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Studi in onore di Giorgio Chittolini**

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## ***Villa and landscape in the Venetian State***

by James S. Grubb

Recording the outbound leg of his journey through the *terraferma* in 1483, Marin Sanudo did not remark on any rural establishments of Paduans. He did, on the other hand, note the «caxe de Venitiani nostri» in Noventa, several Venetians' houses around Piove di Sacco and Monselice, the «bello giardino» of Antonio Erizzo in Este, the «caxa grande, più bella vi sia» of Dolfino Dolfin in Lendinara, the house in Figarolo in which Federico Corner was recovering from illness, and his kinsman Piero Sanudo's house near Legnago. When he reached Veronese territory on the return leg, Sanudo passed through Parona, «ch'è di Marchesi Spinelli» and eventually through Caldiero, «dove è la caxa de Daniel Banda», then through a hamlet near Soave, where Gregorio Lavagnolo's house had a «mirabellissima» pergola before the main door, then through Cologna, home to the «bellissima» house of Antonio Zenaro, then through Zimella where the Veronese Lunardo Nogarola lived, then through Meledo, «dove è la caxa di Gasparo de Renaldo vicentino». Completing the journey through northern Padua and Treviso, Sanudo only twice remarked on rural houses belonging to citizens of those places; he did, however, note the country retreats of Venetians Domenico Querini, Girolamo Malipiero, Piero Vitturi, Clemente Tedaldini, Troilo Malipiero, Nicolò Baffo, Antonio Marcello, Francesco Valier, Nicolò Foscari, the Tiepolo and the Vendramin, Bortolo Malombra, Antonio Lion, and Zaccaria Vendramin<sup>1</sup>.

That is to say, Sanudo found many country houses of Venetians, Veronese and Vicentines worthy of note, but seldom found those of Paduans or Trevisans remarkable (or frequent) enough to merit his attention. His is a highly unbalanced presentation. But Sanudo was also a systematic and dutiful reporter. His *Itinerario* suggests that there were more frequent or more prominent rural dwellings in the Veronese and Vicentine than elsewhere in the Veneto, and that Venetians were regular owners and/or inhabitants of country houses throughout the region. If Sanudo had extended his observations to Venice proper, he could have noted the rich

<sup>1</sup> *Itinerario di Marin Sanuto per la terraferma veneziana nell'anno MCCCCLXXXIII*, ed. R. Brown, Padova 1847. For Venetian-owned houses, p. 29, 31-33, 35-36, 43, 50; for Verona, p. 59, 61, 95, 102, 104-106; for Vicenza, p. 107-111; for later Venetian houses, p. 114-119, 131-132.

cluster of villas on Murano and the Giudecca, further emphasizing Venetians' love of rural *otium*<sup>2</sup>.

The hypothesis of differing regional levels of engagement with landscape finds corroboration in Martin Kubelik's magisterial catalogue of Quattrocento villas in the Veneto. For the modern-day province of Venice, Kubelik lists thirteen Quattrocento villas; for Treviso, fifteen; for Padua, twenty-one; for Verona, thirty-five; for Vicenza, a stunning one hundred seventy-eight, or two-thirds of the total for the entire region<sup>3</sup>. It is certainly possible to quibble with Kubelik's criteria for classification of a building as a villa<sup>4</sup>; some of his examples appear to the untrained eye as simple farmhouses. The fact remains, however, that Kubelik applied his criteria uniformly throughout the region, and so the Vicentine preponderance in his catalogue cannot be explained away as arbitrary. The apparent asymmetry in extant villas might, alternatively, be ascribed to the vagaries of preservation: many Quattrocento villas were later rebuilt or demolished, so that the situation today does not perfectly mirror that of six centuries back. Still, by any logic the reconstruction or destruction of Quattrocento buildings would have taken place evenly across the region, and would not have spared the Vicentine alone. Ultimately, it does not seem possible to explain the Vicentine preponderance of Quattrocento villas – and the clear superiority of Verona over Padua and Treviso – in terms of anything other than local preference.

That tastes for the rural life should have been uneven in the Veneto, even in adjoining cities, should not come as a surprise. In other areas – degree of political autonomy and economic fortunes, above all – scholars emphasized difference within the region, not uniformity, despite common subjection to Venetian rule. Beginning with the canonical work of Angelo Ventura<sup>5</sup>, historians have argued that the experiences of Veneto cities and their hinterlands, especially with regard to governance and the economy, were fundamentally at odds with each other. Varanini has even questioned whether the Veneto constituted a region at all, so profound were local variations<sup>6</sup>.

A fondness for country houses could only come about when urban elites felt a compelling bond with the land and wished to enjoy rural life. This paper

<sup>2</sup> E. Bassi, *Ville della provincia di Venezia*, Milano 1987, p. 28-39; R.J. Goy, *Venetian vernacular architecture*, Cambridge 1989, p. 172-175, 185-250; L. Puppi, *The villa garden of the Veneto from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century*, in *The Italian Garden*, ed. D.R. Coffin, Washington 1972, p. 92; D. Cosgrove, *The Palladian Landscape. Geographical Change and its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, University Park 1993, p. 52-54.

<sup>3</sup> M. Kubelik, *Die Villa im Veneto: zur typologischen Entwicklung im Quattrocento*, München 1977, vol. I (combining Group 1 and Group 2).

<sup>4</sup> Thus Mazzotti, with different criteria, listed twenty-four Quattrocento villas in Verona, compared with Kubelik's thirty-five: cited in E. Turri, *Geografia delle ville*, in *La villa nel veronese*, ed. G.F. Viviani, Verona 1975, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> A. Ventura, *Nobiltà e popolo nella società veneta del '400 e '500*, Bari 1964 (Milano 1993<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>6</sup> G.M. Varanini, *Élites cittadine e governo dell'economia tra comune, signoria e 'stato regionale': l'esempio di Verona*, in *Strutture del potere ed élites economiche nelle città europee dei secoli XII-XVI*, ed. G. Petti Balbi, Napoli 1996, p. 157.

will argue that that resources and value systems connected with rural construction varied greatly among the different elites in the region. In Padua and Treviso, the bonds between urban patriciates and the countryside suffered significant erosion over the course of the Quattrocento, and with them eroded both the incentive and the opportunities to build villas. In Vicenza and Verona, on the other hand, the urban elite remained more frequently and deeply connected to the land, and this was manifest in more regular construction of rural habitations. Venetians experienced both a rapid growth in ownership of *terraferma* land and a desire to enjoy the the landscape of the hinterland.

The close nexus between patriciate and *paese* depends, above all, on the sheer fact of land ownership. For Venetians, the story is well known, and there is broad consensus among historians. From at least the thirteenth centuries onwards, Venetians – religious houses and individuals – began to amass significant lands on the mainland. The Venetian patrimony was overwhelmingly concentrated in the eastern and southern Padovano and Trevigiano, closest to the river systems that carried agricultural goods to the lagoon and that allowed transport of goods to and from industrial workshops on the mainland. The process of land accumulation continued in the Trecento, despite recurrent tensions with the lords of those mainland towns. Venetian landholding in Vicenza and Verona remained negligible, owing to difficulties in transport of foodstuffs and difficulties in managing distant properties<sup>7</sup>.

Venetian purchases accelerated over the course of the Quattrocento, even extending to new areas such as the Polesine (after 1484)<sup>8</sup>. The earliest and best known of the transfers came in the auctions that dispersed the patrimony of the Carraresi, which has been estimated as comprising up to one-quarter of the Padovano<sup>9</sup>. Not all went to Venetians, of course, as both the Paduan

<sup>7</sup> L.A. Ling, *La presenza fondiaria veneziana nel Padovano (secoli XIII-XIV)*, in *Istituzioni, società e potere nella Marca Trevigiana e Veronese (secoli XIII-XIV). Sulle tracce di G.B. Verci*, ed. G. Ortalli and M. Knapton, Roma 1988, p. 305-320; M. Pozza, *Podestà e funzionari veneziani a Treviso e nella Marca in età comunale*, *ibidem*, p. 291-303; G. Rosch, *La nobiltà veneziana nel Duecento: tra Venezia e la Marca*, *ibidem*, especially p. 268; M. Pozza, *Penetrazione fondiaria e relazioni commerciali con Venezia*, in *Storia di Treviso*, II, ed. D. Rando and G. M. Varanini, Venezia 1991, p. 299-321; V. Lazzarini, *Antiche leggi venete intorno ai proprietari nella terraferma*, in V. Lazzarini, *Proprietà e feudi, offizi, garzoni, carcerati in antiche leggi veneziane*, Roma 1960; Varanini, *Élites* cit., p. 156-157; G.M. Varanini, *Proprietà fondiaria e agricoltura*, in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, V (*Il Rinascimento: società ed economia*), ed. A. Tenenti and U. Tucci, Roma 1996, p. 807-810; G.M. Varanini, *Venezia e l'entroterra (1300 circa-1420)*, in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, III (*La formazione dello stato patrizio*), ed. G. Arnaldi, G. Cracco and A. Tenenti, Roma 1997, esp. p. 167-168 and notes 17, 37-38, 44; A. Stella, *La proprietà ecclesiastica nella Repubblica di Venezia dal secolo XV al XVII*, in «Nuova rivista storica», 67 (1958), esp. p. 53, 56-57.

<sup>8</sup> G. Zalin, *Insediamiento di villa e proprietà fondiaria nei Polesini dei veneziani (sec. XVI-XIX)*, in «Archivio veneto», ser. V, 154 (2000), p. 85-102.

<sup>9</sup> V. Lazzarini, *Beni carraresi e proprietari veneziani*, in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto*, I, Milano 1949-1950, p. 274.

elite and *districtuales* bought up lots; but Paduans simply could not compete with Venetians in the open market. Almost all of the major lots were bought by Venetians, and it is clear from the follow-up documentation that many Venetians subsequently purchased lands originally bought by locals. While many of the leading Paduan names are represented – Borromeo, Cortusi, Zabarella, Capodivacca, Buzzacarini, Capodilista – the lands they bought were usually only middling in size. Of the Paduans, only Prosdocimo Conti could compete with Venetian nobles (and some Venetian commoners), and his impact on the market paled in comparison with that of waves of Venetians<sup>10</sup>.

This initial sale was but the start of a steady string of transactions that transferred ownership to Venetians. If in 1429 there were some one hundred fifty-seven lay Venetian proprietors in the Paduan countryside, by mid-century there were something on the order of twice that<sup>11</sup>. By 1448 the incidence of Venetian ownership was so great – and the potential for tax disputes so great – that the Paduan commune was compiling registers of absentees<sup>12</sup>. Several large properties belonging to Paduan families went on the market, and were snatched up by Venetians. The original Venetian impulse of securing foodstuffs continued as a primary motivation, but industrial properties (mills, fulling stations, paper-making facilities, quarries) were now attractive as well. In consequence, Venetian ownership spread throughout the Padovano, unlike the situation in the previous century when proximity to the lagoon was paramount<sup>13</sup>. As early as 1446, the Paduan council's orators were claiming that Venetians held one-third or more of the possessions and incomes of the Paduan countryside; in the early Cinquecento, Girolamo Priuli put the figure at two-thirds<sup>14</sup>.

Some caution is needed here, however. While auction rolls and lists of Venetian proprietors are impressive, and without question indicate a widespread redistribution of property, the degree to which Paduans were being squeezed out of their own countryside is open to question. The orators' claim of 1446 was designed for rhetorical impact, and cannot be taken at face value; it was repeated wholesale in 1501, indicating that it had now assumed the status of a commonplace<sup>15</sup>. For his part, Priuli was notoriously opposed to Venetian land ownership on the mainland, and had his own reasons for exag-

<sup>10</sup> Archivio di Stato di Venezia (= ASVen), Consiglio de' Dieci, Miscellanea Codici, reg. 83a: *Liber venditionum possessionum rebellium Paduae* (1406-1509).

<sup>11</sup> Ling, *Presenza* cit., p. 312, 318-319.

<sup>12</sup> A.J. Mira Jódar, *Le aziende agricole veneziane nel territorio padovano alla metà del XV secolo: struttura e gestione*, in «Società e storia», 25 (2002), fasc. 97, p. 441-456.

<sup>13</sup> Varanini, *Proprietà fondiaria* cit., esp. p. 812-822, 831-834.

<sup>14</sup> Lazzarini, *Antiche leggi* cit., p. 9; Lazzarini, *Beni carraresi* cit., p. 275-277.

<sup>15</sup> M. Knapton, *I rapporti fiscali tra Venezia e la terraferma: il caso padovano nel secondo '400*, in «Archivio veneto», ser. V, 117 (1981), p. 8-9. The one-third figure was still in circulation at the end of the Cinquecento: D. Beltrami, *La penetrazione economica dei veneziani in terraferma. Forze di lavoro e proprietà fondiaria nelle campagne venete dei secoli XVII e XVIII*, Venezia-Roma 1961, p. 51-52.



generation. More reliable figures, from the early Seicento<sup>16</sup>, indicate that by that time Venetians owned some 38% of the Padovano; and since the period of greatest Venetian accretion was by all accounts the Cinquecento<sup>17</sup>, the figure for the Quattrocento must have been far lower.

Still, it was far from derisory. Additionally, the Quattrocento saw a concerted effort by Venetian ecclesiastical bodies to recover control of lands that had been usurped or wrongly alienated during previous lordships<sup>18</sup>; since these were held by local patricians as favorites of the bygone Carraresi, their recovery by Venetian religious houses would have constituted a further erosion of Paduan patricians' holdings. In absolute terms, then, the property available for Paduans was shrinking rapidly: the fundamental connection between city-dwellers and the surrounding land was inevitably shrinking as well.

Treviso too experienced an expansion of Venetian land ownership, though at a less robust rate than was the case for Padua. To be sure, there had been a long tradition of Venetian penetration: already by 1325 the local government was keeping a register of Venetian possessions<sup>19</sup>. However, at the auctions of 1423-1430 that dispersed the lands formerly possessed by the da Camino and Carrara signori and a few rebels, nearly all the buyers were local. Of the few Venetians in the market, fewer still made major purchases<sup>20</sup>. Thereafter, while Venetian accumulation continued, it does not appear to have intensified, and the Venetian presence was slight in the hills and the lands away from river systems<sup>21</sup>. When figures become reliable, in the early Seicento, the rate of Venetian ownership was about 19%, or half that in Padua – but, again, that comes just after the greatest period of expansion, so Quattrocento figures would not have approached it. Working from tax returns of 1542, Nicoletti calculates that lands owned by foreigners (including Venetians) seldom reached 10% in any one jurisdiction<sup>22</sup>.

In Verona and Vicenza, on the other hand, local ownership was overwhelmingly the norm. Venetians certainly had the opportunity to acquire Veronese territory, in two separate mass auctions of Veronese land. In the liquidation of the Scaligeri holdings, shortly after the Republic gained control

<sup>16</sup> Beltrami, *Penetrazione* cit., p. 60, note 2.

<sup>17</sup> Starting with an auction of the goods of Paduan rebels from 1511 onwards: ASVen, Consiglio de' Dieci, *Miscellanea Codici*, reg. 83b; and see A. Bonardi, *I padovani ribelli alla repubblica di Venezia*, Venezia 1902 (*Miscellanea di storia veneta*, ser. II, vol. 8); G. Del Torre, *Venezia e la terraferma dopo la guerra di Cambrai. Fiscalità e amministrazione (1515-1530)*, Milano 1986, p. 163.

<sup>18</sup> Stella, *Proprietà* cit., p. 56-65.

<sup>19</sup> Lazzarini, *Antiche leggi* cit., p. 9; see in general Pozza, *Penetrazione fondiaria* cit.; Varanini, *Proprietà* cit., p. 824-827.

<sup>20</sup> ASVen, Ufficiali alle Rason Vecchie, b. 47. The only major Venetian buyer was the noble Benedetto da Molin (ff. 55v, 57v), but he quickly alienated the land; see also Marco Duodo on ff. 62v-63r, 63r-v, 64r.

<sup>21</sup> Varanini, *Proprietà* cit., p. 824-829, 834-842.

<sup>22</sup> G. Nicoletti, *Due villaggi della collina trevigiana. Paesaggio, proprietà e aziende nei secoli XV e XVI*, in *Due villaggi della collina trevigiana. Vidor e Colbertaldo*, ed. D. Gasparini, III, 1, Vidor (Treviso) 1989, p. 51-52; Beltrami, *Penetrazione* cit., p. 60, note 2.

of the city, Venetians bought up about one-quarter of the lands, as measured in sale price; they also tended to purchase lands in the southern plains, which were destined for significant economic expansion over the course of the century<sup>23</sup>. Toward mid-century Venetian officials sold off the considerable holdings of Alvise Dal Verme and a few other rebels, but this time there were few Venetian buyers, and scarcely more than a score of Venetian purchases<sup>24</sup>. Thereafter, the pace of Venetian acquisition tailed off, and even in the southern Veronese the proportion of Venetian owners never approached that of Veronese patricians<sup>25</sup>.

In Vicenza it is hard to find Venetian owners at all: an initial search two decades ago revealed no more than a handful, and Varanini in subsequent research could not add much to the list. A recent study views Venetian ownership as «irrelevante»<sup>26</sup>. The reasons for that paucity are readily apparent. The Vicentine patriciate had a long tradition of compliance with rulers, such that there were never mass persecutions or confiscations. The lack of large, compact jurisdictions made it unlikely that significant holdings would become available through marriage, extinction, seizure or sale. The Scaligeri had never held much Vicentine land, such that – uniquely in the region – Venetians did not bother to auction off the public patrimony at the time of annexation. And Venetians had little reason to acquire land in the Vicentine, which offered inferior transport routes to the lagoon. Even after the pace of Venetian acquisition picked up in the Cinquecento, Venetian ownership remained at barely perceptible levels well into the Seicento<sup>27</sup>.

A second factor in building a strong nexus between urban patriciate and countryside was the continuity and stability of that patriciate. Where turmoil constantly roiled the ranks of the elite, ties to the land were constantly broken and re-formed, and were not likely to be powerful and enduring. This was especially the case in Padua. The Trecento had featured recurrent plots, exiles, executions and confiscations; the harsh climate of the restored regime

<sup>23</sup> Varanini, *Proprietà* cit., p. 810-812; G. Sancassani, *I beni della «Fattoria scaligera» e la loro liquidazione ad opera della repubblica veneta, 1406-1417*, in «Nova historia», 12 (1960), p. 100-157.

<sup>24</sup> For one important Venetian acquisition, see P. Mometto, *L'azienda agricola Barbarigo a Carpi: gestione economica ed evoluzione sociale sulle terre di un villaggio della bassa pianura veronese, 1443-1539*, Venezia 1992; and see Varanini, *Proprietà* cit., p. 849-850.

<sup>25</sup> ASVen, Governatori delle pubbliche entrate, reg. 170 (for Venetians, see ff. 7r, 22v, 25r, 29r, 39r, 58v, 62r, 206v-207r, 218r-225r, 264v-265v, 275r-276r, 332r-333v). There are a few additional sales on folios where the foliation is mutilated or absent. See also Varanini, *Proprietà* cit., p. 849-851.

<sup>26</sup> J.S. Grubb, *Firstborn of Venice. Vicenza in the Early Renaissance State*, Baltimore and London 1988, p. 169; Varanini, *Proprietà* cit., p. 852-853; S. Zamperetti, *Poteri locali e governo centrale in una città suddita d'antico regime dal dopo Cambrai al primo Seicento*, in *Storia di Vicenza*, III/1, ed. F. Barbieri and P. Preto, Vicenza 1989, p. 76 (source of quote); and see also A. Menniti Ippolito, *La «fedeltà» vicentina e Venezia. La dedizione del 1404*, in *Storia di Vicenza* III/1, cit., esp. p. 30-31.

<sup>27</sup> Beltrami, *Penetrazione* cit., p. 60, note 2.

of Francesco Novello brought about the «capricious and illegal sequestering of the property of Paduan citizens» in the latter years of the century. Venetian removal of the Carraresi in 1406 was only to be expected; into exile, as well, went «several of the closest servants of the Carrara government». The repression of further rebellions, most notably those of 1435 and 1439, removed another share of the patriciate. Ventura has calculated that, of the 83 leading families in April 1372, only 49 were still active in the period 1430-1446<sup>28</sup>.

The Paduan patriciate as such was not diminished by the turmoil: new favorites always replaced the old, and were well-rewarded with lands «confiscated from the regime's enemies»<sup>29</sup>. There was always an elite, always with considerable landed patrimonies. But the new favorites were precisely that: new to power, and new to their lands. Many, it is clear from Benjamin Kohl's prosopographical studies, had backgrounds in law or commerce, not the countryside. Whatever their origins, they lacked ancestral ties to the lands they came to hold. That is to say, the fundamental nexus between patrician and country estate – which is posited here as the primary requisite for villa construction – was, if not lacking altogether, much more recent and consequently much less compelling.

Verona too saw its share of new faces, but the turnover was far less drastic and the disruptions considerably muted. New Scaligeri favorites took their places in the top ranks, alongside the considerable vestiges of the old communal elites, but without a violent eclipse of the latter by the former. In the rapidly expanding state, there was plenty of opportunity for all. To be sure, each succeeding Scaligeri *signore* had his own personal favorites, and individual worthies came and went with some regularity, but mass proscription was never the order of the day<sup>30</sup>. Successive takeovers by the Visconti and the Venetian Republic were relatively calm, at least in comparison with the Paduan case. Even so, several families who reached the upper levels of society over the course of the Quattrocento were either newly arrived in the city, or were of merchant background, or were a combination of the two<sup>31</sup>. Lacking

<sup>28</sup> In general see B.G. Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara, 1318-1405*, Baltimore and London 1998, p. 81-82, 90-91, 97, 129, ch. 6, 249-250, 255, 260-265, 270-272, 284-285, 290-291; B.G. Kohl, *Fedeltà e tradimento nello stato carrarese*, in *Istituzioni, società e potere* cit., p. 41-63; B.G. Kohl, *Government and society in Renaissance Padua*, in «Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies», 2 (1972), p. 205-221 (quotes on p. 214); Ventura, *Nobiltà* cit., p. 54, 65-66.

<sup>29</sup> B.G. Kohl, *The Paduan Élite under Francesco Novello da Carrara (1390-1405). A Selected prosopography*, in B.G. Kohl, *Culture and Politics in Early Renaissance Padua*, Aldershot 2001, selection XIII, p. 252.

<sup>30</sup> G.M. Varanini, *Gli Scaligeri, il ceto dirigente veronese, l'élite «internazionale»*, in *Gli Scaligeri 1277-1387. Saggi e schede pubblicati in occasione della mostra documentaria allestita dal Museo Castelvecchio di Verona (giugno-novembre 1988)*, a cura di G.M. Varanini, Verona 1988, p. 113-124; and other essays in the second section of the volume.

<sup>31</sup> M. De Martin, *Da borghesi a patrizi. I Trivelli di Verona nel Trecento e Quattrocento*, in «Studi storici Luigi Simeoni», 38 (1988), p. 83-107; C. Bismara, *I Vismara, dazieri e mercanti nella Verona del XV secolo*, in «Studi storici Luigi Simeoni», 51 (2001), p. 233-255. For the Stoppa see E. Demo, *L'anima della città». L'industria tessile a Verona e Vicenza (1400-1550)*,

deep roots in the countryside, these might not be expected to have as much great impetus for construction of country seats as their colleagues who had long been feudatories and proprietors.

The Quattrocento Vicentine patriciate was undoubtedly fortunate that the city had not been a leading player in the turbulent political arena of the previous two centuries. Subject to a succession of foreign *signori*, but never wholly identified with them, the notables of Vicenza emerged from successive regime changes relatively unscathed. Paduan domination, in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries certainly brought friction, but even so the great families carried on without great disruption<sup>32</sup>. Scaligeri rule brought in many new families, but did not persecute the old; the same names in prominent positions in the Trecento largely recur in the Quattrocento, with a few additions<sup>33</sup>. The period of Visconti domination (1387-1404) may not have been a quiet interlude, as was once supposed; but if Giangaleazzo attempted major revisions in administration he did not attempt to remake the local elite. And if many elite families disappeared over the course of time, as seen in Battista Pagliarini's late Quattrocento catalogue *de familiis quae extinctae sunt et de eis vix memoria manet*, Vicentine losses were no worse than those of neighboring cities<sup>34</sup>. Whatever changes did transpire within the ranks of the Vicentine elite, they did not seriously disrupt patterns of land ownership. Certainly transfers did occur, and new families were added to the old – the establishment of the Monza in Dueville is a significant case in point<sup>35</sup> – but not through mass confiscation or mass redistribution of patrimonies. That factor, in turn, could only reinforce the nexus between urban patriciate and the countryside.

Evidence for that nexus comes from the most elemental marker of family identity. Varanini has rightly pointed out that, to a degree not found elsewhere in the Veneto, the notables of Vicenza chose toponyms as their family names<sup>36</sup>. His sample list might be considerably expanded by drawing upon Pagliarini's chronicle, whose exhaustive catalogue *de nobilibus nostrae civitatis familiis* – roughly in descending order of importance – is rife with toponymics such as the Trissino, Caldogno, Velo, Valmarana, Schio, Barbarano, Piovene, Angarano, Arsiero, Magre, and literally dozens of others<sup>37</sup>. As stable surnames emerged, local culture showed a striking preference

Milano 2001, s.v. Stoppa; *Family Memoirs from Verona and Vicenza (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, ed. J.S. Grubb, Roma 2002, p. 135-143.

<sup>32</sup> G. Cracco, *Da comune di famiglie a città satellite (1183-1311)*, in *Storia di Vicenza*, II, ed. G. Cracco, Vicenza 1988, p. 126. Sections 14-20 cover the period of Paduan domination.

<sup>33</sup> G. M. Varanini, *Vicenza nel Trecento. Istituzioni, classe dirigente, economia*, in *Storia di Vicenza*, II cit., sections 11-16; G.M. Varanini, *Sul dominio scaligero a Vicenza (1312-1387)*, in *Gli Scaligeri* cit., p. 35-40.

<sup>34</sup> Battista Pagliarini, *Cronicae*, ed. J.S. Grubb, Padua 1990, p. 241.

<sup>35</sup> J.S. Grubb, *Patrimonio, feudo e giurisdizione: la signoria dei Monza a Dueville nel secolo XV*, in *Dueville: storia e identificazione di una comunità del passato*, ed. C. Povolo, Vicenza 1985, p. 253-306.

<sup>36</sup> Varanini, *Istituzioni* cit., p. 182.

<sup>37</sup> Pagliarini, *Cronicae* cit., p. 293.

that family names perpetuate a link between the patrician lineage and the village of origin. Surely it is significant that the Thiene, not at all old in Vicenza<sup>38</sup>, should follow that pattern in adopting a toponymic surname.

A third factor in maintaining a nexus between urban elite and countryside was territorial administration. The degree to which patricians were regularly and intensely engaged in the management of rural affairs, serving as vicars and feudatories, provides yet another index of the strength of bonds between urban elites and the *campagna*. In this regard the Trevisan elite was the least-favored of any in the region. Its weakness actually predated Venetian rule: the medieval urban commune had never fully imposed its will on the *signori* of surrounding territories, and many rural zones had been split off from urban jurisdiction. Under Venetian governance, much of the territory was divided into eight *quartieri*, each subordinate directly to the Venetian podestà and captain; there were also *podestarie* and fiefs held by Venetian patricians, Venetian *condottieri* and Venetian-appointed feudatories. Del Torre speaks of the «grande debolezza della sua classe dirigente nei confronti del potere centrale»; one corollary was the great weakness of that class relative to the *territorio*<sup>39</sup>.

The Paduan commune fared rather better, but its ruling body was only partially in command of rural expanses. To be sure, there were few feudal jurisdictions; but the Venetian Maggior Consiglio named its own citizens to seven *podestarie* of the countryside, while the Paduan council named its citizens to only six vicariates. Even that imbalance is misleading, since the Venetian-governed *podestarie* were vastly larger and wealthier than the Paduan-governed vicariates, counting 65% of the *bocche* and 83% of the *fuoghi*. Venetian rectors in Padua often sent commissioners into the countryside for specific tasks, furthering eroding the communal vicars' real authority – but in any case the vicars had only minor civil jurisdiction. Moreover, several of the larger cities in the territory were governed by their own statutes, several were possessed of their own councils, and several podestà possessed both civil and criminal jurisdiction, rendering Paduan authority tenuous in all but fiscal matters. In turn the towns and *quasi città* of the territory joined together into an alliance to assert themselves particularly in the area of taxation; a recent study notes the «progressivo allargamento degli spazi politici e istituzionali del Territorio», which could only have happened at the expense of the urban commune<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Varanini, *Istituzioni* cit., section III.

<sup>39</sup> G. Del Torre, *Il Trevigiano nei secoli XV e XVI. L'assetto amministrativo e il sistema fiscale*, Venezia 1990, chs. 1-4 (quote on p. 18); M. 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 (Treviso 31 agosto - 3 settembre 1979)*, Treviso 1980, p. 49-52; S. Zamperetti, *I piccoli principi. Signorie locali, feudi e comunità soggette nello Stato regionale veneto dall'espansione territoriale ai primi decenni del '600*, Venezia 1991, p. 51-93.

<sup>40</sup> L. Favaretto, *L'istituzione informale. Il Territorio padovano dal Quattrocento al Cinquecento*,

If Venetian policy effected a growing *divario* between city and countryside in Padua and Treviso<sup>41</sup>, it did quite the opposite in Verona and Vicenza. It is true that the Veronese commune was far from holding a monopoly over the administration of justice in rural areas, since many privately-held vicariates were possessed of criminal as well as civil jurisdiction. There were upwards of sixty of these private jurisdictions, compared with two dozen or so vicariates to which the commune held rights of appointment<sup>42</sup>. Even so the net effect of Venetian arrangements was not, as in Padua and Treviso, truncation of the authority of the urban elite, for the simple reason that the private vicariates were largely held by members of the Veronese political class. The commune itself did not govern broad swathes of the countryside, but its leading families did, which – since the issue here is the degree of patrician engagement in rural life – amounted to much the same thing.

Vicenza had a turbulent past with respect to rural administration. Regime changes, and the ebb and flow of favorites within each regime, had continually reshaped the political map. By the later Trecento, however, nearly all private jurisdictions had disappeared, and the fifteen or so vicariates that remained were largely under communal control<sup>43</sup>. When the Venetian Republic acquired dominion, the urban commune sought jurisdiction over Cologna and Bassano, which was denied; and Venice placed its own governors over Lonigo and Marostica, and confirmed the substantial autonomy of the Sette Comuni. Still, the city government retained the capacity to name the eleven vicars that governed the remainder – the vast majority – of the countryside, and the tribunals of the city continued to hold criminal jurisdiction over the entire countryside<sup>44</sup>. There were, to be sure, a few fiefs, but their rights were minimal («irrelevanti», to Zamperetti), and in any case they were held by urban patrician clans. Further cementing the bonds of the urban élite to rural localities, the commune often conferred those vicariates upon citizens with extensive landed interests in the vicariate<sup>45</sup>.

If the Vicentine and (to some degree) Veronese patriciates were unusually favored with regard to some of the factors that might favor a villa culture – continuity of status and patrimony, degree of land ownership, and regular

Milano 1998, esp. p. 6-12, 94 (source of quote), 96-98, and tables 1-4; see also Zamperetti, *Piccoli principi* cit., p. 109-117; S. Zamperetti, *Per una storia delle istituzioni rurali nella terraferma veneta: il contado vicentino nei secoli XVI e XVII*, in *Stato, società e giustizia nella repubblica veneta (sec. XV-XVIII)*, ed. G. Cozzi, I, Roma 1985, esp. p. 68; Zamperetti, *Poteri locali* cit., p. 74.

<sup>41</sup> The phrase is that of L. Pesce: *Vita socio-culturale in diocesi di Treviso nel primo Quattrocento*, Venezia 1983, p. 321 (referring solely to Treviso; the application to Padua is mine).

<sup>42</sup> G.M. Varanini, *Il distretto veronese nel Quattrocento. Vicariati del comune di Verona e vicariati privati*, Verona 1980, esp. chs. 2-3, map 2, and appendices 7a-b.

<sup>43</sup> Varanini, *Il distretto veronese* cit., p. 29; for the Trecento, see Varanini, *Vicenza nel Trecento* cit., section 10.

<sup>44</sup> Zamperetti, *Piccoli principi* cit., p. 93-109; Zamperetti, *Per una storia* cit., p. 67-68; Zamperetti, *Poteri locali* cit., p. 74-76; Zamperetti, *Aspetti* cit., p. 506.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 503-507 (quote on p. 503); Zamperetti, *Piccoli principi* cit., p. 104-108.

engagement in the management of the countryside – that advantage was potential only. Construction and maintenance of villas still required that those elite were possessed of the desire to build and live at least occasionally in rural areas. That, in turn, required that their bonds with the land be of an affectionate, appreciative sort, not simply confined to economic advantage.

Many Vicentine patricians were habitually resident in the countryside, though they remained active in urban councils and urban corporations. This had been the case in the Trecento<sup>46</sup>; it continued to be the case in the Quattrocento. Manfredo Repeta, to take one unusually well-documented example, was a member of the urban College of Notaries, sat on the urban council, and was subject to the urban *estimo*, but it is evident from his *catasto* that he was habitually resident out in Campiglia<sup>47</sup>. The Veronese memorialist Bartolomeo dal Bovo was taxed with the urban citizens, and indeed was frequently resident in the city, but he reserved his most passionate architectural commentary for the decorations of his house in his village of origin. As he once remarked when visiting a friend just outside the village of Cavaion, «Me piace a vedere che anch'altri piazza di fabricar de le cose como piace ancora a mi», to which the friend replied «avì fatto anchora voi qualche cosa de bello? So che ve deletati de fabricar, è vero», which prompted dal Bovo's narration of his efforts to rebuild the church in the hamlet of Bovo<sup>48</sup>. Such men took to heart Benedetto Cotrugli's maxim that the function of the villa was both «utilità et redito» and «delectation et refrigerio»<sup>49</sup>.

Venetians too found delight – and refuge – in the countryside. Pietro Bembo wrote a long description of the garden in his *villetta*, with its *pergola* and «bello and grande padiglione» of ivy; Marcantonio Sabellico wrote his *Rerum venetarum* while staying in a villa near Verona<sup>50</sup>. Already in the early Quattrocento several dozen Venetian-owned properties in the territories of Padua and Treviso were described as «pro suo uso» – evidently the proprietors and their families were regularly resident on the land<sup>51</sup>. By the time that tax returns cataloguing real estate holdings become systematic, in 1514, such references have become endemic. Vettor Ziliolo, for example, held a stone house in Campolongo «per mio uxo per i tempi de morbo»; fellow citizens Lorenzo Franceschi and Gasparo dalla Vedova preferred instead to mention their gardens, suggesting that solace rather than safety motivated their stays in the country<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> Varanini, *Istituzioni* cit., p. 182.

<sup>47</sup> *Family Memoirs from Verona and Vicenza* cit., p. 101-133.

<sup>48</sup> Verona, Biblioteca Civica, ms 827, f. 54r.

<sup>49</sup> Cited in R. Mueller, *Prefazione* to Mometto, *Azienda agricola* cit., p. VII.

<sup>50</sup> Puppi, *Villa garden* cit., p. 90; N. Davidson, *As much for its culture as for its arms: the cultural relations of Venice and its dependent cities, 1400-1700*, in *Mediterranean Urban Culture 1400-1700*, ed. A. Cowan, Exeter 2000, p. 203.

<sup>51</sup> Varanini, *Proprietà* cit., p. 820-822, 828.

<sup>52</sup> ASVen, Dieci Savi sopra le decime a Rialto, Condizione di decima 14, filza 13; ivi, 38, filza 32; ivi, 79, filza 46.

Vicentine and Veronese literature, from the most refined humanistic work down to the relatively humble, is suffused with a strong consciousness of the richness and pleasures of the countryside. To take an example nearly at random, Galassio Vicentino (or Cavazzoli)'s *Ad posteros*, a praise of the city, opens with a brief section on the urban center, then embarks on an extended treatment of the «populosus ager pastoribus aequae colonis/foecundans cultus nobilitate sui», waxing enthusiastic on the richness of the countryside and its many products (especially wool, silk, wine, sheep, marble, porphyry, and alabaster)<sup>53</sup>. So too the anonymous poet who addressed a series of poems to the da Porto family, praising Vicenza and its greatest writers, declared that it was in the pleasant countryside, sleeping among the many-colored flowers, that he was inspired by the muses<sup>54</sup>. Bartolomeo Pagello's *De laudibus Vicentiae* is saturated with notes on the spectacular features of the Vicentine landscape; indeed, he spent relatively little time on the city itself. The series of poems in which Pagello proclaimed his love for the fair Pamphila is largely framed with imagery of the rich and fertile countryside, opening with a loving description of his country house, to which he had invited her<sup>55</sup>. In his letters, Pagello wrote of his own villa as «opportuna all'onesto piacere» and detailed the plants of its «ameno giardino» at length<sup>56</sup>. Battista Pagliarini's rich compendium of history and geography is far less accomplished than these works in literary terms, but he was no less smitten with Vicenza's landscape. About two-thirds of his *De ambitu et situ urbis et agri ubertate* is concerned with the countryside – town foundations, wars, how a town came under Vicentine rule, name origins and unusual physical features. His conclusion: «Perpaucae quidem in Italia civitates sunt cum quibus haec nostra civitas de agrorum ubertate, de magnificiis aedibus, potentibusque familiis certare non possit»<sup>57</sup>.

Verona offers similar writings – rather more, in fact, since the city boasted a more robust literary culture than did Vicenza. The substance, however, is much the same in both cities, with writers drawing from familiar traditions – the civic laud; the bucolic, pastoral and Petrarchan strains – that addressed issues of country life. One anonymous praise of Verona is entirely similar to that of Pagliarini, listing the towns and regions in the countryside, and offering an account of the rich produce from the land<sup>58</sup>. Francesco Corno da

<sup>53</sup> Galassio Vicentino, *Theseidos libri tres, praemisso carmine ad posteros de laudibus et commodis urbis et agri Vicentini*, ed. B. Bressan, Vicenza 1874, lines 43-84.

<sup>54</sup> C. Salmistraro, *I carmi umanistici sulla famiglia Da Porto nel codice Bertoliano G.24.2.39*, in «Odeo olimpico», 17-18 (1981-1982), poem I. See also poem XI, with description of an imaginary, beautiful plain with forests and pools.

<sup>55</sup> Bartolomeo Pagello, *Poesie inedite di Bartolomeo Pagello celebre umanista*, ed. F. Zordan, Tortona, 1894, Book III (*De laudibus Vicentiae*), Book I (elegies II-III).

<sup>56</sup> Quoted in Puppi, *Villa garden* cit., p. 89-90.

<sup>57</sup> Pagliarini, *Cronicae* cit., p. 187-198 (city), 198-217 (countryside; quote on p. 215).

<sup>58</sup> U. Marchesini, *Una poesia del secolo XV in lode di Verona*, in «Nuovo archivio veneto», 5 (1895), t. 10, p. 313-323.



Soncino's *Fioretto* is even more oriented to the landscape, opening with a description of the countryside – beauty, boundaries, products, fortifications, natural features – and only later turning to the sites of the city<sup>59</sup>. Giorgio Sommariva's 1478 *relazione* is a government report, not a piece of literature, but his survey of the countryside was equally enthusiastic. He listed the twenty-three vicariates and two *podestarie* under the jurisdiction of the commune of Verona, and the sixty vicariates under the control of individuals; enumerated the population of humans, cattle and sheep; listed incomes and harvests and recent cloth production – all quite dry, certainly, but nonetheless just as closely attuned to the nuances of the countryside as were more flowery works<sup>60</sup>. Zagata's *Cronica* too has a profound sense of place: what route a ruler followed, where he crossed a river, where an army camped, precisely where a battle took place. He listed each village and hamlet fought over, and provided kilometer-by-kilometer narratives of armies' progresses<sup>61</sup>.

On the upper end of the literary scale, Veronese humanists equally celebrated the landscape around them. Guarino Guarini wrote fondly of the site of and view from his house at Castelrotto, where he spent much time, and wrote as well a poem on Lake Garda. He may have been the author of a *Sequentia rusticorum*; his delight in rural *idyll* was tempered by fear of rustics' violence. Antonio Brognoligo's bucolic verses have survived; Antonio Partenio da Lazise's eclogues have not. Antonio Cipolla lived extensively in Belfiore di Porcile, and wrote an extended poem on his work of land reclamation; he engaged with a literary exchange with Girolamo Brognoligo concerning the villa. Andrea Banda has left us descriptions of the baths at Caldiero. Ludovico Merchenti's poem *Benacus* was largely concerned with a naval battle on Lake Garda, but he was careful to note the features of the towns along its shores<sup>62</sup>. Specialists in literature could undoubtedly expand this list considerably, but the point has been made: literate Veronesi were closely in touch with, and engaged with, the land around them.

Venetians were less habitual writers about landscape, though they certainly had their moments – Ermolao Barbaro's description of a tour of the Veronese countryside, for example, or Bembo's description of the garden at Santa Maria de Non. Several of the dialogues of Bembo's *Asolani* were set in gardens, and there is an extended passage where the protagonist Lavinello

<sup>59</sup> Francesco Corna da Soncino, *Fioretto de le antiche croniche de Verona e de tutti i soi confini e de le reliquie che se trovano dentro in ditta citade*, ed. G.P. Marchi and P. Brugnoli, Verona 1980, stanze 28-60.

<sup>60</sup> C. Cipolla, *La relazione di Giorgio Sommariva sullo stato di Verona e del Veronese (1478)*, in «Nuovo archivio veneto», 3 (1893), t. 6, esp. p. 211-214.

<sup>61</sup> Pier Zagata, *Cronica di Verona, Verona 1745-1749* (ed. anast. Bologna 1967), vols. I, II (p. 1-83).

<sup>62</sup> R. Avesani, *Verona nel Quattrocento. La civiltà delle lettere, in Verona e il suo territorio*, IV, 2, Verona 1984, p. 36-38, 105, 216, 229, 236-239; C. Perpolli, *L'«Actio Panthea» e l'umanesimo veronese*, in «Atti e memorie dell'Accademia d'agricoltura scienze e lettere di Verona», ser. IV, 16 (1916), esp. p. 81-82; see also G. Zalin, *Economia agraria e insediamento di villa tra medioevo e Rinascimento*, in *La villa nel Veronese* cit., p. 62-65; L. Puppi, *Funzione e originalità tipologica delle ville veronesi*, *ibidem*, p. 92-97, 102; G.P. Marchi, *Letterati in villa*, *ibidem*, p. 231-237.

wanders out into the countryside and meets an old hermit<sup>63</sup>. Somewhat later, Alvise Cornaro wrote on agriculture and hydrology; late in life, after many years in a villa near Este, he wrote *La vita sobria* celebrating «the joys of *la santa agricoltura* and villa life»<sup>64</sup>. In a very different genre, the memoir of the Dardani family has little to say about the Venetian career of its greatest representative, the grand chancellor Alvise Dardani; instead, most of the memoir is given over to copies of his dispatches during two missions on the mainland, in the mountains north of Belluno (1500) and in the hamlets around Mirano (1509)<sup>65</sup>.

It is true that, in this regard the Venetian chorus was not entirely unanimous. Priuli, for example, lamented not only that investment in the *terraferma* had drained Venice of riches, but that living on the *terraferma* had sapped Venetians' vitality. In 1513 doge Leonardo Loredan held that God's wrath at Venetians had arisen from disgust at the «pompe», specifically carriages and «lite per confini» – characteristics of landed living – that were not fit for gentlemen<sup>66</sup>. But Priuli was famously grumpy with regard to the *terraferma*, and Loredan was speaking at the period of extraordinary recrimination that followed the disastrous loss of the mainland state in 1509. We should not dismiss their testimony, but no more should we regard it as representative of Venetians' views. Even Priuli acknowledged that every Venetian who had the means – *nobelle* or *populare* alike – had bought a house in the Paduan or Trevisan countryside<sup>67</sup>.

Another possible index of Venetians' love for landscape is, admittedly, problematic. Is it sheer coincidence that Venetian publishers were far and away the European leaders in the production of books that explored and celebrated rural life? True, their printing presses produced work of every conceivable type; and their printers produced for a European-wide market, not just for fellow citizens. But Venetians bought books, too; and it is at least suggestive that the city with the least landscape in Europe was so avid in generating volumes about the countryside. The ancients were heavily represented: three editions of Theocritus before 1501, three editions of Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* before 1519, eleven editions of Ovid before 1520. The moderns were represented as well, with Pietro de' Crescenzi's *Ruralia commoda* published in Venice at least four times before 1520, Sannazaro's *Arcadia* receiving a first edition there in 1504 and Bembo's *Asolani* receiving a first edition the following year<sup>68</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> Avesani, *Verona nel Quattrocento* cit., p. 111; Puppi, *Villa garden* cit., p. 90; D. Rosand, *Giorgione, Venice, and the Pastoral Vision*, in R.C. Cafritz, L. Gowing, D. Rosand, *Places of Delight: The Pastoral Landscape*, Washington 1988, p. 53-54.

<sup>64</sup> Cosgrove, *Palladian Landscape* cit., p. 161-162.

<sup>65</sup> *Family Memoirs from Venice* cit., p. 109-228.

<sup>66</sup> G. Cozzi, *Ambiente veneziano, ambiente veneto*, in *L'uomo e il suo ambiente*, ed. S. Rosso-Mazzinghi, Firenze 1973, p. 109-111.

<sup>67</sup> Girolamo Priuli, *I diarii*, ed. A. Segre and R. Cessi, RIS<sup>2</sup> XXIV/3, Città di Castello and Bologna 1912-1936, book IV, p. 50.

<sup>68</sup> Tabulation from WorldCat online bibliographic search.

Paduan literature is far less inclined to extol the delights or the riches of the countryside. For one thing, «mancano praticamente del tutto cronache ed altri prodotti della memorialistica privata» in the Quattrocento<sup>69</sup>. Padua, that is to say, offers virtually nothing comparable to the musings of a memorialist such as Manfredo Repeta or Bartolomeo dal Bovo on their estates. That fact alone might indicate lesser levels of *villeggiatura* in Padua, less interest in conveying rural pleasures to posterity, greater detachment from the countryside.

To take one example, Giovan Francesco Capodilista in the mid-1430s assembled the prosopography of his own family, and had it wonderfully decorated. For his bygone ancestors, predictably, Capodilista invariably mentioned martial qualities. As he came closer to his own times, however, he recalled members of the family as professors, prelates and court functionaries, and he gave a separate listing of the *doctores vel litterati*, specifying their university degrees. That is to say, the earlier feudal-chivalric boasts disappear. He applauded recent heroes for their learning and courtly accomplishments: the family now claimed nobility of the robe, not of the sword. Furthermore, Capodilista praised the more recent for purely urban skills and professions, particularly the law and the church. He found the feudal past worthy of mention, but he located present-day eminence purely in the city<sup>70</sup>.

To some degree this reflects the simple reality of the situation. In previous centuries Paduan worthies had owned land extensively, and often resided on their estates<sup>71</sup>; in the Quattrocento they continued to own land, but on a much reduced scale, and showed a marked propensity for careers as university teachers and prelates<sup>72</sup>. Their primary engagements were in the city. This in turn appears to have produced a change in *mentalité*, as least as reflected in literature. A civic laud of 1435, for example, opens with a commonplace praise of the city's site, set among high mountains – but the remainder of the piece is decidedly urban. The anonymous author's contrast between decrepitude under Carrara tyranny and the flourishing state of the city under Venetian dominion takes place almost exclusively within the city walls. There is none of the vaunting of a rich countryside and flourishing agriculture that is to be found in the work of Battista Pagliarini or Giorgio Sommariva<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> D. Gallo, *Predicatori francescani nella cattedrale di Padova durante il Quattrocento*, in *Predicazione francescana e società veneta nel Quattrocento: committenza, ascolto, ricezione*, Padova 1995, p. 148.

<sup>70</sup> Giovan Francesco Capodilista, *De viris illustribus familiae Transelgardorum Forzate et Capitis Listae*, ed. M. Selmi and M. Blason Berton, Roma 1972, ff. 6v-32r (ancestors), 33r and 34r (*doctores vel litterati*).

<sup>71</sup> S. Collodo, *Credito, movimento della proprietà fondiaria e selezione sociale a Padova nel Trecento*, in «Archivio storico italiano», 141(1983), 515, p. 3-72; also in S. Collodo, *Una società in trasformazione. Padova tra XI e XV secolo*, Padova 1990, ch. VII, and see also ch. IX.

<sup>72</sup> G. De Sandre, *Dottori, università, comune a Padova nel Quattrocento*, in «Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova», 1 (1968), p. 15-47. For an example of a landowning family whose primary careers lay in the professoriate, see R. Marconato, *La famiglia Polcastro (sec. XV-XIX). Personaggi, vicende e luoghi di storia padovana*, Camposampiero (Padova) 1999, esp. chs. 2-3.

<sup>73</sup> L. Bertalot, *Padua unter venetianischer Herrschaft 1435*, in «Quellen und Forschungen aus

The greatest of the Paduan civic lauds is unquestionably the *Libellus de magnificis ornamentis regie civitatis Padue* of Michele Savonarola. It too supports the notion of Paduans' detachment from the land. The first book deals with ecclesiastical institutions, nearly all in the city; Savonarola constantly refers to the *urbs* of Padua, with concentration on the city core alone, and not to the *civitas*, which would connote territoriality. The second book, on temporal and mundane things, discusses only the palace of the bishop and some of the public buildings of the city: villas and rural buildings are outside his scope of interest altogether. In discussing waterways, he begins to treat communication routes with distant cities and with the three *castra* of the province (Monselice, Este, Montagnana), but this is only a brief digression. Only at the very end of the work is there discussion of the countryside, with brief mention of the Euganean hills and their products and baths<sup>74</sup>. This final section, however, reads like something of an afterthought; Savonarola certainly put very little effort into it. In contrast with its counterparts in Vicenza and Verona, that is, Savonarola's *Libellus* is a thoroughly urban work. He was no less fervently patriotic than his colleagues to the west, but for him the glory of Padua was measured strictly by the institutions, citizens and monuments of the city itself<sup>75</sup>.

italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken», 24 (1932-1933), p. 188-206.

<sup>74</sup> Michele Savonarola, *Libellus de magnificis ornamentis regie civitatis Padue*, ed. A. Segarizzi, RIS<sup>2</sup> XXIV/14-15, Città di Castello 1902, p. 56-58.

<sup>75</sup> The sole Trevisan civic laud of which I am aware intends not so much to praise the countryside as to celebrate Venetian conquest: A. Serena, *La cultura umanistica a Treviso nel secolo decimoquinto*, Venezia 1912 (R. Deputazione veneta di storia patria, Miscellanea di storia veneta, ser. III, 3), p. 231-233.