reflection cast from Venice was so far-reaching that travellers' expectations could be disappointed, met or exceeded, as was the case with Charles De Brosses, President of the Court of Dijon. The French judge wrote that the city had initially not "surprised" him as he had expected. In short, it had not made a "different impression" on him compared to any other city "situated by the sea" (*Letter to M. De Blencey*, Genoa, 1 July 1739). Even "sailing into the Grand Canal" seemed no different from entering Paris or Lyon. But the more he wandered through the labyrinthine alleys of Venice, the more he was fascinated. Palaces and churches surrounded by water, being in a city and at the same time at sea: De Brosses had to admit that it was indeed a "remarkable thing".

And Venice was indeed an open and safe city: "without gates, without fortifications, without a garrison soldier, unconquerable by sea or by land". More and more enthusiastically, De Brosses embraced the cornerstones of the myth of Venice: "this city is so peculiar for its location, its characteristics, its way of life that makes one laugh out loud, the freedom that reigns there and the tranquillity that one savours, that I do not hesitate to call it the second city of Europe [*after Paris, author's note*]".

In 1740, the publisher Giovanni Battista Albrizzi published the first edition of *Forestiero illuminato* in order to give foreign visitors, who were often confused by the number of fake news available, a new image of Venice. Albrizzi presented the volume as a concise guide: there were indeed many books on Venice, but they were either "too extensive or too short" and thus "could not satisfy the spirit and curiosity of foreign visitors". He therefore offered an accessible and richly illustrated book, ranging from the description of monuments and works of art to that of festivals, the expansion in Istria and Dalmatia and the system of government, perpetuating the myth of Venice as an "asylum of freedom".

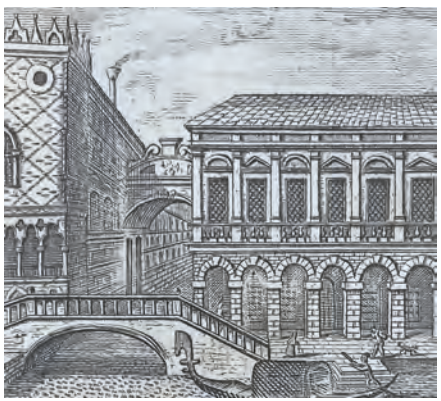
The Procurator of San Marco, taken from: *Storia della repubblica di Venezia*, by Léon Galibert, Genova, Bertocci, 1850 – Fondazione Ghislieri, Pavia.

Foscolo had initially used poetry to express his changing views of the Republic: an Adriatic power that was both civilising and trade-oriented, but also a manifestation of corrupt and tyrannical rule. Poetry was considered a highly effective means of communication. It was often preferred over prose for disseminating political ideas, as it was believed to speak to the heart and to be more easily understood, even by those who were illiterate.

As a result, there are many poetic texts that convey different nuances of the myth of the Republic of Venice. Carlo Innocenzo Frugoni praised it in a sonnet:"If I could only stay, where you lead and rule / your loyal People joyfully, / unbeaten on land, and mighty on sea / a seafaring city to rival Athens and Rome. // I honour you, oh wise one, among our fathers' seats, / where all bow to what you are; / for you are all valour, all wisdom and of a keen mind; / strong of arms and ships and golden laws. // As I leave you, so I shall see you once more / and so shall you be seen in centuries to come, / oh Immortal Lady of the Adriatic, beloved by Heaven. […] (*Opere*, II, Parma, Stamperia Reale, 1779, p. 332).

Frugoni's verses depicted Venice as the source from which just laws radiated, a true "mistress" of the Adriatic. In contrast, Vittorio Alfieri, in a sonnet from 1783, accused Venice of having "in itself" only "a shadow […] of Latin liberty" (*Rime*, ed. C. Cedrati, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2015, p. 228). Venice was "old", a place characterised only by "deceit", "terror" and "forethought" (i.e., strict control of its subjects). In short, the image of a virtuous republican tradition was merely an illusion, projected abroad by a cunning and manipulative ruling class. In Alfieri's view, the resurgence of republican liberties was happening elsewhere, from *L'America libera* (1781-1783) to *Parigi sbastigliato* (1789), while Venice, as it fell to the French, was merely "a decrepit and unwise lion" (*Il Misogallo*, London, 1799, p. 202).

The French in Venice, taken from: *Storia della repubblica di Venezia*, by Léon Galibert, Genova, Bertocci, 1850 – Fondazione Ghislieri, Pavia.



The New Prisons, taken from: *Forestiero illuminato*, Venezia, Albrizzi, 1772 – private collection.

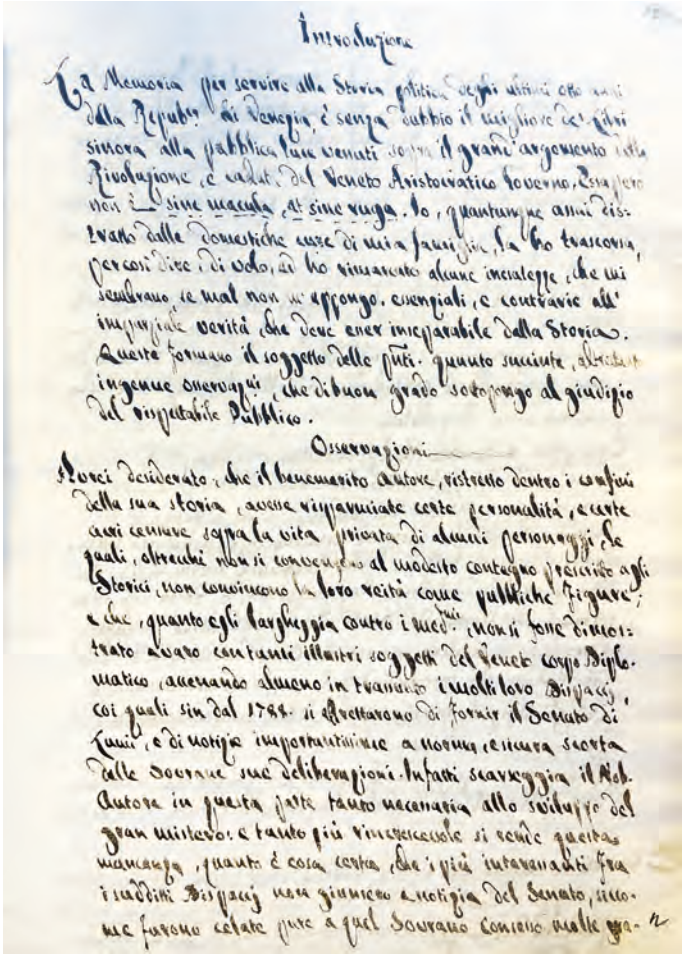
With the fall of the Republic, the rhetorical imagery that had for centuries – despite criticisms and attacks – enveloped the Republic of Venice in an aura of liberty, triumph and justice seemed to collapse.

In his letters to the Directory, Napoleon himself emphasised having finally established a "democratic" republic in Venice, thus distancing it from the dark centuries of the Serenissima. Shortly thereafter, spurred by those Venetians who had joyfully welcomed the French liberation, the Provisional Municipality was established. It declared its intention to "bring the republican system to its ultimate degree of perfection" (*Manifesto* of 16 May 1797, as cited in G. Scarabello, *La municipalità democratica*, in *Storia di Venezia – Treccani*).

In the midst of this, efforts were made to rediscover the democratic roots of the Republic. Young intellectuals like Foscolo drew compelling parallels between the closure of the Great Council, marking the end of Venice's democratic phase, and the newfound freedom of 1797. Foscolo also praised Bajamonte Tiepolo, who had been behind a conspiracy in 1310, as a pioneering patriot.

Amidst these narratives, the dark legend of the Venetian judicial system gained momentum. It was depicted as cruel and arbitrary, relying on anonymous accusations, trials without due process, and harsh penalties, including incarceration in its notorious prisons.

When the French released the last political prisoners (seven between the Prigioni Nuove and the Piombi), vivid tales circulated, tarnishing Venice's image. The famous engravings by Francesco Gallimberti were commissioned and pamphlets began to circulate. For example, *L'Equatore* (1797) by Vittorio Barzoni depicted Venetian prisons as places of "horror", where "offenders" could not exist "without their human dignity being violated" (p. 27).

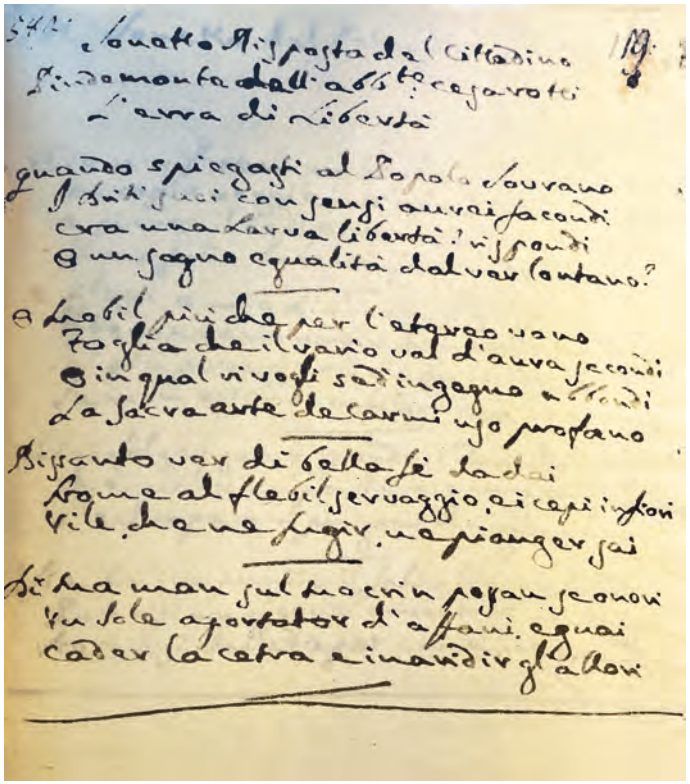


Observations on a Book called Memory - Ms. Correr 975/17, c. 1 (2022 © Biblioteca Correr – Fondazione Musei Civici, Venice).

The Treaty of Campoformio, which transferred Venice and most of its former territories under Austria, inspired new interpretations aimed at understanding the reasons behind the fall of the Serenissima. Another significant area of reflection emerged: Austrian rule brought about an administrative reorganisation that separated Venice from Istria and Dalmatia, dismantling the centuries-old narrative of a harmonious and integrated Adriatic system. Even more profound was the separation between Venice and the Ionian Islands, which remained under French control. As mentioned earlier, these islands would later become a battleground for the French, British, Russians, and Ottomans.

And so, the patrician Francesco Calbo dedicated himself to reinterpreting the "political history of the last eight years of the Republic of Venice" in a *Memoria* anonymously printed in 1798. Calbo's work was full of regret and anger towards those who had collaborated with the democratic government of 1797. The vibrancy of the Venetian debate is also highlighted by a series of private reactions, such as the handwritten *Observations* on the *Memoria*, which were erroneously attributed to Abbot Cristoforo Tentori, a former Jesuit of Spanish origin. Tentori, like Calbo, would in any case also have held a similarly conservative stance on the matter.

The anonymous reviewer praised the text as "the best book to date that has come to public light on the significant subject of the Revolution and the fall of the Venetian Aristocratic Government". However, the book was not without "some inaccuracies", thus necessitating a thorough examination. The anonymous critic specifically reproached the *Memoria* for failing to clearly explain that the fall was not caused by the "aristocratic body" or the "senate", but rather by "villainous collaborators of the French" (Ms. Correr 975/17, cc. 3-4) and by a lack of information, which had rendered the government incapable of making the right decisions.



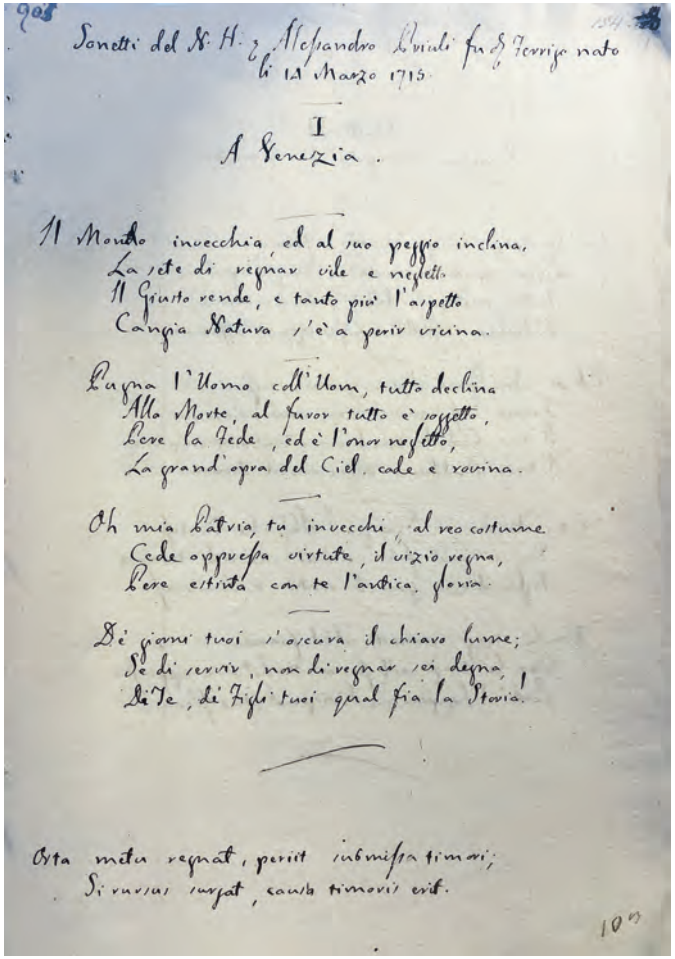
A Sonnet by Giovanni Pindemonte – Ms. Correr 975/51, c. 119 (2022 © Biblioteca Correr – Fondazione Musei Civici, Venice).

An avid collector of materials from those turbulent years was Teodoro Correr (1750-1830). The Venetian patrician, who founded the museum that now bears his name, gathered many bundles of manuscripts and printed documents from the transitional period of 1797-1798.

Among these is a *Manifesto* that offers an Istrian perspective: "until its last breaths", Istria had maintained its "devotion" and "loyalty" to Venice (Ms. Correr 975/51, c. 118). However, "its heart" did not "match its strength", and it could do nothing but weep "with extreme sorrow for the irreparable loss".

Towards Venice, there was regret and longing. Towards the French – from whose "exterminating invasions" the city had been "protected by Heaven" – there was horror and fear. Towards those in Venice who had supported them, there was disdain and contempt: the Society of Public Instruction – of which Foscolo had been secretary – was nothing more than a "temple of fanaticism". The Austrians, on the other hand, were welcomed with "joy" as bringers of "perfect peace and true happiness".

The same author who transcribed the *Manifesto* also recorded a sonnet, of contrasting sentiments, by the Veronese poet Giovanni Pindemonte. The poet strongly rebuked Abbot Melchiorre Cesarotti, who had published a sonnet decrying "the scrap of freedom" brought by the French, while praising "the Austrian sun" that truly made everyone "equal and free" (G. Pindemonte, *Poesie e lettere*, Zanichelli, Bologna, 1883, p. 68). Pindemonte argued in response that the "holy truth" proclaimed by Cesarotti was merely "feeble servitude" and predicted that Austria would bring only "strain", "sorrow" and "trouble" (Ms. Correr 975/51, c. 119). The Veronese poet's work was widely shared in its manuscript form, as evidenced by the copy preserved by Correr, and was later published in the *Parnasso democratico*, a comprehensive collection of Italian poetry from the Republican Triennium.


Sonetti del N. H. z Alessandro Priuli fu Z Ferrigo nato li 12 Marzo 1715.

I

A Venezia.

Il Mondo invecchia, ed al suo peggio inclina,
La sete di regnar vile e negletto
Il Giusto vende, e tanto più l'aspetto
Cangia Natura, è a perir vicina.

Regna l'Uomo coll'Uom, tutto declina
Alla Morte, al favor tutto è soggetto,
Bere la Fede, ed è l'onor negletto,
La grand'opra del Ciel cade e rovina.

Oh mia Patria, tu invecchi, al reo costume
Cede oppressa virtute, il vizio regna,
Bere estinta con te l'antica gloria.

Dè giorni tuoi l'oscura il chiaro lume;
Se di servir, non di regnar sei degna,
Dite, de Figli tuoi qual fia la Storia!

Orta metu regnat, perit submissa timori;
Si rursus surgat, causa timoris erit.

10

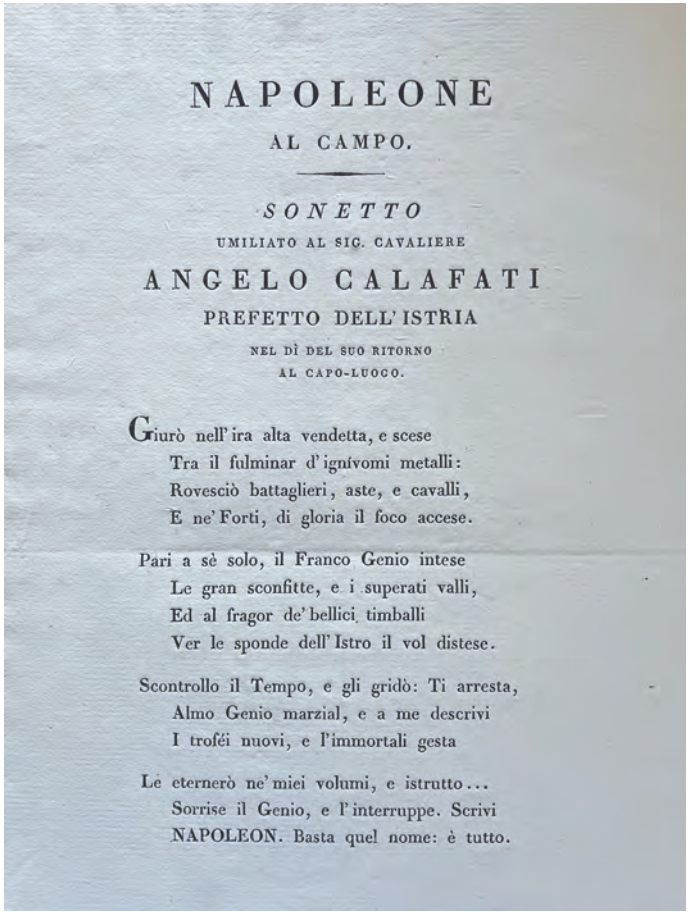
Sonnets of the Nobleman Alessandro Priuli – Ms. Correr 975/51, c. 154 (2022 © Biblioteca Correr – Fondazione Musei Civici, Venice).

"Oh my country, you grow old; to wicked customs / oppressed virtue yields, vice reigns, / with you the ancient glory seems now extinct": wrote Alessandro Priuli (Ms. Correr 975/51, c. 154r). This marks the beginning of a cycle of handwritten sonnets that offer a highly personal narrative of the period between 1797 and 1800. They start with the decline and fall of Venice and end with the election of Pope Pius VII.

If the first poem is dominated by regret, the second, *Venice under French Occupation*, condemns Venice which "once upon a time was born free" and now is "defeated and drowned by vile fear / the offspring of even viler idleness" (c. 154v). *On the Departure of the French and the Arrival of the Germans in Venice* describes instead the relief at the dawn of a new era: "overcome and submerged by false liberty, / you drank the bitter poison of servitude. / Stripped, betrayed, and oppressed by a vile mob, / you lost the bright serenity of your days. // Your tears were a crime; […] // Dry your tears, Caesar has called you to new life, / now freed from your tyrants, he has extended his hand, let him welcome you as his daughter" (c. 155v).

Finally, the election of the pope in the conclave held in Venice, since Rome was occupied by the French, is presented as a hope for the return to "peace" (c. 156v), with Pius VII depicted as an "experienced helmsman" capable of guiding "the troubled little ship of Saint Peter … into port" (c. 157r).

Despite their modest literary value, Priuli's sonnets are a testament to the variety of perspectives that emerged during the delicate transition between the 18th and 19th centuries. Particularly interesting is the persistent emphasis on the concept of liberty: the original and virtuous liberty of Venice, the false liberty of the French, and the new and joyful liberty under Austrian rule.



NAPOLEONE

AL CAMPO.

SONETTO

UMILIATO AL SIG. CAVALIERE

ANGELO CALAFATI

PREFETTO DELL' ISTRIA

NEL DÌ DEL SUO RITORNO
AL CAPO-LUOGO.

Giurò nell' ira alta vendetta, e scese
Tra il fulminar d' ignivomi metalli:
Rovesciò battaglieri, aste, e cavalli,
E ne' Forti, di gloria il foco accese.

Pari a sè solo, il Franco Genio intese
Le gran sconfitte, e i superati valli,
Ed al fragor de' bellici timballi
Ver le sponde dell' Istro il vol distese.

Scontrollo il Tempo, e gli gridò: Ti arresta,
Almo Genio marzial, e a me descrivi
I troféi nuovi, e l'immortali gesta

Le eternerò ne' miei volumi, e istrutto...
Sorrise il Genio, e l' interruppe. Scrivi
NAPOLEON. Basta quel nome: è tutto.

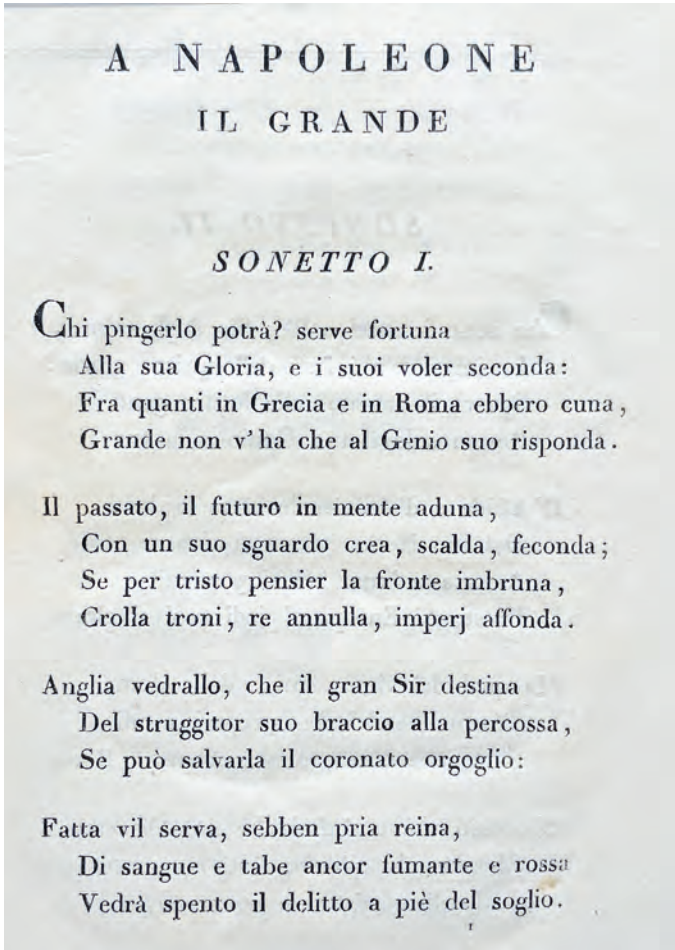
Capodistria, Dalla Stamperia Dipartimentale di G. Sardi – private collection.

The happy Austrian era celebrated by conservatives was short-lived. In 1806, Venice and its former territories fell under Napoleon's control once again, initially becoming part of the Kingdom of Italy. In 1809, the Illyrian Provinces were created with Ljubljana as their capital, incorporating Istria and Dalmatia, marking a new and profound separation between Venice and its maritime heritage.

The image of the Serenissima had faded: there was no longer room for regret or condemnation of an entity now buried in the past. From Venice's perspective, the focus shifted to the "resurgence" of commerce (*Adria risorta*, Albrizzi, Venezia, 1806) facilitated by the establishment of the free port. People dreamed of a Venice that might be less free than before but remained true to its tradition as a trading city – open and safe. In short, by rearranging some of the pieces on the board, the myth could continue.

In the ports of Istria, there was a stronger inclination towards embracing the new Napoleonic order, which offered hope of greater autonomy compared to the former Venetian rule. However, even in the early stages of Venice's decline, reflections on the fate of the Serenissima's territories were sobering. An anonymous pamphlet lamented that: "it can be inferred that Venice, when separated from Istria, falls into complete insignificance, compelled to abandon its seafaring due to the lack of safe harbours and the absence of sailors who traditionally come from Istria and Dalmatia, as well as the timber necessary for shipbuilding that Istria alone abundantly supplies to its Arsenal" (*Osservazioni sopra l'Istria e Dalmazia di un cittadino ingenuo*, Antonio Rosa, Venice, 1797, p. 21 – attributed to Giovanni Battista Bonagurio).

The Austrian rule, too, was met with dissatisfaction, prompting the circulation of celebratory texts dedicated to Napoleon on broadsheets for wider dissemination, such as those by Angelo Calafati, prefect of Istria.



A NAPOLEONE
IL GRANDE

SONETTO I.

Chi pingerlo potrà? serve fortuna
Alla sua Gloria, e i suoi voler seconda:
Fra quanti in Grecia e in Roma ebbero cuna,
Grande non v'ha che al Genio suo risponda.

Il passato, il futuro in mente aduna,
Con un suo sguardo crea, scalda, feconda;
Se per tristo pensier la fronte imbruna,
Crolla troni, re annulla, imperj affonda.

Anglia vedrallo, che il gran Sir destina
Del struggitor suo braccio alla percossa,
Se può salvarla il coronato orgoglio:

Fatta vil serva, sebben pria reina,
Di sangue e tabe ancor fumante e rossa
Vedrà spento il delitto a piè del soglio.

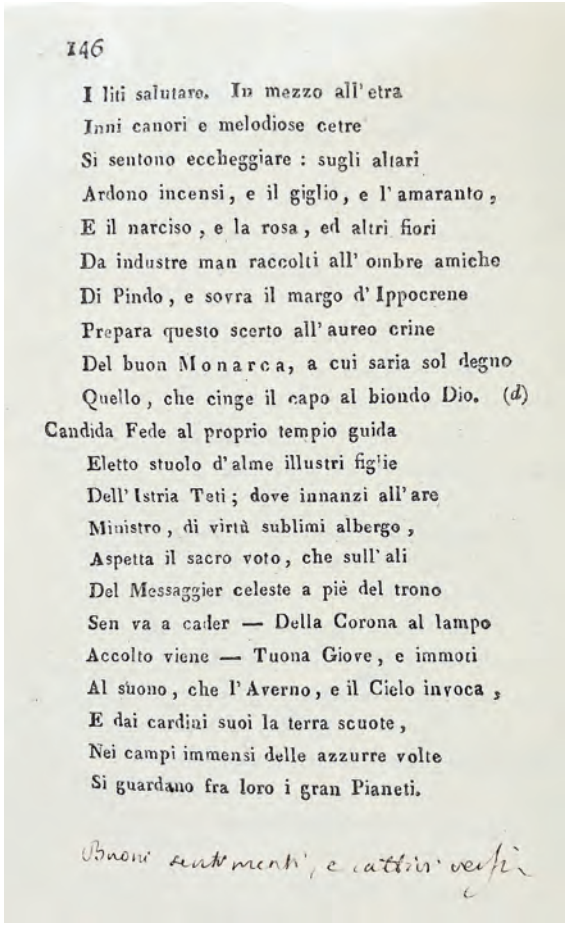
Taken from: *Poesie dell'avvocato Niccolò Ivellio da Spalato scritte nell'ultima guerra*, Capodistria, Dalla tipografia Sardi, 1810 – Biblioteca Civica A. Hortis, Trieste.

The *Poesie scritte nell'ultima guerra* by Niccolò Ivellio depict an epic tale of Napoleon's exploits, culminating in his triumphant entry into Vienna. They chronicle Marmont's campaign in Dalmatia, offering a sentimental account of the poet's personal hardships caused by the war, and, most importantly, they exalt a liberated and prosperous Dalmatia. The Republic of Venice is no longer even a memory, entirely overshadowed by the promise of a bright future. These poems bear witness to the rise of new narratives and the dissolution, now even in the realm of imagination, of an integrated Adriatic system.

The collection opens with a dedication to Marmont, and his arrival is recalled as a moment of great joy: "Your journey through Croatia launched a sequence of events that posterity will recall with enthusiasm and awe". This sentiment sharply contrasts with Giuseppe Mainati's 1809 depiction: "We have now entered the unfortunate era where Trieste, once prosperous and privileged, will begin its a descent into depression and decline" (*Croniche ossia memorie storiche sacro-profane di Trieste*, VI, Venezia, Picotti, 1816, pp. 3-4).

Apart from Marmont, the other central figure is Napoleon. The poem *To My Very Learned Friend Giovanni Creglianovich Albinoni*, written on the occasion of the publication of *Memorie per la storia della Dalmazia* (Zara, Anton Luigi Battara, 1809), serves as a vehicle to extol Napoleon. The recounting of Dalmatia's past glories is interpreted as a harbinger of the present – a true golden age inaugurated by the Emperor of the French.

Finally, Ivellio includes an ode by his former mentor, Antonio Tochich, a philosophy professor in Split, whose closing lines succinctly capture the essence of the entire collection: "Upon the Illyrian foothills / may the Great One [Napoleon] cast a gaze of pity / and then, Dalmatia will rise to happiness" (p. 81).



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I liti salutare. In mezzo all'etra
Inni canori e melodiose cetre
Si sentono eccheggiare : sugli altari
Ardono incensi, e il giglio, e l'amaranto,
E il narciso, e la rosa, ed altri fiori
Da industre man raccolti all'ombre amiche
Di Pindo, e sovra il margo d'Ippocrene
Prepara questo scerto all'aureo crine
Del buon Monarca, a cui saria sol degno
Quello, che cinge il capo al biondo Dio. (d)
Candida Fede al proprio tempio guida
Eletto stuolo d'alme illustri figlie
Dell'Istria Teti; dove innanzi all'are
Ministro, di virtù sublimi albergo,
Aspetta il sacro voto, che sull'ali
Del Messaggier celeste a piè del trono
Sen va a cader — Della Corona al lampo
Accolto viene — Tuona Giove, e immoti
Al suono, che l'Averno, e il Cielo invoca,
E dai cardini suoi la terra scuote,
Nei campi immensi delle azzurre volte
Si guardano fra loro i gran Pianeti.

Buoni sentimenti, e cattivi versi

Per la pace celebrata in Capodistria e nella provincia dell'Istria ex-veneta, il dì 14 luglio 1814. Raccolta dedicata a S.E. il Sig. Conte Francesco de Saurau, Trieste, Tipografia governiale, 1814, with annotations by Francesco Combi – Biblioteca Civica A. Hortis, Trieste.

In 1814 a new era began: the Austrians had returned as the undisputed rulers of Venice and its ancient territories in Dalmatia and Istria. This period was marked by numerous poems and expressions of jubilation, including the poems *Per la pace celebrata in Capodistria*. This collection comprised tributes from a large group of notable Istrians from Koper, Piran, Rovinj, Pula, Muggia, and Valle. Among them was lawyer Francesco Combi (1793-1871), known for his translation of the *Georgics*, which was highly admired by Niccolò Tommaseo. He was also the father of the more famous Carlo, a future patriot.

The collection offers a vibrant snapshot of Istrian society at that time. Even more intriguing is the copy preserved at the Biblioteca Civica Hortis in Trieste, which contains handwritten notes by Combi, written thirty years after its publication. With the benefit of hindsight, Combi issued a mostly damning verdict on those occasional verses, many of which he dismissed with a peremptory "they are utterly worthless".

Among the few poems he praises are those by Giuseppe de Lugnani of Koper, a professor of physics and mathematics who later became the director of the Academy of Commerce and Nautics in Trieste. In contrast, Combi is rather harsh towards the *Cantata* by Father Giovanni Mansillo of the Pious Schools, Rector of the College of Koper: "Old and scholastic material, reportedly composed by another Piarist Father from Ragusa, in honour of Marshal Marmont and his consort: here, with shameful plagiarism, poorly reassembled and adapted". This note highlights a widespread practice in which it was entirely normal, if rulers should change, to modify poetic texts and easily switch to praising former enemies.

Finally, the *Sciolti* by Michele de Benedictis, a philosopher, mathematician, and town doctor, as well as the last secretary of the Accademia dei Risorti, were summed up with a fitting judgment applicable to the entire collection: "good sentiments, bad verses".

Fondazione Ghislieri, Pavia.

During the Restoration period, a significant text emerged with lasting influence: *Histoire de la République de Venise* by Pierre Daru (Paris, Didot, 1819). Daru, a former high-ranking Napoleonic official, served as general intendant of the Grande Armée and later as Minister Secretary of State. His access to documents from the archives of the Serenissima, which had been taken to Paris between 1797 and 1798, had a profound influence on his work.

When publishing his *Histoire*, Daru asserted that he had drawn upon sources that "the historian's eye had never before penetrated" (VII, p. 1). His portrayal of Venice was predominantly critical: it appeared as a Republic in name only, deeply influenced by aristocratic interests, hampered by internal divisions, and governed in an authoritarian, almost tyrannical manner, particularly through bodies like the State Inquisitors. Despite professing his impartiality, Daru aimed to vindicate Napoleon's actions and depict the conquest of Venice as a liberation, while also subtly opposing Louis XVIII – a perspective later shared by Adolphe Thiers. Nevertheless, Daru's interpretation of the facts was compromised by his reliance on apocryphal documents such as the controversial *Capitolare degli Inquisitori di Stato* and by the historical tradition that had preceded him, starting with figures like Amelot de la Houssaye.

His work sparked strong reactions in Venice, leading to rebuttals like *Discorsi sulla storia veneta* (1828) by Giandomenico Almorò Tiepolo. Despite this, the narrative of Venice's "decline, agony, death" from the late Middle Ages, marked by "tyrannical control," dominated Italian and European views into the mid-19th century, further spread through simplified, illustrated adaptations like those by Léon Galibert.

A Gentleman and Bravo of Venice, taken from: *Storia della repubblica di Venezia*, by Léon Galibert, Genova, Bertocci, 1850 – Fondazione Ghislieri, Pavia.

In the first half of the 19th century, Venice's reputation as a city of intrigue was revived across different mediums. While Daru had played a significant role in this portrayal, he was not the sole influence. By the late 18th century, the Italian peninsula had become a favoured setting for a burgeoning literary genre: the gothic novel, largely popularised by the works of Ann Radcliffe. Italy, with its mysterious landscapes and hidden secrets, became the ideal stage for chilling stories of betrayal and murder.

Therefore, it should come as no surprise that Venice became increasingly popular as a backdrop for novels and theatrical dramas, including Byron's tragedies and Manzoni's *Conte di Carmagnola*, as mentioned earlier. Casanova's *Memoirs* also contributed significantly to this perception, particularly through their prefaces, which consistently highlighted Venice's political and moral decline in the 18th century.

In 1826, while Ugo Foscolo was using his review of Casanova to passionately defend Venice's republican tradition, James Fenimore Cooper arrived in Europe following the success of *The Last of the Mohicans*. After having explored the continent, Cooper published *The Bravo* in 1831, a novel depicting the tragic story of Jacopo Frontoni. Frontoni is compelled to serve as a *bravo* – essentially an undercover agent and hired assassin – under Venice's harsh oligarchy.

Cooper wrote with the American audience in mind, with the intention to caution them about the potential tyrannical tendencies of republics, particularly when mismanaged: "Venice, though ambitious and tenacious of the name of a republic, was in truth, a narrow, a vulgar, and an exceedingly heartless oligarchy" (*Il Bravo*, Milano, Truffi, 1832, II, p. 32).

Despite some Venetian indignation, the novel was quickly translated and circulated in Milan, Florence and Naples. It was later reinterpreted as a subtle critique of the despotic Austrian administration in Lombardy-Veneto.

A Woman of the People, taken from: *Storia della repubblica di Venezia*, by Léon Galibert, Genova, Bertocci, 1850 – Fondazione Ghislieri, Pavia.

Venice's past underwent rigorous examination and was largely judged unfavourably. Its present, however, did not show a brighter picture. Between the 1820s and 1830s, the perception of Venice as a city gripped by an almost irreversible crisis became increasingly entrenched.

The first issue that observers of the time focused on was demographic. While in the English-speaking world, Robert T. Malthus's theories concerning the dangers of population growth were gaining traction, in continental Europe, populationist views rooted in cameralism persisted. According to this belief, a large population was seen as essential for the strength and prosperity of a nation. Therefore, Venice's demographic decline was viewed with concern. "The proximity of Trieste had irreparably damaged Venice's trade" reported the *Journal des travaux de la Société Française de Statistique Universelle* in 1837 – so much so that "the population of Venice, which was once 200,000 inhabitants, now does not exceed 90,000".

Several years prior, the jurist Francesco Foramiti, while advocating for the establishment of a free port in Venice, pointed to Trieste as a model of success. He highlighted Trieste's remarkable demographic growth, which had transformed it from a small village into one of Italy's most populous cities (*I vantaggi del porto franco*, Venezia, Alvisopoli, 1829, p. 10). As Trieste's reputation as a thriving and densely populated city grew, the comparison with Venice became increasingly harsh.

In 1831, Charles Didier wrote: "The city that has fallen the most is the unfortunate Venice", in an article published in *La Revue Encyclopédique* (n. 49/1, 1831), which was promptly translated into Italian and published as *Cenno sulla statistica morale e politica d'Italia*. He continued, describing Venice as, "Once so luminous, so flourishing, so beautiful, today it is mournful, impoverished, and troubled. […] Venice offers one of the saddest spectacles in Italy. […] Venice is dead" (p. 13).

Renzo crosses the Adda River and enters the territories of the Serenissima, taken from: A. Manzoni, *I Promessi sposi*, Milano, dalla Tipografia Guglielmini e Redaelli, 1840 – Fondazione Ghislieri, Pavia.

While internally Venice was increasingly viewed through the lens of decline, externally, its historical image continued to cast reflections of many different shades. Alongside the dark legends of intrigues and prisons, the myth of its good governance persisted. In an era marked by empires and international rivalries, spanning from the 15th to the 18th centuries, Venice had steadfastly resisted, proudly preserving its independence – making it a singular case among Italian cities.

It was an example that couldn't be overlooked, particularly at a time when many harboured dreams of reigniting the flame of independence. Though the aspiration for liberation under Gioachino Murat's leadership had faltered, and the uprisings of 1820-1821 had been quashed, the yearning for a unified Italy remained strong. People fervently sought out examples and inspirations. In his thinly veiled critique of Austrian rule in Italy, depicted as Spanish-controlled Lombardy in the 17th century in *The Betrothed*, Manzoni boldly revived the myth of the Serenissima, the symbol of liberty.

When Renzo, pursued by unjust Spanish authorities, crosses the Adda River and seeks refuge in Bergamo, then part of the Republic of Venice, he fervently proclaims: "*Viva San Marco"* (Long live San Marco). This is followed by his cousin Bortolo's praises of Venice's good governance. While Lombardy faced famine, Venetian territories enjoyed relative tranquillity, managing their affairs "with a bit more wisdom". The cities had even stocked grain reserves to feed their people, with the Senate ready to provide additional assistance when needed.

Manzoni portrayed the Serenissima as a virtuous model of governance, attentive to local needs and the welfare of its subjects in an equitable and efficient manner. This myth was originally shaped by the Venetians at the peak of their power and now resurfaced as being still relevant in an Italian scenario, despite the changes that had occurred over time.

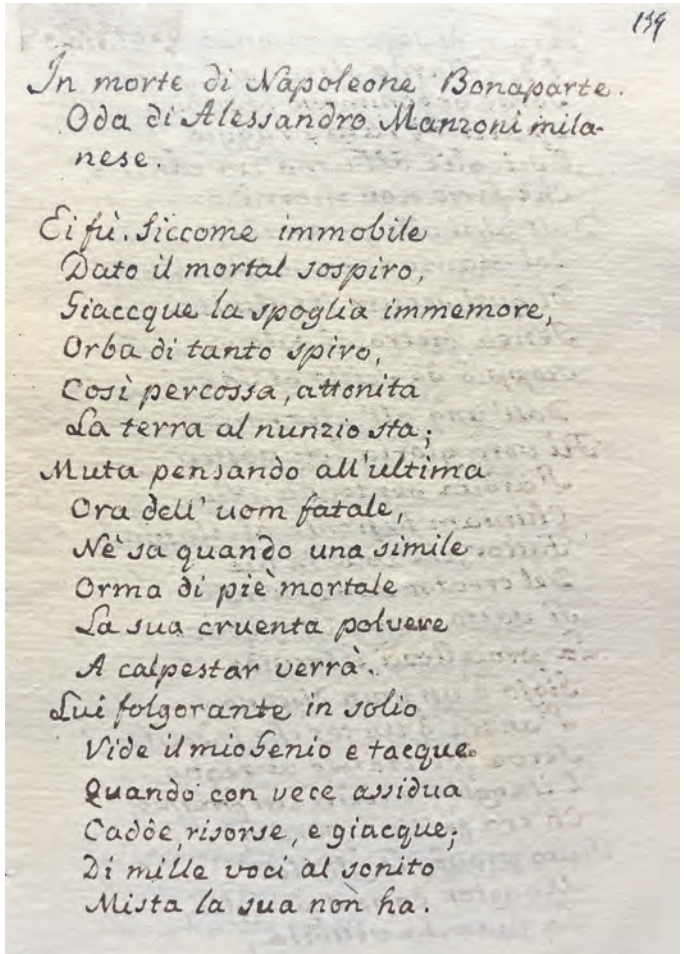
Storia delle Repubbliche italiane dei Secoli di Mezzo, by Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de Sismondi I, Milano, Francesco Pagnoni, s.d. [c. 1865-1868].

Those who promoted the anti-myth of the Serenissima primarily referred to Daru, while those like Manzoni and Foscolo, who aimed to use the Republic of Venice as a model of good governance, turned to another influential work: *Histoire des républiques italiennes du Moyen Âge*, by Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de Sismondi (1807-1818). Sismondi, a critic of the revolutionary era, highlighted the ancient liberties of the mediaeval Italian republics as an example and a pathway to a new republicanism.

As is well known, Manzoni would later write a sort of refutation of certain points in the Swiss historian's work in his *Osservazioni sulla morale cattolica* (1819). Nonetheless, the *Histoire* remained a significant reference point for him and the broader Italian debate for a long time, and it was translated into Italian numerous times throughout the 19th century.

Venice played a leading role in Sismondi's work, portrayed as marked by an independent and free spirit from its very beginnings: "Of all the republics that flourished in Italy, Venice was the most illustrious […] Until just a few years ago, the Republic of Venice was the oldest state in Europe. This nation, always independent and free, remained a peaceful observer of the revolutions unfolding across the world […] Alone and resolute, this proud republic witnessed kingdoms and nations pass before it. Eventually, like all others, it too succumbed to universal law; and the Venetian government, which bridged the present and the past, uniting two eras of world civilization, also ceased to exist. The enduring independence of the Venetians can be attributed to the nature of the land they inhabited" (*Storia delle Repubbliche Italiane*, Capolago, Tipografia Elvetica, 1831, p. 240-241).

The unique geography of the lagoon and its maritime orientation had significantly contributed to the Serenissima's centuries-long independence and to its ability to develop a governance system that seamlessly integrated both land-based and aquatic elements, drawing from Italian and Mediterranean influences.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In morte di Napoleone Bonaparte.
Ode di Alessandro Manzoni milanese.

Ei fù. Siccome immobile
Dato il mortal sospiro,
Stette la spoglia immemore,
Orba di tanto spiro,
Così percossa, attonita
La terra al nunzio sta;
Muta pensando all'ultima
Ora dell' uom fatale,
Nè sa quando una simile
Orma di piè mortale
La sua cruenta polvere
A calpestar verrà.
Lui folgorante in soglio
Vide il mio Genio e tacque.
Quando con vece assidua
Cadde, risorse, e giacque;
Di mille voci al sonito
Mista la sua non ha.

The Fifth of May, copy made by Antonio Paravia (1754-1828), MS P. D. a. 15, c. 139 (2022 © Biblioteca Correr – Fondazione Musei Civici, Venice).

Thus far, we have explored Venice as both a myth-maker and a subject of differing narratives, encompassing both praise and critique. However, there is another crucial aspect to consider. Despite having lost the maritime prominence it had once possessed in its days as a republic, Venice remained a pivotal centre for information exchange – continuously projecting outward while absorbing a multitude of influences and ideas.

An excellent example of this dynamic is the unexpected triangulation involving St. Helena, Milan, and Venice, as documented in the handwritten notes of Captain Antonio Paravia. A native of Corfu and an infantry officer under the Serenissima, Paravia's writings reveal Venice's role as a nexus for cross-cultural interactions and intellectual currents.

Upon hearing the news of Napoleon's death – who had experienced a true *damnatio memoriae* in Venice, with the destruction and concealment of every work attesting to his rule – Paravia began annotating the *Manuscrit venu de St. Hélène d'une manière inconnue* (1817). He then added, in his own hand, the immortal verses of Alessandro Manzoni. The juxtaposition made by Paravia is of considerable interest, as *The Fifth of May* serves as a posthumous tribute to a "great man" subjected to "a disgusting..[…] exile" (cc. 133 and 135). In the context of our theme of reflections and circulations, it is fascinating to observe how rapidly Manzoni's poem was received in Venice, despite its initial circulation being only in manuscript form. Its first printed version appeared in a German translation by Goethe in 1823, followed by an Italian edition in Turin in 1823-1824.

Venice remained in close contact with the European cultural circles of the 19th century. Figures like Paravia privately reflected on the Republic's upheaval and key figures like Bonaparte. His nephew, Carlo Luciano (1803-1857), later played a significant role in revitalising Venice's image.

Taken from: Bernardino Zendrini, *Memorie storiche dello Stato antico e moderno delle lagune di Venezia*, Padova, Stamperia del Seminario, 1811 – private collection.

The works of Zendrini (1679-1747), a renowned hydraulic engineer in the service of the Serenissima, were among the primary scientific sources for the compilation of *Venezia e le sue lagune*.

In 1847, Venice hosted the IX congress of Italian scientists, organised by Carlo Luciano Bonaparte. The inaugural congress had been held in Pisa in 1839, followed by subsequent gatherings in Turin, Florence, Padua, Lucca, Milan, Naples, and Genoa. Initially focused on scientific pursuits, these congresses gradually took on political significance in the fervent climate of the times, subtly alluding to Italy's quest for independence.

A guide of the host city was published at each gathering. For Venice, this meant commissioning an imposing illustrated work in two volumes titled *Venezia e le sue lagune* (Venezia, Antonelli, 1847). These volumes didn't only provide information for visitors, they ambitiously reconstructed the history of the Serenissima, focusing on Venice and its close bond with the aquatic element represented by the lagoon. Prominent figures from Venice's intellectual circles contributed to the work: Agostino Sagredo compiled the chapter on *Civil and Political History*, while Daniele Manin authored the section on *Venetian Jurisprudence*.

Venezia e le sue lagune portrayed a city with an illustrious past and ancient institutions worthy of admiration, yet vibrant and forward-looking. In the chapter on the free port, it quoted a flattering assessment attributed to Napoleon: "Venice is the best situated city and port of them all. All goods from Constantinople and the Levant may reach it directly via the shortest route, which is the Adriatic. From there, they branch out to Turin via the Po, and throughout Germany. […] Nature made Venice the hub for trade from the Levant, Italy, and southern Germany" (II, pp. 540-541). This statement resonated as an appeal to reclaim a prominent role in maritime trade and to solidify its position, both practically and symbolically, as a mythic and model city. It marked a clear departure from the shadows of the black legend perpetuated by Daru.

Piazza San Marco and the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, taken from: *Venezia e le sue lagune*, Venezia, Antonelli, 1847 – private collection.

Models

Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, from *Forestiero illuminato*, Venezia, Albrizzi, 1772 – private collection.

On the right, the old Franciscan monastery of the Friars Minor Conventual, which was chosen during the Austrian rule as the seat of the former Venetian General Archives – it is now known as the Venice State Archives.

In the 19th century, the various narratives about Venice saw the addition of archive documents. In 1815, the Austrians established the Venetian General Archives (although it wasn't open to the public until around 1830, with Leopold von Ranke among the very first scholars admitted). Thus, the ancient papers of the Serenissima, which were no longer secret, would decree either its doom or salvation. The fact that the Republic had built such an impressive archive was itself part of its myth, but the Venetian archival tradition was also looked upon as an example of good administration.

The French had immediately carried out an examination of the archives: the experience of the Serenissima had been studied almost as a school of politics and administration. This is why documents such as the dispatches of ambassadors from foreign courts, the 18th century deliberations of the Senate, certain writings from State Inquisitors and the cartography of the Chamber of Borders concerning Dalmatia and the islands of the Levant had already been taken to Paris between 1797 and 1798.

For centuries, the Republic had based its power on the ability to gather data and information, rather than on armies and weapons. The Chancery – as Filippo de Vivo recalled – had been defined by the Council of Ten as the true "heart of the state" in the 15th century. In the 19th century, even Daru, although critical of the Serenissima, recognised its greatness in administration.

It was a Republic of secrets, but an efficient one, capable of setting up a widespread administrative machine, of exploiting the information it gathered for the smooth running of its institutions, and of extending its rule westwards, towards the mainland on the Italian peninsula, and eastwards, following the Adriatic into the Balkans and all the way down to Greece. In short, Venice was indeed a myth (both positive and negative), but it had also been and remained a model.

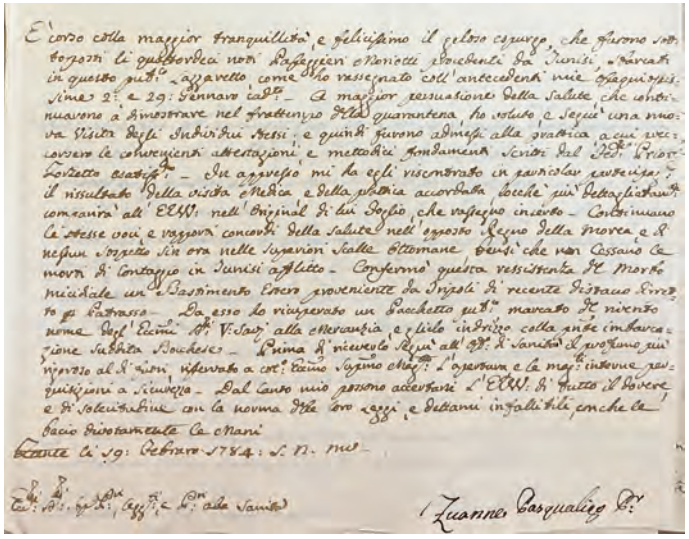
Prospetto degli affari attuali dell'Europa, vol. 33, Lugano, 1798 – Pazin State Archives.

The Adriatic was known as the *Golfo di Venezia* (Gulf of Venice), even for the Ottomans with whom Venice had often clashed. This Gulf, from Istanbul's perspective, was an integrated Adriatic system: the Istrian and Dalmatian coastal cities, such as Split, were considered paradigms, from which the essence of Venice was reflected. The Republic had ruled over this system for centuries. To do so, it had granted a certain amount of local autonomy, but it had also developed an institutional system whose beating heart was the city of Venice, where data and information were continuously conveyed by officials, spies, merchants, consuls and ambassadors.

Control and information were the basis of a series of magistracies which were central to the prosperity of the state: from the Health Magistrate (1486) to the *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia* (The Five Sages for Trade, 1507), from the State Inquisitors (1539) to the Deputies and Officers for Public Funds (1646). Along these were care and charity centres that, by combining charity and social control, contributed to the order and harmony of Venice, and sought to avoid famine and pestilence.

Such institutions were observed and admired by many nations with a maritime and commercial nature: from Genoa to the Netherlands and Britain. In 1651 Howell proposed the Serenissima as a paradigm for England to imitate with his *A Survey of the Signoria of Venice, of her Admired Policy and Method of Governmen*t and in 1656 James Harrington presented Venice as an incorrupt Republic in *The Commonwealth of Oceana*.

Much of this success, as mentioned previously, lay in the ability to collect and process vast amounts of data and to put the emerging science of statistics at the service of the state. In this manner, health, economic, demographic data on all the domains were collected and analysed to decide on the best policies to undertake.



The Venice State Archives (henceforth called VSA), Provveditori alla sanità, b. 508: *The Superintendent of Zakynthos, Zuanne Pasqualigo, to the Health Magistrate*, 19 February 1784

This letter from the *provveditore* (local superintendent) of Zakynthos – the highest local authority representing the Republic – illustrates the daily exchange of health information. The *provveditore* relays the end, without incident, of the quarantine in the lazaretto to which he had ordered 14 "suspicious" passengers; the continuation of the "contagion" in Tunis, while the "Ottoman stairs" and the Morea appeared safe from it; the presence of a "deadly disease" among the crew of a ship that had arrived in Patras from Tripoli, from which he had nevertheless managed to recover a "package" destined for the The Five Sages for Trade. A package that he would then send on, after having it purged by the Health Office.

In terms of public health, Venice had been an innovator since the 15th century, when it established the first permanent lazarettos and the first permanent Health Magistrate. The Health Magistrate was primarily a political and administrative body, chaired by three *provveditori* (superintendents) and two *sopra-provveditori* (chief superintendents), politically appointed patricians. The administrative part was overseen by a jurist. There was also a medical component represented by the *protomedico del Magistrato* (chief physician) and by a surgeon.

The tasks and prerogatives of the Magistrate were extensive. Its primary aim was to prevent the spread of epidemics, but it also legislated on health matters and could impose severe sentences, including capital punishment, for those who contravened its rules and endangered the safety of the Republic.

The Magistrate relied on a network of information, maintaining daily exchanges with local health offices scattered throughout the domains, and with consuls and ambassadors in the capitals and major European and Mediterranean trade centres. When other nations began to set up similar institutions between the 16th and 17th centuries, the Magistrate of Venice started a dense correspondence with them as well, often being consulted as an authority on health matters.

Venice's authority came from its ability to quickly and reliably manage data, especially data from the Levant, where the plague was endemic and struck with great frequency. This was made possible thanks to the integration of information between Venice and its *Stato da Mar*. Centres such as Koper, Piran, Pula, Rovinj, Split, Šibenik, Zadar, Corfu, St. Maura and Zakynthos acted as outposts to gather information and as the first line of defence against the contagion.

The Health Magistrate also monitored the population, compiling lists of the dead and censuses, initially limited to the city of Venice and the Dogado. Gradually, however, the scope of these surveys expanded, involving also the The Five Sages for Trade and extending to all the domains.

In 1760, the Rector of Brescia Francesco Grimani prepared printed models to facilitate the collection of data; in 1764, the Senate decreed that this method be applied to all territories and assigned to the Deputies and Officers for Public Funds the task of compiling periodical censuses every five years. This was not an easy task, and only after years of preparation did the first *Anagrafi venete* (Venetian Registry) see the light in 1768.

Despite the discrepancies in some entries and the lack of plausibility of some figures – which had already been noted in the 18th century – the *Anagrafi* remain to this day proof of the high degree of efficiency and refinement achieved by the Venetian administrative machine and its ability to manage information.

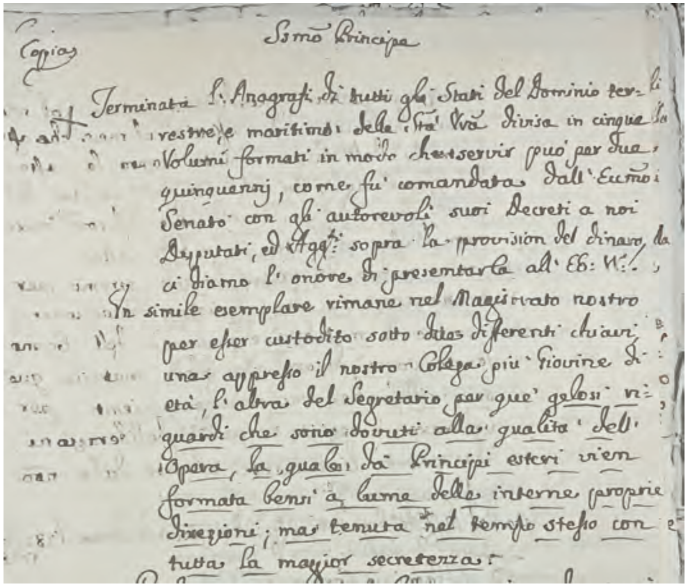
Today the *Anagrafi* appear almost like an atlas in numbers of Venice and its state. They provide the number of families, the division by sexes and, for men only, the division by age groups, craft and social class, as well as the presence of manufacturers or production activities and animals. They are, in short, a vast snapshot of the society and of the productive fabric of the entire Republic.

The fact that Venice devoted so much attention to data concerning its population should not be surprising. As previously mentioned, the belief in demographic growth as a driving force for development remained strong throughout the modern era. The larger the population, the more powerful the state, as it could count on more taxes, more soldiers, more workers and a larger internal market. It was important, therefore, to monitor the number of inhabitants so as to preserve and increase it.


ANAGRAFI
DI TUTTO LO STATO
DELLA SERENISSIMA REPUBBLICA
DI VENEZIA
COMANDATA
DALL ECC.MO SENATO CO' SUOI DECRETI
ED ESEGUITA
DAL MAGISTRATO ECCELLENTISSIMO
DE' SIGNORI
DEPUTATI ED AGGIONTI
SOPRA LA PROVISION DEL DANARO
DIVISA IN CINQUE VOLUMI
VOLUME PRIMO
MDCCLXXX.
STAMPATA NELLA DUCAL STAMPERIA DI VENEZIA
PER LI FIGLIUOLI DEL QU. Z ANTONIO PINELLI

Anagrafi di tutto lo Stato… (The Complete State Registry…) Venezia, Pinelli, 1780 – VSA.

The *Anagrafi* were printed in seven copies: "one for the Secret Chancery, one for the Office of His Excellency the Sage of the Scripture, one for the Magistrate of the Five Sages for Trade, one for the Magistrates of Wheat Supply, one for the Magistrate of Accounting and Public Income, and finally one for our own Magistrate" and one for the "Sages of the Council of Ten in Rialto" as the Deputies wrote on 22 September 1766 (VSA, Deputati e aggiunti sopra la provvision del denaro pubblico, b. 891, c. n. n.).



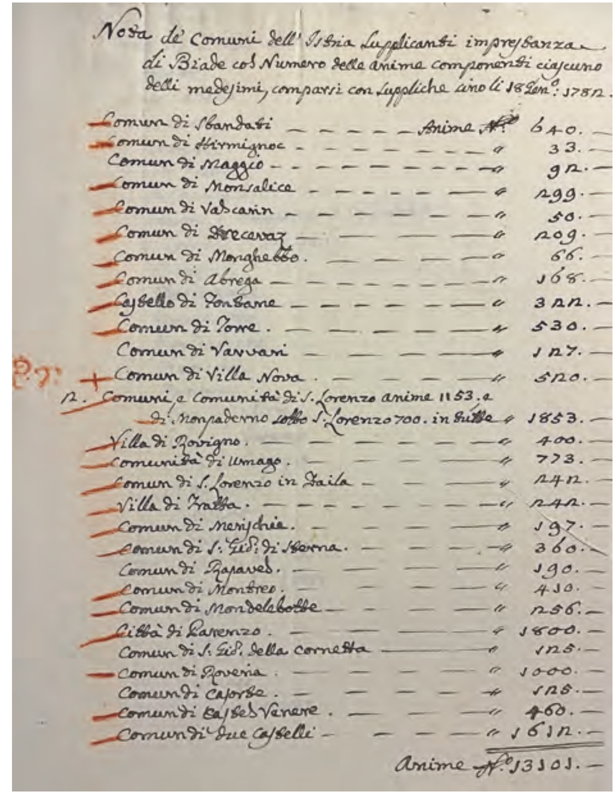
Copia

S.mo Principe

Terminata l'Anagrafi di tutti gli Stati del Dominio ter-
restre, e marittimo della Ser.tà V.ra divisa in cinque
Volumi formati in modo che servir può per due
quinquennj, come fu' comandata dall'Ecc.mo
Senato con gli autorevoli suoi Decreti a noi
Deputati, ed Agg.ti sopra la provision del dinaro, la
ci diamo l'onore di presentarla all'EE: VV:
Un simile esemplare rimane nel Magistrato nostro
per esser custodito sotto due differenti chiavi,
una appresso il nostro Collega più giovine di
età, l'altra del Segretario, per que' gelosi ri-
guardi che sono dovuti alla qualità dell'
Opera, la quale da Principi esteri vien
formata bensì a lume delle interne proprie
direzioni; ma tenuta nel tempo stesso con
tutta la maggior secretezza.

VSA, Deputati e aggiunti sopra la provvision del denaro pubblico, b. 891, c. n. n.: The Deputies to the Doge, 28 September 1768.

Extracts with relevant data were sent to local officials in the various domains but moulds and preparatory materials had to be destroyed. Printed copies were to be kept with "jealous care", as the topic of population was an extremely sensitive issue. The *Anagrafi*, in short, were seen as a "guiding light" and a model for "foreign Princes", but also as a valuable instrument of internal governance to be kept confidential.



Nota de' Comuni dell'Istria Supplicanti imprestanza di Biade col Numero delle anime componenti ciascuno delli medesimi, comparsi con Suppliche sino li 18 Gen.o 1782.

Comun di Sbandati — Anime N.o	640.
Comun di Hirmignoc	33.
Comun di Maggio	92.
Comun di Monsalice	299.
Comun di Vadcarin	50.
Comun di Decavaz	209.
Comun di Monghebbo	66.
Comun di Abrega	168.
Castello di Fontane	322.
Comun di Torre	530.
Comun di Varvari	127.
Comun di Villa Nova	520.
Comuni, e Comunità di S. Lorenzo anime 1153. e di Mompaderno sotto S. Lorenzo 700. in tutto	1853.
Villa di Rovigno	400.
Comunità di Umago	773.
Comun di S. Lorenzo in Daila	242.
Villa di Tratta	242.
Comun di Merischie	197.
Comun di S. Gio. di Sterna	360.
Comun di Rapavel	190.
Comun di Montreo	410.
Comun di Mondelebotte	256.
Città di Parenzo	1800.
Comun di S. Gio. della Cornetta	125.
Comun di Rovena	1000.
Comun di Caporbe	125.
Comun di Castel Venere	460.
Comun di Due Castelli	1612.
Anime N.o	13303.

VSA, Deputati e aggiunti sopra la provvision del denaro pubblico, b. 211, c. n. n., 1782.

The *Anagrafi* served as a tool of control when, for example, requests for cereal were sent to the *Provveditori alle Biave* (the Magistrates of Wheat Supply). By checking the numbers at hand, they could verify that the requests of local officials were in line and could send the right amount of supplies to the "souls" – i.e. the inhabitants of each area – as they did in 1782 in response to the pleas of the Istrian municipalities.

COMPENDIO GENERALE
DELL' ANAGRAFI
DI TUTTE LE PROVINCIE
DELLO
STATO VENETO.

DESCRIZIONE
DELL'ANNO 1778

TOMO PRIMO.
TOMO SECONDO.
TOMO TERZO.
TOMO QUARTO.
TOMO QUINTO.

COM-

Anagrafi di tutto lo Stato… (The Complete State Registry…), Venezia, Pinelli, 1780 – VSA.

The *Anagrafi* divided the inhabitants into "boys up to the age of 14", "men from the ages of 14 to 60", "old men from the age of 60 onwards", "women of all ages" and "Jewish souls". As can be seen, Christian men were studied more analytically and carefully divided by age. Since they were considered the most active part of the population, it was important to determine how many, excluding the elderly and children, could become heads of households or serve in the army.

COMPENDIO
DELLE
CLASSI DI PERSONE ABITANTI
NELLA
CITTA' DI VENEZIA
COMPONENTI IL TOTAL DELL' ANIME.

SESTIERI.

QUINQUENNIO
1785. sino 1789.

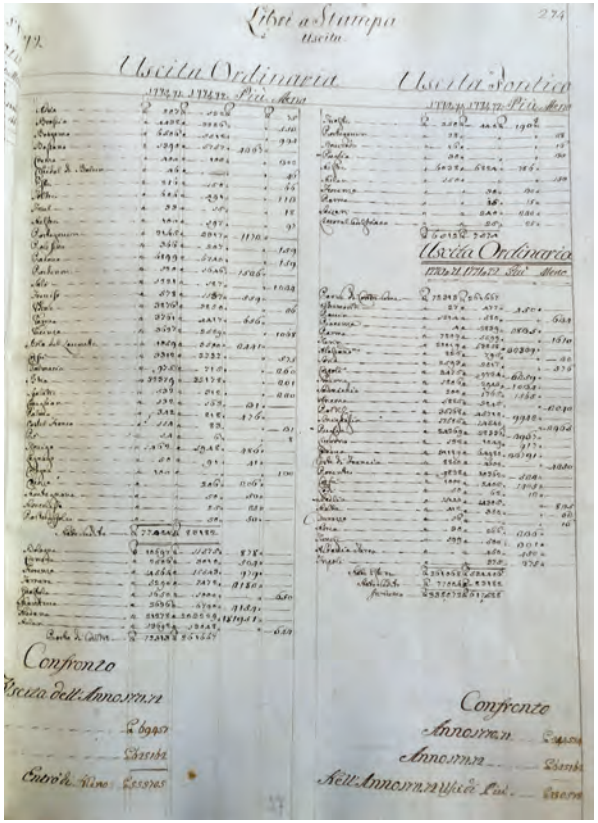
Persone Nobili
Persone Cittadine
Persone Popolari

SEGUONO IL COMPENDIO.

COM.

Anagrafi di tutto lo Stato…(The Complete State Registry…), Venezia, Pinelli, 1780 – VSA.

One of the more ambitious aims of the *Anagrafi* was to map all the domains of the Serenissima, from the mainland to the Levant. No territory or centre was forgotten. The greatest precision was used for Venice, where data were also divided into the single *sestieri* (districts): Castello, San Marco, Cannaregio, San Polo, Santa Croce and Dorsoduro.



VSA, Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia. Registri, r. 5 (1770-1771 and 1771-1772), c. 274r.

This record in the *Registri* relates to the export of printed books. The production of different types of paper and the printing of books, pictures and geographical maps were some of the most flourishing and active fields both in Venice and on the mainland, particularly in Bassano, where the Remondini press was based.

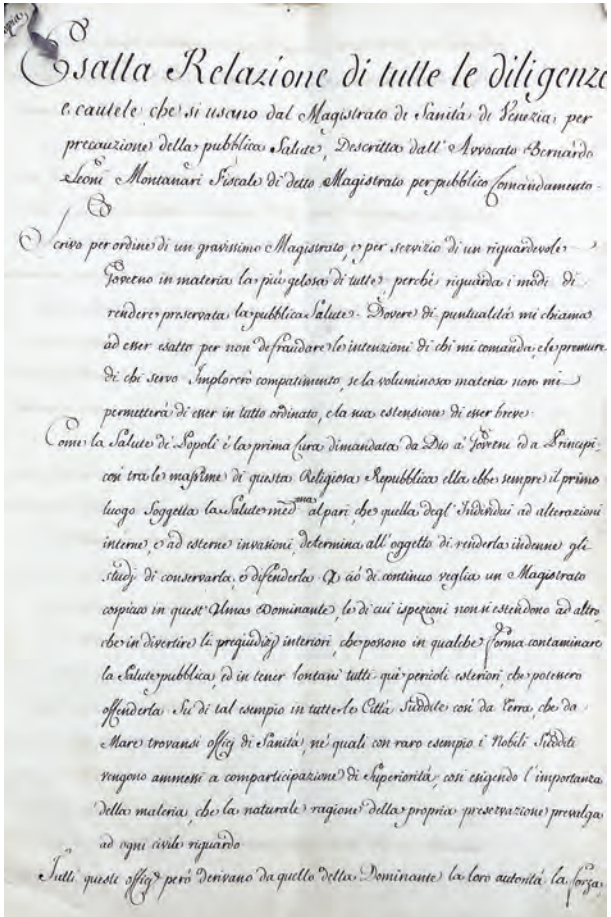
In the 18th century, the Serenissima increasingly intensified its data collection. Health information and population census were areas in which the Republic had been at the forefront and provided a template for others to follow. Economic decline and competition from free ports such as Livorno, Trieste, Rijeka and Ancona prompted Venice to begin careful monitoring of trade data as well.

Between 1734 and 1758, the Five Sages for Trade carried out a thorough collection of data on incoming and outgoing goods in order to help determine customs policies. The goal was to keep the two souls of Venice – a centre both of trade and of intense proto-industrial production – in synergy with its domains, from where its workers and raw materials came. Customs duties were therefore varied, to promote the import of materials necessary for domestic manufacturing and to discourage the entry of goods that could compete with local production.

Data collection resumed with renewed intensity in 1771, coinciding with the last season of reforms issued by the Republic which included the creation of a course on naval architecture (1777) and the promulgation of the *Code for Venetian Mercantile Shipping* (1786).

The *Registri* were, in short, a useful tool to collect and analyse data. Each volume contained a comparison between the last two years. The goods were listed in alphabetical order and for each one the incoming and outgoing duty revenues were declared, as well as origins and destinations.

But, as previously mentioned, the *Registri* were not only simple bureaucratic documents, they also played a key role in the government: they were the basis for deciding on duty trends, on investment in specific manufactures and even on new trade routes. They offered a vibrant picture of the Republic, a Republic that still wanted to be seen as a model in maritime trade.


Esatta Relazione di tutte le diligenze
e cautele che si usano dal Magistrato di Sanità di Venezia per
precauzione della pubblica Salute, Descritta dall'Avvocato Bernardo
Leoni Montanari Fiscale di detto Magistrato per pubblico comandamento.
Scrivo per ordine di un gravissimo Magistrato, e per servizio di un riguardevole
Governo in materia la più gelosa di tutte, perchè riguarda i modi di
rendere preservata la pubblica Salute. Dovere di puntualità mi chiama
ad esser esatto per non defraudare le intenzioni di chi mi comanda, e premure
di che servo. Implorerò compatimento, se la voluminosa materia non mi
permetterà di esser in tutto ordinato, e la sua estensione di esser breve.
Come la Salute de' Popoli è la prima cura dimandata da Dio a' Governi, e a Principi
così tra le massime di questa Religiosa Repubblica ella ebbe sempre il primo
luogo. Soggetta la Salute med.ma al pari che quella degl'Individui ad alterazioni
interne, e ad esterne invasioni, determina all'oggetto di renderla indenne gli
studj di conservarla, e difenderla. Ha ad di continuo vegliia un Magistrato
cospicuo in quest'Alma Dominante, le di cui ispezioni non si estendono ad altro
che in divertire li pregiudizj interiori, che possono in qualche forma contaminare
la Salute pubblica, ed in tener lontani tutti quei pericoli esteriori, che potessero
offenderla. Su di tal esempio in tutte le Città Suddite così da Terra, che da
Mare trovansi offizj di Sanità, ne' quali con raro esempio i Nobili Sudditi
vengono ammessi a compartecipazione di superiorità, così esigendo l'importanza
della materia, che la naturale ragione della propria preservazione prevalga
ad ogni civile riguardo.
Tutti questi offizj però derivano da quello della Dominante, la loro autorità, la forza,

The Cagliari State Archives, Segreteria di Stato e di Guerra, s. II, b. 1217, c. n. n.: *An Exact Report of the Practices and Precautions used by the Health Magistrate of Venice to Safeguard Public Health.*

In the 18th century, despite its growing economic decline and loss of political influence as established by the Peace Treaty of Passarowitz (1718), Venice continued to be an important model for the collection of data and its use in health practices and policies.

When a violent plague epidemic broke out in Provence in 1720, with its epicentre in Marseille, requests from all over Europe came to Venice, asking for advice on what to do. The consul of the Netherlands enquired about the Republic's sanitary procedures. The Dutch Republic had by then established itself as a global economic power, yet in a time of crisis and fear, it turned to Venice for help. A detailed reply was immediately written by the jurist Bernardino Leone Montanari, who emphasised that one of the strengths of the Serenissima's system was that "in all subject cities, both land and sea, there are health offices" (VSA, Provveditori alla sanità, b. 562: *Advice from the Most Excellent Health Magistrate on request of the Consul of the Netherlands*, 14 March 1721).

In the meantime, the Viceroy of Sardinia, Baron de Saint-Remy, worried that the plague might reach the island also due to the "laziness" and "lack of common sense" of local staff, hastened to ask for a copy of the Venetian regulations, and received an *An Exact Report of the Practices and Precautions used by the Health Magistrate of Venice to Safeguard Public Health*, again by Montanari.

Even the British, who had always been critical of health control measures, acknowledged the supremacy of Venice in this field and praised it a model to be followed, as can be seen in writings such as *Letters from Italy* by Samuel Sharp (Henry&-Cave, London, 1767) and *An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe* by John Howard (Warrington, London, 1789).

A View of the Canals of New Venice from the Palazzo of Rosciano, Pompeo Lapi, 1795-1796 – Biblioteca Labronica F. D. Guerrazzi, Livorno.

The myth of Venice was composed of a thousand different images, and its model was, similarly, reflected in the most diverse spheres. Myth and model were closely intertwined, and one fuelled the strength of the other. The more Venice was seen as a city symbol of freedom, good governance or commercial success, the more its policies, institutions and urban structure were taken as a model.

During the 17th century, Livorno had established itself as a free port and its population had grown, so work began on the construction of a new district. The city was developing in an amphibious area, between the port and the hinterland. It was necessary to connect a series of islets and provide navigable canals. Specialised workers were brought in especially from Venice and the first part of what is still evocatively called the *Venezia Nuova* (New Venice) was built.

The choice of the name *Venezia Nuova* was certainly an immediate reminder of Venice's appearance, of the blending of water and land elements in the urban layout, but it was perhaps also a wish and a desire. Livorno was establishing itself as an emerging port of call in the Mediterranean, as a link between the Atlantic and eastern trade routes. Venice had been the gateway to the East for centuries, the crossroads between Europe and the Levant, and Livorno now wanted to present itself as a new global connection point between east and west.

Between the 17th and 18th centuries, as seen in Addison's words, Livorno was increasingly viewed as a new paradigm of freedom and prosperity, among the few cities in Italy capable of resisting decline. In short, by replicating the urban model of Venice, Livorno wanted to turn itself into the real *New Venice* and become a myth and a model.

A View of Trieste, Milano, A. Vallardi Editore, a. 1840 – private collection.

The Adriatic was still known as the Gulf of Venice, but new lines were being drawn. Venice felt surrounded by port cities, which also practised favourable customs policies and declared themselves safe and welcoming for merchants of all religions and backgrounds. The Republic was particularly concerned about Trieste, which was emerging as a major port of call.

The Serenissima appointed a consul there in 1761, proof of Trieste's rise. Not content with formal information networks, it sent secret agents there, including Giacomo Casanova himself, to find out the secret of the success of what in a few decades had gone from being a fishing village to "an emporium for the goods of all the Austrian States and Hungary" (VSA, Deputati al Commercio, r. 217, February 26 1749).

Between 1768 and 1769, the Five Sages for Trade launched a veritable investigation into Trieste, trying to compile a dossier on its dealings that were "so harmful to trade […], to the arts, to navigation and to the subjects" of the Serenissima (VSA, Cinque Savi, b. 227, 22 August 22 1769). Nothing was left out: licit and illicit movements of ships, lists of the richest merchants, Stock Exchange operations, prices, goods and duties, copies of port development plans.

Yet, people still turned to Venice: when a suspicious vessel arrived, Trieste, unable to handle the situation, turned the ship away, which was received for quarantine in the efficient Venetian facilities. As Francesco Seratti, who supervised the health magistrature in Tuscany, commented, "it does not do much honour […] to Trieste, where the ship was headed, after the considerable expenses that were made to put it in a position to defend itself even in matters of health" (Florence State Archives, Affari di Sanità, b. 26, n. 5, 15 October 1778). And so, while Venice was looking to Trieste, the latter nevertheless continued to consider the Serenissima a model.

MEMORIE

POLITICO — ECONOMICHE

DELLA

CITTÀ E TERRITORIO DI TRIESTE

DELLA PENISOLA D' ISTRIA

DELLA DALMAZIA FU VENETA

DI RAGUSI

E DELL' ALBANIA

ORA CONGIUNTI ALL' AUSTRIACO IMPERO

DI

G. d. B—n.

VENEZIA

DALLA TIPOGRAFIA DI ALVISOPOLI

M. DCCC. XXI.

Biblioteca Civica A. Hortis, Trieste.

Changing power relations in the 18th century had created new Mediterranean geographies - the fall of the Republic changed the focal point definitively. As previously seen, under the French and the Austrians, Venice had been separated administratively from what had been its *Stato da mar*. With the establishment of Austrian rule, after the Restoration, the former Venetian lands in the Adriatic began to create a new integrated system in which Trieste became the centre, even though Venice was still present.

This change of perspective can be seen in the Hapsburg official Joseph Brodmann's *Memorie politico-economiche*. Right from the start, a new map emerged with Trieste at its centre and including Istria, Dalmatia, Dubrovnik and Albania. Brodmann had been able to closely observe these areas, on numerous "explorations" while following the plenipotentiaries Raymond of Thurn and Peter of Goess, who oversaw the reorganisation of the former Venetian territories in the early 19th century. He collected data with the intention of showing "the obstacles" that made the people of "Istria, Dalmatia, Dubrovnik and Albania" "unhappy" and "often tormented by plague and even more often plagued by hunger and misery" (p. 6).

The main culprits were the past governments, the "ex-Venetian" and the "French". Venice had bound its Adriatic domains to itself with "iron fetters", with duties and monopolies that hindered their productive activities, while extracting products such as salt, oil, salted fish and timber at privileged rates (p. 134). The Venetian economic model had to be rejected. However, even Brodmann had to admit that there was one area, health care, in which Venice "had well deserved merit above all other similar institutions in Europe, to which it served as a model, as the annals of impartial History prove" (p. 57). The Empire had to take inspiration from these Venetian practices if it wanted to preserve itself from the danger of contagion.

A View of Venice, Milano, A. Vallardi Editore, a. 1840 – private collection.

Detail showing the Island of San Giorgio, the first settlement of the free port.

As far as health care was concerned, even in the 19th century the system set up by the Serenissima – a widespread information network, a constellation of lazarettos and health offices scattered throughout the domains, defined and inflexible regulations issued from the centre – was recognised as the best model. In other areas, however, Venice found itself incorporating external models, rather than creating them for others. In the economic field – putting aside certain apocalyptic predictions that foretold the city's imminent death and its sinking into the sea – the crisis was undeniable.

For centuries in the Mediterranean, every port city in crisis mode had discussed the possibility of establishing a free port, thanks to the success of examples such as Livorno, Marseille and Trieste. In Venice, the debate had always remained more theoretical, with some very limited experiments in the 17th and 18th centuries. This was the case until the arrival of Napoleon who, in 1806, inaugurated in grand style the free port on the Island of San Giorgio, with regulations modelled on Genoa. It was to be, as previously mentioned, the rebirth of the city, accompanied by the establishment of a Chamber of Commerce, public celebrations and the project of a colossal statue of the Emperor to welcome ships. Venice was going to be part of a system of free ports located around the world that would finally give France dominance over the seas and contribute to the defeat of the British.

Little would remain of this project, imposed by others and with global aims, except for the idea of the free port as a remedy for aiding cities in crisis. Thus, under Austrian rule, the Chamber of Commerce began lobbying the court in Vienna, demanding once again the establishment of the free port and using the success of Trieste as an example. The long-awaited concession finally arrived in 1830.

V XLVII. 303

PORTATA
DE'
BASTIMENTI
ARRIVATI
In queſto Porto-Franco
DI TRIESTE.

DICEMBRE
il dì 23 detto.

TArtanone Pont., Pn. Giuſeppe Buratini ven. da Monopoli con ſtara 300 Carobbe per Filippo Traverſa.
Piel. Pont., Pn. Giuſeppe Gradara, ven. da Goro con 29 balle Canape, 12 balle Tela, un ſacco Mandorle, 5 caſſe Sapone, 59 ſacchi Riſi, ſtara 75

Taken from: *Portata de' Bastimenti arrivati in questo Porto Franco di Trieste nell' anno 1784* (List of all Ships in the Free Port of Trieste in the Year 1784) – Biblioteca Civica A. Hortis, Trieste.

Once it had become a free port, Venice followed the *Portata* model, a tool that came from Trieste, but to a certain extent revived the Serenissima's tradition of information and communication, in a continuous game of reflections. If Venice had found itself in the position of imitating others in order to recover, it is also true that even in the 19th century the city was still recognised as the inventor of "statistics", which it had passed on "to the other regions of Europe", as Antonio Quadri, an official of the Austrian Veneto, wrote when compiling his *History of Statistics* (Venezia, Picotti, 1824).

The *Portate* were lists of incoming and outgoing ships, with details of their route, crew, and cargo. In Trieste, the *Portate* had already been circulating since 1776 at the behest of Governor Karl von Zinzendorf and since 1784 had been included in the *Osservatore Triestino*, a successful gazette that would survive until 1933. From 1805 until 1858, annual collections of the *Portate* were published. The same format, with the same layout and characters, was replicated in Venice from 1835 to 1847.

Furthermore, in the 19th century, statistics were printed comparing the various Austrian ports such as Trieste, Venice, Rijeka, Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Dubrovnik, Chioggia and Rovinj. The publication of this data was not only a way of gathering information on trade but was above all a way to create a picture of the overall traffic radiating from the Austrian port system.

The *Portate* and general statistics were merely following what Venice itself had done for centuries when it was an independent Republic, combining the ability to collect data and analyse it with self-promotion - we could say that they were an effective administrative model that also contributed to the construction of a myth of prosperity and success.

The Ambassador, from *Storia della repubblica di Venezia*, by Léon Galibert, Genova, Bertocci, 1850 – Fondazione Ghislieri, Pavia.

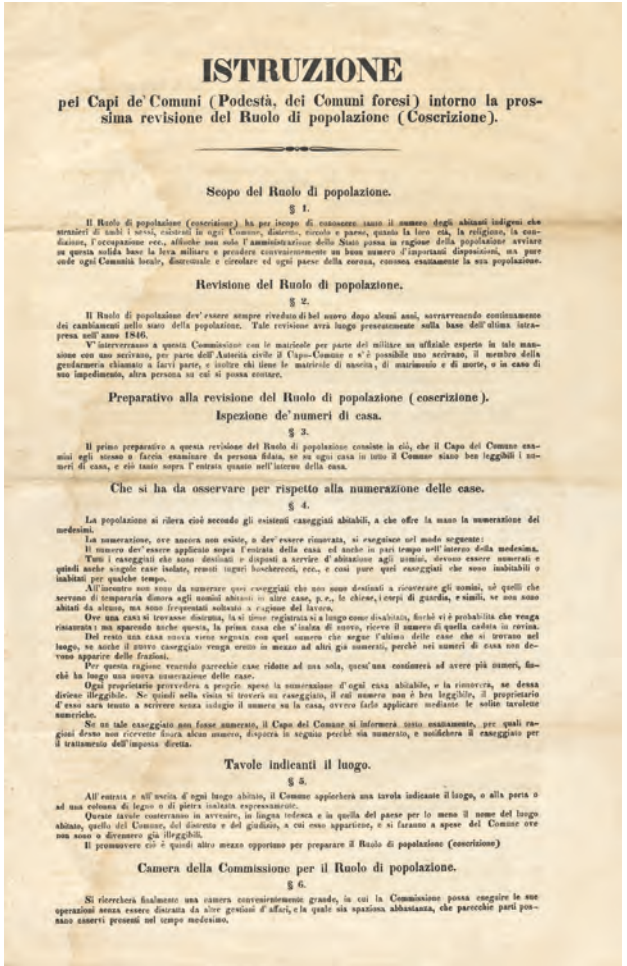
Between the 18th and 19th centuries the fortunes of Venice as myth and model were variable. Venice's reflection had so many facets that just changing observers and points of view could radically alter the tone and romance of the tale. The ups and downs of the myth had an impact on the success of its model, but some traits of the latter survived and its influence resurfaced in different ways: health care, statistics, and data archiving. Those who dreamed of Italy's independence then strengthened the myth of Venice as the seat of ancient freedoms, among them Niccolò Tommaseo, who was born in Šibenik, Dalmatia.

Tommaseo had studied law at the University of Padua but, determined to pursue a literary career, immersed himself in the early 19th-century cultural milieu of Veneto and Lombardy. While living in Paris in the 1830s, his admiration for Venetian history and his experience as a linguist allowed him to edit the translation of the *Relations des ambassadeurs vénetiens sur les affaires de France* (Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1838), working on documents that had been taken by Napoleon.

This translation was part of a series of unpublished documents on the history of France promoted directly by the French government, building on the success of Ranke's *Histories of the Latin and Teutonic Peoples from 1494 to 1514* (1824), which was the first to use the reports of Venetian ambassadors as a historical source. However, it soon became an opportunity for a different message: the rediscovery of the Serenissima as a model capable of creating a new means of political communication. "The reports," Tommaseo wrote, "were a new genre," "they helped to know the state of Europe and the world," and were the expression of a strong and honest "government" (p. i-ii). Starting from the myth, Tommaseo ended up shedding light on another area in which Venice could be considered a positive example.

Appendix

The Pazin State Archives Documents



ISTRUZIONE

pei Capi de' Comuni (Podestà, dei Comuni foresi) intorno la prossima revisione del Ruolo di popolazione (Coscrizione).

Scopo del Ruolo di popolazione.

§ 1.

Il Ruolo di popolazione (coscrizione) ha per iscopo di conoscere tanto il numero degli abitanti indigeni che stranieri di ambi i sessi, esistenti in ogni Comune, distretto, circolo e paese, quanto la loro età, la religione, la condizione, l'occupazione ecc., affinchè non solo l'amministrazione dello Stato possa in ragione della popolazione avviare su questa solida base la leva militare e prendere convenientemente un buon numero d'importanti disposizioni, ma pure onde ogni Comunità locale, distrettuale e circolare ed ogni paese della corona, conosca esattamente la sua popolazione.

Revisione del Ruolo di popolazione.

§ 2.

Il Ruolo di popolazione dev' essere sempre riveduto di bel nuovo dopo alcuni anni, osservavendo continuamente dei cambiamenti nello stato della popolazione. Tale revisione avrà luogo presentemente nella base dell'ultima istrapresa nell'anno 1846.

V'interverranno a questa Commissione con le matricole per parte del militare un ufficiale esperto in tale mansione con uno scrivano, per parte dell'Autorità civile il Capo-Comune e s'è possibile uno scrivano, il membro della gendarmeria chiamato a farvi parte, e inoltre chi tiene le matricole di nascita, di matrimonio e di morte, o in caso di suo impedimento, altra persona su cui si possa contare.

Preparativo alla revisione del Ruolo di popolazione (coscrizione).

Ispezione de' numeri di casa.

§ 3.

Il primo preparativo a questa revisione del Ruolo di popolazione consiste in ciò, che il Capo del Comune esamini egli stesso o faccia esaminare da persona fidata, se su ogni casa in tutto il Comune siano ben leggibili i numeri di casa, e ciò tanto sopra l'entrata quanto nell'interno della casa.

Che si ha da osservare per rispetto alla numerazione delle case.

§ 4.

La popolazione si ritera cioè secondo gli esistenti caseggiati abitabili, a che offre la mano la numerazione dei medesimi.

La numerazione, ove ancora non esiste, o dev' essere rinnovata, si eseguisce nel modo seguente:

Il numero dev' essere applicato sopra l'entrata della casa ed anche in pari tempo nell'interno della medesima.

Tutti i caseggiati che sono destinati o disposti a servire d'abitazione agli uomini, devono essere numerati e quindi anche singole case isolate, remoti ingari boschereccii, ecc., e così pure quei caseggiati che sono inabitabili o inabitati per qualche tempo.

All'incontro non sono da numerare quei caseggiati che non sono destinati a ricoverare gli uomini, nè quelli che servono di temporaria dimora agli uomini abitanti in altre case, p. e., le chiese, i corpi di guardia, e simili, se non sono abitati da alcuno, ma sono frequentati soltanto a ragione del lavoro.

Ove una casa si trovasse distrutta, la si tiene registrata si a lungo come disabitata, finchè vi è probabilità che venga risarcita; ma sparendo anche questa, la prima casa che s'inalza di nuovo, riceve il numero di quella caduta in rovina.

Del resto una casa nuova viene segnata con quel numero che segue l'ultimo delle case che si trovano nel luogo, se anche il nuovo caseggiato venga eretto in mezzo ad altri già numerati, perchè nei numeri di casa non devono apparire delle frazioni.

Per questa ragione vengono parecchie case ridotte ad una sola, questa una continuerà ad avere più numeri, finchè ha luogo una nuova numerazione delle case.

Ogni proprietario provvederà a proprie spese la numerazione d'ogni casa abitabile, e la rinnoverà, se dessa divenne illeggibile. Se quindi nella visita si troverà un caseggiato, il cui numero non è ben leggibile, il proprietario d'esso sarà tenuto a scrivere senza indugio il numero su la casa, ovvero farle applicare mediante le solite tavolette numeriche.

Se un tale caseggiato non fosse numerato, il Capo del Comune si informerà tosto esattamente, per quali ragioni debba non ricevente finora alcun numero, disporrà in seguito perchè sia numerato, e notificherà il caseggiato per il trattamento dell'imposta diretta.

Tavole indicanti il luogo.

§ 5.

All'entrata e all'uscita d'ogni luogo abitato, il Comune applicherà una tavola indicante il luogo, o alla porta o ad una colonna di legno o di pietra incisata espressamente.

Queste tavole costeranno in avvenire, in lingua tedesca e in quella del paese per lo meno il nome del luogo abitato, quello del Comune, del distretto e del giudizio, a cui esso appartiene, e si faranno a spese del Comune ove non sono o diventero già illeggibili.

Il promuovere ciò è quindi altro mezzo opportuno per preparare il Ruolo di popolazione (coscrizione)

Camera della Commissione per il Ruolo di popolazione.

§ 6.

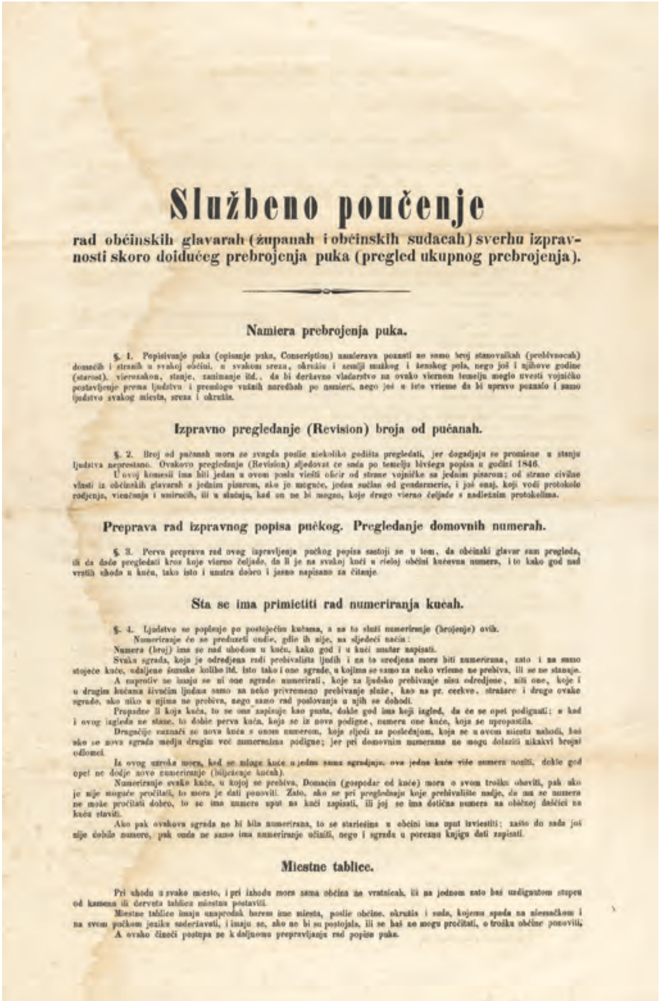
Si ricercherà finalmente una camera convenientemente grande, in cui la Commissione possa eseguire le sue operazioni senza essere distratta da altre gestioni d'affari, e la quale sia spaziosa abbastanza, che parecchie parti possano esserti presenti nel tempo medesimo.

The Pazin State Archives (henceforth called PSA), HR-DAPA-32.

The documents preserved in the Pazin State Archives show the continuity and evolution of the administrative practices of the Republic of Venice throughout the 19th century. As we have seen, during the 18th century Venice developed a comprehensive, if not always precise, census system for the population. Counting the inhabitants and having an accurate picture of the productive activities of an area was one of the foundations of effective governance, and influenced decisions on administrative, social and economic issues and measures.

The new rulers who came to power in the territories of the former Republic adopted this model. Immediately after the Treaty of Campoformio in 1797, the Austrians carried out the first demographic survey of the former Venetian Istria. Understanding which were the most populous and richest centres was the first step towards the administrative reorganisation of the region. New data were collected between 1803 and 1804 and again in 1805, following the model of the 18th century *Anagrafi venete* (Venetian Registry). The French government, which took over in 1806, also ensured that censuses and demographic surveys continued to be carried out. Similarly, the final return of the Austrians was marked by a new survey entitled *Record of the population and existing animals in the various communities of the former Venetian province of Istria* (1814).

The censuses, repeated first every year and then every three years, remained a constant practice of the Austrian administration, as shown by the bilingual *Instructions* (in Italian and Old Croatian) published in 1850. The population figures were also reported in the periodicals of the time, such as the *Osservatore triestino* and *L'Istria* by Pietro Kandler, which in 1852 published statistical and demographic notes on the city of Trieste and the whole of Istria.



Službeno poučenje

rad obćinskih glavarah (županah i obćinskih sudacah) sverhu izpravnosti skoro doidućeg prebrojenja puka (pregled ukupnog prebrojenja).

Namiera prebrojenja puka.

§. 1. Popisivanje puka (opisanje puka, Conscription) namierava poznati ne samo broj stanovnikah (prebivaocah) domaćih i stranih u svakoj obćini, u svakom srezu, okružju i zemlji mužkog i ženskog pola, nego još i njihove godine (starost), vierozakon, stanje, zanimanje itd., da bi deržavno vladarstvo na ovako viernom temelju moglo uvesti vojničko postavljenje prema ljudstvu i premnogo važnih naredbah po namieri, nego još u isto vrieme da bi upravo poznalo i samo ljudstvo svakog miesta, sreza i okružja.

Izpravno pregledanje (Revision) broja od pučanah.

§. 2. Broj od pučanah mora se svagda poslie niekoliko godišta pregledati, jer dogadjaju se promiene u stanju ljudstva neprestano. Ovakovo pregledanje (Revision) sljedovat će sada po temelju bivšega popisa u godini 1846.

U ovoj komesii ima biti jedan u ovom poslu viešti oficir od strane vojničke sa jednim pisarom; od strane civilne vlasti iz obćinskih glavarah s jednim pisarom, ako je moguće, jedan sučlan od gendarmerie, i još onaj, koji vodi protokole rodjenja, vienčanja i umirućih, ili u slučaju, kad on ne bi mogao, koje drugo vierno čeljade s nadležnim protokolima.

Preprava rad izpravnog popisa pučkog. Pregledanje domovnih numerah.

§. 3. Perva preprava rad ovog izpravljenja pučkog popisa sastoji se u tom, da obćinski glavar sam pregleda, ili da daće pregledati kroz koje vierno čeljade, da li je na svakoj kući u cieloj obćini kućevna numera, i to kako god nad vratih ulioda u kuću, tako isto i unutra dobro i jasno napisano za čitanje.

Sta se ima primietiti rad numeriranja kućah.

§. 4. Ljudstvo se popisuje po postojećim kućama, a na to služi numeriranje (brojenje) ovih.

Numeriranje će se preduzeti ondie, gdie ih nije, na sljedeći način:

Numera (broj) ima se nad ulodom u kuću, kako god i u kući unutar napisati.

Svaka sgrada, koja je odredjena radi prebivališta ljudih i na to uredjena mora biti numerirana, zato i na samo stojeće kuće, udaljene šumske kolibe itd. isto tako i one sgrade, u kojima se samo za neko vrieme ne prebiva, ili se ne stanuje.

A naprotiv ne imaju se ni one sgrade numerirati, koje za ljudsko prebivanje nisu odredjene, niti one, koje i u drugim kućama živućim ljudma samo za neko privremeno prebivanje služe, kao na pr. cerkve, stražarе i drugo ovake sgrade, ako niko u njima ne prebiva, nego samo rad poslovanja u njih se dohodi.

Propadne li koja kuća, to se one zapisuje kao pusta, dokle god ima koji izgled, da će se opet podignuti; a kad i ovog izgleda ne stane, to dobie perva kuća, koja se iz nova podigne, numera one kuće, koja se upropastila.

Dragačije naznači se nova kuća s onom numerom, koja sljedi za poslednjom, koja se u ovom miestu nahodi, baš ako se nova sgrada medju drugim već numeranima podigne; jer pri domovnim numerama ne mogu dolaziti nikakvi brojni odlomci.

Iz ovog uzroka mora, kad se mloge kuće u jednu samu sgradjuju, ova jedna kuća više numera nositi, dokle god opet ne dodje novo numeriranje (bilježenje kućah).

Numeriranje svake kuće, u kojoj se prebiva, Domaćin (gospodar od kuće) mora o svom trošku obaviti, pak ako je nije moguće pročitati, to mora je dati ponoviti. Zato, ako se pri pregledanju koje prebivalište nadje, da mu se numera ne može pročitati dobro, to se ima numera uput na kući zapisati, ili joj se ima dotična numera na obćenoj daščici na kuću staviti.

Ako pak ovakova sgrada ne bi bila numerirana, to se stariešina u obćini ima uput izviestiti; zašto do sada još nije dobila numere, pak onda ne samo ima numeriranje učiniti, nego i sgrada u poreznu knjigu dati zapisati.

Miestne tablice.

Pri ulodu u svako miesto, i pri izhodu mora sama obćina na vratnicah, ili na jednom zato baš uzdignutom stupu od kamena ili derveta tablicu miestnu postaviti.

Miestne tablice imaju unaprodak barem ime miesta, poslie obćine, okružja i suda, kojemu spada na niemačkom i na svom pučkom jeziku saderžavati, i imaju se, ako ne bi su postojala, ili se baš ne mogu pročitati, o trošku obćine ponoviti.

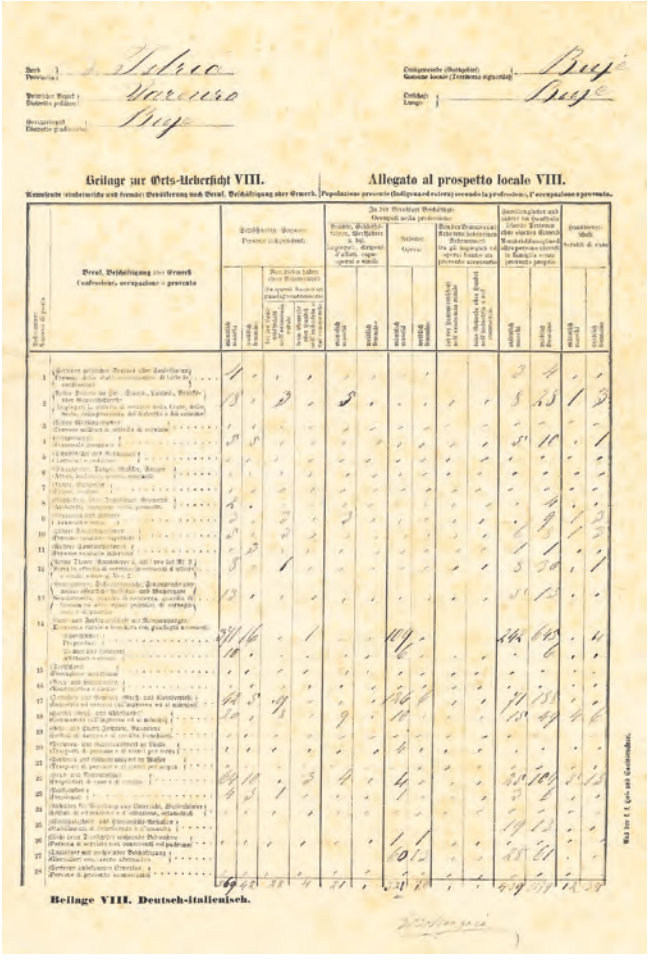
A ovako čineći postupa se k daljnomu prepravljanju rad popisa puka.

PSA, HR-DAPA-32.

The *Instructions* sent to the local authorities outline a practice of data collection rooted in the Venetian tradition of the 18th century, which also continued throughout the 19th century. The stated objective of this operation was to determine the number of inhabitants in each area, categorised by sex, age, religion, social status and occupation. This information was used for both military conscription and welfare policies. The aim was to maintain up-to-date statistics that would help to better administer every corner of the Empire.

Local authorities received pre-printed materials and were responsible for ensuring they were carefully compiled and preserved. As in the *Anagrafi venete*, it was essential to not only count the population but also to categorise it. According to the *Instructions*, “dignity” referred to professions such as “Doctor of Medicine, of Surgery, or of both Laws, Parish Priest”; “occupation”, was used for public positions such as “Secretary, Tax Collector”; and “profession and industry”, to indicate trades such as “Baker, Miller, Servant”. There were also special tables to count foreigners and cattle.

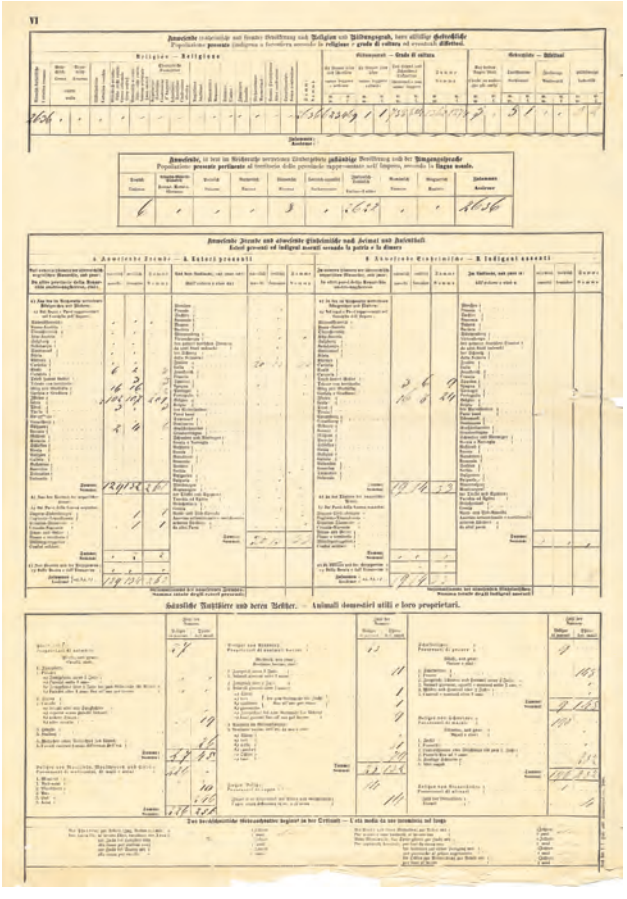
Each municipality produced a local report, which served as a true snapshot of the area, with data on the number of houses and tenants (both male and female) residing in each one, as well as lists of residents - both “native and foreign” - classified by profession, occupation and “source of income”. Men and women were also divided according to age, in a departure from the *Anagrafi venete*, which had only recorded the age of men, as they were considered to be the only active party in society. Another innovation was registration based on languages spoken, “level of education” and health status. In short, the model of the Serenissima continued to be reflected in its former territories, though not without updates and adaptations to the changing needs of the late 19th century political landscape.



Beilage zur Orts-Uebersicht VIII. Allegato al prospetto locale VIII.

Beilage VIII. Deutsch-italienisch.

PSA, HR-DAPA-32: *Local report*, Istria, Buje, 1880 – "The present population (local and foreign) according to profession, occupation or income".



PSA, HR-DAPA-32: *Local report*, Istria, Buje, 1880 – Population divided by "religion" "degree of education" and "potential defectives", as well as by "usual language" and lists of "present foreigners and absent natives according to homeland and residence" and of "useful domestic animals and their owners".

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Questo volume è stato stampato nel mese di ottobre 2024
da Joelle srl per Ibis edizioni.

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