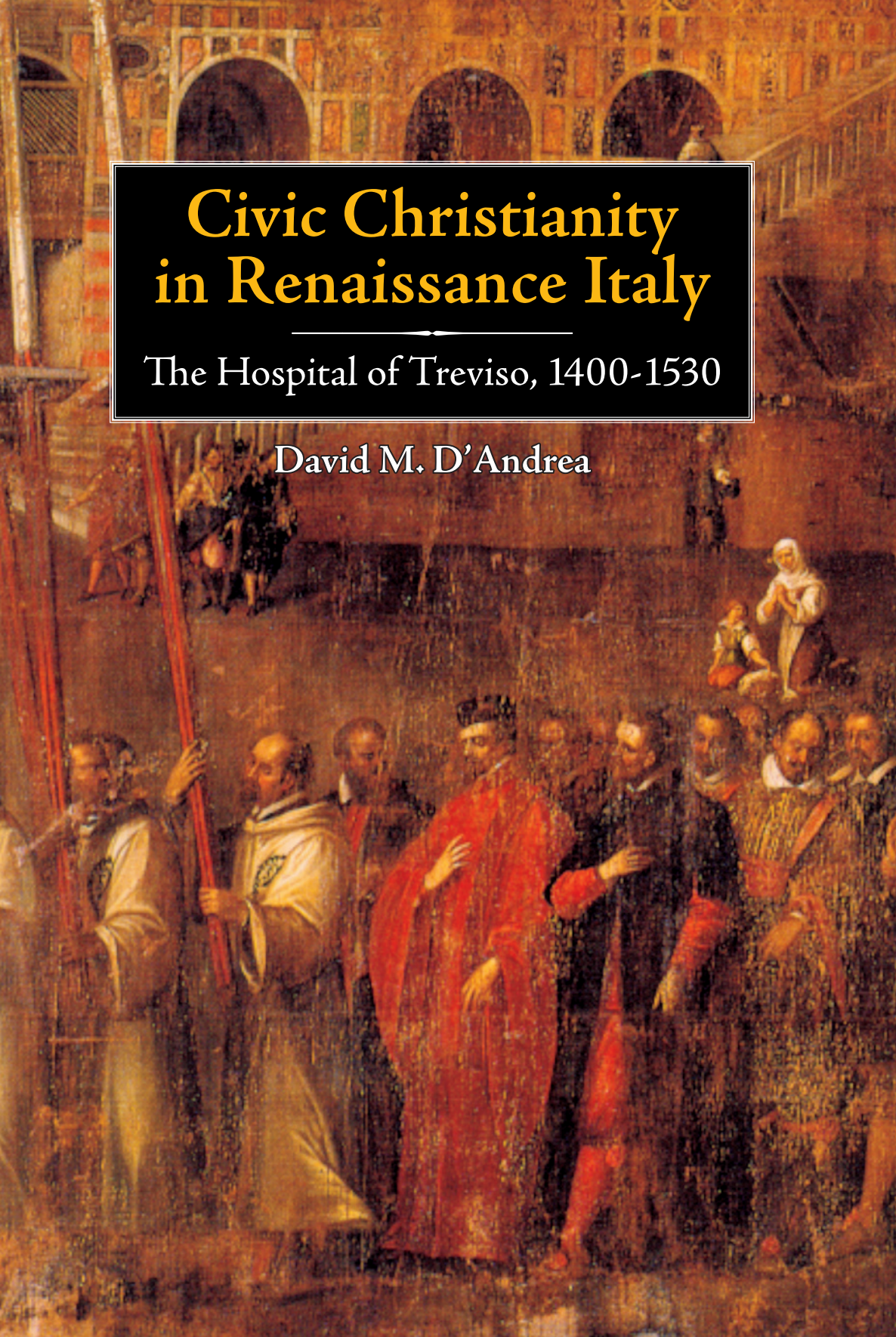




Civic Christianity in Renaissance Italy

The Hospital of Treviso, 1400-1530

David M. D'Andrea

CIVIC CHRISTIANITY IN RENAISSANCE ITALY

Changing Perspectives on Early Modern Europe

James B. Collins, Professor of History, Georgetown University
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UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER PRESS

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ABBREVIATIONS

AOT	AST, Ospedale di Santa Maria dei Battuti
AST	Archivio di Stato di Treviso
ASV	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
BCaT	Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo di Treviso
BCT	Biblioteca Comunale di Treviso
CX	ASV, Council of Ten
PO	AST, Ospedale di Santa Maria dei Battuti, Pergamene
POT	AST, Ospedale di Santa Maria dei Battuti, Testamenti
PB	Luigi Pesce, <i>Ludovico Barbo, Vescovo di Treviso (1437–1443)</i> , 2 vols. (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1969)
PV	Luigi Pesce, <i>Vita socio-culturale in diocesi di Treviso nel primo Quattrocento</i> (Venice: Deputazione Editrice, 1983)
PC	Luigi Pesce, <i>La Chiesa di Treviso nel primo Quattrocento</i> , 3 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1987)

NOTES TO THE READER

Money and Measurements

Treviso used the same bimetallic monetary system as Venice: the gold ducat (zecchino) and the silver lira di piccoli (1 lira = 20 soldi = 240 denari). Over the course of the fifteenth century, the devaluation of the lira in relation to the ducat finally stabilized at an exchange rate of 6 lire, 4 soldi per ducat.

Comparative wages:

Day wage, master builder (1470): 32 soldi (320 lire annually, 200-day year)

Day wage, master stonemason (1458): 26 soldi (260 lire annually)

Day wage, assistant stonemason (1458): 18 soldi (180 lire annually)

Comparative prices:

Pair of chickens (c. 1460): 9 soldi

A fat goose (c. 1460): 12 soldi

Haircut by barber (c. 1493): 4 soldi¹

Dry weight:

Trevisan staio = 4 quarte = 86.81 liters (2.47 bushels)

Trevisan quarta = 4 quartieri = 21.7 liters (0.62 bushels)²

Population

The population of Treviso in the beginning of the 1400s was approximately ten thousand. In the sixteenth century the population rose to between twelve and thirteen thousand, with approximately sixty thousand in the whole district.³

Citations

Most of the information in this study came from the confraternity's large account books. The volumes are contained in buste (boxes) in the AST. In the notes, I have cited the busta number followed by a colon and the folio number(s). For example, AOT, busta 1: 1 means Archivio di Stato di Treviso, Ospedale di Santa Maria dei Battuti, busta 1, folio 1.

INTRODUCTION

First we state and order that the confraternity and school of Blessed Mary of the Battuti of Treviso that now is and will be, is and must be to the praise of God our Creator and to the Glorious Virgin Mary his mother, in whose honor the said fraternity and school is named and is to be called . . . and that the brothers are and are known to be subjects of the jurisdiction and protection of the commune of Treviso.

—Statutes of Santa Maria dei Battuti (1400)

The statutes of Santa Maria dei Battuti of Treviso were typical of seemingly countless brotherhoods in Renaissance Italy, where the devout gathered in voluntary association and dedicated their prayers and works to the honor of God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. Scholars have increasingly studied confraternal associations, at the intersection of personal devotion and public service, as a key element of Italian Renaissance society. Their organization, activities, wealth, and involvement in the community offer various ways to investigate the nature of Renaissance political and religious life. Confraternities and their hospitals offer a view of broad Christian values refracted through the experience of each local community. Despite their common organizational principles and ubiquity in Renaissance society, confraternities remained intensely local. The important geographic location of Treviso and the unique historical development of Santa Maria dei Battuti place this confraternity at the confluence of three major historiographical currents: Renaissance religion, public charity and relief, and the territorial state. How a powerful provincial confraternity responded to the spiritual and material needs of the local community and mediated the regional objectives of the capital city will provide valuable insights into the role of religion in Renaissance states.

Renaissance Religion and Confraternities

Italian Renaissance studies have long labored under the influence of nineteenth-century constructs that depicted the Renaissance as the birth of the modern secular age. In the last few decades myriad studies of Renaissance religion have challenged this basic assumption.¹ As one survey of the

Renaissance in Italy explains, "Until recently, scholars have almost completely neglected the history of religious spirituality in Renaissance Italy. . . . Now that historians have begun inquiry about the urban poor and working class in Renaissance Italy, religious rituals and institutions are providing valuable insights into the historical experience of ordinary people."² The quest to study the religious experience of ordinary people has indeed been the subject of much recent scholarship. Augustine Thompson's monograph is clear evidence of the revisionist attempt to reestablish a historical equilibrium between secular and sacred. Thompson cites the surprising scholarly neglect of orthodox religious life in medieval Italian cities and endeavors to recapture "the lost holiness of the Italian republics."³

Other scholars have made important contributions to the complex relationship between local religion, the universal Catholic church, and the governance of Renaissance states. William Christian's book investigates the interaction between high and low, popular and elite culture in sixteenth-century Spain. Local shrines attracted both poor pilgrims and royal visitors, whose patronage of local shrines linked their kingdoms together.⁴ Jodi Bilinkoff studied the Spanish city of Ávila to reconstruct the social, political, and religious milieus that produced one of the best-known saints of the sixteenth century, demonstrating the political and economic realities that affect religious devotion.⁵ Two recent studies focus on the cult of the Virgin Mary to reconstruct the social, cultural, and political history of Siena.⁶ Even religious feast days often corresponded to significant events in a city's history. Governing the symbols and rituals of religion was essential to the claim to legitimate political power and the maintenance of the social order.⁷ All of these studies demonstrate the inseparable relationship between political and spiritual power.

The ongoing reassessment of Renaissance religion has resurrected confraternities. Once considered corrupt vestiges of medieval religious zeal, confraternities have emerged as thriving expressions of religious devotion and vehicles for social kinship.⁸ As a recent survey explains, "This Renaissance period is no longer seen as thoroughly irreligious or pagan. Evidence is increasingly produced to show confraternity activity through the fifteenth century, though it should be stressed that much of this evidence is in fact from sixteenth-century sources, particularly revised statutes which give some historical information—or myths."⁹

Confraternities were varied and ubiquitous in medieval and early modern Europe: they organized processions, administered hospitals, patronized the arts, provided dowries, and had an impact on almost every man and woman in a community. Confraternal objectives and structures varied greatly, from penitential flagellant confraternities whipping themselves through the streets to *Laudesi* companies, who processed singing religious songs in praise of God. Membership also varied widely; some organizations admitted an elite

few, whereas others were open to men and women, lay people and clerics. Notwithstanding their organizational differences, they all served a critically important role in the articulation of religious and civic life.

Civic Christianity

Confraternities had their origins in private religious devotion, but their activities often pulled them into the public sphere. One historian notes that “beyond being a place to pray, and an institution providing charitable distributions and other services to the community, the confraternity, like the family and guild, was one of the principal forms of sociability available to males in premodern European society.”¹⁰ As a primary form of social interaction, confraternities have been identified as a critical factor in the formation of the modern Italian democratic state.¹¹

Scholars may agree on the important nexus of confraternities, civil government, and charity, but they have struggled to find a term to describe the phenomenon. Brian Pullan has recently described a “civic Catholicism” in which the state engaged and harnessed “fraternities more effectively than did the rulers of the Florentine commune.”¹² Richard Mackenney notes the inseparable nature of piety and civic life and employs the term “Devotional Philanthropy” to describe the activities of Venetian brotherhoods.¹³ “Civic religion” is commonly used, but scholars have raised a number of caveats regarding the term’s application to confraternal hospitals: there were many other forms of urban charity, it seems to preclude rural charity, and religious experience could be intensely personal.¹⁴ The variety of terms reflects the difficulty in quantifying piety and the change in religious sentiments from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance.¹⁵

One of the first terms used to connect charitable institutions with a new religious spirit was coined in David Herlihy’s study of Renaissance Pistoia. Herlihy argued that fifteenth-century piety “had its own characteristic tone, much different from that of the preceding Middle Ages.”¹⁶ Recognizing the difficulty in measuring religious sensibilities, Herlihy turned to the social manifestations of piety: religious donations and charitable institutions. He observed a shift in wealth from ecclesiastical institutions to hospitals and religious brotherhoods and suggested that a new moral and social consciousness of the troubles of this world reflected similar changes taking place in literature and art. As a result, he argued that “the spirit which built and enriched these hospitals, reflecting an active involvement with human society and a greater compassion for its ills, we may justly call ‘civic Christianity.’”¹⁷

More recent studies of piety and charity have apparently not used Herlihy’s term because of a desire to break from the traditional cultural and political paradigm. John Henderson observes the same growth in hospitals

in Renaissance Florence, but he downplays the influence of the humanists, tracing the charitable impulse to earlier medieval notions of charity and the common good.¹⁸ A weakness of Herlihy's conception of "civic Christianity" as an interpretive tool, therefore, stems from its emphasis on innovation linked to cultural developments of the Renaissance. Nicholas Terpstra identifies another problematic aspect of this interpretive model: "Hans Baron noted the effect of Visconti's empire in shaping Florentine republicanism, but there has been less attention paid to those communes whose resistance failed."¹⁹ The association of civic humanism with changes in charity has presumably led to a focus on those cities which remained politically independent. Although these scholars raise important caveats, both studies agree with Herlihy on two fundamental points: the civic importance of religious brotherhoods and a change in charity, most notably manifested in the enhanced size, administration, and status of hospitals.

There may be no direct link between political chronology and changes in piety, but the relationship between lay Christianity and political organization remains central to the historical narrative. In particular, the fall of the Italian communal republics acts a convenient watershed in religious history and frames historical inquiry. For example, Thompson investigated the urban religious life of northern Italian communes because "the rise of the communes presupposed the formation of voluntary associations, in particular the religious associations that grew up in the penance culture populated by the *conversi*—lay penitents, often married—who spontaneously took up a life of moderate asceticism while remaining in the world." As part of his explanation for his concentration on the age of the republican city-states of Italy, Thompson states that

the ritual world of late medieval Florence, so provocatively described by Richard Trexler, with its aristocratic flavor evocative of the Medici princes, feels quite different from that of high medieval communes. I suspect that the rise of princes and oligarchies lies behind this change, although this is still a conjecture waiting for another book to confirm it.²⁰

Thompson suggests that the nature of the lay religious community changed after 1300 and the rise of signori and oligarchs, implying that religious life was different in dependent communities, but he leaves this to further studies.

Informed by the most recent scholarship, I have chosen to return to Herlihy's concept but further qualify the term. First, my study will place less emphasis on the innovations of Renaissance humanism and more stress on the continuity in medieval theological concepts of charity. This approach will, I hope, demonstrate the similarities with the piety identified in Thompson's work but also show the changes in religious practice that did occur. Second, liberated from its association with Baron's thesis and dependence on the political developments of the Renaissance, "civic

Christianity” can certainly describe the dynamics of lay religiosity in a dependent community. The story of Treviso’s Battuti will demonstrate the civic Christianity exercised by an urban confraternity that participated in public religious rituals, administered a large multipurpose hospital complex, and was closely tied to the local government. The local nexus among charity, confraternity, and civil government in Treviso will address how organizations attempted to maintain their local identity when integrated into larger political entities.

Venice, Treviso, and the Regional State

The relationship between religious brotherhoods and civil society has been intensely studied in Venice, where a “republic of processions” had its political machinery greased by processions and its social relations facilitated by the social gatherings of confraternities.²¹ One of the pioneering studies in the history of early modern charity, Brian Pullan’s *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*, examines the charitable activities of the Catholic state’s Scuole Grandi, the largest and most important religious brotherhoods.²² Pullan found that the Venetian Scuole Grandi, with their hundreds of wealthier members distributing alms to their poorer brethren, were critical to the Venetian government’s mythical stability. Popular participation in religious brotherhoods helps explain how 1 percent of the population of Venice, the male patriciate eligible to participate in government, could rule a republic of a hundred thousand people almost without popular opposition. The Scuole Grandi provided both efficient poor relief and surrogates for political power. Pullan’s work is especially significant as one of the first studies of any European state’s governmental policies toward the poor and the institutions that provided charity and poor relief.

The idea of studying religion, charity, and political subjugation in the Veneto came from one of Pullan’s observations that the efficient and successful system of charity in Venice was not exported beyond the lagoon. Subject cities were left to make their own provision—which he leaves to others to explore:

In such matters as poor relief, the subject cities were to a large extent left to make their own arrangements, provided these were submitted to Venice for ratification. This book does not pretend to offer an exhaustive survey of social institutions in the cities of the Venetian Terra Ferma [mainland]: it will discuss them only in outline, and the discussion will be based almost entirely on Venetian sources. . . . At the most, we can only hope to prepare the way for further monographs founded on local as well as on Venetian archives, and to sketch some kind of general perspective in which these may be set.²³

Pullan also notes that the wealthy Santa Maria dei Battuti in Treviso was “evidently founded or administered by fraternities corresponding to the Venetian Scuole Grandi. But how these concentrations arose, and on whose initiative, is not known.”²⁴ A history of Treviso’s largest confraternity and its hospital will make a significant contribution to our understanding of charity on the Venetian Terraferma and the development of territorial states.

Pullan’s call for further research demonstrates that the study of state formation, traditionally the realm of political theorists,²⁵ has been supplemented by new methods of social history and increasingly focused on the relationships between the ruling and subject cities.²⁶ The same phenomenon that Pullan observed in Venice also functioned in the relationship between a ruling and subject city, where local elites turned to confraternities and charitable organizations as surrogates for direct political power. Once communes were subsumed in territorial states, they searched for an institution to call their own, and local confraternities became rallying places for civic pride. In Cremona, the local populace founded the Consortium of Saint Ombono in 1357 to honor the city’s patron saint: a response to charity, heresy, and incorporation into the duchy of Milan in 1334.²⁷ Terpstra has clearly demonstrated this process in Bologna, where in the sixteenth century local elites, working with the communal government, came to manage most of the hospitals and social services in the city. Confraternities assumed greater importance as foci of identity once the papacy assumed control over the city.²⁸ Cavallo has discerned similar trends in Turin, where confraternities and charitable activities provided similar outlets for local pride and expressions of elite patronage.²⁹

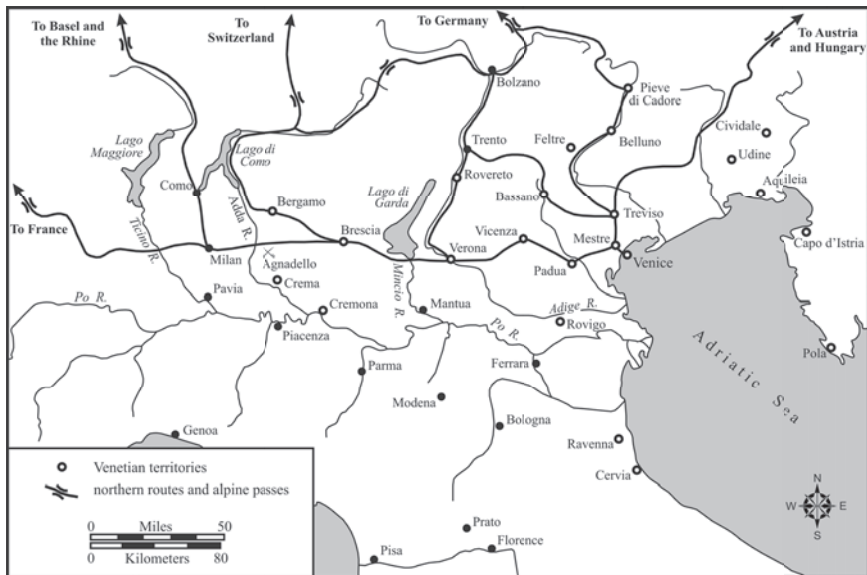
The Venetian Republic’s legendary political stability and Pullan’s groundbreaking analysis of confraternities as mediators of political competition and critical providers of poor relief make the Veneto an ideal region to investigate confraternities, political power, and charity. Furthermore, scholars of Venice and Venetian mainland cities, including Verona, Padua, Brescia, and Vicenza, have been among the first to employ these new methodological approaches.³⁰ Their findings reveal not only the differences among the territories but also the variety of experiences of communes under the same sovereign. The myth of Venice as a harmonious republic free of internal dissension and revolt has been attacked by historians, who have painted a very different picture of an aggressive and controlling dominant city. The most recent investigators modify this position, arguing that the Venetian government was in fact too corrupt and inefficient to dominate local politics.³¹ Much work remains to be done as historians piece together the mosaic of Venetian subject territories.

Over a century ago, the English historian Horatio F. Brown wrote: “It is important for us to examine the way in which Venice dealt with her new possession, Treviso; for the method then adopted is typical of the attitude

of the ruling city towards the many land dependencies which she subsequently acquired; and the wisdom of that method bore abundant fruit for the Republic after the disastrous wars of the League of Cambray.”³² Most recently, Michael Knapton has noted the importance of Venetian domination of Treviso for later territorial expansion and stressed the need for an expansion of Venetian historiography beyond the city. Treviso’s position was crucial for Venetian international trade, and the attempt to secure the trade routes running through the city was a turning point in the evolution of Venice from maritime republic to land-based empire. Knapton summarizes the importance of Treviso to our understanding of Venetian expansion by arguing, “Already this first attempt seems to confirm that the history of the first Venetian domination of Treviso belongs firmly to the history of the whole Venetian *terraferma* state, and anticipates many of its essential aspects.”³³ Although historians have long recognized the political importance of Treviso (as Venice’s first mainland possession), we still lack a monograph that examines this crucial piece of Venice’s mainland state (see figure 1).³⁴

Venice had an intense economic interest in ensuring that a stable and amicable power governed Treviso, for the city commanded a strategic position along the international trade routes between Venice and northern Europe. Located on the Sile River, Treviso was a staging point for German and Austrian merchants; once through the Brenner Pass, they proceeded to Treviso and placed their goods on barges for the trip to the Venetian lagoon. The control of crucial trade routes through the Trevigiano was always a concern of the Venetian government, and as the Carrarese lords of Padua and the Scaligeri of Verona grew more aggressive and expansionist, Venice fought to secure the Trevigiano as a safe avenue for merchants. The Peace of Venice of 24 January 1339 removed Treviso (or liberated it, as the Venetian government considered it) from the dominion of the Scaligeri and welcomed the city into the Venetian Republic as the first component of its mainland empire. The official transfer of power from the Trevisan communal government to Venetian authority occurred five years later. In February 1344 the city government placed its lands in Venetian hands and the doge agreed to rule the city according to the statutes of the city of Treviso.³⁵ For the next four centuries, except for a brief period in the 1380s, Treviso remained under Venetian control.³⁶

Once established as the supreme political power, Venice soon began to impose taxes and loans on the whole Trevigiano.³⁷ Venice established Treviso as a regional administrative center, and Treviso’s treasury, its *camera fiscale*, was staffed with two *camerlenghi*, treasurers. The *camerlenghi* were Venetian patricians elected by the *Maggior Consiglio* who were responsible for collecting customs, taxes, and forced loans for the Trevigiano. Once Venice had assigned the tax burden to each *podestaria*, the *camera* of Treviso was responsible for collecting the money and transferring it to Venice.



1. Map of northern Italy in the sixteenth century.

The motivating factors for establishing political hegemony over Treviso had been strategic and economic, and the first piece of Venice's mainland empire would indeed prove critical to the survival of the Venetian state in the sixteenth century (see figure 2).

In theory, subject cities had voluntarily declared their fidelity to the Venetian state. The paternalistic language of Venetian governance provides a key to Venetian oversight and perception of subject cities. For example, when Francesco Barbaro returned to Verona in 1441 for his second term, the Veronese welcomed him as "Pater Patriae," and he called himself their "father, guardian and perpetual defender."³⁸ As James Grubb explains, metaphors of state were not aggressive; rather, the terminology used emphasized consensus and accommodation instead of conflict. For example, the Venetian doge addressed his faithful children, and subject cities referred to each other as children of the same parents. "Filiation conveniently acknowledged, yet also limited, the aspirations of center and periphery. It established subordination, certainly cut off local claims to independence, and reminded subjects of the obedience due to parents, but it left the subject as a distinct person with at least a limited freedom of action."³⁹ It is this limited freedom of action that I wish to explore in this book. How did Venice incorporate its most loyal children while simultaneously permitting them some degree of independence?

The language of empire may have been one of familial affection, but the realities of governance necessitated a Venetian political and military



2. Map of Trevigiano in the sixteenth century.

presence. Venetians governed their land and sea empires through a system of resident governors, *podestà*. Each was empowered to be the executive officer over a city and its countryside for a set term ranging from twelve to eighteen months.⁴⁰ Although tolerant of local customs and traditions, Venice curtailed any direct political rivals within the subject cities. Soon after Venice assumed control of Treviso, the local political bodies were reduced in size and lost all real political power.⁴¹ Deliberative assemblies, diminished in number and in status to advisory bodies, were eventually forbidden to meet without permission from the *podestà*. Communal statutes, which Venice swore to follow and uphold, became conditional on the approval of the doge, who ordered redactions of the statutes that practically eliminated any form of local governance. By the close of the fifteenth century, Trevisan deliberative bodies were advising the *podestà* about the customs and operations of the local judicial and legal machinery, but local self-governance was eliminated. Trevisan communal organs would continue to exist, advise Venetian officials, and control the daily operations of government, but the interests of the local population became secondary to the needs of the Venetian empire, and those who had dominated the assemblies now looked elsewhere for a way to influence the community.

Venetian domination of the political organs of the city was soon followed by manipulation of ecclesiastical offices. Since bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastical leaders remained in the subject city much longer than the rotating *podestà*, they had better opportunities to build bases of power and influence. Venice routinely placed loyal Venetian clergymen in the vacant seats of Terraferma bishoprics. This unofficial form of political dominion became official with a decree of 31 August 1413. Nominees to the bishoprics of Padua, Verona, Vicenza, Treviso, and Ceneda, and the abbeys of Santa Giustina in Padua and San Zeno in Verona were vetted by a process called *probae*. From the second half of the 1300s, the *probae* consisted of submitting the names of candidates to the Venetian Senate for a vote. The pope would then be informed who had received the majority of votes and be asked to confer the benefice on the winner.⁴² Over the course of the fifteenth century, the Trevisan church became part of the larger Venetian territorial church in which the operations of the ecclesiastical structures and actions of church leaders were made to conform to the political interests of Venice. The Venetian Republic did not interfere in the daily administration of the sacraments, but it did control the ecclesiastical structure in order to guard against any dissension, religious or secular, that might threaten the stability of the state.⁴³ With the highest political and ecclesiastical offices firmly in the hands of Venetian delegates, the local Trevisan elite turned to its preeminent civic institution, the confraternity of Santa Maria dei Battuti. And it is the study of this hospital that offers a new perspective on Christianity and the Renaissance state.

Toward a New Paradigm

Renaissance studies are in a great deal of turmoil. A new appreciation of religion's impact on the Renaissance has led to "the fundamental reevaluation of the importance of religion and the church in Renaissance Italy's culture and politics."⁴⁴ A recent volume of collected essays has called for a reconsideration of the very assumptions that underlie early modern charity and the separation between sacred and secular.⁴⁵ Finally, the territorial or regional state is receiving renewed scholarly interest. In particular, the study of the relationship between Venice and its subject cities has become the basis for a new Venetian historiographical paradigm. "With the myth of the good republic exploded as authoritarian, research in local and regional history must provide the building blocks for new paradigms hopefully free of the mythical and anti-mythical polemics of an insular historiography."⁴⁶ Confraternities constitute one of the most active subjects of research because their malleable identities and functions could involve them in almost every aspect of early modern life. The story of Santa Maria dei Battuti of Treviso can shed light on three areas of scholarly inquiry—religion, charity, and territorial states—that are currently undergoing significant historical revision.

The chronological span of this study, 1400–1530, coincides with the growth of confraternities, the development and consolidation of hospitals, and the expansion of the Venetian empire to the Italian mainland. The scope of the book, however, was not chosen through a desire to comment on historiographical themes but to correspond to key events in the history of the brotherhood: in 1400 new confraternal statutes were written, and in the early 1530s the hospital's administration was reformed. Research for the book is based on the wealth of archival material that has survived largely intact since the medieval period, an unfortunately rare example of a confraternity's records.⁴⁷ The archival material, particularly the confraternity's account books, reflects the priorities and aspirations of the confraternity, and I have tried to remain faithful to the language and categories used in the documents. As a result, this is not a quantitative analysis of wealth and poverty based on statistical data, nor have I combed the documents in search of well-known people and events of the Renaissance. Rather, it is a history of one community's effort to put its religious beliefs into practice during ordinary and sometimes extraordinary times. The story unfolds in six chapters that examine the confraternity's foundation and endowment, membership, charitable activities, public health policies, education, and sixteenth-century reforms.

Chapter 1 discusses the foundation of Santa Maria dei Battuti following the Flagellant movement of 1260 and the way in which the confraternity's processions and civic ritual placed it in the center of Trevisan life. The confraternity's reputation for good works encouraged donations that enabled it to develop its hospital complex. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the hospital had emerged as a minicommune within the city. While expanding its physical structure and involvement in the community, the confraternity also protected its interests against the expanding Venetian state. This examination of the religious nature of civic life also contributes to debates on the political and economic integration of the Terraferma.

Chapter 2 explores the composition and obligations of confraternal membership and leadership. Men and women, lay people and clerics joined the Battuti and performed services for their brothers and sisters, forming an artificial extended family. Although the Battuti were a mixed-gender confraternity that cut across all class, economic, and parochial lines, a leadership group of elite laymen emerged. In the confraternity these elites rediscovered the influence and power that in a narrow political sense had been stripped from them by Venetian domination of local governmental bodies.

Chapter 3 is the first of three investigating the services that the confraternity performed for the city. Difficult choices had to be made about how to define "poor"; this chapter explores categories of those deserving charity, who included the "poor of Christ"—widows, foundlings, and the elderly—but also struggling artisans, nobles, and pilgrims. This chapter is not a study

of poor relief, nor of the spiritual life of the confraternity; rather, it focuses on the confraternity's interpretation and articulation of religious values.

Chapter 4 addresses the confraternity's effort to ease physical suffering with medical care and the treatment of epidemic diseases. In a century of hospital consolidations and the establishment of public health commissions, the Battuti developed a hospital complex that ministered to a variety of illnesses. The confraternity provided medicine, medical practitioners, and care for patients in the hospital. The Battuti's efforts had limits, however, for even the highly organized and well-trained hospital staff could not respond adequately to the plague. This chapter will explore the confraternity's early efforts to treat the plague and will show how recurring epidemics became a public health issue requiring efforts beyond the charitable objectives of the brothers. As public health boards with wide-ranging powers developed, the confraternity left the care of plague victims to communal authorities.

Chapter 5 surveys the confraternity's dedication to the religious training and education of its wards and the community at large. The Battuti sought to benefit Treviso through the support of grammar schools, vocational training, and university scholarships. In addition, the confraternity sought to inspire the entire community by hiring theologians and paying for itinerant preachers.

The administration and services that the Battuti developed would be challenged in the early sixteenth century, when the Venetian empire itself was threatened with extinction. The sixth chapter examines how crises shook the foundations of Venetian power and challenged Venice's centuries-old *modus vivendi* with Treviso. During the crisis of the War of Cambrai, military needs strained the finances of the empire, forcing the Venetian government in Treviso to scrutinize severely the finances of the confraternity, the largest creditor of the local Venetian treasury. Rumors of corruption led one of the most powerful doges in Venetian history, Andrea Gritti, to order an investigation of the Battuti's finances at a time when Venetian institutions underwent similar scrutiny. The loyalty of Treviso saved the Venetian territorial state, and Venetian supervision protected the integrity of local institutions. Out of war, famine, and corruption, a new status quo emerged, one that would last until the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797.

The final chapter is an epilogue to this story of civic charity and summarizes the role of the confraternity in the Renaissance territorial state, with an emphasis on its role as a surrogate for direct political sovereignty. During the course of the Renaissance the confraternity of Treviso performed important services for the community that were essential to civic prosperity and harmony, which were also two of the goals of its Venetian overlord. Concerned with maintaining stability in its realm, Venice respected the independence of the confraternity and supported its good works. The unusually rich history of the confraternity of the Battuti and its hospital reveals the complexity of the relationships between ruler and ruled in the Renaissance state.

Chapter 1

THE CITY OF GOD

The tyrant . . . prohibits congregations and assemblies,
so that men will not form friendships among themselves,
out of fear that they will conspire against them.

—Girolamo Savonarola

Having seen in the growth of the Great Hospital, the creation of a new city built on religious mercy, which one could call the City of God, the universal Council of the City of Treviso resolved with a generous spirit to leave it free; thus having an independent Government, the hospital enjoyed in civil liberty the prerogatives equal to its noble purpose.

—Domenico Vettorazzi

The Dominican friar Girolamo Savonarola, preaching in the 1490s, and the Trevisan chronicler Domenico Vettorazzi, writing in 1681, recognized the ennobling character of free association and self-governance. Congregations and assemblies fostered independent action and political control, which tyrannical governments perceived as a threat to their power. Just rulers, however, rewarded citizens for their good works by granting them civic liberty. When the self-governing bodies and organizations of Treviso fell under the control of Venetian rulership, the independent activity of the communal deliberative bodies, the official expressions of public power, were stifled. The confraternity of Santa Maria dei Battuti and its hospital, however, continued to assert their statutory independence and were left remarkably free to govern themselves. Through the control of its financial endowment, physical infrastructure, and organization of processions, the Battuti acted as a surrogate for local political power in the city. As Venetian domination restricted political participation and limited the independence of communal bodies, a default commune, Vettorazzi's city within a city, rose in the form of the confraternity of Santa Maria dei Battuti and its hospital.

The Battuti: Foundation and Finance

The Great Devotion of 1260, an offshoot of the Franciscan penitential preaching begun by Raniero Fasani in Perugia, spread throughout the Italian peninsula. Preaching penance, social harmony, and brotherhood, the movement gained a large following. Many flagellant confraternities, including the Scuole Grandi of Venice and the Battuti of Treviso, were founded in its wake.¹ The confraternal statutes of 1329 credit Bishop Alberto de' Ricchi with the foundation of the Battuti in Treviso. In the midst of political struggles between imperial and papal powers, Bishop Ricchi welcomed the Flagellants into the city as a movement of peace and concord. The popularity of the Battuti soon swelled its numbers and endowment. By the early 1300s the confraternity had a membership of two hundred and won official recognition from the commune and ecclesiastical authorities. The confraternity's statutes clearly stated that the confraternity was subject to the jurisdiction and protection of the commune of Treviso.²

The Battuti rose to prominence in Treviso in the midst of many other confraternities. Like most Italian cities, Treviso hosted a variety of brotherhoods. Confraternities supported almost every local parish, assisting parishioners with their spiritual and physical needs. Devotional associations formed around certain altars to venerate particular saints. Monasteries and convents supported other organizations that assisted the devotion of the laity. The German community in Treviso formed a confraternity in the church of San Francesco.³ Many of the twenty-six guilds in the city also had a religious component dedicated to the patronage of a particular saint and altar.⁴

Amid this competition for donations and membership, the Battuti emerged as the wealthiest and most populous lay confraternity in Treviso.⁵ Donations spurred by its charitable work and the reputation of the brothers helped the confraternity to establish a hospital in the city. The foundation of the Battuti and their hospital in Treviso was a phenomenon seen in almost every part of Italy, attesting to the new religious awareness described by David Herlihy:

The medieval, Christian stress on contemplation, asceticism and penance seems to have lost ground in the fourteenth century before a new, charitable and social emphasis in religious practice. To the hundreds of people who showered their wealth upon these hospitals rather than upon monasteries or even churches, Christian piety seemed primarily to impose a pressing responsibility for the socially disadvantaged, and made necessary an active effort to alleviate at least some of their sufferings.⁶

Although religious institutions were no longer the primary recipient of generous donations, ecclesiastical sanctions often encouraged donations to charitable institutions. Indulgences are perhaps the least studied and most

maligned aspect of medieval Catholicism. Historians quickly place indulgences on the long list of “abuses” of the Catholic church that contributed to popular superstitions, along with the veneration of relics and pilgrimages.⁷ One of the reasons for the popular misconception and abuse of indulgences stemmed from an inadequate articulation, or understanding, of the doctrine. For the average person in the fifteenth century, this doctrine meant that good works performed or money donated to an approved cause reduced time in Purgatory. As a result of this popular understanding, indulgences provided a fundamental support for many charitable activities, including those of the Battuti.⁸ The church’s official sanction of an institution or cause, promulgated in the form of an indulgence, encouraged many to give and reassured them that they were donating to a deserving charity. Not only did the confraternity actively and directly solicit ecclesiastical approval; it also enthusiastically advertised and publicized these official sanctions both in its own church in Treviso and in Venice.

Over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the hospital received twenty indulgences issued by bishops, patriarchs, cardinal legates, and popes. These documents, which remitted the temporal punishment due to forgiven sins, spurred donations, especially important during the early decades of the hospital when the confraternity was establishing itself. The first indulgence dates to 6 May 1305, when Alessandro Novello, the bishop of Feltre and Belluno, conceded indulgences to those who participated in the Battuti’s processions. This indulgence was typical of those that followed: forty days’ indulgence for those who left goods to the institution or visited the hospital on certain feast days.⁹

Indulgences from the fifteenth century resemble the previous proclamations.¹⁰ A few, however, address particular concerns, reflecting the increased jurisdictional exactness of the fifteenth century and the special needs of the Battuti in ministering to the poor and needy of Treviso. In 1433 a series of papal proclamations by Pope Eugenius IV, a Venetian, outlined the prerogatives and benefits attributed to the Battuti. The hospital gained the privilege of choosing confessors to minister to the poor and granting absolution to anyone who served in the hospital. In 1464 Pope Paul II, also a Venetian, issued a bull supporting the effort of the Battuti to care for foundlings, a subject to be examined in chapter 3.

To obtain a grant of indulgences was not easy; the Battuti had to lobby aggressively with the ecclesiastical officials. The Battuti actively solicited the indulgences because they knew the benefits that the indulgences would bring in prestige, official sanction, and revenue. For example, in October 1461 the hospital procured an indulgence from Cardinal Bessarion in Venice. The indulgence granted a reduction of one hundred days in Purgatory to anyone who visited the chapel of the Battuti and gave alms to the hospital and chapel.¹¹ The Battuti also sent emissaries to Rome or wherever

else the papal court might be. In June 1462 the hospital reimbursed the expenses of Father Dona Bianco, who had traveled to Mantua in 1459 with a supplication requesting that Pope Pius II confirm the indulgences of the hospital.¹²

Once the indulgences were secured, the Battuti did everything in their power to publicize the spiritual benefits that those who acquired them could gain.¹³ In April 1465, a year after the latest papal indulgence had been granted, for example, the Battuti sent the syndic Iacomo da Novello to the chancellor of the patriarch of Venice to get permission to proclaim the new privileges.¹⁴ Apparently the competition from local Venetian charities and religious houses necessitated obtaining official permission to solicit funds for a worthy cause on the mainland.

In Treviso the Battuti created a billboard of ecclesiastical approval in its own church. In the winter of 1493–94, the Battuti purchased a large parchment on which to inscribe the indulgences of the hospital; it was mounted on a canvas and placed in the hospital's church.¹⁵ Those who could read the long list of indulgences granted to the Battuti over the centuries would be reminded of the worthiness of the confraternity's works and encouraged to donate. It is important to emphasize that the Battuti sought the indulgences directly from the papacy and other ecclesiastical offices, not through an intermediary in the Venetian government. The confraternity's pursuit and publication of indulgences provides one indication of the independence of the confraternity. At least in regard to papal indulgences, it operated without consulting Venetian political authorities.

Secular proclamations also affected the flow of donations. A ducal decree of 1390, for example, was favorable to the confraternities: it prohibited clerics from becoming executors for benefactors. As a result, lay people and clerics who wished to establish a charitable foundation were forced to leave their patrimonies to lay associations, with the Battuti becoming the largest beneficiary of this decree. Another decree, however, reduced the number of bequests. In 1403 Doge Michele Steno issued a proclamation forbidding the ecclesiastical authorities to judge in matters of usury; secular authorities were now in charge. The recipients of the redemptive bequests of usurers were mostly religious confraternities and monasteries, and the weakening of ecclesiastical censure of usury led to a subsequent decline in gifts from usurers to these organizations.¹⁶ The first decree benefited the confraternity more than the latter hurt donations, for the number of usurers who left money to the hospital was small, albeit important.

The result of the indulgences and the Venetian decree regarding bequests was a large number of wills in favor of the hospital. The growth in giving to the hospital does not, however, appear to have been facilitated by any governmental decree or requirement asking that notaries recommend the hospital to a testator. On the contrary, the wide variety in wording of bequests for

the poor, hospitals, and monasteries suggests that no set formula existed.¹⁷ Over the centuries more than one thousand wills contained bequests—small sums of money, pieces of land, or substantial endowments—in favor of the confraternity.¹⁸ The large endowments were administered by trusts called *commissarie*, and the Battuti administered more than a dozen trusts providing a steady income of rents, grain, and wine for the hospital.¹⁹ An overview of one of the bequests will provide an idea of the operation of trusts and the income generated from them.

Oliviero Forzetta, a third-generation usurer, inherited one of the largest fortunes in Trevisan territory and became even richer through continuing to lend money at interest, conducting other sorts of business, and investing in the Camera del Frumento (Grain Office) in Venice. Married five times, he had no children when he made his will. After a number of small bequests to local monasteries, he made the Battuti, of which he had been a member for years, his universal heir.²⁰ On his death in 1373, the Battuti were to administer his bequest for the good of the poor.

Forzetta's bequest became a cornerstone of the confraternity's income. His deposits in the Camera del Frumento were second only to that of Cangrande II della Scala. Forzetta's deposit of 37,150 ducats, 17 grossi, 6 piccoli returned an annual income of 1,114.5 ducats, which by the early 1500s came in monthly installments of 575 lire, 17 soldi, 4 piccoli, or almost 7,000 lire annually.²¹ Therefore, the income from the Forzetta endowment equaled approximately one-third of the confraternity's monetary income.²² Although crucial for the operation of the hospital, endowment payments due from the Camera del Frumento were not always made on time, especially during times of war. A constant flow of appeals and ducal letters ordered the payments of arrears, which often were several months if not a year late.²³

The Forzetta and other *commissarie* secured the confraternity's powerful political and economic position within the community. The Battuti had a large amount of money under their management, with an independent administration and financial security, but the confraternity was not exempt from tax assessments and forced loans. For example, in 1442 the confraternity's tax burden amounted to 692 lire, 12 soldi, 8 denari.²⁴ In addition to regular taxation, the subject cities were also assessed special forced loans to pay for wars and various building projects, such as the irrigation work on the Brentella canal.²⁵ Since the balance sheet of the hospital was usually strong, Venetian authorities readily imposed forced loans and sequestered the hospital's excess grain. For example, in 1419 Venice borrowed 5,000 ducats from the Battuti.²⁶ Notwithstanding the late payments and forced loans, the wealth of Santa Maria dei Battuti far surpassed that of the other institutions in the city and formed the basis for the confraternity's impressive activities and hospital complex (see figures 3, 4, and 5).



3. Ground plan of hospital (Venetian map, 1791). Courtesy of Foto Archivio Storico di Treviso.



4. Nineteenth-century view of hospital clock tower. Courtesy of Foto Archivio Storico di Treviso.

The Hospital Complex

The location and development of the hospital's site is tied to the city's political history. When the Scaligeri took control of Treviso in 1329, they decided to build a new fortress in the center of the city, and the Battuti's old hospital had to be demolished to make way for the construction. Three years later, on 21 August 1332, the Battuti met to discuss the Scaligeri podestà's proposal for a new hospital complex. The podestà suggested that the confraternity purchase the vacant lands of the da Coderta family, which after a failed attempt to betray Treviso to the invading Scaligeri in 1317 had their estate forfeited to the commune of Treviso. The confraternity's purchase of the land would both compensate the Battuti and reward a faithful Scaligeri ally. The Battuti voted 105 to 4 to accept the deal, which provided space for a new home in an abandoned and infamous location in the city.²⁷ The Battuti gradually transformed the site into a thriving hospital complex that took on the structure and appearance of a minicommune.



5. Nineteenth-century view of hospital and wharf. Courtesy of Foto Archivio Storico di Treviso.

The former da Coderta property, including several buildings, formed a sort of island on the bank of the Sile, bordered on the north and east by two public roads and on the west by the Cagnan, a small river. The expense books document continual renovation of the existing buildings and construction of new ones. Eventually the hospital complex included sick wards for men and women, a ward for the elderly, a children's wing, a library, a nurse's room, a chancellery, and a prior's room, along with a kitchen, laundry rooms, cobbler and blacksmith shops, gardens, animal stalls, mills, and fountains.²⁸ This infrastructure supported a growing number of staff and inmates. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, 96 people lived in the hospital complex.²⁹ By 1425 the hospital housed 130 people; thirty years later 210 people, including the sick and staff, lived in the hospital.³⁰ In 1537, permanent residents of the hospital numbered about 200, not including the foundlings and the transient sick and poor.³¹

On this hospital island, not only rivers and streets but also walls and a central gate formed a barrier between the residents and the outside world. Above the entrance gate the confraternity's bell in the clock tower rang to summon brothers to meetings of the confraternity and to announce deaths.³² Clock towers were often symbols of a commune's wealth and importance, establishing the municipal center as the arbiter of time.³³ The clock tower

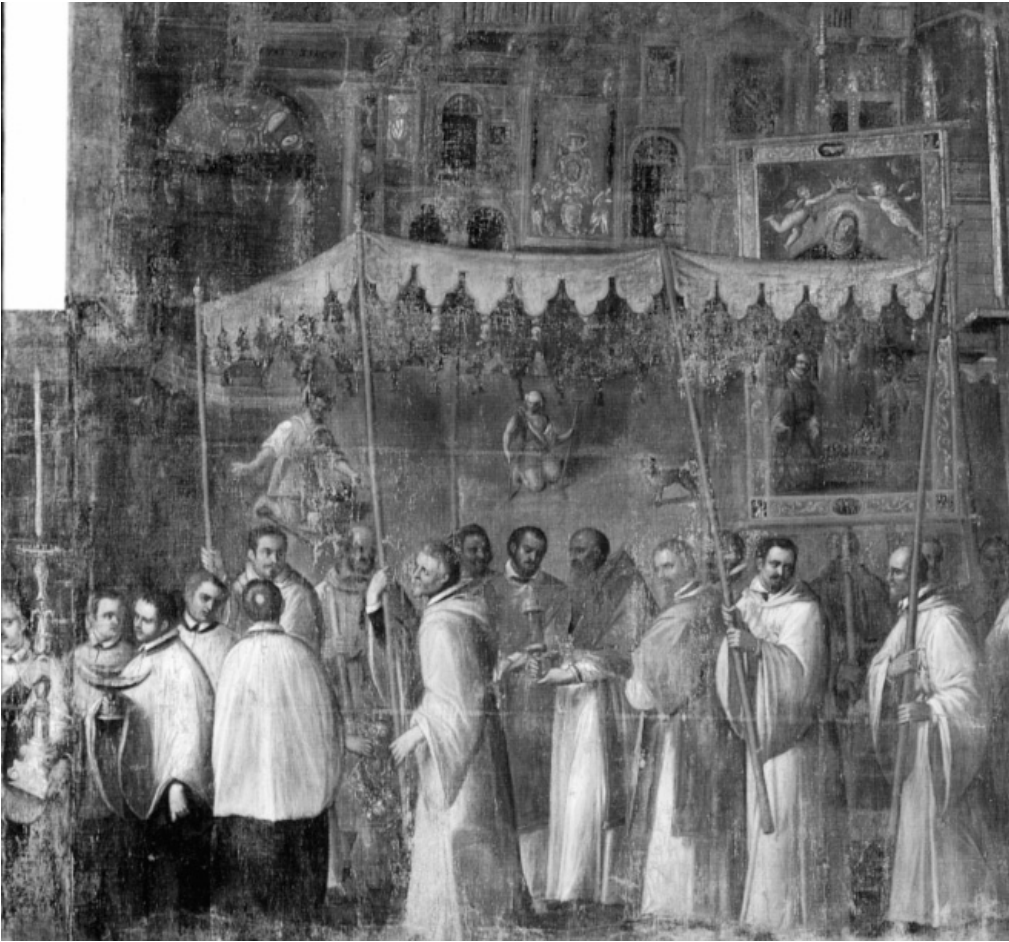
above the gates of Treviso's hospital complex was a powerful statement of the hospital's autonomy.

A church within the hospital complex contributed to its appearance as an independent enclave and demonstrated the hospital's permanence. An important part of the hospital complex and the center of the confraternity's religious practice, the Battuti's church served the needs of the inmates and also, as we have seen, proudly displayed the confraternity's indulgences, which proclaimed its special status and role in the community. The church's status was enhanced in 1425, when Pope Martin V granted the Battuti the right to build altars, celebrate mass, administer other sacraments, and bury the dead, subject to parochial regulations.³⁴ Manifesting pride in its church, the confraternity kept candles burning before the altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary.³⁵

The good works of the confraternity so inspired the dying pilgrim Paolo da Sassoferrato that he decided to make the Battuti his heir and give his relic, a piece of the Holy Cross, to the confraternity. In return for a house and its property in Padua, the Battuti promised to provide food and lodging for Paolo and his wife.³⁶ On 8 September 1450, a day after Sassoferrato's death, the confraternity accompanied the body to its final resting place in the cemetery in San Pancrazio. The piece of the Cross would serve as a permanent reminder of Sassoferrato's esteem for the confraternity.³⁷ The prestige of the Battuti increased as they became the caretakers of one of the most venerated relics in Christianity.

As a result of Sassoferrato's donation, the most venerated, and the most decorated, area of the church became the reliquary above the main altar, where the relic was housed.³⁸ During 1450 work took place on the tabernacle of the hospital's altar where the cross would be kept: marble was imported from Venice for the altar, a wood door was purchased for the tabernacle, and gold was supplied to the painter commissioned to decorate the panel.³⁹ To keep the relic secure in the tabernacle, in June 1451 the confraternity paid for two sets of iron grates with six locks.⁴⁰ The confraternity kept a lamp burning before the altar; whenever the relic was carried in procession, it was protected by an umbrella decorated with white lilies.⁴¹ In 1464 more gold and silver were purchased to adorn the tabernacle.⁴² Processions with the relic of the Cross, the feast of the finding of the Holy Cross, Good Friday, and Corpus Christi were special events, accompanied by the Venetian bishop and the *podestà*. As Nicholas Terpstra has demonstrated for Bologna, confraternities serving as custodians of such holy objects held great prestige in the community.⁴³ The Battuti's possession of this important relic elevated the confraternity to a special status and placed it in the center of Trevisan public life (see figure 6).

The growing importance and power of the confraternity was also demonstrated by its physical expansion and investment in capital projects. In the middle of the fifteenth century the confraternity sought to improve its miniature commune by undertaking three projects: the purchase of land adjacent



6. Bartolomeo Orioli, *Procession with the Relic of the Holy Cross* (1625). Courtesy of Casa Editrice Canova, Treviso.

to the hospital, the construction of a mill, and improvement of its wharf. As we have seen, the river Sile and the smaller river Cagnan provided natural boundaries for the property, but over the decades the many bequests to and demands on the services of the hospital necessitated expansion to provide additional space for conducting its operations. The confraternity also wished to eliminate an affront to its moral standards and a common nuisance: the public brothel, located adjacent to the hospital.

In November 1445 the Battuti met to discuss the problem of public prostitutes living next door to the hospital. In the following February, they began formal proceedings to buy the site of the brothel and have the prostitutes



removed. The appeals to Venice were costly but produced no results satisfactory to either party.⁴⁴ In January 1447 the Battuti and Nascinguerra di Rovero, the owner of the property, agreed to have the bishop, Ermolao Barbaro, arbitrate to end the dispute over the price of the land and buildings by setting the purchase price.⁴⁵ Purchase of the brothel was an important acquisition for the confraternity. In the future this site would become home to a quite different sort of transient: pilgrims, as opposed to prostitutes' clients. Treviso was not the only city in which regulation of the central brothel was an issue. In fifteenth-century Vicenza, the bishop purchased the building and the land on which it stood and expelled the prostitutes to the suburbs, to the dismay of the commune.⁴⁶

Land was the cornerstone of the confraternity's wealth, but the Battuti did not rely only on the income generated from their numerous possessions. They also sought ways to maximize their income in order to meet their growing responsibilities. Through bequests, the Battuti owned a number of mills, which they rented to millers for a yearly fee.⁴⁷ They not only used and rented the inherited mills; they built a mill on a piece of land ideally located along the Sile. The land, in the zone of Cafancello, was purchased sometime in the early 1400s as part of the bequest of Donna Amante di Monteverde, who left her estate to the Battuti in order to secure permanent sources of income for the poor of the hospital.⁴⁸ Building on the Sile or diverting water from it was strictly controlled by Venetian authorities, who realized that the rivers were the lifeblood of their trading empire; therefore, the Battuti had to seek authorization from authorities in the dominant city. Beginning in August 1442, the Battuti began to send letters to Venice informing the authorities of their intentions and asking permission to build.⁴⁹ On 15 July 1444 the Battuti received permission to build the mill and divert water from the Sile to power it for the benefit of the poor of the hospital.⁵⁰ Construction began promptly in the summer of 1444 and was finished a year later.⁵¹

The central lifeline of the city, the river Sile, supplied the city with water, powered mills, and provided a navigable route into the Venetian lagoon. Taking full advantage of its strategic location, the confraternity operated a wharf for its own use, made available to the merchants of the city for a fee charged per each item unloaded. The podestà in 1434 set the amounts that porters could charge for each item unloaded from the barge and forbade them to work on Sundays and feast days.⁵² The fees were another steady source of income for the confraternity. For example, the innkeeper Gian Grande, a primary importer at the wharf, brought in 8,000 bales of goods between April 1444 and September 1448, paying 347 lire, 18 soldi, 8 denari to the Battuti.⁵³

As with other property, the confraternity made improvements on the wharf, replacing its wood walkway with a stone bridge. Like the mill, this project required permission from Venetian officials, who had to approve any modifications or construction on the waterways so vital to Venetian commerce. On 20 April 1444 the podestà granted permission for the confraternity to rebuild its wharf in stone.⁵⁴ Expense books for the next several years record the various phases of the building project, including draining the water, driving pylons, and building the stone foundations and walkway. Outlay also included a gold ducat to the communal chancellor, Gianandrea da Orsenigo, who handled all of the paperwork for the project.⁵⁵

Hospital Administration

Management of a considerable patrimony and a large hospital complex required considerable administrative effort. Evidence of the administration

may be found in confraternal statutes, decisions, and precedents. The election of officials, hiring of employees, and independent decision making provided the brothers of the Battuti with training and experience that was almost identical to that gained in communal service. As Ronald Weissman has shown, the same was the case elsewhere: "The confraternities of Florence (similar to the guilds) provided members with an education in republican civic procedure and culture. In organized structure the typical late medieval Florentine confraternity was a miniature commune."⁵⁶ The election of its own officials, the administration of bequests, and the keeping of an archive of privileges and ledgers demonstrates the independent nature of the confraternity. With an election process immune from political interference and the ability to hire and fire its own staff, the Battuti administered an institution that rivaled the communal bureaucracies.

The administration and organization of the confraternity was based on the confraternal statutes, the oldest extant dating back to 1329. Other redactions occurred in 1352 and 1400; the latter provided the basis for the confraternity for several centuries. Deliberations and confraternal decrees were recorded in a book of rules. The statutes and rule book outlined the structure of the confraternity and its members' obligations: the governmental structure of the body, the recording of bequests in permanent volumes, the behavior of the members, the care of the sick and burial of the dead, and the obligatory processions.⁵⁷

The most important aspect for our present concern, self-governance, is the leadership of the confraternity and the election of its officials. An advisory board of Twelve Wise Men, chosen from the most distinguished brothers, set policy for the confraternity and supervised all elections. The syndic, chief officer of the confraternity, was responsible for the supervision of operations and the enforcement of confraternal regulations. He was to be at least twenty-five years old and a citizen of Treviso, either by birth or a ten-year residence. The syndic served a one-year term that could be renewed pending review of his service. Two of four *gastalds*, custodians who supervised the daily expenses and operation of the confraternity, were elected every six months for one-year terms. The staggered elections allowed a smooth transition of power and a period for the new *gastalds* to learn the system and processes. *Gastalds* had to be at least thirty years old and citizens of Treviso, whether by birth or long residence in the city. Each year the *gastalds* were responsible for electing four deacons, who had the responsibility of preparing for masses, organizing the burial of brothers, and organizing the processions. At the end of their terms, officials were subject to syndication: an accounting of the money they spent. The Wise Men and the four *gastalds* formed a committee of sixteen that guided the confraternity.

Early in the fifteenth century, the confraternity added two important non-elective posts, inspectors of lands and a prior, to assist in the administration. In 1403 the confraternity authorized the *gastalds* to elect an external syndic

at a salary of 270 lire to oversee the confraternity's possessions. During the next four decades, the holdings of the confraternity grew to such an extent that in 1440 the Battuti decided that two men, with salaries of 200 lire each for four-year appointments, were needed to manage the properties.⁵⁸ In the 1460s a prior was hired to care for the poor and make sure that any poor person who entered the hospital had confessed and lived respectably within the hospital. The prior was also responsible for taking and depositing with the syndic any money or belongings the poor person wished to entrust. In addition, he hired a priest to administer the sacraments to inmates on the point of death and maintained a list of all the foundlings brought to the hospital and put out to nurse.⁵⁹ These additional officers, like the syndic and the gastalds, were appointed without any reference to the commune of Treviso or its Venetian overlords.

The central administrative organ of the confraternity was the chancellery, kept secure with a special door lock made in Venice. The chancellery housed all of the hospital's legal and administrative records. We can get an idea of the size of the confraternity's library from an entry from March 1485, when the confraternity paid 16 lire for 108 small chains to secure the hospital's books.⁶⁰ The men in charge of the chancellery were all notaries hired by the Battuti, usually for extended periods of time because the complexity of the hospital's administration required experience with its accounting system. From 1437 to the early 1500s, it appears only four men held the position. Francesco Crespignaga held the job from July 1437 to 30 September 1467, when his shaky hand was replaced by the vibrant writing of Matteo da Conegliano, who kept the books from 1467 to 1486. Fiorvante da Biadene succeeded him to 1497, and Vendramin da Noale continued the books into the next century.⁶¹

The Politics of Processions

The confraternity's administration mirrored the appearance of the hospital complex: just as the hospital complex resembled a minicomune, a self-sufficient and self-supporting structure within the city, the administration of the confraternity was similar to the workings of a commune. As the most "Trevisan" structure left in local hands, the hospital of Santa Maria dei Battuti became a material expression of civic spirit and pride. Civic ritual also provided a forum for political discourse and display, with the streets of the city as a stage and processions and relics as the scripts and props. The Battuti came to play a dominant role in the public cult through control of public ritual and relics, becoming the chief actor in a drama of Trevisan self-assertion. Although the Venetian government did everything it could to keep the confraternity from challenging the Serenissima's political dominance, in the end, the Battuti and Venice supported one another in their mutual goals of civic harmony and

religious worship. The integration of Treviso into the Venetian state can be witnessed in the manipulation of the processions and rituals.

Processions, a central part of confraternal activities, were meant to contribute to the popular religious devotion of the community.⁶² This public accessibility and visibility of their religious works inevitably led the Trevisans to view the Battuti confraternity as a privileged representative of their community. The statutes required at least two of the gastalds, the syndic, the deacons, and the brothers to dress in their capes and process through the streets of Treviso flagellating themselves, every Sunday and on numerous feast days. The statutes were very specific about the feasts, notably but not exclusively those of the Virgin Mary, on which and to which church they should process. The gastalds were required to honor all of the chapels of the city and perform any other procession deemed necessary for the honor of God, the Blessed Virgin, and all the saints. On each feast day that did not have a designated church or altar in the city, the procession would start from and return to the hospital in order to strengthen the poor and sick.

The account books of the Battuti record the care with which they fulfilled their obligations and provide a unique opportunity to view the daily acts of devotion that they performed for themselves and the entire community. The brothers took several measures to keep track of the processions. So there would be no mistakes in or misunderstandings of the procession schedule, in October 1450 the Battuti paid the painter Angelo to design a calendar of the processions.⁶³ In October 1458 the Battuti paid for another monthly list of processions.⁶⁴ In 1487, so that the men knew who was in the brotherhood and when they would be called to process, the confraternity placed in the hospital a placard listing all the brothers and specified fines for those who did not process.⁶⁵

The schedule was a demanding one. In 1467, for example, the brothers processed 112 times through the streets of the city, making at least one procession to every church in the community on the feast day of the church's namesake or to a chapel in that church. In all, the Battuti visited thirty-six churches, including their own (see figure 7).⁶⁶ Ordinary processions included the brothers and a priest; on special feast days and vigils they were accompanied by singers and players of instruments. The presence of the musicians necessitated certain preparations: on 6 June 1444, the Battuti paid the skinner Iacomo da Bologna 25 lire for skins on which to write the songs the brothers sang during processions.⁶⁷ Oxen were used to transport the organist, musicians, and singers for the Corpus Christi celebrations.⁶⁸

The statutes allowed special processions as deemed appropriate by the gastalds, and such occasions frequently presented themselves. The need to seek relief from drought and disease prompted processions to placate or thank God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. In the summer of 1442, for instance, the Battuti offered prayers and held three processions "in order that Lord God grant good weather."⁶⁹ The main problem was drought: the dry



- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 - Hospital Complex | 8 - Santa Chiara | 15 - San Lorenzo | 22 - San Pincuzio |
| 2 - Podestà Palace | 9 - Santa Fosca | 16 - Santa Maria di Berlem | 23 - San Purisio |
| 3 - Cathedral of San Pietro | 10 - San Francesco | 17 - Santa Maria del Gesù | 24 - Santo Stefano |
| 4 - Ognissanti | 11 - San Giovanni del Tempio | 18 - Santa Maria delle Carceri | 25 - San Tommaso |
| 5 - Sant'Agostino | 12 - San Giovanni de Riva | 19 - Santa Maria Maggiore | 26 - San Vito |
| 6 - Sant'Andrea | 13 - San Gregorio | 20 - Santa Maria Nuova | |
| 7 - Santa Caterina | 14 - San Leonardo | 21 - San Michele | |

7. Treviso city center: principal religious and civic spaces. Base image of early seventeenth-century map courtesy of Foto Archivio Storico di Treviso.

summers of 1444, 1473, 1478, and 1487 brought the Battuti into the streets praying for rain.⁷⁰ Too much rain could also be a concern, as in the summer of 1459, when the Battuti processed to help stop the ceaseless rains.⁷¹

The periodic return of plague, too, evoked a penitential response: processions, in which confraternal brothers flagellated themselves, in these instances as a sign of repentance before God. Preachers often suggested processions to ward off the plague, as on 9 August 1448, when the Battuti purchased a large amount of wax for two large candles carried in a procession inspired by Fra Giovanni da Volterra.⁷² The 1486 plague statutes for the *lazzaretto* (plague hospital) of Treviso stipulated general solemn processions on the feast days of San Sebastiano and San Rocco, 20 January and 16 August respectively. The regulations required the attendance of the podestà, overseers of the *lazzaretto*, guilds, clergy, and brotherhoods. Processions seeking relief from the plague wound their way from the cathedral to the altar of San Sebastiano in the Servite church of Santa Caterina and to the altar of San Rocco in the Dominican church of San Nicolò.⁷³ Both the routine processions on feast days and special intercessory ones for plague and climatic changes brought the Battuti into the center of Trevisan life, as the brothers made their way through the streets of the city.

Processions acted as a forum of debate concerning the legitimacy and power of government and served an important role in the definition and regulation of society. As Richard Trexler has demonstrated, staging public processions amounted to staking a claim on both political and sacred space. In Florence, the developing commune had to compete with the relics and processions organized by leading families.⁷⁴ In Bologna, on the other hand, confraternities gained tremendous prestige for their custodianship of shrines and organization of religious processions.⁷⁵ As Edward Muir has demonstrated for Venice, ritual and processions were important props of the Venetian state and constituted a discourse on the constitutional order.⁷⁶ The Venetian government lacked a formal written constitution, so centuries of tradition, custom, legal precedent, and ritual defined and reaffirmed the established political and social system. Controversy about the reasons for processions, the participation of certain groups, and the organization of these sacred rituals evoked sometimes violent responses from rival political interests. Ritual and the power of processions extended beyond Venice to its dominions, and Venice vied for control or manipulation of subject cities' civic ritual. The Battuti's processions in Treviso had secured them a place in the local custom and tradition of the city. Since the confraternity had won what Trexler would define as the battle for prominence in the commune of Treviso, Venetian authorities paid careful attention to the public religious rituals of the Battuti.

In Treviso we find two examples of how Venice's regulation of processions simultaneously confirmed the Battuti as the semi-official representatives of local power and self-expression and confirmed Treviso's status as a

subject city. The first example concerns the Bianchi (Whites) of 1399, a religious revival and outpouring similar to the Flagellant movement of 1260.⁷⁷ The Bianchi spread through Italy, but they stalled as they reached Venetian territories. Successful in Padua, which was not yet under Venetian control, the movement met with hostility from Venetian officials, who banished the leader of the movement, Fra Giovanni Dominici, from Venetian territory for five years. On 7 October the Bianchi stood before the walls of Treviso, ready to process into the city encouraging penance, peace, and conversion. The doge would not allow this and sent a letter to the podestà to disperse the group, which did not have permission to process.⁷⁸

Not long after the dispersion of the Bianchi, the podestà of Treviso received another ducal mandate concerning a confraternity. The ducal letter of 9 November 1412 ordered the suppression of the newly formed confraternity of the Santissima Trinità, whose activities had begun to rival that of the Battuti. Acknowledging the Battuti's long history of devotion and pious works, known not only in Treviso but throughout Italy, the doge stated that the new confraternity was a disturbing influence in the city. Brothers of Santissima Trinità had donned capes and processed on feast days with a cross and banner, encouraging donors to give to the confraternity. Bequests to this new confraternity divided the resources of Treviso, and the potential challenge to the Battuti was unacceptable. As a result, Venetian authorities ordered the confraternity of Santissima Trinità to be disbanded. Its cross, banner, and robes were to be turned over to the Battuti; the chest used to house its articles was to be destroyed; and all the money the confraternity had raised to purchase a bell was turned over to the Battuti. In the future, any confraternity that wanted to form and process on feast days or funerals would have to seek permission from the podestà. The syndic of the Battuti took possession of thirty-three white robes (which would be dyed black), a cross, a banner, and the other possessions of the suppressed confraternity.⁷⁹

The ducal decree highlights the essential features of what constituted a confraternity and the role that the Battuti had in the community. The new confraternity offered a challenge to the Battuti when its members began to process through the city in white robes with a cross and banner. Entering the public sphere, Santissima Trinità came under the surveillance of Venice, responsible for the peace and stability of its subject cities. The raising of funds by Santissima Trinità for its own charitable work and the purchase of a banner, a communal chest, and a bell to gather members threatened the Battuti's monopoly. Well aware of the good works performed by the Battuti and probably not wishing to anger the Trevisan elite who controlled the confraternity, the Serenissima would not permit a new, competing entity to disturb the status quo.

The Venetian reaction to the Bianchi and the new confraternity underlines the importance Venetian officials gave to processions and ritual, not only in Venice itself but also in the subject cities, a topic that has received

little scholarly attention.⁸⁰ Hints from Vicenza suggest that the organization of local religious observances and the freedom to venerate local patron saints were prized concessions for subject cities. Once Venice conquered Vicenza in 1404, the commune promoted San Vincenzo as the city's primary patron saint. In the fifteenth century the varied urban devotions of the fourteenth century became focused on San Vincenzo, who became a crucial component of civic identity, with a new church dedicated to him in the main piazza.⁸¹ The detailed records of the Battuti's processions provide a guide to their participation in processions mandated or initiated by news from the Venetian empire. The confraternity's processional records indicate the degree of Trevisan participation in the public support of Venetian political and military affairs and act as a barometer of Trevisan participation in the larger Venetian Republic.

From the very beginning of Venetian control of Treviso, the Venetians influenced the processional life of the city. Following the second dedication of the city to Venice in 1389, Treviso once again placed itself under Venetian dominion, where it remained this time until the fall of the Republic in 1797. As a consequence, two more feast days were added to the processional calendar. The first civic religious festival celebrated the city's liberation from Carrarese tyranny on the feast day of Sant'Andrea, November 30. The second feast, Santa Lucia on 13 December, commemorated the day on which the city dedicated itself to Venice. Under penalty of fine, all were ordered to cease work and process.⁸² The Venetian demands on its subject cities were relatively light compared with those of Florence, whose subject cities' representatives had to travel to the dominant city on Saint John's Day to honor its patron saint with gifts of candles.⁸³

The inclusion of certain politically significant processions in Treviso's festive calendar influenced the historical memory of the community, which was periodically reminded of its subjugation to Venice. Other special occasions calling for processions worked to integrate Treviso into the Venetian sphere. Among these occasions were the elections of popes and Venetian leaders. We can gain an insight into the process of official recognition and mandating of processions from a ducal letter of 23 April 1455 announcing the election of the new pope, Calixtus III. The doge informed the podestà, Andrea Marcello, of the Republic's joy at the election of the new pope and mandated a solemn procession with the ringing of bells as a sign of Treviso's happiness.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, the expense books of the hospital are missing for 1455, but we do have notice of a procession held on 26 March 1447 to celebrate the election of Nicholas V.⁸⁵ Equally important was the election of the doge. We find the Battuti on 16 May 1462 participating in the procession honoring the newly elected doge, Cristoforo Moro, and on 31 May 1478 to celebrate the election of Giovanni Mocenigo.⁸⁶ These processions indicate the method Venice used to integrate Treviso into the larger political context.

Ducal letters sent to the subject cities ordering processions mark almost every important event in the life of the Venetian Republic, especially during periods of war. The wars between Venice and Milan, a life-and-death struggle for control of the northern Italian trade routes, ended in a victory for Venice.⁸⁷ This struggle tested the allegiance of Venice's subject cities. Processions to win divine favor won popular support through involving subject cities in the struggle. The record of processions in the Battuti account books, in fact, chronicle critical points in the war effort. On 8 August 1438, for example, a general procession was held to celebrate the defeat of Nicolò Piccinino, the commander in charge of Milanese forces attacking Brescia.⁸⁸ In February 1439 a procession celebrated the Venetian general Gattamelata's rescue of the besieged Verona.⁸⁹ On 15 November 1439 a procession marked the defeat of the marchese of Mantua and the Milanese. A week later two other processions celebrated the stopping of the marchese outside of the citadel of Verona.⁹⁰ In June 1440 a procession celebrated the taking of castles around Lake Garda and the conquest of the Brescian plain; another in July recognized another victory against Nicolò Piccinino.⁹¹ On 13 December 1441, a few weeks after fighting ended with a truce between the parties concluded at Cavriana on 20 November, the Battuti of Treviso marched in recognition of the publication of the peace treaty.⁹²

The Battuti held processions invoking divine intervention in a variety of other wars and celebrating other peace treaties, especially in conflicts with the Turks. During open warfare with the Turks between 1463 to 1479, Venice needed all the divine assistance it could muster.⁹³ The fighting in Albania in the 1470s was especially difficult, and the processions held in Treviso reflected the urgency. During the summer of 1474 almost eighty thousand Turkish troops camped outside the walls of Scutari. For three months Turkish guns repeatedly blew breaches in the walls, which the inhabitants of the beleaguered city rebuilt. Venetian reinforcements ferried from the fleet in the Adriatic Sea kept the city's lifeline open. Confounded by the city's intransigence, the Turkish general called an end to the siege and left the city in August.

The inhabitants of Scutari must have thought his departure was a miracle. So did their Venetian rulers, who celebrated the lifting of the siege. The Senate named as Captain of the Fleet Antonio Loredan, who had gallantly led the defense of the city. The captain of the ships that relieved the city, Pietro Mocenigo, was elected doge. The Trevisans could feel that they had done their part as well. In July and August 1474 they had processed in order to support the troops holding back the Turks at Scutari.⁹⁴ Unfortunately, the victory was merely a temporary respite. Four years later the Turks returned, this time with troops estimated over one hundred thousand, and once again attacked the city. Despite a valiant defense, supported from afar by intercessory prayers and processions held by the Battuti in 1478, the Venetians made peace with the Turkish Sultan Mehmet on 24 January 1479 and sur-

rendered Scutari. News of the treaty reached Treviso on 28 February 1479, when the Battuti participated in a procession commemorating the peace.⁹⁵ The processions held in Treviso during the Venetian wars with Milan and conflicts with the Turks indicate a high degree of Trevisan knowledge of and participation in the military fortunes of the Venetian empire. Thus, Treviso was incorporated into the international nexus of the Venetian Republic.

The most visible symbolic representation of the political role of the Battuti was the confraternity's standard, borne in processions.⁹⁶ The great pride the brothers took in the appearance of their confraternity's banner can be seen in the expense for its fabrication. On 26 March 1441, the Battuti paid the Venetian painter Andrea Basilico 151 lire, 12 soldi for painting their banner. Equally important is the choice of iconography. The large silk banner had "a figure of the Blessed Virgin on both sides and Saint Peter and Saint Paul on one side and Saint Mark and Saint Liberale on the other, and underneath an altar with an Agnus Dei and the Battuti, with all the figures in gold."⁹⁷ The decoration reveals the dual allegiances of the confraternity: one side displayed the traditional saints of the papacy, and the other the patron saints of Venice and Treviso. The Battuti's role as mediator between the city and the local patron saint, the Venetian patron saint, and the universal Catholic church is clearly displayed in Bartolomeo Orioli's seventeenth-century depiction of the procession of the finding of the Cross. The Battuti proudly and prominently escort the Venetian bishop, who carries the confraternity's precious relic, and the Venetian podestà. Both Venetian authorities and the people of the city solemnly participate in the public display of civic Christianity (see figure 6).

Protecting Privileges

Although fully engaged in efforts to support the Venetian empire, the confraternity was also interested in preserving its independence. Cooperation with Venetian officials and decrees was necessary when the confraternity sought privileges or back payments from the Camera del Frumento. Aware of the importance of processions and ceremony in the articulation of values and power, the confraternity used these occasions to its advantage. In a desire to demonstrate their willingness to cooperate with Venetian authority as well as their important role in the community, the brothers maintained a close relationship with the podestà and his family, a relationship important for gaining approval of the confraternity's proposals and obtaining concessions. The Battuti made sure that the Venetian podestà was aware of the good works of the confraternity and sought to have its statutes and right to self-rule officially sanctioned by the Venetian government.

The Battuti cooperated with the podestà from the moment he arrived in the city by placing their carriage at his disposal. The rule books explicitly describe

the function of the carriage: it was to have four horses and a carriage driver to transport grain, wine, wood, and hay to the hospital more conveniently and efficiently. With the consent of the gastalds, the carriage could be used by citizens to go to Padua, Venice, and elsewhere, and by Venetian gentlemen and judges to transport goods to Padua and Vicenza. The podestà, however, apparently had unlimited access to the carriage.⁹⁸ The use of the hospital's carriage to transport the podestà and his family reveals an informal but very important act of patronage on the part of the hospital, for the transportation of the family of the Venetian representative involved risk and responsibility. An important political gesture was the reception of the podestà into the city. When a new podestà came to Treviso on 24 July 1493, the hospital's carriage, driven by Zuane, came to welcome him to his new governmental position.⁹⁹ The Battuti acted as representatives of the commune, welcoming the Venetian delegation to the city. Other officials of the Venetian government were aided by the hospital's driver, as when Nicolò conveyed the podestà's vicar to Padua in July 1464.¹⁰⁰ The families of the podestà also enjoyed the benefit of the service, as in May 1468 and February 1474 when the wives of the podestà were transported by the confraternity's carriage to Marghera.¹⁰¹ On 28 October 1447 Michele, the carriage driver, was paid one lira to take the daughters of the podestà to Vicenza.¹⁰²

The podestà's wife and family not only benefitted from free transportation; they also visited the hospital on a number of occasions and were warmly welcomed. On 2 August 1443, for example, the Battuti purchased 18 soldi worth of melons to host the podestà's wife when she came to visit.¹⁰³ The following August the wife of the podestà, accompanied by several other women, was served a meal; the podestaressa received a silver knife as a present.¹⁰⁴ In January 1490 the podestà's wife was offered candies; similar hospitality was offered to the podestaressa in November 1494, when the hospital spent 3 lire on candles, milk, spices, and candies for her visit.¹⁰⁵ The daughters of the podestà came to visit the hospital in August 1476, when the hospital's ledgers records the expenses made for welcoming them.¹⁰⁶ These visits were more than friendly social calls; they served to keep the podestà informed of the good works performed by the confraternity and its essential role in the civic life of the city.¹⁰⁷

In addition to the courtesy shown to Venetian officials and the hospitality extended to their family members, the podestà also had direct, official interaction with the Battuti. One of the formal occasions involving him was the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary (2 February), a ceremony that had been held in the church of the confraternity since before the Venetians took control of Treviso. The podestà showed his respect for the commune's traditions, as promised when the city became subject to Venice, by appearing at the church of the Battuti on this important Marian holy day.¹⁰⁸ For example, in February 1438 the escort (*donzello*) of the podestà was paid 8

soldi to carry the chalice before his master during the mass in the hospital.¹⁰⁹ On 2 February 1440, the escort received 8 soldi for carrying one candle to the hospital for Candlemas, as was customary.¹¹⁰ Again in February 1441 the escort carried the chalice, and the podestà's arrival was announced by trumpeters.¹¹¹ This official ceremony and the other formal processions involving the presence of the podestà provided the Venetian official with an intimate view of the confraternity and its works, so when it came time for the Battuti to make appeals to Venice, the podestà would readily attest to the important function they served in the city as well as their genuine religious devotion. The good works that the confraternity performed kept Venetian officials from interfering with the Battuti and won the brothers a number of important concessions and privileges.

The Battuti did not feel constrained, however, to limit their supplications to the Venetian representative in their midst. So much of the confraternity's business required sending embassies to the capital city that the Battuti decided that a permanent residence there was needed. Subject cities kept embassies in Venice, and the Battuti imitated this model with one of their own.¹¹² Merchants, lawyers, and physicians frequently took a boat from the hospital's wharf and navigated the Sile to Venice to purchase goods for the hospital and litigate in support of the confraternity's needs. Donna Amante Monteverde's commissaria included a house in the parish of San Marziale in Venice. Beginning in the 1420s, the Battuti transformed this property into permanent offices with sleeping quarters in Venice for the Battuti's syndic and others who traveled there on official business.¹¹³ This house, a small embassy of sorts, was kept in order by a resident custodian. The house was used so frequently that in June 1474 there was no room for the syndic and a messenger, who had to stay at an inn.¹¹⁴ Probably as a result of this incident, the Battuti passed a regulation in 1474 that only citizens of Treviso and gastalds could stay in the house (see figure 8).¹¹⁵

The confraternity's headquarters in Venice was more than a convenient place for merchants or physicians to meet and do business for the hospital: once extraneous guests were excluded, it was also a vital base of operations from which representatives engaged the Venetian bureaucracy, combated any infringement on the Battuti's rights, and fought for special concessions. The most salient aspect of the confraternity's actions was its direct appeal to Venice. Communal bodies, even the podestà, were bypassed as the Battuti took their cases directly to their embassy in Venice to await a meeting with the nobles governing the Venetian state.

The brothers' careful administration of their resources, the quality of the services they provided, and the good relationship with the podestà all worked to the advantage of the confraternity. Many of the decrees concerning the Battuti in Treviso referred to their role as providers of charity. Venetian leaders believed that pious works were critical for the maintenance of the empire.



8. Santa Maria dei Battuti House in San Marziale, Venice. Photo by Paolo Rosa Salva and Vanessa Bonazzi.

As James Grubb has noted, “The axiom that dominion depended on divine favor had very real implications.”¹¹⁶ Therefore, any interference with the charitable, pious actions of the Battuti could jeopardize not only good works of the confraternity but also Venetian rule. For example, when the Battuti needed money for a building project in the 1430s and were owed back payments from the Forzetta investment, Doge Francesco Foscari ordered that the money “owed to God and the Virgin” be paid “lest divine matters be overlooked in favor of this-worldly affairs.” A similar mandate in December 1488 ordered payment before Christmas so that the confraternity could care for its orphans.¹¹⁷ Venetian authorities clearly considered Trevisan and the confraternity’s piety to be a pillar of its empire.

Venetian attitudes toward good works and the vigilance of Battuti officials in performing them safeguarded the rights and privileges of the confraternity. For example, in June 1441 the confraternity made a plea to the Senate establishing the right of the confraternity to rent and lease lands in the city and suburbs of Treviso that had been bequeathed for the benefit of the hospital. Approval was given, leaving the confraternity free to control its large patrimony.¹¹⁸ In the first half of 1441 the Battuti successfully petitioned

Venice for a medical tax break and the right to inherit from those who died in the hospital without a will.¹¹⁹ These major concessions to the confraternity allowed it to operate flexibly in managing its vast land holdings, freed it from the import tax on medicines, and declared it the legal heir to what could potentially be a considerable income. In each case, the reputation of the confraternity, its public role in providing services, and the efforts of its lawyers lobbying in Venice must have persuaded the Venetian government to accede to the confraternity's requests.

The Battuti did not resort only to the mercy of their Venetian rulers. The trained legal minds of the Battuti leadership also vigorously defended their privileges on the basis of statutory precedent. For example, the Battuti refused to admit a person sent to the hospital by the Procuratori di San Marco in Venice because it violated their confraternity's statutes.¹²⁰ The confraternity appealed to its own statutes, not those of Treviso, when arguing to protect its sovereignty against Venetian interference. Venice officially recognized the special privileges and independence of the confraternity in two ducal letters from the end of the fifteenth century. In June 1497, in the midst of a legal case, two ducal letters declared that the podestà had no right to meddle in the administration of the hospital, which had governed itself with its ancient constitution and privileges. Although the Battuti were denied the power to try their own criminal cases, the podestà was forbidden to intervene in the daily operation and administration of the hospital, and the right of the confraternity to dismiss its own officials and employees was confirmed.¹²¹ These orders and privileges were reaffirmed in the published podestà regulations of 1574, which provided permanent protection of the rules, regulations, and privileges of the confraternity of Santa Maria dei Battuti.¹²²

Conclusion

Savonarola and Vettorazzi refer to freedom from tyranny and the importance of self-government in absolute terms. The story of the Battuti, however, reveals qualified independence. Although Venetian control of political, economic, and high ecclesiastical appointments left little room for local political initiative, one Trevisan institution, the confraternity of Santa Maria dei Battuti, retained it. The Battuti had existed for decades before the Venetian dominion of Treviso. When they took over, the Venetians swore to respect the statutes of the confraternity, and they did. The Bianchi movement and the confraternity of the Santissima Trinità were both suppressed, undoubtedly to the advantage of the Battuti. The abolition of a rival processional brotherhood in Treviso attests both to the solidity of and potential problems in the relationship between the Battuti and Venice. The Venetian authorities gave due deference to the confraternity, which

provided important social and spiritual services and organized the civic rituals, both vital to the social and religious stability so crucial to Venetian rule. Organization of religious processions focused civic pride and demonstrated to the whole community that the Battuti held leadership and a considerable degree of power in the subject city.

The growth of the Battuti's prestige demonstrates the limits of Venetian hegemony and contributes important insights into the nature of Venetian rule. Although political and ecclesiastical positions of authority fell under Venetian control, the confraternity and hospital of the Battuti rose in the heart of the city as a local citadel of good work and tradition. Its geographic location, cultural and spiritual cohesion, and prominence in civic life made the Battuti and their complex on the banks of the Sile a city within a city. Civic Christianity provided an outlet for popular pride, at the same time allowing the Trevisans to participate in an international empire sustained by their prayers and petitions. In the midst of the subject city an independent congregation, a self-governing body of free citizens fully in support of the Venetian Republic, continued to thrive.

Chapter 2

THE CONFRATERNAL FAMILY

Fraternal correction is also an act of charity, since it wards off from our brother the evil which is sin. Indeed, it is even more an act of charity than saving him from outer injury or bodily harm, because the good opposed to sin, namely virtue, is closer to charity than any good of the body or of exterior possessions. Fraternal correction is an act of charity more than curing bodily sickness or relieving extreme poverty.

—Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*

That no brother is to be in adultery. That no brother of the said confraternity is to make usurious loans. That the gastalds are to call quarelling brothers to peace and concord.

—Rubrics of Santa Maria dei Battuti's statutes (1400)

Confraternities were voluntary organizations, with members bound together by charity in a religious bond. The reasons individuals joined these brotherhoods were as varied as the degree and type of religious associations, but all of those who joined employed language and an organizational structure that was familial. Members were referred to as brothers and sisters who called for peace and harmony within their own organization and strove to inspire the rest of the community to Christian concord. Santa Maria dei Battuti, like all confraternities, set criteria for who could join and outlined the obligations incumbent on members. Many of the Battuti's brothers not only served their confraternity but also actively participated in the community as artisans, professionals, and communal officials. In an urban environment where status and economic activity often determined one's relationships, the confraternity provided a means for association that could extend beyond one's immediate family, profession, or parish.

Benefits and Obligations

On 16 November 1490, Michele Contrari died. The son of Antonio from Ferrara, Michele had migrated from Asolo to Treviso, where he entered the

College of Notaries in 1442. He had joined the confraternity of Santa Maria, knowing that he would receive its material and spiritual support in times of need; he also realized that membership included certain obligations. As a member of Santa Maria dei Battuti, Contrari had served as its agent in Rome in 1454 (to compile the inventory of books from the Adelmari bequest) and acted as general syndic from 1468 to 1469. Members of the Battuti, who included his three sons Bernardino, Girolamo, and Eusebius, carried candles and sang hymns as they accompanied his body to the grave. The same brothers and sisters who would have supported him in sickness were called on to assist him in his afterlife: every brother and sister prayed fifteen Paternosters and fifteen Ave Marias for his soul. The current syndic, Pietro dalla Grisia, performed his obligation as Michele had done for other deceased members: he went to the cathedral and paid a priest to say a mass for Michele, who would also be remembered every Monday, along with all of the other deceased members of the confraternity, at the weekly mass said for the dead.¹

The desire for a deeper religious experience probably spurred many like Michele to join the Battuti, but membership also offered material benefits. As Ronald Weissman explains,

The Renaissance need for friendship and kinship extended far beyond the need for companionship. The fragmented nature of the Renaissance city and the Renaissance economy made recommendations, introductions, and access to networks of reliable third-party contacts and networks of friends of friends necessities. Most social services were voluntary and private; in time of need one relied on the aid and charity of friends and kinsmen.²

Participation in a powerful civic organization and interaction with politically powerful and wealthy people were very appealing to those seeking social integration. Membership in confraternities such as the Battuti brought the opportunity to secure professional and social contacts beyond the family, the parish, or professional affiliation. As the largest and wealthiest organization in the city, the confraternity provided a means of advancement for those with political and social ambitions, and allowed professionals of various learning and training to find those of similar interests.

Another compelling reason to join the Battuti was the important material and spiritual benefits it offered the dead and their families.³ During the late Middle Ages, an increasing emphasis on a decent Christian burial spurred the growth of confraternities that supplied material support for the funeral and spiritual aid to the departed soul. Although guilds offered support to their members, it was usually a limited amount of temporary aid available solely to the families of the particular profession of each guild. Confraternal membership offered funeral services to both men and women and cut across class lines; it provided the poor a more elaborate service than they would

otherwise have. As one historian has put it: "Underlying the activities of the confraternities in the High Middle Ages were the individual's desire for remembrance at and after death and his aspiration that his patrimony be administered efficiently for the benefit of his soul and his descendants."⁴

The burial given Michele Contrari included the basic services guaranteed to every member by the confraternity's statutes. Deceased members were guaranteed masses for their souls, to be celebrated regularly by priests in the cathedral. Every Monday the syndic had a similar mass said for all the deceased brothers and sisters. The syndic was also responsible for informing the confraternity that one of its number had died. The brothers and sisters then offered their intercessory prayers, fifteen Paternosters and fifteen Ave Marias, for the soul of the deceased. The confraternity also supplied the necessary items for the funeral procession: candles for the processors, a shroud for the corpse, and a pall to lay over the coffin.⁵ Unfortunately, we do not possess detailed information regarding the burial practices of the Battuti because the bookkeeper did not record individual burials, but the confraternity's deliberations provide some indication of the expense and type of funeral. The Battuti set a maximum spending limit of 5 lire for a burial, and a decree of 1514 reaffirmed that dead brothers were to be buried and accompanied for free, whether rich or poor, with four torches in procession.⁶ A priest and brothers, who were required to have black robes for funerals, accompanied the funeral, carrying torches. Singers and musicians were also hired for the burial of the poor of the hospital.⁷

A public funerary procession had obvious political meanings: "it revealed relationships of power between groups, separated people on the basis of status, and legitimated those distinctions of status by recreating them in the processional order."⁸ In addition to a political statement, Sharon Strocchia argues that "confraternal membership also offered access to additional layers of pomp that satisfied the flamboyant taste of the late fourteenth century. Bell ringing formed part of the essential vocabulary of pomp while also serving useful communicative functions."⁹ A number of wills from members of the confraternity suggest that this theory perhaps does not hold true for the fifteenth century. For example, in 1465 the noble Gregorio Spineda (whose funeral procession would have been an ideal occasion to legitimate status distinctions) stipulated that he wanted to be buried "*sine pompa magna*." Another noble and member of the Battuti, Matteo da Settimo, expressed in his will of 1450 his desire to be buried without any ceremony.¹⁰ Another person who disregarded this "essential" vocabulary of pomp was the communal chancellor Paolo Rugolo, who wanted a modest funeral, without the accompaniment of priests and monks, with no sermon in the church and no ringing of bells.¹¹ These men were aware of the role of ritual for social status, but they consciously rejected it in favor of spiritual brotherhood and humility at the hour of their deaths; they shunned the pageantry that they certainly

experienced in official ceremonies throughout their lives. These men could have been reacting against an increased amount of funeral pomp, but their wills indicate a tendency on the part of some elites to emphasize the solemn and humble nature of death, a last social and political statement about the transient nature of power and status in the world.

The benefits of memorialization, a decent burial, and the intercessory power of prayer (all powerful attractions to fifteenth-century Christians) were not without costs. In addition to their entrance fees, members had to invest time and energy in the care of other members during sickness and death; providing for each other formed part of their obligation to their brothers and sisters in the confraternity. Another aspect of this type of familial bond was supervision by and obedience to confraternal authorities. If one wanted to be a member, one had to live by certain moral and social standards: men could not be public adulterers, make usurious loans, or engage in disputes with another brother. Gastalds were required to admonish those who broke these regulations, and, if they did not cease their infractions within fifteen days, expel the offenders. The gastalds also had to keep the peace if any brother, "instigated by the devil," entered an argument with another brother.¹² These regulations stemmed from biblical injunctions and the founding ethos of the Battuti, that a Christian community should live in peace. The supervision also reinforced kinship ties, as private marital behavior or business dealings came under scrutiny by the confraternity's leadership. Maintaining the proper marital relationship, ensuring good, moral business practices, and keeping the peace among members placed the brothers in "a kinlike role, for they claimed the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the family as the extended family might have done in another environment."¹³ It appears that the restrictions on behavior applied only to male members.

The Battuti acted like all other confraternities in their desire to admit only those who would live by their moral standards and expectations. The exclusivity was due to the collective pride, or shame, of an organization as reflected in the actions of one of its members. As Ronald Weissman explains: "Members of a corporation shared the benefits of membership, as well as a common sense of shame at corporate disgrace. Reward for meritorious activity helped to build a treasury of spiritual merit; shameful action was thought, in a similar vein, to stain the entire corporation."¹⁴ Thus, a person's reputation or character could be a barrier to inclusion.

The only other possible barriers to entry were a nominal entrance fee and a willingness to participate in the processions. In the statutes of 1400 the entrance fee was 18 soldi, with 2 soldi paid to record the name in the matriculation book. In 1425 the entrance fee was reduced to 3 soldi. For those who promised to process and attend the burials of the deceased, the entrance fee was reduced to 2 soldi.¹⁵ The different entrance fees reflect a division between rich and poor similar to that in the Venetian Scuole Grandi,

in which the poorer members would attend the processions and funerals but the richer would not.¹⁶ For the same entrance fee of 18 soldi, an amount also reduced to 3 soldi in 1425, women could join the Battuti and participate fully in the prayers, burial processions, indulgences, and reception of the poor. Women members, however, faced some limitations. They could not participate in the chapter meetings and deliberations, and they had to pay extra to have flagellants at their funerals—an amount that was progressively lowered through the centuries, from 25 lire (1329 statutes) to 6 lire (1352 statutes) to 40 soldi in the 1400 redaction.¹⁷

In sum, the Battuti offered their members companionship in life, assistance when sick, a proper burial, and intercessory prayers. These benefits accrued to brothers and sisters who gave support to the confraternity and lived a moral life that would reflect favorably on the confraternity and its members, both living and dead. These benefits were accessible to both men and women who could pay a relatively modest entrance fee and submit themselves to the supervision and possible correction of the confraternal leadership. Memorialization of the dead and the confraternity's regulation of private behavior forged a kinship relationship that attracted many participants.

Brothers and Sisters

The matriculation book, a record of members both living and deceased, was a fundamental instrument of confraternal devotion and record keeping. Unfortunately, not many of the books survive.¹⁸ Two matriculation books for the Battuti exist, from 1400–41 and 1441–1500s, but they are incomplete.¹⁹ Nevertheless, they are an important source for the demographics of the confraternity and illuminate the professional, social, and familial networks within the brotherhood. The partial matriculation book from 1400–41 dates from the same time as the new redaction of the confraternity's statutes, which we discussed in the previous chapter. The list of members active from 1400 until 1441 contains the names of 823 men and 324 women.²⁰ After almost two generations of members had filled the old registers, the brothers decided to begin a new list of brothers and sisters in 1441. On 7 March 1442 Bernardo di Raimondo, a notary, was paid 10 lire for preparing the new matriculation book.²¹ Father Zanino Bessazza, who was also a book-binder, was hired to bind the "*Matricola de fradeli e sorele*" of the Battuti, for which on 28 June 1442 he was paid 12 lire.²² The work of Bernardo and Father Zanino has survived more completely than the earlier edition and includes the preamble that invokes the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, the apostles Peter and Paul, and Saint Liberale, the protector of the city. Although incomplete, the second matriculation book covers a much longer

time span, with entries as late as the 1580s, and lists the names of 2,356 men and 365 women.²³

It appears that the books served as the updated list of the confraternity's membership, but they lack consistent marginalia or annotation that would reveal what other purposes they could have served. A few marginal notes offer occasional references to a date of death or change of occupation, but the books are mainly a list of members, most often including name, occupation, and father's name. They do not typically record when a member joined and for how long he or she remained associated with the confraternity. Given the incomplete nature of the matriculation books, it is difficult to estimate the membership of Santa Maria dei Battuti at any given time. The only concrete numerical reference we possess dates from the end of the fifteenth century, when in 1499 the Battuti voted to limit the number of members to one hundred.²⁴ Despite their limitations, the sources provide critical information regarding the composition of the confraternity's members and allow general conclusions regarding the social composition of the group (see table 2.1).

Although an incomplete list of brothers, the books clearly indicate a pattern of membership. The overwhelming majority of the confraternity's members were artisans.²⁵ Every conceivable occupation was represented in the Battuti's matriculation books: tanners, wool weavers, goldsmiths, coopers, wine merchants, apothecaries, ironsmiths, carpenters, and stonemasons, even those who earned a living from working the earth. Names from one page of the matriculation book of 1441 provides a representative sample of the diversity of professions: Daniel da Valvasono, peasant; Donato, shoemaker; Domenico, innkeeper; Donato, weaver; Donato, wool weaver; Daniel Pietro, wine porter; Domenico son of Antonio, ragman; Domenico, butcher; Domenico, miller; Domenico da Padua, goldsmith; Damiano da Canizano, fisherman; and Dona da Conegliano, ironsmith.²⁶ These trades and others, ranging from glass maker to trumpet player, occur throughout the matriculation books.²⁷ Obviously the confraternity provided an organization that transcended occupational identity and involvement. Artisans could both be members of their specialized guilds and belong to the Battuti, where they could encounter members of the community from different social classes with different professional expertise. The confraternity functioned as a citywide institution, drawing professionals from all of the guilds, as well as unskilled workers and peasants. No occupation, no matter how menial, prohibited any man from joining the confraternity.

Professionals—doctors, lawyers, notaries—were a large and influential group within the confraternity, constituting approximately 8.7 percent of the enrolled men. Physicians, judges, and notaries were the most highly trained professionals, each regulated by a separate college. Of the eighteen physicians recorded in the matriculation books, several had received scholarships

Table 2.1. Santa Maria dei Battuti membership by occupation (1400–1560)

	Book I 1400–41	Book I 1400–41	Book II 1441	Book II 1441	Both	Both
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Professions and Civil Service	91	11.1	185	7.9	276	8.7
Luxury Trades	3	.4	6	.3	10	.2
Groceries and Drugs	15	1.8	54	2.3	69	2.2
Traders and Merchants	13	1.6	16	.7	29	.9
Boatmen/Fishermen	8	1.0	12	.5	20	.6
Textiles and Clothing	59	7.2	163	6.9	222	7.0
Footwear and Leather	62	7.5	165	7.0	227	7.1
Victuals	32	3.9	70	3.0	102	3.2
Building	21	2.6	75	3.2	96	3.0
Metal	13	1.6	44	1.9	57	1.8
Barbers and Surgeons	7	.9	24	1.0	31	1.0
Servants	1	.1	5	.2	6	.2
Porters	14	1.7	97	4.1	111	3.5
Clergy	6	.7	8	.3	14	.4
Nobles	11	1.3	30	1.3	41	1.3
Specified by Occupations	356	43.3	954	40.5	1310	41.2
Unspecified	467	56.7	1402	59.5	1869	58.8
Total	823	100.0	2356	100.0	3179	100.0

Note: The categories are based on those used by Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, 96; and Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders*, 53. I included only entries that made a clear declaration of a member's occupation. Many of the entries refer to the occupation of a member's father but not to the member's occupation. It is abundantly clear, however, that most members came from artisanal backgrounds. Entries seem to decline sharply in the early decades of the sixteenth century. Although the latest male entry is 1560 and the latest date for a female is 1583, almost all of the entries appear to have been registered before 1530. The change in record keeping could be related to the reforms of the 1530s, discussed in chapter 6.

for medical training at the University of Padua.²⁸ Most of these professional men, 237 brothers, were in legal practice; 17 had received a doctorate in law and were therefore eligible for membership in the College of Judges; the rest were notaries.²⁹ Other professionals included grammar professors, students, copyists, and booksellers. Among the four grammar professors enrolled in the Battuti was Simone da Valdobbiadene, a very active and successful teacher whom we will discuss later. Two university students, Francesco da Novello and Fabrizio da San Zenone, were members of the Battuti. They may well have sought the professional services of two of their confraternity brothers: Giovanni dall'Acquavite, a copyist from Erfurt, and Francesco de Padua, a bookseller.³⁰ The brothers who were jurists, doctors, and students shared common intellectual as well as religious bonds.

As might be expected, given the involvement of the confraternity with the administration of the hospital, the membership of the Battuti included a number of surgeons and barbers. Surgeons who were both members of the confraternity and worked in the hospital included Giovanni da Vicenza, Soncino da Lodi, and Salvatore da Modone.³¹ A number of barbers also joined the Battuti, such as Giovanni son of Andrea, Michele da Candia, Confrado d'Alemania, Bernardino da Marlengo, Daniele da Sacile, and Marco da Venezia.³²

The clergy formed an important minority in the confraternity. Ecclesiastical involvement in Italian confraternities varied greatly, from minimal interaction when required for services to full participation and membership. The Battuti admitted clergy but prohibited them from official administrative capacities. This was similar to the practice of the Venetian Scuole Grandi, whose clerical membership was between 5 and 6 percent.³³ The percentage of clergy in the Battuti was lower than that in Venetian Scuole Grandi; the fourteen clergymen listed in the Battuti amount to only 0.4 percent of the enrolled. Although few in number, the clergy who joined the Battuti represented a range of ecclesiastical roles and responsibilities.

Some of the clergy were simply priests or clerics: Father Zanino Niger,³⁴ a priest Francesco,³⁵ and a cleric named Birochus.³⁶ The Franciscan Giovanni da Calabria³⁷ and two cathedral prelates, Rigo the archdeacon,³⁸ and Domenico mansionarius,³⁹ were also members. Giovanni Valvasoris, a member of the Hospitallers, was a brother of the Battuti. He also served as chaplain at the altar of San Giacomo and San Cristoforo (also called "de Forzetis" because it was donated by Oliviero Forzetta) in the church of Santo Stefano.⁴⁰

A more cohesive clerical group included those who were church rectors, men responsible for the administration of and services performed in a parish church. Father Mino, for example, was rector of Sant'Agostino from 1392 to 1402.⁴¹ Melchior, son of Pietro the shoemaker from Treviso, served from 1421 to 1435 as rector of San Pancrazio, the parish to which the hospital belonged. As the parish priest for the Battuti, he witnessed firsthand

the activities and devotion of the confraternity.⁴² In 1425 Father Martino da Bitonto served as rector of San Vigilio da Dosson, in the diocese of Treviso. From 1427 to 1437 Martino da Bitonto served a decade as rector of San Giacomo in Fossalta Padovana.⁴³ Andrea Bono was rector of Sant'Agnese from 1432 until his death in 1443.⁴⁴ Nicolò da Miane was rector of the church of Sant'Andrea di Riva from 1427 until his death on 30 March 1463.⁴⁵ Father Pasio, chaplain of San Lorenzo in Treviso, joined the confraternity sometime in the 1490s.⁴⁶ The presence of church rectors in the confraternity of the Battuti demonstrates the confraternity's ability to transcend parochial affiliations; not only did members of different parishes join the Battuti, but so did their priests.

In addition to clerics and church rectors, cathedral canons also joined the brotherhood. Pileo da Onigo was one of the most important personages of a family that was descended from the lord of Onigo. Pileo, son of Agostino da Onigo, a doctor of law, and the noblewoman Cristofora da Coderta, received a doctorate in canon law, was nominated dean of the cathedral chapter in 1476, was later elected vicar general by several bishops, and obtained from Rome the dignity of apostolic protonotary. He was one of the founders of the Confraternity of the Santissimo Sacramento in 1496 and performed many duties as intermediary between the podestà and the bishop. He died on 24 August 1502.⁴⁷ One of Pileo's fellow canons was also one of his brothers in the Battuti. Francesco degli Acciali (Azzali), like Pileo, was also elected apostolic protonotary and was a member of the commission to erect in the cathedral a funeral monument to Bishop Zanetto (d. 1486). When Francesco died on 20 April 1518, he was buried in the cathedral as well.⁴⁸

One of the more influential clerics who joined the Battuti was Giacomo da Vazzola da Treviso. The son of Albrigetto da Vazzola, a coatmaker in Treviso, Giacomo entered the Dominican order in San Nicolò at a young age and by the end of the 1300s had become prior of the monastery. Giacomo acquired a reputation for preaching and made frequent trips to the Dominican house in Venice, where he led Venetian noblewomen in prayer. He served as auxiliary bishop to Lotto Gambacorta, the son of a Pisan noble appointed bishop of Treviso by Boniface IX in 1394. In March 1400 he was elected to the titular episcopate of Tino-Micono in the Cyclades Islands. Giacomo served in this position until his death on 15 March 1404.⁴⁹

The clergy who joined the Battuti were a diverse group: parish priests and bishops, cathedral canons and chaplains for endowed altars, and members of religious orders from all areas of the city. As cathedral canons and rectors of churches they had constant interaction with the laity and the spiritual life of a community; yet they still joined the Battuti, which offered them an opportunity to reach a wider audience and participate in an organization that crossed parochial boundaries. Perhaps more than any other group, the clergy demonstrate that joining the Battuti did not automatically

enhance one's status or advance one's career. It could not have been power or prestige that drove these men to join the Battuti, because as clergymen they were prohibited from leadership positions within the confraternity; as members, they actually would have surrendered some of their status and prestige. Although the clergy were excluded from the administrative offices of the confraternity, they were impressed enough by the activities and mission of the Battuti to participate in this spiritual family and community. Lay members would also have been happy to receive them, for they constituted another learned and powerful group of men who would do their best to support, spiritually and politically, the efforts of the confraternity.

Women were permitted to join and participate in the spiritual benefits of their husbands' confraternity, but their sex did preclude them from certain roles: no woman could be an official or participate in the general assembly meetings.⁵⁰ These practices not only excluded women from the practical aspects of the confraternity but also reinforced a civic ideal of male domination and female subordination. Nevertheless, the Battuti did offer women one of the few opportunities to socialize outside of the family and parish, and unlike the Scuole Grandi of Venice, did allow women to join.⁵¹ As should be expected, the sisters of the confraternity came from the same social and professional groups as the men. The wives of nobles, such as Caterina, wife of Gasparo Braga, and Agnese, wife of Francesco Rinaldi, appear frequently in the books. Relatives of men in the legal and medical professions also were members, as was Caterina, the sister of the notary Pietro Paolo de la Panciera, and Lucia, wife of the surgeon Girado da Vidor. And, of course, the vast majority of the women were relatives of artisans. Maria, wife of the painter Zambonis, Orsola, wife of Gabriel the skinner, and Margherita, the daughter of Giovanni the singer came from more modest backgrounds than their noble counterparts, but all participated in the benefits and privileges of the Battuti.⁵² Almost all the women were registered by their relationship to their fathers, husbands, or sons, a reflection of their subordinate relationship to men and their position in the confraternity, yet six of the women had no male-defined identity. Two of these women were identified only by their occupation: Costanza, seamstress, and Catarina, weaver of woolen cloth; two others were identified by residence: Jacoba from San Giovanni del Tempio and Lena, an inmate of the Battuti's hospital; and two were widows: Maddalena, a resident of San Nicolò, and a German woman, Maddalena.⁵³ Therefore, the possibility existed that women who were otherwise detached from the social networks of the family might join the Battuti and find spiritual companionship with the brothers and sisters of Santa Maria and participate in the wider community. More than likely, however, they had unstated familial ties to other brothers.

Whether a candidate was noble or servant, male or female, one basic prerequisite for admission to this urban confraternity, with its obligations

to attend processions and say prayers for the dead, was a certain degree of stability or permanence in the city. One could not fulfill obligations nor reap the benefits of membership if one did not live in the community.⁵⁴ This stability, however, did not mean that foreigners or new immigrants were excluded. The matriculation books reveal a cosmopolitan confraternity. Treviso's close proximity to Venice, an international center, and its strategic position on a main trading artery to northern Europe meant that many merchants, travelers, and refugees found permanent homes in the city, and the Battuti reflected this immigration of "foreigners" from near and far. A number of members came from small villages and towns in nearby districts: Vidor, San Zenone, Istrana, Quero, Crespignaga, Volpago, and Ciano; others from nearby cities: Vicenza, Verona, Padua, Conegliano, Montebelluna, Asolo, Noale, Oderzo, Mestre, and Venice.

Representatives from Italian cities outside the Veneto also joined the confraternity's ranks, which grew with people from the following cities: Parma, Bologna, Ferrara, Urbino, Orvieto, Mantua, Faenza, Milan, Cremona, and Ragusa among others.⁵⁵ A number of Florentine families, such as the Scolari, Adelmari, and Barisani, settled in Treviso. International travelers and workers, primarily from France and Germany, settled in Treviso and joined the Battuti: Zarino da Francia, Giovanni da Erford, Angelo da Nuremberg, and Rico da Bavaria.⁵⁶ Some of the travelers came to Treviso via the Venetian trade routes along the Adriatic, as did Georgio and Nicolò from Capodistria. The noble Pola (or Castropola) family relocated from the Istrian city of that name to Treviso during the second half of the fourteenth century. Treviso was also a safe haven for refugees fleeing the advancing Turkish armies. Dhimitër Frengu, the well-known Albanian humanist and treasurer of George Scanderbeg, found refuge in Treviso following his flight from the Turks. Although he was not a member of the Battuti, two other Albanian men were: Giovanni and Pietro from Scutari.⁵⁷ Whether from the next village or the far reaches of the Venetian empire, Italian, German, or French, all who joined the Battuti were part of a confraternal family. New immigrants into the city must have seen the Battuti as an ideal way to establish a social network and support group, and the confraternity was willing to accept them.

Leading Men

Membership in the confraternity may have been egalitarian, open to men and women of diverse professions, social backgrounds, and national origins, but the confraternal family was undoubtedly patriarchal. Statistics might suggest that artisans would dominate the confraternity's administrative positions, but statutes mandated otherwise. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the leaders of the confraternity were the gastalds, who were elected for

fixed periods of service. The statutes of 1329 and 1400 required that the *gastalds* be citizens or long-term residents of Treviso, in good standing in the confraternity, and a certain age. In 1405 the confraternity's chapter codified the social class of the four *gastalds*, who were defined by their social or professional status. The *gastalds* had to come from the following groups: one noble or doctor, two notaries, and one artisan (or a noble or doctor, one notary, and two good artisans), all to be voted on in the chapter meeting.⁵⁸ In the fifteenth century, an urban elite, represented by the nobles, doctors, and notaries, was developing a sense of identity and cohesion, reflected in the administration of the *Battuti*.

Defining the leadership by social and professional status assumes even greater significance when we examine the professions of the members and the percentages of nobles, doctors, notaries, and artisans (or citizens) in the *Battuti*.⁵⁹ The matriculation lists of 1400 and 1441 contain the names of 3,179 men, and the occupations of male members (when given), reveal a gross disparity regarding the leadership. Of the brothers, 41 were noble, 18 doctors, and 237 related to the legal profession (notaries or judges). Thus, two, possibly three, positions as *gastalds* were reserved for 296 men, less than 10 percent of the membership.⁶⁰ The remaining 90 percent of the brotherhood had only one, at best two, of their members making decisions relating to the operation of the confraternity, including the allocation of charity, which we will discuss in the next chapter. Women and clergy were completely excluded. These restrictions and percentages make it strikingly obvious that an urban elite had a disproportionate influence in the operation and oversight of this wealthy and powerful civic institution.

The demographic information in the matriculation books supports what scholars have found regarding the role of urban elites and their connection with charitable institutions. Richard Trexler made an important contribution to the history of charity and urban social structures when he argued that in medieval and early modern Italy, the way urban elites manipulated charitable institutions extended the definition of kinship to include class mutuality. "By showing the growing institutionalized concern for class affiliates, it suggests that social and economic brotherhood—never absent but now institutionalized and fitted with an ideology—was an increasingly 'familial' force."⁶¹ Urban elites were now, according to Trexler, forming a socially conscious and cohesive brotherhood, not based on natural social bonding agents but the social code of the "gentleman." Governance by an urban elite had advantages. As Black explains, "The domination of office-holding by the upper strata in a socially mixed fraternity was a matter of social control. It also had the advantage that such persons were in a stronger position to deal with bishops or local government, and to raise money."⁶² This was surely the case for Treviso, where the leading men of the city were involved in the communal, ecclesiastical, and confraternal governance.

The Venetian nobility had a prominent role in government, but Trevisan nobles were unlike their Venetian counterparts because they were subordinate to the podestà and lacked a constitutional role as leaders of the community. The Trevisan nobility enjoyed only one, albeit powerful, political privilege: serving as advisors to the podestà.⁶³ Very active in business and commercial ventures, they took advantage of investment opportunities and managed business enterprises. The Trevisan nobility solidified its position in the community through a variety of political and social maneuvers, which crystallized in the formation of the College of Nobles, a social organization designed to preserve what the nobles considered their traditional privileges. The growth in number and wealth of the Trevisan professional classes threatened the nobility's leadership in the community and helped spur the redaction of statutes in 1419 and 1441, which solidified the status of the nobility. These statutes restricted the nobility to a set number of families, members of which most often married other nobles or members of non-noble families who had gained wealth or reputation from military or professional accomplishments. Although we possess neither a full list of nobles nor biographical information for most of them, a survey of some of their careers will demonstrate how active they were in the larger Trevisan and Venetian social and political worlds.⁶⁴

Guglielmo di Collalto, son of Count Schenella, studied at Padua, where he was vice rector of jurists from 1415 to 1416. When he graduated with a degree in canon law in 1417, the podestà of Padua and four bishops were present. Returning to Treviso, he served the community in several positions, including vicar of the podestà.⁶⁵ Altiniero Azzoni, son of Rizzolino, became the episcopal lawyer after he was recommended by the doge and confirmed in the position by Boniface IX. He also served as a judge in communal disputes.⁶⁶ Franceschino Renaldi graduated with a doctorate in law in the 1380s and performed various duties, including serving as a communal judge during the difficult years of 1384–88, when the Carrarese ruled Treviso.⁶⁷

The Bettignoli, one of the richest noble families in Treviso, had a number of members in the Battuti. Matteo and Ludovico, who inherited their family's many estates and commercial enterprises, were members of the Battuti until their deaths in the 1490s. Deifebo, son of Zanantonio, a very active businessman and communal judge, served at the papal court of Eugenio IV and was active in the wool and wine trade with Venice. In the midst of his communal and commercial obligations he served as gastald of the Battuti from 1442 to 1443.⁶⁸ Sergio di Forella Pola was involved with communal business as an assayer of goods along with other duties and actively pursued his own land and business interests in both Treviso and Istria. On his death in 1440s, he left his estate to his children Nicolò, Priamo, Battista, and Francesco.⁶⁹ His son Francesco, another member of the Battuti, became a famous jurist. After earning a degree in law from Padua in 1431, he was called by Pope Eugenius

IV to act as a judge and captain of Rome. A respected and able negotiator, he worked for both the Venetian and Trevisan governments.⁷⁰

In the 1380s Franceschino Spineda was a communal official with two sons, Giacomino and Tomeo. Tomeo's son Gregorio graduated from the University of Padua in 1408, from which time until 1460 he performed many communal activities. He also acted as a lawyer for the Battuti.⁷¹ Pietro del Getto, a member of a noble family from Conegliano, was a student at Padua in 1400 and graduated with a degree in civil law in 1413. Because of his special ability or friendship with Venetian nobles, he was appointed vicario to four different podestà, including the humanist Francesco Barbaro in 1423, who also asked Pietro to be godfather to his child. Pietro performed duties as a communal judge and lawyer until the 1430s.⁷² Paolo Casalorcio, a member of the Battuti who also served as a gastald, was a member of a noble Cremonese family that had migrated to Treviso at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Paolo served as a provisor of the commune, was present at the deliberations and at the election of guild masters, served as an ambassador of the local nobility to the emperor in 1445, and in the 1440s served as gastald of the Battuti.⁷³ Agostino Adelmari was a notary and active in communal business for almost fifty years, from 1359 to 1412. Among his children was Taddeo, the celebrated papal physician and member of the Battuti.⁷⁴

Noblemen served both commune and the Battuti as officers and advocates. Other non-noble legal professionals passed frequently between communal and confraternal service. Giovanni Rochesani da Orvieto, a doctor of law, came from Padua to Treviso in 1385 as advisor to the Carrarese podestà. Remaining in Treviso after the fall of the Carrara, he entered the service of the Venetian podestà in 1389 and was admitted into the College of Judges the following year. One of Rochesani's friends, the learned humanist Paolo Bernardo, a member of the communal chancellery, left Giovanni his manuscripts of Livy and Cicero. Giovanni served in several communal positions as judge and legal counsel, as well as gastald of the Battuti. He was called to Venice at least once by the doge to discuss Trevisan matters.⁷⁵

Ludovico dalle Tovaglie, who studied at Padua and received his degree in civil and canon law in 1413, was active in the communal palace from 1411 to 1444 as a judge, lawyer, and witness to numerous acts and contracts. For twenty years, 1423 to 1443, he was advocate for the Dominicans of San Nicolò; for a decade, 1436 to 1444, he was also the Battuti's chief counsel. Numerous clerics and bishops requested his services to resolve numerous legal battles. His legal knowledge was esteemed by nobles and citizens, who frequently turned to him for advice on complex legal solutions. On his death in 1445, the numerous volumes in his library were divided among his three nephews.⁷⁶

Other jurists and confraternity members served the ecclesiastical and secular authorities with equal dedication and success. Zampietro da Prato,

son of a draper, was an active jurist who worked as a lawyer for the Battuti and the Congregation of Chaplains and was the vicar of the podestà of Padua.⁷⁷ Giacomo, son of Tadeo da Quero, was a jurist who served for a time as vice chancellor to his brother Andrea, who was communal chancellor from 1417 to 1442, during which time he sifted through communal documents and wrote *Chronicon Tarvisinum*, a history of Treviso later published by Muratori.⁷⁸ Ludovico Berton, son of Giovanni from Marseille, worked as a communal official as judge and lawyer in the civil and criminal courts from 1417 to 1448, except for 1436, when he was sent as podestà to Portogruaro. He served a number of bishops, including Bishop Correr of Ceneda and Bishop Scoti of Concordia, in various fiduciary posts. On 19 August 1427, in the middle of his career, he joined the Battuti.⁷⁹

Judges were not the only legal professionals whose skills brought them into active civic service in both the communal government and the Battuti. Notaries were essential for civic and ecclesiastical administration. They recorded and authenticated almost every aspect of administration and property management, personal and public. Indispensable for every act of acknowledgment, payment, loan, survey, citation, purchase, condemnation, or transcription of official documents, they played a key role in Italian life. Given this solemn duty, notaries were required to live sober and serious lives, wearing black robes in public as a sign of their office and avoiding every opportunity for scandal. In Treviso notaries were organized and regulated by a College of Notaries.⁸⁰

Several notaries, such as Liberale da Levada and Daniele Chinazzo, were members of the Battuti who gained fame for their learning and writing. Liberale did not practice the notarial art for long because he found it to be less lucrative than his other business interests. He did, however, continue his literary career, writing several histories. Perhaps better known was the notary and apothecary Daniele, who wrote a chronicle of the War of Chioggia.⁸¹ Other notaries of local prominence included Rolando d'Asolo, the father of four notaries (including the famous Rolandello), who worked for almost forty years as a notary in Treviso, Serravalle, and Coron, where he was sent to serve as chancellor. Guglielmo da San Zenone was the notary for the Cancelleria Nuova, which was responsible for the transcription and authentication of all contracts and wills for the city and district. Guglielmo served in this position from 1427 to 1465.⁸²

The most important notarial position in the city, however, was that of communal chancellor. Elected for life, he was entrusted with the compilation, interpretation, and preservation of official acts. He preserved rulings and decrees the podestà and their vicars might forget, disregard, or interpret incorrectly. In effect, the communal chancellor preserved the collective legal memory of the city, acting as a continuous source of local law and custom, especially for the Venetian officials. This position, with its great political and

juridical importance, was held by several brothers of the Battuti during the fifteenth century. Antonio Zuccato, for example, was chancellor from 1397 to 1407. The son of a Venetian immigrant to Treviso, Antonio was present at numerous official acts in the communal palace, including the transcription of the possessions of all Venetians in the Trevigiano, ordered by the Venetian Senate. Paolo Rugolo, another member of the confraternity, succeeded Antonio as communal chancellor from 1407 to 1416. His selection as chancellor, proposed by the podestà, was approved warmly by the Venetian Senate. He redacted a number of important documents during his tenure, such as the agreements worked out with the local Jewish community in 1408. Paolo was a friend and correspondent of the noted humanist Giovanni Conversini. One of his sons, Agostino, also became a well-regarded notary and was sent with the Venetian ambassador to Aragon in 1415. Finally, Antonio da Robegano served as communal chancellor from 1453 to 1458. Immediately before his promotion, he had acted as a gastald of the Battuti from 1447 to 1451.⁸³

Jurists and notaries were prominent members of the Battuti and active members in the community whose service to confraternity and commune forged connections that the Battuti could use to their advantage. Their expertise in administrative and legal matters and their connections with the community proved useful when dealing with administrative matters both in Treviso and Venice. What these men had in common was years of academic training, which brought them influence in high ecclesiastical and secular circles. The presence of so many jurists and notaries in the Battuti's membership provided a core of administrative and legal training crucial to the confraternity's administration and maintenance of long-established privileges.

For example, in 1462 the legal skills of one of the brothers, Michele Sugana, were employed to defend the rights and privileges of the confraternity against Venetian interference.⁸⁴ In response to a request from the Procuratori di San Marco to place an inmate in the hospital, Sugana responded in the name of Santa Maria dei Battuti, stating that the request violated the statutes of the confraternity.⁸⁵ It should be emphasized that the able jurists defended the confraternity by citing the Battuti's statutes, not those of the city of Treviso. The incident demonstrates the confraternity's self-governance and reliance on the talent of its members to defend its privileges.

Extended Family

The role of the Battuti as an extended family network becomes clear when we examine the familial relationships among the members, many of whom joined the Battuti as family units and belonged to the confraternity for generations. A number of fathers and sons joined the Battuti, such as the doctor

Antonio da Milan and his son Damiano.⁸⁶ We have already met the notary Michele Contrari and his three sons, Bernardino, Girolamo, and Eusebius.⁸⁷ Familial commitments and participation in the confraternity could extend over several generations, as was the case with Guglielmo da San Zenone, his two sons, Nicolò and Ricardo, and a grandson, Girolamo.⁸⁸ A family's relationship with the Battuti, particularly for the males, could have been part of the professional network of contacts and training in civic culture, for many of the multigenerational family members were notaries. The Contrari and da Corona families provide two examples. Zandonato da Corona, his son Zanpietro, and his grandson Zandonato were all members and all notaries.⁸⁹ The Battuti's organization and the participation of fathers, sons, and grandsons in the administration of the confraternity were a reflection of the city as a whole. The confraternity offered young men the necessary preparation for their roles as heads of households and civic organizations.⁹⁰

Male familial relationships were not the only kinship ties in the confraternity: entire families would also join. A number of husbands and wives were members, as were Girolamo and his wife, Maria.⁹¹ The da Settimo family, whom we shall meet again in the chapter on education, had a long devotion to and interaction with the confraternity. Pietro, a notary from a noble Trevisan family, and his wife, Caterina, were members of the Battuti, as was their son, Matteo, who endowed charitable scholarships to be administered by the Battuti. Matteo's son, Deodato, continued the family tradition and joined the confraternity sometime after 1441.⁹² Entire families and generations in the confraternity were a common occurrence, as in the case of the family of Zampietro da Rexio. Not only was he a member of the Battuti but so were his mother, Uliana, and his wife and daughter, Maria and Ursula.⁹³ Wives, husbands, and even mothers-in-law can be found as members of the Battuti. Daniele Chinazzo, the notary discussed above, his second wife, Perencina, and her mother, Marina, were members at the same time.⁹⁴ As the social networks of the membership indicate, the confraternity was a family affair, not a closed, elite, male enclave separate from the community. A vibrant mix of husbands and wives, parents and children formed the core of the confraternity, reflecting the family's role of mutual support and kinship.

Although the biological family was the model for the confraternity, familial stability and a well-established or well-connected family were not prerequisites for entry. A number of the brothers and sisters had formally broken from their families or were from unknown, or what could have been considered lowly, backgrounds. One's original religious upbringing, social status, or family history were not factors that precluded entry. In fact, it seems that the Battuti opened their arms as a substitute kinship group for converted Jews (a topic we will also discuss in the chapter on charity). We find a number of converted Jews as brothers in the confraternity: Guglielmo,⁹⁵ the shoemaker Marco Girolamo,⁹⁶ and Pietro, a pawnbroker.⁹⁷ Another convert, Doctor

Stefano da Leone, was a member and long-time employee of the Battuti. The entry in the matriculation book reveals the confraternity's sentiments about its converted brother, describing him as a former Jew, "thanks to our Lord Jesus, a Christian."⁹⁸ A convert from Judaism to Christianity radically broke with the traditions, values, and support network of family and friends. Membership in the Battuti offered these new Christians the social and spiritual support to remain true to their new religious creed and survive the very real hazards of conversion.

Others were equally isolated. Servants lacked a guild to support them and were part of a household that was not their own. The same phenomenon could also apply to adopted children, who were part of a household with which they had no biological connection. They are all found among the membership of the Battuti. For example, the servant Agnolo worked in the noble household of Zanino Braga; Domenico was one of the servants for the noble Bernardino da Castropola.⁹⁹ Servants were confraternal brothers of nobles and, at least when it came to Christian worship and burial, they were all equals. The lack of a family, or possibly illegitimacy, also did not preclude entry into the confraternity. Damian, the adopted son of the notary Pietro Falzone, joined in 1494.¹⁰⁰ The backbone of the confraternity was the professional and artisanal family, but the Battuti remained open to anyone willing to join.

Conclusion: Christians and Trevisans

Michele Contrari, with whom we began, was a typical member of the Battuti: an immigrant into the community, a professional notary, and a man with other family members in the confraternity. The Battuti offered him a place to interact with other professionals, providing a social network for him and his sons. His membership in the confraternity introduced him to a wide range of people and experiences, such as the trip to Rome. The confraternity in turn benefited from his membership; he performed many duties for his brothers and sisters as the leader of the organization for two years. Finally, his brothers and sisters offered compassion and comfort to his survivors on his death. The prayers that he had once offered for deceased brothers were now offered for him; he would forever be part of the confraternal family.

The Battuti referred to themselves as brothers and sisters, clearly signifying that they were part of a kinship organization. Family kinship was a natural model for the brotherhood, which satisfied the human need for association beyond economic or political necessity or consanguinity. The Battuti transcended familial, social, and demographic identities and bound the members together in Christian brotherhood. Biological families, often involved with the Battuti for generations, were the foundation of the confraternity, but others,

such as single women and converted Jews who were often in desperate need of a new kinship group, freely joined the confraternity. The confraternity provided a sense of Christian community in an uniquely Trevisan institution.¹⁰¹

Admission to this important kinship group was relatively open, affordable, and available to many; it was not an elite organization designed to benefit and honor a few, nor was it primarily a vehicle for personal pomp and displays of status. Nobles, communal chancellors, ambassadors, and learned humanists were brothers of the Battuti and did not require, in fact sometimes forbade, the Battuti to process at their funerals in order to legitimate their power or social position. This active political, social, and religious community was formed of men and women, lay and clergy, neighbor and foreigner from all social and professional groups. The confraternity was truly a civic organization deriving its support and membership from a wide spectrum of the city's population.

Although the confraternity offered a rare outlet for the social and religious energies of women, they, along with the clergy, were limited in their participation. A defined group of nobles, professionals, and urban elites led the Battuti. The social and political clout of jurists, ambassadors, and wealthy landowners allowed them to protect the legal and financial interests of the brotherhood. Active in the administration of the local government, the urban elite found in the Battuti and their hospital an outlet for their political and social patronage and energies. Not suppressed because of fear of political agitation, as was the case in Florence, the Battuti acted as a political forum for ambitious and civic-minded men. In the face of shrinking political power in the communal government, these men sought leadership positions in the confraternity. The nobles and legal professionals, however, did not have unfettered control. Statutes mandated that power be shared in an administrative structure that symbolically but not proportionally manifested egalitarian brotherhood. Furthermore, every member had to live according to the confraternity's high standards or be expelled from the powerful institution. The private confraternity garnered wide public support and participation, and a male-dominated, lay leadership defined and defended the confraternity's charitable charities and, by extension, molded the civic devotion of the entire city.

Chapter 3

THE BONDS AND BOUNDS OF CHARITY

Then the King will say to the people on his right: “You who are blessed by my Father: come! Come and receive the kingdom which has been prepared for you ever since the creation of the world. I was hungry and you fed me, thirsty and you gave me drink; I was a stranger and you received me in your homes, naked and you clothed me; I was sick and you took care of me, in prison and you visited me.”

—Matthew 25: 34–37

“Take hold of that blaspheming swindler! He comes here pretending to be a cripple, poking fun at our Saint and making fools of us when he wasn’t really crippled at all!”

And so saying, [the Trevisans] seized him and dragged him away; then they took him by the hair, tore every stitch of clothing from his back, and started to punch and to kick him.

—Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, Second Day, First Story:
the tale of Martellino, who pretended to be paralyzed
and healed by a local saint in Treviso

Matthew’s description of the Last Judgment and Boccaccio’s tale of the Trevisan response to the charlatan Martellino’s deception introduce us to the major themes of this chapter: the desire to give charity to needy persons, tempered by the necessity of deciding who truly deserved help; the types of aid to provide; and the ways of administering the assistance. Charitable institutions bound communities together with a network of gifts and support systems. John Bossy argues that “the state of charity, meaning social integration, was the principal end of the Christian life, and any people that claimed to be Christian must embody it somehow, at some time, in this world.”¹ An investigation of Santa Maria dei Battuti’s works of charity will reveal how the Trevisan community reconciled Christian ideals and social realities. The confraternity provided charity designed to relieve the sufferings of the poor: ad hoc relief, annual almsgiving, assistance to prisoners, and debt remission. The care of foundlings and orphans

also constituted a large part of the brotherhood's charitable activities, which included nursing, training, and ultimately reintroducing the child into society. The universal Christian community also benefited from the confraternity's gifts to support religious rites, ecclesiastical houses, newly converted Christians, and pilgrims. In all of its activities, the confraternity desired to assist those worthy of aid and avoid abuse or overuse of its generosity.

Deserving and Shamefaced Poor

Charity was not intended to eliminate the sufferings of society but to provide comfort to those in need. Limited resources and the tendency in human nature to abuse generosity mandated that charitable institutions set criteria for those they would assist. Through the centuries these worthy souls became known as the deserving poor (foundlings, widows, the elderly) and the shamefaced poor (persons in the community ashamed to beg publicly).² The activities of the Battuti in Treviso demonstrate how the poor were categorized and assisted through institutionalized almsgiving. Rubrics in the accounting ledgers list expenses for "dispensation of money for God to poor and shamefaced people" and clothing, wine, and grain given "for the love of God."³ Noteworthy is the phrase "poor and shamefaced" which reveals the Battuti's criteria for charitable assistance. Alms were not randomly given to the unknown and undeserving.

Although it is impossible to detail every act of ad hoc relief performed by the confraternity, a few examples will help to demonstrate the types of poor assisted by the brotherhood and the methods of assistance. As the most prominent charitable institution in the city, Santa Maria dei Battuti received unceasing requests for aid, and many of the individual acts of charity reflect the daily effort to provide basic essentials such as clothing and shelter. Shoes were liberally given to the poor of the city.⁴ Firewood was provided to those too poor or too weak to procure it themselves. During the winter of 1437 the poor woman Bertilda was the grateful recipient of confraternal aid.⁵ Some elderly women received continued support from the Battuti. For example, in March 1438 the Battuti purchased wood for Bartolomea, described as poor, old, and sick.⁶ The same woman received alms to buy wood again in March 1440.⁷ Always sensitive to the needs of families and children, the Battuti frequently gave money to support struggling parents. In January 1448 the confraternity gave 3 lire to a man with five children.⁸ In January 1459 Bartolomeo da Pederobba received 7 lire to help buy clothes for his first child.⁹ Domenico di Daniel, a stablehand, gladly took 5 lire to help buy a desk for his children.¹⁰

The notary and gastalds who administered the funds carefully noted the status and worthiness of the person aided through the confraternity's generosity. The caretakers of the confraternity's money had the obligation,

both to the living and the deceased who supported the confraternity, not to squander resources on the unworthy. The entries for charitable expenses reveal why the Battuti considered someone worthy of aid. A number of the recipients were widows, such as Orsola, widow of the miller Pelegrino, who received alms in September 1438.¹¹ Many of the deserving poor had physical impairments or deformities, and all were carefully recorded in the ledgers. Through the decades the deaf, mute, and crippled of Treviso received critical assistance from one of the most powerful institutions in the city.¹² In February 1490 the brothers extended charity to another sort of worthy poor, to rescue a captured Christian from a Turkish prison. The son of Iacomo the carpenter was being held by the Turks in Constantinople; the Battuti donated 1 lira, 10 soldi toward his redemption.¹³ In this case the act of charity was an obvious gesture of social integration by helping to purchase the man's freedom and bring him back into the community. Since these deserving and shamefaced poor were known, or made known, to the brothers, they could make personal, informed decisions based on the needs, condition, and reputations of persons in need of charity. One way to accomplish this goal was through personal recommendation, such as the one for a very poor, very honest, and very good widow considered worthy of aid from the Battuti.¹⁴ This appeal to the confraternity's leadership for charity also indicates the type of patronage power exercised by the Battuti, who could help an individual as a symbol of their generosity or in return for a political favor.

In addition to ad hoc gifts, the Battuti also dispensed annually income that was specifically designated by benefactors who wanted to feed and clothe the needy. As a focal point of local charity, Santa Maria dei Battuti was often named by those who wished to leave an endowment for annual giving, and one of the more common charitable donations found in the Trevisan wills was money left to buy *grixa*, an inexpensive coarse material used to make clothing and blankets for the poor. The hospital's guidelines included a list of these endowed trusts, the commissarie, under one rubric: "The amount of Griso that every year the President is obligated to purchase and dispense to poor persons in accordance with the wills of the following testators." The document then listed the names of the benefactors and the amounts of money to be used for the said purpose. In all, twelve benefactors dedicated income from several pieces of land for the clothing of the poor, an income that amounted to over 1,000 lire per year.¹⁵ The account books listed these large annual expenses under rubrics such as "dispensation of money and blankets for God, dispensed to poor and shamefaced persons outside of the hospital according to the bequests of many testators."¹⁶

This distribution involved an investment of both time and money to fulfill the wishes of donors, because the material would have to be measured, purchased, and transported back to the hospital for disbursement. For example, for the distribution of *grixa* made during Christmas 1438, the confraternity

paid 1,146 lire, 12 soldi for 1,911 *braccie* of grixo (at the cost of 60 lire per 100 braccie). In addition, the gastald Antonio and the messenger Pelegrin da Miane were paid 20 lire, 15 soldi for their expenses to go to the market of San Martino in Cividale del Friuli to buy the material. Another 3 lire, 12 soldi went to the gastald Antonio and another messenger, Altimer da Quer, to travel to Conegliano, measure the grixo, and bring it back to Treviso.¹⁷ These annual dispensations of “*grixo per dio*” were faithfully distributed every year, with the entries in the registers listing material, sources of income from the commissarie, persons paid to purchase and measure material, and the cost of transport back to Treviso.¹⁸ The markets of Treviso facilitated the local confraternity’s efforts to clothe not only the poor but also clergy from Venice. For example, in 1455 Lorenzo Giustiniani, the patriarch of Venice, sent his chaplain to Treviso to buy material to clothe priests and the poor.¹⁹

The annual distribution of cloth to the poor was the most sustained and organized aspect of the confraternity’s charitable giving. Other rubrics and distributions appeared as consistently but had neither a similar endowment nor such large disbursements. Two consistent rubrics in the expense books were the dispensation of grain and wine for God. The entries are found throughout the ledgers, usually for a few bushels of wheat or a small amount of wine given to a poor person of the city or a special visitor. For example, in October 1437 the brothers gave a sick man in the parish of San Bartolomeo two *quarte* of grain.²⁰ On 21 July 1439 Gasparo, a poor, sick man, received a quarta to help him survive.²¹ The following January 1440, poor old Pietro was the grateful recipient of another quarta, the same with poor Agnese on 7 March, and a blind man a few months later.²² Like the grixo, grain was also dispensed at Christmastime, when the brothers gave small amounts of grain to a large number of people. During their Christmas celebrations in 1437, they dispensed almost 30 bushels of grain to 93 people,²³ in 1440, 25 bushels to 79 people.²⁴ In addition to grain (wheat), rye was periodically distributed to the poor. For example during the winter of 1462 a bushel of rye, *segalle*, was given to a needy mother.²⁵ Similar to the wheat distribution was the wine distributed to help the local needy or to host visitors. For the “dispensation of wine given and dispensed for God to needy persons outside of the hospital” we possess few names; the entries usually included only the number of people given wine and the amounts. However, not all of the wine distributions comforted strangers or directly assisted those in need. The brothers considered it appropriate to foster brotherly love among themselves every Christmas.²⁶

The biblical injunction to aid prisoners clearly placed the incarcerated among the deserving poor. Italian confraternities and communal officials worked together to care for prisoners, who were the victims of neglect and a legal system that often prolonged imprisonment because of fees and prison costs.²⁷ As Brian Pullan has noted: “The rigours, the delays and the sheer

inefficiency of the law needed to be curbed by charitable action."²⁸ Governments did take some steps to better conditions in the prisons and raise money to support the incarcerated. In Venice poor prisoners were provided with lawyers. Annual pardons occurred at Christmas and Easter, but private action was needed to coordinate charitable contributions. Prisoners, especially those imprisoned for debt, needed alms to pay their debts as well as their legal fees and the cost of incarceration. In Venice a number of parish and governmental organizations took care of prisoners and administered charitable donations. It was not until the 1590s, however, that the organization of these efforts came under the direction of one confraternity.²⁹

Santa Maria dei Battuti anticipated this consolidation of resources by two centuries. The commune had traditionally earmarked the money collected in the church of Santa Maria delle Carceri to pay for the food, clothing, and debts of the prisoners. When these arrangements did not prove adequate for the prisoners' needs, the communal authorities turned to the increasingly powerful confraternity for assistance. At a meeting in June 1397 the brothers voted on a proposal made by the podestà of Treviso, Egidio Morosini, that Santa Maria accept supervisory responsibility for the prisons. Citing the care of prisoners as one of the seven acts of mercy, 57 brothers voted in favor and 16 against. The terms of the agreement, further refined in June 1399, stipulated that the gastalds of the Battuti would be responsible for dispensing alms collected from the chapels dedicated to Santa Lucia (erected 1389), Santi Giacomo e Cristoforo (1399), and Sant'Antonio (1399).³⁰ Since the chapels were constructed and maintained by other confraternities, Santa Maria's right to collect alms from these chapels required ecclesiastical approval, which came in June 1399.³¹ Every six months the brothers were to elect "two good citizens of Treviso" from the confraternity to oversee the church, oratory, and chapel of Santa Maria delle Carceri, receiving donations, wax, candles, money, bequests, grain, wine, and other goods. They were also charged with seeking within the city and beyond for the means to support and free the prisoners. These brothers were to report weekly to the gastalds.³² Payments to an artist in 1490 provides evidence that the Battuti actively solicited money for the support of prisoners. In November 1490 the brothers paid 1 lira for a votive figure (*anchoneta*) that they carried when they went out in the community in search of bread for the prisoners.³³ It appears that wear and tear took its toll on the painted image, for on 27 May 1494 they paid 10 soldi to another man to restore the figure.³⁴

The Battuti supplemented the monies collected in the designated chapels with income from the commissarie that provided for the freeing of prisoners and from numerous testamentary donations. Ecclesiastical authorities also encouraged the pious work of the Battuti. In 1424 Bishop Giovanni Benedetto of Treviso conceded forty days' indulgence to those who gave alms to prisoners.³⁵ This indulgence could have been on the mind of Giacomo

Pelizer in 1444 when he drew up his will with a stipulation that 16 lire go for the care of prisoners. During the same period, a certain Antonio provided another 10 lire for the care of prisoners.³⁶ The process by which the Battuti came to administer charity to the prisoners epitomizes the close relationship among communal, confraternal, and ecclesiastical power.

Care of prisoners extended beyond the physical comforts of food and clothing to the spiritual needs of the incarcerated. To console the prisoners in their time of trouble, the brotherhood had a picture of the Blessed Virgin, the protectress of all those in need, painted in the chapel of Santa Maria delle Carceri, where the prisoners would receive the sacraments.³⁷ Those who faced capital punishment received special attention from the brotherhood. Charity extended to those condemned to death became an important benevolent activity throughout Italy and Europe. In an effort to gain heavenly favor for the condemned person, confraternities consoled him or her and carried a crucifix to the gallows, where the prisoner would see it just before execution.³⁸ In Treviso, a regulation of the Battuti of 1496 stated the support the brothers were to give to the condemned. When a prisoner went to his or her death, sixteen brothers were to be chosen randomly to accompany the condemned with a crucifix.³⁹ The care of the prisoner included a proper Christian burial, which even an executed criminal deserved. For example, on 19 May 1449 the confraternity spent 1 lira, 4 soldi for the burial of a woman who was executed and buried in San Zeno.⁴⁰

The interaction with the local prison system created an awareness among the Battuti of the sufferings of prisoners, many of whom endured imprisonment as a result of indebtedness. What was a temporary or accidental occurrence could ultimately lead to years in the debtors' prison. To free someone from prison who had been incarcerated for debt became a frequent charitable activity for the brotherhood, eventually becoming institutionalized in the confraternity's rule book. The rules stated that the brothers should try to free those prisoners incarcerated for civil debts, and no other crimes, at Christmas and Easter, and listed the commissarie from which the funds were to derive.⁴¹ As a result, numerous prisoners were freed "per l'amor di Dio." For example, on 7 December 1437 the Battuti paid the communal treasurer, Silvestro Trevisan, 10 lire to liberate Antonio from prison. Similar expenses of 2 and 5 lire had freed two other men the previous September.⁴² The confraternity usually sought to follow the wishes of the podestà and remain in his good graces, so when in June 1475 this Venetian official recommended that the three years Andrea da Vico had already spent in prison were enough, the confraternity paid the man's debt of 36 lire, 4 soldi and he was freed.⁴³

The Battuti not only freed those who were imprisoned but also took measures to prevent indebtedness. A frequent entry under the rubric "money dispensed for the love of God" included the remission of debts owed the confraternity by honest yet poor debtors. For example in August 1447 the

gastalds decided to remit the 25 lire owed by Andrea Antonio because he was poor.⁴⁴ Other debt remissions were for lesser amounts but nonetheless eased the burdens of many struggling to make ends meet. When the shoemaker Lorenzo owed more than ten years' back rent on a house the confraternity owned, the brothers decided to remit the debt of 1 lira as a charitable act.⁴⁵ Rent remissions, which amounted to subsidized housing, were frequent entries in the charitable rolls.⁴⁶ The remissions were often a reward for good intentions, as when the 25 lire owed by the notary Giacomo was remitted because Giacomo housed the barber Nicolò and helped to clothe the man's two daughters.⁴⁷

The hundreds of instances of charity dispensed by the brotherhood might leave the impression that everyone who asked for aid received it. The account books demonstrate, however, that not everyone was welcomed with open arms, at least not on a long-term basis. In our attempt to define the boundaries and limits of charitable giving, we are aided by the confraternity's notations of those who were turned, or sent, away. Distributing charity to those in need did not mean an open door and permanent assistance to all. Many of the charitable payments were final; the person was no longer welcome and had to seek assistance elsewhere. Often the Battuti gave a small sum for the journey out of the city. For example, in March 1440 a shoemaker received 1 lira, 12 soldi, to return to Venice.⁴⁸ In September 1440 they gave 2 lire, 10 soldi for a man to leave the hospital.⁴⁹ In February 1475 the brothers gave 10 soldi to ZanIacomo da Venezia, who had come sick into the hospital but was now cured; the money was to return him to Venice.⁵⁰ In May 1491 they gave 10 soldi to Turcheto so that he would leave the hospital.⁵¹ In February 1474 they paid 1 lira to Zuan da Alexandria, a vagabond (*viandante*), to go to Venice.⁵²

The decision to accept or reject a needy person seeking aid could not have been an easy one for the gastalds to make. An entry from 18 September 1489 speaks of the cold reality of discriminating almsgiving. When a poor woman from outside Trevisan territory came with her three children seeking refuge in the hospital, the gastalds turned her away with only 10 soldi.⁵³ The need for discrimination was also necessary because like the scoundrels in Boccaccio's tale, some tried to take advantage of the sympathies of others. For example, after accepting an Albanian man into the sick ward, the gastalds began to have doubts about his alleged sickness and sent him out of the hospital to a local inn with 1 lira.⁵⁴ In the end, the leadership of the Battuti had the obligation to protect the property and generosity of the confraternity from abuse. When the confraternity refused to accept a sick inmate from Venice in 1462, the brothers defended their refusal on the grounds that the person was not Trevisan.⁵⁵ Everyone in need, from poor widows to Venetian nobles, saw the wealthy confraternity as a potential source of relief, but not everyone could be assisted. The

criteria by which the Battuti determined who deserved charity were based on their understanding of Christ's poor. Widows, the elderly, and the lame turned to the confraternity for assistance and received food, clothing, and other essential items. Prisoners and those burdened with debt were aided by the brothers, who attempted to console the condemned and help others out of their confinement. The Battuti's charitable efforts were clearly defined; they helped the deserving and local poor who were known to the brothers, and turned others, usually foreigners, away. Assistance to the city's poor provided a system of support for the needy and helped to define the boundaries of charity and the limits of social integration.

Foundlings

One group of people who were unequivocally considered worthy of charity were orphans and abandoned children who—deprived of their identity, a stable home, and a network of support—found themselves at the mercy of the community.⁵⁶ Since the fourteenth century, Santa Maria dei Battuti had assumed the responsibility for these children and dedicated a section of its hospital complex to foundlings, where children were accepted, given the necessities of life, and prepared for eventual integration into society.⁵⁷ A child's entry into the community occurred through a variety of means: adoption, apprenticeship, domestic service, or marriage. In this section we will follow the journey of the children from their arrival at the hospital to independence. As in all of its other charitable enterprises, the confraternity was challenged to provide homes for children while at the same time protecting itself from those seeking to abuse its charity.

The children cared for by the brothers usually came into the guardianship of the confraternity through two channels: abandonment or the inability of parents (because of poverty or death) to care for their children. For abandoned children, the confraternity provided the *cunetta*, a half-moon turning wheel or shelf on which children could be secretly deposited and safely taken in by hospital staff. As they entered the walls of the hospital compound, the unwanted children became part of the confraternity's family (see figure 3, number 7).⁵⁸ In the documents we find a few glimpses of how, when, and in what condition the children were found. For example, on 12 May 1475, at the fourth hour of the night, the hospital's prior found Liberal Branchazi in the *cunetta*, with 3 lire placed under his swaddling clothes.⁵⁹ Another nocturnal visit took place on 11 August 1490, when someone brought the child Francesco to the hospital with a *carlino*, worth 10 soldi.⁶⁰

Children left in the *cunetta* were taken almost immediately to the baptismal font. One of the principal arguments in support of foundling hospitals was that they reduced infanticide and safeguarded the souls of unwanted

offspring by accepting and baptizing them. As demonstrated by the diocesan baptismal books, which kept a record of all baptisms for the city in Treviso, members of the Battuti baptized a large number of the abandoned children.⁶¹ These children were regularly brought to the baptismal font of San Giovanni Battista, which was located next to the cathedral and was the sole church in which baptisms took place. Under the sponsorship of a godfather, usually a member of the Battuti's household or staff, the children (commonly described as *filius ignoti*; *filius slave*; or *filius meretricis, cuius pater ignoratur, Deus solus scit*) were initiated into the Christian faith.⁶² Although lacking blood ties, the children were now part of a social network, a surrogate family.

Once accepted into the confraternal family, the infants received their earliest nourishment from an army of wet nurses paid by the confraternity.⁶³ Records of expenses and other actions taken by the Battuti indicate a considerable commitment of resources for the care of foundlings. Notwithstanding the high death rates, the community continued to invest in its future: children.⁶⁴ The Battuti not only employed nurses to care for the children left to the foundling hospital but also supported a system of wet nurses for those motherless children whose fathers had no means to pay for wet nurses. The expense books for 1440, once again under the rubric of money given "for the love of God," provide numerous examples of this type of charity. We will follow the case of Maddalena, daughter of the skinner Lorenzo, to see how the system worked. The first reference to assistance for the girl dates to 8 March 1440, when Lorenzo received 2 lire to help nurse his daughter. Additional entries from April to October record that he received 2 lire a month for eight months. An entry dated 13 May explained the reason that Lorenzo needed the assistance. After recording the 2 lire given to Lorenzo, the bookkeeper noted that the reason for the charity was that Maddalena's mother was dead.⁶⁵ Periodic payments over a eight-month span ensured that the infant received the nourishment necessary for a newborn, and we know these amounts were sufficient because the child survived. At a cost of 2 lire per month, the confraternity's support must have been a welcome relief to the widowed skinner with a newborn daughter. The case of Lorenzo and his daughter epitomizes the need for the hospital's system of wet nurses, which offered a widower the means to have his baby nursed while she remained at home with her father. If we assign an average cost of 24 lire per year to nurse a child, an average of thirty-one infants coming into the foundling hospital's care every year meant an annual expenditure of approximately 1,500 lire for wet nurses.⁶⁶ With an average annual income of approximately 20,000 lire, the Battuti spent approximately 7.5 percent of their budget on wet nurses.⁶⁷

As the children grew, the expenses of the hospital concomitantly continued and changed. The Battuti provided the basic necessities of life and, if needed, Christian burials to all of the children under their care, whether raised directly

by the foundling hospital or placed in a foster home. The account books record all the services provided for the children, including food, clothing, and medical treatment.⁶⁸ A few typical entries indicate the extent and scope of the custodianship. For example, on 22 August 1466, the confraternity gave grain to help Dona Orsola, wife of Zan todesco, who was caring for six of the hospital's children, all of whom were sick.⁶⁹ One common expense for the children, probably because of their head lice, was for combs, hewn from horn or wood.⁷⁰ Wood was also used to provide footwear for the children, as in December 1474, when the hospital paid 2 soldi for a pair of wooden shoes for a child.⁷¹ For a number of unfortunate children, the support continued until death, when the confraternity paid for their funerals. For example, in September 1447 the Battuti paid 12 soldi for the priest and 4 soldi for the gravedigger to bury Orsola, a child of the house nursed by Antonia.⁷²

In addition to the basic necessities of life, the Battuti strove to provide a structured, comfortable environment for the children, or to do the best they could in what must have been a large and noisy hospital. In order to create a familial atmosphere and provide a guide for the infants, the Battuti employed a house mother, who received food, clothing, and living expenses.⁷³ We find glimpses of the Battuti's recognition of the needs of children. On 29 June 1458 the brothers paid 14 lire for two painted keys, one large and one medium-sized, for the children to use.⁷⁴ These were probably toys. More specific is an entry on 18 December 1464, when the Battuti purchased red braided cord of wool to make games for the children, just in time for Christmas.⁷⁵ The children also received money to spend at the annual fair, as occurred in December 1494 when twelve young girls received a lira to spend.⁷⁶ In the hospital the foundlings of Treviso received food, clothing, shelter, a measure of home life with other children, and the supervision of a responsible adult.

It is difficult to determine how many children the Battuti had to supervise because no exact figures are given in the records. Not even an internal census conducted by the confraternity provides accurate information. A regulation from 1537 listed the inmates in the hospital, "not including the newborns left in the *cunetta* and those that are nursed, weaned, and cared for outside of the hospital."⁷⁷ Therefore we have to turn to other sources to gauge the number of children under the hospital's care and the concomitant strains placed on the resources of the brotherhood. The most important source for this information is the abovementioned baptism books. Like all Renaissance Italian Christians, the Battuti considered it essential that their charges be baptized. Their religious concerns provide a rare demographic ruler by which to measure the number of illegitimate children left to their care.

Over the course of the fifteenth century, the number of baptisms in the city more than tripled, from 220 baptisms in 1406 to 642 baptisms in 1494. An even more dramatic increase occurred in the number of illegitimate children, from three in 1406 to 59 in 1494. The statistics reveal that the

illegitimacy rates, and the number of children admitted by the hospital, doubled almost every generation: 1 percent in 1406; 2.6 percent in 1446; 5.7 percent in 1470; and 9.1 percent in 1494. The designation of children baptized by the Battuti became more consistent through the century, so we can determine the percentage of illegitimate children who were left in the care of the foundling hospital. In the ten-year period between 1485 and 1494, 489 illegitimate children were brought to the baptismal font. Of these children, 313 were baptized as children of Santa Maria. Therefore, the foundling hospital of the Battuti took in 64 percent of Treviso's illegitimate children, approximately 5 percent of the city's newborns in 1494. One out of every twenty children in Treviso had Santa Maria dei Battuti as a custodian. These figures are consistent with the annual admissions of other foundling hospitals. For example, during the fifteenth century the Innocenti in Florence accepted between 4 and 10 percent of the city's children.⁷⁸

Another close parallel with the foundling hospital of Florence is the difference in admissions according to sex. In Treviso, more female than male infants were left to the foundling home. Over the same ten-year period (1485–94), the sexes of illegitimate children were basically the same: 47 percent male, 53 percent female. When we examine the number of children who were baptized as children of the Battuti, a greater disparity in sex emerges: 42 percent male, 58 percent female. Although almost an equal number of male and female illegitimate infants were baptized, far more females were abandoned to the foundling hospital than males. An illegitimate infant girl in Treviso had a greater chance of being abandoned than her male counterpart.⁷⁹ The numbers demonstrating the disparity in abandonment coincide almost identically with Richard Trexler's and Philip Gavitt's findings for the Florentine foundling hospitals.⁸⁰ A similar pattern can be found for the foundling hospital of Padua, where a total of seven abandoned children in 1427 grew to 102 by 1484, with 42.1 percent male to 57.9 percent female abandonment rates.⁸¹

The increased number of children in the confraternity's care obviously placed additional strains on its resources, and the Battuti required more support for its activities. Although the Battuti were willing to provide these infants with food and shelter as an act of charity, the increasing number of illegitimate children and motherless nurslings in need of wet nurses persuaded the brothers to seek additional aid from the community through the encouragement and warnings of ecclesiastical authorities. The brothers turned to the moral authority of the church to issue indulgences for the support of the foundling hospital and denunciations of those who tried to abuse the system. The indulgences sought by the Battuti, the income generated from them, and the requests for ecclesiastical condemnation of those who abused the Battuti's generosity indicate the popular support and respect for ecclesiastical power, for the Battuti would not have requested ecclesiastical support if they did not consider it a viable spur and warning to the people.

The Blessed Virgin Mary as protectress figured prominently in a papal bull issued by Paul II in 1465. The bull praised the good work performed by the confraternity in the care of children and also recognized the increased demands on its resources. To encourage support for the confraternity's efforts, the pope granted plenary remissions of sins to those who nursed a child for a year, educated a child for five years, or served in the orphanage for seven years.⁸² Most papal indulgences offered general support of a kind virtually impossible to document. We have direct evidence, however, that the indulgence of 1465 was effective in procuring needed funds and families willing to pay for the upbringing of a child. In December 1466 the hospital's bookkeeper created yet another rubric under which to list income: "Entry of money received to nurse infants brought to this hospital from which those who give have a plenary indulgence of all sins."⁸³ The first person to obtain the indulgence was a priest, Father Pietro, rector of the church of San Bartolomeo, who in December 1466 gave 52 lire to nurse an infant.⁸⁴ The following April, Daniel da Prato acquired the indulgence with a donation of 54 lire, 2 soldi, 8 denari.⁸⁵

Unfortunately, the random survival of account books for the 1470s and 1480s does not permit a complete listing of all donations made in response to the promulgation of the indulgence, but we do possess a number of entries that indicate a steady pattern of continuing support, sometimes for individual children. In November 1473 a Trevisan man, in the name of Alvise da Venezia, donated 3 ducats for the expense of nursing the infant Paula, who had been brought to the hospital. The next month a woman left lire to another wet nurse. The following June 1474 a theology student, Filippo da Conegliano, acquired the indulgence with a donation of 13 lire, 16 soldi to feed and clothe a child for a year. The same month a man donated 10 lire for the expenses for another child.⁸⁶ Similar donations continued throughout the 1470s and 1480s⁸⁷ and into the next century. For example, in December 1503, a charitable soul donated 6 lire, 4 soldi to pay the wet nurse of the foundling Maddalena Serena. The donor was the young Venetian painter Lorenzo Lotto (c. 1480–1556/7).⁸⁸

In addition to procuring money needed to pay for the children's expenses, the indulgence also stirred the souls of a number of families to support a child for the five-year term. In fact, the first indications of foster care connected with the indulgence date from the time of the papal proclamation. A notarial book from the period lists dozens of adoptions from the foundling hospital by families seeking to benefit from the papal proclamations. On 31 August 1470 a man and wife agreed to nurture a four-year-old boy of the hospital for five years as outlined in the indulgence.⁸⁹ The following October the notary registered the contract between the Battuti and a carrier of wine, who promised to raise a three-year-old girl for five years as outlined in the indulgence. In fact the notary's heading to the page reads: "Augustina, girl

of the house given for indulgence.”⁹⁰ In need of increased support for their charitable efforts, the Battuti appealed not to the communal government or Venetian officials but directly to Rome, asking for assistance from the leader of the Catholic church. The promise of spiritual benefits spurred an increase in monetary donations and community support for the foundlings.

The confraternity’s care of children unfortunately attracted those like Boccaccio’s Martellino who tried to abuse the generosity of the brotherhood. Some able-bodied parents left their children in the care of the confraternity in order to escape the burdens and expense of raising their own children. Poor mothers would then nurse other children in order to make money. The practice was identified by the confraternity and an a remedy sought in a decree of excommunication for those who defrauded the Battuti. Sixtus IV’s excommunication applied to anyone who placed their children in the foundling hospital and then nursed other children and to those who aided and abetted those involved in the fraud.⁹¹ It appears that these restrictions and threats of excommunication did not stop the abuse, for in September 1484 Pope Innocent VIII issued another decree restating the excommunication order of Sixtus IV.⁹²

Not only did the fraudulent claims drain the income of the hospital through payments for more wet nurses; they also necessitated further expenses for the excommunication. Travel to Rome in search of papal support was costly. Although we do not know the full amount, partial payment in June 1488 to send a man to Rome for the “bull of excommunication we must have from the pope against those who knowingly bring bastards to the hospital” amounted to 5 gold ducats.⁹³ After the investment to obtain the papal excommunication, the brothers wanted to ensure that everyone was aware of the warning. In May 1495 the Battuti paid 8 soldi to make the proclamation public, 4 soldi for the notary Gasparo da Pederobba to write it, and 4 soldi for the public crier.⁹⁴ The papal excommunications are another indication of the boundaries of charity that the Battuti established. The confraternity was willing to accept foundlings—provided they were truly needy. The Battuti did not want to provide an outlet for lazy or greedy parents to place their offspring. The document also set geographic limits to charity, which was reserved for those within the city and suburbs of Treviso. The indulgence testifies to the confraternity’s direct and active relationship with Rome and its independence of action.

Whether the infants entered the care of the Battuti as the result of legitimate need or fraud, once accepted, they received years of nurturing and preparation for lives as contributing members of society. After almost two years with a wet nurse, an infant returned to the foundling hospital, where he or she would be cared for until a home was located in the community. This integration into society was perhaps the ultimate form of charity. It completed the transformation of the unwanted children into mature young

adults with the skills necessary for an independent life. Four methods were employed to accomplish this goal of providing skills and a secure environment: adoptions, apprenticeships for boys, and domestic service or marriage for girls. These options provided a variety of professional and social training that furnished the young men and women with the skills, training, and money to begin their adult lives.

To care for their increasing number of wards, the Battuti supported an extremely active system of adoption.⁹⁵ Whether out of compassion, emotional bonds, the need for help around the workshop, the attraction of an indulgence, or some combination of all of these, many in the Trevisan community came forth to adopt children. Although we do not possess complete documentation, the notarial book of Battista Lombardi gives an indication of the activity. In the two-year period from 1481 to 1482 Lombardi wrote twenty-five contracts of adoption for sons and daughters of the hospital ranging in age from fourteen months to eighteen years.⁹⁶ The contracts recorded in Lombardi's notebook contain the same format, qualifications, and requirements found in earlier adoptions. For example, on 30 January 1430 a child was brought to the church of San Giovanni Battista, where he was baptized as "Albertus, filius Sancte Marie." This child of Santa Maria, like all baptized infants, had a godparent, in this case a wine porter named Albertus.⁹⁷ Two years later, on 11 July 1432, in the presence of the gastalds, Pasquale da Caerano took the abandoned boy Alberto, approximately two years of age, as his adopted son with the promise to care for the boy as his own son.⁹⁸ In January 1454 the confraternity gave in adoption Daria, the legitimate daughter of Giorgio, a skinner. In the hospital's chancellery, with the prior and gastalds present, Alberto di Tommaso dei Becchedelli from Bologna promised to treat the girl well, providing food, clothing and 200 lire as a dowry when she got married. If he failed to honor this commitment, he would be fined 20 lire.⁹⁹ Married couples were not the only people to adopt. In his will of 24 November 1458 Father Gaudente, a priest of Santa Sofia in the parish of Santa Maria Maggiore, left his books and other personal items to the church of Santa Maria di Betlem and designated as his universal heir his adopted son, Giovanni, from the hospital of the Battuti.¹⁰⁰ It is possible that the priest was taking some responsibility for his bastard. Canon law had never explicitly banned adoption, and at least one sixteenth-century jurist discussed the issue of priests adopting their illegitimate children.¹⁰¹ These cases are indicative of both the children placed by the foundling home and the types of families that cared for them. In the first case, an illegitimate boy is adopted; in the second a legitimate daughter, apparently of a widower or at least a single parent who could not afford to care for his daughter; the third example was most likely a father's support for his illegitimate son.

Even though more female infants were abandoned to the foundling home, it does not appear that an infant's sex made any difference, for the

adoption of girls was as common as the adoption of boys.¹⁰² For example, on 12 April 1429 Domenico da Settimo adopted a thirteen-year-old girl, Margherita, a foundling of the hospital. In the presence of the confraternity's gastald the foster father promised to treat the girl well and provide a 100-lire dowry at her marriage, under penalty of a 25-lire fine for failing to keep his promise.¹⁰³ What is interesting about the adoption is that Domenico's wife had been the wet nurse for the girl. As this adoption and adoptions from Florence demonstrate, some foster parents had a genuine affection for their wards.¹⁰⁴ In 1445 another family with a connection to the hospital adopted one of its children. Antonio da Ferrara was a school teacher who was often employed by the Battuti to teach poor children. He and his wife, Cleopatra, adopted an infant girl, Meneghina, daughter of Pietro, a coppersmith, who was perhaps penniless or widowed.¹⁰⁵

If the Battuti could not find permanent homes for the children, they attempted to place them in stable family environments where they could work and learn the skills necessary for a profession or earn the money for a respectable marriage. Apprenticeship and domestic service accomplished these goals.¹⁰⁶ For example, in September 1467 the Battuti signed a contract with a Venetian rope maker to take the young man Nicholas, sixteen years old, as an apprentice for three years. For the first year Nicholas would receive only food and clothes; thereafter he was to receive the usual salary for apprentices.¹⁰⁷ Another contract from June 1482 stipulated that the twelve-year-old boy Sebastian was to work as an apprentice to Francesco the hat maker for four years.¹⁰⁸ Another type of apprenticeship and foster home was life in a monastery. Young men who decided to join a religious order received the blessing of the brothers. For example, in January 1442 Zanetto, an orphan of the house, joined the brothers of Santa Margherita, and for the occasion the Battuti paid 10 lire for appropriate new clothes.¹⁰⁹

The girls in the care of the confraternity were destined to lives as wives and mothers, and many received the proper instruction in homes where they worked as domestic servants. A typical contract between the confraternity and the family stated that in exchange for years of domestic service, the girl would receive good moral guidance, food, lodging, and, at the completion of years of service, a dowry.¹¹⁰ For example, in September 1481 the thirteen-year-old girl Maria was given to a Trevisan goldsmith living in Venice as a domestic servant. After eight years of work, the woman would receive 125 lire for a dowry.¹¹¹

That domestic service contracts terminated with a dowry underscores the intended destiny of Santa Maria's daughters: a legitimate marriage. One of the primary goals of the Battuti was to integrate the abandoned and disenfranchised into the community, and marriage, secured with a dowry, achieved this goal. The unwanted or orphaned girls placed in the care of Treviso's foundling home were typical of hundreds of young women in Renaissance

Italy, who did not leave the custodianship of such institutions until they had found either employment or a husband. The most important factor in the lives of all of these women was the dowry, the key to a respectable marriage that would release them from the care of their custodians. Like families, and with the same sense of the centrality of marriage and dowry to the material and spiritual survival of the state, foundling homes sought to insert their wards into the structure of the traditional family.¹¹² Not only did the brothers support young women of the household; they also extended their charity to poor maidens of the city who lacked a dowry for a respectable marriage. The placement of these expenses under the rubric “for the love of God” attests to the confraternity’s commitment to dowries as a form of charity. A dowry gift, with a value between 10 and 20 lire, usually included articles of clothing, a dowry chest, and almost always *coltre*, a blanket or bedding.¹¹³

Special gifts and festivities often accompanied the dowry gift when one of the Battuti’s daughters was married. In January 1480 the Battuti purchased sugared almonds (*confetti*) to celebrate the marriage of their daughter Giovanna.¹¹⁴ For Paola’s marriage in May 1494, the confraternity purchased a bed worth 34 lire for her dowry.¹¹⁵ For the dowry of Maria, who married the shoemaker Zuane in September 1499, the confraternity contributed 32 lire, 6 soldi.¹¹⁶ The following January the orphan Gratosia, newly wed to Girolamo da Feltre, received a bed and bedding as her dowry.¹¹⁷ Other newlyweds received dowry chests as gifts.¹¹⁸ The dowries offered to the orphan girls of the hospital completed the many years of nurturing and care the brothers had provided for the young women. Welcomed into the foundling hospital as newborns, the girls were nurtured and protected until a suitable marriage with a respectable man could be arranged. The hospital successfully reintegrated hundreds of foundling girls into society, where they would begin their own families and raise their own children, free from the support of the hospital and free of any social stigma. Charity involved not only the care of the children but also the effort to find them safe and suitable homes.

John Boswell argues that changes in late medieval abandonment were devastating for children. “Older systems of abandonment in which families took personal responsibility for an *alumnus* (or *alumna*), or even a child they had brought up as a servant, probably imposed less stigma on *expositi* than foundling homes, which produced classless, familyless, unconnected adolescents with no claim on the support or help of any persons or groups in the community.”¹¹⁹ In Treviso this simply was not the case. Evidence from the foundling hospital of Treviso supports the recent studies showing that pre-modern parents and guardians recognized the uniqueness of children, cared for them with compassion, and provided assistance during the phases of development.¹²⁰ The Battuti unconditionally accepted abandoned children, baptized them as sons and daughters of the confraternity, and did their best to nurture them during the often lethal years of early infancy. The sons and

daughters of Santa Maria were not unconnected adolescents with no support from groups in the community. The Battuti provided years of care and attempted to integrate abandoned children fully into society either through a profession or marriage. Social integration was the essence of their charitable activity.

The Christian Community: Body and Soul

Medieval theologians often described sin as a corruption of the proper ordering of the human will that alienated an individual from others and God. Reconciliation to God and neighbor could be achieved through the spiritual guidance of the Christian community and the sacraments of the church. The charitable activities of the Battuti reflected this basic theological concept. In addition to helping those who suffered from physical weakness or social alienation, the confraternity also provided aid to those in need of spiritual consolation and support. The confraternity actively supported both the ecclesiastical infrastructure and the individual believer, particularly new converts and pilgrims. The Christian charity the Battuti practiced reached beyond the immediate diocesan and political borders and united the Trevisan community with all of Christendom.

Charity as a means of social integration extended to the sacraments of the Church, which were designed to strengthen the person's relationship with God and neighbor. The sacrament of confession epitomized this healing of isolation and separation that resulted from sin.¹²¹ The Battuti consistently supported confession for everyone in the household and made special provisions for the many sick foreigners. Confession was a prime concern to sick and dying hospital patients, many of whom lacked the means and opportunity to seek reconciliation. The Battuti paid for the services of both the poor and those of the household, as in March 1439, when some members of the hospital's household received alms to go and confess.¹²² The confraternity also gave alms to priests who came to the hospital. In September 1459 the brothers paid Fra Nicolò da Alemagna, reader in Sacred Theology, 2 lire to hear the confessions of a number of poor.¹²³ In January 1460 Fra Nicolò, a Dominican in San Nicolò, received 2 lire as alms for confessions he heard.¹²⁴ In September 1462 the confraternity paid 6 lire to a Franciscan, Fra Zuan da Basilea, for confessions.¹²⁵ In November 1464 Fra Zorzi da San Francesco earned 10 lire for having confessed the poor Germans in the house. The following January the Battuti paid 10 lire to help buy a cape for Fra Lorenzo, a Servite in Santa Caterina who frequently heard confessions in the hospital.¹²⁶

The confraternity's sensitivity to the poor extended to their linguistic needs as well. For the poor, sick Germans who wanted to confess, the brothers paid 5 lire to Fra Filippo da Alemagna (obviously a German) to hear

their confessions.¹²⁷ For his confessional services from 2 October 1464 to 10 November 1467, Fra Lorenzo da Zara (a Servite friar who probably spoke some South Slavic language) received 15 lire.¹²⁸ In October 1474 Fra Zuan todesco, a German Franciscan, earned 2 lire for confessions.¹²⁹ The Ermitani of Treviso collectively received one gold ducat in January 1478 for their work confessing Germans.¹³⁰

A proper Christian burial was a benefit of membership in the Battuti. Funerary rites were a form of charity that was often extended to those who otherwise could not pay for them. For example, in September 1437 the Battuti gave 3 lire to Maddalena to help pay for the burial of one of her daughters.¹³¹ In April 1440 they paid for the burial of Antonio, who was a deacon.¹³² The burials were not simple, perfunctory affairs. When the gastalds decided to assist in someone's burial, they along with the priest attended the burial, as they did for a man buried for the love of God in December 1446.¹³³ To help with the funeral expenses for the mother of the carpenter Lazaro, the Battuti gave 2 lire in June 1448.¹³⁴ For the burial of the skinner Pasqua in San Michele, the Battuti paid the priest and other expenses totaling 3 lire, 2 soldi.¹³⁵ Not all the burials were the result of natural or accidental death. The Battuti obviously believed that all deserved a decent funeral, even those who had given up hope of life. The last social action of some marginalized and isolated souls was suicide. In an era that often denied Christian burial to suicide victims and punished their families, the Battuti extended charity to the deceased and accepted them back into the community with a Christian burial. For example, in September 1489 they gave 10 soldi toward the burial of a man who had hanged himself on the Rialto bridge in Venice.¹³⁶

Daily interaction with the clergy engendered a close relationship with the religious caregivers, and the Battuti supported both individual clergy and entire religious communities. The Battuti's tangible contribution to the religious fabric of the city was realized in the maintenance of the buildings that housed the clergy and provided the space for the performance of religious rites. For example, in the 1430s the confraternity provided thousands of roofing tiles and almost 100 lire to assist with the repairs and addition to the church of Santa Quaranta, which belonged to the Lateran Canons.¹³⁷ In July 1440 the brothers decided to give Tommaso, the rector of San Vido di Spineda, 25 lire for the repair of the church.¹³⁸ Consistent financial aid "for the love of God" went to the Poor Clares of Santa Chiara della Cella in November 1448, when 153 lire, 18 soldi from the Forzetta income were diverted for alms to the convent.¹³⁹ In April 1461 they purchased a lamb for 1 lire, 4 soldi for the Clares,¹⁴⁰ and in March 1463 gave them another 1 lira in alms.¹⁴¹ As a result of a devastating fire in 1466, the poor sisters found themselves in desperate need of funds to rebuild their house. To support their building project, in April 1466 the Battuti donated the substantial sum of 310 lire, which may have been part of an agreement with

the Venetian Senate to provide charity for the nuns.¹⁴² The confraternity's patronage of the Poor Clares provides a clear example of close cooperation between Venetian, Trevisan, and confraternal leaders.

The support of the religious infrastructure of the city included more than brick and mortar. In May 1445 the confraternity paid Cremonin, a cheese-maker, 35 lire for goods given to the brothers of Santa Quaranta.¹⁴³ In addition to the everyday operational expenses of the monasteries, the religious were also burdened with extraordinary expenses for their chapter meetings. When the Observant Franciscan Friars of Santa Maria del Gesù hosted a chapter meeting in May 1441, the confraternity gave them 21 lire to help defray costs. In June 1443 the Battuti contributed 40 quarte of grain for the expenses of their general meeting in Padua.¹⁴⁴ The Battuti supported a variety of projects designed to enhance divine worship and the devotional activities of the clergy. To support the praise of God through music, the brothers in September 1460 decided to spend 10 lire to help with the costs of the organ that Father Anselmo da Treviso, who was prior of the Servite community, was installing in Santa Caterina.¹⁴⁵

The Battuti, who desired trained and competent clergy, also helped to meet the educational needs of the monastic houses.¹⁴⁶ In March 1440 the confraternity spent 10 lire to help Father Ambrogio, a Franciscan in San Francesco, to buy a book.¹⁴⁷ In 1406 the Servites of Santa Caterina asked help from the Battuti to help support three young Trevisan novices in their theological studies at Bologna.¹⁴⁸ Supporting construction projects designed to deepen the religious experience of worship, providing food and shelter to those dedicated to Christ, and subsidizing ecclesiastical gatherings and learning the Battuti demonstrated their belief that Christian charity included healthy, educated, and well-maintained monastic communities.

The confraternity's support of converts to Christianity provides further evidence of its commitment to social integration. It also highlights the very real boundaries that existed between religious communities. When leaving a minority religious community, especially a close-knit Jewish one, converts suffered isolation from the group that had supported them their whole lives.¹⁴⁹ As converts to Christianity, people found themselves beginning a new life in which they needed physical as well as spiritual support. The transitional period between one support network and another was one of the greatest challenges to new converts, so in order to support those entering the Christian faith, the confraternity helped to replace their old families with a new support network. Those who chose to convert to Christianity and enter the Christian community could rely on the brothers of the Battuti for charity. For example, a Jew who converted and was abandoned by his family and coreligionists in 1399 found assistance extended to him by the Battuti with monies derived from the commissarie.¹⁵⁰ When a Jew converted to Christianity in August 1437, the brothers decided to support his new life with a gift

of money and clothes totaling over 30 lire.¹⁵¹ In March 1440 the brothers offered medical care to a converted Jew who later died in the hospital.¹⁵²

Newly converted to the faith or Christian by birth, those who journeyed to a religious shrine were deemed worthy of charity and were warmly supported and welcomed by the Battuti. In the fifteenth century the pilgrim represented a state common to all human beings: a traveler in a strange land, a *homo viator* striving to reach a heavenly home. At its essence pilgrimage symbolized the Christian life, a journey in a foreign land that ultimately ended before the throne of God. The impulse for these journeys could come from a variety of sources: an episcopal punishment that had to be performed within certain time, a recommendation of a confessor for the remission of sins, or a devout desire to visit the holy sites of Christianity, often sealed by a promise. Numerous religious orders, confraternities, and churches established hospices to provide for the thousands of devout souls who took to the roads and waters along the pilgrimage routes.¹⁵³ The Battuti actively supported this pilgrimage culture. Not only did they give financial support to local residents who wished to undertake such a journey; they also established and maintained a pilgrimage hospice, offering rest, medical aid, spiritual renewal, and security.

Pilgrims from Treviso, like others throughout Christendom, took to the pilgrimage routes for a variety of reasons and to a number of holy sites, both near and far. The destinations ranged from the local sanctuary of Crocetta di Godego to the Holy Land. The most popular destinations for local pilgrims included the shrines of Sant'Antonio di Padua, Assisi, Rome, Sant'Antonio di Vienne, Santiago de Compostela, and the Holy Land.¹⁵⁴ Evidence of Trevisans' direct or vicarious participation in pilgrimage comes from a variety of sources, including many wills that included stipulations leaving money for pilgrimage.¹⁵⁵ Many of those traveling the roads were paid substitutes, pilgrims purchased to carry out the pious intention of a dying or deceased person or a person too busy to take the journey. For example, the elderly Doctor Pierpaolo d'Arpò, a member of the local nobility, composed his will in 1405; in a codicil of 1406, he left 60 ducats to three pilgrims to go to Compostela.¹⁵⁶ In his will of 1432, the surgeon Gabriele da Fagarè provided for a pilgrim to travel to Santiago de Compostela.¹⁵⁷ Gregorio da Spineda, an active lawyer in Treviso who performed many services for the confraternity of the Battuti, included in his will of 1465 provisions to send one person to Compostela and another to the Madonna di Loreto to perform pilgrimages he had always intended to make but never completed.¹⁵⁸

Would-be pilgrims could also turn to the Battuti for financial assistance, given "for God" to those wishing to undertake pilgrimages. The confraternity consistently supported the religious endeavors of the devout, aiding their attempts at spiritual renewal by visits to the sacred places of Christianity. Numerous entries record the expenses to assist pilgrims going to Padua,

Loreto, Rome, Vienne, Compostela, and the Holy Land.¹⁵⁹ In June 1461 the Battuti gave 1 lire, 5 soldi to Marta, prioress of the hospital, because she wanted to visit the shrine of Sant'Antonio at Padua.¹⁶⁰ When the poor Bartolomeo, who was living in the hospital, wanted to go to Santa Maria di Loreto, the brothers gave him 2 lire.¹⁶¹ Loreto was a common destination for devout Catholics who wanted to strengthen their faith by viewing the house of Christ's nativity. In August 1466 the brothers gave 10 soldi to Fra Francesco, overseer in the hospital, to go to Loreto.¹⁶² In August 1474 a poor man of the hospital, Bartolomeo, received 2 lire for his journey to Loreto.¹⁶³ Of course Rome was a common destination, as it was for Alvisé, overseer of the poor, in May 1459.¹⁶⁴ In August 1441 the Battuti gave 2 lire, 10 soldi to a man as alms to go to Sant'Antonio di Vienne. The following March they gave Benedetto, a fisherman, the same amount to visit the same shrine.¹⁶⁵ In January 1438 the brothers gave 2 lire to Stefano di Volpago to go to Santiago de Compostela. A few months later Fra Bonagratia from Padua, an Augustinian in Santa Margherita, received 2 lire for his trip to the saint of Compostela.¹⁶⁶ Less frequent were the pilgrims who risked the journey to the Holy Land, as did a woman of the hospital in January 1509. For the journey the brothers contributed 10 soldi "for the love of God."¹⁶⁷

Most pilgrims followed the well-established pilgrimage routes, which by the fifteenth century were described in guidebooks and in some cases administered by enterprising companies, such as those which organized trips to the Holy Land. Venetian businessmen transported the faithful to the Holy Land aboard regularly scheduled Venetian galleys.¹⁶⁸ Pilgrimage activity in Treviso was stimulated by the easy access to some of the most-traveled pilgrimage routes in Europe, a conduit for those traveling from northern Europe to the Holy Land. One of these pilgrims, the German friar Felix Fabri, wrote an interesting account of his entry into Treviso in 1483. During his journey from Ulm to the Holy Land, Friar Felix and his companions crossed the Brenner Pass, and via Trent, arrived in Treviso, where he noted that pilgrims often left their horses in the care of an innkeeper or sold them. Unfortunately it was not the hospitality or holiness of the Trevisans that impressed him but the squabbling and childlike behavior of the horse buyers there.¹⁶⁹ The other preferred destination of these international travelers was Rome, especially during the Holy Years of Jubilee. The pilgrimage route funneled northern Europeans through the Brenner Pass toward Rome via Treviso and Ravenna (see figure 1).¹⁷⁰

Although the roads and shipping lanes these pious wayfarers plied were well known and well traveled, they were not very safe. Medieval travel always posed dangers to those who braved the roads, seaways, and mountain passes that linked Europe and the Mediterranean. If storms or natural disasters did not hamper or kill a traveler, then pirates, thieves, or soldiers did.¹⁷¹ Those traveling from or through Treviso experienced the dangers and

risks of travel, even if their destination was the nearby city of Padua. A group of pilgrims on their way to visit the shrine of Sant'Antonio in June 1452 stopped for the night in a hospice in Vigonza, where they deposited their bags and went to sleep. The next morning they found that their bags had been emptied of their contents.¹⁷² Muslim thieves were just as bad as their Christian counterparts, as a traveling friar learned in the summer of 1466. On 28 June of that year the Battuti gave 5 lire, 14 soldi to Father Iacomo, teacher in theology, who had been kidnapped and robbed by the Turks, to help pay for his trip to Rome.¹⁷³

Given the inherent dangers and uncertainties of going on pilgrimage, a safe hospice along the route must have been a welcome respite to weary travelers. To support Christian wayfarers, both spiritually and physically, a number of religious orders and organizations dedicated themselves to the assistance of pilgrims along the Via Romea.¹⁷⁴ As a stop on the Via Romea, Treviso functioned as an important link in the chain of hospices for pilgrims heading toward the holiest places of Christendom. In the city of Treviso pilgrims found a number of inns and hospices. One of these, attached to the church of Santa Maria di Betlem, operated to help the sick and pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land. Administered by absentee rectors, the hospice suffered from neglect and by the 1440s provided only two beds. The Battuti at least on one occasion in 1440 gave some wine as alms to the hospice.¹⁷⁵ The largest pilgrimage hospice in Treviso, however, was the one organized by Santa Maria dei Battuti. In order to accommodate those heading to the galleys of Venice or along the road to Rome, the Battuti established a pilgrim hostel as part of their hospital complex.

Although we do not know much about the accommodations offered to pilgrims before the 1400s, the fifteenth-century will of a Polish pilgrim demonstrates that a hospice existed but that a larger space was needed. Among the many who stayed and unfortunately did not recover in the hospital, Giacomo fu Nicolò de Bracella made the Battuti his heir in 1428. As a dying pilgrim, he more than anyone else could appreciate the importance of a peaceful and safe place to prepare for his final journey. Bracella left money on the condition that the Battuti build near the Cagnan, the stream that runs adjacent to the hospital, a hostel to serve pilgrims and poor travelers, especially from German lands, on their way to Rome and other holy places. It seems that the construction of the hostel went ahead quickly, for in the following year Francesco da Polcenigo left all his goods to the Battuti, who were to sell them to purchase beds and sheets for the hospice. We know that a decade later the hospice was complete, for around 1443 Count William of Landenau di Sette Castelli, exiled from his land by the king of Poland, died in the hospice on his way to the shrine of Santiago de Compostela.¹⁷⁶

Construction costs and other expenditures help us to piece together the size and appearance of the hospice. The expenses in October 1437

for temporary repairs to the pilgrim door, a lock and chain, and later for repairs of the lock probably refer to the separate entrance on the street adjacent to the Cagnan River.¹⁷⁷ Entries for the 1440s describe various items in the kitchen and dining area: repairs to a wooden bucket by placing a hoop around it,¹⁷⁸ work done to refinish the table where the pilgrims ate,¹⁷⁹ and payment of carpenters for repairing the pilgrims' stove.¹⁸⁰ An inventory list from 1528 provides an indication of the number of pilgrims who could have been accommodated. The inventory includes six beds in the hospice.¹⁸¹ We know that these beds were designated for the pilgrims because a regulation from 1457 stipulated that only pilgrims were permitted to live in the pilgrims' quarters.¹⁸² A prior supervised the entry, feeding, and sleeping arrangements of the pilgrims (see figure 3, number 2).¹⁸³

In addition to the basic necessities of food and lodging, the confraternity offered their guests spiritual comfort and mutual support. With the aid of another donation, the brothers renovated and constructed a chapel in the pilgrims' hospice. The rebuilding of the hospice in 1488 was funded by the bequest of Madonna Susana. We know that the reconstruction took place because the rubrics for the building of the pilgrim hospice are listed in the expense books, although the actual expenses are missing.¹⁸⁴ We do, however, find expenses from 18 April 1488, when the Battuti paid to transport a column to the church under construction in the hospice. A month later Zuan and a companion earned 2 soldi carrying a large iron grate to the hospice, possibly for the chapel.¹⁸⁵ Improvements continued during the next decade. In November 1499 the hospital paid for the transport of various types of marble from Venice for the pilgrim hospice.¹⁸⁶ That December Vincenzo da Brescia was hired to decorate the rooms,¹⁸⁷ and the following January Francesco finished painting in the hospice.¹⁸⁸ The candles and larchwood purchased in February were probably the final decorations of the chapel.¹⁸⁹

The comforts and beauty of the hospice must have come as welcome solace to weary pilgrims. The miles of arduous travel through unfamiliar lands took a toll on their bodies, and pilgrims often required medical care. As we will examine more fully in the next chapter, the most common forms of medical assistance were bleedings, baths, various medications, and occasional surgery.¹⁹⁰ The recovery of a pilgrim could last a few days or several months, an indication of the uncertainties of pilgrimage and the blessing it was to find a warm welcome in a strange land. For example, Zuan of Bohemia came injured to the hospital three days before Christmas 1442. Approximately sixty years old, Zuan had cuts above and below his right eye, but he was determined to travel to Rome. Recovered from his injuries, Zuan set off from the hospital on 13 February 1443, almost two months after he had arrived.¹⁹¹ An increase in the number of patients occurred during the Jubilee Year of 1450, when even more pilgrims trekked along the Via Romea through Treviso on their way to obtain the indulgences available in Rome.

In January 1450, ailing German, Hungarian, and Flemish pilgrims recovered in the hospital's sick wards. Among them were a number of German women, such as Isabeta in April and another woman in June 1450.¹⁹² On 17 April 1450 the Hungarian Zuan was welcomed into the pilgrim hospice; he left a few weeks later on 8 May.¹⁹³ The Hungarian pilgrim Matteo passed nine days in the hospice in April 1474.¹⁹⁴ When the German pilgrim Margherita entered the hospital's care on 27 May 1475, she was so weak that she was brought to the hospital in a cart. She required five months to recover, but she left on 16 October.¹⁹⁵

Unfortunately, the Battuti also had to perform acts of charity for the dead, those pilgrims worn out by the rigors of travel or struck by disease, often the plague. Although a number of pilgrims had died during previous years, such as a female pilgrim in September 1438 and two others (a male and female) in April 1445,¹⁹⁶ the lethal combination of more travelers and outbreaks of plague took a devastating toll on pilgrims in the Jubilee Year of 1450. The hospital coffers swelled as the deceased pilgrims' travel money went into the operating budget of the hospital in Treviso instead of the churches in Rome. Between May 1450 and May 1451 over thirty pilgrims entered the hospital and died. Summer heat and epidemic disease took a dozen lives during the summer of 1450, but the winter brought no relief. Between November and January 1451, fifteen pilgrims ended their journeys in Treviso, leaving as much as 40 and as little as 1 lire to the hospital treasury. These travelers included Germans, Poles, and Hungarians who possessed an array of Venetian and Hungarian coins.¹⁹⁷ Notwithstanding the risks, undaunted pilgrims continued to trek to holy sites, stopping in Treviso for spiritual and physical nourishment in the pilgrims' hospice. Compared with those of 1450, the death rates were minimal for the rest of the century. For example, only one German pilgrim died during the summer of 1463,¹⁹⁸ two in 1475.¹⁹⁹

Although the money deposited by pilgrims who died in the hospice became the property of the confraternity, it did not always mean a significant gain for the hospital. Pilgrims who sought refuge in the hospice and died received a Christian burial, paid for out of the money they had left, but if that was not enough, the expense came out of the hospital's budget. For example, when a poor, unknown pilgrim was buried in October 1450 the confraternity paid 16 soldi, the usual amount for a burial. When a pilgrim died with a deposit and had asked for a specific funeral procedure, the confraternity followed his wishes, utilizing the pilgrim's deposit to cover the expenses. For the burial of a Hungarian pilgrim on 8 January 1451 the confraternity expended 2 lire, 10 soldi for the burial ceremony, more than three times the expense for a normal burial. Always careful to justify unusual expenses, the bookkeeper noted that the dead pilgrim had left a deposit to pay for such an expensive funeral.²⁰⁰ The money remaining from the dead man's deposit was recorded on 19 March as income from the dead; only 8

soldi and 3 denari remained for the Battuti.²⁰¹ In this case, respect for the wishes of the dead, coupled with the importance placed on burial rituals, practically eliminated any deposit the deceased had left.

The references to deposits left by the pilgrims and guarded by the Battuti do more than indicate lengths of recovery or death rates. They are also evidence of a service much needed by pilgrims.²⁰² As discussed in relation to the cost of pilgrimage, and as some of the deposits indicate, pilgrims often traveled with large amounts of money, which further made them attractive targets for robbers. Therefore, any place that the pilgrims could safely leave a portion of their money (to be retrieved on their return trip) would offer them a relief from the constant fear of losing their entire funding through theft. A few examples will demonstrate the evolution of the safety-deposit system, as differentiated from the deposits of the sick who secured their valuables when they entered the care of the confraternity. This system was another aspect of charity offered by the confraternity, which not only accepted sick and weary pilgrims for no fee but also safeguarded large cash deposits, with no interest charged.

On 25 April 1479, Simone, who was living in the hospital, set out on a pilgrimage to Compostela. Unwilling to carry all of his money on the long and dangerous journey, Simone entrusted his savings to the gastalds of the Battuti. Over six months later Simone returned to Treviso and reclaimed the 61 lire, 12 soldi he had deposited.²⁰³ The reputation of the confraternity and the honesty of its officials were probably well known in Treviso and surrounding areas, so that depositing money there required no large leap of faith. Two more examples toward the end of the century indicate that the hospital's administrators had gained an international reputation for honesty and service. On 16 February 1486 the Franciscan Fra Francesco from Hungary deposited Venetian, Hungarian, and Rhenish florins valued at 300 lire, with the stipulation that if he did not return from Rome some of the money was to be dispensed for charity in the hospital and the rest for other pilgrims. Fortunately, the precautions were unnecessary; Fra Francesco returned three months later and claimed his 300 lire on 17 May.²⁰⁴ A similar exchange took place in 1496. On 14 February Fra Iohannes Maloch da Calais and a companion friar deposited Hungarian gold ducats on their way to Rome. Returning two months later on 17 April, the friars received their deposit, valued at 80 lire, 12 soldi. The bookkeeper made careful notation of the transaction and those who witnessed it, among whom was a sick German man in the infirmary.²⁰⁵

Conclusion

The Battuti of Treviso provided charity for the community by undertaking such diverse activities as the repair of the city's churches and the burial of the poor. Annual distributions of food and clothing, alms for a converted Jew, or a dowry for a new bride forged a complex system of social integration and acceptance through an elaborate system of gifts. The goal of the Battuti was not to relieve the immediate suffering of a few but to provide a stable environment for the many. Sometimes these objectives coincided, as with abandoned children. The reception of foundlings not only saved infants' lives but also provided the community with a means by which the members of society could respectably receive illegitimate children into their homes and families. The charity that the confraternity offered was more than just the relief of the physical challenges and wants of poverty; the confraternity sought to enhance the spiritual lives of the community and inmates through supporting confession, pilgrimage, and the clergy.

The actions of the Battuti also connected the local initiatives to the universal Catholic church. The doors of the pilgrim hospice were opened to Christians from throughout Europe, to whom the Battuti offered assistance ranging from first aid to the holding of deposits. As with the local community, acts of charity bound the confraternity to larger entities that could offer assistance. When the confraternity was in need of increased support for its charitable efforts, the Battuti appealed directly to Rome for assistance, without consultation or approval of the Venetian political authority.

Biblical injunctions to care for those in need had to confront the daily realities of poverty and limited resources. The brothers' decisions regarding the allocation of aid helps to delineate the boundaries of the charitable network, demonstrating who was deserving of aid, what type, and for how long. The doors and hands of the brothers were not open to everyone. Those who overstayed their welcome were firmly told that the time had come to move on to another community. Those who took advantage of the confraternity's generosity could suffer excommunication. This discrimination in their benevolence and willingness to excommunicate those who tried to abuse their generosity allowed the Battuti to maintain an extensive charitable system that ministered to all social and economic classes of the city, and to foreigners as well.

The crowd in Boccaccio's tale turned violent when someone from outside the community took advantage of local belief, "poking fun at our Saint." The Trevisan saint in the story was the Blessed Enrico da Bolzano, a local beggar popularly acclaimed and supported by ecclesiastical officials. The beating of Martellino was a symbol of the consequences to all those who instead of contributing to the communal spirit and enterprise tried to take advantage of the confraternity's generosity for their personal gain. The Trevisans

and the Battuti had a firm trust in God and a belief in the efficacy of good works, but they were also aware of the frailties of humanity and the need to safeguard the common good against the tricks of people such as Martellino. The challenge was not to eliminate poverty (for the poor would always be among them) but fulfill their Christian obligation to their benefactors and the community. The consistent thread tightly weaving all of their charitable initiatives together was the desire to care for the community's marginalized and invest in the religious infrastructure to aid the believers' journey to God. Limitations of material resources and the realities of human sinfulness required the confraternity to make difficult decisions regarding whom to assist. In their mediation of universal Christian principles with the realities of human suffering, the Battuti defined the boundaries of community.

Chapter 4

MEDICAL CARE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

That the doctor is obligated to remind the sick in danger of dying
that they confess and take the sacraments of the Church so that
the hospital is administered according to God.

—Regulation for Doctor Employed in Santa Maria's Hospital (1455)

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Most Blessed Virgin Mary,
Saints Mark, Liberale, Prosdocimo, Sebastian, Roch and all the saints.

These are the regulations proclaimed for the preservation and
health of the city of Treviso by me Francesco Rolandello chancellor
of the commune of Treviso.

—Preamble to Lazzaretto Statutes of Treviso (1486)

Both the confraternity of the Battuti and the communal government identified the health and prosperity of their citizens as a common good. The Battuti provided medical treatment and supported public health policies as an extension of its charitable activities, which closely associated the care of the body with care for the soul. A home to orphans, a hostel to pilgrims, and a refuge for the sick and the poor, the hospital gradually developed an elaborate system of health care, ranging from routine bathing to complex surgical procedures. During the course of the fifteenth century the medical services and specialty care, such as for the insane, coalesced into a well-organized and well-staffed centralized system that the confraternity administered on behalf of the whole community. While the medical staff fought to preserve life, one of the most virulent diseases ever to attack humanity reemerged in Europe. The bubonic plague (in combination with other diseases) periodically ravaged communities on an unprecedented scale, eliciting increased government oversight of health-care providers and of public life in an effort to prevent disruption of lives and trade.

Hospitals and Health Professionals

Northern and central Italy had some of the earliest communal doctors and hospitals in Europe. During the later Middle Ages, increased urbanization

and changes in piety encouraged the growth of hospitals.¹ As Katherine Park explains, "It is in the two centuries after 1300 that we see the emergence to preeminence of hospitals dedicated largely or exclusively to caring for the sick, and thus of hospitals with a large and growing demand for medical services."² A similar pattern developed in Treviso, where almost twenty medieval hospitals and hospices were consolidated or abandoned as new, larger institutions took their place. Medieval support of hospitals typically centered around monastic institutions and the crusading orders, two of the most powerful and omnipresent institutions in all of Europe. Trevisan giving in the first centuries of the millennium gravitated to the Templars, the Knights of Malta, and the leper hospitals in the city.³ A shift in giving occurred during the 1200s and 1300s, when the monastic hospitals were replaced by lay initiatives. In the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Battuti centralized most of the medical care for the city under their roof. Increased donations to a hospital controlled by a lay religious brotherhood characterize the "civic Christianity" identified by Herlihy in Pistoia.⁴

Of the almost twenty medieval hospitals, only a few survived until the fifteenth century. Most were in some way or another affected by the increasing dominance of the Battuti's hospital complex. The small hospital in the parish of San Leonardo ceased to exist during the 1300s, no doubt superseded by the Battuti not too far away. Others such as San Bartolomeo were directly absorbed by the Battuti during the 1400s, after two centuries of operation. Other hospitals outlived their usefulness and were disbanded, such as the two leper hospitals, San Giacomo di Schirial and San Lazzaro, which were not needed to treat a greatly diminished affliction.⁵ A number of small hospitals survived absorption by the Battuti, but it was clear by the end of the fourteenth century that the confraternity would be the primary provider of the city's health needs. For example, when the hospital of Sant'Antonio Abate applied for expansion in 1399, Venice granted permission, citing the need for an institution to assist the overcrowded hospital of the Battuti.⁶ The expanded hospital was recognized as a complement to the main hospital. In this instance, as with the case of the suppression of the confraternity of the Santissima Trinità, Venetian authorities recognized the preeminent position of the Battuti in the community and granted permission as long as the new hospital would not compete directly with that of the Battuti.

The emergence of large hospitals may have been recent, but northern Italian cities, and subsequently other parts of Europe, first adopted the practice of appointing civic medical and surgical practitioners during the early thirteenth century.⁷ Communal doctors in Treviso date back to at least the early 1300s, when the commune recognized the importance of public health and the necessity of a communal doctor ready to treat the sick or wounded. In exchange for a yearly salary and exemption from certain citizen obligations, the doctor was required to remain in the city and provide medical

assistance to rich and poor alike, asking for no other form of compensation. Regulations from 1314 also required the doctor to report all wounds that he bandaged to the communal judge, who was to investigate for possible malfeasance. In 1327 the commune had two doctors and one surgeon on the payroll, providing free services to the sick and poor in the hospitals of the city and countryside.⁸ In 1396 six doctors and eight surgeons were present in the city to provide for the community's needs, the following year five and seven respectively. Yet the lure of more lucrative patients and salaries in larger cities, such as Venice and Padua, often left Treviso with only one doctor to care for a population of approximately ten thousand. This inadequacy led the city government of Treviso to petition the doge of Venice for an increase in the salary of the communal doctor.⁹ By the 1420s, however, enough doctors practiced in Treviso to support a rewriting of the statutes for the college of doctors. The new statutes of 1426 required an examination based mainly on the works of Hippocrates and Galen. Once accepted into the college, the doctor had to care for the poor for free, refrain from interfering in the work of a colleague, inspect medicines and herbs of pharmacists (to prevent fraud and poisonous medicines), and meet regularly with other physicians to discuss theory and practice—a type of in-service training for all, but especially for the younger colleagues.¹⁰

Larger hospitals increased the demand for medical practitioners, beginning at the top of the medical hierarchy with the doctor, separated from paraprofessionals by a university training in the arts and medicine. A man of learning and theory, he diagnosed illnesses and formulated treatments based on each sick person's individual needs.¹¹ To provide for the medical needs of their patients, the Battuti drew on the medical expertise in the city and the Veneto and always had competent doctors on the staff to supervise medical operations.¹² At the beginning of the century the very dedicated doctor Stefano da Leone worked in the hospital.¹³ Originally a French or Savoyard Jew, Stefano had converted to Christianity (we do not know when) and settled in the Trevigiano during the 1370s. Serving in the hospital during the late 1300s, Stefano was so able and committed that in 1401 the gastalds decided to provide free room and board for him and his wife within the hospital.

Many of the best educated, even nobly born, medical professionals were not adverse to working in the city's largest poor hospital. In 1423 the nobly born Gianvittore Garlo di Castello, who had studied in Padua, was hired by the Battuti and paid 75 lire "to medicate the sick and miserable persons resident in the hospital." His brother Giovanni also worked in the hospital at various times from 1414 to 1448. In the 1420s, another graduate of Padua's medical school to serve in the hospital was Virgilio da Treviso, who in 1437 earned a yearly salary of 78 lire. Matteo da Settimo, a student who benefited from a scholarship to study at Padua (and also a noble's son), labored in the

hospital with energy and dedication in the 1430s and 1440s, during which time he received an increase in salary from 78 to 100 lire.¹⁴ While on a temporary leave from the hospital, Matteo da Settimo was replaced by the physician Antonio da Biadene, who as a graduate and former vice rector at Padua was not a poor substitute. For his labors from March 1439 to February 1442, Antonio da Biadene earned a yearly salary of 88 lire. Whereas Matteo da Settimo's salary had risen to 100 lire by April 1451, his ninth year of service, a decade later Doctor Pietro da Noale had doubled that salary to 200 lire a year.

As the medical advisor for the hospital, the doctor, or "*medico chirurgo*," as he was called, assumed the primary responsibility for the welfare of the patients. In order to ensure a common understanding between the hospital and its chief physician, the confraternity in 1455 drew up regulations for him to follow. These statutes provide a glimpse of the daily routine of a hospital physician in fifteenth-century Italy.¹⁵ The regulations stated that the doctor must medicate the sick twice a day according to the needs of individual patients. Always to be resident in the hospital, except with the permission of the *gastalds*, the doctor was to treat all sick and employees of the hospital on command from the *gastald*, but only for three days. Other regulations stipulated the monies to be spent on treatments, required the doctor to provide periodic recommendations for hospital improvements, obligated him to tell all in danger of death to confess and take the sacraments, and authorized him to instruct the prior as to the patients' diets. Regarding cooperation with surgeons, barbers, and other doctors, the regulations forbade any bleeding to take place without the direct instruction of and in the presence of the doctor. The doctor also had to treat all patients brought to him, whether operated on or not. In addition, no other physician was to perform surgery in the hospital without the permission of the salaried doctor.

These guidelines demonstrate the medical hierarchy within the hospital, the chain of authority within the administration, and the concern with religious orthodoxy. The hospital made sure that a salaried doctor prescribed all medical treatments, for he diagnosed patients' needs, prescribed diets and treatments, and oversaw medical procedures, namely the supervision of bleedings. Furthermore, no other doctor could interfere with his patient without his permission. As powerful as the doctor was in the medical hierarchy, all of his actions took place under the watchful eye of the confraternity's administrators. The doctor could not leave the city for more than three days without permission and arrangement for a suitable substitute. He could not treat anyone for more than three days without the *gastalds'* permission, and he had to care for anyone the *gastalds* commanded him to treat. Medical knowledge and efforts to heal the body were deemed less important than the patient's soul. Thus the doctor was required to tell any patient or employee who was deathly ill of his or her Christian duties: to confess and receive the

sacraments of the Church, which was necessary, of course, “so that the hospital is administered according to God.”

Separated from the doctors by less training and by working with their hands to perform operations, surgeons were nevertheless well respected and worked closely with the doctors.¹⁶ Working on everything from toothaches to wounds suffered in battle or inflicted by communal punishment, the surgeon pieced the body back together. Throughout the fifteenth century, the Battuti hired several surgeons, often more than one in a single year, to use their skills on a wide variety of cases and for varying periods of service.¹⁷

The first specific mention of a surgeon in the hospital dates to 1408, when Pietro da Pessina received an annual salary of 100 lire. During the 1420s Soncino da Lodi, a learned doctor who had served as communal physician in the early 1400s, worked as hospital surgeon. A decade later Giovanni da Serravalle, a university-trained physician (another recipient of a confraternity scholarship) who had also served as communal doctor, worked as a hospital surgeon, often with Gabriele da Fagarè. Rigo da Choter, Pierpaolo da Cornudo, Marco Dotto, Rigo todesco from Bavaria, and Rigo Todello all practiced the surgeon's art in the hospital, earning salaries that ranged from a few lire to a few hundred lire a year. The best-compensated surgeon was Marco Dotto, who earned a salary of 300 lire. Doctor Dotto was a “*homo novus*,” a self-made man with neither noble nor academic parentage, who had studied in Padua and graduated with a medical degree in 1432. His skills as a surgeon won him admiration from poor and rich alike, and he ultimately married into the nobility. Dotto must have possessed unusual expertise because the surgeon who took his place in 1442 received a stipend of only 100 lire. This replacement was Salvatore Negro di Giorgio da Modone, who was born in Greece and made his way to the Veneto, first to Mestre and then Treviso, where he was called by the Battuti to “medicate all the sick that have or will have need in the hospital of Santa Maria dei Battuti . . . in accordance with the requirements and demands of the surgical art.”¹⁸

Although contracts between health-care providers and the hospital do not survive, we do know that in addition to monetary compensation, the Battuti provided other incentives to lure qualified surgeons. For example, in November 1448 the hospital paid Lorenzo da Novara 68 lire, 8 soldi as yearly rent for a house in the parish of Santa Maria Maggiore. The same rented house was provided for the surgeon Salvatore da Modone as part of his contract. The following June the confraternity paid another 12 gold ducats, valued at 114 soldi, or 68 lire, 8 soldi, for the same house for Salvatore.¹⁹

At the bottom of the medical hierarchy were the barbers, separated from the doctors and surgeons by their lack of university training. Even though the barber's craft lacked a system of formal education, the barbers nonetheless protected their art and passed on their knowledge through a guild organization. Mention of a guild of barbers in Treviso dates back at least to 1316,

with statutes designed to ensure fair competition and respect for ecclesiastical declarations.²⁰ In the 1446 statutes for the barbers' guild, regulations forbade bleeding or bathing patients on feast days on penalty of fine. The votes recorded for the statutes give an indication of the number of barbers active in the guild (and thus the city). With 28 for and 11 against the statutes, the Trevisan barbers' guild in 1446 numbered at least 39 active members.²¹ A glimpse of what a barber's shop might have looked like is provided by the will of Zanetto di Pietro da Trento, who in 1398 left the tools of his trade to his workers. These tools included barbers' basins, razors, (sharpening) stones, and scissors.²²

The hospital of the Battuti employed a number of these barbers, often several in the same year.²³ The principal duties of the barber, as stated by the hospital's contract in 1445, was to shave and bleed all the sick poor and servants of the hospital.²⁴ In the late 1430s Heberle da Nuremberg worked in the hospital. Francesco da Trieste earned 18 lire a year as a barber in 1440. Later in the decade Leonardo, Domenico, and Antonio Grosseto worked as barbers, the latter for 20 lire a year. In 1448 Giovanni da Milano and Domenico worked as barbers, one in the hospital and the other in the Orbaria (which we will discuss shortly). In 1459 the barber's salary, in that year paid to Antonio Fasseto, was raised to 30 lire. In 1465 following the death of the surgeon Antonio, Nicolò Mallaprete the barber worked until Cristoforo da Genoa the surgeon arrived.

Completing the medical staff were nurses (some salaried, others voluntary), who provided general support and a helping hand both to doctors and patients. Among the salaried was Francesco di Agnolo da Firenze, who in March 1477 received 40 lire a year. The following year Matteo Todesco and Francesco da Firenze worked as nurses.²⁵ In 1489 Giancristoforo da Conegliano worked as a nurse for four months with a stipend of 16 lire, 5 soldi, 4 denari.²⁶ Among the various duties performed in the hospital the nurses also kept the wards clean. For example, on 17 November 1500 the hospital paid Vincenzo the nurse two soldi to sweep the chimney of the sick ward.²⁷ Not only the laity assisted the medical staff and aided the sick. In April 1500 Father Parisio was paid 5 lire for his work as a nurse.²⁸ The employment of medical professionals to care for the medical needs of the hospital's inmates further tied Santa Maria dei Battuti to the community and secured its reputation as a place of piety and mercy.

Apothecaries

The best efforts of even the most dedicated and highly trained medical staff would not have amounted to much without proper medicines for the patients. Fortunately, the Battuti made every effort to provide the patients with the best

medications available, which came in the form of various elixirs, ointments, and plasters prepared by the hospital doctor. Ingredients for these treatments came from apothecary shops in both Treviso and Venice. The hospital's expenses permit a glimpse at medical treatment in the fifteenth century that goes further than the recipes or theories in the medical texts.

The early modern apothecary shop, or pharmacy, stocked a wide variety of items, from household goods to the rarest spices.²⁹ The relationship between apothecary and doctor was usually a very close one: the doctor sought a reliable apothecary who would provide pure and genuine medicines, and the apothecary sought a regular customer. Once a good partnership formed between client and apothecary, it usually continued for years. The first apothecary frequented by the hospital in the fifteenth century was probably also one of the more famous men in his field from Treviso. Daniele Chinazzo, an apothecary and notary, contributed to Venetian history with his firsthand account of the War of Chioggia (1378–81).³⁰ After living several years in Venice, Chinazzo settled in Treviso, where he was an active member of the community and a brother of Santa Maria dei Battuti. His apothecary shop in the Piazza delle Erbe provided medicine to several monasteries and the hospital.³¹ Perhaps because of his pharmaceutical knowledge Chinazzo lived into his eighties, drawing up his will in 1426, when he left his shop to one Pietro the barber to be run by the apothecary Oliviero da Istrana.

After the death of Chinazzo, the confraternity patronized the apothecary shop of his successor, Pietro Barbier, who continued to operate the shop in the Piazza delle Erbe.³² The payments to Pietro “cirioco e spicier” continued for three decades.³³ The confraternity's purchases from Pietro indicate the wide variety of pharmaceutical and household goods used in the hospital, including wax, incense, honey, saffron, spices, theriac, carnation powder, cinnamon, raisins, sugar, coriander, and almonds.³⁴ The most common purchases, as indicated by the categories of the bookkeeper in October 1442, were wax, incense and honey, and other spices.³⁵ A breakdown of expenses for one year indicates the type of purchases. From 22 March 1446 to 21 March 1447 the hospital paid Pietro the amounts shown in table 4.1. The confraternity purchased a good deal of wax for religious devotion, but the largest payment to the apothecary was always for medicines.³⁶

On Pietro's death in 1465 the majority of his goods went to his two sons, both medical graduates. Gianvittore received his father's personal belongings and all of his books. Liberale inherited the family business and a collection of books relating to the apothecary trade, including works and treatises on poisons and antidotes.³⁷ After almost fifty years with the same apothecary shop, the Battuti did not continue to purchase the bulk of their expenses from Liberale. The last payment to the shop appears to be a notation from September 1467, with a payment to Liberale for 1,088 lire, 15 soldi.³⁸ After this date the hospital changed its patronage to the shop of Nicolò at the sign

Table 4.1. Payments to Pietro the Apothecary by the Hospital of the Battuti, 1446–1447

medication for sick	554 lire, 12 soldi
medication for one family	40 lire
worked wax for the altar of the hospital and the dead	44 lire, 8 soldi
candles for the day of the dead	14 lire, 4 soldi
wax for the feast of Candlemas	58 lire, 1 soldo
the burial of Gerardo, a poor bricklayer	1 lire, 8 soldi
a large candle for the priest to say a mass	2 lire. ^a

^a AOT, busta 3: 171. Similar expenses are found every year. From March 1447 to 8 February 1448, the hospital spent 229 lire, 9 soldi for such expenses. In May of the following year, the expense was 537 lire, 3 soldi; in September, another 302 lire, 7 soldi; in November, another 75 lire, 4 soldi. In June and November 1450, the expenses amounted to 339 lire, 3 soldi and 294 lire, 1 soldo respectively. A final reference to the apothecary shop of Pietro dates from June 1451, when he received 166 lire, 8 soldi for medicines, wax, and candles supplied from 16 November 1450 to 16 June 1451. AOT, busta 3: 171, 261, 351, 398, 429, 442, 501, 550.

of the Golden Apple. For goods from 19 May 1467 to the end of July 1472 he received 2,200 lire.³⁹

All apothecaries in Treviso, whether patronized by the hospital or not, went to Venice for goods. Treviso's proximity to Venice afforded the city access to one of the best-stocked pharmaceutical centers of Europe. With access to the markets of the eastern Mediterranean, Venetian merchants were able to acquire the great variety of plants, spices, and exotic materials necessary for a wide range of pharmaceutical concoctions. The Venetian Republic had always striven to provide its subjects with safe and affordable access to medicines, deemed essential for the common good. Venice regulated both the quality and the prices of pharmacies, so that the relationship between a doctor, or hospital, and a pharmacy was the critical aspect of the physician-patient relationship. Given equal prices, the purchaser turned to reputation and quality, notwithstanding the occasional free gifts the pharmacist often extended to a physician so that he would frequent the pharmacy. Because of the potential for abuse and corruption, Venetian law forbade physicians to have a financial interest in a pharmacy.⁴⁰ Notwithstanding the reputation and ability of Venetian and Trevisan shops, the confraternity diligently inspected the quality of drugs, as in August 1486 when the confraternity paid Zuan apothecary at the Golden Apple to examine medicine purchased from the apothecary at the Rooster shop.⁴¹

The importance of the Venetian pharmaceutical market for Treviso's hospital is made explicit by a supplication by the Battuti, another example of their

zealous effort to secure confraternal privileges. In 1440 the gastalds applied for leniency on the duties paid on medicines brought from Venice to the hospital in Treviso. With a final vote of 109 for and 2 against, with two abstaining, the senate voted in favor of the proposal, which allowed a certain amount of medical goods to be brought into Treviso with no tax. The decree stated that since many poor, miserable people live in the hospital of the Battuti, the hospital had need of medicines, sugar, and other things necessary for the poor and sick. Venice, however, placed a limit on its generosity: customs duties on the goods up to a value of 10 ducats annually would be waived.⁴² The tax break probably came as a welcome relief to the hospital, for many notations record visits to Venetian apothecaries, such as Alvise Zorzi at the “del Giglio” shop, and other visits to acquire supplies for the hospital’s pharmacy.⁴³

Despite the large consumption of goods, the need for ready access to supplies, and a desire for quality medications, the confraternity did not establish its own pharmacy until the late fifteenth century. Agostino da Pisa was a longtime salaried employee of the confraternity as an assistant to the general syndic, a position that probably led to his awareness of the need for a pharmacy. On his own initiative and with his own money he founded a “spezieria” within the hospital’s walls for simple and compound medicines. In his testament of 1493 he left all of his earthly possessions to support a pharmacy, with the stipulation that if the gastalds did not maintain it in proper order, then the monastery of Santa Margherita would be the beneficiary. The Battuti, as trustees of the endowment, established a pharmacy that administered free medicines to the poor and needy. By the 1600s the pharmacy also gave free medicines to the brothers and sisters of the city’s monasteries.⁴⁴

One of the major benefits of a permanent apothecary shop owned and operated by the hospital was the presence of a resident pharmacist. The apothecary Rico began his work in July 1494 and was replaced sometime in the summer of 1499 by the apothecary Girolamo.⁴⁵ An apothecary in residence also offered the opportunity to experiment and keep records of treatments. With a salaried apothecary and a permanent office, medical experience acquired through treatments of various patients could be passed on from physicians to apothecaries to patients. Evidence of the commitment to medical knowledge and sound treatments is a book purchased especially for the pharmacy. In September 1500 the confraternity paid Francesco, a book dealer, 1 lira and 4 soldi for a book for the doctor in the apothecary shop. To facilitate the use of the book, the confraternity also paid Zanmatteo, a painter, 1 lira and 10 soldi to illustrate the text.⁴⁶

Another useful benefit of the permanent pharmacy was the presence of an apothecary on the grounds of the hospital who, in addition to providing affordable and quick access to medicine, also provided access to training for the hospital’s orphans. The children of the hospital grew up in a hospital with a trained apothecary and could thus witness the success and failure of

the various medications. The presence of a pharmacy must have stimulated an interest in the profession, at least for two young men. When the apothecary Zandomenico Rico wanted to collect his salary in January and March 1500, he sent his apprentices, Rocho and Alvisé, to receive their master's money.⁴⁷ Both were children of the hospital.

Care of Patients

One of the challenges for the well-trained medical staff was to identify and care for a wide variety of illnesses. The sick, the poor, the wounded, the insane, and tired pilgrims all came to the hospital for medical treatment. The staff had to diagnose patients, provide them with the best treatment available, and assist them in their recovery. After a sick person had been admitted to the hospital, he or she went to one of the large wards of the hospital and slept in one of the beds. In an inventory made in the late 1520s the number of hospital beds was recorded at thirty, each furnished with sheets, blankets, and a small writing table.⁴⁸ In addition, the beds also had footlockers, as evidenced by expenses for October 1442 that include payments to fix eighteen locks for lockers (*casse*) at the foot of the beds of the sick.⁴⁹ Nurses and others made sure that the ward was clean, especially during outbreaks of plague, as in February 1448 when the hospital paid 7 soldi to have the men's barracks swept out.⁵⁰ In the ward, attendants brought the sick their medicine in glasses especially purchased for that purpose.⁵¹ Of course some of the sick and wounded could not have gotten to the hospital without a helping hand. For this the hospital purchased a number of stretchers, as it did in 1490 and 1494.⁵²

Once in the hospital and settled in their beds, the sick received regular medical procedures, including three basic "instruments of medicine": diet, medication, and surgery. Treatment and therapy usually consisted of a combination of medical procedures, along with herbs and medications to ease pain or cure a disease by directing good or bad humors to different parts of the body. The procedures used to transfer these humors involved bloodletting, cauterization with a heated instrument, or "potential" cautery by the application of heated cups. In addition to medical procedures was the medicine itself, complicated or simple combinations of plant, animal, and mineral extracts given to the patient in the form of drink or plaster and used as purgatives, laxatives, cleansing agents, or aids to humoral balance.⁵³

One of the most common treatments recorded in the expense books was the bleeding of patients. As we have already seen in the contract of 1445, the principal duty of the barber was to bathe and bleed the patients.⁵⁴ Other services the barbers provided were baths, shaves, and haircuts. That these were common practices of the barbers is indicated by the inclusion in the

barbers' statutes of 1446 of regulations concerning the bath keepers (*stuari*) who cut hair and washed the heads of men.⁵⁵ A regular treatment for the poor and pilgrims lodged in the hospital was a trip to the bath (*stua*), where the barber would be waiting to give a haircut, wash the body, and place hot cupping glasses (*ventoxe*) on the body.⁵⁶ An indication of the activities at the stua comes from an expense for 21 lire of January 1466, when Leonardo stuer was paid for having "bathed, bled, and cupped" the poor of the hospital from 21 March to 19 September 1465.⁵⁷ In September 1461 the pilgrim Tommaso received 12 soldi so he could go to the stua to have ventoxe applied for his *rogna*, a skin disease very often treated this way.⁵⁸ In addition to the local small baths, patients were often sent to the hot baths outside of Padua, famous for their healing properties.⁵⁹ For example, on 28 May 1460 the confraternity paid 10 soldi for Anselmo da Venezia, who was sick in the hospital, to go to the baths of Padua as he wanted to do.⁶⁰

Among the services provided by the barber was dental work. We can only imagine the pain suffered by one of the women of the hospital when a barber pulled one of her teeth in February 1486. For his strong arm the barber earned 4 soldi.⁶¹ Not all dental work, however, resulted in painful extraction. In June 1500 the barber Pietro earned 4 soldi for his cure of a tooth on the right side of one Cecilia's mouth.⁶²

In addition to the bathing and bleeding of patients, the hospital provided regular treatment for a number of common illnesses, mostly skin diseases such as ringworm (*tegnà*).⁶³ For example on 28 April 1467 the gastalds authorized the payment of 4 soldi for powder (*polvere*) to medicate sick children (*tignixi*).⁶⁴ The reason for other treatments are not so clear, as for example the 2 soldi spent for coal to give the fire treatment for a sick man in July 1486.⁶⁵ This may have been an attempt to move the humors to a healthier place. Humoral imbalance could also explain the expense for purgative medicines to cleanse the body of superfluous humors. For example, in May 1462 the hospital purchased for 3 lire, 12 soldi medicinal water "to purge the children."⁶⁶ Another elixir was concocted of sturdier stuff. In December 1494 the confraternity paid 10 soldi for the 2 pounds and 6 ounces of steel boiled in water and given to a patient infected with *fluxo*. Of course the payment went to Antonio the blacksmith.⁶⁷ Whatever the treatments, they were all carried out in accordance with the hospital's regulations, under doctor's orders. For example, in June 1463 Doctor Pietro da Noale ordered 3 lire paid to Leonardo stuer to place 80 ventoxe on Luca da Aquapendente and Zuan da Bologna, poor of the hospital. The following November his specific orders for Agnolo, a sick man, were diligently executed.⁶⁸

Did these herbal drinks, bleedings, and baths work? Whether because of or in spite of these treatments, many patients left the hospital healthier than when they arrived, probably more because of a stable diet and rest than any medical attention, except perhaps for direct surgery to heal a wound.

Many of the patients (excluding the resident poor and sick) recovered from their illnesses in a matter of weeks. The hospital wards were havens for a wide range of patients with a variety of illnesses, including sick travelers, wounded soldiers, and injured workers. During the Jubilee Year of 1450, for example, dozens of sick pilgrims were admitted to the hospital and provided with lodging for a few nights, then continued on their journey. One pilgrim, the Hungarian Piero from Buda, came sick into the hospital on 20 February 1450, depositing Venetian and Hungarian ducats valued at 33 lire. Two weeks later he retrieved his money and continued on his pilgrimage, recovered from his illness.⁶⁹

Physicians often tailored their prescriptions to the patient's ability to pay,⁷⁰ so the poor classes in Renaissance society have traditionally been considered cut off from the best medical care. One of the greatest acts of charity the hospital provided was medical care for the poor who could not afford expensive treatments. A good example is one Zuane, a poor man who came injured to the hospital in March 1445. To treat his wounds with two special plasters, the surgeon Salvatore ordered 1 ducat of gold, the most precious coinage of the day, to be beaten into dust and used in the patient's therapeutic plasters.⁷¹ Even the poorest could hope for the best treatment in the hospital of Treviso. As Katherine Park has demonstrated for Florence, the medical care provided by confraternities was often the best that money could buy.⁷²

As the treatment of poor Zuane indicates, the medical services offered by the hospital included more than medication or baths for common afflictions. Serious injuries from a variety of sources—an accidental fall from a horse, maiming as the result of communal justice, or the organized butchery of war—required surgery. War has been called the best school of surgery, and factional strife in Italian cities provided ample opportunities to sharpen the surgeon's craft.⁷³ The presence of hospital camps was no unusual occurrence in the Trevigiano. The earliest mention of an army's hospital camp dates back to 1245 and payment for services of several doctors during the wars of the Da Camino.⁷⁴ Although no direct evidence exists concerning the use of Treviso's hospital in the care of Venetian soldiers, a number of wounded young men came to the hospital during years of Venetian fighting. For example, during the wars between Milan and Venice in the late 1430s, a number of injured men found their way to the hospital of Treviso for treatment.⁷⁵

Far less lethal than warfare, everyday accidents also threatened the lives of many. Fortunately for those in the Trevigiano, a hospital existed with a competent staff to care for the wounds and try to save lives, which it often did, sometimes after a very long recovery. For example, on 11 September 1438 a young German man, Rigo, came injured into the hospital, depositing 1 lira, 9 soldi, 1 denaro in the hospital's strongbox. Almost a year later, on 4 August 1439 Rigo received the same amount back when he left the

hospital.⁷⁶ Shorter recoveries were the norm, however, as in the case of the laborer Stefano, who came into the hospital suffering with a stomach injury on 4 April 1468. One month later, on 12 May, he left the hospital.⁷⁷ The surgeons' skills were employed not only to mend wounds but also to inflict necessary dismemberment. When a sick pilgrim entered the hospital in March 1467, the attending physicians found it necessary to amputate one of his arms.⁷⁸ Yet even the most proficient surgeon could not save some patients. In April 1476 Lucia, wife of Piero the shoemaker, came to the hospital with three head wounds and died.⁷⁹

The medical procedures performed by the hospital—bleedings, medications, surgery—and the type of patients—pilgrims, sick, wounded—were fairly typical of illnesses and patients throughout Europe. The hospital in Treviso, however, also offered specialized care for the most difficult patients: the insane (*matti*). Since mental illness was treated as an ailment of the body and not of the mind, the insane, when they did not respond to normal medical procedures, were physically restrained.⁸⁰ No medical agency offered a cure for mental illness; even Bethlem Hospital in London discharged patients as incurable if they did not recover in a year.⁸¹

The records of the hospital confirm this accepted practice of physical restraint for the insane. For example, in May 1459 the gastalds bought two locks for the chains that shackled two women.⁸² Chains and the lock for another insane man were repaired in April 1480.⁸³ Chains were especially necessary to bind the insane when they were transported outside of the hospital. When in February 1468 the hospital returned an insane man to Venice, it purchased a lock to put on the chain that bound him.⁸⁴ It is possible these patients also benefited from advice offered by Doctor Sigismondo Petrachino, a resident of Treviso who graduated in medicine from the University of Padua in 1423 and had a specialty in cerebral maladies.⁸⁵

Chains provided the most expedient, if not the most comfortable, means of restraining the actions of the insane, but chains and locks were not the only expense for these special inmates. With a tendency to violent behavior or uncontrolled actions, these special cases needed a safe, sturdy, and separate place to live. Maintenance expenses reveal a special room designated for the insane. For example, in December 1493 the confraternity paid for repairs for the stove of the *mati*.⁸⁶ In the winter of 1467 the confraternity placed canvas over the windows of the room of the *mate*, presumably a room where the female insane stayed.⁸⁷ The use of cloth windows was probably more than a cost-cutting measure; there were also safety concerns in the placement of insane persons in a confined area with glass windows. An incident in February 1486, when one of the insane women broke thirty-two panes of glass in two windows of the female ward, confirmed the wisdom of the cloth windows.⁸⁸ The actions of the woman probably reaffirmed the necessity of physical restraint and secure living quarters.

The treatment of the insane, however, did not consist only of physical restraint. All of the hospital's inmates received food, clothing, medication, occasional entertainment, and a Christian burial. Obviously the inmates were fed, but the confraternity also took the additional effort of providing help to insane people living outside of the hospital. In 1489 the hospital supplied food and clothing for an insane woman staying in the house of Giovanni medico.⁸⁹ An indication of the clothing expense comes from an entry in September 1493, when the hospital paid 3 lire for material to make shirts for the insane.⁹⁰ In the summer of 1489 the insane woman Maria was given 1 lira, 1 soldo to spend at the fair.⁹¹ Charity continued right until death, when the hospital would pay for burial.⁹² It appears that the insane also had at least some discretionary power over money. For example, when Vittore *mato* died in the hospital on 3 December 1459, the prior found 15 soldi, 7 denari in a small purse.⁹³ Although not much money, it does indicate that despite being insane, the man was permitted to possess, and presumably spend, his own money. These cases suggest that some of those called insane had enough awareness to go to the fair, travel, and control money. Another burial for an insane person also introduces us to one of the most powerful forces of European history: the plague. On 10 July 1439, the hospital paid 4 soldi to send Nicolò, a insane man infected with the plague, from the main hospital to the isolation annex called the Orbaria.⁹⁴ The extraordinary impact of the plague necessitated that all, insane or not, be isolated together in a separate facility.

The Plague

A watershed moment in European history, especially with regard to the history of health care, was the appearance of the bubonic plague in the fourteenth century. The Black Death of 1348 introduced a "new" disease into Western Europe, one that confounded doctors and ravaged communities across the Continent.⁹⁵ The initial shock of the plague elicited a response that followed established procedures in disasters: penitential processions, mass burials, a search for answers in the punishment of God or in the stars. What made the plague different from previous diseases was the recurring nature of the pestilence, its virulence, and the inability to stop it. As a result of repeated attacks by the disease, what had been temporary policies or committees to cope with it became permanent. During the century following the first outbreak in 1348, temporary measures were often institutionalized by boards of health and a communal pest house (*lazzaretto*).

The first response of the Trevisan communal authorities to the plague was to place infected victims in isolated buildings outside the city walls. In the 1350s this meant the convent of the Cistercian nuns of Santa Maria Nova,

which had been all but destroyed by the Hungarians, who were waging war on Venice. Further outbreaks persuaded the commune that the city needed a more permanent and hospitable location for plague victims. The documentation is vague, but it appears that during the early 1400s, possibly as the result of terrible outbreaks in 1400, 1405, and 1427, the commune, in apparent coordination with Santa Maria dei Battuti, designated a section of the city called the Orbaria to confine the infected. The houses belonged to the confraternity and were located on the right bank of the Sile in the parish of San Martino near the church of Santa Margherita.⁹⁶

It would have been only natural for the main hospital of the city to treat plague victims and develop some system of isolation. Despite the unprecedented number of fatalities and the rapidity of death caused by the plague, the Battuti countered it without panic or passive resignation. To prevent the spread of contagious disease and stifle epidemics, the Battuti decided to set aside two of its properties, houses in the Orbaria, for the isolation of those in the general hospital who became infected with contagious diseases. As the heading for some of the expenses indicates, these homes were to be used for "the hospital of the Confraternity placed in Orbaria reserved for and designated for the epidemics that occur in this main hospital."⁹⁷

The existence of an isolation ward for plague victims testifies to the rational response of the confraternity and community of Treviso.⁹⁸ The Battuti not only paid for the physical maintenance of the isolation annex but also staffed the hospital with a prior in 1438.⁹⁹ Two years later Stefano earned 54 lire, 4 soldi as a payment for his services as prior of the Orbaria.¹⁰⁰ In addition to repairs and salaries, the account books also record expenses for food. In July of 1445 melons were brought to the sick in the Orbaria, whether for food or medical purposes we do not know.¹⁰¹

The records (which first survive from the 1430s) indicate that the Battuti indeed used the isolation ward extensively during plague years.¹⁰² An infected person would often come to the confraternity's main hospital, be diagnosed with the disease, and then sent to the isolation building. The high risk of infection came from the transport of these patients from one facility to another and the concentration of the contagious in one location. By the time the sick were brought to the main hospital, diagnosed as having the plague, and carried to the isolation ward in the Orbaria, they could have infected a large portion of the city. Furthermore, the staff of both the main hospital and the Orbaria were in constant contact with the infected. For example, on 26 June 1439 Matteo, a traveler, deposited his money with the confraternity because he was sick with plague and was admitted into the main hospital. A week later, 4 July 1439, Father Atanasio of San Martino received 2 lire, 2 soldi for the burial of Matteo, who died in the Orbaria.¹⁰³ Obviously sometime after he was admitted, he was transferred to the isolation ward, where he soon died.

Continued plague outbreaks encouraged the Battuti to maintain the Orbaria, improve the facilities, and provide a qualified staff. During an outbreak in 1448–50 expenses for the Orbaria isolation hospital increased.¹⁰⁴ Extra personnel were also required during that period because of a tragic conjunction of a Jubilee Year with a plague outbreak. Men had to be paid to carry the infected from the main hospital to the Orbaria¹⁰⁵ and care for the sick. For his assistance in medicating the poor and sick in the Orbaria between 28 June 1448 and Christmas 1449, the barber Domenico received 5 ducats of gold.¹⁰⁶ He continued to assist in the Orbaria, receiving 11 lire, 8 soldi for a year's work ending in January 1451.¹⁰⁷ One person treated by Domenico was Stefano, a Hungarian who came sick to the hospital in 1450. After he deposited over 100 lire with the Battuti, a large sum of the sort usually found on pilgrims, Stefano was placed in the Orbaria.¹⁰⁸

Those who succumbed to the plague and died in the Orbaria were buried by the local parish priest of San Martino in the confraternity's cemetery in Santa Margherita. For example, on 13 May 1440 Father Atanasio of San Martino earned 8 lire, 8 soldi, for the burial of four people who died in the Orbaria at the hospital of the Battuti.¹⁰⁹ During 1448, in the middle of a plague outbreak, the confraternity paid the monastery of Santa Margherita, which owned the property used as the confraternity's cemetery, for the burial of sixty-seven dead, thirteen of whom had died in the Orbaria between 1 January 1447 and 1 March 1449.¹¹⁰ Thus, over a two-year period, sixty-seven died, at least thirteen probably from the plague. Between 2 March 1449 and 16 May 1450, a peak time for the plague, the Battuti paid for the burial of eighty-four bodies (no indication of how many from the Orbaria). Between May and August 1450, fifty more bodies went to the monastery's cemetery, and from September to March 1451 seventy-five more. As the plague passed, the number of deceased declined. From March to December 1451 only thirty-nine graves were dug.¹¹¹ Although the records usually did not list the individual names, among the plague victims in the Orbaria was a member of the household, a man named Theodoric, and an insane man.¹¹² Most of the victims who died in the Orbaria were pilgrims, as demonstrated by the entries for the dead in 1450.¹¹³

With the return of the plague in 1461, bodies again made their way from the plague-ridden Orbaria to the cemetery of Santa Margherita. For example, between 19 September 1461 and 9 February 1462, nine plague victims who died in the Orbaria were buried in the cemetery. Plague deaths continued into 1463 and 1464, when we have the last reference to victims who had died in the Orbaria.¹¹⁴ Plague victims were no longer recorded in the hospital's books because a new initiative was undertaken to prevent or control the lethal contagion. Despite the effort of the confraternity to maintain and staff a specialized isolation ward, the communal authorities came to realize that more radical measures were needed to stave off the plague and spare the city.

The Lazzaretto

An important development in the fifteenth century was the institution of public health boards in Italy. Unlike the guilds and colleges that regulated the medical profession, these boards were not an expression of self-government but an extension of political authority.¹¹⁵ After the unprecedented carnage of the Black Death, public officials organized centrally administered institutional responses to the recurring epidemics. Local communes cooperated with capital cities in a system of regional public health initiatives, isolating plague victims in specially designated locations. In Treviso the Battuti, not the commune, had initially assumed responsibility for the care of plague victims in their hospital. As a public health policy developed, Venetian and communal authorities attempted to integrate the hospital's efforts into a wider policy, but the confraternity withdrew from the administration of the new public health measure.

Venice established some of the earliest quarantine measures to protect the economic lifeblood of the Republic and the public health of Venice itself. The first state-sponsored lazaretto was erected in 1423, and in 1468 an entire island was dedicated to the quarantine of infected ships and their cargo. The Venetian board of health, definitively established in 1489, would only grow in power over the next century, ultimately exerting control over parochial poor relief, suppression of begging, and control of prostitution.¹¹⁶ Similar powerful groups of bureaucrats were established in other cities. In Milan in the early 1400s the Visconti promulgated aggressive legislation relating to the plague. The new quarantine restrictions created a permanent public health commission, interfered in the administration of local hospitals and their resources, regulated how the commune would conscript resources and personnel during an epidemic, and ultimately led to the establishment of a lazaretto in 1450.¹¹⁷ During the epidemic of 1448 in Florence, the commune passed an act providing for the construction of a public hospital outside the walls of the city. Staffed by four doctors, four barbers, and sixty servants, the hospital would isolate the sick during outbreaks of the plague. The hospital of San Bastiano in Florence was not built until the late 1470s.¹¹⁸ Throughout northern Italy during the fifteenth century, most capital cities established permanent officers to deal with public health matters.¹¹⁹

Although Venice did not establish a board of health for the Terraferma, Venetian efforts to contain the spread of the plague and share information regarding infected areas gradually brought subject cities into an informal network of pesthouses. The major concern of Venetian authorities was to protect their soldiers in the region and prevent infected goods, no matter how valuable, from reaching Venice and threatening the city itself. As a result, Venice encouraged the founding of public health boards and isolation wards of subject cities. Following a plague outbreak from 1447 to 1450,

the establishment of isolation hospitals suggests some coordination by Venetian officials. In Verona, following an official invitation from Venice to see the construction of the Venetian *lazzaretto*, communal officials in the early 1450s established their own; in Padua in 1452 the council decided to create a *lazzaretto* and sent a delegation to Venice for aid in selecting a site; and from Treviso a similar delegation made its way to Venice in 1457.¹²⁰

Venetian and Trevisan officials had shared information regarding the plague prior to the establishment of the new *lazzaretto*. Plague in the district of Treviso, as in other areas, was a concern for the Venetian treasury, for the disease interrupted the flow of goods and thus the collection of import and export taxes. The rumor of plague in one location was an extremely important matter, demanding immediate confirmation or denial. For example, a ducal letter to the *podestà* of Treviso in 1399 requested information concerning a rumor that there was an epidemic in Treviso.¹²¹ A ducal letter of November 1424 stated that since the plague, "thanks to God," had passed, the Venetian officials who had fled the city for the countryside were now to return to Treviso and resume the collection of customs dues.¹²² Letters to Treviso also expressed regional concerns. During a fierce outbreak of the plague in the city of Conegliano in 1456, Venice instructed the *podestà* of Treviso on how to collect custom payments.¹²³ Plague quarantines threatened the very survival of the island city, dependent on the mainland for most of its supplies. Thus, when the quarantine of goods flowing to Venice was lifted, the city had reason to feel "extremely pleased" that the plague had ceased and Treviso was once again free to trade with Venice, as occurred in May 1469.¹²⁴

A bald declaration of Venetian interests and priorities appears in a ducal letter from November 1449, in the middle of a plague outbreak in Treviso but apparently not in Venice. The doge had learned from residents in Venetian lands and from pilgrims, merchants, and others passing through Venice to Rome that some people were spreading a rumor that the plague had struck Venice and that they should avoid the city, thus sending pilgrims and merchants through non-Venetian territory. The doge called for the *podestà* of Treviso to investigate immediately where these rumors were coming from and to take appropriate action to restore the flow of pilgrims and merchants through Venetian lands during a Jubilee Year, when hordes of pilgrims, infected or not, were heading to Rome.¹²⁵

These letters indicate that despite the efforts of the hospital to control the epidemics, at any moment the plague could threaten the profitable trade in pilgrims and cargo (often viewed as the same). The motivations of Venetian and Trevisan businesses should not be understood as blind greed. Rather, the quarantine and isolation of communities threatened the very survival of people deprived of the necessities of life. When a town was placed under quarantine after being invaded by the plague, all forms of communication

and exchange were forbidden, leading to a complete collapse of commercial and manufacturing activity. Many could die for lack of food and employment while confined in a city under quarantine.¹²⁶ All these factors contributed to the desire of Venetian and Trevisan officials to erect a proper *lazzaretto* to protect the people and vital trade. Cooperation and organization of a regional policy, however informal, was needed.

The frequent bouts of plague that threatened the health and welfare of the city led the communal authorities to seek a permanent plague house outside of the city walls. Recurrences of the plague in 1436, 1439, 1448–49, and again in 1456 suggested that more radical measures were needed to stop this deadly disease, which took lives and threatened the economic lifeblood of the city. As a response of the recent outbreak in 1456, the commune decided to build a proper *lazzaretto*, an isolation house outside of the city, with a permanent board to run it and an administration to enforce plague regulations. However, the good intentions of 1457, including appeals to Venice for financial assistance, soon petered out as the plague subsided. A suitable location on the left bank of the Sile outside the gate of San Teonisto remained an abandoned construction site, waiting for the next bout of plague to renew public interest. In 1461 another outbreak did just that. Hasty plague regulations in that year attest to the fact that victims were still being brought to the Orbaria unless they were willing to stay confined to their homes for sixty days, with a communal mark on the house denoting the infestation and a red cross on visitors signifying their interaction with infected people. This time the commune seemed determined to finish the *lazzaretto* outside of the city.

A range of new taxes and regulations supported the opening of the *lazzaretto* of Santa Maria de Nazaret in 1464, with a surgeon on a salary of 7 gold ducats a month to bleed the plague victims from the city and suburbs of Treviso in the hospital. In the first years the hospital had a precarious existence, barely making ends meet as it struggled to collect revenues to pay the surgeon and prior and provide food and medicine for the sick. A new series of taxes and administrative changes placed the hospital on firmer ground. Seeking every possible means of income that would not be too burdensome on the citizens, communal authorities set their sights on a poorly run and practically defunct hospital in Valdobbiadene. Situated in the district of Treviso but subject to the bishop of Padua, the secular hospital had fallen into the hands of the clergy, who were using the income from the hospital lands (donated by a layman for the support of a poor hospital) for a benefice. A long series of court cases followed. In the end, after an appeal to the pope, arbitration by the patriarch of Venice, and years of legal wrangling, the proceeds were divided between the town of Valdobbiadene, to support the local hospital there, and the *lazzaretto* of Treviso. Treviso's communal *lazzaretto* had secured an independent source of income, to the relief of the Trevisan taxpayers.¹²⁷

The Battuti's financial support of the lazzeretto ended after the purchase of the land apparently donated to the commune. On 3 February 1462 the confraternity paid for two fields outside of the city near the tower of San Teonisto. The gastalds purchased the land from three brothers for the price of 113 ducats of gold, valued at 700 lire. As the confraternity's bookkeeper noted, the land was purchased specifically for the building of the lazzeretto. In September of the following year, the Battuti paid minor expenses to Domenico, one of the brothers, who apparently needed further resources in order to settle somewhere else.¹²⁸

Although the Battuti had funded the purchase of the land, the Venetian podestà still needed more money for the project, and the result was one of the rare occasions in the hospital's history when the confraternity actively protested against the podestà. Apparently to supplement the failed attempts to raise sufficient funds through taxation, the Venetian representative decided to support the lazzeretto with funds due the hospital, probably payments from the Forzetta monies. The accounts of the hospital record that the podestà appropriated monies due the hospital "by force and against the will of the gastalds and the general syndic, Alvise da Seligo." The podestà withheld 50 lire on 15 December 1463, another 50 lire in May 1464, and 100 more in June 1464.¹²⁹ The methods used by the podestà must have made the Battuti wary of the lazzeretto and the public health commission being formed to combat the plague. Through control of the plague, the Venetian government could wrest cherished prerogatives and resources away from the hospital. As a result, the hospital distanced itself from the administration of the lazzeretto.

A puzzled but honest notation by the historian Monsignor Luigi Pesce perhaps best expresses the apparent inconsistency in the confraternity's support of the communal lazzeretto, a project that would seem ideally suited to the charitable institution. He writes, "It seems strange to me that the confraternity of the Battuti, notwithstanding the high hospital expenses, found the means to lend money to the government, as I will state elsewhere, and did not seek to aid or give a hand to the lazzeretto."¹³⁰ Indeed, considering the Battuti's dedicated support of public health, this antagonism seems odd. The explanation lies in the Battuti's resentment that the commune was garnishing their income without permission. The confraternity, so dedicated to the preservation of its independence, bristled at such a direct infringement of its prerogatives.

Despite their unwillingness to support the lazzeretto wholeheartedly, the Battuti cooperated with public health officials and took advantage of the services offered by the facility. The first mention of an unfortunate victim taken to the new lazzeretto from the main hospital dates to 20 May 1464, when two porters carried Zuan, a sick German, to the lazzeretto because he was suspected of having the plague.¹³¹ An example of the new system in operation comes from 17 August 1464, when the podestà sent a sick man, Piero,

to the civic hospital. Diagnosed with the plague, after depositing his money with the confraternity, the man was sent to the lazaretto.¹³²

Entries for the lazaretto continued throughout the century, especially during severe outbreaks. For example, from July 1465 to September 1467 eleven plague victims, or those demonstrating the symptoms, were carried from the hospital to the lazaretto by *pizigamorti* (stretcher bearers), who were well rewarded with a payment of 2 or 3 lire for their hazardous work. Between August and October 1478 the *pizigamorti* carried four people, including an insane man and a young girl, from the hospital to the lazaretto.¹³³ During the outbreak of plague in the summer of 1485, more plague victims died in the civic hospital or were carried from the hospital to the lazaretto. Outbreaks and cases seem to have begun in July and lasted through September, consistent with previous plague outbreaks that hit hardest during the summer.¹³⁴

With all plague victims, whether they died in the civic hospital or in the lazaretto, the *pizigamorti* were always called in to handle the bodies.¹³⁵ The low social status of the *pizigamorto* can be seen in an expense from October 1487, when a *pizigamorto* and a companion were paid 2 lire, 10 soldi to fix a toilet.¹³⁶ One of the interesting social implications of the plague was the way it affected the perception of class differences. Although the plague could and did strike all levels of society, the poor were perceived as particularly affected (as they were) and as carriers of the disease. Ironically, during the periods of outbreak these same poor were paid exorbitant wages to deal with the infected bodies and homes. As Brian Pullan explains:

Like carnival, plague inverted the normal world. It did so in its own way, by creating a temporary dependence on the unrespectable poor, especially vagrants and criminals, for the performance of essential services. Plague seemed to offer extraordinary gains to the ghoulish figures of undertakers, fumigators, cleaners and clearers of plague-stricken houses: *monatti*, *beccamorti*, *pizigamorti*, *nettezini*, often characterised as scavenging birds, as the “kites” of Florence and the “crows” of France.¹³⁷

The high wages paid to the *pizigamorti* in Treviso indicates this social inversion, in which those on the fringes of society, those who would normally clean the toilets and sewers, were now eagerly sought to carry out critical services for the city. Permanent measures would help to prevent loss of life and preserve social order.

Preventive Measures

In the one hundred years after the outbreak of bubonic plague, the confraternity had developed its own system of isolation and preventive measures, similar to those adopted throughout Europe. Isolation in a plague hospital

and burial were not the only responses the confraternity offered to those who came in search of help and assistance to overcome this dreaded and incurable disease. The doctors in the hospital took prophylactic and curative measures to prevent and ease the impact of the plague, which was universally considered the result of corrupted and infected air: people became ill when they inhaled or came into contact with air that had degenerated into poisonous miasmas. As a result, medical science advised a change of air to purify or escape the corrupted miasma.¹³⁸

Although ignorant of germ theory and vectors of disease, early modern people did possess the keen tool of observation, which revealed to them that flight from the plague aided survival rates. Observation also taught that the elderly and young were most susceptible to the disease. Thus, during outbreaks the brothers prudently sent the children in their care out of the city. For example, when on 28 February 1485 one of the orphans, Andrea, came down with the plague and died, the Battuti took immediate action to get the other children out of the city. The next day, the first of March 1485, the house mother and the children were led by Zuane outside of the city to the place called the "fornaci" in order to escape the plague, which had already claimed the life of the child Andrea, who was being wet-nursed by Maria, wife of Francesco the barber in San Martino.¹³⁹

Another way to escape the plague without leaving the contaminated air of the city or the hospital was to change the air itself, or at least to purify or cleanse it. Thus, during the plague outbreak in October 1466, the confraternity paid 1 lira, 9 soldi for a cart of ginger to purify the air of the hospital.¹⁴⁰ This practice continued in times of plague for the rest of the century. In September 1478 the Battuti paid 7 soldi for five bundles of ginger.¹⁴¹ In March 1485 Vendramin da Spesiano received 12 soldi for a cart of ginger to perfume the hospital. Again in July, August, and September more carts were brought in for additional fumigation. As the plague became more virulent, so must have the competition for ginger, which increased in price from 12 soldi a cart in March to 2 lire a cart by September.¹⁴² By the end of the century the price of a cart remained relatively the same. On 19 May 1500 the Battuti paid 1 lira, 15 soldi for a cart of ginger to "profumar la casa."¹⁴³

The temporary precautions and treatments attempted by the hospital during times of plague were adopted by the communal government in 1486, when official guidelines were established for the administration of the city's lazaretto. The statutes covered a wide range of issues, including annual processions for the plague saints (Saint Sebastian and Saint Roch), the establishment of a group of governors, the division of the city into sections for the containment of plague infections, and regulations concerning the monetary support of the lazaretto and enforcement of policies. Although the managerial structure was directly modeled on the organization of the Battuti, the organization of the lazaretto and its economic base were deliberately kept separate from the confraternity's

hospital. The Battuti were not directly involved in the daily administration of the plague hospital, but they did perform a role as the warehouse for the lazaretto's goods and a stronghold for its money. The gastalds of the Battuti, though not directly managing the operations of the lazaretto, had to be present for the withdrawal of monies and supplies that were stored in the safe and storage rooms of the confraternity's hospital. Despite the common goals of the lazaretto and the civic hospital to provide for the public health and care for the sick, it is obvious that the Battuti, although willing to cooperate in other ways, wanted no stake in the administration of the plague hospital.¹⁴⁴

Perhaps the most important aspect of the above-mentioned regulations, at least concerning the actual containment of the contagion, was the restriction of movement, isolation of infected people, and destruction of their goods. The severity of the statutes regulating those cleaning the homes attests to an awareness of the means of the contagion. Nevertheless, administrators of the hospital, who should have known better, did not follow the regulations to the fullest. In November 1485 the Battuti paid one woman to clean the home of Francesco da Pieve, who had died of the plague at his home in San Nicolò, as well as pizigamorti to clean the home of Vincenzo of Milan, who lived in San Stefano, and carry the rest of his goods to the hospital.¹⁴⁵ The return of infected goods to the hospital was a gross violation of health regulations, but it probably stemmed from the practice of selling the goods of those who died in the hospital, a practice necessary to dispose of unneeded goods and raise money. Although proper precautions were probably taken for those who had definitely contracted the plague, it is alarming to read that in 1448 and 1449, a period of plague outbreak, the Battuti sold clothes to the public that had belonged to some who had died in the Orbaria.¹⁴⁶

Conclusion

The hospital of Santa Maria dei Battuti was ultimately a reflection of the confraternity's religious convictions and an extension of its charitable efforts. Care of the poor, strangers, and those in need required a degree of medical competence and organization. Governing a medical facility as an extension of charity, however, did not mean a diminished level of medical services and expertise. Within a day's journey of Padua, the site of one of the leading medical universities in Europe, Treviso enjoyed access to university-trained physicians. Within a day's journey of Venice, the seat of the most powerful commercial empire in Europe, Treviso enjoyed access to a wide variety of pharmaceutical herbs and spices. The Battuti capitalized on these resources and responded with a well-organized, well-funded system of health care. A professional staff of doctors, surgeons, barbers, and nurses provided expert care for the poor and inmates on the banks of the Sile. A resident physician

supervised the operation of the entire hospital and the treatments of patients, who received everything from basic first aid to specialized care for the insane. The care provided in the hospital attracted the admiration of prominent men such as Paolo da Sassoferrato, who was impressed enough to donate his precious relic to the confraternity. By the end of the fifteenth century the hospital had even established a permanent pharmaceutical center, stocked with medicines from throughout the known world, supervised by trained physicians, and passed on to future generations by an apprenticeship program.

All of the confraternity's medical activities initially took place free from communal or Venetian interference. The local medical care offered by the confraternity remained independent of oversight until the ravages of the plague affected regional commercial interests. The specialized care of plague victims was then transferred from the purview of the Battuti to a communal bureaucracy. The limited involvement of the hospital with Treviso's *lazzaretto* is a subtle but very revealing example of the balance struck in societies among public interest, private institutions, and governmental regulation. When the possibility presented itself for the confraternity to extend its public service to a more elaborate isolation hospital, the brothers' initial response was a large donation to the cause. After the podestà withheld payments due to the Battuti, the confraternity must have realized the importance of this new institution as a part of a regional program. The Battuti avoided bureaucratic entanglements and Venetian supervision by withdrawing from direct administration of this public health initiative. Although the confraternity cooperated to safeguard the health of the city, it concentrated its energies on more traditional medical treatments practiced in the main hospital. Content with the performance of its Christian obligations to neighbors and strangers alike, Santa Maria dei Battuti remained eager to fulfill its charitable mandate and provide medical care to the local poor and to needy strangers, free from any interference from Venetian health authorities.

The Battuti's limited role in the operation of the *lazzaretto* provides a useful foil that clearly places the motivations of the confraternity in relief. In the same year that Treviso's *lazzaretto*'s statutes were promulgated (1486), Venice established a permanent board of health. That the new initiative was viewed as a foreign institution can be seen in the hierarchy of saints outlined in the preamble to the statutes (see the quotation at the beginning of this chapter). After invocation of Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin, the governing board recognized Saint Mark, the patron saint of Venice, followed by Saint Liberale, the patron saint of Treviso. Brian Pullan has remarked that Venetian ecclesiastical independence and control of local religion amounted to a metaphorical struggle between Saint Mark and Saint Peter.¹⁴⁷ In discussing the governance of subject cities, perhaps it would be helpful to include local patron saints. When it came to public health policy, the confraternity of the Battuti acted as a mediator between Saint Mark and Saint Liberale.

Chapter 5

INSTRUCTION FOR THIS LIFE AND THE NEXT

You must therefore listen to instruction, so that you have knowledge. For as Solomon said, "He that loveth correction, loveth knowledge; but he that hateth reproof is foolish." In one place, "Receive my instruction, and not money; choose knowledge rather than gold." And another place, "He that maketh his house high, seeketh a downfall; and he that refuseth to learn, shall fall into evils." "Good instruction shall give grace."

And another, "A wise heart shall acquire knowledge, and the ear of the wise seeketh instruction." And another, "Cease not, O my son, to hear instruction, and be not ignorant of the words of knowledge."

And another, "Let thy heart apply itself to instruction, and thy ear to words of knowledge." And Jesus son of Sirach said, "My son, from thy youth up receive instruction, and even to thy grey hairs thou shalt find wisdom." And another, "Hear, O ye children, the discipline of the mouth; and he that will keep it shall not perish by his lips, nor be brought to fall into most wicked works."

—Albertano da Brescia, *On Love and Affection for God, Neighbor, and Other Goods and the Form of Life* (1238)

A lay member of a medieval confraternity in Brescia, Albertano of Brescia (c.1190–c.1250) outlined the religious life of an active confraternity dedicated to the common good. Albertano's conception of religiously infused civic life found expression in the medieval communes as well as in Renaissance states. The confraternity of Santa Maria dei Battuti, itself governed by legally trained brothers, closely followed Albertano's inspirational treatises and linked education with religious ideals. The confraternity embraced the proposition that religion and learning imposed a primary obligation to benefit society and supported vocational training, grammar schools, university scholarships, and religious instruction. As providers and administrators of the training required for a variety of occupations and careers, the Battuti had significant influence on the community, fostering an educational system that was both practical and spiritual.

Skills

The brothers had a considerable responsibility for the future. Entrusted with the lives of abandoned children and orphans, they were challenged to provide their wards with the skills for success in civic life. Children under the care of the institution were evaluated and provided with the appropriate training, both to expedite their integration into society and to relieve the financial burden of the charitable organization. The concerns of the Battuti in Treviso began with the baptism of abandoned children and the acceptance of orphans. These children not only received years of nurturing, food, and clothing, but also intellectual and spiritual care, designed to integrate them into the community and prepare them for life beyond the hospital walls. Depending on the child's sex, age, and aptitude, instruction came in many forms: trade apprenticeship, commercial and business training, grammar education, and homemaking skills. Once welcomed into the family of the Battuti, the child was then set on his or her path to the craftsman's shop, the business world, or the home.

From their earliest years in the orphanage, the children must have been active participants in the daily life of the hospital. They worshiped and played together; likewise they probably worked together at simple household chores, learning skills that kept them busy and contributed to the needs of the hospital. For example, it was accepted practice that children, both male and female, between the ages of five and seven should be taught weaving. After that age, most children would be apprenticed in the trades or in household service.¹ It was probably within these first few years of each child's life that the *gastaldi* made a determination about his or her ability and skills. The girls, of course, received a fundamentally different training, based on their future role as wives and mothers. The mission statement of Florence's Foundling Hospital clearly outlined the process:

We teach the boys, according to their ability, various skills. And there is a school and master for anyone who is skilled at reading and writing. . . . As far as the girls are concerned, as the weaker sex, and more vulnerable to dangers, the care is proportionately greater and longer. Once they have been weaned they return to the hospital. They are sent to a special mistress, whom they call mother, and they are taught occupations proper to women: to sew, to cook, to thread silk, to throw, to weave, etc.²

Those in charge of the orphanage had two primary concerns regarding the children in their care: a supportive home (in either the hospital or in foster families) and adequate preparation for successful integration into society. A method that combined these two goals was apprenticeship, which placed a child in a home and provided him (mostly boys were apprenticed) with career skills. Throughout Europe the medieval guild system of

masters, journeymen, and apprentices trained men in the mysteries of the trades. Boys were apprenticed at a young age to tradesmen, who promised to adopt and instruct them in a given trade. Most of the apprenticeships lasted between four and seven years, with no more than two apprentices attached to a master.³ This close, and closed, system ensured employment for guild members and a steady home environment for apprentices.

A natural commercial crossroads between northern Europe and Venice, Treviso was a bustling city, home to many artisans, merchants, and traders. An array of trades provided opportunities for apprenticeships, and the Battuti took advantage of the system. The gastalds must have considered the guild an ideal vehicle to ease the stress on the hospital's facilities and provide the children with the skills to earn a living. For example, in May 1451 Santa Maria committed to a master glassmaker, Lorenzo, a German boy eight years old.⁴ A decade later the Battuti made an arrangement with a shoemaker that combined foster care, apprenticeship, and schooling. On 10 December 1465 the gastalds paid Honesto, a scribe, 1 lira, 12 soldi for a primer (*salterio*) for Francesco, a child of the orphanage in the care of Marta, wife of Paolo the shoemaker.⁵ A year later, on 11 December 1466, the Battuti paid 1 ducat to cure Gianbattista, a child of the orphanage in the care, apparently, of the same woman: Marta, wife of Paolo the shoemaker in the neighborhood of San Tommaso.⁶

The system worked the same way in Florence, where boys were apprenticed at a young age, often leading to their adoption by the master craftsman. The apprenticeship and adoption contracts specified that the child was to learn to read, write, and use the abacus. Since the hospital sought fathers who could teach the boys the mysteries of the trade, the children were usually five or six years old when adopted.⁷ The operation of the apprenticeship system can be glimpsed in the Florentine Catasto of 1427. Tuscan families often declared orphans or foundlings the hospital had placed with them as "kept for the love of God." A combination of charity and self-interest probably maintained the system. The wages earned by an apprenticed boy usually returned to the foster father, who had an added interest in the adoption and training of the boy because of the potential earning power of another craftsman in the family.⁸ It was a system premised on practicality and kind-heartedness.

The case in Treviso provides an interesting example of informal schooling, for it appears that husband and wife had the responsibility of teaching the children, as the expense for the primer suggests. This implies that the children received an education in the home, a type of education that is virtually unstudied by scholars. Paul Grendler, who has perhaps contributed more than anyone to the study of pre-university education, readily admits that we know relatively little about reading, writing, and arithmetic outside of the humanistic schools. He organizes early modern pre-university education around the

grammar schools, divided according to the educational goal for pupils, primarily males: business, university, or clergy. After a boy had learned his letters, he moved on to a vernacular or a Latin school, each with a distinct social class: the merchants or the ruling elite. Any learning outside of these paradigms, especially for the poor, is extremely difficult to document and considered very rare.⁹ Thus, the Battuti's education of poor children becomes even more revealing.

The confraternity's efforts to educate the children in its care began with the basics of reading. The Battuti's purchase of primers for use in foster homes blurs divisions between formal and informal learning and complicates any effort to define levels of literacy and access to information and knowledge. Perhaps the children received only the basics of the alphabet, but it is equally likely that outside of the formal institutional schools, many children received a basic grounding in literacy and numeracy. Given the vagaries of literacy rates and access to knowledge, both literary and mathematical, we may have to rethink our assumptions about how much learning the poor received. Although the exact nature of the organizational structure is not clear, poor boys did receive an education in grammar and commercial arithmetic, facilitated by the Battuti.

The Battuti's purchase of books of *abbaco* undoubtedly meant that a commercial education was given to some of the orphans in Treviso.¹⁰ Where and how did this education occur? In the grammar school, the hospital, the homes of apprenticed children? Our knowledge is too incomplete to make generalizations about types of schools, but it is likely that the orphans received business training outside of vernacular schools. Although numeracy may have been achieved in apprenticeship, formal instruction with the abacus usually occurred in classrooms. For example, in Venice vernacular schools, which taught vernacular literature and *abbaco*, trained the sons of merchants and craftsmen who would enter the work force.¹¹ In these vernacular schools the abacus teacher instructed pupils in arithmetic, geometry, elementary commercial studies, and occasionally in land surveying.¹²

Even less understood and studied is the educational program for young women. One thing we do know is that the Battuti kept the young women busy weaving. The expense books are peppered with entries listing the monies used to buy the thread for the girls of the house to weave.¹³ Entries for July 1500 clearly reveal the gendering of instruction. On 15 July the gastalds paid 5 soldi for hornbooks for three boys; three days later they paid 3 soldi for thread for the girls.¹⁴ A regulation of the confraternity dated 20 December 1574 finally institutionalized what must long have been an informal process. On that day the bookkeeper recorded that a woman of exemplary life was hired for a salary of 10 ducats a year to reform the girls of the hospital, giving them manners, virtue, and the fear of God.¹⁵ Young women were expected to become wives and mothers. Consequently, the efforts of

the Battuti to instruct women went toward education of a different type: the weaving of cloth and proper womanly behavior.

What constituted proper female behavior was determined by the confraternity's male leadership. By common early modern consensus, single women had to be controlled.¹⁶ As studies of Venetian society have demonstrated, unregulated female sexuality was considered a threat to male honor.¹⁷ Like all other young women, those in the care of Treviso's foundling hospital found themselves strictly supervised by the Battuti, who succeeded in creating a cloistered environment for their wards. The girls, forbidden to live on the more accessible ground floor of the hospital complex, were confined to rooms on the second story, where they were literally kept under lock and key. Supervisors living in the hospital's ward for the elderly retained possession of the keys and regulated access to the girls' rooms. Relatives could not speak to the girls without permission of two of the *gastalds* (the four elected administrators of the confraternity). The young women could not be released to anyone outside of the household without written permission from at least two *gastalds*, nor could they leave their cloister until the age of ten. The daily life of the girls was regulated by house mothers appointed to provide sound moral guidance. These governesses, who were to be women of exemplary life, were charged with teaching the girls manners, virtue, and the fear of God. They ensured that the girls wore their uniform (a simple red dress with a white scarf in their hair) and that they passed their time sewing for the needs of the hospital.¹⁸ As in other Italian foundling homes, the lives of the girls were carefully regulated in order to protect the innocent girls (innocent in terms of age and also the lack of worldly experience) and the reputation of the hospital.

All of the precautions taken by the *gastalds* to protect the girls from the outside world could not shield the children from malfeasance within. The governesses, who were under strict regulation and not allowed to leave the house without permission, were sometimes dismissed for "bad comportment."¹⁹ Even the sturdiest and best-guarded of hospital walls could not protect the girls from every danger. In 1529, "Martin the cooper was expelled for having impregnated a girl of the Hospital."²⁰ We can only guess how many other Martins, or other girls, violated the semi-cloistered sanctity of the foundling hospital, but this incident demonstrates the unique challenges to foundling homes. The hospital, unlike a convent, cared for a large number of men and women who, although housed in separate quarters, lived in close proximity and shared a common ritual life. Like cloistered nuns, young women in communal custody were symbols of chastity and piety that had to be closely guarded, but unlike convents, the foundling home had the added challenge of limiting access to kin from outside and to men within the same confined space. Furthermore, unlike post-Tridentine nuns, foundling girls still had regular contact with the outside world; in fact, they were

regularly displayed in public ceremonies as symbols of the community's religious devotion. Although the young women would not receive the same formal training as males, they were expected to live virtuously and through the example of their piety instruct the entire community.

Grammar Schools

A solid grounding in Latin grammar and the classics typified the education of the secular and religious leaders of the fifteenth century. The nature of this education has been the subject of much debate, but scholars agree that an education in grammar was essential for a successful career in government and the church. In the fifteenth century the control and patronage of education passed from the purview of the clergy to that of the laity, increasingly divided along social lines favoring a humanist education for sons of prominent citizens.²¹ Santa Maria dei Battuti actively supported grammar-school education in order to train talented young men who would become the city's leaders.

Treviso had supported schools and teachers for centuries; documents regarding a public grammar teacher and a fledgling university date back to the early 1300s. Although the university crumbled in the face of competition from universities in larger cities, elementary schools, schools of theology, and guilds of doctors, judges, and notaries provided a robust climate for intellectual dialogue.²² A complex mosaic of personal tutors, private teachers, monastic schools, and public schools provided grammar education in Treviso. The system is difficult to reconstruct because many were temporary arrangements, often run by priests and operating only a few years. For example, in 1437 two teachers, Father Meneghino and the Hungarian teacher Tommaso, signed a contract stipulating that they would begin teaching students in a grammar school. In 1441 Father Lazzaro, rector of San Lorenzo, hashed out the terms of an agreement with the deacon Alessandro da Soffrata to open a grammar school and to provide the hornbooks and primers necessary to run a school.²³

There were, however, a number of schools with institutional support. The oldest grammar school was administered by the cathedral chapter and served mainly the educational needs of the cathedral canons. A second school, founded and supported by the confraternity of San Liberale in 1365, prepared candidates to be notaries and clergy and provided instruction to poor students.²⁴ A third school was founded as a result of what the bishop considered to be shortcomings of the first two schools. In 1438 Bishop Ludovico Barbo founded a third grammar school, San Giacomo, conceived to provide a sound liturgical training to poor youths wanting to become clerics.²⁵ The fourth school serving the citizens of Treviso was the communal school, first documented in 1231.²⁶

The Battuti had the most direct interest in and responsibility for the communal school. It appears that in the course of the fourteenth century the education of poor youth of the city became a major focus of both the confraternity of San Liberale and Santa Maria dei Battuti. The efforts of the Battuti and San Liberale were increased throughout the fifteenth century, when the number of poor scholars doubled. Both confraternities, committed to charity for poor students, had to respond with increased funding and more teaching space for grammar education. In addition to support for the communal school, the Battuti frequently gave grain to aid the confraternity of San Liberale in its educational efforts.²⁷ At a time of increased demand for education, the Battuti supported the efforts within the city to educate its youth.

The earliest records of Santa Maria's participation in grammar education dates to the 1370s, when it paid the yearly salary of a grammar professor. The exact relationship between the confraternity and the commune is vague at this point, but the scenario becomes clearer in the 1380s, when the Carrara of Padua briefly ruled Treviso.²⁸ In 1384 a grammar professor was hired for five years to teach the youth of the city, and the Battuti and four other confraternities were required to contribute to his salary, Santa Maria paying most of the burden. It seems that the Carrarese wanted to consolidate the educational efforts of several charitable groups. They solicited funds to build a single house for the pious work of educating the youth of the city.²⁹

The relatively new participation of the Battuti in the education of their children (who previously only received instruction in the trades) may have been the result of a scholarship donation by Tommaso Salinguerra in 1369. Part of Salinguerra's considerable bequest (which will be discussed later in this chapter) was channeled not only to support university students as he wished but also to support eight to ten economically disadvantaged Trevisan students, who if found capable could also later use their scholarships to attend the university. A stipulation of the will required scholarship applicants to be examined on their competence. This practice might have led to an awareness of the need for more and better grammar education. Whatever the scenario for the evolution of the public instruction in Treviso, by 1400 Santa Maria was an active participant in grammar school education, employing a grammar professor to teach about a dozen poor students grammar with a stipend of 50 lire a year.³⁰ The Battuti's participation in communal schools marks another milestone in their recognition of their civic responsibility and leadership in the city.

The incomplete and sometimes conflicting documentation does not permit a full analysis of the teachers employed by the Battuti to educate children within the hospital and those in the communal school.³¹ What we can state with certainty is that throughout the fifteenth century the Battuti salaried one and often two grammar professors simultaneously. Whether employed

in the hospital or communal school, they would have taught about a dozen poor students of the confraternity. One of the first teachers in the fifteenth century to instruct children in the hospital was Theodoric of Germany. The confraternity brought him to the hospital in 1402 on a three-year contract of 80 lire per year (plus room and board) to teach some young boys deprived of mother and father and eight other boys, the sons of confraternal brothers or poor people. In 1405 the Battuti hired the German professor for another three-year term with the same remuneration to teach twelve boys.³²

Two other teachers were active in either the hospital or communal schools at the same time as Theodoric. The Battuti paid Ivano da Rocca 50 lire a year to teach eight poor sons of good Trevisan citizens. Sometime around 1404 Simone da Valdobbiadene (Simonetto di Stefano) was paid by the Battuti to teach ten poor boys a year for 50 lire a year. Simone was also teaching at the school of San Liberale with two assistants (*ripetitori*), Lorenzo da Lodi in 1404 and Giovanni di Macola from 1406 to 1412. In 1406, the Battuti placed two more children under his tutelage and kept him employed until 1422. The fact that Simone taught at the school of San Liberale as well as for the hospital indicates the close working relationship between the two confraternities in their common effort to provide affordable education.³³

The number of professors hired by the Battuti becomes clearer after 1430, when the documentation becomes more consistent. In 1431, the confraternity paid Pietrobon Pagani a salary of 200 lire a year plus food to replace Damiano da Pola. On Pagani's departure, Cristoforo Scarpa di Enrico da Parma labored with the students from 1436 to 1439, after which he departed, turning down a salary of 100 lire in cash and 100 lire in food and wine if he taught twelve students. In January 1440 the Battuti hired Ognibene Bonisoli, who with two *ripetitori* taught twelve poor students for 200 lire. From 1445 to 1446 Antonio di Martino da Ferrara earned his pay from the confraternity, receiving medicine and adopting a daughter of the hospital. In 1449, after an extended vacancy in the communal school, the Battuti contributed to the salary of Filippo da Reggio (da Verona).³⁴

The agreement between Filippo and the commune of Treviso provides a rare glimpse of the structure of communal teaching, the role of the Battuti, and the responsibilities of a teacher. On 24 March 1449, in the presence of the city's communal government and the podestà, Filippo da Reggio, professor of grammar, agreed to teach boys and youths of the city and to lecture on poetry and rhetoric to all wishing to come. Filippo's five-year contract stipulates an annual salary of 100 ducats (at the rate of 5 lire, 14 soldi per ducat). The expense of the salary was to be divided among the commune (370 lire), Santa Maria dei Battuti (150 lire, half in cash, half in kind), and the college of notaries (50 lire). In addition to his salary, which he would receive every six months and always in advance, the commune promised to provide a place to hold school. Filippo was also permitted to leave the city in time

of plague, during which time he would receive half pay. As an added bonus, the teacher was exempt from all taxes and forced labor to which the rest of the citizens of Treviso were subject. Among the other stipulations were the fees in addition to his salary to be paid by each student every year. Filippo could not accept in the school pupils from outside Trevisan territory, but their parents were free to make their own arrangements with the teacher. In addition to a payment schedule based on a set curriculum for its students, the commune placed other obligations on the teacher. He had to have a suitable assistant, more than one if needed. On feast days, he was required to lecture publicly on the art of oratory and on authors that the audience requested. Notaries did not have to pay to listen to these discourses. In return for its financial contribution, Santa Maria had the right to send Master Filippo up to twelve students at no fee. All of the above was sworn to by the communal authorities and the teacher under penalty of 50 ducats for each violation.³⁵

As the contract between the commune and Filippo da Reggio indicates, the progress of the students was based on their understanding of certain texts. The curriculum of grammar schools centered on grammar, reading, and writing. Beginners commenced their studies with a primer, called the *salterio* or *tavola*, which taught the alphabet.³⁶ Following this introduction to basic grammar, the students were introduced to reading with the *donatus et psalterium*.³⁷ In Treviso, the grammar education lasted for four years: the elementary course taught *De tabula*, for which the students paid half a ducat; the second level included the study of *Ianua Donati* and *Donatus minor*, costing a ducat for each student; the third year required *De secunda latini*, where they learned the *Ars maior Donati*, the teacher receiving a ducat and a half; the final year consisted of the study of rhetoric, probably comprising the *Priscianus maior*, for which the teacher received 2 ducats.³⁸ The students of the confraternity followed the first phases of this grammar preparation, for the expense books frequently list *salterio*, *donadi*, and *tabula* or *tavola* for the children of the hospital.³⁹ Although we can not go beyond the titles of the textbooks, we can state that at least those textbooks, if not the pedagogy, in Treviso must have been similar to those used in other Italian cities. Since, as Paul Grendler argues, we still know relatively little about the textbooks used to teach the children in the Renaissance schools, the confraternity's expenses for books can shed much needed light on this topic.⁴⁰

Books were the building blocks of education—very expensive building blocks. Before the printing press made less expensive texts available, acquiring books required a great expenditure on the part of scholars or their supporters. Any effort to defray the costs of books, therefore, was a tremendous aid to struggling scholars. The charity extended by the Battuti is placed in further relief by the fact that it was not always the burden of the child's parents, or the orphanage, to provide the books for the child's education. In some grammar schools it was assumed that a supply of textbooks was one requirement for the operation

of a school. For example, in a document drawn up for the establishment of a grammar school for the parish of San Lorenzo, the teacher Alexander was obligated to provide all books and everything else necessary to operate a school.⁴¹ The Battuti's purchase of books, therefore, attests to their strong commitment to this charitable enterprise. They understood the expense of an education and were willing to invest in the students' future. The confraternity supported lay as well as clerical students, who often received money for books, as in one case of charity for a student to buy a *Doctrinale*, the work by Alexander de Villedieu necessary for Latin studies.⁴²

The expense of books would have been an even greater burden if Treviso had not had a prosperous book trade. The confraternity's patronage of book dealers and the active learned community in Treviso, coupled with Treviso's paper industry, fostered a community of book dealers and copyists. For example, the Flemish Rigo di Bartolomeo was active in Treviso in the early 1400s. The German Giovanni dall'Acquavite from Erfurt worked as a copyist for the Battuti during the 1430s. The Battuti did not forget these men once they were unable to produce or make enough to live. For example, in 1398 the copyist Macaruffo da Bologna received charity from the Battuti in the form of a bushel of grain. During a period of illness in 1440, Gaspar *scriptor* also received aid. The hours spent copying manuscripts for students and scholars took their toll on the human body, especially the copyist's chief tools—the eyes. In 1441, the Battuti were spending 3 lire a month to help “Stefano todesco scrittor orbo (blind).”⁴³

The hiring pattern outlined in Filippo da Reggio's contract and by the expense books of the confraternity continued for the rest of the century. Paolo Ballarino, who taught from 1456 to 1459, had a similar contract.⁴⁴ In 1472 the confraternity contributed 100 lire for the salary of a grammar teacher to teach twenty students. A later reference from 1490 mentions the hiring of a teacher with a salary of 10 soldi a month for each child whom he taught.⁴⁵ In 1492 Marco da Fiandia was hired to teach ten children reading, writing, the abacus, and grammar, and to teach four to sing. At the close of the century, in 1500, the gastalds voted to contribute money to bring a qualified teacher of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy to the community for five years with a stipend of 40 ducats a year.⁴⁶ The confraternity's support of grammar professors illustrates its serious commitment to educating an increasing number of poor, deserving students of the hospital and city. Access to education, then and now, was crucial to social advancement and success, and the Battuti's discretion to choose which children received this education reinforced the importance of the confraternity's leaders within the city.

The arrangement between the commune and confraternity to provide education to the local youth as a form of charity was not unique to Treviso. For example, small towns in Tuscany, such as Arezzo and Pistoia, had similar arrangements during the fifteenth century. By the middle of the century,

Arezzo had worked out agreements with its public grammar professor in which the commune provided a base salary, part of which was occasionally supported by the confraternity of Santa Maria della Misericordia. The salary was supplemented by fees charged to the students in the classes. Similar to the Trevisan contract, the Aretine contract based the rate on the reading level of the students. In Arezzo, however, the sons of taxpayers were exempt from the fees. Only “foreigners,” those from the surrounding countryside or beyond, had to pay.⁴⁷ In Pistoia, the city council established a board to oversee pre-university schooling and provide for broad access to education. A charitable educational foundation was established to make sure that the best of Pistoia’s students, rich or poor, could attend the public schools.⁴⁸

The comparison among Arezzo, Pistoia, and Treviso extends beyond the immediate conditions of an educational contract. The communes were all subject to larger city-states, and all attempted to preserve their local identity and influence through the administration of the local schools. As the city decayed and population fell in the fifteenth century, the Aretines clung to their tradition of education and learning, which remained free from Florentine and Medici manipulation.⁴⁹ Retaining control over the education of their citizens, even in the absence of a plan by Florence or Venice to dictate the curriculum, signified a triumph for local leaders. The communal governments, lacking any real political power, relished control over the education of their youth and charity to their citizens. In 1524 the Commune of Treviso justified the expenditures for the communal grammar professor in the following way:

There is nothing that can more efficiently and with greater authority ennoble and exalt a city than the study of good letters, which make men learned and wise, honorable to the city and useful to the republic, and capable of every civic enterprise.

This statement by the city’s leaders summarized an educational agenda that had been active in the city for more than a century, with full support of the Battuti.⁵⁰

University Scholarships

The Battuti’s educational endeavors continued beyond rudimentary training and reached beyond the Trevigiano. The confraternity not only provided an education in grammar for the children in its care and those poor students deserving aid; it also had the responsibility of administering university scholarships for the benefit of the entire city.⁵¹ The administration of these bequests placed a great responsibility and opportunity in the hands of the lay religious brotherhood. Entrusted with several scholarship bequests,

the Battuti had at their disposal a powerful social tool—control of access to knowledge and rewarding careers. A university education was a privilege available to the elite of society, and the confraternity had a sacred responsibility to train those who would govern and bring honor to the city.⁵²

Awarding scholarships to needy students was an activity that combined ancient Roman privileges for scholars with the Christian concept of assistance, both material and spiritual, to those in need. The lack of financial resources often prevented talented students from achieving their scholarly potential. As one humanist lamented, “Not seldom it happens that a finely tempered nature is thwarted by circumstances, such as poverty at home, which compels a promising youth to forsake learning for trade.”⁵³ In the civic-minded northern Italian cities, where people took extreme pride in their local histories and civic activities, many wealthy persons left money and lands for the establishment of scholarships for advanced study.⁵⁴ Benefactors chose this form of charity for the benefit both of their souls and of the community; scholars were cherished because of their public utility.⁵⁵ Accordingly, Trevisan scholars and patrons attempted to provide their city’s youth the opportunity to develop their academic gifts and in the process bring honor, and their knowledge, to the community.

A reputation for honesty and good works (and firm legal and institutional support) had spurred donations to the Battuti since the early years of the confraternity’s existence. In the fourteenth century, two wealthy admirers of the confraternity who were aware of the financial burdens of an education established funds for university students. During the fifteenth century, two more donors decided to support deserving poor students wishing to study medicine or theology. These men varied in background, occupation, and worldly success, but they all trusted the thriving confraternity that shared their religious and educational ideals. Brief biographies of these men will shed light on their pious motivations and the role that Santa Maria dei Battuti played in their lives and legacy.

The first person to entrust the brotherhood with a scholarship endowment was Tommaso Salinguerra, the last descendant of the noble Torelli family of Ferrara.⁵⁶ Tommaso was born at the end of the thirteenth century in Verona, where his Ghibelline father, Salinguerra III, sought safety in the Scaligeri court. An illegitimate child who was later legitimized by his father, Tommaso was nonetheless left out of his father’s will. Following in the footsteps of his relative Federico della Scala, in 1340 Tommaso passed from imperial service to the armies of the Venetian Republic, which heaped honors and privileges on him as a possible contender for the lands of the Estensi of Ferrara. In 1343 Salinguerra settled in Treviso, where in 1352 he was given permission by Venice to buy lands. Despite three marriages, Tommaso did not produce any children. In his will Tommaso left bequests to the Dominican monastery (where he was to be buried), to two notaries, and to the poor.

His universal heir was the Trevisan confraternity of Santa Maria dei Battuti, which he entrusted with supporting two university students in medicine.

Salinguerra attached very specific obligations to his scholarships. The students had to undergo an evaluation of their scholarly ability and preparation. If qualified, they would receive 100 lire annually for up to six years. When the students accepted the scholarships, they had to swear that on becoming doctors or surgeons, they would minister to the sick poor without pay, telling the sick that they were being treated for the love of God and to obtain the pardon of the sins committed by Salinguerra, his mother, his father, and his wives. Furthermore, recipients (even if they did not complete all six years of study) had to have a mass said on the anniversary of the donor's death in the church of San Nicolò or pay a penalty of 5 lire. Finally, the executors of the will, the gastalds of the Battuti, were required to erect a funeral monument to Salinguerra that mentioned his bequest for the university students.

We know much less about the second benefactor. Pietro da Trento was a physician, son of the doctor Savio from Trent, who came to the city on the Sile to practice medicine. Pietro was a well-known doctor whose ability earned him recognition from Venice. On 19 December 1359, the Maggior Consiglio of Venice approved an increase in his annual salary as communal doctor of Treviso from 200 lire to 250 lire. Pietro da Trento's first-hand experience in the medical profession and his undoubted interaction with the hospital of the Battuti led to his decision to establish scholarships for students, who were not, however, constrained to study medicine. Like Salinguerra, Pietro wanted to support two scholars but at a rate of 50 lire per year for a duration of ten years, including education in grammar. After Pietro's death in 1377, the confraternity began to administer this second scholarship fund.⁵⁷

Trevisan students immediately reaped the benefits of the scholarly endowments. In the fifteenth century, two other men established endowments for even more students. The other two funds, that of Adelmari and Da Settimo, were a gesture of gratitude, for both were themselves recipients of Salinguerra scholarships. The first of the fifteenth-century bequests, that of Taddeo Adelmari, introduces us to perhaps the most famous of Treviso's native sons.

Taddeo Adelmari enjoyed a stunningly successful career.⁵⁸ The Adelmari were of Florentine origin; by the 1300s members of the family were notaries, clerics, merchants, and judges. Taddeo's father, Agostino, was a notary who probably encouraged his son to follow in his footsteps, for we find Taddeo enrolled in the school for notaries in the early 1400s. This notarial preparation provided the necessary background for university training. He applied for a Salinguerra scholarship, which he was awarded on 2 October 1410. Taddeo benefited from the six years of the scholarship and studied for several more years before earning a doctorate in arts in 1420 and a medical

degree in 1429. His long residence in Padua and his extended period of study were not the result of laziness or lack of initiative, for on his graduation he taught at the University of Padua for several years. Of his personal life we only know that in 1429, the same year he earned his medical degree, he dissolved a marriage with a certain Angela, probably to enter the clergy.

Taddeo's knowledge and skills were quickly noticed by the Roman court. First he served as doctor to a cardinal, who helped him to receive a papal privilege to have a portable altar. In 1432 Pope Eugenius IV elected him *Scriptor litterarum penitentiariae*. The following year Emperor Sigismund created him Count Palatinate, with the usual powers to create notaries and legitimize bastards. In 1442 Adelmari, as the king's physician, had a passport from King Ladislao to travel to various parts of Europe on royal business. Finally settling in Rome, he was nominated by Pope Nicholas V as one of four registers of the Bolle.⁵⁹

Taddeo's will specifically stated how he wished his worldly goods to be used after his death and in his memory. After leaving smaller bequests to relatives and others, he named the hospital of Santa Maria dei Battuti his universal heir. All of his possessions in Rome were to be sold and the monies used to buy lands in the district of Treviso.⁶⁰ The income from these lands was to be used to support as many scholars as possible in their study of theology. The recipients were obligated to say a Pater Noster every day for the benefit of Adelmari's soul.

Perhaps overshadowed by his fellow Trevisan and scholar but no less grateful for his education was Matteo da Settimo, who, like Adelmari, held a Salinguerra scholarship.⁶¹ The son of a notary and a notary himself, Matteo began his studies in 1403. Soon afterward the war between Padua and Venice interrupted his education, which he resumed in 1405 at the University of Bologna. Following the victory of the Venetians, Matteo resumed his studies in medicine at Padua and graduated in 1408. Matteo would be the last of the scholarship holders to have a choice of university. A Venetian decree in 1407 restricted all university-bound Venetian subjects to attending the University of Padua.⁶²

Unlike Adelmari, Matteo returned to Treviso, where he spent the rest of his life practicing medicine. His medical practice flourished, and by the time of his death in 1456 he had accumulated a considerable patrimony (including several Tatar slaves). He left all of his possessions to his son, Diodato, but his will stipulated that should his son die without an heir (which occurred in 1484), Santa Maria dei Battuti would be universal heir. The confraternity was entrusted with supporting three medical students with a stipend of 12 ducats a year, up to ten years.⁶³

The four benefactors ranged in occupation from mercenary soldier to papal doctor, but they all entrusted their immense patrimonies and legacies to the gastalds of the hospital of the Battuti. Each scholarship fund, individually tailored to meet the desires of the benefactor, was distinctive in

a number of ways, from the amounts for each student to requirements for anniversary masses. The management of all of these wishes—the students' applications, collection and payment of monies, and the academic pursuits of the winners—proved a formidable organizational challenge, which was met by the efficient staff of the Battuti.

One of the primary concerns of the gastalds was to make sure the scholarships went to upstanding, properly prepared local students who deserved a helping hand with their education. The confraternity's involvement with the communal school provided the opportunity to establish a system to supply educated candidates for the scholarships. Direct support of the school also permitted a firsthand assessment of the students' academic performance. The testing and requirements protected the Battuti from squandering their resources on unprepared students, especially those who pursued the more rigorous route in theology.

The Battuti's desire to have an adequate grammar-school preparation in the city perhaps worked too well. The increasing number of grammar-school students in Treviso provided more qualified students than scholarships. As a result, some criteria had to be established for the selection of students. In addition to the student's knowledge, the family and status of the young man were important factors. Thus, in order to determine who should receive funding, the Battuti utilized personal references and recommendations. Although there does not appear to have been a formal application process, the evidence points to a system of review, with emphasis placed on local students, financial need, and relationship to the confraternity.

A letter of recommendation (the only surviving one to date) suggests that a screening process occurred.⁶⁴ This letter provides a unique insight into the way the confraternity reviewed candidates and what it looked for in a deserving student. Lacking a date, but probably written in the 1470s, the letter recommends a poor student who wishes to study theology. The writer, Domenico Zuccareda, states that he has known Bartolomeo since his childhood. Furthermore, Bartolomeo is a resident of Treviso, whose parents were both natives of the city. It appears that his mother is dead and his father supports a very large and very poor family. Bartolomeo was placed at an early age in the Dominican monastery of San Nicolò, where he was properly educated and taught good morals. This young man, Domenico concludes, would like assistance to study theology, "for the honor of this our city and for the utility of past benefactors to this your most holy house of Holy Madonna Maria."

The themes stressed by Domenico in his letter of recommendation were designed to persuade the gastalds of Bartolomeo's worthiness and provides a contemporary gauge of the confraternity's priorities. First, he emphasizes Bartolomeo's Trevisan origins. The Battuti desired to support local youths in the hope that they would someday return to the city, or, like Taddeo Adel-

mari, bring fame to the city. A regulation in the rule book explicitly states that the recipient of any scholarship had to be a citizen of the district of Treviso. Although free to grant the scholarship to whomever it chose, the confraternity did feel the constraint of Venetian requirements. A subsequent statute, obviously a result of the Venetian decree of 1407, voided the scholarship to anyone traveling outside the Venetian state, a requirement not mentioned in any of the original bequests.⁶⁵ Whereas Venice exercised its power to restrict the confraternity from sending its students outside the Republic, the Battuti for its part exercised its authority to make sure that no foreigner would receive a scholarship.

Second, Domenico makes clear that Bartolomeo has received proper training, both educational and moral, which suggests that the trustworthy and devout student will not squander the resources and defame the confraternity and its the benefactors. Again the confraternity's own book of regulations can assist us in understanding the themes of the letter. In 1467, the Battuti added a note on the Adelmari bequest, stipulating that recipients have at least five years training in logic and philosophy after their grammar education.⁶⁶ This recommendation may have resulted from students' failure in the faculty of theology at Padua. The Battuti took necessary precautions to ensure that their scholarship students would be successful at the university.

Finally, Domenico stresses the poverty and respectability of Bartolomeo's family. Because the confraternity intended to give charity to the deserving poor, the gastalds sought to assure that scholarship recipients were genuinely in need of assistance. As in its search for a grammar teacher of good moral character, the confraternity desired a student whose life and learning would reflect positively on the confraternity. In the view of the confraternity and the donors, a scholarship should benefit a deserving, morally upright youth, thus bringing honor to the city, to the Battuti, and to those who endowed the scholarships. Unfortunately, we do not know if Bartolomeo received a scholarship.

Whether or not all the applicants were as needy as Bartolomeo, the families of the young scholars depended on the timely payment of monies to finance a university education. For its part, the confraternity had the responsibility to account, in this life and the next, for the endowments left to its care. The documents attest to very careful bookkeeping, a task complicated by the various conditions of the benefactors, the acceptance process, and the turnover of students because of graduation or quitting. Yet the administrators of the trust kept very detailed records (unfortunately not all have survived). In fact, the gastalds were so exacting that on one occasion, the graduation of Matteo da Settimo, they stopped payments the day the diploma touched the scholar's hand.⁶⁷

Repeated notations for the year of study, which scholarship was awarded, and the date of payment indicate the consistent vigilance of the gastalds.

This supervision, however, did not stop at the walls of Treviso. As trustees of the grants, the gastalds tried to make sound and prudent choices. Aware of human frailties they realized that, however persuasive the evidence gathered from letters of recommendation and interviews, young men, especially those who had not previously traveled beyond the city walls, might be distracted by life in a large university town. As a result, the Battuti's records include entries for expenses incurred by messengers and gastalds sent to Padua to check on the students. One such visit was made in 1441, when two men were sent to the university to inquire if the students were indeed at their studies. Fifty years later, the gastalds traveled to Padua and called before them the scholars supported by bequests administered by the Battuti to determine whether they properly understood the requirements of their scholarships and were diligently studying.⁶⁸ These missions to Padua indicate the seriousness of the confraternity's commitment to implementing meticulously the wishes of benefactors by ensuring that the students were indeed honoring the spirit of the bequests.

The scholarships were highly desirable and closely regulated because a university education was expensive. The average cost for a doctorate was 22 to 40 ducats in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁶⁹ The average annual rent in Padua was 20 ducats. A calculation for Pavia in 1547 came to 28 Venetian ducats per academic year, November through June. In addition, students had to pay for books, clothing, and transportation.⁷⁰ The length of support provided by the grants—Adelmari four years, Salinguerra six, Da Trento ten, and Da Settimo ten—indicate the rigors of university education and what would have been a substantial, if not impossible, expenditure for the families of most scholarship recipients. With an average stipend of 75 lire per year, the students funded by the Battuti received the equivalent of half the yearly salary of a grammar teacher. The cost of an education could be crippling to a student who had to attend the university for up to ten years to earn a degree. In fact, some students who had utilized their six-year stipends and had not yet finished their medical degree had to stop with a degree in arts. The cost, duration, and difficulty of university education certainly made scholarships a significant form of charity. An examination of a few of the scholars who received financial aid from the Battuti will help us ascertain how the confraternity distributed charity to their fellow deserving citizens.

Luciano Gargan's exhaustive and valuable study of the first eighteen recipients of the Salinguerra bequest, from 1370 to 1408, is the most detailed study of the scholarship recipients. Of these eighteen, eleven studied medicine, six surgery, and one an unspecified subject. Almost all of them attended the University of Padua, although a few frequented classes at Bologna for various reasons. Gargan demonstrates the rigor of the evaluation process (by a grammar professor) and the accurate administration of funds. Among those whose fathers' occupations are known, we find Treviso's communal

doctor, three notaries, a shoemaker, and a tailor.⁷¹ Students in the fifteenth century came from a variety of backgrounds. Overall, for the period 1400 to 1500, forty-six scholarship students (including those studied by Gargan) appear in the records. Of these forty-six, thirteen entries mention explicitly the occupation of their fathers: seven notaries, two barber-surgeons, one goldsmith, one doctor, one ragman, and a messenger.⁷²

The scholarship given to the messenger's son indicates a pattern in the administration of the scholarships. The scholarship recipient Francesco dal Legname was the son of Zanetto dal Legname, who served as a messenger for the Battuti in the late 1480s and early 1490s. Zanetto had made a request in 1492 that the next vacant scholarship be made available for his son. Probably not wanting to upset one who collected the rents due to the confraternity, the Battuti awarded his son a Salinguerra scholarship in medicine.⁷³ Zanetto was not the only employee of the confraternity whose son received a grant. The Battuti's concept of charity and community began at home, as demonstrated by the awarding of scholarships only to Trevisans and often to the sons of confraternity members or employees. Of the forty-six students, eight can be positively identified as falling into this category; the list of recipients reveals that their fathers had a variety of positions and responsibilities in the confraternity. The fathers of Bartolomeo da Rovigo and Liberale da Sovenigo were syndics in 1444 and 1470 respectively.⁷⁴ Giovanni da Istrana's father, Olivier, was a notary and prior of the hospital from 1448 to 1460, with an annual stipend of 200 lire.⁷⁵ Sons of gastalds also received the benefit of a scholarship. Bernardino da Bologna and the Bomben brothers—Girolamo, Father Giovanni, and Francesco—had fathers who served as gastalds at various times.⁷⁶

Given the value of these scholarships, it was inevitable that in some cases patronage played a more prominent role than need. Many scholarships were granted to the sons of hospital employees and brothers, possibly as rewards for the loyalty and dedication of workers. This obvious patronage should not be construed as an abuse of the will of the testators, for no restrictions were placed on the recipients. As sons of members and employees, the boys were known to the brotherhood, which was sworn to award grants to deserving boys. In addition, despite the relatively large number of children in Trevisan classrooms, the demands of university life required sufficient preparation and training, which must have reduced the eligible pool of students. For example, the provision added in 1467 to the Adelmari scholarship (requiring at least five years of study in logic and philosophy) indicates a meritocracy.⁷⁷ Notwithstanding these factors, loyal service to the confraternity in key administrative positions must have played a deciding factor in many decisions. Who better could vouch for the character and status of a young man than a brother or loyal employee of the confraternity?

Santa Maria dei Battuti's support of students offers many insights into scholars and their support at an university. The occupations and family status of many students indicate that many who would not otherwise have had the opportunity to pursue higher learning received welcome support from the confraternity. A young man such as Bartolomeo, the subject of Domenico's recommendation, even if he did not receive a scholarship, at least knew that he as a struggling scholar could turn to the Battuti for possible help. On the other hand, someone such as Adelmari, the son of a wealthy notary, probably did not urgently need a scholarship in order to study medicine at Padua. Undoubtedly the scholarship aided his studies and created a sense of loyalty and gratitude toward his scholarly patron. Whether the son of a notary or ragman, any student would have welcomed assistance to attend one of the best universities in Europe.

The Battuti's regulations made it unequivocally clear that no student could be awarded a scholarship if he were not a citizen of the district of Treviso.⁷⁸ The geographic origins of the recipients attest that Treviso and surrounding villages such as Maserada, Settimo, and Pederobba provided talented young men who could benefit from the program. These local boys took advantage of the opportunity of a lifetime and often returned to their homes to work and live. There was no lack of talent and desire in Trevisan youth. Enough competition for cherished scholarships existed within the city itself to ensure that the Battuti would not be tempted to violate the terms of the bequests and grant them to foreign scholastic rivals.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the scholarship programs administered by Santa Maria dei Battuti was that the confraternity received and retained control of such an important pedagogical and social tool. In the midst of fundamental changes in educational program and patronage, the Battuti held the keys to lucrative careers in service of church and state. At a time of increasing social stratification and control of access to education, the Battuti ensured that qualified and capable students, sons of loyal Trevisan citizens, would not be shut out of the system.

Whatever the motivating factors behind the grants, or the status or the educational background of the recipient, the grants engendered loyalty and gratitude to the city and the confraternity among the holders. The last wills of several scholarship recipients attest to the strong local pride and extreme gratitude for a university education that these young men felt. Two of the scholars, Matteo da Settimo and Taddeo Adelmari, used their impressive worldly accumulations to secure even more positions and opportunities for local boys at the University of Padua. They were not alone in expressing their gratitude. With the aid of a Salinguerra scholarship, Pompeo dalle Tovaglie graduated from the University of Padua with a degree in medicine and served the community as a doctor. In his will of 24 October 1496 he left money for the continuation of masses to be said for Salinguerra's soul.⁷⁹

Religious Instruction

Prayers for the souls of educational benefactors bound the living and the dead in a common religious effort to educate and instruct. In addition to providing career training, the confraternity took an active role in the religious education and learning of the city. While the children were learning skills necessary for their later entrance into the secular world, they also received training for possible admittance to the heavenly kingdom. As custodians of souls entrusted to their care, the leadership of Santa Maria ensured that the children received instruction in the basics of Christian faith. To achieve this end, they hired clerics who taught basic theology to the children. The Battuti's charitable efforts, as we have seen in other areas besides education, extended to young and old, clergy and laity, rich and poor. Consequently the Battuti sponsored programs to educate adults as well in spiritual matters, striving to bring the Christian message, in word and deed, to everyone.

An elementary catechism from the fifteenth century succinctly lists the seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy. As the text explains, the first work of mercy is to feed the poor for the love of God: spiritually by making God known to them, to pray, honor, obey and serve; bodily by giving them bread, meat, and fish. The second work is to give drink to the poor of God: spiritually by teaching them the ten commandments so they follow virtue and avoid vice; bodily with water and wine. The third work is clothing the poor: spiritually by giving them good examples and telling them the acts of Christ and the saints; bodily with clothing and shoes.⁸⁰ The brothers of Santa Maria attempted to live by these injunctions, especially in the care of children, but also in the instruction and edification of the entire community.

The citizens of Treviso recognized the critical function that the monastic houses of Treviso performed in the preservation and dissemination of the Church's teachings. The active and renowned houses in Treviso enjoyed a good relationship with the laity, as demonstrated by the donation by Oliviero Forzetta (whose investment in the Venetian grain market provided a significant income for the Battuti) of his vast book collection to the monasteries of Santa Margherita and San Francesco.⁸¹ The confraternity not only supported the religious orders with the administration of scholarships in theology and aid to clerical students in the purchase of texts, it also offered assistance when possible to defray the costs of instruction within the monastic houses. Although the monasteries within the city had grammar schools and learned theologians, they were not always adequate to train young clerics in advanced courses, often taught in the larger religious houses in Bologna or Padua. For example, in 1406 the Servites of Santa Caterina asked the gastalds of the Battuti for help to send three Trevisan boys to their monastery in Bologna (Santa Maria di Strada Maggiore) because there was no

master of sacred theology in Treviso.⁸² The Battuti again demonstrated their willingness to support local scholars in the pursuit of higher learning. In this case, the act of charity for the Servites was an effort to aid theological study and a deeper understanding of Church doctrine.

Understanding of the faith, however, did not begin in the monastic schools or faculties of theology but with the smallest of children. In the spirit of the seven works of mercy, the Battuti made sure that those under the supervision of the confraternity received instruction in the basic catechism. The task was probably entrusted to the priest in the nearby parish church of San Pancrazio, who performed other services for the Battuti. One citation specifically mentions the local priest called on to instruct the children in the elements of the faith. In 1447 the *gastalds* paid 10 lire to Father Atanasio from the church of San Pancrazio to teach the children for a year. Several decades later an entry in the expense books mentions Father Alfonso, teacher of the children.⁸³ Since one and at times two grammar professors provided secular education, a priest hired to teach the children must have been employed to instruct them in the rudiments of the faith. The probability that these expenses were for catechesis is enhanced by comparison with the practice of the foundling hospital of Florence, which employed chaplains who stayed in residence for a period of months to instruct the children.⁸⁴

The confraternity's support of theological inquiry and religious instruction applied not only to monks in their cells or children under their care but also to the entire community. In order to bring the Word to the masses, the Battuti eagerly sought and welcomed theologians who would instruct and enlighten the whole city, young and old, laity and clergy alike. As in their efforts to support a public grammar professor who was required to lecture publicly, the Battuti hired a theologian to teach openly, bringing the Word out of the monastic cell or university lecture hall and into the public piazza. For example, in 1443 the confraternity hired the Augustinian Father Nicolò da Treviso to read in logic, philosophy, and theology to the public at a salary of 50 lire a year. Ludovico Barbo, bishop of Treviso from 1437 to 1443, probably encouraged Santa Maria dei Battuti to proceed with plans to institute an advanced course in theology for the laity.⁸⁵ Later, in 1467, funds were diverted from the scholarship funds to support the reader. In 1486 Andrea da Venezia, a professor in sacred theology, was brought to Treviso with the funds from a third of the income from the Adelmari bequest on the condition that he lecture on logic, philosophy, and theology in the hospital. In 1498 the hospital requisitioned 12 ducats for another reader in theology on condition that he teach Thomist theology. In an effort at theological evenhandedness, they hired a Scotist professor to debate with the Thomist for 50 lire a year. Later references indicate that the professor lectured at a set hour every day, holding public disputations with his scholars twice a week.⁸⁶ The willingness of a lay confraternity to divert funds from a scholarship fund that

supported many of its own sons in order to fund lectures in theology gives strong testimony to the confraternity's support of religious instruction.

Not everyone had the time and training to pursue religious study, so the Battuti supported efforts to reinvigorate the faith of the community in a more direct manner. Religious instruction, inspiration, and debate often came in the form of fiery Franciscan friars.⁸⁷ A characteristic of fifteenth-century Europe, with the church attempting to restore faith in an organization rocked to its foundations by schism, was the resurgence of popular preaching, especially by the Observant Franciscans. Since their inception, the Friars Minor had regarded preaching as an essential element of their mission—to bring the Word of God to the faithful and unbelievers alike. At no time were the Franciscan preachers, both Observant and Conventual, more active than in the 1400s. The fame and success of these preachers encouraged many cities to invite friars to come and preach. As one scholar puts it, “the procession of great preachers, who moved about Italy and other countries during the fifteenth century, not only put Franciscan preaching on a new basis but did a great deal to alter the lives of the people and to do away with a number of abuses. . . . It was Bernardino of Siena who set the style for all future preachers.”⁸⁸

Bernardino da Siena, one of the most popular preachers and saints of the fifteenth century, was no stranger to Treviso. For ten consecutive days in July 1423 he preached, prayed, and worshiped in the city. He exhorted the faithful in the Piazza dei Signori and, on feast days, in the cathedral square.⁸⁹ “IHS” inscriptions that still adorn many homes in Treviso attest to the popularity of this saint, who promoted devotion to the name of Jesus. His visit and the movement's popularity led the Trevisan communal authorities in 1435 to propose a community of Observant Franciscan Friars for the city, a plan approved by Pope Eugenius IV.⁹⁰

The preachers not only sustained the faithful of the city but also underscored the centrality and importance of the Blessed Virgin Mary, who maintained a position of utmost importance to the confraternity devoted to her. For this reason, Santa Maria dei Battuti could only have been pleased when the Franciscan preacher Guglielmo da Conegliano visited the city in 1435. On this occasion in September 1435, a large crowd gathered in the Piazza dei Signori to hear his discourse concerning the Immaculate Conception (a much-debated theological issue of the day). Unfortunately, rain forced the interruption of his preaching, but the excited people would not wait for explanations. When the good father sought refuge from the weather in the town hall, the crowd followed him inside to hear the conclusion to his argument.⁹¹ The Battuti's assistance of the preachers could have benefits for all: the people received guidance in their faith, the preacher was given aid to live and travel, and the confraternity's and city's devotion to the Virgin Mary was strengthened.

The popularity of the preachers spurred an effort to bring the leading preachers of the day to the city. In a contribution to this undertaking the

Battuti actively solicited and even brought preachers to Treviso. For example, on 2 August 1446 the brotherhood paid a boatman to transport Father Paolo da Roma from Venice to Treviso.⁹² Friar Paolo da Roma was one of many Observant Franciscans who enjoyed a high demand as a preacher, having been requested to preach at Easter a few years earlier by Bishop Barbo.⁹³ Two years later the brotherhood officially escorted Father Giovanni da Volterra to the square and back to the hospital.⁹⁴ The Battuti were eager to participate in public events and demonstrate to the community their role as a leading patron of the preachers.

Following in the footsteps of Bernardino of Siena was another Franciscan friar, Antonio da Bitonto. Friar Antonio, a disciple of the great preachers of the fifteenth century, was proclaimed by Marco da Bologna as a “superb herald of the Word of God.” After he began preaching in 1440, he spent the next thirty-five years traveling to all parts of Italy.⁹⁵ From 1450 to 1451 Father Antonio da Bitonto preached in Treviso, rousing the faithful many times in the Piazza dei Signori and at the hospital of Santa Maria, where he was given food, wine, and housing on the several occasions he preached there.⁹⁶ Santa Maria even went so far as to loan a bed and sheets to the monastery of San Francesco, where the friar was staying.⁹⁷ Friar Antonio Bitonto probably took a keen interest in the activities of Santa Maria dei Battuti and the administration of the hospital, for while in Milan in 1455 he advocated the foundation of the centralized Ospedale Maggiore, one of the major Milanese civic and architectural projects of the Renaissance.⁹⁸ The interaction of Father Antonio with the hospital of Treviso attests to the important role the itinerant preachers played in the fifteenth century. As advocates of Christian charity, the preachers functioned as a conduit for innovation and the dissemination of ideas. The operations of the hospital of Treviso, which opened its doors to the friar, remained with him as he traveled throughout Italy and spoke of a lay hospital, founded on Christian principles, that provided various forms of charity to the needy. This was a message that Father Antonio Bitonto took with him from Treviso to the world.

Conclusion

Santa Maria dei Battuti's support of education demonstrates its profound impact on the community. Children in the confraternity's care received the social, domestic, and technical skills necessary for successful integration into society. A previously neglected child raised in its orphanage could be assured that he or she would receive the fundamental skills for life, including basic literacy. For women, these skills revolved around domestic talents. The girls were expected to be wives and mothers, so they received training in weaving and morality. Some children of the hospital and members of the confraternity were given the opportunity to attend the communal grammar

school, a necessary basis for any career in the government or church. With the power to decide which students received this important preparatory training, the confraternity became an important patron. Its support of the communal grammar school also attests to the increasing role of the laity in the administration of pre-university education.

The confraternity also administered a system of university scholarships, a powerful educational tool. The confraternity exercised discretionary power, free of Venetian or ecclesiastical influence, in choosing which students it would offer a promising future. The vitality of the scholarship program and the careful administration of the bequests secured a steady source of trained doctors and theologians who could return and serve its community, a community that forged bonds with the students when it invested in promising scholars. Gratitude for the career afforded by a university education led to others giving back to the community, even establishing more scholarships to continue the works of charity for the love of God, the spiritual benefit to the donor, and the reputation of the city.

In addition to basic skills needed for a livelihood and university degrees, the confraternity encouraged religious instruction. The Battuti used their educational influence to support the learning of the clergy, foster religious education, and provide a firm theological basis for children and adults of the whole community. The confraternity supported a number of initiatives designed to increase understanding of and devotion to the Catholic faith, such as theological scholarships and the educational endeavors of the clergy. To complement the basics of reading and writing provided to the children of the hospital, they supplied religious instruction in the basics of the faith. A central concern for the confraternity was religious instruction, and an effort was made to make this education accessible to all in the form of public lectures in theology and public preaching.

The Battuti endeavored to feed with spiritual nourishment and clothe in good example the youth and citizens of Treviso. From grammar schools to university training, the brothers of Santa Maria participated in and fundamentally shaped the educational experience of Treviso. Through a combination of practical and moral instruction, Santa Maria dei Battuti made available to the citizens of Treviso various methods and systems of instruction—artisanal and literary, grammarian and university-level, secular and religious, all designed to promote local talent for the benefit of the community. Supervision and control of a significant social and religious tool, education, placed the Battuti in a position to define the parameters of charity and the morals to be enforced. The confraternity supported education as a critical part of its charitable activities, producing well-educated citizens to serve God and community. By supporting the public grammar school, sponsoring public discourses on rhetoric and theology, and providing financial aid to train future leaders of society, the Battuti instituted and sustained a self-regulated and self-sufficient framework of instruction for this world and the next.

Chapter 6

CRISIS AND REFORM

They say that the two principal and shining lights of our city,
Distinguished Fathers and Most Illustrious Citizens, both carry the name
of the Glorious Virgin Mary, our Most Sweet Mother and Advocate: one
is our hospital, the other is its Monastery and its Sanctuary. With the most
absolute certainty we must say and hold firmly that through their merit
our city has escaped many dangers and calamities. Yet we can hope for
even more if we take care not only to visit, but also to enhance,
embellish, and expand these places.

—Podestà Iacopo Morosini's speech to the Grand Council of Treviso
approving the restoration of Santa Maria Maggiore (20 March 1474)

In his support of public funding for the restoration of Santa Maria Maggiore, Podestà Morosini made the direct connection between devotion, good works, and divine favor. The Venetian noble reminded the citizens of Treviso that “our” hospital brought honor to the Virgin Mary and therefore protected the city from divine wrath. Morosini's justification reveals that the hospital had become more than one brotherhood's expression of piety. Santa Maria dei Battuti's hospital had been transformed into a symbol of the city that protected the community from disaster. In the early sixteenth century, the relationship between Venice and its subject city would be severely tested by war, famine, and disease. Invading armies would attempt to shake the Trevisan allegiance to Venice, and Venetian authorities would be forced to consider local prerogative versus the needs of the Venetian state. As Morosini's sentiments predicted, during the first decades of the sixteenth century, the hospital would be looked to as a beacon of hope. When rumors of corruption and inefficiency darkened the confraternity's reputation, the communal government exercised its supervisory authority to reform the noble institution and powerful civic symbol.

Crisis of War

The beginning of the sixteenth century did not bode well for Venice. Almost all of Europe (France, the Holy Roman empire, Spain, the Papal States,

Ferrara, and Mantua) had organized against Venice in the League of Cambrai.¹ From 1509 to 1517, mercenaries scorched the land and murdered peasants, plunging Venice into economic and political crisis. A few weeks after the crushing defeat at Agnadello (14 May 1509), foreign troops swept across northern Italy, and the Venetians lost almost their entire mainland state, which had taken a century to construct. The last remaining Italian city that remained loyal to Venice was also the first one that had sworn fidelity: Treviso. Yet even this city was about to face an enemy assault. The war would once again demonstrate the strategic importance of Treviso and pull the city even further into the Venetian government's sphere of influence. As the city's wealthiest and most public institution, the Battuti would find themselves caught in the whirlwind of reforming change.

On 6 June 1509, a messenger appeared before the gates of Treviso, demanding that the city surrender or face the wrath of the imperial army. On 10 June, an image of Saint Mark was raised in the city center, and cries of "Marco! Marco!" engulfed the city. The popular uprising in support of a continued alliance with Venice silenced the opposition.² Appearing before the Venetian Collegio in July 1509, nine Trevisan ambassadors expressed their continued loyalty and devotion to Venice. The following day, July 3, the heads of the Council of Ten sent a letter to the podestà of Treviso, praising the loyalty of the "most dear firstborn daughter of our state" and promising to defend the city with all available means, even with their own lives.³ In the most difficult days of July 1509, the diarist Girolamo Priuli recorded the enemy's demands to give up Treviso in exchange for peace.

The Venetian Fathers, obstinate, do not want to cede Treviso, nor the Patria of Friuli to the emperor, as the pope ordered and wished, because they hope . . . that with a little territory on the mainland they will be able to maintain their army and recover all of the lost territory and do not want to be stripped of their last possession, willing even to hold onto it with their teeth.⁴

The words of Priuli and the Council of Ten were not mere hyperbole, for the very survival of the Venetian state hinged on the defense and retention of Treviso. The dramatic and rapid loss of the mainland led many Venetian nobles to question whether or not the Terraferma was even worth defending. The Venetian government invested heavily in the administrative and military infrastructure of its mainland cities, gaining only modest returns, if any, from local taxes and customs.⁵ During the fifteenth century, the importance of Treviso as a vital trade link and an economic investment for Venetian nobles had only increased, but the nobles would again raise and challenge justifications for Venetian expansion when in the course of a few weeks practically the entire Venetian holdings on the Italian mainland were lost. Lester Libby has argued that the personal economic investments of the nobility,

rather than strategic military advantage, motivated the Venetian reconquest of the Terraferma.⁶

Whether inspired by the Trevisan declaration of loyalty or mindful of their own economic interests, the Venetian nobility came to the defense of Treviso and fought for their territories. It was in Treviso that the Venetian armies, led by Andrea Gritti, organized the assault on Padua that would set the stage for the recovery of the entire mainland state. On 17 July 1509, Venice recaptured Padua. The Venetians resisted the sieges of Emperor Maximilian until military operations ceased due to the coming of winter. The city had survived the initial onslaught of the first summer of war and negotiated and fought for its continued survival. Treviso had served as a loyal bulwark against foreign forces, an outpost for Venetian troops as they regrouped after demoralizing defeats, and an inspiration for the rallying Venetian nobility. The common Trevisan and Venetian cause, the warding off of the invading forces, required a massive investment for troops and fortifications. In the aftermath of the League of Cambrai, in fact, the very configuration of many Venetian Terraferma cities was altered as the new defensive structures required in an age of gunpowder replaced medieval vertical walls. Perhaps no city underwent such a massive rebuilding effort as Treviso, which had its medieval fortifications razed and more encompassing walls built to the specifications of modern warfare. Begun under the famous Renaissance architect Fra Giocondo, the walls of Treviso were built with hasty precision as the last line of defense on the Venetian mainland.⁷

During the darkest hours of the Venetian military struggle, the hospital would receive unprecedented scrutiny. Economic pressures forced Venetian officials to investigate thoroughly the operation of Treviso's wealthiest confraternity, prying into the Battuti's hitherto unquestioned allocations and administration.⁸ The extraordinary strains of war and the concomitant need for revenue would force a struggle between one of the most powerful rulers in Venetian history and the local Trevisan confraternity of Santa Maria dei Battuti.

Venice traditionally governed the Terraferma through a series of decentralized, independent local treasuries, called *camere*. During times of crisis, however, Venice, in particular the Council of Ten, increasingly intervened directly in the financial administration of subject cities.⁹ Originally formed in the wake of a treasonous plot, the Council of Ten gradually absorbed control over those areas of Venetian life that could affect state security.¹⁰ Maintaining the Most Serene Republic required constant diligence over almost every Venetian activity, and the Ten functioned as an internal police force. The seventeen members of the Council of Ten considered it their solemn duty to oversee the efficient and moral operation of the Venetian state. For example, too much pomp and circumstance at baptismal ceremonies led the Council of Ten to intervene, limiting the number of nobles who could

stand as godfathers. As the decree explained, "It is the duty of this Council to extirpate anything that might result in disorder and impropriety."¹¹ The administration of religious brotherhoods, which served essential social and political functions, was also subject to supervision by the most powerful Venetian institution.¹²

The camera of Treviso assumed a very important position as one of the few surviving sources of income on the mainland. The administration of the camera and the debts it incurred became a vital issue of national security. The powerful and secretive Council of Ten took a direct interest in all expenditures. The first signs of financial strain and political discord appeared immediately following the outbreak of war. As the crisis worsened during the years 1511–12, Venetian authorities were under increasing pressure to find sources of income to pay the city's military expenses, among which was a large debt to one of the most powerful men in Venice: Alvise Pisani. Throughout 1511, the Ten met to decide how to pay Pisani, and their attention increasingly turned to the camera of Treviso.¹³ Unsure of the loyalty of and income from other camere, the Council of Ten in effect began to write checks on the bank in Treviso, using the expected income from Treviso as security for their payments. In November 1512 the Ten decided that all of the surplus funds from the camera in Treviso were to be paid directly to Alvise Pisani. Consequently, the operations of the camera of Treviso became of direct personal interest to Pisani, and it would not be long before the lack of payments was brought to the attention of Pisani's powerful associates.¹⁴ The Venetian *camerlenghi* (treasurers) and local bookkeepers in Treviso faced an enormous fiscal challenge and mounting pressure from Venice to increase revenue. Letter after letter demanded more and more money from Treviso's camera, which the Council of Ten increasingly used as a bank for war debts. Throughout 1516 and 1517 the bookkeepers in Treviso recorded the indebtedness of the camera, which reached such a state that in November 1517, the Council of Ten ordered the books sent to Venice for inspection.¹⁵ A steady stream of accountants and ledger books went back and forth from the camera of Treviso to the Council of Ten in a desperate search for revenue.¹⁶ The structure of the Venetian mainland political and financial system, with the Venetian *podestà* and *camerlenghi* rotating in and out of office, made it difficult to govern effectively in ordinary times. The confusion of war made the task even more challenging and inconsistent.

The Battuti were directly affected by the disorder and demands of war. The monthly payments owed the Battuti strained the Trevisan treasury, and military priorities often superseded payments to the confraternity. In November 1509, the Battuti petitioned the Council of Ten regarding back payments, and the Ten ordered the Venetian *podestà* to pay the monthly installments.¹⁷ During the most desperate days of the war in 1511, the hospital did not receive payments for six months. In July 1513, the confraternity

appealed to the Christian charity of the Council of Ten. The supplication stated that the Battuti had a vast number of children in its care and that without the payments from Venice these children were on the verge of starvation. Hyperbole or not, the letter reflects the desperate situation on the Venetian mainland during the War of Cambrai.¹⁸ Unfortunately for the children in the Battuti's care, the appeals fell on deaf ears. The Council of Ten asked the confraternity to extend yet another act of charity to Venice: forgo its expected payments for the time being, as it had done in the past.¹⁹ The Battuti continued the struggle for back payments against a chaotic Venetian financial system with poor controls and inefficient, often contradictory, policies. For example, in 1518 the Battuti once again petitioned the Council of Ten for back payments. The Ten sent a letter to Treviso on 29 April ordering the podestà to disburse six monthly payments that had been stopped during the height of hostilities in 1511. In June the letter was registered in the camera of Treviso, but in August the Ten reconsidered the issue and halted payment.²⁰ The relationship between the Battuti and Venice was emblematic of a general feeling of crisis and uncertainty in the capital. After the dramatic losses had been overcome, and with Treviso more integrated into the Venetian economic and political system, Venetian leaders turned their energies to reform a society that had obviously brought down divine wrath on itself.

Placating an Angry God

The profound military, economic, and psychological shock of Agnadello forced Venetians to examine critically their fundamental political and religious beliefs. Venetian officials sought to change their city's fortunes by returning to the rigor and frugality that had originally built their empire. The increasingly apocalyptic atmosphere that concluded the fifteenth century was only intensified by the Italian wars and Venice's military losses.²¹ The chronicler Girolamo Priuli captured the anxiety of the Venetian nobility, who considered their city under biblical judgment and on the verge of annihilation. Venice had to atone for its sins and seek the mercy of God. The fear of divine judgment had very real material and political implications for governance of the city. Although a republic ruled by a closed nobility, Venice in effect was governed by a few executive committees. Following the unprecedented crisis of Cambrai, power was further concentrated in the hands of zealous reformers calling for a return to traditional Venetian values.²²

Reformers provided a coherent vision of what was needed and the energy to make changes. A powerful inner circle in the Venetian government considered moral corruption to be the primary cause of the city's misfortune, and a campaign to eliminate vice targeted the public manifestations of moral turpitude.²³ Measures were taken to increase popular devotion through

processions and public prayers. Sumptuary legislation was repeated and enforced in an effort to curb immoderate and luxurious dress. Homosexuality and prostitution, especially in convents, received immediate condemnation and calls for reforms. Public affronts to God, such as the toleration and free movement of Jews, had to be regulated for the good order of the Christian Republic. The bitter debate that preceded the settlement of the Jews in the Ghetto is one example of the religiously charged atmosphere that fueled reforms.²⁴ An oft-cited source of Venetian vice and corruption was the city's fifteen convents, where worldliness brought "very great offense to God and tremendous ill-repute and shame to the Venetian Republic." Beginning in 1509, Venetian nobles passed a series of decrees to reform the convents and prevent the corruption of nuns. The measures culminated in 1528 with the permanent creation of the Convent Magistracy (*Magistrato sopra monasteri*), which in cooperation with the patriarch was to supervise and restore the convents' virtue.²⁵

A renewed religious dedication can also be witnessed in the foundation of new religious groups and charitable organizations, such as the Oratory of Divine Love and the Hospital of the Incurabili, the Venetian hospital established in 1522 and dedicated to incurable diseases, namely syphilis.²⁶ The Incurabili soon became a center of religious devotion for rich and poor alike. Some of the leading citizens of Venice participated in literal and symbolic service to the neediest in the Venetian Republic. In March 1524, the Venetian chronicler Marino Sanuto recorded that many were moved to devotion as they witnessed Venetian nobles who with great humility washed the feet of the sick poor.²⁷ There could hardly be a more poignant example of the fusion of service to God and state than Venetian policy makers washing the feet of syphilitics. The call to meritorious conduct that informed political theory and introduced Venetian charitable legislation was not mere rhetoric.

Other institutions found themselves the objects of reform, especially those founded to assist the poor of Christ and reflect the noble purpose they were intended to serve. The Venetian government did not have a centralized system of poor relief. Instead, the poor in Renaissance Venice found shelter and aid in dozens of small hospitals or in the hundreds of religious brotherhoods throughout the city. These volunteer associations, often organized in confraternities, performed a wide variety of charitable services and cared for diverse categories of the poor and the sick.²⁸

Despite the trend of Renaissance states to consolidate medieval hospitals, the Venetian distrust of concentrated resources and power fostered a system of decentralized small hospitals and shelters. Although the overwhelming majority of Venetian hospitals were private initiatives, the importance of charitable institutions to the common good demanded close public supervision. As a result, in 1489 and 1526 two special commissions were formed to examine hospital practices. The preamble to the 1489 report, which would

be repeated verbatim in 1526, gave an internal assessment of charitable institutions and their importance to the Venetian state:

Our pious ancestors have built and bequeathed hospitals in substantial numbers in this our city, which, as is well known, are constituted in various different ways and excellently endowed. But the greater part of them are in a poor condition and even decayed, which is an offence to God and to the honour of our State, on account of the complaints of the poor who are not receiving their dues as they ought, or in accordance with the bequests and instructions of testators. God does not ignore these laments, for it is written: "I am not indifferent to the cries of the poor."²⁹

Three senators and a notary were to inspect the hospitals of Venice and ensure that the last wishes of the testators were being implemented. The nobles took action based on the belief that God would hear the cries of the poor and weak, for (as the statute stated) the poor did not petition Venetian authorities for redress of their ills but appealed directly to the Almighty. Venetian authorities desired to fulfill their commitment regarding the pious bequests and not provoke divine wrath for their negligence. Venetian authorities had to answer to God, the living (poor), and the dead (testators).

Paternal Correction

In the midst of the reforming whirlwind, the elderly Doge Antonio Grimani died, and in his place the Venetian nobility elected a tested, sure, and confident leader: Andrea Gritti. On 20 May 1523, the Venetian nobility rewarded their battle-tested and victorious general with the most important and prestigious post in the government. The old general would turn his vast logistical and organizational skills to the reform and renewal of the Venetian government and civic spaces, which reflected the imperial character of their new doge.³⁰ Doge Andrea Gritti (r. 1523–38) combined the power of a Renaissance prince with the efficiency of a technical expert. Accustomed to wielding power, he readily exercised it as an expression of an urgent mandate to remake the physical and administrative structure of the Venetian state.³¹ Gritti's domineering manner and military training struck fear in some and resentment in others, especially among the Venetian nobility more accustomed to accommodation and negotiation than imperial rule. Gritti did not suffer fools or inefficiency quietly, and his temper and style of direct confrontation were well known. A sixteenth-century biographer noted: "If provoked by some malevolence or rancor, there was no aspect more terrifying than his."³² Having commanded the Venetian forces on the mainland, Gritti had an intimate knowledge of the Venetian territories, especially Treviso, where he planned the reconquest of the Terraferma. As Gritti surveyed the

newly retaken mainland, he did not limit the moral, fiscal, and administrative reforms to Venice. The field commander who struggled with limited supplies for uncertain outcomes would not be reluctant to exercise his newly acquired powers, and Treviso was not beyond the doge's powerful reach.

The often confused fiscal policy that had characterized Venice's relationship with Treviso would soon be decisively focused with the election of Gritti as doge. Among the primary reasons for the extreme financial pressure on the camera of Treviso were the repeated requests by the Venetian field general for more men and matériel, such as the Ten received from Gritti in March 1522.³³ The harried general would remember his desperate pleas when he was elected to the most powerful position in the Venetian government. Doge Gritti wielded even greater power, and he tolerated even less bickering about money and refusal to pay debts. His rule witnessed a marked concentration of power in the hands of the doge and a consequent shift away from subject cities.³⁴

From the beginning of Gritti's administration, he assumed an adversarial position in relation to the camera of Treviso, addressing the problems decisively and without delay. During the first week of August 1523, the Senate had summoned representatives from Treviso to discuss the disputes regarding the latest tax assessment. Lawyers represented the factions in the city, countryside, and clergy. At the first meeting on 4 August, the discussions bogged down and the meeting was held over until the next day. When the parties still could not agree, Gritti angrily rose and dismissed the Council.³⁵ The following year the camera of Treviso continued to be saddled with increased tax burdens and forced loans, almost all dedicated to the maintenance of the Venetian war machine. In February 1524, the Ten decided that Treviso's back taxes were to be applied to the provisioning of galleys.³⁶ In March, the camera was ordered to allocate 2,000 ducats to the Priuli bank, a creditor of the Arsenal. In April, Venice instituted the first general forced loan after the war. The podestà was instructed to collect first from those most able to pay,³⁷ with any surplus monies designated for the Arsenal.³⁸

Gritti's drive for religious and civic renewal, combined with the Council of Ten's increasing scrutiny of mainland affairs, came to focus on Treviso's camera and financial management. From the beginning of his public service, Gritti had turned his attention to the financial efficiency of the mainland cities. In 1516, as superintendent of the Terraferma, Gritti had demonstrated his absolute inflexibility in face of pleas from the citizens of Bergamo for fiscal relief; they were required to sell communal property to pay forced loans.³⁹ Doge Gritti exercised the same decisiveness when confronting the fiscal problems in the camera of Treviso, which he considered a critical piece of the Venetian financial system, not an independently operating system with approved traditions. His experience had taught him that a well-governed Treviso meant a well-protected Venice. A decade of financial mismanagement and uncertainty

came to an abrupt end when the impatient general came to rule Venice. He dispatched two special missions staffed by trusted Venetian nobles: Agostino da Mula in 1524 and Vettore Diedo in 1526.

Agostino da Mula was both an exceptional servant of the Venetian state and an exceptionally religious man. His civic service included terms as podestà and as captain of Rovigo⁴⁰ and fleet commander, a critical assignment that demonstrated his peers' respect.⁴¹ His piety was demonstrated by his service in many of the Venetian hospitals. Da Mula's dedication to the sick and poor was remarkable, even to washing the feet of poor inmates of the *Incurabili*.⁴² As a member of the *Incurabili*'s governing body, he brought his firsthand knowledge and his religious conviction to inspect, oversee, and mandate changes in Treviso's financial administration and local institutions.

Da Mula's administrative experience and genuine piety made him an ideal candidate to assume the important task of putting Treviso's financial affairs in order. In October 1524, the Council of Ten granted da Mula permission to travel to Treviso and collect money owed the Arsenal.⁴³ During the winter of 1524–25, da Mula made several trips to Treviso, inspected the treasury, and reported back to the Council of Ten on the egregious accounting errors and the need for fiscal reform.⁴⁴

Following da Mula's mission to Treviso, the Council of Ten decided that a high-powered delegation, not a lone envoy, was necessary to collect the money owed the Arsenal. On 14 April 1526, a special overseer, Vettore Diedo, was appointed not only to collect the back taxes but also to effect major reforms in the camera.⁴⁵ Diedo, eight other nobles, and a secretary with his family would travel to Treviso to collect the back payments. For an incentive, the delegation could keep 5 percent of the monies they collected. Diedo's colleagues included men who had extensive experience as former supervisors or podestà, forming a tested and intimidating delegation.⁴⁶ The following August, Diedo and the podestà issued a report regarding the reforms, and the Council of Ten enacted a major overhaul of Trevisan finances.⁴⁷ As part of the fiscal restructuring, the Battuti finally received the back payments from 1511. On 2 November 1526, the 3,000-lire, six-months' back payments from 1511 were finally registered in the Santa Maria dei Battuti account books.⁴⁸

Although Santa Maria dei Battuti eventually received the overdue payments, the Forzetta endowment, a steady source of revenue for centuries, had brought the administration of the confraternity to the attention of Venetian authorities during a period of institutional reform. The Venetian auditors were sure to have investigated and reported on the administration of the camera's main creditor: Santa Maria dei Battuti. At a time of extreme financial constraints and desire for religious reform, Venetian leaders undoubtedly scrutinized the expenditures and organization of a wealthy religious brotherhood. The special commissions were created to ferret out inefficiencies and corruption, and Venice informed its podestà that the confraternity's

apparent mismanagement of funds would not be tolerated. In addition to its back payments, the confraternity received a scathing admonition to reform.

The deliberations of Treviso's *Maggior Consiglio* contain a copy of a ducal letter sent on 1 April 1525. The letter stated that income of the hospital was not being managed as it should be, ultimately to the detriment of the poor. Therefore, in order to ensure that the hospital was governed properly, the *podestà* was ordered to admonish the present administrators of the institution. He was further empowered to make the necessary changes to reform the hospital's administration. On 8 September the *Maggior Consiglio* of Treviso addressed the "terrible and shameful corruption" in the election of hospital officials. In violation of the confraternity's statutes, offices were being assigned in secret, without the consent of the General Chapter. The secret deals had led to leadership based on patronage, not ability, and had accounted for the hospital's mismanagement. The process had created widespread scandal and gossip unworthy of the dignity of the hospital. The communal council, therefore, exercised its supervisory authority and mandated the confraternity's General Chapter to meet and hold elections in the presence of the *podestà*. In addition, all appointments were to be made the same day that the General Chapter assembled.⁴⁹ On 3 October 1525, the Venetian Senate approved the supervision of the confraternity's elections, for "the good of the confraternity."⁵⁰

The intense scrutiny of Treviso's *camera* was, in effect, an outside audit of Santa Maria dei Battuti's financial and organizational structure. Venetian officials, in the midst of reforming and renewing their own institutions, wanted to stop the leadership of the confraternity from placing individual ambition and local politics above the needs of the poor. The call for reform, however, did not mandate centralization of hospital governance or confiscation of confraternal lands. Rather, Venetian authorities reminded the Trevisan leadership of its duty to the common good and left the nature of the reforms in the hands of local leaders. Venetian officials apparently wanted to remove petty infighting from the governance of an institution so important to the prosperity of the city. The most respected citizens of Treviso should govern the hospital in a manner that followed its own guidelines and maintained the dignity and reputation of the institution.

According to the confraternity's statutes, election of the confraternity's offices was entrusted not to the entire brotherhood but sixteen men: the four outgoing *gastalds* and "the best and senior brothers." To avoid corruption, the ballots were to be secret and the election results announced openly in the confraternity's General Chapter, which had very little direct power, meeting only a few times a year to discuss major proposals.⁵¹ Both the 1329 and 1400 statutes entrust these "Wise Men" with the responsibility for the elections, although rules passed in the fifteenth century divided the Wise Men along class lines: two nobles, one doctor (legal or medical), three notaries, three merchants, and

three artisans.⁵² In 1405, a similar rule change divided the *gastalds* into social classes: a noble or doctor, two notaries, and one artisan.⁵³ The confraternity's organization was designed to involve all of the community's competing social classes and ease political factionalism.

The Battuti's system of government became a model for the other civic institutions. The statutes establishing the Lazzaretto and the Board of Health, which made several references to the confraternity of the Battuti, was governed by four *gastalds* from the four classes.⁵⁴ When the Monte di Pietà was established in the late fifteenth century, the governors of the Monte represented the social classes of the city, and the Battuti's election system once again served as a model.⁵⁵ The events of 1525, therefore, should be seen in light of the confraternity's own statutes, which clearly stated that the confraternity and all of its officials were subject to the communal authorities. Whether or not the inefficient and possibly corrupt administration had been sufficiently reformed would soon be tested by one of the worst famines in Venetian history.

Famine and the Poor

Famine and disease devastated Venice and the Veneto from 1527 to 1529. Drought, floods, and bad harvests in 1527 forced people from the countryside into the cities, from regional centers to Venice in a desperate search for food. In February 1528, Sanuto recorded the pitiful circumstances. A great number of hungry poor streamed into the city from subject cities. One could not leave mass without ten people begging for alms. The poor would bang on doors and cry in the streets, "I am dying of famine."⁵⁶ In March, Sanuto described the dire straits of hundreds of peasants who crammed the Rialto, where the nearby German community in the Fondaco opened a soup kitchen to feed the poor.⁵⁷ The desperation of people selling everything they owned to survive moved observers to great compassion. The unprecedented scale of the disaster led the Venetian authorities to issue their first comprehensive poor laws, sweeping legislation designed to eliminate begging and preserve the social order.⁵⁸

On 13 March 1528, the government issued the first of two decrees designed to alleviate the suffering and intolerable conditions in the city of Venice.⁵⁹ Temporary wooden shelters were constructed, begging outlawed, and paupers denied entry to the city. By the following June, the foreign poor were to be expelled from the temporary hospitals and sent to the mainland. Those who returned would be flogged, and the boatmen who returned them would also be punished. The measures were provisional, in effect only until the following year's harvest, and they clearly stated that the temporary hospitals would not compete with established, parish-based alms distribution.

Nevertheless, the decree marked an important shift in public response to the crisis: the poor had become the community's responsibility, cared for and financed through public taxation. As the preamble to the ordinance stated, "there is no work that one can do in this world that is more pleasing to Our Lord God than to have the care and responsibility to provide for his miserable creatures." Famine, disease, and the general confusion in the city motivated the Venetian government to act "for the praise and glory of Almighty God and for the honor of this Exalted Republic."⁶⁰

The emergency legislation of 1528 was reissued a year later with a more concise objective and stricter mechanisms of enforcement. The second decree of 3 April 1529 clearly articulated the Venetian understanding of charity and the role of government:

Charity is, without any doubt, to be considered the most important form of good work, and it must always be practiced towards our neighbors. As is everyone's duty, we must look to the interests of the poor and the health of the sick and offer food to the hungry; and never should we fail to extend our aid and favor to those who can earn their bread in the sweat of their brow. These things we must do in order to please our supreme and almighty God, who will bring to perfection every well-conceived and well-intentioned undertaking; in order to root out a wicked custom and an evil way of life, in the form of begging and cheating, to which so many people resort in this noble city, bringing some notoriety to Venice; and in order to enhance the good name of this well-ordered Republic. We must neglect no method of promoting such an important enterprise.⁶¹

The decree reflected the clear distinction between the worthy and the unworthy poor that had been established in canon law for centuries. The practical implementation of these principles repeated some of the previous year's measures and concentrated poor relief in the parishes. All non-Venetian beggars were expelled. Impotent poor would be provided for in their homes or in public shelters. Able-bodied poor and professional beggars would be put to work on ships or taught a craft. The clergy should support the poor in their parishes, utilizing the power of the pulpit to remind citizens of their obligations to the poor and establishing collection boxes in the churches. The plan did not call for a centralization of services in a common chest or special commission. The regulations aimed to supplement, not supplant, the work performed by the parochial system, hospitals, and religious brotherhoods. Venetian legislators separated the worthy from the unworthy poor according to citizenship and physical well-being. As in other European states, Venetian authorities responded to changing economic conditions by enforcing principles of canon law.⁶²

The famine also challenged the government in Treviso to provide for its citizens, and Santa Maria dei Battuti once again emerged as the institution

best able to ease the catastrophe. On 5 January 1528 the *Maggior Consiglio* met to discuss how best to provide for the increasing number of poor and great scarcity of food. In order "to placate the wrath of God against humanity and particularly this city and territory," the government would take half of the guilds' and confraternities' income and distribute it to the poor. The hospital of Santa Maria dei Battuti was specially exempted from this forced loan because the confraternity would help in another way.⁶³ On 23 March 1528, the *Maggior Consiglio* stated how the Battuti were to contribute. Those who rented and lived in houses owned by the confraternity and who gave money to the poor would have that amount deducted from their rent. The city council justified the decrease in revenue to the Battuti by stating that "the goods of the hospital were left by testators principally to care for the poorest and most desperate people, as one has now."⁶⁴

Both the unprecedented Venetian poor laws and the Trevisan government's direct appropriation of money from the confraternities and guilds attest to the extraordinary circumstances the famine created. During these dire conditions, Santa Maria dei Battuti once again emerged as a singularly important institution with the resources available to address the city's problems. Benefactors had donated to the confraternity because of its reputation for charity, so the communal government reasoned that the brotherhood's great patrimony belonged to the community's poor. The rumors of mismanagement probably decreased the hesitation of public authorities to appropriate resources from this private institution.

Civic Christianity Codified

In 1525 the communal government had established its supervision of the sixteen Wise Men who elected the hospital's officers, but the reforms had not gone far enough to prevent internal factionalism and bickering. In 1532, the *podestà* and the city's leadership put forth a detailed plan to ensure that the city's most prominent example of public charity and brotherhood did indeed create civic harmony. On 15 December 1532, the *Maggior Consiglio* assembled and once again addressed the widespread rumors of improper elections in the confraternity. The sixteen Wise Men had again placed their own interests above the common good, and they were no longer trusted to manage and record the elections. To create a more transparent election process, the *Maggior Consiglio* established an electoral college of two hundred, the "*Consiglio dei duecento*." The two hundred were elected from every social class in the city: fifty from the ranks of nobles and doctors, fifty notaries, fifty merchants, and fifty artisans (shopkeepers, not manual laborers). Twenty-five names were chosen from each category to form the General Chapter, which elected the *gastalds* and other officials. These one hundred

men replaced the Wise Men as electors, but the Chapter was empowered only on the day of elections. When new gastalds came up for election every six months, another one hundred names would be drawn from the list of eligible candidates. Every two years, the Council of Two Hundred was renewed. To prevent fraud, the communal chancellery, not the confraternity, would record and keep the names under lock and key.⁶⁵ The hospital's officers remained the same, but the elections were now handled by the machinery of the commune, under the careful eye of the Venetian *podestà*. The electoral reform was not a malicious effort to centralize power but an attempt to return the confraternity to the religious harmony and civic spirit expressed in its own statutes. In 1474, *Podestà* Morosini stated that a well-governed hospital merited God's favor. The sixteenth-century reforms were designed to ensure that the hospital continued to merit both worldly and heavenly praise.

The successful legacy of these reforms is captured by Giovanni Michiel, who appeared before the Venetian Senate on 18 June 1578 to report on his term as *podestà* of Treviso.

They have in the city that Hospital of Santa Maria dei Battuti, which as your *Serenità* knows, feeds an infinite number of poor and orphans, a very pious and beautiful work with well-regulated governance. . . . [It is] governed by nobles, citizens, notaries, and artisans and all participate in it with much love and charity.⁶⁶

Michiel's report was designed to portray the most important aspects of the city and its institutions. The Venetian governor emphasized the hospital's charity to the poor and orphans, its self-governance, its broad membership, and the dedication of those who administered the institution. By the early decades of the sixteenth century, a medieval devotional confraternity had grown into the symbol of the city, admired for and protected by its charitable works. When the confraternity's administration proved inefficient and brought dishonor on the entire community, the city's leadership intervened to ensure that the hospital, the proudest, most powerful Trevisan work, remained a shining light for the city.

Concluding Thoughts

The concern for efficient management of hospitals and charitable institutions was not unique to Trevisan or Venetian officials. Increased poverty, the threat of epidemic diseases, and political integration into regional states led many early modern communities to form more effective social and health-care policies. Christopher Black surveyed efforts to address fraud and abuse in confraternal charitable institutions throughout the Italian peninsula, and

he has identified two approaches commonly employed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: first, the consolidation of smaller hospitals under municipal authority or supervision; second, extended ecclesiastical control over lay societies.⁶⁷ Medieval confraternities were indeed the frequent focus of reformers' attention and supervision. For example, the confraternity of the Battuti of Padua received financial support and guidance from municipal officials but was left relatively free to administer its own charitable organizations.⁶⁸ The internal factionalism of the Battuti of Modena, however, eventually led not only to the loss of administrative control of their hospital but also to the confiscation of their property.⁶⁹

A community's loss of political autonomy was not always detrimental to the efficient administration of confraternities. External scrutiny could put an end to the mischief and lax oversight found in the long-standing financial practices of many brotherhoods. For example, the accounting practices of the fraternity of Santa Maria of Cortona faced increasing scrutiny once the city fell under the sway of Florentine rule.⁷⁰ The growth of regional states did, however, mold local piety in the image of the governing city. Terpstra's comparative study of abandoned children demonstrates how local traditions and government shaped different welfare policies in Florence and Bologna.⁷¹ The degree of municipal or ecclesiastical interference in charitable institutions varied greatly from city to city, but all of the studies confirm that Renaissance states fundamentally shaped the expression of Christian piety and produced distinct charitable institutions.

Compared with other confraternities and hospitals, Santa Maria dei Battuti of Treviso was a remarkable institution, both for its activities and its longevity. In no other Italian city, perhaps in no other city in Europe, does one find a mixed-gender, wealthy, multipurpose facility that acted as a direct surrogate for political autonomy. Through the centuries, Santa Maria dei Battuti did not alter its charitable activities; it was not disbanded; its lands were not confiscated. Neither did ecclesiastical authorities demand reform; rather, the Battuti were called by municipal authorities to return to the high standard they had established for themselves. The confraternity, which transcended parochial, professional, and political divisions, had become a symbol of the city, with its governance increasingly tied to the commune. In many ways the hospital of Santa Maria dei Battuti had become a common good, with local leaders finding an outlet for their energies, talents, and ambition in the confraternity's numerous civic activities.

Santa Maria dei Battuti of Treviso was also unique in its position within the Venetian state. Although Venice possessed supreme political and military jurisdiction and did everything possible to render its subject communes docile supporters of the Venetian government, the effort to secure compliance did not reduce the local populace to passivity. On the contrary, Venice relied on the industry and efficiency of the Trevisans and the residents

of other subject cities to provide the social services necessary for the local community and to contribute both financially and spiritually to the Venetian empire. After Venice absorbed Treviso into its nascent mainland state, the Serenissima relied on the Battuti to maintain civic harmony, provide valuable relief services, and participate in processions mandated for the support of the Republic. The relationship between Venice and the Battuti, however, was not unidirectional. The confraternity contributed to the political and economic stability of Venice, but it also benefited from Venetian protection, which sustained its dominant position in the city. The Venetian government, satisfied with the activities of the Battuti, provided valuable concessions to aid the work of the hospital and stifled any competition by suppressing potential competing confraternities. Recognition of the confraternity's predominance and independence fostered pride in an organization that served as a surrogate for direct communal independence. The monopoly of power, however, also brought increased civic responsibility and public scrutiny. When rumors of manipulated elections tarnished one of the community's most prominent religious and civic mediators, Venice instituted transparency in the hospital's administration, for both the good of Treviso and the benefit of Venice. Venetian authorities and the local elite cooperated to enforce traditional religious ideals and mold Trevisan popular piety into a predictable and effective civic Christianity.

NOTES

NOTES TO THE READER

1. See Reinhold Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market*, vol. 2, *Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt, 1200–1500* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 620–23, 650–63.
2. Francesca Pastro, *Le terre dell'Ospedale di Santa Maria dei Battuti: Società e contadini nell'campagne trevigiane del Seicento* (Treviso: Canova, 2003), 9.
3. Giuseppe Del Torre, *Il Trevigiano nei secoli XV e XVI: L'assetto amministrativo e il sistema fiscale* (Venice: Il Cardo, 1990), 27, n. 5.

INTRODUCTION

Epigraph. PC, 2: 384–85.

1. David Peterson, “Out of the Margins: Religion and the Church in Renaissance Italy,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 835–79; Francesco Cesareo, “The Complex Nature of Catholicism in the Renaissance,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 1561–73.
2. Benjamin Kohl and Alison Smith, eds., *Major Problems in the History of the Italian Renaissance* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1995), 393. For an attempt to address the imbalance, see Timothy Verdon and John Henderson, *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1990).
3. Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), quotation 11.
4. William Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981).
5. Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Avila of Saint Teresa: Religious Reform in a Sixteenth-Century City* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989).
6. Diana Norman, *Siena and the Virgin: Art and Politics in a Late Medieval City State* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999); Gerald Parsons, *Siena, Civil Religion and the Sienese* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
7. Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City-States* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1996).
8. For the most recent discussion and study of confraternities, see James Banker, *Death in the Community: Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune in the Late Middle Ages* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988); Christopher

Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Maureen Flynn, *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400–1700* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989); John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Nicholas Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Konrad Eisenbichler, “Italian Scholarship on Pre-Modern Confraternities in Italy,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997): 567–80; Eisenbichler, *The Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence, 1411–1785* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Nicholas Terpstra, ed., *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Barbara Wisch and Diane Cole Ale, eds., *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy: Ritual, Spectacle, Image* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

9. Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 28.

10. Ronald Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1982), ix.

11. For the relationship among confraternities, religious practice, and public life, see Lance Lazar, “Belief, Devotion, and Memory in Early Modern Italian Confraternities,” *Confraternitas* 15.1 (2004): 3–33. On page 13, note 38, Lazar draws attention to the important work by Robert Putnam, Robert Leonardi, Raffaella Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), and the review article by Dylan Reid, “Measuring the Impact of Brotherhood: The Implications of Robert Putnam’s *Making Democracy Work* for Confraternal Studies,” *Confraternitas* 14.1 (2003): 3–13. For criticism of Putnam’s understanding of historical change, see Gene Brucker, “Civic Traditions in Premodern Italy,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29 (1999): 357–77; and Edward Muir, “The Sources of Civil Society in Italy,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29 (1999): 379–406.

12. “Civic Catholicism” was used by Brian Pullan in “The Scuole Grandi of Venice: Some Further Thoughts,” Ch. 12 in *Poverty and Charity: Europe, Italy, Venice, 1400–1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), 295.

13. Richard Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders: The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe, c.1250–c.1650* (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble Books, 1987), 44–51.

14. Peterson, “Out of the Margins: Religion and the Church in Renaissance Italy,” 851–53.

15. For a masterful survey of the changing early modern attitude toward poverty, see Bronislaw Geremek, *Poverty: A History*, trans. Agnieszka Kolakowska (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

16. David Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia: The Social History of an Italian Town, 1200–1430* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967), 245.

17. Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia*, 249–50.

18. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*.

19. Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*, 14.

20. Thompson, *Cities of God*, 4–5.

21. Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981); see especially ch. 5, “A Republic of Processions,” 185–211.

22. On the Venetian Scuole, see Lia Sbriziolo, “Per la storia delle confraternite veneziane: Dalle deliberazioni miste (1310–1476) del Consiglio dei Dieci. Le scuole

dei Battuti,” In *Miscellanea Gilles Gerard Meersseman*, II (1970): 715–63; Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 33–193; Ruggero Maschio, “Le scuole grandi a Venezia,” in *Storia della cultura veneta: Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, vol. 3/III, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1981), 193–206; Richard Mackenney, “Devotional Confraternities in Renaissance Venice,” in *Voluntary Religion*, ed. W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood, *Studies in Church History*, vol. 23 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 85–96; Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders*; William Wurthmann, “The Council of Ten and the *Scuole Grandi* in Early Renaissance Venice,” *Studi veneziani* n.s. XVIII (1989): 15–66; Patricia Fortini Brown, “Le Scuole” in *Storia di Venezia: Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci, vol. V, *Il Rinascimento: Società ed economia* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), 307–54; Francesca Ortalli, “*Per salute delle anime e delli corpi*”: *Scuole piccole a Venezia nel tardo Medioevo* (Venice: Marsilio, 2001); Jonathan Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260–1807* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

23. Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, 13.

24. Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, 206. Although, as Pullan notes, hospitals and confraternities were technically different (hospitals providing hospitality and confraternities external relief), the activities that the Battuti of Treviso administered were all overseen by one central authority in the confraternity’s hospital complex in the center of the city. Therefore, the terms *hospital* and *confraternity* will be used interchangeably in this book. For Pullan’s observation, see his “‘Support and Redeem’: Charity and Poor Relief in Italian Cities from the 14th to the 17th Century,” ch. 5 in *Poverty and Charity: Europe, Italy, Venice, 1400–1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), 177–208.

25. For an overview of medieval communes and the Renaissance state, see Daniel Waley, *The Italian City-Republics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969); Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. 1, *The Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Denys Hay and John Law, *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance, 1380–1530* (London: Longman, 1989); Julius Kirshner, ed., *The Origins of the State in Italy, 1300–1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

26. See Angelo Ventura, *Nobiltà e popolo nella società veneta del '400 e '500* (Bari: Laterza, 1964); Giorgio Chittolini, *La formazione dello stato regionale e le istituzioni del contado* (Turin: Einaudi, 1979); *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations* (Acts of Two Conferences at Villa I Tatti in 1976–1977) vol. 1, *Quattrocento* (Florence: Nuova Italia Editrice, 1979); Gaetano Cozzi, *Repubblica di Venezia e Stati italiani: Politica e giustizia dal secolo XVI al secolo XVIII* (Turin: Einaudi, 1982); *Il sistema fiscale veneto: Problemi e aspetti, XV–XVIII secolo* (Atti della prima giornata di studio sulla terraferma veneta, Lazise, 29 Marzo 1981), ed. Giorgio Borelli, Paola Lanaro, and Francesco Vecchiato (Verona: Libreria Universitaria Editrice, 1982); Judith Brown, *In the Shadow of Florence: Provincial Society in Renaissance Pescia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); and Giovanna Benadusi, *A Provincial Elite in Early Modern Tuscany: Family and Power in the Creation of the State* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

27. Barbara Ann Sella, “Piety and Poor Relief: Confraternities in Medieval Cremona, c. 1334–1499” (Ph.D. thesis, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, 1996). Review in *Confraternitas* 7 (Spring 1996): 13.

28. Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*.

29. Sandra Cavallo, *Charity and Power in Early Modern Italy: Benefactors and Their Motives in Turin, 1541–1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

30. For recent monographs examining the Veneto, see James Grubb, *Firstborn of Venice: Vicenza in the Early Renaissance State* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); Grubb, *Provincial Families of the Renaissance: Private and Public Life in the Veneto* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Joanne M. Ferraro, *Family and Public Life in Brescia, 1580–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); the review article by Peter Laven, “Venice and Her Dominions, 1381–1797,” *Historical Journal* 37 (1994): 447–55; Benjamin Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara, 1318–1405* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Francesco Bianchi, *La Ca’ di Dio di Padova nel Quattrocento: Riforma e governo di un ospedale per l’infanzia abbandonata* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2005).

31. James Grubb, “When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography,” *Journal of Modern History* 58 (1986): 43–94; Grubb, *Firstborn of Venice*, x–xviii; Gaetano Cozzi and Michael Knapton, *La Repubblica di Venezia nell’età moderna: Dalla guerra di Chioggia al 1517* (Turin: UTET, 1986); John Law, “The Venetian Mainland State in the Fifteenth Century,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 2 (1992): 153–74.

32. Horatio F. Brown, *Venice: An Historical Sketch of the Republic* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1893), 193.

33. Michael Knapton, “Venezia e Treviso nel Trecento: proposte per una ricerca sul primo dominio veneziano a Treviso,” in *Tomaso da Modena e il suo tempo*. (Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi per il 6° Centenario della morte) 41–78, 61 (Treviso: Comitato Manifestazioni Tomaso da Modena, 1980).

34. For the history of Treviso and Venetian expansion, see Knapton, “Venezia e Treviso nel Trecento,” 41–78; Michael Mallet, “La conquista della Terraferma,” in *Storia di Venezia: Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci, vol. IV, *Il Rinascimento: Politica e cultura* (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), 181–244; Giuseppe Del Torre, *Il Trevigiano nei secoli XV e XVI: L’assetto amministrativo e il sistema fiscale* (Venice: Il Cardo, 1990); Ernesto Brunetta, ed., *Storia di Treviso*, 4 vols. (Venice: Marsilio, 1989–93).

35. For the official proclamations, see Giambattista Verca, *Storia della Marca trivigiana e veronese*, 20 vols. (Venice: Presso G. Storti, 1786–91), 12: 33–44.

36. Following the War of Chioggia (1378–81), Venice ceded Treviso to Leopold III, Duke of Austria, who governed the city from May 1381 to January 1384. Treviso was then placed under the jurisdiction of the Carrarese of Padua, who controlled the city until December 1388. After a month of occupation by Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, Venice retook the city in January 1389.

37. For a discussion of the Venetian tax system and allocation of taxes among Trevisan taxpayers, see Del Torre, *Il Trevigiano*; Michael Knapton, “Il fisco nello stato veneziano di terraferma tra ’300 e ’500: la politica delle entrate,” in *Il sistema fiscale veneto: Problemi e aspetti, XV–XVIII secolo*, ed. Giorgio Borelli, Paola Lanaro, and Francesco Vecchiato (Verona: Libreria Universitaria, 1982), 15–57. Treviso, like the other subject cities, was encouraged to be self-supporting and a supplier of livestock and foodstuffs for Venetian initiatives throughout the empire. Any surplus income from

taxes was considered the property of Venice. For example, in 1427 the doge complained that not enough of the 120,000 lire in the communal coffers in Treviso was finding its way to Venice. PV, 39.

38. Law, “The Venetian Mainland State in the Fifteenth Century,” 172. Francesco Barbaro had also served as podestà of Treviso in 1422.

39. Grubb, *Firstborn of Venice*, 25–27, quotation 26.

40. For an overview of the administration of the mainland empire, see Cozzi and Knapton, *La Repubblica di Venezia*, 205–21; and Alfredo Viggiano, *Governanti e governati. Legittimità del potere ed esercizio dell'autorità sovrana nello Stato veneto della prima età moderna* (Treviso: Canova, 1993). For examples of Venetian integration of subject cities, especially Verona, see the collection of essays by John Law, *Venice and the Veneto in the Early Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

41. See Giuseppe De Zotti, *Gli istituti dell'amministrazione civile di Treviso nel Cinquecento* (Tesi di Laurea, Università di Padova, 1941); Giovanni Netto, *Documenti per la storia amministrativa di Treviso veneziana* (Treviso, 1969); and Amelio Tagliaferri, ed., *Relazioni dei rettori veneti in Terraferma III: Treviso* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1975), xvi–xxix.

42. Cozzi and Knapton, *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna*, 233.

43. For Venetian governance of Treviso's church, see PC, 1: 8–15; Giuseppe Liberali, *Documentari sulla Riforma Cattolica pre- e post-Tridentina a Treviso (1527–1577)*, 10 vols. (Treviso: A Cura della Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile di Treviso, 1971–77); Luigi Pesce, ed. *Diocesi di Treviso* (Padua: Gregoriana libreria, 1994), 84–132; David D'Andrea, “Charity and the Reformation in Italy: The Case of Treviso,” in *A Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Sacred in Early Modern Poor Relief*, ed. Thomas Max Safley (Boston: Brill, 2003), 30–46. The close relationship between secular and ecclesiastical power is not a uniquely Venetian characteristic. See Paolo Prodi and Peter Johanek, eds., *Strutture ecclesiastiche in Italia e in Germania prima della Riforma*. Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, Quarderno 16. (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1984); Roberto Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere nella Toscana del Quattrocento*. Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, Monografia 6. (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1987).

44. Peterson, “Out of the Margins,” 836.

45. For the most recent discussion of the historiographical debate, see Thomas Safley, ed. *The Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief* (Boston: Brill, 2003).

46. John Marino, “The Italian States in the ‘Long Sixteenth Century,’” in *Handbook of European History*, ed. Thomas Brady, Hieko Oberman, and James Tracy, vol. 1, *Structures and Assertions* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 331–67, quotations 352–53.

47. Black laments the poor survival rate of confraternities' archival material in *Italian Confraternities*, 19. The premodern archive of the hospital is currently housed in the Archivio di Stato di Treviso. The collection includes 410 boxes of material and over 18,000 parchments with documents dating from the eleventh to the nineteenth centuries. For a general description of the hospital's holdings, see Lucio Puttin and Danilo Gasparini, eds., *Per una storia del Trevigiano in età moderna: Guida agli archivi*. (Treviso: Zoppelli, 1985), 21–22.

CHAPTER 1

Epigraph. Girolamo Savonarola, quoted in Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence*, 164.

Epigraph. “Posciache l’universal Consiglio della Città di Trivigi veduta crescer in essa con il Grand’Hospitale una nova Città, che per esser costrutta di religiosa misericordia, si può dire Città di Dio, risolse con animo generoso emanciparla così, che havendo un Governo da per sè, godesse in civil libertà le prerogative corrispondenti alla sua nobile conditione.” Domenico Vettorrazzi, *Del Grand’Hospitale di Trevigi detto di Santa Maria de Battuti* (Treviso: Pasqualin da Ponte, con licenza de Superiori, 1681), 31.

1. For a discussion of flagellant confraternities that formed following the Great Devotion of 1260, see John Henderson, “The Flagellant Movement and Flagellant Confraternities in Central Italy, 1260–1400,” in D. Baker, ed., *Religious Motivation*, Studies in Church History 15 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), 147–60; Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 100–103. For the history of the foundation of Santa Maria dei Battuti and its growth in the fourteenth century, see Giovanni Netto, *Nel ’300 a Treviso: Vita cittadina vista nell’attività della “scuola” Santa Maria dei Battuti e del suo Ospedale* (Treviso: Ospedale Regionale di Treviso, 1976).

2. The statutes of 1400 repeated earlier editions that stated, “et ita quod perpetuo donec erit ipsa fraternitas ipsa scola et fratres sint et intelligentur esse subiecti iurisdictioni et protectioni comunis Tarvisii.” PC, 2: 385.

3. PC, 1: 96–102, 490.

4. For a list of the guilds in the Corpus Christi procession of 1435, see PV, 272.

5. On the vast landholdings of the confraternity, see Francesca Cavazzana Romanelli, “L’Archivio di S. Maria dei Battuti di Treviso e il ritrovato *Catastico* dei beni terrieri dell’ospedale,” *Archivio Veneto* V Serie, n. 181 (1996): 143–50; Ermanno Orlando, “Campagne e congiuntura: La proprietà fondiaria dell’Ospedale dei Battuti di Treviso nel Trecento,” *Studi veneziani* n.s. XLIII (2002): 95–137; Pastro, *Le terre dell’Ospedale di Santa Maria dei Battuti*.

6. Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia*, 249.

7. See Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1979), 113–19.

8. Indulgences helped to support charitable activities throughout Europe. See Nicolaus Paulus, *Indulgences as a Social Factor in the Middle Ages*, trans. J. Elliot Ross (New York: Devin-Adair, 1922); Kenneth Cameron, *The Pardoner and His Pardons: Indulgences Circulating in England on the Eve of the Reformation* (Hartford, Conn.: Transcendental Books, 1965); Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 264–69; and Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, *The English Hospital, 1070–1570* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995), 97–98.

9. For indulgences granted during the 1300s, see Netto, *Nel ’300 a Treviso*, 29–31, 123.

10. Fifteenth-century indulgences: PO, sc. 113, 16166; sc. 119, 17317; sc. 120, 17653, 17608; sc. 121, 17765; and parchment 17401, found in the director’s office at Ca’ Foncello Hospital.

11. AOT, busta 347: 367: “per un privilegio di indulgentie concesse a questo hospedal per Monsignor Misser Bissarion Cardenal Niceno.” The indulgence cost 6 lire, 4 soldi (1 ducat). For the incomplete parchment, see PO, 16590.

12. AOT, busta 347: 386.

13. Religious houses and hospitals in England sent out agents, called proctors, to advertise the indulgences. See Orme and Webster, *English Hospital*, 98.

14. AOT, busta 4: 99: “per spexe per Iacomo da Novello sindaco in andar a Venexia . . . al cancelier del patriarcha di Venexia per la licencia di far publicar in Venexia el privilegio se ha havuto di Roma.”

15. AOT, busta 7: 330, 333; busta 9: 544.

16. Gerolamo Biscaro, *L'Ospedale ed i suoi benefattori* (Treviso: Longo, 1903), 81–83.

17. PB, 1: 47, n. 1.

18. The wills can be found in POT.

19. For a brief summary of some of the lands held in the fourteenth century, see Netto, *Nel '300 a Treviso*, 68–73; Orlando, “Campagne e congiuntura.”

20. For background on Forzetta and his large artistic and literary collection, see Luciano Gargan, *Cultura e arte nel Veneto al tempo del Petrarca* (Padua: Antenore, 1978).

21. For the Forzetta investment, see Reinhold Mueller, “La Camera del Frumento: un ‘banco pubblico’ veneziano e i gruzzoli dei signori di Terraferma,” in *Istituzioni, società e potere nella Marca trevigiana e veronese (secoli XIII–XIV): Sulle tracce di G. B. Verci*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli and Michael Knapton, 340–44 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1988); Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market*, 382–84.

22. In the fiscal year 1441–42 (from July to the following June) the Battuti’s income was 18,256 lire. In the year 1442–43, the income was 21,360 lire. PV, 41.

23. For some of the ducal letters, see PO, sc. 114, 16370, 16386, 16363, 16431.

24. AOT, busta 2: 428. See Del Torre, *Il Trevigiano nei secoli XV e XVI*, 70–72.

25. For the payments of the taxes, see AOT, busta 2: 440; busta 3: 148; busta 4: 296. For the Venetian deliberations for the construction of the canal, see PB, 1: 41–42; Augusto Serena, *Il Canale della Brentella e le nuove opere di presa e di derivazione nel quinto secolo dagli inizi* (Treviso: Longo and Zoppelli, 1929); and Raffaello Vergani, *Brentella: Problemi d’acque nell’alta pianura trevigiana dei secoli XV e XVI* (Treviso: Canova, 2001).

26. PV, 42.

27. Giovanni Netto, *Vicende dell’Ospedale di Treviso nel '300: La famiglia Da Coderta e la Scuola dei Battuti: Documenti Inediti* (Treviso, 1965).

28. Reference to maintenance of the hospital complex, too numerous to cite, are found throughout the expense books. See AOT, buste 1–11. For the 1528 inventory, see AOT, busta 367: 4–20.

29. Netto, *Nel '300 a Treviso*, 99.

30. PV, 41.

31. AOT, busta 359: 125.

32. AOT, busta 359: 127.

33. Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 43–52. See also Carlo Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture, 1300–1700* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978).

34. PO, sc. 110, 15601.
35. There are numerous expenses for decorations and candles for the altars. For example, see AOT, busta 2: 403, 424.
36. For Paolo da Sassoferrato's life, see PC, 1: 80, 2: 624–25.
37. AOT, busta 3: 474. See *Treviso 1625: Seguendo la Croce*, special edition of *Dove Sile e Cagnan s'accompagna. Rivista dell'Unità Locale Socio-Sanitaria*, n. 10 (1992).
38. See *Treviso 1625: Seguendo la Croce*.
39. AOT, busta 3: 429, 501. The tabernacle door was removed from the church in the hospital and can be seen in all of its splendor in the Museo Civico.
40. AOT, busta 3: 550. The locks and iron doors cost 71 lire, 2 soldi. For the artists who painted the altar, see PV, 227–29.
41. AOT, busta 347: 469; busta 6: 155.
42. AOT, busta 347: 581, 583, 591.
43. Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*, 205.
44. AOT, busta 3: 66, 78, 81, 267; busta 4: 358.
45. PO, sc. 95, 11609.
46. Grubb, *Firstborn of Venice*, 134–35.
47. In a 1685 inventory of its mills, the Provveditori ai Beni Colti of Venice recognized the Battuti's rights over four mills and nine wheels in Treviso, not including their holdings outside of the city. PO, sc. 104, 13976.
48. This donation would later be the home of the modern hospital. Unfortunately, the vestiges of the mill complex were destroyed recently for the expansion of the hospital. Giovanni Battista Tozzato, "La 'Commissaria Amante' e la chiesetta-oratorio di Santa Maria Assunta di Ca' Foncello," in *Ca' Fancello e l'antica chiesetta di Santa Maria Assunta, da sito solitario a ospedale moderno* (Treviso: Bernardi, 2002), 7–17.
49. AOT, busta 2: 430, 440, 518, 565.
50. PO, sc. 120, 17679. A copy of the ducal letter can be found in AOT, busta 378: 226.
51. AOT, busta 2: 579, 593, 566, 587, 588, 594. Once the mill was complete, it appears that one obstacle had to be overcome before the water was diverted and the mill became operational. During the winter of 1445 the gastalds met with the communal engineer to examine the site. On 8 March 1446 the Battuti paid the painter Andrea to make two drawings of the waterways leading to the mill, which Venetian officials eventually approved. AOT, busta 3: 67.
52. AOT, busta 359: 21.
53. AOT, busta 3: 340.
54. PO, sc. 51, 5762.
55. AOT, busta 2: 521; busta 3: 45. The gold ducat was valued at 5 lire, 14 soldi.
56. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, 58–59.
57. The statutes are found in AOT, busta 408; BCT, ms. "Statuti della Scuola dei Battuti di Treviso." Rule book: AOT, busta 359. For transcriptions of the statutes, see Luigi Pesce, "Gli Statuti (1329) della Scuola di S. Maria dei Battuti di Treviso," *Archivio Veneto* V Serie, n. 143 (1977): 5–41; PC, 2: 383–409.
58. AOT, busta 359: 57. The rule book does not specify whether these men had to be brothers of the confraternity.
59. AOT, busta 359: 173. Unfortunately, the book recording the foundlings has not survived, or has not yet been found.

60. AOT, busta 7: 73 bis.
61. Francesco da Crespignaga trained under the grammar professor Simone. PV, 168. He was also a member of the Battuti, see AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 27r, Franciscus de Crispignaga notarius. In AOT, busta 4: 429, we find the note that Matteo di Conegliano replaced Francesco da Crespignaga, who died on 24 October 1467.
62. For the role of processions in civic life, see Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 108–13.
63. AOT, busta 3: 477.
64. AOT, busta 347: 46.
65. AOT, busta 359: 106: “1487, pronontia che sia fatta una tavola et messa nella scuola ove vi siano li nomi di tutti li fratelli et che quelli che non anderanno in processione per la prima et seconda volta paghino ogni fratello soldi 4, e la terza volta siano cassi.”
66. AOT, busta 4: 381, 412, 428, 448. For a detailed description of the processional schedule and musicians employed by the confraternity, see David Bryant and Michele Pozzobon, *Musica, devozione, città. La Scuola di Santa Maria dei Battuti (e un suo manoscritto musicale) nella Treviso del Rinascimento* (Treviso: Fondazione Benetton Studi Ricerche/Canova, 1995).
67. AOT, busta 1: 518: “per far scriver le laude se canta ale processione.”
68. AOT, busta 2: 596.
69. AOT, busta 2: 364: “processioni se fa azo Misser Domine Dio concedesse bon tempo.”
70. AOT, busta 6: 318; busta 2: 564; busta 4 bis: 71, 120; busta 10: 123, 424.
71. AOT, busta 347: 88, 140.
72. AOT, busta 3: 313.
73. Luigi Pesce, “Gli statuti (1486) del Lazzaretto di Treviso composti dal Rolando,” *Archivio Veneto* 112 (1979): 33–71, 47.
74. Richard Trexler, “Ritual Behavior in Renaissance Florence: The Setting,” *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 4 (1973): 125–44. See also Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980).
75. Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*, 205.
76. For a discussion of the importance of ritual processions for the Venetian Republic, see Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*.
77. See Daniel Bornstein, *The Bianchi of 1399: Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993); Bornstein, “Giovanni Dominici, the Bianchi, and Venice: Symbolic Action and Interpretive Grids,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23 (1993): 143–71.
78. PC, 1: 46–49. BCaT, Ducali, 5/2108.
79. PC, 2: 528–30.
80. Muir mentions the mandating of processions in subject cities just once. Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 239.
81. Grubb, *Firstborn of Venice*, 131–32.
82. Verci, *Storia della Marca*, 17: 29. Angelo Marchesan, *Treviso medievale*, 2 vols. (Treviso, 1923; reprint, Bologna: Atesa, 1990), 2: 192.
83. Hay and Law, *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance*, 117.
84. BCaT, Ducali, sc. 9b, 9/4518.
85. AOT, busta 3: 164.

86. AOT, busta 347: 388; busta 6: 318.

87. See Michael Mallett, "Venice and its Condottieri, 1404–54," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J. R. Hale (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), 121–45; Michael Mallet and J. R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 33–43; Michael Mallet, "La conquista della Terraferma," in *Storia di Venezia: Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci, vol. IV, *Il Rinascimento: Politica e cultura* (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), 181–244.

88. AOT, busta 1: 170.

89. AOT, busta 1: 179, 187.

90. AOT, busta 1: 132.

91. AOT, busta 1: 134, 204.

92. AOT, busta 4: 330. See John Norwich, *A History of Venice* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 320.

93. For background on the fighting, see Roberto Lopez, "Il principio della guerra veneto-turca nel 1463," *Archivio Veneto* V Serie, n. 29–30 (1934): 45–131.

94. AOT, busta 5: 346.

95. AOT, busta 6: 311, 457: 28, February 1479: "porta i gonfalon i ala procession general fata per la paxe del turcho." Venice negotiated a peace agreement with the Turks under Mehmet on 24 January 1479. See Norwich, *A History of Venice*, 357. One of those fleeing the siege was Demetrius Franco, an Albanian humanist and cousin of Paolo Angelo, the first man to write the Albanian language. Demetrius sought refuge with his Venetian allies and passed the rest of his days as a priest in the diocese of Treviso. Giuseppe Valentini, "Appunti sul regime degli stabilimenti veneti in Albania nel secolo XIV e XV," *Studi veneziani* VIII (1966): 195–265. On the wars in Albania against the Turks, see *Deuxième conférence des études albanologiques a l'occasion du 5.e. centenaire de la mort de Georges Kastriot-Scanderbeg*, 2 vols. (Tirana: Mihal Duri, 1969–70); and Gazmend Shpuza, "La lutte pour la defense de Shkodër dans les années 1474 et 1478–1479," *Studia Albanica* 5 (1968): 181–90.

96. For an excellent study of confraternity banners, see Andreas Dehmer, *Italienische Bruderschafts des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2004).

97. "[P]er un confalon grande de zendal, torti e franze de seda de grana, cum figure de nostra Dona da tuti do i ladi e san Piero e san Polo da un lado e san Marco e san Liberal da l'altro lado e di soto un altar cum un agnusdeo e batudi, e tute le dite figure, altar e batudi d'oro . . ." Quoted in PV, 398. AOT, busta 1: 229.

98. AOT, busta 359: 73.

99. AOT, busta 7: 332.

100. AOT, busta 4: 50.

101. AOT, busta 4: 484; 4 bis: 119.

102. AOT, busta 3: 252: "per Michiel caratier per andar a Vicenza a condur le fie di lo podesta."

103. AOT, busta 2: 476.

104. AOT, busta 2: 565–66.

105. AOT, busta 10: 590; busta 9: 435.

106. AOT, busta 6: 101.

107. By the mid-sixteenth century, the entertainment for the podestà and podestressa had developed into elaborate and luxurious banquets. See Liberali, *Documentari sulla Riforma Cattolica*, 7–8:102.

108. For background on the feast of the Purification and public support of the Battuti, see Marchesan, *Treviso medievale*, 2: 193.

109. AOT, busta 1: 153.

110. AOT, busta 1: 134: “per donzello di Misser lo podesta porto 1 candelle secondo uxanza al offerta al nostro hospedal el di di S. Maria dali candelle.”

111. AOT, busta 1: 229.

112. Verona had a lawyer as communal advocate in Venice. Law, “The Venetian Mainland State in the Fifteenth Century,” 170. For references to embassies from Vicenza and Padua, see Viggiano, *Governanti e governati*, 30.

113. For Santa Maria dei Battuti’s property in Venice, see Franca Semi, *Gli “Ospizi” di Venezia* (Venice: IRE, 1983), 187; Tozzato, “La ‘Commissaria Amante,’” 16; PO, sc. 110, 15724. The current address of the building is San Marziale, Campiello dei Trevisani, 3573–4–5.

114. AOT, busta 4 bis: 134: “el leto per una note stete al ostaria per non se haver possuto alozar ala chaxa.”

115. AOT, busta 359: 74: 1474, “che si debba tener la camera piccola di sopra nella casa a S. Marciliano di Vinetia per uso solamente delli gastaldi . . . che non si possa dar licentia di habitar nella casa soprascritta, se non a cittadini di Treviso, et a quelli della podestaria di Treviso.”

116. Grubb, *Firstborn of Venice*, 129.

117. Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market*, 384.

118. ASV, Senato, Terra, reg. 1, 30r.

119. AOT, busta 1: 224, 232, 234.

120. ASV, Procuratori di San Marco, de supra, busta C, fascicolo 5, foglio b. I would like to thank Dennis Romano for this reference.

121. PO, sc. 105, 14252; sc. 125, 18588.

122. See Dennis Rhodes, “La seconda edizione degli statuti di Treviso, 1574,” *Studi Trevisani* 5/6 (1987): 21–23.

CHAPTER 2

Epigraph. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, trans. R. J. Batten. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), 34: 277.

Epigraph. PC, 2: 397–98.

1. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 13v, Bernardinus filius Michelis contrariis notarii; 26r, Eusebius filius Michelis de contrariis notarius; 43v, Hieronimus filius Michelis de Contrariis notarius; 52r, Michael de Contrariis notarius (obiit novembris 1490). PV, 10. For the confraternity’s statutes relating to burials, see below.

2. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, 28.

3. This discussion is based on the following works: Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Vintage Books, 1981); Banker, *Death in the Community*; Marcel Tetel, Ronald Witt, and Rona Goffen, eds., *Life and Death in*

Fifteenth-Century Florence (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1989); Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 104–7; and Sharon Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

4. Banker, *Death in the Community*, 10.

5. PC, 2: 396–97.

6. AOT, busta 359: 163: “Morti della Scuola: Possino esser fatti sepolire a spese della scuola con spesa di lire cinque al piu; . . . 1514, li cadaveri dello fratelli di scuola siano portati, et accompagnati alla sepoltura gratis siano ricchi o poveri con 4 dop-pieri a spese della scuola.”

7. AOT, busta 359: 61: “Cantori et Musici: Debbano haver per cadauno funerale delli poveri della scuola soldi ventiquattro per cadauno; . . . 1417, siano levate certe regalie de dinari et sia un sola modula de cantori quali nelle processioni vadino di dietro; 1492, siano obligati personalmente salvo giusto impedimento andar a tutte le processioni et sepolture de morti amore Dei; . . . 1496, di elegger 10 cantori che accompagnino la scuola con soldi 5 per cadauno siano di buoni costumi ne possino esser cassi se non con legitima et evidente causa; . . . 106:1499, li fratelli . . . habbiano due cappe una bianca, et una nera, la bianca portino alle processioni la nera alli funerali.”

8. Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence*, 7.

9. *Ibid.*, 85.

10. PV, 92, 145.

11. PV, 111.

12. PC, 2: 397–98. AOT, busta 359: 105: “Fratelli di Scuola: 1400, se alcun fratello fara alcuna cosa dishonesta, e havute 3 ammonitine non restera sia possi esser privo.”

13. Mary Clawson, “Early Modern Fraternalism and the Patriarchal Family,” *Feminist Studies* 6 (1980): 368–91, 380. Clawson was discussing fraternities that organized festivals featuring the public mocking of dominant wives in Lyon. I have extended the concept from the conjugal relationship to social relationships in which the community asserted its jurisdiction over “private” matters.

14. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, 76–77.

15. PC, 2: 393–94.

16. Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, 63–83, 89–91.

17. For a discussion of the regulations and statutes, see PC, 1:105–6, 2: 394–95. AOT, busta 359: 245: “Sorelle di Scuola: Possino da signori gastaldi esser accettate per sorelle donne da bene con pagar de intradura soldi dicotto; Che ad ogni sorella morta le sia fatto celebrar nel di della morte o nel giorno dietro una messa in domo per l’anima sua; item ogni di in domo per l’anima di tutti li defunti sia celebrata ut supra una messa; 1425, le sorelle di scuola per lor entrata in detta scuola paghino solamente soldi 3 per cadauna; Queste sorelle partecipano di tutte le orationi, et divini officii della scuola, et venendo in processione partecipano delle indulgentie concesse dalli sommi pontefici. Hanno poi certe elemosine tra l’anno come nello dispense dal pane candelle et cetera.”

18. Black notes that “membership records are fairly rare, and not easy to use. Typically they are alphabetical lists (under Christian names) compiled over some years without indicating when members joined, or when they died or left.” Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 19–20.

19. The books are found AOT, busta 409. Unfortunately, the books lack consistent numeration and organization. For example, the earlier book from 1400 is labeled “Blocco B” and the later from 1441 “Blocco A.” We also find several different paginations of the folios, some of which were misbound when recently restored. For both books I will use the folio numbers that are circled in the upper right-hand corner. For purpose of statistics and some degree of control, I figured percentages of membership based only on those names listed in the matriculation books. For a discussion of the books, see also PC, 1:135–36.

20. AOT, busta 409. The matriculation book is not complete; only the letters G, I, L, M, O, P, R, S, T, and Z exist for the men and the letters A, B, C, I, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, T, and U for the women. The members are alphabetized by first names.

21. AOT, busta 4: 358.

22. AOT, busta 2: 364 (28 June 1442): “Zany Bixaza . . . per inquadarnar e ligar la dita matricola.” See also PC, 1: 416.

23. This book is also incomplete, containing only those names beginning with the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, I, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, V, and Z for the men and A, B, C, D, E, F, I, L, and M for the women.

24. AOT, busta 359: 106: 1499, “li fratelli di scola non siano piu di 100.”

25. For background on artisans and traders, see Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders*; and Steven Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

26. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 22r, Daniel da Valvasono, laborator ruralis; Donatus q. M. Michaelis calegarius; Dominicus Florentinus hospes; Donatus de Cagnan tessarius; Donatus Johanes tessarius panorum lane; Daniel Petri portitor vini, Dominicus filius Antonius strazarius; Dominicus becalarius ad dom; Dominicus de Chumis miolarium; Dominicus de Padua aurifex; Daminus de Canizano piscator; Dona de Conegliano fabris in Tarvisio.

27. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 77v, Zanusius trombetta; 14v, Bertus vitriarius; 56v, Nicolaus laboratorus ruralis moratur ad S. Nicolus.

28. The professional differences among doctors, surgeons, and barbers will be discussed in chapter 4. See also Bianca Betto, *I collegi dei notai, dei giudici, dei medici e dei nobili in Treviso* (Venice: Deputazione Editrice, 1981), 221–308. Giovanni da Serravalle’s studies at the University of Padua, for example, were financed by a scholarship from the Battuti from 1391 to 1396. Graduating in medicine in 1397 and licensed the same year, he returned to Treviso to serve in the hospital of the Battuti. Sigismondo Petrachino and Matteo da Settimo were other members of the Battuti who received scholarships for medical training at the University of Padua. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 17r, Sismundus Ser Petrochini phisicus. PV, 134–37; 148–50. We will discuss these doctors and others in chapter 4. For Da Settimo, PV, 144–47. For university scholarships, see chapter 5.

29. For the college of judges, see Betto, *I collegi*, 131–219.

30. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 6v, Jacobus Bonarariis . . . professoris gramatice; 17r, Simon professor gramatice; 19v, Johanes scritor quondam Nicolai . . . de Erfordia de alamania; [1441]: 28v, Franciscus de Novello artium doctor; 28v, Fabricius de Sancto Zenone artium studens (artium doctor); 30v, Francesco de Padue librer; 63r, Petrus Bonus professor gramatice; 71r, Toniaso da Prato nodaro ex gramatice

professor. For Giovanni dall'Acquavite, see PV, 193. We will discuss grammar professors and education further in Chapter 5.

31. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 6v, Johannes di Vicencia cyrugicus; 17v, Soncinus de Laude Ciroicus; [1441]: 67r, Salvator de Modono cirugicus scole (obiit die 2 Septembris 1452).

32. AOT, busta 409, [1400]: 5r, Johanes q. Andree barberii; 10v, Michael de Candia barberius; [1441]: 17r, Conradus d'alemanea barberius; 19r, Bernardino da Marleno barbier; 22v, Daniel de Sacillo barberius in Tarvisio; 52r, Marcho barbier da Veniexia.

33. For a discussion of clerical membership, see Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 32–34.

34. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 78v, Dominus Presibter Zaninus Niger mansionarius ecclesie mayoris Tarvisio.

35. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 29v, Dominus Presbiter Franciscus.

36. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 13v, Birocus clericus q. Leonardi de Postomia.

37. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 6v, Dominus Presbiter Johanes de Calabria. See PC, 2:273.

38. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 15r, Dominus Presbiter Rigus Archydiaconus in dom (1400 obiit).

39. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 21v, Dominus Presbiter Dominicus Cancelinus mansionarius in ecclesia cathedralis. See PC, 1:136.

40. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 7v, Ser Johanes Valvasoribus ordinis Sacri Hospitali Sancti Johannis Jerosolitani et Capellanus altaris sanctorum Jacobi et Christofori in ecclesia Sancti Stephani Tarvisii olim Ser Olivierii Forzete. For Santo Stefano, see PC, 1: 87.

41. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 9r, Dominus Presbiter Minus primicerius ecclesie Sancti Augusti. See PC, 1:608; 2:25, 509.

42. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 9v, Dominus Presbiter Marchior Ser Petri calegarii. See PC, 2:51.

43. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 10r, Dominus Presbiter Martinus de Botonto cantor. See PC, 2:113, 120; PB, 1:374; 2:35.

44. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 3r, Dominus Presbiter Andreasbonus Rector Ecclesie S. Agnetis (obiit di mensis novembris 1443). See PC, 2:24, 34, 184, 187.

45. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 56r, Presbiter Nicolaus di Mianis rector Sancte Andree (obiit die 30 Marcii 1463). See PC, 2:28–29, 59, 658.

46. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 66r, Dominus Presbiter Pasius capellanus Ecclesie Sancti Laurentii de Tarvisio.

47. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 66r, Reverendus Dominus Pileus del Onico decanus ecclesie del dom di Tarvisio. For his life, see Angelo Campagner, *Cronaca Capitolare: I canonici della cattedrale di Treviso* (Treviso: Stocco, 1992), 2:389–91.

48. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 29v, Dominus Franciscus Azali canonicus Tarvisinus. For his life, see Campagner, *Cronaca Capitolare*, 2: 297–98.

49. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 3r, Reverendus in Christo Presbiter et Dominus Iacobus dei Gratia Episcopus Tinarum et Midarum (obiit 1404 15 marcii). For his life, see Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii aevi* (Monasterii: Librariae Regensbergianae), vols. 8:1913–78, 1: 485, Jacobus Endrigetti de Lavazola O. Praed. (Mart. 31, 1400 to Sept. 1403); PC, 1:135, 192–95, 482; 2: 214, 279–80, 502–3.

50. PC, 2: 394–95.

51. On the status of women and their role in society, see Clawson, “Early Modern Fraternalism and the Patriarchal Family”; Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe* (London: Fontana Press, 1995); Renate Bridenthal, Susan Stuard, and Merry Wiesner, eds., *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998); Judith Bennett and Amy Froide, eds., *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); and Stanley Chojnacki, *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice: Twelve Essays on Patrician Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000). For female members of confraternities, see Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 34–38; Francesca Ortalli, “*Per salute delle anime e delli corpi*”: *Scuole piccole a Venezia nel tardo Medioevo* (Venice: Marsilio, 2001), 115–44; and Lorenza Pamato, “‘De dominabus mundanis in istis nostris scolis’: La matricola femminile dei battuti di San Giovanni Evangelista di Venezia (sec. XIV),” *Annali di studi religiosi* (2001): 439–501.

52. The entries for these women are as follows: AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 22r, Caterina soror Petripauli de la Panciera notarius; 22v, Caterina uxor Gaspari Brage; 23v, Lucia uxor Magister Girardi cyroici de Vidor; 24v, Maria uxor q. Zambonis pictoris; 26v, Orsola moyer de Gabriel scorzer; [1441]: 83r, Agnes uxor Ser Francisci de Raynaldis; 108r, Margarita filia q. Magister Juan cantor.

53. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 22r, Costanza sartorella al ponte de Santi Galian; 23r, Jacoba de Sancto Johannes de Templo; [1441]: 91r, Catarina tessaria panorum lane; 104v, Lena de Madrassa moratur in hospitali S. Marie; 111r, Madalena vedosta a S. Nicollo, Madalena teutonicha vidua.

54. The statutes did not make any direct reference to citizenship as a requirement for entrance. Citizenship is mentioned regarding leadership positions, but even these regulations are qualified. For instance, the statutes stated that gastalds had to be citizens of Treviso, from either the paternal or the maternal side, or foreigners who had lived in Treviso for a long time and been good and loyal subjects. The syndics also had to be citizens, or foreigners (and in this case the period of time is specific) who had resided in Treviso for ten years. PC, 2: 387–88.

55. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 1r, Gaspar de Bononia; 3v, Johanes de Feraria; 4v, Johanes de Urbeveteri; 7v, Lazarus de Orvieto; 9v, Marcus de Mantua; 18v, Thomasinus de Parma; [1441]: 3r, Antonius de Mediolano; 52r, Marinus di Raguxio calegerius; 54v, Ieronimo da Faenza; 63v, Pantalonus murarius de Cremona.

56. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 15r, Rigus calegarius de Bavaria; 19r, Zaninus Johanis de Francia; 19v, Johanes scrittor quondam Nicolai de Erffordia de almania; [1441]: 5v, Anzel theutonicus de Nuribergo.

57. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 19r, Zorzius Antonii de Capodistria; 19v, Zane marangon da Scutari; [1441]: 56v, Nicolaus de Iustinopoli barcharolus; 63v, Piero Barbier da Scutari. For Capodistria, see Paolo Naldini, *Corografia ecclesiastica o sia descrizione della città e della diocesi di Giustinopoli detto volgarmente Capo d'Istria* (1700; reprint, Bologna: Forni, 1967). For background information on refugees from the eastern Adriatic, see Lovorka Coralic, “Prisutnost Doseljenika sa Istocnojadranske Obale u Veneciji od XIII do XVIII Stoleca (Emigrés from the eastern Adriatic coast in Venice in the 13th–18th Centuries),” *Radovi. Institut za Hrvatsku Povijest* 26 (1993): 39–78. For Scutari: Injac Zamputi, “Disa të Dhana për Qytetin e Shkodrës në Tridhjetëvjetorin e Parë të Pushtimit Otoman (Some facts relating to the town of Shkodër

[Scutari] during the first thirty years of Ottoman Rule),” *Studime Historike* 20 (1966): 47–60; For Frëngu: Dhimitër Shuteriqi, “Dhimitër Frëngu (1443–1525),” *Studime Historike* 16 (1979): 147–74; “Frëngu, Dhimitër,” *Dictionary of Albanian Literature* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 47. On Scanderbeg: Harry Hodgkinson, *Scanderbeg*, ed. Bejtullah Destani and Westrow Cooper (London: Centre for Albanian Studies, 1999). George Scanderbeg’s legend in Italy persisted through the centuries, even providing the inspiration for Antonio Vivaldi’s rarely performed opera *Scanderbeg*, which premiered at the Teatro de la Pergola in Florence on 22 June 1718.

58. AOT, busta 359: 109: “Gastaldi: 1405, ordine di crear li gastaldi cioe un nobile o dottore, dui nodari, et un popolare, overo un nobile, o in suo lugo un dottor, un nodaro et duo buno popolari da esser ballottati nel capitolo de savii.”

59. For statistical purposes, I count only those men who appear in the matriculation books, which although incomplete, provide some standard of measurement. Unfortunately, we lack the prosopographical studies to determine if the membership of the Battuti reflected the city’s population.

60. The fourteen clergy are not counted toward the leadership positions because they could not be gastalds.

61. Richard Trexler, “Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites in the Italian Communes,” in *The Rich, the Well Born, and the Powerful*, ed. Frederic Jaher (Secaucus, N.J.: Citadel Press, 1973), 105.

62. Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 42.

63. For the status and role of nobles, see Betto, *I collegi*, 309–418; and PV, 237–71.

64. The entries for the nobles in the matriculation books are as follows: [1400]: 1r, Ser Gaspar filius Johanis Brage; 1v, Dominus Gregorius de Spineta Judex; 1v, Dominus Guilielmus de Collalto; 5r, Ser Johanes de Barixanis q. Ser Cini de Florentia; 13r, Ser Petrus Paulus de Caronellis notarius; 13v, Dominus Petrus del Getho de Coneclano legum doctor; 13v, Ser Paulus Caxalorcio; 15r, Rizolinus Domini Altinerii Advocati; 15r, Ser Rainerius di Sclaribus de Florentia; 17r, Ser Sergius q. Domini Forelle de Castro Pole; 18r, Tanarus de Bragis; [1441]: 1v, Ser Alovisius de Raynaldis; 1v, Ser Albrigetus de Raynaldis; 1v, Ser Altinerius de Azonibus; 5r, Antonius filius Ser Nasinguere de Roverio; 7r, Ser Antonius q. Ser Nasinguere de Roverio; 9v, Antonio Bomben official dela casa a di 22 feb. 1541; 17r, Cinus q. Anthoni de Barixanis; 18v, Ser Bonfranciscus de Aldemario; 22r, Ser Deyphebus de Bizignolis; 27r, Ser Franciscus de Raynaldis (die 29 Maii obiit die magna reditum); 27r, Franciscus q. Ser Bortholomei de Bombenis; 27r, Franciscus filius Ser Gaspari Braga; 27v, Dominus Francischinus de Pola legum doctor; 30r, Nobilis Ser Francischinus di Rainaldis; 52r, Ser Matheus de Bizignolis (obiit . . . 1490); 57r, Ser Nasinquere de Roverio; 60v, Ser Ludovicus de Bizignolis; 65r, Rainerius filius Ser Laurencii de Sclaribus; 65r, Ser Renaldus de Renaldis; 66r, Ser Petrus Franciscus de Castro Polle q. Ser Baptiste; 68r, Ser Sovisius di Castropolle; 68r, Ser Trifolius de Azonibus; 68r, Ser Sipio filius Sp. ll. doctoris Domini Zacharie de Ranainaldis; 70r, Thomas . . . Gaspari Braga; 73v, Ser Victor Bomben; 73v, Ser V . . . Bomben filius Nobilis vir Ser Coroli; 74v, Nobilis Ser Uliверius filius Sp. ll. doctoris Zacharie de Renaldis; 77r, Ser Zambonis de Sclaribus; 78v, Zanleonardus filius Domini Iheronimi de Roverio legum doctor; 79r, Sp. Dominus Zacharius di Renaldis.

65. PV, 90–91.

66. PV, 241–42.
67. PV, 90, 244–45.
68. PV, 249–51.
69. PV, 245–46.
70. PV, 98–100.
71. PV, 91–92, 254.
72. PV, 93–94.
73. PV, 257–58.
74. PV, 269.
75. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 4v, Dominus Johanes de Urbeveteri legum doctor. PV, 83–86.
76. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 7v, Dominus Ludovicus a tovaleis utrusque iuris doctor. PV, 72–73, 95–97.
77. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 77r, Zampetrus de Pratto doctor legum. PV, 101.
78. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 6v, Jacobus Judex quondam ser Thadei de Quero. PV, 111–12.
79. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 8r, Dominus Ludovicus Berthono legum doctor (1427 di 19 Augusti). PV, 97–98.
80. Betto, *I collegi*, 19–129.
81. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 7r, Liberalis quondam Ser Fabiani notarius. PV, 115–23.
82. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 65r, Rolandus de Asillo notarius; [1400]: 1r, Guilielmus de Sancto Zenone notarius. PV, 106–7.
83. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 12r, Paulus de Rugulo notarius; [1441]: 1v, Antonius ser Artici notarius (obiit 1458). PV, 107–15.
84. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 52r, Michael Sugana Legum doctor.
85. ASVE, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Commissarie, busta C, fasc. 4, fogli b.
86. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 3r, Antonius de Mediolano phisicus; 21v, Damianus filius Antonius de Mediolano phisicus.
87. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 13v, Bernardinus filius Michelis contrariis notarii; 26r, Eusebius filius Michelis de contrariis notarius; 43v, Hieronimus filius Michelis de Contrariis notarius; 52r, Michael de Contrariis notarius (obiit die novembris 1490). PV, 10.
88. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 1r, Guilielmus de Sancto Zenone notarius; [1441]: 38v, Gieronimus filius Rizardi de Sancto Zenone notarius; 56r, Nicolaus filius Ser Guilielmi de Sancto Zenone notarius; 65r, Rizardus notarius filius Ser Guilielmi de Sancto Zenone notarius.
89. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 19r, Zandonatus de Corona notarius; [1441]: 77r, Zampetrus quondam Zandonati de Corona notarius; 78r, Zandonatus filius Ser Zampetrus de Corona notarius.
90. Clawson, “Early Modern Fraternalism and the Patriarchal Family.”
91. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 1r, Geronimus bastardini pictoris; 25v, Maria uxor q. Bastardini pictoris (obiit 14 Jan. 1413).
92. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 12r, Petrus da Settimo; 9v, Magister Matheus Ser Petri de Septimo notarius; 21v, Catarina uxor Petrus de Settimo; [1441]: 21v, Deodatus filius di magister Matheus de Septimo phisicus; 63v, Paulus de Feltre qui moratur

cum Ser Deodato de Septimo. For a discussion of Matteo da Settimo, see PV, 144–47. Deodato died without offspring.

93. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 19r, Zampetrus q. Anthonius calegarii notarius de Rexio; 25v, Maria uxor Zampetri de Rexio notarius; 29r, Uliana mater Zampetri de Rexio, Ursula filia dicti Zampetri de Rexio.

94. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 25r, Marina socera Danielis de Chinzo (obiit 1403); 26v, Perencina uxor Danielis de Chinatio. For Perencina, see PV, 120.

95. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 1r, Gulielmus qui fuit Judeus factis Christianus.

96. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 52v, Marcus Ihereminus calegarius olim Judeus.

97. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 63r, Petrus olim Judeus attendit ad camera pignorum.

98. AOT, busta 409 [1400]: 17r, Magister Stephanus physicus et cyroicus olim Judeus. Gratia domini nostri Jeshu Christianus.

99. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 8v, Agnolo fameio de Ser Zanin Braga; 23v, Dominicus famulus Noblis Ser Bernardini de Castropolle.

100. AOT, busta 409 [1441]: 23v, Damianus filius adoptivus Petri Falzoni notarii.

101. The idea is taken from Mackenney. “Venetian confraternities encouraged among members a sense of solidarity as Christians and as Venetians.” Mackenney, *Trademen and Traders*, 60.

CHAPTER 3

Epigraph. Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. G. H. McWilliam (London: Penguin Books, 1972), 118.

1. John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 57.

2. For an introduction to medieval poverty and the Catholic understanding of the deserving poor, see Brian Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and Its Application in England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959); Brian Pullan, “Catholics and the Poor in Early Modern Europe,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, 26 (1976): 15–34; and Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986).

3. “Dispensatio de denari per dio a poveri e vergognoxe personi” and “per l’amor di dio” were regular headings in the account books, separate from the monies spent to feed and clothe the sick and poor on a daily basis.

4. Two examples can be found in AOT, busta 1: 131, 142.

5. AOT, busta 1: 142.

6. AOT, busta 1: 157.

7. AOT, busta 1: 131.

8. AOT, busta 3: 232.

9. AOT, busta 347: 44.

10. AOT, busta 347: 389.

11. AOT, busta 1: 177.

12. For examples of aid to deaf and mute men and women, see AOT, busta 1: 157; 3: 334; 347: 475. Charity to a hunchback (*gobo*) is recorded in January 1490. AOT, busta 10: 459.

13. AOT, busta 10: 459.
14. The recommendation was found wedged in the account book for the year 1464–65. AOT, busta 4: 92. The appeal to the gastalds was made by three men on behalf of the “poverissima et honestissima vedoa de suma bonta.” Unfortunately, the document lacks a date and does not name the woman.
15. AOT, busta 359: 124: “Ordine del Griso che ogni anno li Presidente sono tenuti di comprare per dispensarlo a povere persone giusta le ordinationi testamentarie delli infrascritti testatori. . . .” What follows is a list of the hospital’s benefactors and the annual amounts that were pledged to purchase grixi (the name followed by the amount in lire): Forcetta 462, Da Riese 50, Zuan de Zili 62, Martin dalla Zucca 26, Pietro da Montebelluna 43, Gabriel da Villorba 130, Maria Benola 32, Hieronimo da Crespan 40, Benetto Reppotel 22, Domenego Marescalco 14, Nicolo dal Sale 19, Federigo di Malvasi 200; Total: 1038 lire.
16. AOT, busta 6: 426: “Dispensatio de denari e per coltre date per dio, e dispensad a povere e vergognoxe persone fuora del hospedal per legati di plui testadori.”
17. AOT, busta 1: 189.
18. For examples of the annual expenses, see AOT, busta 3: 345; busta 347: 174; busta 4: 437; busta 6: 460; busta 12: 81, 84.
19. Silvio Tramontin, *Pagine di santi veneziani: Antologia* (Brescia: Paideia, 1968), 77.
20. AOT, busta 1: 151.
21. AOT, busta 1: 237.
22. AOT, busta 1: 238.
23. AOT, busta 1: 151.
24. AOT, busta 1: 237.
25. AOT, busta 347: 379.
26. The “Dispensation di vin date e dispensado per dio a miserable persone fuora del hospedal” for 1464 included wine given to sixty-six brothers at Christmas; AOT, busta 4: 80. Indiscriminate distribution of food and wine could obviously lead to corruption. The sixteenth-century Venetian reform of convents specifically mentioned this abuse of funds. See Jutta Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in Renaissance Venice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 128–29.
27. For confraternities that cared for prisoners, see Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 221–23.
28. Brian Pullan, “The Relief of Prisoners in Sixteenth-Century Venice,” *Studi veneziani* X (1968): 221–29, 221.
29. For a discussion of Venetian charitable efforts and the prison system, see Pullan, “The Relief of Prisoners,” and Giovanni Scarabello, *Carcerati e carceri a venezia nell’età moderna* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1979), 9–28.
30. Marchesan, *Treviso medievale*, 2: 113–14. PC, 1: 88. The statute is transcribed in PC, 2: 404–5.
31. POT, Sc. 124, 18391.
32. AOT, busta 359: 17.
33. AOT, busta 10: 607: “per far depenzer una anchoneta se porta avanti a quelli cercha el pane per li presonieri.”
34. AOT, busta 9: 349.

35. POT, Sc. 108, 15255. For Ioannes Benedetti, see Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica Medii aevi*, 1: 480.
36. AOT, busta 2: 574.
37. The painter Agnolo executed the work in January 1442. AOT, busta 4: 358.
38. For a discussion of those condemned to death and the confraternities that comforted them, see Giovanni Romeo, *Aspettando il boia: Condannati a morte, confortatori e inquisitori nella Napoli della Controriforma* (Florence: Sansoni, 1993); Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 217–19; Chiara Traverso, *La Scuola di San Fantin o dei "Picai": Carità e giustizia a Venezia* (Venice: Marsilio, 2000).
39. AOT, busta 359: 105: “che quando alcuno sera condannato ad eser decapitato si debbano cavar per bolletino 16 fratelli delli battudi li quali con il crocifesso debbano andar ad accompagnar quel medesimo che haveria da morire.”
40. AOT, busta 3: 355: “per prixonieri son in le prixon di Treviso i qual fo spexi in la supultura di una femena fo iustixiada.”
41. AOT, busta 359: 197.
42. AOT, busta 1: 150.
43. AOT, busta 5: 515.
44. AOT, busta 3: 232.
45. AOT, busta 347: 147.
46. For a similar practice in Venice, see Brian Pullan, “Houses in the Service of the Poor in the Venetian Republic,” Ch. 10 in *Poverty and Charity: Europe, Italy, Venice, 1400–1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994).
47. AOT, busta 347: 147.
48. AOT, busta 1: 131.
49. AOT, busta 1: 209.
50. AOT, busta 5: 379.
51. AOT, busta 10: 605.
52. AOT, busta 4 bis: 102.
53. AOT, busta 10: 419: “una povera forestiera cum 3 fioli non pote alozar in hospodal.”
54. AOT, busta 9: 4, loose folio: “per uno Zuane albanese infermo era intrado in la infermaria et dubitando del morbo fo manda al hostaria.”
55. ASVE, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Commissarie, busta C, fasc. 4, fogli b.
56. Abandoned children, those whose parents were unknown (usually bastards), were different from orphans, who had been separated from known and legitimate parents because of the death of parent(s) or inability of the family to care for them (most often because of economic hardship). The documents of the Battuti refer to all of these children as “children of the house.” For an introduction to the topic, see Brian Pullan, “Orphans and Foundlings in Early Modern Europe,” Ch. 3 in *Poverty and Charity: Europe, Italy, Venice, 1400–1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994); John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988); Volker Hunecke, *I trovatelli di Milano: Bambini esposti e famiglie espositrici dal XVII al XIX secolo* (Milan: Il Mulino, 1989); David Kertzer, *Sacrificed for Honor: Italian Infant Abandonment and the Politics of Reproductive Control* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993); the collection of essays *Enfance abandonnée et société en Europe, XIV–XX siècle* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1991); Casimira Grandi, ed., “*Benedetto chi ti porta, maledetto chi ti manda*”:

L'infanzia abbandonata nel Triveneto (secoli XV–XIX) (Treviso: Edizioni Fondazione Benetton Studi Ricerche/Canova, 1997); Thomas Kuehn, *Illegitimacy in Renaissance Florence* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002); Timothy Miller, *The Orphans of Byzantium: Child Welfare in the Christian Empire* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of American Press, 2003). For a discussion of the care of abandoned children by hospitals and confraternities in Italy, see Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 200–206; and Nicholas Terpstra, *Abandoned Children of the Italian Renaissance: Orphan Care in Florence and Bologna* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

57. Netto, *Nel '300 a Treviso*, 87.

58. For references to the use of the *ruota* (*cunetta* in Trevisan), see Grandi, “*Benedetto chi ti porta*,” 158; and Pullan, “Orphans and Foundlings,” 9.

59. AOT, busta 5: 383.

60. AOT, busta 10: 595.

61. The diocesan baptismal books for the years 1398 to 1564 survive (the rest were lost during World War II) and provide a rare look into the familial network of the city. Most abandoned children were baptized under the auspices of the Battuti and demarcated by a flagellant symbol or a cross next to the child's name. The baptism books are found in BCaT, Acta Baptizatorium.

62. For the list of terms, see PC, 1: 61–62.

63. The references to wet nurses are ubiquitous throughout the account books. For example, in 1478 the Battuti paid Lucia, wife of Martino da Sugana, 4 lire for the two months she nursed. AOT, busta 6: 426. An entry from September 1489 records the payment of 30 soldi per month for a woman to nurse a baby girl of the Battuti. AOT, busta 10: 423.

64. On the social investment in children, see David Herlihy, “Medieval Children,” in *Women, Family and Society in Medieval Europe: Historical Essays, 1978–1991*, ed. Anthony Molho (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1995), 215–43.

65. AOT, busta 1: 131, 174, 209.

66. The average for the number of foundlings admitted in a year is discussed below. Infants were usually weaned at 18 to 24 months, and only one infant was usually placed with each wet nurse. For the placement of foundlings with wet nurses, see Philip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410–1536* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 226–43; and Christine Klapisch-Zuber, “Blood Parents and Milk Parents: Wet Nursing in Florence, 1300–1530,” in *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 132–64.

67. We have two annual totals: 21,000 lire in 1442; 18,000 lire in 1500. AOT, busta 2: 398; busta 11: 9.

68. See chapter 4.

69. AOT, busta 4: 272.

70. For example, AOT, busta 347: 263: “per far segar e dentar i petini 9 di corno per li puti”; busta 11: 80: “per petini 13 di legno comprad per le pute.”

71. AOT, busta 5: 409.

72. AOT, busta 3: 231. The lack of specific annotations in the expense books precludes a study of infant mortality rates.

73. AOT, busta 1: 171: “Donna Benegnuda mare di puti.” AOT, busta 4: 89.

74. AOT, busta 347: 98.

75. AOT, busta 4: 83: “per una pexa di cordel rosse di lana per far zogli ai puti di chaxa.”

76. AOT, busta 9: 435: “ale pute e zovene de casa per spender in fiera . . . soldi 20 per una.”

77. AOT, busta 359: 125: “non compresi li lattenti esposti in cunetta quelli che sono fuori a lattar, bailire, et spesare.”

78. The annual admissions to the Innocenti of Florence as a percentage of baptisms at San Giovanni rose from 4.8 percent in 1451 to 8.9 percent in 1465. Gavitt, *Charity and Children*, 208, 225.

79. BCaT, Acta Baptizatorum.

80. Richard Trexler, “The Foundlings of Florence, 1395–1455,” *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 266–68; Gavitt, *Charity and Children*, 215.

81. Bianchi, *La Ca’ di Dio di Padova nel Quattrocento*, 214.

82. PO, Sc. 113, 16166.

83. AOT, busta 4: 308: “Intrade di denari recevud per far latar puti portad a questo hospedal dal qual far latar se ha plena indulgentia di tuti suo pecad.”

84. Father Petrus appears as rector of San Bartolomeo in 1460. PC, 1:144–45; 2:30.

85. AOT, busta 4: 308.

86. AOT, busta 4 bis: 112.

87. See AOT busta 5: 383, 535; busta 6: 111, 294.

88. AOT, busta 14: 81: 22 December 1503, “Date a Lena . . . tien magdalena serena contad Misser Lorenzo Loto depenter . . . L 6, S 4.” I would like to thank Christian Zürcher for this reference. For Lotto, see Peter Humfrey, *Painting in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001), especially 286.

89. AOT, busta 376: 34: “per formam privilegium.”

90. AOT, busta 376: 38: “Augustine puele domus datio per indulgentus.”

91. AOT, busta 359: 98–99. In Brescia during the 1600s, excommunication was also used to spur recalcitrant parents. Pullan, “Orphans and Foundlings,” 18.

92. AOT, busta 359: 98–99: “Escommunica, Summario del statuo et ordinatione fatti per Sisto quarto sommo pontefice per oviar alle Fraudi, et inganni se si commettono nel portar li fanciulli all’Hospedal di Madonna Santa Maria di Battud di Treviso.”

93. AOT, busta 10: 113: “per parte di pagamento de una bola de una scomunica se die haver dal papa contra quei che porta bastadi al hospedal et sano portar.” The five gold ducats were valued at 31 lire.

94. AOT, busta 9: 439.

95. For an introduction to the complex Renaissance system of adoption, see Terpstra, *Abandoned Children*, 12–14. Kuehn explains that full, formal adoption was extremely rare in Renaissance Italy. Most legal contracts outlining adoption were in effect provisions for foster care: food, lodging, and training. See Kuehn, *Illegitimacy in Renaissance Florence*. Nevertheless, adoptions often reflected strong emotional bonds and genuine acts of piety. See Dennis Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft: Domestic Service in Renaissance Venice, 1400–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 100.

96. Liberali, *Documentari sulla Riforma Cattolica, pre e post-Tridentina a Treviso*, 7–8:99; Bryant and Pozzobon, *Musica, devozione, città*, 26. The notarial book is found in the Biblioteca del Seminario, Santin/1.

97. BCaT, Acta Baptizatorum, vol. AA (1418–46), 153.
98. PO, sc. 102, 13393.
99. PO, sc. 94, 11544.
100. “Iohannam filiam adoptivam quam accepit ab hospitali Sancte Marie de batutis de Tarvisio,” quoted from PC, 2: 54.
101. Kristen Gager, *Blood Ties and Fictive Ties: Adoption and Family Life in Early Modern France* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 41, n. 27.
102. Adoptions from the foundling home in Florence also did not favor males. See Gavitt, *Charity and Children*, 243.
103. PO, sc. 109, 15544.
104. For adoptions of foundlings by foster parents in Florence, see Gavitt, *Charity and Children*, 236–37.
105. PV, 188.
106. We will also discuss these topics in chapter 5.
107. AOT, busta 376: 11.
108. Biblioteca del Seminario, Santin/1, 43.
109. AOT, busta 4, 332. PC, 1: 158, n. 572.
110. For the placement of a few of these girls, see the notary books for 1501 found in AOT, busta 284: 91.
111. Biblioteca del Seminario, Santin/1, 18.
112. See Terpstra, *Lay confraternities and Civic Religion*; Gavitt, *Charity and Children*, 259; Kate Lowe, “Secular Brides and Convent Brides: Wedding Ceremonies in Italy during the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation,” in *Marriage in Italy, 1300–1600*, ed. Trevor Dean and Kate Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 41–65. See also Marion Kaplan, ed., *The Marriage Bargain: Women and Dowries in European History* (New York: Institute for Research in History; Haworth Press, 1985).
113. The expenses for dowries and “coltre per le novize” are found throughout the account books. For example, see AOT busta 1: 142, 157, 177, 209, 231.
114. AOT, busta 6: 609: “per L 3 confeto per la Zana noviza di casa fo spoxada questo di.”
115. AOT, busta 9, loose folio.
116. AOT, busta 11: 67.
117. AOT, busta 11: 79. The dowry cost 37 lire, 5 soldi.
118. For example, in February 1495 the Battuti paid two carpenters to make the chests: “per far far le chasse dele spose de chasa.” AOT, busta 9: 448.
119. Boswell, *Kindness of Strangers*, 421.
120. Barbara Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Louis Haas, *The Renaissance Man and His Children: Childbirth and Early Childhood in Florence 1300–1600* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998); Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001).
121. For a discussion of the official doctrines and frequency of confession, see Thomas Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977); David Myers, “Poor, Sinning Folk”: *Confession and Conscience in Counter-Reformation Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996); and Odd Langholm, *The Merchant in the Confessional: Trade and Price in the Pre-Reformation Penitential Handbooks* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

122. AOT, busta 1: 177.
123. AOT, busta 347: 147.
124. AOT, busta 347: 147.
125. AOT, busta 347: 449.
126. AOT, busta 4: 64.
127. AOT, busta 4: 170.
128. AOT, busta 4: 386.
129. AOT, busta 5: 515.
130. AOT, busta 6: 280.
131. AOT, busta 1: 142.
132. AOT, busta 1: 131.
133. AOT, busta 3: 138: “per prete vene cum i batud ala sepultura . . . fo sepelid per amore de dio.”
134. AOT, busta 3: 232.
135. AOT, busta 6: 426.
136. AOT, busta 10: 423: “per far sepelir quello . . . era morto de steso sul ponte de rialto in venezia.” For a discussion of suicide in medieval and early modern Europe, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, “Il suicidio nel Medioevo,” *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa* 7–8 (1975): 339–71; and Michael MacDonald and Terence Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990). Another possible explanation, suggested to me by Dennis Romano, is that the person was simply lying on or under the Rialto bridge. The bridge was a place frequented by the homeless, but it was also a place for suicides. For example, the father of Girolamo Miani killed himself there in 1496: “impiccato a una scala a Rialto.” Giuseppe Della Santa, “Per la biografia di un benefattore dell’umanità nel ’500 (S. Girolamo Miani),” *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* (1917), 35.
137. AOT, busta 1: 209. See also PC, 1: 459.
138. AOT, busta 1: 209.
139. AOT, busta 3: 334. For background on the convent, see PC, 1: 615–20.
140. AOT, busta 347: 345.
141. AOT, busta 347: 475.
142. AOT, busta 4: 225. For reference to the fire, see Giovanni Netto, *Guida di Treviso* (Trieste: LINT, 1988), 349. For the news of the fire that reached Venice and a subsequent allocation of funds by the Venetian authorities, see ASVE, Senato, Terra, Registro 5, 150r (7 February 1466). “Vadit . . . dare debeat in elimosianam singulis mensis incipiendo mensi Martii primo ducati quinquanginta per unum annum integrum de denariis camera nostre TV. de parte 130, de non 3, nonsincere 1.” In 1466 the ducat was worth 124 soldi, or 6 lire and 4 soldi, so 50 ducats was equivalent to 310 lire, the exact amount that the Battuti paid in April. I infer from this that the Battuti were encouraged to pay for one month’s charity. For exchange rates in 1466, see Frederic Lane and Reinhold Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, vol. 1, *Coins and Moneys of Account* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 617.
143. AOT, busta 3: 334.
144. “in subsidio de far el so capitolo,” and “per el so capitolo fato a Padoa,” quoted in PC, 1: 544.

145. AOT, busta 347: 248. The organ had been rebuilt some forty years before in 1422. PC, 1: 523; 2: 322. On confraternal support of music, see Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*.

146. The Battuti's support of education will be discussed in chapter 5.

147. AOT, busta 1: 131.

148. PC, 1: 514.

149. See Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews in Italy* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946); James Parkes, *The Jew in the Medieval Community*, 2nd ed. (New York: Hermon Press, 1976); Robert Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Anthony Oldcorn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Angela Möschter, *Juden im venezianischen Treviso, 1389–1509* (Diss. masch. Trier: 2004).

150. PC, 1: 157.

151. AOT, busta 1: 142.

152. AOT, busta 1: 222: “trovado a dosso a uno fo zudio fato cristian vene infermo e mori.”

153. For an introduction to the topic of pilgrimage, see Gerhart Ladner, “*Homo Viator*: Medieval Ideas on Alienation and Order,” *Speculum* 42 (1967): 233–59; Renato Stopani, *Le vie di pellegrinaggio del Medioevo. Gli itinerari per Roma, Gerusalemme Compostella*. Franco Cardini, *In Terrasanta: Pellegrini italiani tra Medioevo e prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002); Jonathon Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God* (Mahwah, N.J.: HiddenSpring, 2003).

154. For background on pilgrimages and pilgrims, including Jubilee Years, see PC, 1: 63–72; Giampaolo Cagnin, *Pellegrini e vie del pellegrinaggio a Treviso nel Medioevo (secoli XII–XIV)* (Verona: Cierre, 2000); Cagnin, “Volo ire quia spero in Deo et Beato Henrico: La documentazione trevigiana su pellegrini e santuari (secoli XII–XV),” *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa* 65 (2004): 49–74. The German pilgrim Arnold von Harff describes the shrine of Saint Anthony de Vienne in the later 1490s with its hospital for those with Saint Anthony's fire on their hands or feet. The cure of this disease could have been one of the reasons for the hospital's support of travelers there. Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, trans. Malcolm Letts (London: Hakluyt Society, 1946), 258.

155. During the first half of the fifteenth century, the cost of the journey to Compostela was calculated at 20 to 25 ducats, the trip to Sant'Antonio di Vienne 5 to 6 ducats, to Rome 6 to 10 ducats, Assisi 4 to 5 ducats. The prices fluctuated according to the number of stops along the way. PC, 1: 66–67.

156. PV, 136.

157. PV, 156.

158. PV, 92.

159. Common phrases in the documents include: “in auxilio eundi ad Sepulchrum, ad Sancte Iacobum de Galicia, Romam ad limina apostolorum, in alturio de andar al Santo de Padoa.” PC, 1: 157.

160. AOT, busta 347: 294.

161. AOT, busta 5: 397.

162. AOT, busta 4: 272.

163. AOT, busta 5: 379.

164. AOT, busta 347: 91.

165. AOT, busta 4: 332, 361.
166. AOT, busta 1: 157: “date a Stefano . . . vuol andar al viazo di Misser Santo Iacomo.” For Bonagratia, see also PC, 2: 311.
167. AOT, busta 18: 56. I would like to thank Christian Zürcher for this reference.
168. For a discussion of Venetian pilgrimage, see Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 266–71; Rosamund Mitchell, “Antonio Loredan and the Jaffa Voyage,” *Italian Studies* 13 (1958): 83–87; Ugo Tucci, “Mercanti, viaggiatori, pellegrini nel Quattrocento,” and Giuliano Lucchetta “Viaggiatori e racconti di viaggi nel Cinquecento,” both in *Storia della cultura veneta: Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1980), 3/II:317–53, 433–89.
169. H. F. M. Prescott, *Friar Felix at Large: A Fifteenth-century Pilgrimage to the Holy Land* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1950), 71–74. For the original, see Felix Fabri, *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri*, trans. A. Stewart (London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1892–97), 1:76–77.
170. On the section of the Via Romea that runs through Treviso, see Francesco Dufour, *Le strade cristiane per Roma* (Milan: Mondadori, 1998), 218–25.
171. On the dangers of medieval travel and travel in general, see Norbert Ohler, *The Medieval Traveller*, trans. Caroline Hillier (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989).
172. PC, 1: 64, n. 154.
173. AOT, busta 3: 80: “Misser Fra Iacomo Magistro in Sacra Theologia per alturio di andar a Rome fo prexo e robado da Turchi.” See also PC, 1: 157.
174. PC, 1: 569–73. On the provisions in Treviso for needy travelers, see Giam-paolo Cagnin, *Cittadini e forestieri a Treviso nel Medioevo (secoli XIII–XIV)* (Verona: Cierre, 2004), 120–25.
175. PC, 1: 143–44; 2: 61.
176. Biscaro, *L'Ospedale ed i suoi benefattori*, 92–93. For the will of Nicolò da Bracella, see PO, sc. 58, 6882. It has been transcribed in Cagnin, *Pellegrini*, 342–44.
177. AOT, busta 1: 146: “per la porta del hospedal di peregrini.”
178. AOT, busta 2: 403: “per far meter un cerchio a una sechia di legno per la camera di pelegriini.”
179. AOT, busta 2: 482.
180. AOT, busta 3: 607.
181. AOT, busta 367: 9.
182. AOT, busta 359: 198.
183. References to the prior can be found AOT, busta 3: 625; 4: 305; 6: 603.
184. AOT, busta 10: 156, 157: “per la fabrica de i pelegriini ala heredita di Madonna Susana.”
185. AOT, busta 10: 112: “porto una ferada grande per la peregrinaria.”
186. AOT, busta 11: 73, 74: “per barcha marmori di piu sorte per la pelegriinaria.”
187. AOT, busta 11: 78: “di depenzer cantinelle per la pelegrenaria.” In March 1500, Vincenzo finally received the rest of his payment for having painted 250 cantinelle. AOT, busta 11: 87.
188. AOT, busta 11: 80, 82, 83.
189. AOT, busta 11: 84, 85.
190. Examples of medical treatments for pilgrims can be found in AOT, busta 347: 345; 11: 91, 97; 5: 511; 2: 427.
191. AOT, busta 2: 427.

192. AOT, busta 3: 402, 476.
193. AOT, busta 3: 402.
194. AOT, busta 5: 369. Matteo deposited 45 lire worth of various monies on 10 April and departed 19 April.
195. AOT, busta 5: 427, 516.
196. AOT, busta 1: 161, 578.
197. AOT, busta 3: 440, 474, 504, 540.
198. AOT, busta 347: 553.
199. AOT, busta 5: 383, 511.
200. AOT, busta 3: 536.
201. AOT, busta 3: 540.
202. For the legal definition and evolution of bank deposits, see Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market*, 10–12.
203. AOT, busta 6: 441: “ando a San Iacomo.”
204. AOT, busta 8: 322.
205. AOT, busta 9: 566.

CHAPTER 4

Epigraph. AOT, busta 359: 54–55. Transcribed in PV, 371.

Epigraph. Luigi Pesce, “Gli statuti (1486) del Lazzaretto,” *Archivio Veneto* V Serie, n. 147 (1979): 61.

1. See Katherine Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985); Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Giuliana Albini, *Città e ospedali nella Lombardia medievale* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1993); Ivana Pastori Bassetto, *L'Ospedale grande di San Francesco a Padova (s. XVI–XVIII)* (Padua: CLEUP, 2001); and James Brodman, *Charity and Welfare: Hospitals and the Poor in Medieval Catalonia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998). For an overview of Venetian hospitals, see Pullan, *Rich and Poor*; and Bernard Aikema and Dulcia Meijers, et al., *Nel regno dei poveri. Arte e storia dei grandi ospedali veneziani in età moderna, 1474–1797* (Venice: Arsenale, 1989).

2. Park, *Doctors and Medicine*, 102.

3. Giovanni Netto, *Treviso medievale ed i suoi ospedali: Gli ospedali minori* (Treviso, 1974), 14–20; Giampaolo Cagnin, *Templari e Giovanniti in territorio trevigiano (secoli XII–XIV)* (Treviso, 1992).

4. Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia*.

5. Netto, *Treviso medievale*, 25–29, 34–36, 45–46.

6. BCaT, Ducali, sc. 5b/2026.

7. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 18.

8. Marchesan, *Treviso medievale*, 2: 261–67.

9. As overlord of Treviso since the fourteenth century, Venice supervised communal officials, including the doctors. For example, a ducal letter from 19 January 1451 states that Venice is content with the services of Doctor Marco Dotto and wants the community of Treviso to pay for his expenses in coming to and staying in Venice and his Trevisan salary. BCaT, Ducali, sc. 9b, 4282.

10. PV, 124–37.

11. For a discussion of the different qualifications for medieval and early Renaissance medical practitioners, see Park, *Doctors and Medicine*; and Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, Ch. 3: “Medical Education,” 48–77. Although the terms *doctor* and *surgeon* were theoretically different, based on university training, they appear on occasion to be used interchangeably in the hospital documents. For purposes of listing physicians as doctors or surgeons, I have followed the use of the term “medico” and “chirurgo” in the documents.

12. On medical training in Venice and the Veneto, see Betto, *I collegi*, 221–308; Giuseppe Ongaro, “La medicina nello studio di Padova e nel Veneto,” in *Storia della cultura veneta: Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Venezia: Neri Pozza, 1981), 3:75–134; Luciano Bonuzzi, “Medicina e sanità,” in *Storia di Venezia: Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, vol. V, *Il Rinascimento: Società ed economia*, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), 407–40.

13. For salary expense for doctors see, AOT, busta 1: 149, 183, 201, 208; busta 2: 366, 439, 503, 583; busta 3: 68, 149, 320, 414, 489; busta 347: 241, 439, 555; busta 4: 183. Whenever possible, the lives of the doctors will be supplemented with information from PV, 133–51.

14. The university scholarships will be discussed in chapter 5.

15. AOT, busta 359: 54–55. Transcribed by PV, 371–72.

16. Guido Ruggiero, “The Status of Physicians and Surgeons in Renaissance Venice,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 36 (1981): 168–84. For a discussion of surgeons and surgical techniques, see Mario Tabanelli, *La chirurgia italiana nell’alto Medioevo*, 2 vols. (Florence: Olschki, 1965).

17. For the salaries of surgeons, see AOT, busta 1: 149, 183, 189, 196, 201; busta 4: 352, 360; busta 2: 439, 503, 583; busta 3: 149, 228, 320, 489, 620; busta 347: 52, 152, 241, 285, 362, 439, 498, 555, 588; busta 4: 60, 105, 287, 404, 429; busta 6: 326, 446; busta 7: 30; busta 11: 71, 74, 80, 94, 101. For biographical information on some of these men, see PV, 132–56.

18. “per medegar tuti infermi ocorerà e sarà bisogno in el hospedal di Santa Maria dei batuti . . . secondo requier e vuole l’arte de cirogia,” quoted from PV, 157.

19. AOT, busta 3: 339.

20. Marchesan, *Treviso medievale*, 1: 269.

21. PV, 368–70. The regulation concerning feast days was not particular to Treviso. Venetian guild statutes also regulated the markets and workdays; an exception to the forced idleness on Sundays was made for barbers, who were permitted to bleed customers. Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders*, 17.

22. “duos bacos a barberio et duo rasores a barberio . . . duo lapides, quator forfices, duodecim facolos a barbero,” quoted from PV, 162.

23. For the expenses for barbers see, AOT, busta 1: 149, 208; busta 2: 439, 503; busta 3: 149, 228, 320, 414, 448, 489, 552, 620; busta 347: 52, 152, 241, 362, 439, 498; busta 4: 60, 287. For biographical sketches, see PV, 161–62.

24. PV, 162.

25. AOT, busta 6: 326, 446.

26. AOT, busta 10: 458.

27. AOT, busta 12: 83.

28. AOT, busta 11: 90. On medieval nurses, see Brodman, *Charity and Welfare*, 59–61.

29. On apothecary shops, see Bruce Flood, “History of Drug Commerce in Late Medieval Europe,” *Pharmacy in History* 17 (1975): 101–5; Rita Staccini, “L’inventario di una spezieria del Quattrocento,” *Studi medievali* (1981): 377–420; Richard Palmer, “Pharmacy in the Republic of Venice in the Sixteenth Century,” in *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A. Wear, R. K. French, and I. M. Lonie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 100–117; Silvia Gramigna, *L’arte dello speziale: cure naturali e tradizioni al tempo della serenissima*. Curiosità veneziane (Venice: Centro Internazionale della grafica, 1988).

30. For a biographical sketch of Chinazzo, see PV, 117–23.

31. For example, in the year 1411 it purchased 550 lire, 8 soldi, 5 denari worth of goods. Similar expenditures continued throughout the 1410s and 1420s. AOT, busta 393: 4, 38, 44, 52, 67.

32. Because Pietro was a surgeon who operated a shop in the Piazza delle Erbe, I assume that he is the same Pietro, the barber, who inherited the shop of Daniele Chinazzo in the same square. It seems likely that the hospital would continue to purchase medicine from the same shop. For examples of purchases from Pietro: from 10 March 1436 to 29 April 1437 the hospital purchased 572 lire, 13 soldi, 3 denari worth of goods from his shop, ranging from bandages to sugar. During the summer of 1437, from 1 July to 8 August, the purchase amount was another 681 lire, 1 soldo, and 8 denari for more medicine for the poor. In June 1439 he received another 202 lire, 8 soldi, 4 denari for goods. AOT, busta 1: 141, 176, 190.

33. Payments for goods from 29 July 1443 to 7 October 1444 totaled 516 lire, 15 soldi, 3 denari, with 248 lire, 19 soldi, 3 denari for worked wax and the rest for medicine. AOT, busta 2: 588. From 8 October 1444 to 21 March 1446, the hospital purchased from him goods worth 773 lire, 16 soldi, 11 denari. From 3 June 1455 to the end of November 1458, he received 2,445 lire, 7 soldi. From 1 December 1458 to end of November 1459, he earned another 745 lire, 5 soldi. From 1 December 1459 to 15 December 1462, he earned 1,976 lire, 2 soldi. AOT, busta 347: 83, 177, 497. From 17 December 1462 to 14 March 1465 the hospital purchased 1,143 lire, 13 soldi worth of goods. AOT, busta 4: 106.

34. “cera lavorada, incenso, miel, zaffaran, spezie, trixia, polveri de garofano, cannella, uva passa, zucaro, confetti di vermi, curiandoli, mandorle, dragolongo.” PV, 163. This was by no means a complete list. One common purchase from apothecary shops was glue. For example, in November 1475 the hospital paid 9 lire, 13 soldi to Menegin da Levada, apothecary Al Domo, for cheese to make glue. AOT, busta 5: 532.

35. Between 12 March 1442 and 27 July 1443, the total for all goods amounted to 702 lire, 14 soldi, 6 denari. AOT, busta 2: 502.

36. Although it is always difficult to use the numbers provided by bookkeepers, who more often wanted to balance the books than to report accurate expenditures, the confraternity had a system of controls that permit a fairly accurate interpretation. Expense records for the period June 1442 to June 1443 allow for an estimate of the amount of money spent on medicines as a comparison with the confraternity’s entire budget. In 1450 the confraternity conducted an audit of Martin da Cornuda’s stewardship, who was general syndic from June 1442 to June 1443. The reviewer listed

the expenses for the year as 21,559 lire, 16 soldi, 6 denari. During the same time period the confraternity paid Pietro the apothecary 358 lire, 19 soldi for medicine. This equated to approximately 1.5 percent of the hospital's expenditures. For the yearly summary, see AOT, busta 2: 398.

37. PV, 158–59, 163–64.

38. AOT, busta 4: 430.

39. AOT, busta 4 bis: 134. Although the confraternity purchased most of its supplies from one apothecary shop, the Battuti occasionally turned to other apothecaries, perhaps for rare medicines or because of a medical specialty of one of the apothecaries. For example, in November 1446 the hospital purchased from Domenico dalle Colombe medication given to two patients named Fermo da Verona and Antonio da Ferrara, a grammar teacher. The total of 28 lire, 19 soldi for medication for these two men indicates an expensive treatment of some sort. AOT, busta 3: 152.

40. Palmer, "Pharmacy in the Republic of Venice," 103–6. The same regulation applied to Trevisan doctors: Betto, *I collegi*, 296–97.

41. AOT, busta 8: 482.

42. A vote was first held in the Senato on 18 June 1453 with 68 in favor, 1 against, and 2 abstaining. A week later, on 25 June 1453, another vote was taken, with 109 in favor, 1 against, and 2 abstaining. ASV, Senato, Terra, reg. 3, 71r–72r. A copy of the decree (the second vote of 25 June 1453) can be found in the hospital's archive, AOT, busta 378: 277.

43. PV, 158–59, 163–64; AOT, busta 4: 358.

44. Biscaro, *L'Ospedale ed i suoi benefattori*, 92–93. That there had been no pharmacy before the generous donation of Da Pisa is evidenced by an expense of November 1500 regarding bottles "ingistere" for the pharmacy. The bookkeeper still referred to the pharmacy as "spiciaria nuova." AOT, busta 12: 83: "per ingistere per le spiciaria nuova." For construction and maintenance costs of the new pharmacy, including glass windows and medicines, see AOT, busta 7: 330, 331; busta 9: 349, 438; busta 11: 66; busta 12: 84.

45. For the pharmacy's miscellaneous expenses, see AOT, busta 9, busta 11.

46. AOT, busta 12: 77.

47. AOT, busta 11: 82, 88.

48. AOT, busta 367: 5.

49. AOT, busta 4: 341.

50. AOT, busta 3: 261.

51. The expense books list numerous expenses for glasses to carry medicine to the sick. For example, AOT, busta 2: 424: "per mioli per portar medixine."

52. AOT, busta 10: 468: "per una cesta grande per porti li infermi." AOT, busta 7: 331: "per una cesta per portar li infermi."

53. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 136–52.

54. PV, 162. The expense books are replete with entries relating to the maintenance of the barbers' instruments. For example, on 19 July 1477, the hospital paid Piero albanese, the hospital's barber, 12 soldi to sharpen the razors of the house, 10 soldi to purchase a new razor, and 4 soldi to sharpen two pairs of scissors. AOT, busta 6: 274. In January 1500, the hospital bought another pair of scissors for the hospital barber at a cost of 12 soldi. AOT, busta 11: 82. On 4 February 1500, the

hospital purchased two razors for 16 soldi and gave them to Piero Zoto, the barber of the hospital. AOT, busta 11: 84.

55. PV, 161.

56. The references for expenses for the poor, pilgrims, and hospital staff to go to the “stua” and “meter ventoxa” are ubiquitous throughout the expense books. For some of the earlier references, see AOT, busta 2: 430, 482, 502, 507, 518. For ventoxe, see Enrico Marcovecchio, *Dizionario etimologico storico dei termini medici* (Florence: Festina Lente, 1993), 914.

57. AOT, busta 4: 200: “stua, salassa, e ventoxa.”

58. AOT, busta 347: 345. See Marcovecchio, *Dizionario etimologico*, 750.

59. On Renaissance baths, Richard Palmer, “In this our lightye and learned Tyme”: Italian Baths in the Era of the Renaissance,” in *The Medical History of Waters and Spas*, ed. Roy Porter (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1990), 14–22; D. S. Chambers, “Spas in the Italian Renaissance,” in *Reconsidering the Renaissance: Papers from the Twenty-First Annual Conference*, ed. Mario Di Cesare (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992), 3–27; Katherine Park, “Natural Particulars: Medical Epistemology, Practice, and the Literature of Healing Spas,” in *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Anthony Grafton and Nancy Siraisi (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1999), 347–67; Charles Mack, “The Wanton Habits of Venus: Pleasure and Pain at the Renaissance Spa,” *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 26 (2000): 257–76.

60. AOT, busta 347: 187.

61. AOT, busta 8: 485.

62. AOT, busta 11: 100.

63. See Giorgio Cosmacini, Giuseppe Gaudenzi, and Roberto Satolli, eds., *Dizionario di storia della salute* (Turin: Einaudi, 1996), 601; Nelli-Elena Vanzan Marchini, *I mali e i rimedi della Serenissima* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1995), 274–77; Terpstra, *Abandoned Children*, 139.

64. AOT, busta 4: 410.

65. AOT, busta 8: 439: “per carbon per dar el fuoco a un amalado.”

66. AOT, busta 347: 386: “per purgar li puti.”

67. AOT, busta 9: 434.

68. AOT, busta 347: 469, 496.

69. AOT, busta 3: 402.

70. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 147.

71. AOT, busta 2: 597.

72. Park, *Doctors and Medicine*, 99–109.

73. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 181–82.

74. Marchesan, *Treviso medievale*, 2: 262; 1: 200.

75. AOT, busta 1: 136, 152, 174.

76. AOT, busta 1: 136.

77. AOT, busta 4: 457.

78. AOT, busta 4: 383: “per segar el braza a uno romier vene infermo in questo hospedal.”

79. AOT, busta 5: 560.

80. On insanity and care of the insane, see Edgardo Morpurgo, “La condizione dei mentecatti in Padova durante il governo della repubblica veneta (1405–1797),” *Atti e memorie della Accademia di scienze lettere ed arti in Padova* 26 (1910): 195–203; Graziella Magherini and Vittorio Biotti, *L’isola delle Stinche e i percorsi della follia a Firenze nei secc. XIV–XVII* (Florence: Ponte alle Grazie, 1993).

81. As Keith Thomas explains for early modern England: “Even less could be done for sufferers from mental illness. Contemporary therapy was primarily addressed to the ailments of the body . . . Raving psychotics were locked up by their relatives, kept under guard by parish officers, or sent to houses of correction.” Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1971), 13. For the treatment of the insane in English hospitals, see Orme and Webster, *The English Hospital*, especially 119–20.

82. AOT, busta 347: 91.

83. AOT, busta 4: 614.

84. AOT, busta 4: 454.

85. PV, 148–50.

86. AOT, busta 7: 330: “per la stua de i mati.”

87. AOT, busta 4: 449.

88. AOT, busta 8: 305. At the cost of 1 lira, 12 soldi (1 soldo per pane), the window maker Zorzi repaired the windows.

89. AOT, busta 10: 423, 459.

90. AOT, busta 7: 334: “braza 15 canevaso crudo per far camise ai mati.” For a discussion of this citation see also Gian Maria Varanini, “Per la storia delle istituzioni ospedaliere nelle città della Terraferma veneta nel Quattrocento,” in *Ospedale e città*, ed. Allen Grieco and Lucia Sandri (Florence: Le Lettere, 1997), 142.

91. AOT, busta 10: 423.

92. For example, see AOT, busta 3: 608.

93. AOT, busta 347: 380.

94. AOT, busta 1: 191.

95. On the impact of epidemic disease and the bubonic plague, see Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969); William Bowsky, ed., *The Black Death: A Turning Point in History?* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971); William McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1976); Robert Gottfried, *The Black Death: Natural and Human Disaster in Medieval Europe* (New York: Free Press, 1983); Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Ann Carmichael, *Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1986); David Herlihy, *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); and Samuel Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). It should be noted that the nature of the disease is contested by historians. For example, Cohn argues that the medieval plagues were not the modern bubonic plague.

96. Pesce, “Gli statuti (1486),” 40.

97. AOT, busta 3: 335, 608: “hospedal de la Scuola messo in Orbaria riservado e deputado per epidimiad occoresse in questo hospedal grande.”

98. Examples of maintenance expenses: in March 1443 the Battuti paid a carpenter 3 lire, 3 soldi for three and one-half days’ work in the Orbaria. More expenses

for repairs occurred the following May. AOT, busta 2: 435. Work continued in the summer of 1445 and through the winter and summer of 1446, with expenditures for carpenters, bricklayers, and other laborers to rebuild walls, pave floors, and fix the roof of the rooms for the sick. AOT, busta 3: 47.

99. AOT, busta 1: 176: “per mandar 2 conzi di vin a Malgarito pistora governa l’ospedal di Orbaria.”

100. AOT, busta 1: 208.

101. AOT, busta 3: 33.

102. When there was not a plague outbreak, it appears the annex served as a hospice for vagabonds and pilgrims.

103. AOT, busta 1: 152, 127.

104. AOT, busta 3: 335, 608.

105. For example, on 27 August 1448 the Battuti paid 10 soldi to carry the sick Andrea to the Orbaria. AOT, busta 3: 314.

106. AOT, busta 3: 320. Valued at 114 soldi per ducat, or 28 lire, 10 soldi.

107. AOT, busta 3: 489. Domenico apparently survived the plague, for we find him the recipient of a grain payment for his work as barber in the Orbaria for the year ending January 1452. AOT, busta 3: 620. Despite the risks incurred in bleeding and caring for the infected in an isolation ward of the fifteenth century, the barber Domenico appears ten years after we first encountered him, still tending to those in the Orbaria. In January 1459 he was paid yet again for his services. AOT, busta 347: 52.

108. AOT, busta 3: 402.

109. AOT, busta 1: 127.

110. AOT, busta 3: 355.

111. AOT, busta 3: 407, 474, 536, 608.

112. AOT, busta 3: 269, 608.

113. AOT, busta 3: 536.

114. AOT, busta 347: 339, 438, 565: “morti da peste in Orbaria,” “una puta mori da peste in Orbaria.”

115. Carlo Cipolla, *Public Health and the Medical Profession in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 7. See also Ann Carmichael, “Plague Legislation in the Italian Renaissance,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 57 (1983): 508–25.

116. On Venice and the plague, *Venezia e la peste, 1348–1797* (Venice: Marsilio, 1979); Brian Pullan, “Plague and Perceptions of the Poor in Early Modern Italy,” Ch. 7 in *Poverty and Charity: Europe, Italy, Venice, 1400–1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), 119–22; Vanzan Marchini, *I mali e i rimedi della Serenissima*, 13–37; Nelli-Elena Vanzan Marchini, ed. *Rotte mediterranee e baluardi di sanità: Venezia e i lazzeretti mediterranei* (Geneva: Skira, 2004).

117. Ann Carmichael, “Contagion Theory and Contagion Practice in Fifteenth-Century Milan,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 44 (1991): 215–21.

118. Park, *Doctors and Medicine*, 94.

119. Cipolla, *Public Health*, 18–19.

120. Gian Maria Varanini, “Per la storia delle istituzioni ospedaliere,” 150–53.

121. BCaT, Ducali, sc. 5, 2089.

122. BCaT, Ducali, sc. 7, 3307.

123. BCaT, Ducali, sc. 10, 4626.
124. BCaT, Ducali, sc. 10b, 4971: “contagionem pestis extinctam esse. Quod placet nobis vehementissime contenti sumus ut revocata omni prohibitione fideles nostri Tarvisium venire possint venetias ad libitum.”
125. BCaT, Ducali, sc. 9, 4243.
126. Carlo Cipolla, *Miasmas and Disease*, trans. Elizabeth Potter (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 77–78. An example of Venetian control of trade and Trevisan exuberance when “liberated” from trade restrictions can be found in Giuliano Galletti, “Peste e reazioni della società in una provincia della terraferma veneta: Il trevigiano nel 1630–31,” *Studi veneziani* n.s. VIII(1984): 155–83.
127. Pesce, “Gli statuti (1486),” 47–71.
128. AOT, busta 347: 379.
129. AOT, busta 4: 61: “lo podesta per forza e contra volunta di gastaldi e di Alvisè da Seligo sindaco ritene in massaria.”
130. “Mi sembra strano che la scuola dei battuti, nonostante le forti spese ospedaliere, trovasse modo di prestare denaro al governo, come dirò altrove, e non cercasse di aiutare o dare una mano al lazzaretto.” Pesce, “Gli statuti (1486),” 44, n. 39.
131. AOT, busta 347: 591: “portasse Zuan todesco infermo in questo hospedal se dubitava fosse amalado di peste.”
132. AOT, busta 4: 54.
133. AOT, busta 6: 447.
134. AOT, busta 4: 163, 191, 272, 299, 430.
135. AOT, busta 7: 150, 151, 167.
136. AOT, busta 10: 108.
137. Pullan, “Plague and Perceptions of the Poor in Early Modern Italy,” 101–23, quotation from 117.
138. Cipolla, *Miasmas and Disease*, 4.
139. AOT, busta 7: 58, 73.
140. AOT, busta 4: 299.
141. AOT, busta 6: 447.
142. AOT, busta 7: 73 bis, 150, 151.
143. AOT, busta 11: 98.
144. Pesce, “Gli statuti (1486),” 47–71.
145. AOT, busta 7: 153.
146. AOT, busta 3: 329, 415.
147. Brian Pullan, “The Scuole Grandi of Venice: Some Further Thoughts,” Ch. 12 in *Poverty and Charity: Europe, Italy, Venice, 1400–1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994).

CHAPTER 5

Epigraph. Albertano da Brescia, *Liber de amore et dilectione Dei et proximi et aliarum rerum et de forma vitae: An Edition*, ed. Sharon Lynne Hiltz (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1980), Book One, Chapter One: On Doctrine. Consulted on line at <http://freespace.virgin.net/angus.graham/Albertano.htm>. The Bible translations, taken from the *New Catholic Edition of the Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate*

(New York: Catholic Book Publishing Company, 1949), are the following: Proverbs 12:1, 8:10, 17:16, 13:15, 18:15, 19:27, 23:12; Ecclesiasticus 6:18, 23:27. On the wide diffusion of Albertano's work in Italy, especially the Veneto, see Nicola Zingarelli, "I trattati di Albertano da Brescia in dialetto veneziano," *Studi di letteratura italiana* 3 (1901): 151–92; and James Powell, *Albertanus of Brescia: The Pursuit of Happiness in the Early Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992). For evidence of the circulation of Albertano da Brescia's treatises in Treviso, see Gargan, *Cultura e arte nel Veneto al tempo di Petrarca*, 76, 97, 218. We know that the brothers of Santa Maria dei Battuti were intimately familiar with the popular treatise because the preamble to the Battuti's statutes repeat almost verbatim Albertano's discussion of charity. See *Liber de amore, Caput VI, Per karitatem* and the preamble to the Battuti's statutes of 1400, PC 2: 383–84.

1. Gavitt, *Charity and Children*, 153–54.
2. Gavitt, *Charity and Children*, 299–300.
3. Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders*, 22–23.
4. PV, 300.
5. AOT, busta 4: 200: "Honesto scrittor per un salterio per Francesco puto di la chaxa tien Marta di Polo caleger."
6. AOT, busta 4: 299.
7. Gavitt, *Charity and Children*, 246–49.
8. David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985), 136–37.
9. Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).
10. AOT, busta 7: 329: "libri do da abacho fol. 2 tolti per li puti dela casa."
11. Paul Grendler, "Schooling in Western Europe," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990): 783. It should also be noted that the earliest printed book on arithmetic (1478) was published in Treviso. Frank Swetz, *Capitalism and Arithmetic: The New Math of the 15th Century, Including the full text of the Treviso Arithmetic of 1478*, trans. David Eugene Smith (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court, 1987).
12. Robert Black, "Humanism and Education in Renaissance Arezzo," *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 2 (1987): 174.
13. AOT, busta 4: 90; busta 10: 106; busta 12: 83.
14. AOT, busta 12: 65: "per tavole da leger ai puti tre," "per roche da filar per le pute di su."
15. AOT, busta 359: 157.
16. See the introduction to Bennett and Froide, eds., *Singlewomen in the European Past*.
17. Chojnacki, *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice*, 190.
18. AOT, busta 359: 157, 171.
19. AOT, busta 359: 157.
20. "Fu casso Martin bottaro di casa per haver ingravedato una dell'Hospitale." AOT, busta 359: 125.
21. Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986); See also Lauro Martines, *Power and Imagination* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 191–217; Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from*

the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). For a succinct review of Paul Grendler's work, see his recent review article, "Schooling in Western Europe," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990): 775–87. On this topic, see also Nicholas Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1989), 23–31.

22. For background information on schooling and humanistic culture in Treviso, see Augusto Serena, *La cultura umanistica a Treviso nel secolo Decimoquinto* (Venice: Miscellanea di storia veneta della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria, Serie III, Tomo III, 1912), 45–81; Marchesan, *Treviso medievale*, 2: 215–67; and PV, 61–78, 164–202. For an overview of Treviso's university, see Marchesan, *L'Università di Treviso nei secoli XIII e XIV* (Treviso: Tipografia del Pio Istituto Turazza, 1892); and Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), 2: 43–44.

23. PC, 1: 401. See also PV, 397–98.

24. The confraternity and school of San Liberale were instituted by Bishop Baone of Treviso in 1365 for the instruction of six or eight poor young boys of the city or diocese. The confraternity and school met in the seat of the confraternity of San Liberale near the cathedral. Marchesan, *Treviso medievale*, 2: 221.

25. PB, 1: 47, 124–31. See PB, 2: 43–45 for transcription of Barbo's indulgence for San Liberale in 1437. For the statutes of the confraternity of San Liberale, see PC, 2: 367–83; For the regulations of the school of San Giacomo, see PB, 2: 13–17; PV, 63.

26. Luciano Gargan, "Giovanni Conversini e la cultura letteraria a Treviso nella seconda metà del Trecento," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 8 (1965): 85–159.

27. The number of poor scholars assisted by the confraternity of San Liberale increased from between six and eight at its founding to fourteen by the end of the 1300s and twenty-seven by the later 1400s. The Battuti responded with gifts of bushels of grain for the school. PC, 1: 127. The argument that an increasing number of children received an education is strengthened by the fact that in 1408 the confraternity and school of San Liberale petitioned the commune for an addition to the school of San Liberale (which was granted) because it was too small to handle the number of students. Marchesan, *Treviso medievale*, 2: 221–22.

28. On the Carrara, see Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara*, 228–30.

29. Netto, *Nel '300 a Treviso*, 137–38.

30. Luciano Gargan, "Studenti trevigiani a Padova fra Tre e Quattrocento: Il lascito di Tommaso Salinguerra," *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova* 13 (1980): 9–10.

31. The confusion lies in the lack of clarity in the expense books' notations, for it is difficult to determine whether a teacher salaried by the hospital was paid to teach in the hospital itself or whether he was being paid as part of the confraternity's contribution to the communal school. Sometimes other documentation confirms a teacher in one of those positions, but for this study it seems necessary only to demonstrate the confraternity's dedication to grammar education.

32. AOT, busta 359: 155. Theodoricus de Alemania was hired by the Servites to teach their novices and by the confraternity in 1402 and 1405 for three-year terms to instruct boys.

33. For a survey of the grammar professors in Treviso from 1400 to 1450, see PV, 167–90.

34. A summary of some of the contracts can be found in a collection of notes on education compiled by the hospital itself. AOT, busta 359: 155–56. See also PV, 167–90; Serena, *La cultura umanistica a Treviso*, 1: 61, 74–75.

35. For the Latin text, see Serena, *La cultura umanistica a Treviso*, 1: 330–33. An English translation can be found in Lynn Thorndike, *University Records and Life in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), 338–41.

36. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, 142–61.

37. Paul Grendler, “The Organization of Primary and Secondary Education in the Italian Renaissance,” *Catholic Historical Review* 71 (1985): 187.

38. PV, 63–64. The standard elementary grammar of the Middle Ages was the *Ars Minor* of Aelius Donatus, the fourth-century teacher of Saint Jerome. The grammar explained the characteristics of the parts of speech, providing a sound introduction to the Latin language. Later amendments and mutations led to longer variations of the text, but the medieval *Donet*, as it was called, remained basically the same. Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973), 88–89.

39. Some of the various expenses for books are as follows (all buste found in AOT): busta 3: 152; busta 4: 200; busta 5: 527; busta 5: 540, 560; busta 6: 110, 128; busta 10: 461, 468, 497, 606, 607; busta 7: 329; busta 12: 65. Also the purchase of a book in 1446 for an orphan, “per un Donato per Lorenzo puto de casa, lire 4, soldi 2.” PC, 1: 158.

40. Paul Grendler, “What Zuanne Read in School: Vernacular Texts in Sixteenth Century Venetian Schools,” Ch. 7 in *Books and Schools in the Italian Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995), 41.

41. PV, 397–98.

42. PC, 1: 158.

43. PV, 191–94.

44. PV, 167–90.

45. Perhaps the payments of teachers by the month and per student indicates that younger students were educated in the hospital, while older children went to the communal school.

46. AOT, b. 359: 155–56.

47. Black, “Humanism and Education,” 184–85.

48. Arie Zmora, “Schooling in Renaissance Pistoia: Community and Civic Humanism in Small-Town Tuscany,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 34 (2003): 761–77.

49. Black, “Humanism and Education,” 214–25.

50. In 1475, the Commune of Treviso said that it needed capable and serious teachers for the honor and good of the city. Treviso’s sons should be instructed in letters to pursue virtue, knowledge, and good habits, which should be remembered when they are later engaged in private and public business. A sound education produces active citizens, not youth who waste their time in bad habits and vice. In 1542 the city restated the need for good teachers to inspire students in letters and teach them to live civilly and honestly (*viver civil et honesto*). Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, 4, 14.

51. The confraternity statute relating to the administration of the scholarships can be found in PC: 2, 401.

52. For a general survey of university education in Italy, see Paul Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

53. Pier Paolo Vergerio, *On Liberal Learning* (1403). Quoted in *Major Problems in the History of the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Kohl and Smith, 304.

54. On the cost of education and the need for scholarships, see Paul Trio, “Financing of University Students in the Middle Ages: A New Orientation,” in *History of Universities*, vol. 4, ed. Charles B. Schmitt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 1–24; Rainer Christoph Schwinges, “Admission” and “Student Education, Student Life,” in *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 1, *Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hilde De Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 171–243; and Maria Rosa di Simone, “Admission,” in *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 2, *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. Walter Rüegg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 285–325.

55. For a discussion of the position of scholars and teachers in medieval Europe, see Pearl Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1962).

56. For the most recent scholarly treatment of Salinguerra, see Gargan, “Studenti trevigiani,” 1–8. Salinguerra’s will can be found in POT, 251.

57. Netto, *Nel ’300 a Treviso*, 110, 137. Pietro’s will and a copy can be found POT, 682, 1004.

58. For the life of Adelmari, see Luigi Pesce, *Cristoforo Garatone: Trevigiano, nunzio di Eugenio IV* (Rome: Herder, 1975); Gargan, “Studenti trevigiani,” 23–25; Biscaro, *L’Ospedale ed i suoi benefattori*, 87–89; and Gargan, “Giovanni Conversini,” 93, n. 1. For a discussion of the books Adelmari possessed at his death see PV, 74. Adelmari’s will is found in POT, 839, 1013.

59. Serena, *La cultura umanistica a Treviso*, 1: 50, 55–56.

60. Michele Contrari, whom we discussed in chapter 2, was sent to Rome in 1454 to make an inventory of the books of Adelmari. See PV, 10. AOT, busta 359: 121.

61. For Da Settimo’s life see Gargan, “Studenti trevigiani,” 21–22; Biscaro, *L’Ospedale*, 89–91; Serena, *La cultura umanistica a Treviso*, 57.

62. Verci, *Storia della Marca*, 19: 12–13. The original is held BCaT, Ducali, Sc. 6a/2514. The ducal letter to Treviso dated 29 April 1407 states that “qui volunt studere in aliqua alia scientia, vel facultate, quam in grammatica in aliquo studio vel terra, ubi sit studium, transacto festo S. Lucie proxime venturo, non possit ire, vel stare ad aliud studium, quam ad studium Paduanum. . . .”

63. AOT, busta 359: 149–56.

64. I date the letter to the 1470s on the basis of the paleography and the placement of the folio in the volume of expenses from that time. AOT, busta 4 bis, loose folio.

65. AOT, busta 359: 237–38.

66. AOT, busta 359: 149–50.

67. Gargan, “Studenti trevigiani,” 21.

68. AOT, busta 1: 224: “Per nollo di barcha per andar a Padoa e tornar a Venezia per Polo Caxal e Paolo da Miane ando per inquirir di scolari studia.” Busta 10: 607: “per nolo de un caval tosse Ser Tadio da Fener ando a padoa a azetar li scolari provisionadi dela casa e stete zorni 3.” Busta 10: 631: “Tadio da Fener de comandato di Piero Massaroto gastald per andar a Padoa acitar tuti li

scolari salariadi ala casa davanti deli gastaldi i quali voleva intender se loro era investidi di iurdichamente et studiava.”

69. Grendler, *Universities*, 179.
70. Grendler, *Universities*, 167–68.
71. Gargan, “Studenti trevigiani,” 1–35.
72. For scholarship students, see AOT, busta 347: 81 and loose folio; busta 6: 308, 587; busta 3: 70; PV, 139–41, 307; PO, 1024.
73. On 28 June 1490, Zanetto dal Legname was paid 1,000 lire for the past four years of work at a salary of 250 lire per year. AOT, busta 10: 458. The supplication of Zanetto and the note that Francesco had received a scholarship can be found AOT, busta 359: 58. Francesco’s name as a scholar first appears in 1499: AOT, busta 11: 58.
74. On 25 October 1447, Melchior da Rovigo was paid 800 lire for his service as general syndic for two years from Saint Peter’s Day 1444 to Saint Peter’s Day 1446. AOT, busta 3: 228. Pietro da Sovenigo is recorded as syndic in AOT, busta 250: 53.
75. AOT, busta 3: 414, 448, 489, 620.
76. AOT, busta 347: 52, 152.
77. AOT, busta 359: 149.
78. AOT, busta 359: 237.
79. Gargan, “Studenti trevigiani,” 11.
80. For an idea of the elementary instruction provided to the children (and adults), see the elementary Trevisan catechism, probably from the fifteenth century: BCT, ms. 280; transcribed in PC, 2: 479–84.
81. For a discussion of the two libraries and the books left to each, see Gargan, *Cultura e arte nel Veneto*, 69–88.
82. PC, 1: 514.
83. AOT, busta 3: 171: “Per Fr. Atanaxio da S. Pancratio per insegnar a i puti di chaxa per anno uno.” Father Athanasius da Albania was rector of the church of San Pancrazio from 1443 to 1447: PC, 2: 52. AOT, busta 7: 330: “Fr. Alfonso maestro deli puti de chasa per dir messe.”
84. Gavitt, *Charity and Children*, 154.
85. PC, 1: 310, 503–4.
86. Serena, *La cultura umanistica a Treviso*, 46–47.
87. For Franciscan preaching in the Veneto, see *Predicazione francescana e società veneta nel Quattrocento*. (Atti del II Convegno internazionale di studi francescani, Padova, 26–27–28 marzo 1987) (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1995).
88. John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order, from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 517.
89. PC, 1: 20–21. The account books of the Battuti from this period do not survive, so we do not know if the Battuti helped to support Bernardino’s visit as they did with later preachers.
90. Daniela Rando, *Religione e politica nella Marca*, vol. 1, *Religionum diversitas* (Verona: Cierre, 1996), 287–89. For the establishment of the Observants in Treviso at Santa Maria del Gesù, see PC, 1: 542–46; 2: 325–26.
91. PC, 1: 74; PB, 1: 49.

92. AOT, busta 3: 133: “per far condur a Venezia per barca Misser Fra Polo da Roma predicator.”

93. PC, 1: 21, 310, 503–4. See *ibid.*, 2: 120 for the bishop’s appeal to the superior general of the Observants for a skilled preacher at Easter.

94. AOT, busta 3: 272.

95. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 521.

96. PC, 1: 20–21, 545–46. Father Bitonto called for harsher restrictions on the Jews; he led a stellar career as a preacher, chosen by the general order in 1455 to preach the crusade.

97. AOT, busta 3: 475: “far riportar da S. Francesco . . . un leto 2 linazoli e 2 schiavine era sta prestad a Fra Antonio da Bitonto predicator.”

98. R. Pratesi, “Antonio da Bitonto,” in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–current), 3: 539.

CHAPTER 6

Epigraph. “Duo illuminaria maxiet [*sic*] tenere possumus et debemus urbem nostram a multis periculis et adma [*sic*] et principalia hac in urbe nostra habemus, optimi patres et clarissimi, cives, sub titulo et nomine gloriosissimae Virginis Mariae dulcissimae Matris et Advocatae nostrae. Unum est per locum hospitalis nostri, alterum per Monasterium et locum monasterii. Quibus profecto intercetera dicere debemus nos periculis et malis universis evasisse: et multo magis sperare possumus, si curabimus non solum dicta loca visitare, sed tempia sua extollere et ornare ac amplificare.” Transcription taken from P. Giovanni Battista Pigato, *La Madonna Grande. Storia della parrocchia e del santuario di Santa Maria Maggiore di Treviso* (Rapallo: Scuola Tipografica S. Girolamo Emiliani, 1944), 283–84. Pigato provides an Italian translation on pages 71–72.

1. For the War of the League of Cambrai, see Nicolai Rubinstein, “Italian Reactions to Terraferma Expansion in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J. R. Hale (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), 197–217; Felix Gilbert, “Venice in the Crisis of the League of Cambrai,” in *Renaissance Venice*, 274–92; Robert Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1980); Felix Gilbert, *The Pope, His Banker, and Venice* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1980); and Mallet and Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State*, 222–24.

2. Mario Brunetti, “Treviso fedele a Venezia nei giorni di Cambrai: Documenti inediti su Antonio dal Legname,” *Archivio Veneto* V Serie, n. 45–46 (1938): 56–82. On the role of Treviso during one of the most important wars in Venetian history, see Antonio Santalena, *Veneti e imperiali: Treviso al tempo della Lega di Cambray* (Venice, 1896; reprint, Rome: Multigrafica, 1977).

3. ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere Spedite, b. 11, fol. 215. A transcription can be found in Antonio Santalena, *Un’ambasciata trevigiana a Venezia al tempo della Lega di Cambray* (Treviso, 1894), 11–15: “I quali cum maxima reverentia et modestia se asforzono de chiarir et demostrar tutta quella città per la inconcussa fede et fermo proposito de perseverar più che mai ne la devotion sua verso la Signoria Nosttra . . . che havendo nui proseguita quella città de singular affecto et havuta sempre

come antiqua, carissima et primogenita figliuola del stato nostro ne debba da quella esser filialmente et condecanti caritate corrisposto. . . .”

4. “Tamen etiam li Veneti Padri, obstinati, non volevano rendere Trevixo nè la Patria de Friul alo Imperatore, come il Papa ordinava et voleva, perchè speravano, come tanto he dicto di sopra, li Signori Venetti, avendo uno pocho di Stado in terraferma, da poter mantenere et sustentar il loro exercito di recuperare tuto il Stado perduto, et non bisognava di spoliarsi di quello, ymmo retinirlo cum li denti.” Girolamo Priuli, *I Diarii di Girolamo Priuli*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Arturo Segre and Roberto Cessi (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1912–41), vol. 24, part 3, 115.

5. Gino Luzzatto, *Storia economica di Venezia dall’XI al XVI secolo* (Venice: Marsilio, 1995), 186–94; Edward Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 56–67.

6. Lester Libby, “The Reconquest of Padua in 1509 according to the Diary of Girolamo Priuli,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 28 (1975): 323–33.

7. On the rebuilding of fortifications after Agnadello, see J. R. Hale, “Terra Ferma Fortifications in the Cinquecento,” in *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1979), vol. 2, 169–86.

8. On the desperate search for sources of income following the War of the League of Cambrai, see Giuseppe Del Torre, *Venezia e la terraferma dopo la guerra di Cambrai: Fiscalità e amministrazione (1515–1530)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1986).

9. Michael Knapton, “I rapporti fiscali tra Venezia e la terraferma: il caso padovano nel secondo ’400,” *Archivio Veneto* V Serie, n. 152 (1981): 5–65.

10. On the creation, activities, and increasing powers of the Council of Ten, see Lane, *Venice*, 114–17; Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*; and Michael Knapton, “Il Consiglio dei Dieci nel governo della terraferma: un’ipotesi interpretativa per il secondo ’400,” in *Venezia e la terraferma attraverso le relazioni dei rettori*, ed. Amelio Tagliaferri (Milano: Giuffrè, 1981), 237–60.

11. David Chambers and Brian Pullan, eds., *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450–1630* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 243–44.

12. Sbriziolo, “Per la storia delle confraternite veneziane,” 2: 715–63; Wurthman, “The Council of Ten,” 15–66.

13. ASV, CX, Misti, reg. 34, 94v (16 October 1511), 107v–8 (29 November 1511).

14. ASV, CX, Misti, reg. 34, 34r (11 April 1511); ASV, CX, Misti, Filza 30, fol. 2 (1 September 1512); ASV, CX, Misti, reg. 35, 111r (19 November 1512); ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere Spedite, Lettere, b. 14, fol. 469 (30 November 1512); ASV, CX, Misti, Filza n. 30, fol. 122 (15 December 1512).

15. ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere Spedite, b. 17, fol. 419 (14 November 1517).

16. For examples of books and bookkeepers sent to Venice, see ASV, CX, Misti, reg. 43, 113r/v (30 January 1520); ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere Spedite, b. 20, fol. 633 (28 February 1521).

17. ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere Spedite, b. 9, fol. 431.

18. ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere Spedite, b. 15, fol. 151 (5 July 1513).

19. ASV, CX, Misti, reg. 35, 191r/v (9 July 1513); ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere Spedite, b. 15, fol. 338 (24 October 1513).

20. ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere Spedite, b. 18, fol. 98 (29 April 1518), fol. 207.

21. Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990); Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, "Venice between Jerusalem, Byzantium, and Divine Retribution: The Origins of the Ghetto," in *Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Mediterranean World after 1492*, ed. Alisa Meyuhus Ginio (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 163–79.

22. Paul Grendler, "The Leaders of the Venetian State, 1540–1609: A Prosopographical Analysis," *Studi veneziani* n.s. XIX (1990): 35–86.

23. Gilbert, "Venice in the Crisis of the League of Cambrai," 274–90.

24. On Jews in Venice and the Veneto, see Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, 429–509; Robert Finlay, "The Foundation of the Ghetto: Venice, the Jews, and the War of the League of Cambrai," *Proceedings of the American Philological Society* 126 (1982): 140–54; Robert C. Davis and Benjamin Ravid, eds., *The Jews of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); and Benjamin Ravid, *Studies on the Jews of Venice, 1382–1797* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

25. Innocenzo Giuliani, "Genesi e primo secolo di vita del magistrato sopra monasteri, Venezia 1519–1620," *Le venezie francescane* (1961): 42–68, 106–69. The quotation from Priuli is cited on page 47.

26. Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, 231–38; Bernard Aikema and Dulcia Meijers, *Nel regno dei poveri*, 131–48; Andrea Nordio, "L'Ospedale degli Incurabili nell'assistenza veneziana del '500," *Studi veneziani* n.s. XXXII (1996): 165–84.

27. Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, ed. Rinaldo Fulin et al. (Venice: 1879–1903), 36: 102–3. For Sanuto, see David D'Andrea, "The Power of Perception: Venice, the Early Reformation, and the *Diarii* of Marino Sanuto (1518–33)," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/ Archive for Reformation History* 96 (2005): 6–32.

28. On the Venetian charitable network, see Pullan, *Rich and Poor*; Giovanni Scarabello, "Strutture assistenziali a Venezia nella prima metà del '500 e avvisi europei della riforma dell'assistenza," in "*Renovatio Urbis*": *Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti (1523–38)*, ed. Manfredo Tafuri (Roma: Officina Edizioni, 1984), 119–33; Dennis Romano, "L'assistenza e la beneficenza," in *Storia di Venezia: Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, vol. V, *Il Rinascimento: Società ed economia*, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), 355–406; and Aikema and Meijers, *Nel regno dei poveri*.

29. Sanuto, 42: 257–60, quotation 258. Portions of the decree translated in Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, 211. The initial decree was promulgated 29 June 1489 and renewed on 28 July 1526. The Latin phrase was inspired by Psalm 9:13.

30. On Andrea Gritti, see Robert Finlay, "Politics and the Family in Renaissance Venice: The Election of Doge Andrea Gritti," *Studi veneziani* n.s. II (1978): 97–117; the essays in Tafuri, "*Renovatio Urbis*"; and Robert Finlay, "Fabius Maximus in Venice: Doge Andrea Gritti, the War of Cambrai, and the Rise of Habsburg Hegemony, 1509–1530," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 988–1031.

31. Achille Olivieri, "Il 'Principe' e la formazione del consenso sociale: Intellettuali ed architetti alla 'corte' di Andrea Gritti," *Annali della Facoltà di Scienze Politiche* 17 (1980–81): 37–55; Tafuri, "*Renovatio Urbis*."

32. Quoted from Robert Finlay, "Fabius Maximus in Venice," 988.

33. ASV, CX, Misti, reg. 45, 8v (22 March 1522).

34. Viggiano, *Governanti e governati*, 293–312.

35. For the entire debate, see Sanuto, 34: 352–55. On Gritti's angry response, see Sanuto, vol. 34: 354: "Da poi disnar fo Pregadi, per la cossa de li extimi di Treviso. Parlò per li citadini domino Piero di Oxinicha overo per il clero, et per il territorio iterum parlò sier Alvise Badoer avochato. Et volendo li Savii, poi mandato zò le parte, li Savii volendo far notar le parte, erano in desacordia, unde il Doxe si levò con colera et sè licentiar il Conseio."

36. ASV, CX, Misti, reg. 46, 142r (27 February 1524).

37. ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere Spedite, b. 24, fol. 45 (29 March 1524); Del Torre, *Venezia e la terraferma*, 70–71.

38. ASV, CX, Misti, reg. 47, 70r/v (9 September 1524).

39. Del Torre, *Venezia e la terraferma*, 69.

40. Elisabeth Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 28; Sanuto, 29: 381.

41. Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, 238.

42. Sanuto, 35: 184–85; 38: 140–41.

43. ASV, CX, Misti, reg. 47, 88r/v (19 October 1524); ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere Spedite, b. 24, fol. 350 (21 October 1524).

44. For the trips and reports of da Mula, see Sanuto, 37: 344; ASV, CX, Misti, Filza n. 54, fol. 198 (30 January 1525); and ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere Spedite, b. 24, fol. 548 (10 February 1525).

45. ASV, CX, Comuni, reg. 2, 13r/v (14 April 1526); Sanuto, 41: 174; Del Torre, *Venezia e la terraferma*, 51.

46. Sanuto, 41: 174–75.

47. For Diedo's report and the reforms, see ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Dispacci dei Rettori, b.134, fol. 261bis, 262 (August 1526); ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere Spedite, b. 26, fol. 218 (26 September 1526); and ASV, Capi del Consiglio dei X, Lettere Spedite, b. 26, fol. 248 (29 October 1526).

48. AOT, busta 36:8 (2 November 1526).

49. ASTV, Archivio storico comunale, Libri Extraordinarium, b. 49, book 9, 73r–75v.

50. ASTV, Archivio storico comunale, Libri Extraordinarium, b. 49, book 9, 82v.

51. Pesce, "Gli statuti (1329)," 16–17; PC: 2: 387–90.

52. AOT, busta 359, 33.

53. AOT, busta 359, 111.

54. Pesce, "Gli statuti (1486)."

55. Ivano Sartor, *Il Monte di Pietà di Treviso* (Treviso: Fondazione Cassamarca, 2000), 53.

56. Sanuto, 46: 611–12.

57. Sanuto, 47: 42.

58. On the poor laws, see Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, 239–79; *Documenti per la storia della beneficenza in Venezia* (Venice, 1879), CCCXIII; Pullan, "Poverty, Charity and the Reason of State: Some Venetian Examples," *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano*, II (1960): 17–60, 24.

59. Sanuto, 47: 81–84.

60. Sanuto, 47: 81.

61. The Venetian Senate decree of 3 April 1529 is translated in Chambers and Pullan, eds. *Venice*, 303–6, quotation 303–4.
62. Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, 128–30.
63. ASTV, Archivio storico comunale, Libri Extraordinarium, b. 49, book 9, 199r–v.
64. ASTV, Archivio storico comunale, Libri Extraordinarium, b. 49, book 9, 205r–v.
65. ASTV, Archivio storico comunale, Libri Extraordinarium, b. 49, book 10, 50r, 89r–93v.
66. “Hanno in la Città quel Hospedal de Santa Maria di Battudi, che la Serenità scià, il qual spesa infiniti poveri et orfani, opera molto pia et bella con un governo ben regulato . . . governati da nobili, cittadini, nodari, et artisti, et tutti ne partecipano con molto amore et carità,” in *Relazioni dei rettori veneti in Terraferma, III. Podestaria e capitanato di Treviso*, ed. Amelio Tagliaferri (Milano: A. Giuffrè, 1975), 72.
67. Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 187–90.
68. Bianchi, *La Ca’ di Dio di Padova nel Quattrocento*.
69. Michelle Fontaine, “A House Divided: The Compagnia de Santa Maria dei Battuti in Modena on the Eve of Catholic Reform,” in *Confraternities and Catholic Reform in Italy, France, and Spain*, ed. John Patrick Donnelly and Michael Maher (Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 1999), 55–73.
70. Daniel Bornstein, “The Bounds of Community: Commune, Parish, Confraternity, and Charity at the Dawn of a New Era in Cortona,” in *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Nicholas Terpstra (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 67–81.
71. Terpstra, *Abandoned Children*.

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