

Nostrana, frustra, fiorata: migration patterns and the semantics of consumption in the Alps, mid-17th to late 18th centuries

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ABSTRACT

Labour migrants were a widespread phenomenon in the Alps during the early modern period and impacted the materiality of everyday life in the mountains. This article investigates traces of these movements in linguistic usage by exploring the way in which goods were described by actors from the Three Leagues, in present-day Switzerland and Italy. Provenances of goods were given by using toponyms that indicated the place of origin the more precise, the closer the location was to the Alps. These geographical terms informed about specific visual and tactile qualities and were introduced together with other technical vocabulary via specialized merchants and spread via shops to customers of the upper echelons. Small-scale retailers and occasional dealers made use of less detailed descriptions that can also be found in the accounts of their clients which resembled the language used in informal correspondences. These channels could be activated to gain more detailed information and thanks to the wide-spread networks of migrant labourers, knowledge was exchanged with and via the Alps. This exchange of information appears, however, to have become less intense when migration patterns changed in the aftermath of the French Revolutionary Wars.

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Introduction

When in January 1676 Giacinto Filipponi had reached the age of eighteen, he asked for his share of the legacy of his late father.¹ Since Francesco had passed away in May 1672, Giacinto and his two younger brothers had been under the guardianship of their mother who took care of the goods that Francesco had left behind until their sons would have reached maturity. With that, Constanza Spinola had also taken over her late husband's shop in the town of Morbegno that, as it appears, four years later was still in business. With Giacinto demanding his third of the inheritance, notary Vitale Mazza produced an extensive list of Francesco's possessions including the things in the shop.

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The notary gave little detail on the mobile goods in the house and provided only rudimentary information on the materiality of objects such as pans, dishes or fabrics, and categorized garments as either new, used or in pieces. The vocabulary changed when describing the merchandise in the shop and amount and value were indicated whenever possible. This part of the inventory no longer tells us whether the cloth was considered to be fine or coarse, or if a handkerchief was used, worn out or new. Instead, we learn that the hemp was Bolognese, that cinnamon was slightly more valuable in sticks than in powder, and that sugar came in four different types. However, the notary did not estimate the retail value of some of the merchandise, such as squid, vitriol, and cotton yarn.

One thing that the goods without a price tag had in common was that they were all a rather rare sight in the written sources of the Three Leagues. But if they were too uncommon for Vitale Mazza to know their value, why did he know more to note about spices and sweets? Why did the notary not write anything about the condition of the objects in the shop and why was he not more specific about the items in the house? More broadly speaking, what terminologies were used to talk about commodities in the Three Leagues and how was the semantics of consumption linked to language practices outside the Alps?

Research on linguistic transformations and education in the Italian-speaking Alps has pointed to Reformation and migration as the two major factors that led to standardizations in local language practices.² Fleeing from persecution, scholars from all over the Italian peninsula found temporary refuge in the Three Leagues where many resumed teaching.³ This trend continued after the violent conflicts of the Revolt of the Leagues (1618-1639) with exception of the Valtellina where practising Protestantism openly was henceforth illicit.⁴ On both sides of the religious divide, efforts were increasingly made to educate boys and girls which led to a spread of formalized knowledge in the valleys.⁵ Simultaneously, networks of family members, neighbours and friends were activated to grant sons, nephews, and other young men apprenticeships and professional training in cities outside of the Three Leagues.⁶ These strategies were incorporated into the economic and social practices of the mountain communities and formed an integral part of the local migration movements.⁷ With education and training being linked towards religious and economic practices in urban settings, the question arises how this affected the semantics of consumption in mountain valleys. Since Alpine markets were connected to urban economies beyond the mountains through selling, transporting, and loaning goods, I argue, that the language used in the Three Leagues to describe and detail objects was not simply a copy of the one in urban settings but rather that the practices of retail and consumption in the mountains influenced whether and how expressions and linguistic usages found their way into the local language. It was only when Alpine markets started to lose importance for the economic strategies of migration towards the end of the eighteenth century that migrant workers began to depart from the linguistic requirements of the mountain communities.

In order to find out more about the language used in the mountains to describe objects and how this was related to experiences of migration, in the first part a sample of probate inventories recorded in the southern valleys of the Three Leagues is analysed for the expressions used to indicate the provenance, materiality, and condition of objects. This is then compared with inventories from Venice and Marseille that were written by migrant workers from the Three Leagues. In the second part, the focus shifts to the information that was recorded and conveyed in the ledgers, journals, and bills of retailers

and their customers in the Alps. To gain a better understanding of the communication over longer distances, correspondence between family members and business partners is also examined. In my conclusions I propose to relate local language practices to changing patterns of migration and I suggest to read the Alpine language of consumption in the context of the transforming economic integration of the mountain communities.

Capturing mobilities: inventories from within and outside the Alps

As shown by a large number of studies, labour migration was part of the economic strategies of a wide array of actors from the Three Leagues.⁸ In the probate inventories of the Rhaetian and Orobic Alps, however, such movements were only rarely explicitly addressed and if so, then mostly in the introductory remarks that preceded the actual inventories. An example for this provide the records that the four sons of Agostino di Piazza ordered to be made in 1667.⁹ In the opening paragraphs it was stated that the inventory would have been made in order to ensure that no fraud had occurred and that their brother Pietro, who was noted to be in Germany (*Germania*), would receive his fair share. Here, the notarization of the inheritance provided a tool that allowed for the distribution of the goods despite the temporally absence of a party. In this way, notarizing was also part of the strategies that connected mountain economies with the host cities of the migrant workers. Pietro di Piazza would not have been able to take all of the inherited goods with him, nor is it likely that he would have wanted to do so. As the research on migrant workers has shown, a strong foothold in the village was valued and often was the foundation for further movements.¹⁰ Fields and buildings provided Pietro with, both, a collateral for loans and an asset that could be leased. Whereas mobile goods could have been utilized in a similar fashion, Pietro could also use some objects to exchange them either in the Alps, on his journey, or during his stay. After arriving in his host city, we can imagine Pietro making use of his belongings to facilitate integration into the urban economy which included once more the borrowing, lending, and buying of stuff. As a result of maintaining close ties with the community of departure and eventually returning to the mountains, some of these goods found their way back to the Alps.¹¹

The inventories of the Valtellina were adapted to the needs of mobile actors and facilitated movements of the local population, but did they also bear witness to the influences of these migrations in the description of objects and their provenance? To discuss the impact of migration on the language of inventories, the following two chapters explore a sample of probate inventories that were produced within the Three Leagues and compare them with recordings that migrant workers made of their possessions in Venice and Marseille. The aim is to gain an understanding of how the trajectory of an object was reflected and perceived by actors of the Three Leagues and how this was related to the role that Alpine markets played for migrant workers.

Nostrana, bambace, frustra: recording goods in the Valtellina

As in the example of Giacinto Filippini, the analysis of the probate inventories from the Three Leagues is based on notarial records from the Valtellina valley, in present-day Lombardy, Italy, on the border to Switzerland.¹² Here, the focus is on four localities that were within the same legal framework but differed strongly in their economic

orientation. On the one hand, probate inventories of two towns are examined with Sondrio, seat of the local administration, and Tirano where a large fair was held annually. On the other hand, records of two side-valleys are analysed with the Valmalenco where besides dairy farming and animal husbandry soap stone was mined and processed, and the Bitto valley that leads towards Bergamo.¹³ When it came to notary practices, the Valtellina showed strong similarities with neighbouring valleys in the Rhaetian and Orobic Alps despite its special status within the Three Leagues.¹⁴ The statutes of the Valtellina were, however, particularly detailed on how notarial records should be transmitted.¹⁵ In this way, the collection and storage of notarial records was already under regulated before the Valtellina became part of the Kingdom of Italy and a notarial archive was established by decree in 1807.¹⁶ The records collected in the aftermath of this edict represent the main bulk of the documents kept in what is now the State Archive of Sondrio and provide the 129 probate inventories that were analysed for this article.

As indicated, these records were closely connected to the questions of mobility and movements, but despite labour migrants being 'exceptionally normal'¹⁷ for the Three Leagues, itineraries or origins were mentioned for less than 1 per cent of the goods that were recorded in the analysed sample. If toponyms were used to give further details on an object, they were not exclusively applied to commodities from far away but described also products from within the region itself, such as casks and trousers from the Malenco valley.¹⁸ 36 per cent of toponymic denominations were, moreover, less precise and limited themselves to calling an object simply 'local' (*nostrana*). The expression appeared most frequently in the Bitto valley and was always used to detail cloth whose materiality was otherwise not specified. The sole exception to this was a 'bed-sheet of hemp cloth half Genovese and half local with trim in the middle and lace at the ends' (*lenzuolo di tela di canapa mezzo genovese e mezzo nostrano con trenetta in mezzo e pizzo in fondo*).¹⁹ Here, the indication of origin appears to have served less to satisfy an interest in where an object was made than to provide information as to how it was made. Like 'local fabric' (*panno nostrano*), terms such as 'cloth from Vicenza' (*panno vicentino*) or 'Dutch fabric' (*panno olandese*) seem to have been specific enough for the notaries of the Valtellina since they never saw the need to further denominate the raw material of these textiles. Looking more closely at the toponyms used, all indications of cities referred to locations on the Italian peninsula, with London being the only exception. In contrast, with 'German' stools and gunpowder or Savoyard curtains, the toponyms were referring to more broadly defined areas, the further away they were from the Italian-speaking Alps.²⁰

Against this backdrop, the textiles made of 'Indian cloth' (*tela indiana*) present a particular case. Generally, the inventories of the Valtellina did not further describe the material and patterns of an item of 'Indian cloth'. In contrast, the probate inventories of the Valtellina recorded an additional detail of colour and floral design for about 42 per cent of objects made of 'cotton' (*bambace*). Both expressions, 'Indian cloth' and 'cottons with coloured floral patterns', were recorded simultaneously in the same areas, and in 1734, also 15 metres of 'Indian silk' (*seta indiana*) were noted.²¹ Colours and floral patterns were, it appears, not synonymous with 'Indian' in the southern Alps, nor was it unthinkable to use the term in combination with something other than cotton. It is noteworthy that the term '*cotone*' appeared only four times in the sample studied: for a cloth of twill fabric in 1703, an ornament on the sleeves of a women's dress in 1743, the sleeves of a colourful and richly ornated dress in 1776, and

stockings in 1783.²² The expression used in all the other cases was ‘*bambace*’ whose semantic field include also meanings such as cotton wool and yarn waste. However, the notaries recorded provenances neither for *tela indiana*, nor *bambace*, nor *cotone*. Thus, the language usage in the inventories of the early modern Valtellina did not indicate that qualitative differences were perceived as being linked to a European or Indian origin. But as the higher median and average values for comparable objects in the same period and place suggest, it was likely the shiny finish or smooth surface that made a fabric ‘Indian’ in Valtellinese eyes. Similar conclusions were found for the Republic of Bern, in now a days Switzerland.²³ While Bernese textile traders and producers distinguished between various origins and qualities, the inventories drawn up in bankruptcy cases tended to describe lightweight fabrics of vividly coloured patterns as *indiennes* regardless of their provenance. In this way, the language used in the Alpine regions of Bern and the Three Leagues differed from the definitions given by contemporary dictionaries, such as the *Encyclopédie* of Denis Diderot in 1765 that distinguished between chintz produced in Europe (*toiles peintes*) and printed cotton textiles made in India (*indiennes*).²⁴

While local usage blurred the distinction between toponymic and material meanings, expressions for describing an object’s materiality were often connected to geographical knowledge. An example of this can be found in the *dobletto* fabric which was noted twice, once for a long role of cloth in 1734 and once in 1764 for a shirt.²⁵ In both cases, the authors roughly indicated that the term denoted a fabric from Naples made in the French fashion. They did not, however, specify that the term generally referred to a mix of linen and cotton threads. Again, the reference to Naples and French styles appears to have been insightful enough for contemporary readers. Building on such knowledge allowed the authors to introduce *dobletto* into the local terminology which provided an already large range of technical terms that not only distinguished between different fabrics, but categorized objects of the same materials according to variations in quality: silk (*seta*) or floss (*strusa*), hemp (*canepa*) and linen (*lino*) or tow (*stoppa di canepa / di lino*), fine or coarse wool (*lana* or *borra*). Even in small villages in the Orobian and Rhaetian Alps, notaries and estimators made use of precise terminology and distinguished cambric (*cambraia*, soft, dyed linen, often glazed), camlet (*cambellotto*, silk with printed pattern), fustian (*fustania*, cotton-linen or – wool mix), hiladillo (*filaticcio*, plain narrow silk ribbon), lampas (*catalana / catalufa*, figured compound woven silk), ‘half-woollen’ (*mezzalana*), plush (*pelucco*), rep (*reffo*, narrowly ribbed plain-weave) or twill (*saia*, diagonal weave).

In the sample studied, tactile and visual characteristics of textiles were described three times more with such specific expressions than by making use of adjectives. A quarter of all textiles were detailed with, both, a technical term for the cloth as well as further descriptions. Regarding the quality of the fabrics, the information most frequently added was whether they were thin (*sottile*). This description appeared always in combination with generic terms for cloth (*tela*, *panno*) that did not define the prime material unequivocally. The display of a flower pattern (*fiorata*) was mentioned second most commonly and as with ‘thin’, the materiality of the fabric was neither unambiguously specified for half of the ‘*fiorata*’ items. A similar picture presents itself for ribbons, fringes, and tassels that were added as decorations to an item. These accessories were recorded as part of extensive portrayals of garments and blankets which often conveyed a detailed image of the overall appearance. However, the smaller pieces of fabric that were

used to create these elaborate textiles were mentioned only briefly. Again, it seems that Valtellinese inventories focused on capturing the broader visual and tactile qualities of textiles and, therefore, could do without noting terminology specific to each item.

In contrast, more attention was paid to the condition of items fashioned from textiles. Inventories recorded the signs of wear of an item almost four times more often than describing what it looked or felt like. Here, six general categories were used of which 'worn out' (*frustra*, literally 'in vain') was the most common one, accounting for nearly 50 per cent. This was sometimes underlined by adding 'broken' (*rotta*) or distinguished from similar objects which were noted as being 'used' (*usata*). In a similar fashion, 'new' (*nuova*) seems to have been used to indicate that no signs of wear could be detected. This usage shows close resemblance to that of 'good' (*buona*): besides appearing in the juxtaposition with 'used' objects, both terms were most commonly applied to beddings, followed by garments, and both expressions described goods of a higher than average monetary value.

Something similar can be observed for 'old' (*vecchia*). Overall, the expression appeared only rarely and was even less common when describing textiles for which it was used nearly 9 times less frequently than 'nuova' and about 33 times less often than 'frustra'. The term 'old' stood mostly by itself but when combined with other expressions, this included the attributes 'worn out', 'broken', and 'stained' (*pezzata*). The mean monetary value was significantly lower for items labelled as 'old'. The average price estimates were nearly five times lower when additional information about traces of wear was recorded. By itself, however, the term 'old' appears to not have indicated signs of wear or a reduced usability. For instance, an 'old' black dress coat with jacket, both made from local cloth, was estimated at 15 lire while the same set of items can also be found listed without the tag 'old' at 27 lire.²⁶ In the absence of any further information, the term 'old' appears to have been the crucial marker. As the noticeable drop in value suggests, the expression 'old' could be applied to an item in almost immaculate state that was as good as new but old-fashioned.

It is not by chance that most of the aforementioned labels were used for textiles. While only about a quarter of all recorded objects were partly or wholly made of fabric, their descriptions were by far the most informative on quality, value, and origin. In contrast, measurements were significantly more often given for storage containers, and the intended purpose was mentioned most frequently for tools and instruments. In both cases, the added information was vital for an object's characterization since barrels could vary considerably in size and chains for a fireplace were very different from those for tethering cattle. In contrast, function and intent of other goods were only noted to convey how a particular individual interacted with an object. An example for this can be found in the probate inventory of Domenico Margolfo which noted that his tobacco box was intended to be kept in the pocket of a jacket.²⁷ However, in Domenico's case it did not, as one might expect, contain tobacco but 16 silver coins.

Looking at probate inventories in the Valtellina, trajectories of objects were mentioned only rarely, but when describing textiles, the origin of the fabric or its style was named to specify tactile or visual qualities. This also applied to technical terms that referred to the place of origin. The toponyms that were used for this tended to describe places and areas the more precisely, the closer they were to the Three Leagues. Nevertheless, geographical knowledge seems to have played only a marginal role since the focus was not on an

object's provenance but on how it felt and looked in order to determine its value in the Alpine markets.

Sweet city dwellings: inventories of confectioners in Venice and Marseille

As in the example of Pietro di Piazza, many locals were involved in forms of labour that required them to leave the Alps for shorter or longer periods.²⁸ Despite the large variety of actors, destinations, and mobility patterns, most studies have so far focused on the sources produced by men who operated within formalized and legally sanctioned work relations, with a particular focus on Venice and its mainland dominions.²⁹ Here, the treaty of 1603 between the Three Leagues and the Serenissima is depicted as a major factor since it allowed the mountain dwellers to engage in all forms of commercial activities in the Venetian realm. In the following two centuries, the presence of workers and shop owners from the Three Leagues increased which showed also in their growing influence on the associations of artisans and merchants. With their Venetian competitors increasingly pressuring authorities to reduce the scope of the privileges and the Three Leagues agreeing on an alliance with the Duchy of Milan in 1763, negotiations on the renewal of the treaty eventually failed in 1764. As a result, the Venetian authorities issued an expulsion order for all except those who were prepared to cut ties with the Three Leagues and settle permanently in Venice. The withdrawal of the Venetian privileges would have prompted many to reorientate their activities to other cities, often outside the Italian peninsula altogether. Consequently, this also affected the frequency with which actors moved, the duration of their stay in the host city and the ways in which they maintained relations with the community of departure. Against this backdrop, questions arise concerning linguistic competence, regional variations of speech and how the aforementioned developments translated into the language of consumption used by migrant workers from the Alps.

Hailing from the Bregaglia valley, the Redolfi family presents an example for such migrant labourers.³⁰ Already in the second half of the seventeenth century, traces of the brothers Zuane and Rodolfo can be found in Venice and, according to a document of 1700, the Serenissima even granted citizenship to them and their four nephews.³¹ The lagoon provided the background for economic activities of several generations of the Redolfi family whose main ventures focused on the confectionary trade. This included not only themselves working in Venice but also recruiting and renting out their shops to other migrant workers from the Three Leagues. In this context several inventories were produced by different family members and two tenants.

Zuane's grand-nephew, Agostino, produced an early record of the goods in their confectionary at the Aseo bridge and four stalls which he leased to his cousin, Bartolomé Stampa, for one year.³² In March 1747, he rented out their other shop with stalls in S. Agostino to Niccolò Perl from Zuoz, in the Engadin valley, and in October of the same year, to Jacob Wolf from the Avers valley.³³ Agostino's records followed a different format from the inventories of the Valtellina: after having stated the circumstances of the lease, the document of 1731 neatly lists the foodstuffs in the shop but then changes into prose to describe the interior of the house. In 1747, Agostino rejected the list form altogether and used a more narrative style. Here, great care was displayed when giving the exact location of an object, something that was done only rarely in

the Alps. On the other hand, the terms and spelling used by Agostino closely resembled the vocabulary found in the Valtellina inventories despite Venetian and Bregaglian Italian having many distinct expressions. While scholars have shown the impact of religious education on the standardization of language in the Italian-speaking Alps, the writings of the Reformed Agostino showed many similarities to the records of the Catholic notaries of the Valtellina which points to the high extent of inter-confessional exchanges in the Three Leagues. An awareness of being intelligible and avoiding confusion was also displayed in the way in which technical terms were introduced only for goods related to the confectionary trade, such as muscovado sugar (here *zucchero moscabo*). Thanks to their vocational training in Venice, Agostino could assume that his readers would understand the used terms that had incorporated some Venetians expression, like *buzzoladi* for cookies. This focus on the profession produced the most noticeable distinctions when compared to the Valtellina inventories: Agostino gave detailed descriptions of the purpose of rarer goods like moulds and presses for preparing certain types of sweets. Only when it came to the condition of objects, the descriptions were less detailed with only the inventory of 1747 giving some information on signs of wear. These descriptions became, however, never more condemnatory than ‘less good’ (*poco buono*), ‘old’ (*vecchio*) or ‘used’ (*usati*).

A generation later, Antonio Redolfi produced an inventory of the shop at the Aseo bridge in 1759.³⁴ He had already rented it out since 1751 to three men of St. Moritz, in the Engadin valley, of whom only Pietro Lion was left eight years later. Antonio’s inventory strongly resembled the one of Agostino Redolfi from 1747 in terms of form, comprehensiveness and rare usage of technical terms. He was even more detailed in his descriptions and gave information on the shape of the cookie cutters and explained which goods should be weighed with which scales. But while Agostino had detailed the state of at least some goods in 1747, Antonio kept silent about the condition of items. Moreover, while in the inventory of 1731 some Venetian expressions were present, Antonio’s writing had a light Bregaglian flavour to it, for instance, when cutting off some endings (e.g. *metal*, instead of *metallo*). Such forms can also be found in the inventory that Antonio’s brother, Giovanni, made when leasing the shop to Bortolo Motti in 1764.³⁵ Unlike Antonio, however, Giovanni did not remain silent about the goods’ condition but underlined that the stove was all new (*fatto di nuovo tutto*) and that four pairs of bedsheets were ‘less good’ (*men buoni*).

Unsurprisingly, the tenants’ descriptions differed from those of their landlords when it came to the signs of wear. Both Bartolomé Stampa and Bortolo Motti produced inventories on their own in which they particularly highlighted the signs of use on the objects they found in the shops. In 1744, Bartolomé went from ‘used’ (*usata*) to ‘old and useless’ (*vecchia che non serve*),³⁶ but other than that, the language was similar to that of his landlord and cousin, Agostino, and remained clear and explanatory with few Venetian expressions. Similarly, Bortolo Motti gave more details on the condition of objects than his lessors and often mentioned goods as ‘old’ (*vecchia*) or ‘not very good’ (*poco buona*) in his inventory of 1762.³⁷

Apart from differences when describing signs of wear, the inventories of the various authors resembled each other strongly, which can be linked to their vocational training in Venice. In contrast, the similarities between the language used in the Serenissima and

that used by the notaries in the Valtellina point to the persisting importance that the Alpine communities had for the migrant workers in the lagoon.

In other cases, the transfer of knowledge did not go so smoothly and a major effort was required to acquire an adequate vocabulary. An example of this is the case of the Santi brothers, neighbours and close relatives of the aforementioned Redolfi. Despite the rising tensions between the Three Leagues and the Venetian Republic in the 1760s, Rodolfo Santi still worked in coffee shops in northern Italy, including Bergamo, by the mid 1780s, as the correspondence with his wife Maria Redolfi shows.³⁸ Other letters of the Santi tell of the deliberations and concerns that went along with the precarious legal situation of migrant workers from the Three Leagues in the Venetian dominions towards the end of the eighteenth century.³⁹ However, the pressure from Venetian officials seems to have been less decisive for the reorientation of Rodolfo Santi's economic activities than the threats of war in the aftermath of the French Revolution. The Santi family did not completely abandon their possessions in northern Italy and after her husband passed away, Maria Redolfi can still be found working in the confectionery in Bergamo in 1812.⁴⁰ Avoiding the turmoil of the Italian campaigns of the War of the First Coalition, Rodolfo Santi and his brother, Antonio, started operating in the city of Marseille by 1795 when the conflict gained new intensity in Northern Italy. This appears to have been influenced by trade connections with partners of the Santi in the Mediterranean port city and also after having arrived in Marseille, migrants from the Alps continued to play an important role in the Santi brothers' economic activities.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the local context proved to be decisive for the language used in their documents, as the example of the inventory shows which listed the goods received from the Robbi brothers in January 1795: despite all witnesses being of Alpine origin, the records were in French.⁴² The stamps of the *République de France* on the document remind us that the document was made in the context of the legal tradition of the host city with its own obligations and procedures. This included a use of language to which the parties involved had to adapt by translating and transforming their vocabulary and ways of writing about goods. In 1804, Antonio Santi strove to emulate this language in the probate inventory that he produced following his brother's death.⁴³ While the transaction with the Robbi brothers was noted in the French of the time, however, Antonio often resorted to Italian expressions, which he modified in order to make them more intelligible to actors from southern France.

As a result, Antonio produced records that were different from the inventories of the Valtellina. By the time of Rodolfo's death, the Santi brothers had established a confectionery business and acquired a five-storey building in Saint-Férreol street in a well-regarded quarter of Marseille. With that, the list of goods owned by them included several objects that never appeared in this form in the sources for the Three Leagues. The differences in the terminology used by Antonio do not only tell of hardly sufficient language skills and an urban lifestyle, the vocabulary found in the documents also points to a language of consumption that varied from the one observed for the Alps. Fore one, Antonio gave only scarce information about the condition of an object. Unlike the inventories of the Valtellina, his did not distinguish between something being 'new' or 'old', neither were different degrees of wear mentioned, and also the boundaries of categorization were not blurred by the use of expressions like 'quasi', 'very' or 'slightly'. Instead, the text made only broad descriptions for traces of wear, using 'bad'

(*mauvais*) or broken (*cassés*). Further, Antonio's documents were very articulate on the dimensions, usage, and position of goods. In comparison, the inventories of the Valtellina only rarely mentioned the location of objects within a building but more frequently detailed the materiality by referring to colours, patterns, and styles. Antonio Santi's writings compensated for this in part by applying a distinguished vocabulary for textiles and materials, but it was mostly silent on how something was dyed or coloured. The exception to this was furniture: where the Valtellina inventories named the variety of tree which had provided the wood, Antonio abstained from giving details about the material but resorted to noting the colour.

Although the documents made by Antonio Santi eventually reached the Rhaetian Alps, the language that was used in them did not deal with the aspects that would have been crucial in the mountain valleys. The chosen wording suggests that the envisaged addressee of the text was not an inhabitant of the Three Leagues. In contrast, the inventories of the Venetian shops of the Redolfi were written for actors of the Three Leagues since the lessors and the lessees came from neighbouring mountain valleys to work in the lagoon. Also the Santi brothers maintained commercial ties via the Alps which allowed them to establish themselves in Marseille. However, after the death of Rodolfo Santi, the conceived recipient of the goods appears to not have been sought in the mountains but rather in the Mediterranean city. Thus, it seems that with the changing migration patterns in the aftermath of the French Revolution, Alpine markets lost in significance for labour emigrants which corresponded with a change in their language of consumption.

Accounting for things and writing about it: business and emotions in the language of goods

As argued for the inventories produced within and outside of the Three Leagues, vocabulary and style of the writing was influenced by various factors including the educational background of the writer, the local context in which it was produced, and the envisaged addressee. Other types of sources brought their own requirements and were influenced in their own way by a variety of factors. In order to find out more about the impact of these differences on the language that was used to write about goods, this part broadens the scope to other types of sources and looks at letters, ledgers, journals, and bills.

An example for the language used in the account books of retailers is provided by the records of the brothers Giovanni Pietro and Giovanni Battista Grammatica, who from the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth centuries were running the tavern of the *Sanctuary of the Holy Virgin* in the town of Tirano.⁴⁴ For the most part, their accounts dealt with foodstuffs typical to the local diet, the customers who acquired them and how they paid for this. When it came to dairy products, the brothers differentiated between three categories – butter, cream cheese, cheese – and nearly always specified if it was either 'fresh', 'fat' or 'lean'. For meat products, a distinction was made between bacon and meat which was frequently accompanied by information about the type of animal it was derived from. Similarly, bread was described by indicating the type of flour it was made from. Here, the expressions used were part of the region's typical repertoire, mostly wheat, and rye. In addition, rice appeared frequently, while less valuable staples of the local diet were absent. More limited was the vocabulary used for beverages

which most commonly mentioned wine, followed by spirit (*acquavite*), and water. Only in few occasions more details were given, for example, when wine was noted to be either ‘white’ or ‘old’.

In the descriptions of the foodstuff served in the tavern, the Grammatica brothers almost never paid attention to the provenance of goods with cheese from the city of Brescia being a rare exception. This was in marked contrast to the language used to describe other merchandise: as seen for the inventories of the Valtellina, the grammatica also made use of toponyms to characterise textiles in particular. The names of cities like St. Gallen, Cremona, and Bergamo came up in relation to sophisticated fabrics and garments, while the cotton cloth from Como appeared to have been plainer. To describe fabrics, the Grammatica made use of the same expressions as the ones used by the notaries of the Valtellina. Only when describing colours other than black, the brothers resorted to more poetic language reminiscent of the one used by a salesperson, examples being the ‘colour of moss’ (*color di musc[h]io*), the ‘colour of gold’ (*color d’oro*), or the ‘colour of grapes’ (*color d’uva*).⁴⁵ The Grammatica brothers made use of such detailed descriptions for goods which they traded with Enea Gatti and Giovanni Battista Merisio in Tirano who were both referred to as *speziali*, literary meaning ‘vendors of spices’ or ‘pharmacists’. However, the traders and shops indicated in this way were selling a wide range of goods many of which derived from intercontinental exchanges. As the lively trade between the Grammatica brothers and the *speziali*-merchants shows, taverns provided a place for not only consuming but also dealing global goods. As pilgrimage church and organizer of the annual fair of St. Michael, the *Sanctuary of the Holy Virgin* in Tirano seems to have provided the Grammatica brothers with the institutional framework to not only offer goods from specialized retailers in Tirano but to supply also *speziali*-merchants with spices, drugs, sugar, and refined textiles. Alongside the exchange of global commodities, the tavern of the sanctuary and *speziali*-shops were providing each other with linguistic knowledge about their products which they handed on also to their other clients.

This contrasted with other shopping experiences that appeared more limited in terms of both the variety of goods as well as their description. An example for this presents the account that Catharina Menegatti made of her expenses as the legal guardian of her five sons in 1660.⁴⁶ She noted several visits to a shoemaker to ‘renew’ the boots of her children and for new clothes, she went first to a weaver from whom she bought cloth of wool, hemp, and *mezzalana*,⁴⁷ then she had them dyed, before finally giving orders to a tailor. Despite going through the various stations of her errands, Catharina did not go into details on neither the actors who provided the goods and services, nor the materiality, condition or quality of the items. It is noteworthy that the language of such accounts remained remarkably consistent throughout the period studied: over 120 years later, Franco Pinioli recorded the expenses he incurred for his ward Giacomo Negri between 1784 and 1785.⁴⁸ Like Catharina, Franco carefully detailed whom he had paid where. Moreover, he frequently elaborated on the services and goods that he had acquired and also noted frequent purchases, such as tobacco and bread. But when it came to the materiality or condition of his acquisitions, the records are mostly silent and only distinguished rather roughly between different qualities of wine, while refraining from giving any description for the majority of the commodities.

The language found in these accounts corresponded with the way in which casual dealers recorded their sales. An example is Vincenzo Sebgondi who paid only little attention to the description of his merchandise.⁴⁹ Although dealing in only a very limited variety of goods, namely tobacco and soap, he did not differentiate between various origins or other characteristics. Instead he repeatedly listed the terms 'soap' (*sapone*) and 'tobacco' (*tabacco*) without adding any further information about the products. Unlike the occasional traders and small dealers, specialized merchants displayed a more differentiated and precise vocabulary. Such merchants can often be found to have had a direct connection to larger cities outside the Alps, as was the case with the Redolfi family. Working as confectioners in Venice, their accounts show how they furnished their compatriots with goods from the Serenissima, comprising mostly of foodstuffs but including also the occasional cloth or, once, one pound of whalebone.⁵⁰ A large part of their merchandise was related to their craft, and it was here that their vocabulary was the most sophisticated. For instance, only in the records of Agostino Redolfi mention is made of a sugar substitute based on preserved barley. In his field of expertise, Agostino was well informed about the origins of his products, like the coffee shipped from Alexandria. With the same precision, he also informed his customers about the origin of his textiles. However, in comparison to the terminology used for sweets and foodstuffs, his accounts appear to be lacking the specialized vocabulary to distinguish more subtly between different types and qualities of fabrics.

As this shows, there was a broad range of retailers in the Three Leagues that varied from specialized merchants to small-scale dealers and labour migrants who occasionally engaged in trading. They did not only provide a variety of customers with different goods but supplied also terminologies and expressions that corresponded with their degree of expertise. Specialized merchants like Agostino Redolfi profited from their access to Venetian markets to supply not only goods but also the corresponding linguistic competences. Traces of this appeared in the vocabulary used by specialized shops and taverns in towns where technical terms and hyperbolic descriptions found their way to elite customers. By contrast, occasional dealers and local artisans made use of a more prosaic language that corresponded with what their customers cared to record. With that, the language of consumption within the Three Leagues could vary significantly according to the status and hence shopping activity of customers and corresponding retailers.

Communicating consumption: commodities in letters within and beyond the Alps

As argued, different constellations of sellers and buyers had a crucial impact on the way in which goods were discussed and recorded. In order to elaborate more on the role that these different communication settings played, the following paragraphs focus on how goods were discussed in the correspondences within and beyond the mountain valleys.

Examples for a more prosaic language can be found in the letters that Maddalena Stampa sent from the mountain village of Coltura, in the Bregalia valley, to her husband, Zuanne Redolfi, in Venice.⁵¹ Some of the most frequently discussed topics were economic exchanges, pending payments, and future investments. However, the commodities involved in this were generally only briefly mentioned when boxes of 'spices', 'theriac' or 'pepper' were noted besides hay, wine, animals, and wood. Only a

few times was Maddalena more specific on the intended usage of a product, as in winter 1702 when Maddalena informed her husband that she was recovering from a cold and requested Zuanne to send some 'vermin powder' (*polvere di verme*) to speed up her recovery.⁵² On another occasion in autumn 1709, Maddalena asked her husband for some cotton for making clothes.⁵³ In both examples, the actual materiality of the good came to the fore, because it was crucial for the intended purpose. In contrast, neither when writing about boxes of spices, nor when referring to the local produce, would additional details have been needed to help her husband understand what would be done with the goods.

Such a focus on a good's utilization becomes particularly apparent in the handling of merchandise, as show the letters that Agostino Redolfi exchanged with his spouse, Anna Molinari, in Coltura.⁵⁴ In the correspondence between 1743 and 1744, Anna was mainly told about the business and health condition of her husband and their relatives, but Agostino also frequently informed her about the merchandise that he would send her. However, despite giving thorough indications about quantities and purpose, Agostino used only broad terms for the goods themselves, presumably because he did not need to provide details about merchandise that his spouse was bound to receive anyway.

This appears to have been the case, even if the goods were intended to be a gift, as in the case of Maria and Rodolfo Santi.⁵⁵ Before diversifying his activities to Marseille, Rodolfo was working in Modena and Bergamo from where he had sent several notes to his wife in the Bregaglia valley. The commodities mentioned in the letters of the couple were mostly discussed in the context of payments or investments and had their origin within the Three Leagues. Only twice did Rodolfo send goods from his host city to the mountains besides coins: once three pounds of chocolate and another time a skirt. Both consignments were made in December 1786, after Maria had complained about the financial distress she found herself in, and after Rodolfo had once more postponed his return to Coltura. On learning of the skirt's broken waistband, Rodolfo replied that he was happy the rest was fine, but no further information on neither chocolate, nor skirt was given. Sending something that told of his everyday life as confectioner in the city appears to have been more important than poetic language or even technical terms, and even if the skirt showed some faults, its value seems to have been not only perceived in financial but also in emotional terms.

The regular movements of labour migrants allowed for such intimate correspondence to be often accompanied by oral exchanges that took place either directly between the communication partners or via intermediaries. This seems to have affected the language used to write about objects, which was precise enough to ensure that the recipient knew which object was meant without going into technical detail to specify style and materials. In this way, the sons of Agostino Redolfi and Anna Molinar were able to share their material experiences without exchanging actual goods.⁵⁶ Even after having entered the armed forces of the United Provinces in 1768, Giovanni Gaudenzio stayed in close contact with his family in the mountains, including his brother, Agostino II.⁵⁷ In one occasion, Agostino II wrote to Maastricht about the journey he had made together with their father and that after arriving in Padua, he had bought the sword which he had seen the last time together with a scabbard and two transverse flutes.⁵⁸ He also wrote that he was still searching for a flute

with seven holes and that he wanted to buy musk in Venice, but that it was too pricey for his liking. After having returned to the Alps, he wrote, he had planted cloves and tobacco in the garden and he had also made a dresser for all their books. While the language used to describe these commodities remained non-technical, such personal channels of communication could easily be activated to gain more detailed information on value, properties, and usage of goods: replying to his brother's request for the recipe for sealing wax, Agostino II gave a detailed account of the ingredients that he had bought in Venice. In his letter, he made use of precise terminology, indicated the price paid, and specified that he had acquired Dutch as well as Venetian juniper, but that the first would make for a deeper red.⁵⁹

While the brothers' letters highlight how quickly vocabulary and descriptions could change within informal channels of communication, their language still differed from the one found in business correspondences. Examples for this can be found in the ledger into which Antonio Viscardi copied his business letters in the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁶⁰ Son of architect Giovanni Antonio Viscardi and Maria Maddalena Tognola, Antonio left the Mesolcina valley in the Three Leagues for the shop of Giulio Maffeo and a signor Tini in the city of Genoa, where he eventually opened his own trading company in 1718. Although located mostly in German states, his trading partners received letters written in Italian that used a very exact language which generally named commodities using technical terms. Like the notaries of the Valtellina, Antonio gave detailed information concerning materials and design for fabrics and mercery goods. Moreover, he gave the provenance of his tobacco and soap as Soncino and Verdesina respectively, both localities on the Venetian *Terra Ferma*. His letters focused less on advertising particular products than on the availability of goods and transport costs. Moreover, he asked about needs and opportunities, just as he also explained the prices and availability of the demanded goods. In June 1718, for instance, he prepared Anton Brentano in Leipzig that the dry and harsh weather had reduced the quality of Ligurian lemons.⁶¹ Antonio described the condition of his products not with brief attributes like the Valtellina inventories but elaborated on them extensively, while carefully avoiding derogatory expressions. Antonio's letters were careful to make clear and intelligible descriptions by using a precise and standardized language. The vocabulary used for this differed remarkably little from that found in the sources of merchants in the Three Leagues of whom some were also his customers.

The correspondences between married couples of the Three Leagues used rather broad and unspecific terminologies for commodities that were both traded in and to the Alps. Such informal channels of communication could, however, be activated to convey precise knowledge on the properties and usage of goods. With that, information and expressions of various origins could be exchanged via the Alps. These exchanges carried not only explicit information, but conveyed also – sometimes unwritten – emotions that helped maintain relations despite the physical separation of the parties involved. Such aspects of trust and respect played also a crucial role in business correspondences of specialized merchants who used a precise and technical vocabulary to give detailed information on the condition and origin of the merchandise. In this way, language competences were demonstrated that conveyed a sense of professionalism which was crucial to generated the foundation for respect and trust.

Final remarks: links and disconnections in Alpine languages of consumption

In 1676, notary Vitale Mazza recorded the goods left behind by Francesco Filippini in a way that exemplified the language of consumption in the early modern Three Leagues. He kept his descriptions short but gave enough information for those involved in the process to gain an understanding of the look and feel of the items. The linguistic usage displayed in the probate inventories in the Valtellina paid little attention to the provenance of objects with textiles being the most prominent exception. Toponyms were used for describing fabrics and styles with nearby localities being referred to more precisely than more remote areas.

When noting the goods in Francesco's shop, Vitale Mazza provided more detail on the qualities, provenance, and estimated value of the merchandise which resembled the way specialized merchants and shopkeepers of the Three Leagues wrote about goods. Besides merchants specialised in selling imported goods, so-called *speziali*, also taverns in towns such as the one of the Sanctuary of the Holy Virgin appeared as important mediators for technical terms and a specific register in the Three Leagues. The findings suggest that highly qualified and specialized migrant workers functioned as crucial intermediaries between the mountains and the city in terms of conveying both goods and language. Other migrant workers who engaged in more occasional trade, in contrast, appeared to have provided a much less sophisticated vocabulary that was reflected in the sources found for artisans in the Alps and their less affluent customers.

While such linguistic knowledge was adapted to the usage in the Three Leagues, migrant workers brought their linguistic competences with them to their host cities where work experience and vocational training significantly shaped their vocabulary, as the Venetian examples lead to suggest. As Canepari has shown for migrants in Rome, the workers from the Three Leagues also maintained close linguistic ties with the Alps thanks to the frequent circulation of people, goods, and letters between the mountains and the host cities.⁶² As the correspondences between married couples lead to suggest, informal channels of communication could be activated to convey specific knowledge on the qualities and utilisation of goods. Business correspondences, on the other hand, provided detailed information by using technical terms and a selected vocabulary in order to convey trust and credibility. With migration patterns changing towards the end of the eighteenth century, also transformations in the usage of language can be observed. As the example of the Santi brothers in Marseille indicates, it was less the rupture between the Three Leagues and Venice in the 1760s than the upheavals in the aftermath of the French Revolution that prompted changes in the way in which goods were discussed. It appears that Alpine markets lost in significance for labour emigrants and that, subsequently, also the exchange between the mountains and the host cities decreased.

These findings are limited by not only the small sample size for the inventories of migrant workers but also the sources tend to inform on only those who returned successfully to the Alps. Additional research is needed on the migrant communities and their ties to both the urban as well as Alpine societies. Further work is also required on the education and formation in the Three Leagues and studies on other Alpine and rural areas would be needed to get a better understanding of shared and differing perceptions.⁶³ The findings for the Three Leagues, nevertheless, suggest that

the linguistic usage in the Alps disposed of a large vocabulary for goods that reached from technical terms and precise toponymical expressions to broad tactile and visual qualities. The shopping experience in the mountains, on the one hand, and the broader migration patterns, on the other hand, appear as the crucial vectors of this knowledge transfer and of the subsequent transformations in the Alpine language of consumption.

Notes

1. Archivio di Stato di Sondrio, atti notarili (ASS) 5935, folio 8 verso to 50 verso. 18-year olds could represent themselves in court, while in all other circumstances all persons under the age of 20 were considered underaged, cf. paragraph 136 in *Li statuti di Valtellina*, 76.
2. On the impact of Reformation and Counter-Reformation see Bianconi, “Confini, contatti culturali e linguistici nella Svizzera italiana,” 11–22. On the nexus between migration and professional training see Bianchi, *Uomini che partono*, 26–42; Cecchini, “Un mestiere dove non c’è nulla da imparare?,” 65–96.
3. An overview of Italian Reformers and Protestants in the Three Leagues in Bonorand, *Reformatorsche Emigration aus Italien in die Drei Bünde*.
4. On the Revolt of the Leagues, also referred to as Graubünden disturbances, *Bündner Wirren*, or War of the Valtellina, see Wendland, *Der Nutzen der Pässe und die Gefährdung der Seelen*, 101–126; Scaramellini, “Die Beziehungen zwischen den Drei Bünden und dem Veltlin,” 141–160. On the relation between Catholics and Protestants and the confessionalisation in the Three Leagues see Head, “Catholics and Protestants in Graubünden”, 321–345.
5. The recent work of Miriam Nicoli has shown this for the education of women: Nicoli, “Les religieuses et leur rôle éducatif au Tessin à l’aune des écrits conventuels,” 135–156; Maffiongelli and Nicoli. “Manichette per scrivere, forbicette, ditale e aghirolo,” 25–66.
6. On the absence of women in Swiss studies of migration, including the Three Leagues, cf. Lorenzetti, “L’emigrazione femminile in Svizzera,” 121–145.
7. On the role of migration for economic strategies in the Three Leagues and neighbouring regions cf. Lorenzetti, “Migrazioni di mestiere e economie dell’emigrazione nelle Alpi italiane,” 149–171.
8. With a focus on women: Bianchi, “Donne che seguono i mariti,” 15–21; Curti “Essere donna nelle valli alpine,” 23–41. On confectioners: Kaiser, *Fast ein Volk von Zuckerbäckern?*. For dock workers: Addobbati, *Facchinerie*. On chimneysweeps: Steidl, “Rege Kommunikation zwischen den Alpen und Wien,” 25–40; Berger, “Kaminfeger aus der Mesolcina in der Grossstadt Wien,” 125–137.
9. ASS 5187, 159v–160r.
10. On the economic interrelations between Alpine and urban markets see the seminal work of Laurence Fontaine, e.g. *Pouvoir, identités et migration dans les hautes vallées des Alpes occidentales*. For the Italian-speaking Alps, including the Three Leagues, cf. Lorenzetti, “Reti, flussi, integrazioni,” 109–135. Also: Canepari, “Keeping in Touch,” 203–227; Arru, “Reti locali, reti globali,” 77–110; Lorenzetti, *Economie et migrations au XIXe siècle*.
11. On the return of migrant workers and their impact on Alpine societies: Lorenzetti and Granet-Abisset, “Les migrations de retour,” 13–24. On the communication between the host city and the community of departure in the Three Leagues: Steidl “Rege Kommunikation zwischen den Alpen und Wien,” 25–40.
12. Archivio di Stato di Sondrio, atti notarili (ASS).
13. The Valtellina was part of the so-called subjected territories together with Bormio, the San Giacomo and Chiavenna valleys. For an introduction to the history of the Three Leagues and its dominions: Simonett, *Handbuch der Bündner Geschichte*; Scaramellini, et al., *Economia e società in Valtellina e contadi nell’età moderna*; Liniger, *Gesellschaft in der Zerstreuung*, 137–153.
14. For the Valtellina and Bormio: Mangini, “Membra disiecta del Collegio notarile di Como,” 149–194. On the Bregaglia valley: Pool, “Bergeller Notare”, 63–154.

15. “Della sostituzione delli nodari,” in *Li statuti di Valtellina*, 13–15. Cf. also Pezzola, “Scritture della veneranda archiconfraternita di Maria Vergine delle Grazie di Morbegno,” 129–213.
16. On the history of the State Archive in Sondrio: “Archivio di stato di Sondrio,” 249–262.
17. Francesca Trivellato traces the notion of a ‘normal exception’ to Edoardo Grendi who writes of exceptional documents that could turn out “eccezionalmente ‘normale’”: Trivellato. “Microstoria/Microhistoire/Microhistory,” 122–134; also Grendi. “Micro-analisi e storia sociale,” 512. Giovanni Levi coined this later as “exceptional normal”: Levi. “On Microhistory,” 93–113.
18. ASS 4992, 62v-65r; 5187, 22v-24v; 5426, 167r-170r.
19. ASS 9122, 43r-45r.
20. ‘German’ (*tedesco*) in ASS 5935, 8v-50v; 6633, 33r-41r; 7328, 78v-84r; 9130, 1783.02.17 and 1783.03.03. ‘From Savoy’ (*da Savoia*) in 9122, 50r-51v.
21. ASS 7326, 150v-161v.
22. The cotton twill in ASS 6633, 97v-118v; the ornament in 4987, 30r-33v; the sleeves in 9127, 1776.02.03; the stockings in 9130 1783.03.03.
23. Siebenhüner, “Zwischen Imitation und Innovation,” 7–27; Jordan and Schopf, “Fictive Descriptions?,” 219–238.
24. Diderot, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 374–379. This was recently pointed out by Lee, “Chintzes as Printed Matter and Their Entanglement within the Transatlantic Slave Trade around 1800,” 57–77.
25. ASS 7326, 150v-161v, 9122, 48v-51v.
26. ASS 9122, 48v-51v and 9130, 1783.03.03.
27. ASS 7616, 107r-111v, here 108 verso.
28. ASS 5187, 159v-160r.
29. Cf. Lorenzetti, “Migrazioni di mestiere e economie dell’emigrazione nelle Alpi italiane (XVI-XVIII secc.),” 149–171; Schnyder, “An elusive and therefore irritating presence” 41–64; Bundi, *Frühe Beziehungen zwischen Graubünden und Venedig*. For a critical view on the neglected research on the role of migrating women from nowadays Switzerland cf. Lorenzetti, “L’emigrazione femminile in Svizzera,” 121–145.
30. An introduction to the Redolfi family and their sources in the Archivio storico della Bregaglia Palazzo Castelmur (ABPC) by Nussio, “Dall’Archivio storico della Bregaglia,” 59–72. Of the many articles published by Corrado Stampa in the *Almanaco del Grigioni Italiano* e.g., “Emigrazione della Bregaglia a Venezia nei secoli XVI, XVII, XVIII,” 151–154.
31. ABPC A18.01.010, 16.11.1700.
32. ABPC A18.03a.021, copy dated 01.05.1731.
33. ABPC A18.03a.022, 17.03.1747, 20.10.1747.
34. ABPC A18.03a.021, 10.10.1751, 03.29.1959.
35. ABPC A18.03a.022, 06.18.1744.
36. *Ibid.*, 06.06.1744.
37. ABPC A18.03a.022, 01.03.1762,
38. ABPC A05.018, 05.12.1784, 06.12.1786.
39. Particularly the letter of Vincenzo Spini, ABPC A05.021.
40. ABPC A.05.034, and 037. Cf. also Pfeifer, “Schau, wenn du willst, heirate ich dich, aber du musst dich schnell entscheiden,” 15–61.
41. An earlier trade connection in ABPC A05.019, letter of Giacomo Conrado, 16.07.1778. For relations with migrant workers in Marseille cf. A.05.022-27, 029, 032, 034-036.
42. ABPC A05.022, 22 Nivôse III (11.01.1795).
43. ABPC A05.026-027.
44. Archivio comunale di Tirano, Santuario della Beata Vergine di Tirano, Osteria (ACT SBV).
45. ACT SBV, 238, 171r and 172v.
46. ASS 4992, 195v-199r.
47. Fabric in which warp or weft is composed of a different fibre than wool. In this region, the term predominantly denominated a blend of wool and hemp.
48. ASS 9330.

49. ASS 8742.
50. ABPC A05.010.
51. ABPC A18.02.002.
52. Ibid., 01.02.1702.
53. Ibid., 15.10.1709.
54. ABPC A18.002.012.
55. ABPC A05.018.
56. ABPC A18.02c.001, 002.
57. The name appears as "Agostino" in the sources but here "Agostino II." is used to avoid confusions. On mercenaries from the Three Leagues serving for the United Provinces cf. Bundi, *Bündner Kriegsdienste in Holland um 1700*.
58. ABPC A18.02c.001, 15.08.1769.
59. Giovanni Gaudenzio 13.02.1769, reply 11.03.1769.
60. Archivio A Marca Mesocco (AaMM) copialettere Antonio Viscardi 1718. Cf. also Tognola "Antonio Viscardi, negoziante e condottiero."
61. AaMM 30.06.1718, 5r.
62. Canepari, "Keeping in Touch" 203–227.
63. An important contribution to this is made recently with: Bianchi and Nicoli (eds.), *Women's Voices*.

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- 6236, 6306, 6571, 6633, 6634, 6868, 6949, 6950, 7088, 7205, 7209, 7242, 7311, 7319, 7326, 7328, 7597, 7598, 7616, 7787, 8207, 8304, 8305, 8310, 8311, 8429, 8519, 8563, 8565, 8576, 8578, 8597, 8742, 8889, 9071, 9074, 9083, 9120, 9122, 9127, 9130, 9135, 9138, 9274, 9330, 9345, 9657, 9658, 9659, 9666, 9731, 9980, 9983, 10405.
- Archivio storico della Bregaglia Palazzo Castelmur (ABPC), ABPC A05.010; A05.018, 05.12.1784, 06.12.1786; A05.019, 16.07.1778; A05.022, 22 Nivôse III (11.01.1795); A05.026; A05.027; A18.01.010, 16.11.1700; A18.02.002, 01.02.1702, 15.10.1709; A18.002.012; A18.02c.001; A18.02c.002, 15.08.1769; A18.03a.021: 01.05.1731, 17.03.1747, 20.10.1747, 10.10.1751, 03.29.1959; A18.03a.022, 06.18.1744, 06.06.1744, 01.03.1762.
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