NOTES

Abbreviations

**PADUA**
- A.S. Pad.: Archivio di Stato di Padova
- Bib. Civ.: Biblioteca del Museo Civico
- Bib. Univ.: Archivio Universitaria

**VENICE**
- A.S. Ven.: Archivio di Stato di Venezia
- Marciana: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

**VERONA**
- A.S. Ven.: Archivio di Stato di Verona
  - AAC: Antico Archivio del Comune
  - Anag: Anagrafi
  - Com: Comune
  - Prov.: Provincia
  - Perg.: Pergamene
  - Test: Testamenti
- Arch. Cap.: Archivio Capitolare
- Bib. Civ.: Biblioteca Civica

**VICENZA**
- Arch. Cap.: Archivio Capitolare
- Arch. Curia: Archivio della Curia Vescovile
- A.S. Vic: Archivio di Stato di Vicenza
  - Not.: Fondo Notarile
  - PO: Archivio Familiare Piovene Orgian
  - 153 Ist.: No. 153 Istromenti Arnaldi
  - AP: Arnaldi parchments
  - LAGA: Liber Actoris Gasparis Arnaldi
  - LASA: Liber Acquisti Silvestri Arnaldi
  - Vic. 152: Vicenza No. 152 (Istromenti diversi)
  - Test.: Fondo Testamenti Bombacini
  - Uff. Reg.: Fondo Ufficio del Registro

**BERTOLIANA**
- Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana
  - Arch. Torre: Archivio Torre
  - Gonz.: Archivio della Camera Gonzati
Introduction

1. James S. Grubb and Gian Maria Varanini, eds., Memorie familiari dal Veneto (sec. XV), forthcoming. The introduction, to which the reader is referred for more thorough consideration of family chronicles, addresses three linked issues: the uncertain typology of the libro di famiglia, why the Veneto produced (or preserved) so few memoirs compared with the huge Tuscan repertoire, and why these families might have chosen to compile domestic accounts.


3. The liber of the Arnaldi is also freestanding, but exists only in two mid-sixteenth-century copies. These were evidently compiled from another source or sources and then arranged in topical order. The original has not been located, but was probably, from the evidence of the other memoirs, an account book or zibaldone.

4. The Fracastoro text is now bound with a volume of land accounts, but is of a different size and foliation; its original setting is unknown.

Chapter 1. Marriage


2. Vicentines under age twenty-five could act in court only with a procurator or with special permission of a judge; those under age twenty could not alienate goods without the consent of two kinsmen: Ius municipale, ff. 87v–88r, 156r; similarly, Statuti Veronae, pp. 138–39.

3. The age when those holding seats on the Council of 500 could actually vote: Ius municipale, ff. 11v–12r.


5. Gaspare I's brother Piero had not married: A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4531, 22 August 1433 (copy in A.S.Vic., Test., XIX, same date); see also ibid., 4535, 22 May 1437.


7. Esmein, Mariage, pp. 85–90; Augustine, City of God, XV, 16; Brooke, Medieval Idea, ch. 2; Leclercq, Monks, chs. 2–3.


9. Wealthy families in Florence had a lower incidence of marriage and a higher incidence of celibacy than the poor: Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Toscans, pp. 410–11.

10. Duby, Medieval Marriage, pp. 10–11; idem, The Knight, pp. 104–5, 274. For Flor-
entine and Limousin strategies similar to that of the Arnaldi, see Sillano’s introduction to Chellini’s Ricordanze, p. 16; Biget and Tricard, “Livres,” p. 329.

11. Tabulation from Pagliarini, Cronicae, bk. V (extinct families) and bk. VI (extant families).


14. Only fifteen of 24,000 girls in Florence’s dowry fund were unmarried, and under 6 percent of Tuscan women in the 1427 catasto were “permanent spinsters”: Molho, “Professioni,” pp. 7, 15; Herlihy, “Deaths,” p. 143; Klapisch-Zuber, Women, pp. 19–20.


17. Repeta, f. 81v; Lorcin, Vivre, p. 75. The Repeta case illustrates what Lorcin sees as informal female primogeniture, with the eldest given husbands and the youngest given to God: ibid., p. 79; similarly, Epstein, Wills, pp. 77–81.


25. Florence had a higher percentage of incomplete or isolated households, a lower incidence of marriage, and a higher incidence of celibates than did the rest of Tuscany: Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Toscan, pp. 405–7, 410–11.

33. I have found but a single comment, from a friar: da Feltre's "Mo, considera un pocho: ista paupercula dimisit patrem et matrem, fratres suos et domum suam, ubi fuit nutrita, alevata etc." (Sermoni, II, p. 142).
35. Caterina Botarini, Cassandra Revese, Marcella Fracanzani, Simone Revese, Giacomo Cavazzoli, and Giovanna da Schio; Elisabetta dal Gorgo came from a nearby neighborhood: 1453 estimo, ff. 5, 8, 9, 32; 1460 estimo, ff. 97–98, 101–4, 142.
36. Cohn, Laboring Classes, pp. 74–82; see also the praise of Giovanni Morelli (like the Arnaldi, rising but still below the top) for an uncle who "si imparento' nella sua vicinanza e in uno medesimo gonfalone": Pandimiglio, "Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli," pp. 34–35. Hughes, however, sees weak neighborhood ties in all Genoese marriages: "Kinsmen," pp. 97–98, 104.
37. Spouses in the early generation came from families that were considerably less wealthy, ranking at least one or two deciles below the Arnaldi in tax assessments. The explanation seems to lie in the Arnaldi's ambiguous standing—rich but not prominent: they were the wealthiest of their occupational and status group, and had to accept less prosperous in-laws if they were to marry at all. Their economic equals were the lawyers, judges, and nobles, who had a clearly higher social rank and with whom the Arnaldi could not hope to marry.
41. For the wealth and residence of later spouses (Elena Poiana, Bernardino Sesso, Paola Repeta, and Dorotea and Alessandro Thiene), see 1453 estimo, ff. 7, 17–18, 44, 88; 1460 estimo, ff. 100, 110–11, 122–23, 144; 1477 estimo, ff. 6, 10, 12, 18, 103; 1505 estimo, ff. 2, 4, 7, 15, 18, 23, 30. For these families' pasts, see Pagliarini, Cronicae, bk. VI; Repeta, f. 8ov. For the neighborhood exogamy of the Florentine patriciate, see Klapisch-Zuber, Women, pp. 81–85; Fabbri, Alleanza, pp. 108–10; Cohn, Laboring Classes, pp. 57–60.
43. For Florence, see Kuehn, "Reading Microhistory," pp. 520-21; Klapisch-Zuber, Women, pp. 182-93; Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Toscans, pp. 589-93; for Gaeta and Venice, see Brandileone, Saggi, pp. 76-79, 119ff.; for Rome, see ibid., pt. I, ch. 7; Klapisch-Zuber, Women, pp. 247-51 and ch. 9. Among Venice's Freschi, the ducitio was immediate in seven of eight cases.

44. Arnaldi, ff. 2r-v, 5r-v, 10r-11r, 13v-15r; Stoppi, f. 2v; Repeta, f. 81v.

45. Helmholz, Marriage Litigation, ch. 2.

46. Brucker, Giovanni, pp. 29-33, 49; Ruggiero, "Onore," pp. 756-58; Corazzol and Corrà, Esperimenti; Braunstein, "Honneur."


49. The Lombard law's wadia, a mutual pledge between the groom and the bride's legal guardian at the time of betrothal, came to be associated with the verba de prae­


51. Brandileone, Saggi, p. 92 (Gratian); Salvioli, "Benedizione," p. 186 (Peter Lombard).

52. Esmein, Mariage, pp. 104-5, 108-19; Dauvillier, Mariage, p. 122; Marongiu, "Matrimonio," sec. 3; Guerreau-Jalabert, "Structures," p. 1036. The strength of the verba de futuro is seen in the case of the Veronese Giorgio Sommariva, who suffered a seven hundred-ducat fine and eighteen years of exile for marrying his son to an already­

53. Arnaldi, ff. 5v, 11r, 13v. The sole reference to a woman's consent comes from a Freschi marriage contract (Freschi, f. 109r): "che piacendola dicta dona al prefato Zacharia e lui a ley."


55. Dauvillier, Mariage, pp. 126-29; Marongiu, "Matrimonio," pp. 57-61. Veneto ecclesiastical authorities, anxious to prove free consent, respected protest. Fuscha da Thiene, for example, was betrothed at the age of nine by her brother; when she came of age in 1425 and refused to marry her intended, the bishop agreed that sponsalia of underage women "non conficiunt matrimonium" and allowed her to marry elsewhere: Vicenza, Arch. Curia, Collatio Beneficiorum I, f. 28v.

56. Arnaldi, ff. 2v, 5v, 11r, 13v, 14v-15r; Muronovo, ff. 74v-75r; similarly, Abbon­
57. Dauvillier, Mariage, p. 80; Brooke, Medieval Idea, pp. 128–29; Besta, Famiglia, pp. 84–85.

58. Duby, The Knight, pp. 34, 72; Brundage, Law, pp. 136–37; Besta, Famiglia, pp. 104–9; Ius municipale, f. 130r; Statuti Veronae, p. 208; Brandileone, Saggi, pp. 46–47; Carron, Enfant, pp. 31–32.

59. Arnaldi, ff. 11r, 13v, 14v, 15r.


70. Portions of weddings in Gaeta, Venice, and Rome might be performed in church, though the core took place in the bride’s house: Brandileone, Saggi, pp. 76–79, 90–99, 296–313. The Freschi of Venice, however, invariably married in church.

71. Klapisch-Zuber, Women, pp. 193–212 (quote from p. 193), 276; Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Toscans, p. 591. For the similar situation in Treviso (though there are
scattered references to Masses or benedictions at the time of marriage), see Pesce, *Chiesa*, pp. 37–38.

72. Stoppi, f. 2v. Published nuptial sermons indicate that Masses were not unknown: Verona, Bib. Civ., Incunaboli 31, 307.

73. Arnaldi, ff. 5v, 10v.


76. Dal Bovo, f. 4v; Muronovo, ff. 45r–50; Arnaldi, ff. 441r–v.


83. In the universal formula, the husband confessed receipt of the dowry, then pledged
an equivalent to the bride’s father or brother(s) “iure pignoris et nomine donationis propter nuptias seu contradotis et ad conservationem et pro conservatione dotis”; she then renounced further claims on the patrimony: e.g., A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4540, 13 April 1442; ibid. 4554, 13 April 1456. Venetian men were obliged actually to deposit a sum equal to the dowry with government officials: Chojnacki, “Patrician Women,” pp. 191-92; Crouzet-Pavan, Espaces, p. 449.


85. A.S.Vic., Test., XIX, 22 August 1433.

86. A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4535, 22 May 1437; ibid. 4539, 23 October 1441; ibid. 4540, 13 April 1442.


88. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 4 May 1461; A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4559, 26 October 1462; ibid. 4560, 29 August 1463.


90. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 79, #27.

91. Paradisio, XV, 103-5.


97. Dominici, Regola, pp. 111-12, 177; da Feltre, Sermoni, I, p. 396; Conversino, Rationarium, XIV, p. 82; da Certaldo, Libro, pp. 215, 245-46; Pandimiglio, “Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli,” pp. 40-41. Morelli did warn against arranging marriage purely for economic gain, pointing to the harm that would befall the family when a high dowry had to be restored: Ricordi, p. 211.


99. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 89, #39; Varanini, “Famiglia,” p. 44. On the unavailing efforts of “old” Venetian houses to limit marriage settlements, in order to block “new” patrician families from offering huge dowries to attract prestigious alliances, see Chojnacki, “Marriage Legislation,” pp. 172-77.

100. A.S.Vic., Not., Bartolomeo Bassan 4546, 4 March 1447; A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 89, #39.

101. Veronese jurist Bartolomeo Cipolla thought that husbands were especially likely to provide dowries or make false dowry confessions when they were rich but common, marrying into the nobility: “Sepe hoc de facto contingit quando dives igno-
bilis et vilis conditionis accipit aliquam uxorem nobilem in causa se nobilitandi et dotat eam sive confiteatur se recepisse dotem quam non recipet." In that case, said Cipolla, the husband's fictitious confession should be accepted at face value when calculating the amount to be restored: De imperatore, unfoliated, #34 of list of privileges of nobility.


104. Stoppi, ff. 3v–4v.


106. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 13 April 1456, 13 March 1470. For a similar Paduan case, see Colloso, "Credito," p. 23.


109. In twenty-six cases in which the precise duration of marriage is known, the figure is 21.5 years; if we add thirteen unions in which a minimum duration is known (both spouses are known to be alive at some point after the marriage), the figure rises to 23.6 years. Duration of marriage elsewhere has been little studied. Given a greater age gap between Florentine spouses, we might expect a shorter duration of marriage; a high percentage of women in the 33–42 age group were already widowed, for example: Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Toscans, p. 403. English figures are comparable to those of Verona and Vicenza (Bennett, Women, p. 143) and slightly higher among early modern aristocrats (Houlbrooke, English Family, p. 208).

110. See the warnings of Medick and Sabeau: "Introduction," p. 3; "Interest," pp. 10–11.

111. Bovi, f. 13r.

112. Arnaldi, ff. 4v–5r.


114. Arnaldi, ff. 5v, 9r; similarly, Verità, f. 85r.

115. Luke 18:28–30; Ephesians 5:25; and, in general, Brooke, Medieval Idea, pp. 41–47, 54, 256; Macfarlane, Marriage, pp. 159, 168. For affectio, see Besta, Famiglia, pp. 67–69; Brundage, Law, ch. 3; Gaudemet, Mariage, pp. 156–57; Noonan, "Marital Affection." Andrea Arnaldi's dilectio for Caterina Botarini was precisely that which theologians and canonists expected between husband and wife: Duby, The Knight, pp. 33, 176, 216; Leclercq, Monks, p. 15.


118. Stoppo, f. 2r.


120. On preference shown to wives as executors of wills and guardians of children, see Hilaire, Regime, pp. 339–42; de Renzo Villata, "Note," pp. 69–75; Lorcin, Vivre, pp. 66–71; Epstein, Wills, pp. 89–90, 223; for Florentine cases, see Klapisch-Zuber, "Women Servants," p. 59; Morelli, Ricordi, pp. 213–18; Niccolini di Gambegliano, Chronicles, pp. 124–25. Crabb estimates that 70 percent of Florentine widows were made guardians of their children: "Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi," pp. 50–51.

121. A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4531, 22 August 1433; ibid., 4560, 29 August 1463; A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 81, #45. The case of the burning of the Vicentine Gentile Thiene's barn hinged on the possibility of his wife's negligence; but "probatum est quod uxor dicti Gentilis est mulier sapiens et prudens et solecita circa gubernationem domus et familiae." Jurist Alessandro Nievo quoted lengthy testimony that she had managed well, kept doors closed, and instructed servants to guard carefully against fire: witnesses and jurist were evidently much impressed with the woman (Consilia, #87).


123. Division of inheritance from A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4535, 22 May 1437; financial problems from A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 14 July 1438, 15 May 1441; A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4537, 10 February 1439; ibid. 4541, 22 November 1442; ibid. 4543, 6 June 1443; ibid. 4547, undated and 1 July 1449; A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 26 January 1443, 28 November 1444, 10 June 1449, 26 November 1450, 22 April 1452, 25 February 1455; aid to daughters from Arnaldi, f. 9v; A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 17 August 1457, 27 February 1476.


127. Ius municipale, ff. 106r–v, 114r.


133. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 777, ff. 170v–71r. They might also alienate dotal goods to dower daughters, if husbands were unable to do so.


136. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 61, ff. 76v–77r, 188r–v.

137. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 61, f. 193v. The principle dates from the early Trecento, when the Venetian government reserved dowries in confiscating and selling rebels' property: Crouzet-Pavan, *Espaces*, p. 921. Dowry rights were also reserved when counterfeiters' goods were seized: A.S.Ven., Capi dei Dieci, Lettere 1, #393. For the parallel Florentine situation, see Kirshner, "Wives' Claims," pp. 276–78.

138. A.S.Ven., Senato Terra 1, f. 189v.

139. *Ius municipale*, f. 78r; see also f. 174r.

140. Molho et al., "Genealogia."

141. Bovi, f. 13r.

142. Arnaldi, ff. 6v, 7r–v, 9v, 11r, 13v, 14r, 25v.


146. Arnaldi, ff. 18r, 19v–20r.


149. A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4535, 22 May 1437; ibid. 4537, 10 February 1439; ibid. 4543, 6 June 1443.


153. A.S.Vic., Test., XIX, 22 August 1433; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4545, 18 November 1446; ibid. 4560, 29 August 1463; ivi, PO, AP, 17 August 1457; ivi, Not., Antonio Saraceni 4960, 23 November 1499.


156. Arnaldi, ff. 7r–v, 9v.


163. A.S.Vic., Test. XIX, 22 August 1433; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4535, 22 May 1437; ibid. 4543, 6 June 1443.


165. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 89, #39; ibid., mazzo 60, #49; similarly, ibid., mazzo 42, #96; ivi, Perg., Verità, ser. III, b. 7, #396.


168. Ibid., p. 120. Remarriage was frequent enough to draw moralists’ attention: Barberino, *Reggimento*, VII.

169. Neither case, however, produced estrangement between natal and marital families. For the Fracanzani, see A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 9 January 1465, 16 December 1465, 19 April 1466, 18 February 1467; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4563, 8 February 1466; ivi, Not., Antonio Saraceni 4960, 23 November 1499; for the dal Gorgo, see ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4560, 29 August 1463; ivi, Uff. Reg., 17 September 1493. For a Verità case of departure, see A.S.Ver., Atti del Consiglio 63, f. 141(bis).


Chapter 2. Children

2. Brooke, Medieval Idea, p. 58; Payer, Sex, p. 24; Duby, The Knight, p. 29; Brundage, Law, pp. 91–92, 158; Manselli, “Vie,” p. 6.
6. Arnaldi, ff. 4v, 9r; Stoppi, f. 2r.
7. Dal Bovo, ff. 29r, 35v, 42r; and see Shahar, Childhood, p. 32.
8. Muronovo, f. 51v; dal Bovo, ff. 21r–v, 46r; and see Shahar, Childhood, p. 36.
11. Repeta, f. 81r.
12. About 2.5 percent of a sample of 1,814 girls enrolled in the Monte delle doti (Kirshner and Molho, “Dowry Fund,” p. 413), and about 3 percent from a larger sample (Molho, “Professioni,” p. 9; he includes some girls of unknown status), but under 0.5 percent of Florentines listed in the 1427 catasto (Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Toscanis, pp. 175, 434).
16. It was not unknown, however. Girolamo Guastaverza declared that he was “seized by love” (captus amore) for the mother of his illegitimate son; since the boy was then out of infancy, the liaison was evidently of some duration: A.S. Ver., Perg., Guastaverza #35, busta 1, #8. Pietro Bovi is mentioned living with his concubina Benedetta in 1465 and 1473: ivi, Anagrafi, Comune, 481–82. Gabriele Verità’s provision of a pension for the mother of a deceased natural son may also indicate an extended relationship: ivi, Test., mazzo 31, #93. In Florence, legal norms privileged offspring of long-term concubine over the children of brief flings: Kuehn, Law, pp. 160, 181.
17. Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Toscanis, p. 434; Niccolini di Camugliano, Chronicles, p. 128; Fabri, Alleanza, p. 47.
20. Libro, p. 101; see also pp. 31–32.
21. Sermoni, I, p. 397; see also Cherubino, Regole, pp. 32–34.

24. A.S.Ver., Testamenti, mazzo 102, #187 (Tadea Fracastoro’s bequests to two bastards, a niece and a half brother); Lorcin, *Vivre*, pp. 96–98.

25. Legitimation was the preferred means of ensuring family survival when there were no sons, since adoption was rare: Kuehn, *Law*, chs. 6–7.


31. Verità, ff. 116v–17v; Guastaverza; Stoppi, cover sheet verso. The initial Giovanni of compound names was often dropped, and may have been a provisional prebaptismal marker: Giovanni Andrea Nicolò Arnaldi, for example, was known strictly as Andrea in adult life. For examples elsewhere of baptismal name changing, see Abbondanza, ed., *Notariato*, pp. 309–10; Orttalli, “Notariato,” tab. 1.


34. Arnaldi, ff. 2v, 3r, 7v, 8r, 9r–v, 11v, 12r–13v.


36. Arnaldi, ff. 2v, 3v, 4r, 12r; Bovi, ff. 2v, 3v, 4r–v; dal Bovo, f. 51r. For Sienese episcopal chrismation, see Cherubini, *Signori*, pp. 408–10.


42. Pagliarini, *Cronicae*, pp. 80–84.

43. Hypocoristics and variants were combined: Zuane and Iohannines were counted as Giovanni. First personal names only were counted, as calculation of the 1453 estimo indicated that second (and sometimes third) personal names follow the same frequencies as the first.
3.35; Corbl
aunt), Joanna Gaspara (grandfath
dlat
Romolo, a local favorit
ere. Exampl
Can Nam
p. 197; H
id
r
Franc
Klapisch-Zub
troni," pp. 197-98; Lorcin,
'.Attribution," p. 82; id
r
Will
p. 160; Chiffoule
, Comptabilité, pp. 380–81.
46. As was the case in the Lyonnais: Lorcin, Vi
p. 163.
47. The upper classes of Florence, however, resisted the use of names of recent saints: Klapisch-Zuber, "Attribution," p. 82.
51. Alerti, Libri, pp. 142–44.
52. Varanini, "Famiglia," p. 39; on similar classicism in Treviso, see Pesce, Chiesa, I, p. 33.
54. Nearly every Arnaldi remade an ancestor, for example: Margarita Bona (for an aunt), Joanna Gaspara (grandfather Gaspare died the year before), Girolamo Francesco (for a brother), Lucia Chiara (cousin Lucia had just entered a convent, a form of death), and so forth. Examples from Veneto memoirs could be multiplied at great length.
56. In Florence, the first personal name usually honored a relative, while the second was drawn from the company of saints: Klapisch-Zuber, Women, pp. 293–94; idem, "Attribution," p. 82; idem, "Patroni," pp. 195–96; idem, "Constitution," pp. 41–42. The relative priority of ancestral versus spiritual names is moot, however, since ancestors were themselves named for saints: a given Lucia might honor both the martyr and a dead relative.
57. Arnaldi, ff. 3r–4v, 5r; Freschi, ff. 57v, 58v, 60v; Verità, f. 47r. For a similar Flor
58. Some 78 percent of Florentine second names honored the saint of the day (or San Romolo, a local favorite): Klapisch-Zuber, "Attribution," p. 82.
59. Klapisch-Zuber, Women, p. 306; idem, "Attribution," p. 81. She notes, however, that later Quattrocento families exercised a broader choice of names.
60. Arnaldi, ff. 11v, 12r, 13r–v, 15v, 16v; see in general, Lynch, Godparents, pp. 5, 335; Corbiet, Sacrement, ch. 5 and p. 403; Shuwar, Childhood, p. 47; Belmont, "Le

62. Calculations exclude emergency baptisms, when anyone at hand (often a midwife) was pressed into service.

63. Klapisch-Zuber, “Parrains,” p. 54; idem, “Comperage,” p. 64; idem, “Peril,” tab. 2.


68. Veneto memoirs offer no examples. Only rarely were Florentine blood kin or relatives by marriage chosen as godparents: Klapisch-Zuber, *Women*, p. 85; idem, “Peril,” p. 218; see also Tricard, “Memoire,” p. 134.


70. Repeated sponsorship within a family was the case in Florence as well: Klapisch-Zuber, “Comperage,” pp. 66–67.


73. The Verità present the sole exception: Giovanni Bevilaqua and Lapo Donato Sagramoso were twice chosen as godfather, and the Verità later arranged marriages to their families.

74. As was the case in Florentine and Lyonnais testaments: Klapisch-Zuber, “Parrains,” pp. 60–61; Lorcin, Viuvi, p. 29.


81. Guastaverza, f. 12v; Bovi, ff. 2v–3r, 4r; Arnaldi, ff. 7r, 12r, 16v; Repeta, f. Su. For weaning, see Soranus’ Gynecology, pp. 118–19; Klapisch-Zuber, Women, pp. 570–71; Houlbrooke, English Family, pp. 136–37; though see Pollock, Forgotten Children, pp. 51–52.

82. Arnaldi, ff. 3r–v.

83. Muronovo, f. 63r; Repeta, f. 81v; Arnaldi, ff. 16v–17r.

84. Aries, Centuries, p. 128; De Mause, Evolution; Shorter, Making, pp. 169–785; Stone, Family, pp. 105–14. For refutations of the Aries thesis, see Shahar, Childhood; Gavitt, Charity, p. 19 and ch. 6; Weinstein and Bell, Saints, chs. 1–2; Goodich, Birth, pp. 2–4.


88. Lugli, Trattatisti, pp. 5–10; Salimbene from Paton, Preaching Friers, pp. 240, 244, 251.


97. The deaths of seventy-one men and fifty-nine women were recorded; among those under the age of twenty, the figures are thirty boys and nineteen girls.
98. Savonarola, Trattato, pp. 54–62; Alberti, Libri, p. 134. Preference for sons was widespread: Shahar, Childhood, pp. 43–45; Fabbri, Alleanza, pp. 75–76.
100. Quoted in Monaci, "Aspetti," p. 119.
103. In her testament, dated 21 April 1456, she was described as "aged 16 or so"; she was born on 21 October 1438: Arnaldi, f. 4r; A.S.V., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4554, 21 April 1456.
104. Klapisch-Zuber (Women, pp. 105, 154–55) thinks that girls were weaned earlier, which reduced their chances for survival, but also that girls were left with a wet nurse longer, which put them at greater risk: the two conclusions seem contradictory. Bennett (Women, pp. 68–70) thinks that girls had higher mortality rates because of abuse or neglect, but admits that demographic and court evidence does not indicate bias.
107. Gavitt, Charity, ch. 5 (noting on pp. 20, 205, 209 that the proportion of female foundlings was declining); Chojnacki, "Measuring Adulthood," pp. 375–77.
108. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 62, #79.

Chapter 3. Death

1. Several children are known only from birth notices; they probably died young, but uncertainty regarding their fates did not allow their inclusion in the sample.
4. Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Toscans, p. 452; Albini, Guerra, p. 170 (tab. 8). Youth mortality rates in the Veneto may be low because families that produced memoirs were wealthy, while evidence for other cities comes from the entire population; the rich suffered lower early mortality than the poor: Kirshner and Molho, "Dowry Fund,"


7. Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Toscans, p. 200. In the Veneto, the rate of those who died before age twenty increased between the first and second halves of the century; the deterioration of the mortality rate for girls was modest (34.3 percent versus 38.5 percent), while that for boys was appalling (28.9 percent versus 57.9 percent).

8. Morrison et al., “Epidemics,” pp. 532-33; Klapisch-Zuber, Women, p. 153; Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Toscans, pp. 192, 465. Winter is here defined as January through March, spring as April through June, summer as July through September, and fall as October through December.

9. In Florence, August was the most lethal month in normal years, and June through August the most lethal period in plague years; September brought some respite: Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Toscans, pp. 192, 465. The Veneto summer comes later and is less hot and dry, which might delay peaks in mortality.


14. Herlihy, “Population,” p. 104; Tagliaferri, Economia, p. 49; Collodo, “Artigiani,” pp. 424-25; idem, “Note,” p. 166; Ginatempo and Sandri, Italia, pp. 82-83. Herlihy’s figures are too high, since he counted all those listed in urban anagrai as members of urban households; but many dependents are clearly listed as resident on rural estates. Since the proportion of dependents grew over the course of the century, Herlihy’s reading would inflate the actual urban population.

15. Grubb, Firstborn, pp. 77-79; idem, “Ricerca”; Veronese disincentives to immigration in Statuti Veronae, pp. 25-28. In 1422 Vicentine councils, worried that the young were not marrying, ordered election of two “affable mediators” to arrange unions, but
the office is not mentioned after midcentury: Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 777, ff. 170r–71v. From the 1470s on the Venetian government progressively restricted the capacity of mainland rectors to grant tax exemptions to immigrants: Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 59, ff. 108r–v; Venice, Marciana, Ital. VII, 498 (8147), ff. 50r–v, 149v.


17. In addition to works cited in subsequent notes, see Ginatempo and Sandri, Italia; Grohmann, Città, I, pp. 75–78; Fornasari, “Economia,” p. 482; Comba, Contadini, pp. 75–76; Epstein, “Cities,” p. 17; for the Lyonnais recovery, see Lorcin, Campagnes, pp. 221–22.


22. Repeta, f. 77r; dal Bovo, f. 55r.

23. Dal Bovo, f. 115v. Giovanni Morelli (Ricordi, pp. 294–301) and the medical writer Tommaso del Garbo (Consiglio, ch. 1) also copied recipes against the plague but admitted that the only real remedy was flight.


25. Ius municipale, ff. 159v–60r, 162r, 166r; Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 777, ff. 82r–v, 99r. Vicentine dyers secured revocation of restrictive legislation, fulling and saw mills clustered along the city’s rivers, horses drank from the Bacchiglione, and butchers worked on a bridge: ibid., f. 133v–v; ivi, Arch. Torre 778, ff. 25v–26r, 61r, 75r–v, 77r; A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 16 August 1484. Veronese initiatives against pollution were not couched in terms of public health (pigs damaged property; use of toxic dyes harmed the reputation of the city’s cloth, and butchers threw offal into the Adige): A.S.Ver., AAC, reg. 56, ff. 132v–33v, 139v; ivi, reg. 63, ff. 48v–49r, 129r, 208r. In general, see Carmichael, Plague, pp. 99–107; idem, “Plague Legislation,” p. 510; Mazzi, “Peste,” pp. 108–9.


27. Ius municipale, f. 148v; similarly, Statuti Veronae, p. 66.

28. Verità, ff. 17r, 46v, 84v; Arnaldi, ff. 10r, 14r, 15r–16v; Repeta, f. 81r.

29. Repeta, f. 84v; Gottfried, Epidemic Disease, ch. 2; Corradi, Annali, pp. 251–335.


32. A.S.Ver., AAC, reg. 56, f. 261r; Mantese, Memorie, III, 2, p. 677; Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 60, f. 145r; Collodo, “Note,” p. 159.
35. Arnaldi, ff. Sr, 13v, 16v; Muronovo, f. 64r.
40. Arnaldi, ff. 91, 15r–v; Verità, ff. 17r, 84v–85r.
42. Tenenti, Senso, chs. 3–5; idem, Vie, chs. 1–2 and appendix B; idem, Senso, pp. 91–101; Rapp, “Reformes,” p. 59; Delumeau, Peché, chs. 2–3; Chiffoleau, Comptabilité, pp. 105–16; Vovelle, Mort, ch. 6.
46. A.S.Vic., Test., 29 December 1475 (1476 modern style).
48. Ius municipale, ff. 155r–v (but exempting burials of knights and their wives from limitations); A.S.Ver., AAC, reg. 56, ff. 8or (but cancelled within five years due to protests by the bishop and the order of Hermits: ibid., f. 12or); Strocchia, “Death Rites,” p. 130; Bonardi, Lusso, pp. 11–12.

51. Arnaldi, ff. 16v–17r.

52. A.S.Vic., Test., 21 May 1488 (Giovanni fu Simone Thiene), 12 July 1495 (Giovanni fu Clemente Thiene); A.S.Vic., Not., Francesco Soria 5013, s.d. 25 September 1494 (Monza).

53. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 31, #93 (Gabriele Verità); ivi, mazzo 93, #23 (Stoppi); ivi, mazzo 102, #85 (Verità Verità); ivi, mazzo 60, #50 (Paulino); Verona, Biblioteca Civica, ms. 938, f. 51 (San Michele). The eminent Veronese jurist Cristoforo Lanfranchini ordered a funeral “sine ulla pompa,” with only a priest, friars, and close kin present: Borelli, “Doctor,” p. 158. For a noble Paduan’s austere funeral, see de Sandre Gasparini, “Parola,” pp. 108–9.


55. Arnaldi, ff. 8r, 17r; A.S.Vic., Test., 22 August 1433 (Gaspare I); ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4560, 29 August 1463 (Tommaso); ivi, Not., Antonio Saraceni 4960, 23 November 1499 (Gaspare II).

56. McHam, “Donatello’s Tomb,” pp. 146, 163–65; Arslan, Catalogo, pp. 21, 26–27; Mantese, Memorie, 3, 2, pp. 904–5. On the rise of burial apud sanctos, with preference for proximity to the high altar, see Aries, Homme, p. 84; Chiffoleau, “Changer,” pp. 124–25.

57. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 31, #93 (Gabriele Verità); ivi, mazzo 60, #49 (Bonaventura Bovi); ivi, mazzo 81, #132 (Bonzanino Muronovo); ivi, mazzo 89, #161 (Giovio dal Bovo); ivi, mazzo 93, #23 (Alvise Stoppi); ivi, mazzo 102, #85 (Verità Verità); ivi, mazzo 128, #334 (Donato Stoppi).

58. Tenenti, Senso, chs. 1, 5; also Burke, “Death,” pp. 63–64.

59. Le Goff, Birth, pp. 5, 11–12.

60. Ibid., pp. 299, 319, 323–24.


64. Le Goff, Birth, chs. 1–4; Fumagalli, “Paesaggio,” p. 416; Pasche, Salut, p. 103; Aries, Homme, ch. 4; Vovelle, Mort, pp. 64–67. Gregory the Great told the story of a
monk who took money for his own use and died scorned by his brothers. When Gregory took pity on him and ordered thirty days of commemorative Masses, the monk appeared in a vision to testify to the relief he had received: Dialogi, IV, ch. 55.

65. Le Goff, Birth, pp. 69, 243, 248, 322.
67. Falco, Disposizioni, pp. 189-94; Vovelle, Mort, pp. 173-74; Repeta, f. 136r.
68. Aries, Attitudes, pp. 63-64; Cohn, Death, pp. 2, 56-57; Lorcin, Vivre, pp. 3-4; idem, “Clauses,” p. 287; but see Kuehn, “Law,” esp. p. 486.
69. Arnaldi, ff. 6r-v; A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4531, 22 August 1433; and see Hughes, “Famiglia,” pp. 931ff.
70. Mantese, Memorie, 3, 2, p. 677; A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4554, 21 April 1456; ivi, Test., 5 February 1489, 9 June 1492, 12 July 1495; Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 61, ff. 363r-66v. For notarial prompts in Tuscany, see Cohn, Cult, pp. 12-13, 15.
72. Mantese, Memorie, 3, 2, pp. 672-73; Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 61, ff. 67v-70r. For municipal administration of legacies elsewhere, see Pesce, Chiesa, pp. 55-59; Lorcin, “Clauses,” p. 288; Gavitt, Charity, p. 11; Banker, Death, p. 142; Albini, “Continuità,” pp. 342-43.
73. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 46, #10; ivi, mazzo 81, #45; ivi, Perg., Verità, ser. III, b. 7, #396. Vicenza’s Francesco Monza left 112 ducats to the poor, two hospitals, and a monastery, and 200 ducats to dower “poor maidens”: A.S.Vic., Test., 6 February 1487.
76. A.S.Vic., Test., 22 August 1433 (Gaspare I); ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4535, 22 May 1437 (patrimonial division); ibid. 4560, 29 August 1463 (Tommaso); ivi, Not., Antonio Saraceni 4960, 23 November 1499 (Gaspare II); 1453 Estimo, f. 8; 1460 Estimo, f. 103; 1477 Estimo, f. 6; 1505 Estimo, f. 2.
77. Lorcin, Vivre, pp. 150-51; Cohn, Death, pp. 18-20, 25-28, 120.
78. Collodo, “Artigiani,” p. 120; Borelli, “‘Doctor,’” p. 158. On growing harshness to the poor, see Swanson, Church, p. 103.
79. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 79, #27; ivi, mazzo 81, #12; ivi, mazzo 83, #103.
80. Lorcin, Vivre, pp. 148, 151; Cohn, Death, pp. 18-24, 120; see also Pasche, Salut, P. 93.
83. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 23 July 1471; A.S.Vic. Test., mazzo 31, #93; ivi, mazzo 102,
#85; ivi, Perg., Malaspina-Veritá, #39; see Lorcin, "Trois manieres," p. 8; Cohn, Death, pp. 50–51.
84. Cohn, Death, pp. 32–36; idem, Cult, pp. 32–33; Mantese, Memorie, 3, 2, pp. 317–23.
89. Cohn, Death, pp. 18–19, 28–32; Bonanno et al., "Legati," p. 194.
92. Chiffoleau, Comptabilité, p. 40; Pesche, Salut, p. 11; Cohn, Death, p. 15.
93. Arnaldi, f. 6r–v; A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4539, 4 August 1441; see also Repeta, f. 20v; Bertoliana, Gonz., Arch. Feramosca, Catastico #286; A.S.Vic., Perg., Guastaverza, b. I, #13–14, 19, 25. Of the 1,072 documents drawn up by one family of notaries in Vicenza in the 1476–1520 period, 2 percent are donationes inter vivos, twice the proportion of testaments: A.S.Vic., Not., Bartolomeo, Nicolo and Pace Scrofia.
95. Chiffoleau, Comptabilité, p. 40; Pesche, Salut, p. 11; Cohn, Death, p. 15.
96. Arnaldi, f. 6r–v; A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4539, 4 August 1441; see also Repeta, f. 20v; Bertoliana, Gonz., Arch. Feramosca, Catastico #286; A.S.Vic., Perg., Guastaverza, b. I, #13–14, 19, 25. Of the 1,072 documents drawn up by one family of notaries in Vicenza in the 1476–1520 period, 2 percent are donationes inter vivos, twice the proportion of testaments: A.S.Vic., Not., Bartolomeo, Nicolo and Pace Scrofia.
98. Gregory the Great, Dialogi IV, ch. 55; Le Goff, Birth, pp. 91–95, 146–47, 166, 275–76; Lorcin, "Clauses," pp. 319–21; Chiffoleau, Comptabilité, pp. 323–24; Strochia, Death, pp. 207–8.
100. Le Goff, Birth, pp. 124–27, 294.
101. These recalled the Masses that Gregory ordered for the soul of an errant monk: Dialogi IV, ch. 55. They had different formats in different places, and might take up to a year to complete: see Le Goff, Birth, pp. 92–93; Swanson, Church, p. 298; Chiffoleau,
“Usage,” p. 238; Pesce, Chiesa, p. 36; Vovelle, Mort, p. 169; Herbert, “Trentains.” They were rare in Florence: Bonanno et al., “Legati,” p. 212.

102. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 31, #93; also ivi, Perg., Guastaverza, #26; in general, Chiffoleau, Comptabilité, p. 326–28.

103. Lorcin, “Trois manières,” pp. 7–12; Fasoli, “Note,” pp. 121–22; Chiffoleau, Comptabilité, p. 349 (and Le Goff’s preface, p. ix); Crouzet-Pavan, Espaces, pp. 594–95; Vovelle, Mort, p. 173; Swanson, Church, pp. 294–98. Cohn, however, sees a growing incidence of perpetual Masses in Tuscany: Cult, p. 136; Swanson, Church, pp. 296–99; Rosenthal, Purchase, pp. 16–17.

104. Chiffoleau, “Usage”; Swanson, Church, p. 298.


108. Ibid., 2, pp. 373, 383; Repeta, f. 20v.

109. Cohn, Death, pp. 199–201; idem, Cult, pp. 197–98; Gottfried, Epidemic Disease, pp. 22–23; Pasche, Salut, p. 20; Condini, “Sondaggio,” p. 373; Gonon, Institutions, p. 50.

110. Us municipale, ff. 114r, 153v.


112. Aries, Homme, p. 79; Cohn, Death, pp. 201–2; and see Chiffoleau, “Changer,” pp. 125–26.


Chapter 4. Household and Family


2. Kuehn, Law, p. 172; A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 81, #45; similarly, ivi, #12 (“in familia dictorum de Bovo”).

3. A.S.Ver., AAC, reg. 56, f. 148; see also Vocabularius, s.v. domus (defined either “per omnibus cohabitationibus in domo” or agnatio); Kent and Kent, Neighbours, p. 255; Herlihy, “Family,” p. 4; Besta, Famiglia, p. 25; Heers, Family Clans, pp. 104–5.


6. Us municipale, ff. 9v, 10r, 12r; Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 167, fasc. 8, ff. 1r–2v; similarly, in Verona (Statuti Veronae, pp. 23, 42). For boundaries elsewhere, see Roveda, “Istituzioni,” p. 60; Crouzet-Pavan, Espaces, pp. 393–94.

7. Us municipale, ff. 114r–v, 156r–v, 61v, 87r, 102r–3r, 131r–v, 144v; Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 60, ff. 129r–v; see also Statuti Veronae, pp. 25, 106, 134–35.
8. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 31, #93 (Gabriele Verità); ivi, mazzo 102, #85 (Verità Verità); similarly, ivi, mazzo 81, #45 (Aventino Fracastoro); A.S.Vic., Test., 21 May 1488, 28 April 1497.
23. Bovi, ff. 4v–5r, 6v–7r, 13r, 20v–21r; Stoppi, f. 21r; Repeta, ff. 97v, 131v.
27. A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4559, 26 October 1462 (Tommaso Arnaldi); A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 81, #45 (Aventino Fracastoro); in general, Hilaire, Regime, pp. 217-48.
29. Ius municipale, ff. 164v-65r; Statuti Veronae, p. 150.
30. Ius municipale, f. 11v; Arnaldi, f. 18r; Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 1653, s.d. 30 May 1498.
31. Ius municipale, ff. 156r-v, 87v.
32. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 31, #93 (Gabriele Verità); ivi, mazzo 79, #27 (Bartolomeo dal Bovo); ivi, mazzo 81, #132 (Bonzanino Muronovo); mazzo 93, #209 (Fracastoro).
34. Chojnacki, "Political Adulthood"; Ruggiero, Violence, esp. ch. 5, and Boundaries.
35. A.S.Vic., Test., 22 August 1433 (Arnaldi), 3 October 1417 (Domenico da Quinto), 16 March 1423 (Marco da Bolzano), 12 July 1495 (Giovanni Thiene); A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 60, #49 (Bovi); ivi, mazzo 81, #45 (Fracastoro); ivi, mazzo 89, #39 (Verità).
37. Ius municipale, ff. 21r, 49r, 88r, 90v-93r; for the Auditori Nuovi, see Marciana, Ital. VII, 1759 (8419), bk. A, III, 26 July 1472; VII, 21 May 1451; bk. B, rubric 46; Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 59, ff. 11v-12v; in general, Besta, Famiglia, pp. 242-43; idem, Successioni, ch. 54; Niccolai, Formazione, pt. I, ch. 6; de Renzo Villata, "Note," pp. 64-68, 81-89.
38. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 9 January 1465, 16 December 1465, 19 April 1466, 18 February 1467, 12 November 1467; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4563, 8 February 1466.
41. Ius municipale, ff. 156r-v; a model case in A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 7 May 1450.
42. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 21 January 1466, 5 November 1466, 1 May 1467, 21 May 1467, 23 May 1467, 14 November 1467.
44. A.S.Ver., Anag. Prov. 774; Borelli, "Doctor," pp. 156-57; Freschi, ff. 40r, 45r; see also de Martin, "Borghesi," p. 91.
46. Laslett, "Introduction" to Household, p. xii.
47. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 17 August 1457, 27 February 1476; Arnaldi, f. 9v.
48. Libro, #293.
50. Herlihy, "Family," pp. 2-7; Besta, Famiglia, pp. 15-16; Vegio, Vocabularia, s.v. famiglia.
51. Arnaldi, f. 16v; Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 349, fasc. 6, ff. 15r-16r.
54. Donato Stoppo had to offer dowry incentives for women to remain in the house for at least eight years: A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 128, #.334. Florentine women's service was usually transient (Klapisch-Zuber, "Women Servants," pp. 61, 68–71; idem, "Come valutare," p. 43), and Venetian women servants had shorter-term contracts than male colleagues (Romano, Housecraft, ch. 4).
56. Idem, "Come valutare," p. 43.)
57. Some 60 percent of abandoned children in Florence were born to servants and slaves, and many of these were probably bastards: Gavitt, Charity, p. 20.
59. Klapisch-Zuber, Women, pp. 106–8, 175–76; Boswell, Kindness, pp. 400–403, 420–21; Ruggiero, Boundaries, pp. 40–41, 107–8; Guarducci and Ottanelli, Servitori, ch. 6. Some 60 percent of abandoned children in Florence were born to servants and slaves, and many of these were probably bastards: Gavitt, Charity, p. 20.
56. Idem, "Come valutare," p. 43.)
57. Idem, "Come valutare," p. 43.)
59. Klapisch-Zuber, Women, pp. 106–8, 175–76; Boswell, Kindness, pp. 400–403, 420–21; Ruggiero, Boundaries, pp. 40–41, 107–8; Guarducci and Ottanelli, Servitori, ch. 6. Some 60 percent of abandoned children in Florence were born to servants and slaves, and many of these were probably bastards: Gavitt, Charity, p. 20.
60. Idem, "Come valutare," p. 43.)
70. *Ius municipale*, ff. 114r–v.


74. A.S.Vic., Test., 18 December 1441; A.S.Ver., *Perg.*, Verità, ser. III, fasc. 7, #396; A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 62, #79 (earlier testament in ivi, mazzo 60, #49); ivi, mazzo 93, #209.

75. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 31 May 1473; A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 46, #10, 76; a similar case in ivi, *Perg.*, Guastaverza, b. I, #22. For Venice, see Crouzet-Pavan, *Espaces*, pp. 419, 461. Tuscan daughters were not preferred as heirs to distant male kin, and the incidence of such cases declined: Cohn, *Cult*, p. 197.


78. A.S.Vic., Test., 9 January 1489.

79. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 60, #46 (Verità); A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 17 July 1443; A.S.Vic., Test., 23 July 1430, 21 September 1434, 13 August 1436.

80. A.S.Vic., Test., 20 December 1435, 12 September 1440, 3 July 1476; A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 102, #187.


82. A.S.Vic., Test., mazzo 79, #27; ivi, mazzo 81, #12; ivi, mazzo 83, #103.

83. A.S.Vic., Test., 3 October 1417, 16 March 1423, 18 December 1441.


85. Only some Veneto testaments referred to *fidecommesso*, but nonalienation clauses are virtually identical throughout. For example, Gabriele Verità and Aventino Fracastoro made similar provisions, but the former explicitly invoked *fideicommissum* and the latter never used the term: A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 31, #93; ivi, mazzo 81, #45.


88. A.S.Vic., Test., 25 March 1421, 11 September 1430, 22 August 1433 (Gaspare
Arnaldi); A.S.Vic., Notarile, Antonio Saraceni 4960, 23 November 1499 (Gaspare II Arnaldi).

89. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 31, #93.

90. A common name was not prerequisite to membership in the family. To Manfredo Repeta, the second and third cousins who bore surnames such as Zanfata, Repetti, and Trivisolo still counted among the caxa di Ropeti: Repeta, f. 97v.

91. Dal Bovo, f. 51v.


95. A.S.Vic., Test., 22 August 1433; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4560, 29 August 1463; A.S.Ver., Perg., Verità, reg. III, fasc. 7, #396; ivi, Test., mazzo 31, #93.


98. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 31, #93 (Gabriele Verità); ivi, mazzo 60, #49 (Bonaventura Bovi); ivi, mazzo 79, #27 (Bartolomeo dal Bovo); ivi, mazzo 81, #132 (Bonzanino Muronovo); ivi, mazzo 89, #39 (Pietro Verità); ivi, mazzo 93, #23 (Alvise Stoppi); ivi, mazzo 102, #85 (Verità Verità); A.S.Vic., Test., 22 August 1433, 29 December 1475 (Marco Thiene), 5 February 1489; A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4560, 29 August 1463; Arnaldi, ff. 8r, 16v–17r. For ego-centered suffrages, see ch. 3. Florentines established commemorative liturgies that proclaimed the names of all the family’s dead at regular intervals: Kent, Household, pp. 100–102; Kent and Kent, “Pact,” p. 346.

99. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 79, #27; A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4535, 22 May 1437; ibid. 4537, 10 February 1439; ibid. 4543, 6 June 1443.

100. Vicenza, Arch. Curia, Feudi, reg. 26, 27 November 1478.

101. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 9 January 1465; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4563, 8 February 1466; ivi, Notarile, Cristoforo Bassan 36, 23 February 1481; ibid. 37/38, 29 March 1473, 6 April 1478, 27 April 1482.

102. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 18 April 1470, 11 June 1487; ivi, Notarile, Cristoforo Bassan 38, 10 September 1477.

103. A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4563, 26 July 1466; ivi, PO, AP, 30 July 1471, 27 February 1476; ivi, Not., Cristoforo Bassan 37/38, 29 March 1473, 6 April 1478.

104. Stoppi, ff. 3v–9r. For Florence, Hurtubise (Salviati, pp. 84–85) and Kent (Household) think that family economic consortia were common; Goldthwaite (“Organizzazione economica,” pp. 4–9) finds few joint interests.

NOTES TO PAGES 105–108

106. A.S.Vic, PO, AP, 13 April 1456, 9 January 1465, 13 March 1470; ivi, Not., Bortolino Bassan 4557, 2 May 1460.


108. Only Vicentines possessed of firm surnames were counted. Toponymic surnames were excluded, as were cases in which a family reported a single household in an estimo. The mean index for memorialist families in Verona’s estimi of 1447 (1.6), 1465 (1.7), 1473 (1.4), 1482 (1.3), and 1502 (1.9) is 1.6 (177 households); the mean index for Vicenza’s estimi of 1453 (1.6), 1460 (1.6), 1477 (1.8), and 1503 (1.9) is 1.7 (1,159 households).


Chapter 5. Work

6. Bertoliana, Gonzati 309, f. 7v; ibid. 544, ff. 64r, 67r.
7. Zanazzo (*Arte*, pp. 21–22, 32) and Brunello (“Arti,” pp. 288–89) argue for a merger of Vicentine mercatores and lanarii around 1389, but they are belied by separate matricole (Bertoliana, Gonz. 309 and 544) that continue into the mid-fifteenth century; see also Pozza, “Corporazioni,” pp. 262–64; *l us municipale*, ff. 15v, 148r. Verona’s *ars draperiorum* was distinct from and superior to the *ars scapizatorum*: *Statuti Veronae*, p. 188. For a similar division in Padua, see Cessi, “Privilgia,” pp. 305–10.


13. Sales of semifinished goods throughout A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA (cloth transfer, 12 June 1439; putting out, 3 December 1451); ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4559, 26 January 1462; ibid. 4560, 25 February 1463.

14. Contracts throughout A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA; ivi, PO, AP, 10 May 1451; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4540, 1 March 1442; ibid. 4548, 15 December 1450; ibid. 4549, 12 May 1451; ivi, Not., Cristoforo Bassan 34, 21 January 1445; statutes on soccide in lus municipale, ff. 1671–v.

15. He formed at least two additional large-scale partnerships with Lombard cousins, though their duration and capitalization are unknown: Stoppi, ff. 3v–4v, 5v–7r.

16. Lecce, *Ricerche*, pp. 270–73, 281–82, 303–10; a similar Paduan company is described in Collodo, "Artigianati," pp. 409–10. Arnaldi examples are: A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4535, 7 December 1437; ibid. 4538, 16 February 1440, 31 March 1440, 27 April 1440, 7 September 1440; ibid. 4540, 27 February 1442; ibid. 4545, 4 October 1446; ibid. 4547, 15 February 1449, 7 November 1449; ibid. 4549, 26 February 1451, 9 October 1451; ibid. 4550, 14 March 1452, 22 August 1452; ibid. 4554, 18 June 1456; ibid. 4555, 9 January 1457; ibid. 4556, 4 August 1459; ibid. 4563, 8 February 1466; ivi, Not., Cristoforo Bassan 34, 10 March 1453, 21 March 1453, 3 March 1459; ibid. 37, 8 June 1457, 29 March 1473; ivi, PO, LAGA, 17 February 1452; ivi, PO, AP, 5 December 1448.


23. Law, “Verona,” pp. 21–22; Lecce, Vicende, pp. 54–57; Varanini, “Vicenza,” pp. 232–38; idem, Comuni, pp. 207–11, 335–37; fierce protest of the 1475 order—even though Verona’s cloth paid lower taxes than that of other cities—in A.S. Ver., AAC, reg. 63, ff. 137v–38r. In the wine trade, Veronese protest and evasion maintained traditional export routes and markets; they used the Venetian market when conditions were favorable, and avoided it when taxes and fees were too steep: Varanini, Comuni, pp. 207–8.


37. Lecce, Vicende, pp. 60, 64–85.


40. Zanazzo, Arte, pp. 6–8, 99–101; Brunello, Arti, pp. 295–96; Mazzaoui, Cotton Industry, pp. 132–33; Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 61, ff. 341r–v, 376r–77r; Mantese, Memorie, 3, 2, pp. 631–34; Statuti Veronae, Parties et decreta, pp. 118–19; Lecce, Vicende,
ch. 3. According to Tagliaferri, the number of silk workers in Verona rose from eight in 1409 to sixteen in 1509, compared with upwards of a thousand in the wool trade (Economia, pp. 140–43, 181–82), but he counts all unspecified spinners and weavers within the wool industry when they may, in fact, have handled silk.

41. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 9 November 1431.


43. Maschio, “Peronio,” esp. pp. 120–21; A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 3 April 1443; Ius municipale, ff. 143v; and see the sixteenth-century map reproduced in Vicenza Illustrata.

44. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 4 December 1431, 13 January 1436 (versus portam sancti Laurentii); ivi, Not., Giorgio Serrature 6, 19 January 1432.

45. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 14 February 1439; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4537, 10 February 1439. The Arnaldi also owned a shop in the lower part (a capite inferiori) of the Peronio, toward the garzerias, but apparently rented it out: ivi, PO, LAGA, 25 February 1443, 3 April 1443; ivi, PO, AP, 20 February 1449.

46. A.S.Vic., Arch., Piovene Orgian, Arnaldi parchments, 15 April 1452 (catastico 207); ivi, Liber Actoris Gasparis Arnaldi, 22 September 1453.

47. Varanini (“Campagne”) thinks it refers to wholesale, Tagliaferri (Economia, pp. 139–45) to retail; the Arnaldi, at least, sold from very small to very large quantities.


49. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 7 April 1438, 23 May 1438, 16 October 1452.

50. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 18 January 1442, 22 May 1443, 9 November 1448, 3 December 1448, 14 March 1449.

51. Fustian and pignolato are sometimes interchangeable: Mazzaoui, Cotton Industry, pp. 69, 84, 90, 164; A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4553, 1 March 1455; ivi, PO, LAGA, 15 November 1431, 2 July 1438, 6 May 1439, 28 May 1446; ivi, PO, AP, 25 June 1435. Pignolati was usually sold by the “piece,” of undefined dimensions: ibid., 10 June 1444, 3 September 1444, 2 January 1445, 25 February 1446, 23 April 1446, 5 December 1448, 17 August 1453.


53. A.S.Vic., Not., Giorgio Serrature 6, 19 January 1432; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4545, 8 October 1446; ibid. 4557, 22 March 1455; ibid. 4559, 26 January 1462; ibid. 4563, 8 February 1466. ivi, PO, AP, 31 January 1447, 22 April 1469; ivi, PO, LAGA, 9 November 1431, 3 December 1453.

54. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 6 May 1439, 26 April 1446, 25 September 1447, 23 May 1449, 7 July 1449, 1 September 1450, 2 November 1451.


56. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 20 August 1436, 21 April 1446, 10 July 1452.

57. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 1 March 1436, 11 May 1444, 26 April 1449, 10 July 1452, 17 February 1459.
58. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 20 August 1436, 2 January 1439, 30 February 1439 (sic), 13 March 1439, 2 January 1441, 1 August 1446, 21 November 1448, 24 November 1450, 5 April 1454; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4551, 8 December 1453.

59. A.S.Vic., Not., Giorgio Serrature 6, 19 January 1432; ivi, PO, AP, 19 June 1437, 14 August 1445; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4548, 9 March 1450, 4 August 1450; ivi, PO, LAGA, 16 January 1439, 23 September 1441, 5 October 1442, 6 March 1446; ivi, Not., Cristoforo Bassan 34, 2 June 1456.

60. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 1 December 1441, 2 January 1445; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4550, 14 March 1452.

61. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 1 June 1452; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4549, 24 September 1451.

62. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 17 March 1440, 9 June 1442, 27 February 1443, 3 October 1444, 16 October 1452, 19 December 1452, 12 April 1453.

63. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 6 July 1454; ivi, PO, LAGA, 8 July 1452.

64. A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4553, 1 March 1455; ivi, PO, LAGA, 8 March 1459; ivi, Not., Cristoforo Bassan 37/38, 1477–78.


66. Silvestro’s career can be reconstructed from a set of minute and an account book: A.S.Vic., Notarile, Cristoforo Bassan 38; ivi, PO, Vic. 152; see also ivi, PO, AP, 18 May 1484, 6 January 1502, 26 Feb. 1505; ivi, Not., Antonio Saraceni 4951, 6 June 1492; ibid. 4953, 14 January 1494; ibid. 4960, 6 January 1502.


68. A summary of the literature in Balestracci, “Lavoro.”

69. Varanini, Comuni, p. 137.

70. Herlihy (“Family and Property,” p. 11) sees the lower classes lacking liquidity; Goldthwaite (Building, p. 302) disagrees.


73. Repeta, f. 96v.


76. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 5 November 1466, 21 June 1501, 19 February, 19 May, 5 December 1506; ivi, Not., Antonio Saraceni 4961, 12 February 1506, 10 May 1506; ibid. 4962, 5 December 1506; ibid. 4963, 27 May 1507.

77. Varanini, “Fisco,” pp. 224–26, 237–45 (reprint in Comuni); Statuti Veronae, pp. 88–92; Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 787, ff. 3r–4r; lus municipale, ff. 23r–32r, 35v–38r; fines in Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 1108–12.


79. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 61, f. 231r (= Zanazzo, Arte, doc. 28); Mackinney, Tradesmen, pp. 82–84; Lecce, Vicende, p. 44; Varanini, “Fisco,” pp. 225–26. This was condemned by St. Antoninus, among others: Spicciani, Capitale, p. 147.
80. A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4547, 1 December 1450; ibid. 4557, 21 March 1460; ibid. 4554, 26 January 1456; ivi, PO, AP, 18 May 1484.


83. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 21 August 1495 through 5 December 1506.

84. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 3 July 1448; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4547, 21 June 1449.

85. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 16 January 1439.

86. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 4 May 1461, 1 and 21 May 1467. When the Arnaldi bought land in Villabolzana from a Veronese, they provided 89 percent of the price in credits they were owed in Verona (ibi, 20 February 1449); the figure rose to 99 percent in the purchase of Poiana land a decade later (ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4555–56, 13 April 1459) and 100 percent in a 1484 Marola purchase (ivi, Not., Cristoforo Bassan 38, 4 May 1484).

87. So Jacopo Casone declared a debt of L. 38/5 to Andrea Arnaldi, who had paid L. 71/15 to Desseno Clivone for Jacopo’s taxes, s. 23/2 for Jacopo’s brother’s rent, and L. 3/15 to Cristoforo Muzani for Jacopo’s horse; Jacopo owed the rest for goods and services received from Andrea: A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 25 February 1443.

88. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 5 January 1440.

89. A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4538, 17 November 1440.

90. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 30 July 1471; similarly, 20 February 1470, 13 January 1474; ivi, Not., Antonio Saraceni 4952, 3 August 1493; ibid. 4959, 15 November 1498.

91. A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4550, 1 June 1452.


93. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 12 May 1438; similarly, 30 September 1440, 8 May 1442, 1 September 1450; later examples in ivi, Not., Antonio Saraceni 4951, 21 March and 6 June 1492; ibid. 4955, 1 June 1495; ibid. 4958, 5 August 1497.

94. A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4552, 21 May 1454; ibid. 4551, 1453; ivi, PO, LAGA, 8–10 July 1458.


98. A.S.Ven., Senato Terra 4, f. 7v.

99. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 59, f. 355v (but soon relaxed to permit *patroni* to accept equivalents in kind, despite time lag and price change, though monetary profit was illicit: ibid., ff. 188r–v; ivi, Arch. Torre 61, ff. 212r, 256r–v).

100. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 59, ff. 86r–87v, 188v–89r, 338v. For similar legislation in Siena, see Pinto, "Note," p. 12.
103. A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 89, #161 (Giorgio Bovi). Cohn thinks restitution gradually declined in Siena (Death, pp. 51–53, 100), but Fumi thinks it was frequent (Storia, pp. 97–102).
104. A.S.Vic, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4553, 19 March 1455.
105. Quoted in Spiccianni, Capitale, p. 27.
108. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 28 February 1438, 7 October 1452; ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4543, 10 January 1444; ibid. 4544, 13 August 1445.
113. Bertoliana, Gonz. 533, f. 132r; A.S.Vic., Collegio dei Notai 51, ff. 47r, 49r, 61r; matriculation from Bertoliana, Gonz. 535, ff. 62r, 76v; A.S.Vic., Collegio dei Notai 89, s.d. 1424.
114. A.S.Vic., Collegio dei Notai 6, ff. 11, 6r, 8r, 9v–10r, 19r, 34r, 37v, 41v, 43v, 45r, 49r, 53v, 65r, 711, 76r; Sancassani, Documenti, pp. 133, 145, 150–52; Bovi from ivi, Anag. Prov. 590 and Test., mazzu 62, #79. Dal Bovo’s occupation may be inferred from his title ser, commonly applied to notaries (ivi, Anag. Com. 909).
115. Vicentine processional rankings in Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 777, ff. 108r–v; ivi, Arch. Torre 318, fasc. 2, f. 111r; lus municipale, ff. 147v–48v. Earlier Veronese notaries formed an ars and marched with guilds, but in 1438 the corporation was reitit in a college and grouped with physicians and judges: Statuti Veronae, p. 188; Sancassani, “Notai,” p. 255.
116. Statuti … MCCLXIV, p. 72; Brunello, Arti, pp. 274–75; lus municipale, f. 15v.
118. A.S.Vic., Collegio dei Notai 89, s.d. 1 April 1421; Bertoliana, Gonz. 535, ff. 47r, 50v, 571, 59r–60v, 96r, 99v, 102v; minimum age from ivi, Gonz. 533, f 78r; ivi, Gonz. 187, f. 8r. For enrollment of underage notaries elsewhere, see Valori, “Famiglia,” p. 292; Liva, Notariato, p. 159.


121. A.S.Vic., Collegio dei Notai 91, 1444; Feramosca, s.d. 1466.

122. A.S.Vic., Collegio dei Notai 114. For the imperial notariate elsewhere, see Notai, pp. 24–25; Calleri, Arte, p. 29; Betto, Collegi, p. 94; Tamassia, Famiglia, p. 101; Aubenas, Notariat, p. 73; Liva, Notariato, pp. 150–55.


124. A.S.Ver., Collegio dei notai, reg. 6; Statuti Veronae, pp. 29–30, 50, 56, 72, 85; Cristofoletti, “Cenni,” pp. 326, 329; Sancassani, Documenti, p. 36; for Treviso, see Betto, Collegi, pp. 22, 27 and rubrics 23–24, 33.


127. Arnaldi, ff. 19r–20r; Bertoliana, Gonz. 535, ff. 26v, 44r, 46v, 106r, 111v, 130r, 133v.

128. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 15 April 1441, 20 June 1453; rules allowing substitution in Marciana, Latin V, 124 (2639), 1r–4r (notaries of Marostica); Bertoliana, Gonz. 187, ff. 1r–31r.

129. Bertoliana, Gonz. 533, rubrics 107, 188.

130. Ius municipale, ff. 47r–52r.


133. A.S.Vic., Collegio dei Notai, regs. 38, 45; Bertoliana, Gonz. 533, ff. 76v–162v.


136. Sancassani, Documenti, p. 18; Statuti Veronae, pp. 67–71; Vicentine standards in Ius municipale, ff. 49r–52r, 53v. The three stages of redaction were standard, though local time limits for each stage varied: Notai, pp. 19, 45–46; Calleri, Arte, ch. 10; Costamagna, Notai, ch. 2; Petrucci, “Modello,” pp. 130–31; Sarti, Notai, p. xxviii; Liva, Notariato, III, sec. 2.

137. Statuti Veronae, pp. 72–78; Ius municipale, ff. 52v–56r.

138. A.S.Ver., Collegio dei Notai, reg. 6, f. 4v; see also Calleri, Arte, plates 4, 8.

139. in unione secum stantis et habitantis ac in notariato facientis: A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4541, 20 November 1442.

140. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 6 May 1439; ivi, PO, AP, 26 September 1442 (redacted by

141. A.S. Vic., PO, AP, 11 June 1448, 23 November 1465.
142. E.g., A.S. Vic., Not., Cristoforo Bassan 37f38, 27 January 1480.
143. In a typical instance, he did not fill in any details of a land sale but instead ended abruptly with the comment "in forma consueta prout ad carta 30 in prima facie usque ad verba 'promisitque dictus' exclusive mutatis tamen mutandis, deinde sic compleatur ...": A.S. Vic., Not., Antonio Saraceni 4955, 1 June 1495.
144. A.S. Vic., PO, LAGA, 12 July 1440; see also ibid., 18 August 1442, 25 September 1447. For Florence, see Notaio, p. 52.
145. Tagliaferri, Economia, p. 132. Vicentine calculations are made from 142 cases of notaries whose registers survive (i.e., the practicing notariate) and whose estimi can be located.
147. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 61, ff. 22v–24v; Ius municipale, ff. 86v–88r.
148. A.S. Vic., PO, AP, 13 May 1436; similarly, ibid., 11 January 1489, 9–11 September 1487, 16 May 1489; ivi, LAGA, 29 January 1440, 3 October 1443.
149. A.S. Vic., PO, LAGA, 18 June 1437; similarly, 27 February 1443; ivi, PO, AP, 24 October 1457.
150. A.S. Vic., PO, LAGA, 31 March 1439, 12 July 1440, 17 September 1440, 30 September 1440, 7 August 1441, 16 June 1444, 2 July 1445, 26 October 1445, 6 September 1446; ivi, PO, AP, 14 May 1449, 21 October 1486; ivi, Not., Cristoforo Bassan 38, 10 September 1477.
151. A.S. Vic., PO, LAGA, 20 April 1435, 6 February 1441.
152. A.S. Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4544, 13 November 1445; ivi, PO, LAGA, 17 September 1440, 27 February 1443; ivi, Not., Cristoforo Bassan 37/38, 27 January 1480, 10 February 1480; PO, AP, 10 December 1495; ivi, Not., Antonio Saraceni 4956, 1 and 5 January 1496.
154. A.S. Vic., PO, LAGA, 29 January 1440, 31 January 1443, 25 February 1443, 27 January 1444, 23 September 1445 (all in the one to four ducat range), 21 November 1442, 9 June 1438, 18 October 1441, 3 September 1443.
155. A.S. Vic., PO, 29 September 1359–14 December 1360, 10 August 1363, 2 July 1364.
156. A.S. Vic., PO, LAGA, 2 April 1442, 1 June 1452; ivi, PO, AP, 14 May 1449, 16 May 1454 (colte of 1445); ivi, Not., Bortolo Bassan 4548, 2 December 1450; ibid., 4549, 24 September 1451.
159. A.S. Ven., Senato Terra 5, f. 183v; ibid. 7, ff. 113r, 130r.
161. A.S. Pad., Archivi Famigli Diversi, Obizzi 223.
162. A.S. Vic., Not., Bortolo Aviano 4760, fasc. 1, f. 48r; ivi, PO, AP, 12 January and 7 August 1497.
Chapter 6. Land


8. In one complex but routine case, the Arnaldi divided the collateral into thirty shares that the borrower redeemed piecemeal over the course of a decade: A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 15–18 February 1471; ivi, Not., Cristoforo Bassan 35, 6 November 1475, 12 April 1477; ibid. 36, 1478, 2 January 1481.

9. A.S.Vic., Notarile, Bortolo Bassan 4544, 13 August 1445; ibid. 4545, 28 June 1446; ibid. 4553, 6 February 1455; ibid 4556, 7 June 1459; ibid. 4557, 1 May 1460; ibid. 4558, 31 March 1461; ibid. 4559, 14 January 1462; ibid. 4560, 19 February and 2 August 1463; ivi, Not., Cristoforo Bassan 36, 31 December 1478 (with ibid. 35, 22 March 1471); ibid. 35, 6 November 1475 (with ibid. 35, 12 April 1477; ibid. 36, 2 January 1481; ivi, PO, AP, 15–18 February 1471); ibid. 36, 27 May 1477, 31 December 1478 (with ibid. 35, 29 May 1472); ibid. 35, 6 April 1474 (with ibid. 37/38, 29 March 1479); ibid. 36, 3 April 1479; ibid. 38, 23 March 1481, 1 January 1482, 26 August 1483, 3 September 1484, 10 January 1486; franchises from PO, AP, 14 November 1503, 28 March 1504.


14. A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4546, 16 June 1447; ibid. 4556, 13 April 1459; ivi, PO, AP, 20 February 1449.

15. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 10 December 1495; ivi, Not., Antonio Saraceni 4956, 1 January 1496.


17. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 7 May 1450, 15–18 February 1471; ivi, Not., Cristoforo Bassan 35, 5 May 1471.

18. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 1 September 1453, 9 February 1454, 27 February 1454, 19 February 1459, 26 May 1470; ivi, Not. Bortolo Bassan 4555, 10 September 1457; Vicenza,


30. The Arnaldi archive and notarial documents in the 1400–1499 period give information on 4,853 pieces of cultivated property; the average piece totaled 4.24 campi. The Lisiera average is about 4 campi, and that of Dueville (excluding a few large waste


32. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 1 December 1450, 19 November 1451, 9 February 1454; ivi, LAGA, 23 March 1454. Partiary tenures were also rare in Padua and Friuli: de Sandre Gasparini, Contadini, p. 58; Cammarosano, Campagne friulane, chs. 2–4.

33. "Emphiteosis dicitur etiam locatio in perpetuam pro uno nummo annuatim solvendo": Baldus, quoted in Bertrachini, Repertorium, s.v. emphiteosis.


37. Cariota-Ferrara, Enfiteusi, p. 43.

38. A.S.Vic., Not., Antonio Saraceni 4956, 1–5 January 1496; ibid. 4964, 7 June 1507; ivi, PO, AP, 14 May 1468, 21 February 1471, 10 January 1489, 10 May 1491, 10 December 1495, 9 July 1500.

39. Cariota-Ferrara, Enfiteusi, pp. 74–78; lus municipale, ff. 15or–51r.


41. A.S.Vic. PO, AP, 1 March 1498; similarly, 27 May 1505; ivi, Not., Antonio Saraceni 4966, 21 August 1508.

42. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 777, f. 62r; ivi, 776, f. 27v; Mantese, Memorie, 3, 1, pp. 475–76, 503, 511–12.


47. Reduced rents in A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4546, 21 March 1449; ibid. 4547, 2 September 1449; ivi, Not., Cristoforo Bassan 38, 15 May 1483; ivi, Not., Antonio Saraceni 4956, 24 January 1508; increase in ivi, PO, AP, 3 April 1481.

48. A.S.Ver., Perg., Guastaverza, busta 35, #30; A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 6 June 1447, 24 Jan-
uary 1453, 1 September 1453, 4 February 1454, 27 February 1454, 19 February 1459, 9 January 1465, 26 January 1470, 3 April 1481; ibid., Notarile, Bortolo Bassan 4531, 22 January 1433; ibid., 4546, 21 March 1449; Vicenza, Arch. Cap., Libro Primo Magre, ff. 72r–v; for Padua, see Rigon, *Clero*, p. 205.


52. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 29 December 1484; similarly, ibid., 21 August 1495, 9 July 1500; ibid., Not., Antonio Saraceni 4955, 4 November 1495; Verona's Trivelli, whose lands were dispersed in the Trecento, later concentrated on a few sites in the Valpolicella: de Martini, "Borghesi," pp. 96–97.


57. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 5 November 1427, 20 January 1440, 22 May 1448; ibid., PO, LAGA, 16 October 1452; ibid., Not., Cristoforo Bassan 37/38, 23 March 1479.


61. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 12 December 1447; see Mometto, Azienda, p. 52.


64. Grubb, "Patrimonio," p. 272; A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4530, 11 December 1432; A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 5 February and 10 April 1483, 8 February 1483; common lands from Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 373, fasc. 11, 22 January 1457, 14–15 March 1458, 9 October 1459, 26 April 1475, 20 December 1500.  

65. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 24 July 1449, 13 January 1450, 9 May 1450, 7–12 October 1450, 1 December 1450, 1 March 1451, 28 March 1452; ivi, Not., Cristoforo Bassan 38, 10 September 1477.  


68. Ius municipale, ff. 35v–38r, 90v–91r, 112v–13v, 149v–51r; Statuti Veronae, pp. 112–16.  

69. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 31 January 1447; similarly, 12 November 1360.  

70. A.S.Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4539, 26 October 1441; Osheim, "Countrymen," pp. 328, 335.  

71. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 2 May and 22 August 1489; ivi, Pogg. No. 1.  


74. Ius Municipale, f. 104r; Monaco, Aspetti, p. 122. Women also appeared as nuntia of male debtors in civil suits: A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 10 October 1431, 13–22 March 1432.  

75. Ius municipale, f. 59v; Statuti Veronae, p. 118.  


79. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 59, f. 181r; A.S.Ven., Senato Terra 2, f. 72v. This principle overturned a Vicentine statute of 1311 that all rustici of a village were liable for individual debts: Bertoliana, Gonzati 566, bk. IV, rubric 100.  

80. A.S.Ven., Senato Terra 4, ff. 94v, 183v; Statuti Veronae, p. 117 and Partes et de-
creta, pp. 19, 21; Varanini, Comuni, pp. 159–60. These laws and that of 1448 were repeated in 1476: Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 59, ff. 181r–v, 302v–31r.


86. Marciana, Latin V, 62 (2356), f. 1r; A.S.Ven., Senato Terra 5, f. 192v; ivi, Senato Terra 8, f. 110v; Grubb, Firstborn, ch. 6 and p. 103; Viggiano, Governanti, p. 272.

87. A.S.Ven., Senato Terra 1, f. 38v; ivi, Capi dei Dieci, Lettere Ricevute 2, #3.

88. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 61, ff. 40r–41r (Cogollo); ivi, Gonz. 572, ff. 200v–201r (Mason); ivi, Arch. Torre 59, ff. 213v–15r; A.S.Ven., Capi dei Dieci, Lettere, 1500 #417, 1501 #108, 132, 1502 #44, 223, 232; ibid., Lettere di Rettori 223, #24; ivi, Dieci Misti 29, ff. 58v, 77r, 161r–v; ivi, Senato Terra 14, ff. 198r-199v; ivi, Capi dei Dieci, Lettere, 1502 #176 and ibid. 223, #15, 17; ivi, Dieci Misti 29, f. 19r (Marostica); on exiles, see Grubb, Firstborn, pp. 106–7.

89. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 777, ff. 95v–96v; ivi, Arch. Torre 61, ff. 118v–21r; ivi, Arch. Torre 59, f. 66r; A.S.Ver., Atti del Consiglio 56, f. 62v.


93. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 373, fasc. 11, ff. 17r–18r (Scrofa tried to put his workers in the urban estimo, and so reduce the village tax base); Varanini, “Regole,” pp. 199–200.

94. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 13 May 1436 (La Longa), 9 September 1487 (Setteca); ivi, LAGA, 1 November 1445 (La Longa).

95. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 20 April 1435, 4 June 1438, 31 March 1439, 29 January and 12 July 1440, 30 September 1440, 18 October 1441, 31 January and 25 February 1443, 3 October 1444, 23 September 1445, 18 January 1446.


98. A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 12 December 1447, 4 May 1452, 7 October 1452, 1 September 1453, 9 February 1454, 27 February 1454, 19 February 1459, 8 November 1491; Arch. Cap., Libro Primo Magre, ff. 72r-v.


108. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 28 February 1452, 9 December 1452, 24 March 1453, 14 December 1454, 4 January 1456.


110. A.S.Vic., Not., Cristoforo Bassan 34, 20 January 1453; ivi, PO, AP, 14-15 November 1467, 9 January 1471, 12 August 1471; ivi, PO, LAGA, 28 February 1452, 9 December 1452, 24 March 1453, 13 April 1454, 14 December 1454, 4 January 1456; A.S.Ver., Perg., Malaspina-Verità, busta 17, #27; ivi, Perg., Verità, ser. III, busta 7, #387.

111. A.S.Vic., Not., Antonio Saraceni 4966, 7 November 1508; ivi, PO, AP, 6 March 1518; Sanuto, Itinerario, p. 107.


Chapter 7. Patriciate and Nobility


10. Ius municipale, ff. 16r, 33r-v, 34v, 38r, 44r, 52v, 56r.

11. Ius municipale, ff. 96v-97r, 129v-31v; Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 60, ff. 128r-v; ivi, Gonz. 571, ff. 147v-48r; ivi, Arch. Torre 61, ff. 373r-75v.

12. da Nono, De generatione, esp. ff. 30r, 31v, 57r, 59v, 60v-61r; in general, Grubb, "Introduzione" to Memorie.
14. Pagliarini, *Cronicae*, bk. VI.
26. Bertoliana, Gonz. 566, ff. 1161r–17v (1321: Albertus de Arnaldo and Jacobinus q. Petri Soleri); Arch. Torre 35, #45 (1337: Petrus Arnaldi Solerii); A.S.Vic., Corp. Sopp., S. Bartolomeo, reg. 12, #1689 (1346): Litaldus and Zenus Johannis Litaldini were probably members of the family: see A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 14 January 1300; Bertoliana, Gonz. 187, f. 38v; ivi, Gonz. 188, ff. 9v, 27v, 37v, 47v, 71r–v, 99v, 113v, 124r–v, 134r–v, 140v; A.S.Vic., Collegio dei Notai 50.
27. Arnaldi, f. 18r; Bertoliana, Gonz. 535, f. 52v; A.S.Vic., PO, AP, 23 February 1439, 26 September 1442, 12 February 1449; College offices in A.S.Vic., Collegio dei Notai, 91; communal offices in ivi, reg. 9; Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 62, ff. 772v–74r.
32. *Statuti . . . MCCLXIV*, p. 71; Bertoliana, Gonz. 566, bk. I, rubric 26 (1311 statutes); ivi, Gonz. 568, bk. I, rubric 44 (1339 statutes); *Ius municipale*, f. 111r.
34. Arnaldi, f. 18; A.S.Vic., PO, LASA, 25 May 1495.
35. *Ius municipale*, ff. 12r, 15v, 22v–23r; 1520 complaint from Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 62, ff. 496r–98r, rubrics 2–3.
37. *Ius municipale*, ff. 8r–12v.
40. “Patriziato,” p. 44.
42. The single attendible population figure is 19,000 urban residents in 1483 (Sanuto, Itinerario, p. 108), which translates into about 4,750 households; each estimo listed about 2,400 households.
43. Rumor, Blasone, pp. 287, 290.
44. Ventura, Nobiltà, pp. 61–66, 80–84.
45. Varanini, “Note,” p. 5; idem, “Famiglia,” pp. 32–35, 43; de Martin, “Borghesi.” For an influx of new blood in Rovereto, see Knapton, “Condanna,” p. 319. Of Pisan officeholding families in 1542-46, only 4.8 percent came from the old nobility and a total of 11.4 percent from families politically active during the Trecento; only 12.1 percent of the elite riformatori were traditional nobles, and only 21.2 percent came from families active during the Trecento: Luzzatti, “Famiglia,” pp. 447–48.
51. Bartolus, De dignitatis, #93.
52. Bertoliana, Gonz. 166, ff. 51r–55r; Arnaldi, f. 26r; Alvarotti, Super feudis, ff. 57v–58r; Vocabularius, s.v. nobilitas; dall’Aqua, Vocabularius, s.v. nobilitas; Cipolla, De imperatore, unfoliated, #10 in list of qualifications of nobility.
53. Grubb, Firstborn, p. 38; Marciana, Latin X, 148 (3332), ff. 57v, 63v, 70v; Verona, Bib. Civ., ms. 896, f. 30r; ivi, ms. 1017, f. 80v; ivi, ms. 2092, ff. 213r, 217r, 220v–21r.
54. Grubb, Firstborn, p. 38; Mantese, Memorie, 3, 2, pp. 775, 779–80, 804–5; Bertoliana, Gonz. 460, ff. 22v–25r; ivi, Gonz. 2819, fasc. II, p. 24; Repeta, f. 97r; Rumor, Blasone, pp. 295–96; Marciana, Ital. VI, 30 (5891); Croniche ad memoriam, s.d. 1452, 1489.
58. dall’Aqua, Vocabularius, s.v. miles; Vocabularius, s.v. miles; Savonarola from Ventura, Nobiltà, pp. 293–92; Lanfranchini, Utrum preferendum sit, #53–54; Bolognini, Additio to Omodei’s Utrum praeferendum sit, #92–93.
59. Lanfranchini, Utrum preferendum sit, #37–39; Bolognini, Additio to Omodei’s Utrum praeferendum sit, #57, 66.
60. Bartolus, De dignitatis, #35, 102; Bartolus, Repertorium, s.v. dignitas; da Platea, Repertorium, s.v. nobilitas.
61. Bartolus, *De dignitatibus*, ##36, 45, 77–78, 82; Cipolla, *De imperatore*, unfoliated, ##18–19 in list of qualifications for nobility.


68. Tamassia, *Famiglia*, p. 100; Bolognini’s *Additio* to Omodei, #79.


71. *De dignitatibus*, #47.


75. *De dignitatibus*, #52.

76. Verona, Bib. Civ., ms. 2833, ff. 44v–45r.


78. Donati, *Idea*, p. 19; Letzen, introduction to Landino’s *De vera nobilitate*, p. 3.


83. Vicenza, Arch. Curia, Feudi, reg. 22, ff. 36v–37v, 4or–v; ivi, reg. 23, ff. 99r–v, 10or; ivi, reg. 24, ff. 44r, 80v–81r; ivi, reg. 25, ff. 207r–8v; ivi, reg. 26, ff. 59r–60r; ivi, reg. 26, s.d. 10 February 1494; ivi, reg. 27, ff. 11r–v, 66r; ivi, reg. 28, f. 181r; in general, Tabacco, “Aristocrazia,” p. 710.


85. Quoted in Lanfranchini, Utrum preferendus sit, #32.


87. Quoted in Cipolla, De imperatore, unfoliated.

88. Dall’Aqua, Vocabularius, s.v. Feudum.


90. Donati, Idea, p. 6; Bartolus, Repertorium, s.v. nobilitas; Bartolus, De dignitatibus, ##44–46, 89.

91. Bartolus, De dignitatibus, ##52; Lanfranchini, Utrum preferendus sit, ##53–54; Berengo, “Patriziato,” p. 498.


94. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 1653, s.d. 30 May 1498; ivi, Arch. Torre 61, ff. 373r–75v (= A.S.Ven., Senato Terra 12, ff. 131v–331); A.S.Ven., Avogadori di Comun 3583, 156r–v; Padua from Ventura, Nobiltà, pp. 86–88.

95. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 645, #92; ivi, Arch. Torre 62, ff. 422r–v; ivi, Arch. Torre 59, f. 91v; Grubb, Firstborn, pp. 94–95; Marciana, Latin XIV, 244 (4681), ff. 43r–60v.

96. A.S. Vic., Not., Bortolo Bassan 4553, 11 and 30 April 1455 (Angioielli); ivi, PO, LAGA, 9 September 1455 (Loschi); lawsuits involving patricians in ivi, PO, AP, 4 September 1471, 13 April 1472, 19 August 1493, 9 January 1497, 3 April 1498, 4 September 1498; ivi, Magistrature Giudiziarie, Varie, reg. 45, fasc. 21.

97. A.S. Vic., PO, AP, 17 August and 12 November 1502, 11 November 1504.


101. Camposampiero and Dotti from Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 59, ff. 213r–157; Grubb, Firstborn, p. 104; Friuli from Muir, Mad Blood.

102. Grubb, Firstborn, pp. 94, 103–4; Cronica ad memoriam, p. 27; Mantese, Me-
morie, 3, 2, p. 455 (Braschi); Mantese, "Correnti," p. 116 (Giustiniani); Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 61, ff. 135v–36r (Marco Nievo; see also A.S.Ven., Avogaria di Comun 358, ff. 191v, 197v, 218v, 351v, 378r); ivi, Arch. Torre 1655, #150, 153 (Nievo and Gallo); Viggiano, Governanti, p. 81 (1493 accusations); A.S.Ven., Senato Terra 12, f. 83r (1494 murders); ivi, Dieci Misti 29, ff. 129v, 161v, and ivi, Avogaria di Comun 372, s.d. 13 March 1505 (Trento); from Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 349, fasc. 6, ff. 15r–16r (Thiene-Toso riots; similarly, Arch. Torre 348, fasc. 1, ff. 1r–4r).


105. Grubb, Firstborn, ch. 9; legislation in Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 60, ff. 128r–v; ivi, Arch. Torre 59, ff. 66r, 133v–34r, 178r; arms permissions in Bertoliana, Gonzati Do 36, f. 54v; ivi, Arch. Torre 60, f. 251v.

106. A.S.Vic., PO, LAGA, 13 January 1440; dating from Barbieri, Prittori, pp. 9–10.


Chapter 8. Spirituality and Religion

1. Dal Bovo, ff. 27v–28v, 38r–39v; Repeta, unbound folio preceding f. 136r.

2. Swanson, Church, p. 276; Rubin, Corpus Christi, chs. 3–5; Kieckhefer, Unquiet Souls, chs. 3–4; Mantese, Memorie, 3, 2, pp. 584–89.


9. Verona, Bib. Civ., ms. 493; see also the anonymous hymn to Christ crucified: ivi, ms. 505.


12. Repeta, f. 81r; dal Bovo, ff. 1v, 29r–v, 37v, 78r–v, 79r.

17. Scribner, "Cosmic Order"; idem, "Reformation," pp. 479–83 (quote on p. 480); see dal Bovo, f. 29v; Repeta, f. 79r.
20. A Venetian priest, asked by a merchant whose ship had not reached port to put a paper with the name of St. Christopher on the altar while saying Mass, was accused of magic before Vatican courts: Brucker, "Religious Sensibilities," p. 24.
22. Muronovo, f. 51v; dal Bovo, ff. 21r–v, 43v; Shahar, *Childhood*, p. 36; recitation and *expositio* of liturgical texts in dal Bovo, ff. 2r, 9r–11v; Muronovo, ff. 18v, 21r, 51r.
23. Dal Bovo, ff. 35v, 46r.
27. Dal Bovo, f. 34v.
29. Dal Bovo, ff. 47v–48r.
32. Dal Bovo, ff. 70r–77v. For the cult of Roch, strong in the region after a *vita* by Francesco Diedo (1479) and translation of his body to Venice (1485), see Dormeir, "Nuovi culti," pp. 319–20; Pullan, "Scuole," p. 273; Schutte, *Religious Books*, pp. 164–65, 316; Baretano, *Cronica*, sa. 1485; *Cronica ad memoriam*, pp. 36–37; *Cronicha che comenza*, p. 8. Vauchez notes a trend toward "clericalization" of sainthood in the later Middle Ages, but Italian saints were more likely lay than was the case elsewhere: *Sainteté*, pp. 218, 249–54.
33. Arnaldi, f. 21r; dal Bovo, f. 63r; Repeta, f. 94r; Muronovo, f. 52v.
34. The letter has been variously seen as a Greek work, translated into Latin in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, or a twelfth-century work, or a Latin monastic product of ca. 1300: Bardy and Tricot, eds., *Enciclopedia*, pp. 506, 903–4; von Dobschutz,


36. Marciana, mss. Italian XI, 24 (6620); Italian XI, 126 (6916); Latin I, 72; Latin X, 134; Latin XI, 145; Latin XIV, 106 (6452); Latin XIV, 266 (4502); Latin XIV, 267 (4344); Verona, Bib. Cap., ms. CCVIII, CCXIX, CXXVIII, CCCXVII, CCCXCVI, DXIX (from indexes); Padua, Bib. Univ., mss. 1001/XXII, 201/XLIV, 2240 (f. 478r), 1139 (ff. 74v–75r), 1291/XXII, 1108 (f. 190r); general list in von Dobschutz, Christusbilder, p. 308; see also Bertalot, “Zibaldone.” The Zardino de oration attributed to Nicolo da Osimo, compiled in 1454 and printed in Venice in 1494, offered a vernacular version: Baxandall, Painting, pp. 46, 165–66; Schutte, Religious Books, p. 302; copies in Verona, Bib. Civ., Incunaboli 233, 382.

37. Quoted in Miles, Image, p. 69; see also Kieckhefer, Unquiet Souls, pp. 99–100.

38. Baxandall, Painting, p. 45.

39. Quoted in ibid., p. 46.

40. Dal Bovo, ff. 63v–64r; other mss. in Marciana, Latin X, 134, Latin XIV, 106 (6452); Latin XIV, 245 (4682); Latin XIV, 266 (4502); Verona, Bib. Cap., ms. CXXVIII (from index); Vicenza, Bertoliana 87, ff. 30r–31r; Padua, Bib. Univ., mss. 1001/XXII, 201/XLIV; Paduan ms. described in Sartore, “Pessimismo,” p. 625; see also von Dobschutz, Christusbilder, p. 315; James, Apocryphal New Testament, p. 146; translation in Schneemelcher, Apocrypha, p. 527; printed edition of ca. 1474 from Rhodes, Tipografia, pp. 25–26.


42. Kieckhefer, Unquiet Souls, p. 102.

43. Repeta, unbound folio preceding f. 136r; Vitalianii, “Contributo”; Auzzas, “Miscellanea.” A brief hymn to the crucified Jesus moves systematically through the parts of the dying body and is replete with details of the pierced feet, flowing blood “which pays for all our sins,” and so forth: Verona, Bib. Civ., ms. 505 (and see also ms. 653).

44. Verona, Bib. Civ., ms. 507, ff. 173r–79r; see also the Legenda di Maria Madalena in Verona, Bib. Cap., ms. DCCXL.


47. Accounts of heaven from Boase, Death, p. 19; cf. the copy of Bartolomeo Rimbertino’s De deliciis sensibilis paradisi (Venice, 1498) in Verona, Bib. Civ., Incunabolo 18; a work with the same title by Verona’s Celso Maffei (mid-Quattrocento) was printed in Verona in 1504 (Baxandall, Painting, pp. 104, 172–73); pseudo-Ambrosian De paradiso in Marciana, Latin Z 47 (1498); see also Gatto, “Voyage.” Accounts of purgatory in Verona, Bib. Civ., ms. 938, f. 32; Gregory the Great, Dialogi, IV, ch. 36; Klapisch-Zuber, “Peril,” p. 229; Vovelle, Mort, pp. 66, 134–39.


56. Marciana, *Italian VI*, 312 (5990), ff. 67v–68v. After 1486, 109 miracles were attributed to supplication to this image. In Florence, a madman who defaced images in Orsanmichele was stoned to death by a crowd: Gavitt, *Charity*, p. 296.


58. Arnaldi, f. 6v; Repeta, f. 91v, 64v.

59. He covered 50 *meia* from Trent to Verona; the current distance is 92 kilometers, or a little less than 60 English miles. From Campiglia to Trent he traveled 77 *meia*; present roads cover 140 kilometers or about 84 English miles. Modern roads are also considerably straighter than the rough tracks of the Quattrocento.


64. Ibid., p. 13.

65. Repeta, f. 92r; Muronovo, ff. 81v–86v.


73. Martin, Metier, ch. 3; Swanson, Church, p. 269.
75. Weissman, “Sacred Eloquence.”
76. Muronovo, f. 66v; Cronica ad memoriam, pp. 15–16, 39–21.
77. Cronica ad memoriam, p. 45; Cronicha che comenza, p. 10; da Feltre, Sermoni, I, p. xxxix.
79. Arnaldi, f. 22r.
82. Da Feltre, Sermoni, III, p. 131.
83. Cronica ad memoriam, pp. 16–17, 19–21; Cronicha che comenza, pp. 4–5; Beretano, Cronica, s.a. 1451; Muronovo, f. 66v; Arnaldi, f. 23r.
86. Arnaldi, f. 22v; Muronovo, f. 66v; Cronica ad memoriam, p. 17; Cronicha che comenza, pp. 4–5; Beretano, Cronica, s.a. 1444, 1450.
88. Dal Bovo, f. 4v; Muronovo, ff. 45r–50v (folded into a general calendar); Arnaldi, f. 35r.
91. Muronovo, ff. 63r–v, 67v, 74r, 75r; Repeta, f. 87r; dal Bovo, f. 45v; for chronicles, see Verona, Bib. Civ., ms. 938, p. 36; Cronica ad memoriam, s.d. 1457, 1471, 1472, 1477, 1490.
93. Rusconi, Attesa, pp. 22, 85–86, 97, 167; Lerner, Powers, pp. 82, 90–91, 119, 139, 152; Reeves, Influence, index, s.v. sibyl; see Marciana, Latin XIV, 67 (4706), 268 (4503); Verona, Bib. Civ., ms. 2845; ivi, Incunabolo 536; Verona, Bib. Cap., CCLXVI, ff. 90–92.
94. Repeta, f. 8or (and see notes to the printed edition); other Joachimite prophecies in Marciana, Ital. XI, 53 (6728), Latin XIV, 2 (4590); Domenico Morosini’s Vaticinia sive
prophetiae abbatis Ioachimi et Anselmi episcopi Marsicani (before 1459) was published in Venice in 1589. On Joachimite prophecies, see Reeves, "Popular Prophecies"; idem, *Joachim*, esp. ch. 2; idem, *Influence*. Many such vernacular prophecies, often quite specific regarding events and dates, circulated in Italy: Rusconi, *Attesa*, pp. 143–63; Tognetti, "Venezia," p. 87.


96. Muronovo, ff. 2v–5r; Verità, ff. 62r–71v, 8r–83v and loose folio; see also Marciana, Ital. XI, 6 (7222) ("pronostici vari Greco-Latini"), 124 (6802) ("Fra Zuanne"); Latin XIV, 2 (4590) (various), 267 (4344) #14 (on anti-Christ); other Marciana references in Lerner, *Powers*; Reeves, *Influence* and "Idea."


98. Arnaldi, f. 26v; Repeta, ff. 96v–97v; Cronica ad memoriam, pp. 32–33; Baretano, *Cronica*, sa. 1477; *Cronica che comenta*, pp. 7–8; dal Bovo, ff. 41r–v.


100. Verona, Bib. Civ., Incunaboli 236 (Giustiniani), 163, 183, 252 (Maffei); Marciana, Latin XIV, 265 (4501), #14 (Querini), 22–23 (Bessarione); Marciana, Latin 295 (4348), #23 (Lupo); Padua, Bib. Civ., ms. BM 139 I (Diedo); Venetian works cited in Fabbi, *Memorialistica*, pp. 15–40, 139–230.

101. Verità, f. 45r; Verona, Bib. Civ., Incunaboli 57, 291; Marciana, Latin XIV, 123 (4662), 268 (4503).

102. Marciana, Z Lat. 397 (1733), 437 (1911); ivi, Latin XIV, 265–66 (4501–2), #20, 71–72, 78, 87–88; 267 (4344), #22; 295 (4348), #47; Schutte, *Religious Books*, p. 368.

103. Marciana, Latin XIV, 47 (4705) (Attila); Verità, ff. 32r–v (Grand Master); Verona, Bib. Civ., ms. 52 (Fichet); Marciana, Latin XIV, 218 (4677), 244 (4681) (Sagundino), 285 (4301) (Tiphernatis), 265 (4501) #3 (bishop of Mitilene). On Ficino, see Weissman, "Sacred Eloquence," p. 252.


106. Reeves, *Influence*, p. 335 and works cited in index, s.v. Turks.


112. Pesce ("Clero," p. 368) sees Trevisan benefices in poor economic shape; Rigon (Clero, ch. 8) reaches more optimistic conclusions for Padua.

113. Pesce, "Clero," pp. 405–10; idem, *Chiesa*, I, p. 426; Rigon, *Clero*, ch. 8; Mantese, *Memorie*, 3, 2, p. 120.
114. On clerical fratalee, see Rigon, “Associazionismo”; idem, Clero, ch. 8; idem, “Congregazione”; Pesce, Chiesa, I, pp. 430–38.
117. A.S.Ver., Perg. #35, Guastaverza, busta I, #25; ivi, Test., mazzo 79, #27.
118. De Sandre Gasparini, “‘Cura animarum.’”
120. Dal Bovo, ff. 52r–53r, 54r–55r; A.S.Ver., Test., mazzo 34, #44; mazzo 79, #27; mazzo 81, #12. He also reconstructed the church in the village of Bovo, the family’s place of origin, and traveled through city and countryside seeking proof of its patron saint’s existence.
121. Hay, Church, p. 24; Brucker, “Urban Parishes,” pp. 18, 23–25; Kent and Kent, Neighbours, pp. 128–35, ch. 3; Cohn, Cult, pp. 36–37; see also Swanson, Church, pp. 217–19, 257.
126. Alce, “Riforma,” p. 339. His dating of Veronese reform may be incorrect, as the Cronica ad memoriam (p. 25) asserts that Observants from S. Anastasia arrived in Vicenza in 1464.
129. A.S.Vic, Test., mazzo 31, #93 (Gabriele Verità: S. Eufemia), mazzo 60, #46 (Caterina Verità: S. Fermo), 49 (Bonaventura Bovi: S. Anastasia), mazzo 81, #45 (Avantino Fracastoro: S. Fermo), 132 (Bonzanino Muronovo: S. Anastasia), mazzo 89, #39 (Pietro Verità: S. Anastasia), mazzo 93, #204 (Maddalena Fracastoro: S. Fermo), mazzo 102, #85 (Verità: S. Eufemia), mazzo 128, #134 (Donato Stoppi: S. Anastasia). Only Tadea Fracastoro, in 1510, ordered burial in S. Bernardino: ivi, mazzo 102, #187.
130. Muronovo, f. 23v; dal Bovo, f. 58v; Dianin, San Bernardino, p. 73; Statuti Veronae, Promemium.
131. Ius municipale, ff. 146r–48r; Grubb, Firstborn, p. 132; Statuti Veronae, pp. 94–96.
135. de Sandre Gasparini, “Parola,” p. 127; Dianin, San Bernardino, ch. IV.

137. A.S.Ver., AAC, reg. 56, ff. 14v, 40v, 41v–45r, 124r–25r, 236r–v; Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 61, ff. 67v–70r; see also above, ch. 3; and Grubb, *Firstborn*, p. 131.

138. Bertoliana, Arch. Torre 61, ff. 21r–22r. Their jurisdiction was soon restricted to “opulent” houses: ibid., ff. 27v–28v.


140. Brugnoli, “Aspetto,” pp. 359–69; de Sandre Gasparini, “Governo,” pp. 76, 85. The latter, however, sees civilian commissions as ineffectual, since episcopal visitations in 1454–58 duplicated what should have been their function.


146. dal Bovo, f. 51r. On chrismation, see above, ch. 2.


149. Benvenuti Papi, “Pastori,” sec. 2; *Cronica ad memoriam*, pp. 35–36.


153. A.S.Ver., AAC, reg. 56, ff. 180v, 183r–v. Prelates elsewhere felt similar resistance. As Florence’s Jacopo Ammanati wrote to the bishop of Constance in 1465, “I am an Italian and I have lived for fourteen years among the subjects of the Church. Believe me, our people doesn’t have the same respect for their bishops as you enjoy on the far side of the Alps”: quoted in Hay, “Contributo,” p. 48.

154. Muronovo, ff. 63r, 69r, 71v, 86v. Repeta compiled a list of popes from Peter to contemporaries (ff. 94v–95v).

155. Dal Bovo, f. 7v.

156. Repeta, f. 8or.

157. Repeta, f. 91v.
Epilogue

2. E.g., Trexler, *Public Life*, p. xviii.
4. Discussion with the audience at the Schouler Lecture, Johns Hopkins University, 1993.