COLLATERAL PROMOTERS OF THE VENETIAN MYTH: VERONESE CHRONICLES IN THE AGE OF VENETIAN HEGEMONY

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Graduate Faculty of The University of Akron

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Gene P. Veronesi

December, 2015
COLLATERAL PROMOTERS OF

THE VENETIAN MYTH: VERONESE CHRONICLES

IN THE AGE OF VENETIAN HEGEMONY

Gene P. Veronesi
Dissertation

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ABSTRACT

The intervention of Venice onto the western portion of the Veneto known as the *terraferma* has had a marginal focus of scholarly interest over the past fifty years. This annexation aroused a good deal of hostility towards the Republic of Venice as an imperialist force which upset the balance of power in the peninsula. To counter this negative perception a number of Venetian patricians began writing histories of their city, embellishing the city’s past with stories of divine intervention, a saintly foundation, and universal acceptance by her *terraferma* cities. From these and earlier writings emerged the creation of Venice as La Serenissima, the most Serene Republic, and the all-encompassing Myth of Venice, that ephemeral confection difficult to define and thus difficult to dispute.

This dissertation deals with the over-looked creators of the Venetian Myth, writers from the mainland, specifically Verona, who sought Venetian patronage and were compliant in creating a positive image of Venice in Italy and abroad. It is my contention that these *literati* were sought by Venetian patricians as the perfect perpetuators of the Myth. In this manner, personal advancement was achieved while praising the city, which was in control of Verona.

The title of this dissertation, Collateral Promoters of the Venetian Myth, is so named because Venice encouraged the writing of local history providing that in those histories Venice was promoted as a benign administrator. It was a relationship between unequals.
Venice usually did not oppose local displays of civic pride or communal historical narratives, as long as Venice was eulogized in the process.

The added element in all of this was that it was to create the impression to the other Italian and European powers that even Venetian “subject” cities wrote in praise of the Republic. Thus Venetian and local histories must be sound and accurate in their positive assessment of Venice.

This study suggests insights into how the Venetian Republic used a nuanced approach to create and maintain her public image in print, while eliciting the support of her subject citizens to assist in perpetuating this Myth. It will also illustrate how writers from Verona responded to these requests, creating their own mythology about Verona and the role of Venice in its history.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to those individuals and institutions that facilitated my research on this dissertation. All provided invaluable assets, both tangible and intangible, from encouragement and interest, to critical and insightful review, on those occasions when I wandered from the narrow path of research onto the wider road of speculation and serendipity.

My first acknowledgement and appreciation goes to my family in Verona and Bussolengo. Francesca, Angela and their parents Mario and Mariucchia Vassanelli have, encouraged my scholarship and research for several decades. Angela’s expertise as a restorer of frescoes introduced me to some of the obscure iconography in Veronese art. Francesca’s ability to transform dialect into readable Italian has been both amazing and valuable. Mario, a fashion design engineer, patiently drove me to monasteries and archives, always stopping for a delightful lunch along the way. Moreover, Mariucchia’s risotto Veronese enjoyed after a productive day at the Archivio di Stato was a salubrious ending to many wonderful days and nights while working in the city. In addition, Gilberto Vassanelli, the genealogist in the family, helped me with the paleography associated with archival documents of early modern Verona. The family was kind enough to gift me one of the first collections of the newly translated, multi volume Chronicon Veronese in December of 2014.

I would also like to acknowledge my sister, Saritta, and her husband Dennis Gersomino for their encouragement and financial assistance as this study took shape.
Oftentimes one’s ambitions grew larger than one’s wallet. Dennis and Saritta were always there with helpful advice and a check.

The staff at the Biblioteca Comunale, especially Dott. Agostino Contò, were most accommodating in their suggestions and facilitation in obtaining obscure publications and manuscripts for this project. At the Museo di Castelvecchio I wish to thank the Direttore, Paola Marini, for her encouragement in a rather ambiguous and controversial area of Veronese history, was gracious in locating and sharing material from their archives. In addition, the assistance of the Archivio fotografico, and its coordinator, Arianna Strazieri, shared with me newly restored prints of important paintings cited in this paper. The assistants at the Accademia di Agricoltura Scienze e Lettere di Verona helped me immensely in locating rare works on Veronese history and culture. While many of these works are available on line, it does not compare to holding an original copy of Maffei’s *Verona Illustrata*. I acknowledge their assistance and encouragement.

I had the pleasure of communicating with Gian Maria Varanini several times on this research. His genius touches all aspects of late medieval Verona and his encyclopedic knowledge of primary sources is unsurpassed. His work follows in the path of those scholars in Veronese historiography, Giuseppe Biadego, Carlo Cipolla and Raffaello Brenzoni. Alessandria Zamperini, assistant professor at the University of Verona in Arte Archeologia e Territorio, has been a valuable colleague. A colleague of Professor Varanini, she has been kind to share with me several of her publications on topics incorporated in this paper.

Sandra Toffolo, Project manager for the European History Primary Sources project at the European University Institute, was also of great assistance. We were able to share our
research on Venetian attitudes towards the terraferma cities, discovering similarities as well as divergences in opinion concerning the extent of Venetian control of the terraferma.

Dr. Fabian Alfie, Head, Department of French, and Italian, University of Arizona is recognized for his generous sharing of his translation of Manoello Giudeo’s *Bisbidis*, which has not been translated into English. I thank him for his insights and interest in my research, and his willingness to allow me to cite his yet unpublished translation. In addition, I also wish to thank Scott E. Keister, Associate Lecturer at the University of Akron, who assisted me late in this research with his translations of the *Ritmo of Pipin* and Silvestro Lando’s *Prooemium*.

A special acknowledgement is offered to Holly Witchey, Ph.D. for her kind offer to edit this paper. A published art historian who is now the editor of the Wade Project at the Western Reserve Historical Society, Dr. Witchey found the fragments of sound writing and scholarship in this paper and assisted me in putting them together into a sensible dissertation. Her husband Curt Witchey served as the grammarian and proofreader after the initial dust settled and the fragments came together. Also I thank Katherine Campbell of the Graduate School for her professional perusal of the final draft. Nevertheless all errors in this dissertation remain my responsibility.

It has been a pleasure to be part of The University of Akron community for the past decade. The Interlibrary staff, especially Kristina Coley, have been outstanding in quickly obtaining articles from obscure Italian periodicals. The Department of History administration assistants Wade Wilcox and Kym Rohrbach always took good care of my academic needs when I could not come to Akron to do so in person. There never was a
time when I could not walk by their offices for a meeting when I would be motioned to
stop in and say hello.

My appreciation also goes to my dissertation committee, Dr. Constance Brittain
Bouchard, Dr. Michael Levin, and Dr. Michael Graham, of the University of Akron,
Department of History, as well as Dr. Matthew Wyszynski, Department of Modern
Languages, the University of Akron, and Dr. Matthew Crawford, Department of History,
Kent State University. I am grateful to each of them for reviewing the manuscript and
offering their suggestions for improvement and clarity. It was a daunting task and took a
lot of their valuable time in the process.

Finally, two professors in the Department of History at the University of Akron are
a pleasure to acknowledge, which I gladly do at this time.

Dr. Constance Brittain Bouchard’s seminars brought me to a greater understanding
of some of the underlying issues involved in analyzing historical narratives. She challenged
me to listen to what the writer really wanted to convey rather than what I thought he or she
was or should be relating. She is a demanding scholar, which is clear in her many books,
scholarly articles and seminars. Her sense of professional integrity, combined with a true
sense of humility, has had a positive impact on me. Her example of meticulous scholarship
remains as a goal for myself and other students fortunate enough to have been involved in
her classes.

Dr. Michael J. Levin, whose seminars were the inspiration for this monograph,
deserves much credit on several levels. As my professor, he introduced me to the importance
of ritual in historical research, especially in those smaller communities in northern Italy. He
had been acquainted with these centers by his mentors Edward Muir for Venice and
Benjamin Kohl for Padua. As my advisor he kept me focused on the project and encouraged my research. I hoped that this dissertation brought forth some kernels of scholarship, when it seemed that my draft copies were taken directly from Lewis Carroll’s *Jabberwocky*.

I thank him for his incredible support, patience, and for his intellectual openness and breadth of knowledge. I could not have asked for a better mentor.

Gene Veronesi
Fall, 2015
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS</th>
<th>xv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF DOCUMENTS</td>
<td>xvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION OVERVIEW, HISTORIOGRAPHY BACKGROUND, AND OUTLINE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Methodology</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Definition of Terms</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Memory and History</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Topographical and Chronological Limits</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Narratives of Venice and Verona</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 Some Components of the Venetian Myth</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7 Some Components of the Myth of Verona</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8 Outline of the Dissertation</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. VENETIAN CHRONICLERS AND THE DEVELOPING MAGE OF VENICE. 1350-1500</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Modern historiography and the Development of the Venetian Myth</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Elaboration of the Venetian Myth</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Venetian Humanist Involvement in the Promotion of the Venetian Myth</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 The Beginnings of a Venetian Historical Narrative The Fourteenth and early Fifteenth Centuries</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.5 Pier Paolo Vergerio: *De Republica Veneta* and the *De Monarchia* ............... 57

2.6 Later Fourteenth Century Commentators: Andrea Dandolo and Antonio Morosini ................................................................. 63

2.7 The Morosini Codex (1365-1438) .................................................................. 64

2.8 Embellishing the Venetian Image in Historical Narratives and Art ............. 69

2.9 Tommaso Mocenigo and Giorgio Dolfi: *Cronicha della nobil città de Venetia et dela sua provintia et destretto* ......................... 72

2.10 Paolo Morosini: *Memoria storica intorno Repubblica di Venezia* .......... 76

2.11 Marin Sanudo: *Itinerio* ............................................................................. 78

2.12 Marin Sanudo, and the Concept of citizenship in the Venetian *terraferma* .... 81

2.13 The Concept of Venetian Citizenship and “the Other” .............................. 86

2.14 Embellishing the Venetian Image: Collateral Promotion in Venice and Verona: Pictorial representations of the Venetian and Veronese mythology...94

2.15 The Anti-Myth of Venice: The Pope, Milan, Florence and Jean Lemaire de Belges........................................................................ 105

III. VERONESE CULTURE AND SOCIETY: 1300-1405 .......................... 111

3.1 Current research on Renaissance Verona .................................................... 111

3.2 The Early history of Verona from Rome to the Scala Dynasty .................... 117

3.3 The Beginnings of a Myth of Verona ............................................................. 125

3.4 *L’Iconografia Rateriana* ........................................................................... 125

3.5 The *Ritmo of Pepin* .................................................................................. 126

3.6 Verona, the Nuova Hierusalem, Minor Hierusalem .................................. 129

3.7 The Golden Age of Verona under the Scala .............................................. 132

IV. EARLY VERONESE SOURCES: NOTARIES, CHRONICLERS AND JURISTS ............................................................... 137

4.1 Paris Cerea: (1200-1277) *Il Chronicon*.................................................... 138
4.1 Paris Cerea: (1200-1277) *Il Chronicon* .......................................................... 138

4.2 Magister Marzagaia: (1350-1433)
*De Opera de Modernis Gestis* (*ca. 1415-1430*) ......................................................... 142

4.3 The *Liber Dierum Iuridicorum* of Bartolomeo Lando ........................................... 152

4.4 Giambattista Biancolini’s Compilation of the
*Cronica della Città di Verona Descritta di Pier Zagata* (1745) ..................... 162

4.5 Silvestro Lando, the *Statuta Veronae* and Bartolomeo Cipolla ..................... 180

V. VERNACULAR NARRATIVES OF VERONA: 1460-1500 ...................... 196

5.1 Barduzzi, Francesco Corna, Anonymous *Frottola Giorgio Sommariva* .... 196

5.2 Bernardino Barduzzi: A Letter in Praise of Verona ........................................... 200

5.3 Francesco Corna: *I Fioretto* ................................................................. 203

5.4 Anonymous *Frottola* against Veronese nobles .................................. 209

5.5 Giorgio Sommariva: *Cronicheta e ricordo de alcune cose notabili de Verona* ................................................................. 214

VI. THE ACTIO PANTEO: PUBLIC SPECTACLE, PRIVATE INTENTIONS...221

6.1 The Festivities .......................................................................................... 221

6.2 Dante III Alighieri (1462-510) .................................................................. 233

6.3 Giorgio Bevilacqua, The Public Promotion of Jacopo Marcello *De bello gallico* .................................................................................. 237

6.4 The Private Promotion of Jacopo Marcello, the *excusatio adversus consolatores in obitu Valerii filii* .................................................. 241

6.5 Contemporary Descriptions of the Panteo and their Importance .......... 248

6.6 The *Carme* of Virgilio Zavarise and the Literary Extension of the Actio..... 250

6.7 Zavarise’s promotion of Illustrious Veronese of Antiquity
the *De Viris Illustribus il Antiquissimus qui ex Verona clauere* ............. 253
**VII. VENETIAN REPRESENTATIONS OF VERONA THROUGH THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: THE VENETIAN AND VERONESE MYTHS IN CARTOGRAPHY, PAINTING AND ARCHITECTURE**

7.1 Maps of the City and Their Cultural and Political Significance .................. 261

7.2 Paintings as Evidence of Social Standing, Political Affinity and Vendetta ..... 266

7.3 Architecture, Sculpture and Painting as Political Commentary: The Loggia degli Consiglio and the Creation and the Destruction of Venetian symbols ...271

**VIII. THE ZAGATA CHRONICLE; LOCAL HISTORIANS AND THE REFINING OF THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE IN VERONA**

8.1 Jacopo Rizzoni and the Continuation of the Zagata Chronicle ................. 292

8.2 Torello Saraina: *De Civitatis Veronae origine et amplitudine* and *Storie e fatti de Veronese le nel tempo de signori scaligeria* .................. 301

8.3 Giovanni Caroto: *De le antiquita de Verona* ....................................... 306

8.4 Onofrio Panvinio: *Antiquitatum Veronessium libri VIII* ......................... 308

8.5 Giovanni Tinto: *La Nobilita di Verona* (1599) .................................. 314

8.6 Girolamo Dalla Corte: (1529-1596) *Dell’istorie della citta di Verona* ....... 322

8.7 Ludovico Moscardo: *Historia di Verona* and the redefining of citizenship ...331

8.8 Adriano Valerini: *La Bellezza Verona* (1546-1593) ......................... 342

8.9 Scipione Maffei: (1675-1755) *Verona Illustrata* .................................. 350

**IX. CONCLUSION** .................................................................................. 356

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** ................................................................................... 375

**APPENDICES** ....................................................................................... 451

**APPENDIX A: ILLUSTRATIONS** .......................................................... 452

**APPENDIX B: DOCUMENTS** .................................................................. 468
# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sketch by Palma Vecchio the Younger for <em>Venice Triumphant</em> (Florence,</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uffizi), 1582</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Jacopo Palma Vecchio the Younger</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Triumph of Venice</em> Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Ducal Palace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steno, 1619</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The Loggia of the Consiglio, Verona, circa 1860</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The Loggia of the Consiglio, Verona, 2010</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Giovanni Sante Creara *Consigning of the Keys to the Military Commander</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabrielle Emo, Loggia del Consiglio, Verona</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Jacopo Tintoretto. *The Voluntary Submission of the Provinces to Venetian</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominion*. Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Ducal Palace, Venice, (1578–1585)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Francesco Bassano. <em>Allegory of Venice and of Bergamo</em> Pinacoteca dell’</td>
<td>4571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accademia Carrara, 1570-1590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consiglio, 1585</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Andrea Mantegna. Guarino offering his translation of Strabo to his</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patron, Jacopo Marcello</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Andrea Mantegna. Jacopo Marcello offering his gift to King Rene</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazarie, Palermo 1516</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Earliest known map of the Veronese territory known as the “delle’Almagia,”</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circa 1439-40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15. The Venetian terraferma in the fifteenth-century……………………………. 461
   ending with the battle of Agnadello (1509)

16. Verona and her Provincial communes .................................................................. 462

17. Modern Map of Verona............................................................................................. 463

18. L’Iconografia Rateriana 10th century copy, Biblioteca Capitalare. ................ 464

19. Giovanni Caroto’s map of Verona, Le Antichita di Verona 1550 ..................... 464

20. Giovanni Caroto. Porta di Leone, front view, in Panavinio’s Antiquitatum Veronensium libri octo......................................................... 465

21. Giovanni Caroto. Porta di Leone, rear view, in Panavinio’s Antiquitatum Veronensium libri octo......................................................... 465

22. Porta di Leone, front 2013 ....................................................................................... 466

23. Paolo Frambotti. “Verona fidelis” Panavinio’s Antiquitatum Veronensium libri octo, Padua, 1648................................................................. 466

24. Palma the younger. Doge Francesco Venier presents the conquered cities to Lady Venice (1580)................................................................. 467

25-26. Angelo Portenari. Della felicità di Padova (1623)
   and detail of Padua’s offering to Venice................................................................. 467
LIST OF DOCUMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Ritmo of Pipin (795-806)… ...............................................</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Gidino da Sommacampagna, Laude ..............................................</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Immanuele Romano (Manoello Giudeo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bisbidis di Manoello Giudeo a Magnificenza de Messer Cane de la Scala....</td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. In Lode di Verona........................................................................</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Silvestro Lando: Statua Civitatis Veronae...................................</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Veronese writers noted in the Actio Pantea and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the <em>Carme</em> of Virgilio Zavarise, 1484........................................</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION: OVERVIEW, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND OUTLINE

There are two Venices. One is that of which the ancient histories speak, extending from the confines of Pannonia up to the river Adda. Its capital is the city of Aquileia, in which the Holy evangelist Mark, illuminated by divine grace, preached the gospel of our lord Jesus Christ. The other is that Venice which is situated in the insular zone in the gulf of the Adriatic, where the water flows between island and island, in a splendid position, pleasantly inhabited by a numerous people. This people, from what we know from their name, and from the annals, draws its origin from the first Venice.

*La Cronaca veneziana di Giovanni Diacono*, Eleventh century

The forty-fifth year is now past, since that city [Verona] – by the permission and beneficence of God – has been governed by the most illustrious and distinguished senate of Venice. Who can relate how great the piety was, the justice and reverence which they showed us at that time? For, being so eminent and very observant of these virtues, it was so adorned with them that it has maintained liberty now for more than a thousand years, and at the same time it has rendered free and blessed those who submit to them, as we have, voluntarily and eagerly. We are in a position to declare this, admittedly, not so much by the examples of others as by our own approval, since we have been prompted by long experience in these very matters.


As these passages indicate, the glorified vision of Venice produced in the late Middle Ages was not solely the construct of elite Venetian patricians. John the Deacon, a Venetian nobleman, secretary and relative of Doge Pietro II Orseolo (991-1009), wrote the earliest account of the origins and character of Venice in the eleventh century. His *Cronica Veneziana* describes an expansive territory under Venetian control stretching from present day Hungary (Pannonia) westward to Milan, with its capital city in the Patriarchal city of
Aquileia. It is a flattering view of divine involvement and saintly protection, a strategically positioned city, populated by industrious citizens. It is a vision perpetuated for five hundred years by Venetian writers, culminating in Cardinal Gaspare Contarini’s *La Republica e I Magistrati di Vinegia* (1564) (henceforth cited as *Magistrati*), offering in English to the world beyond Venice, the model government that was the Venetian Republic. This view fits the template of the Myth of Venice, a positive vision of Venice created and maintained by Venetian patricians for the next half millennium.

Consider the second quote. In this case, the Chancellor of Verona, Silvestro Lando, wrote a lengthy *Prooemium* or introduction to the revised statutes of the city of Verona. Verona was one of the first cities on the mainland to come under Venetian control in 1405. In the *Prooemium* Lando praises the Venetian rulers, and reminds his readers of the wonderful status of the city under the control of Venice. He is careful to underscore the voluntary nature of Venetian hegemony, which the city willingly submitted to the rule of

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Venice and is thankful for that act. It also fits into the template of the Venetian Myth, that of the willful submission of the subject cities that came under Venetian control after 1404.

From nearby Vicenza I add another request from one of that city’s most important citizens, pleading for Venetian involvement in the city. Addressing the Doge in 1404, the Vicentine nobleman Giacomo Thiene precede Lando’s remarks by half a century, providing a dramatic invitation to be under the control of Venice:

Therefore, take this city, its countryside, and our riches, and defend them from the injuries of the Carrarese prince with that valor and greatness of soul, which this Most Serene Dominion has always had. If you do so you will have us as faithful servants and friends, ready to spend not only our riches but even our lives for the glory of your empire.  

More of a theatrical display than a binding contract Thiene’s remark also follows the ideology of the Myth of Venice, showing the eagerness of some in the subject cities to join in the community that was the Venetian Republic.

By the fifteenth-century, Venice wished to justify, and expand the mythical accounts of her origins and territorial expansion, while maintaining the fidelity of her newly acquired cities. Venice also wished to cloak her political activities under the notion of a Myth created by her patricians and subjects on the terraferma. Another objective was to promote the Republic as a model government in Italy and abroad. Early Venetian apologists such as John the Deacon, (1009 +), the chronicler Marco, (1292) and Martino da Canal (1275)

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wrote their narratives creating and expanding this vision of Venice.\textsuperscript{5} An enthusiastic crowd of Venetian patricians, whose literary justifications of the actions of Venice continued into the sixteenth century, organized and perpetuated this view. Indeed, modern writers such as James Grubb have cautioned scholars of Venice to be wary of incorporating these aspects of the Myth into their research and so perpetuate its existence. It was of patrician origins according to Margaret King, a social class bound to conform to a sense of \textit{Unanimitas}, a singular political mentality, as well as a sense of social superiority, in all matters pertaining to politics involving Venice during this period.\textsuperscript{6} It was a defense of Venice as well as a defense of the patrician class who virtually ruled the city.

In this dissertation, I argue that the creation, maintenance, and enhancement of a mythical vision of the Republic of Venice was not the sole responsibility of the Venetian patrician class inhabiting the islands of the Rialto. Beginning in 1405, Venice began an annexation of most of the mainland of northeast Italy (the \textit{terraferma}). Within the elite populations of Treviso, Padua, Vicenza and Verona, the Venetian Republic encountered another literate resource to draw upon, to assisting her in the promotion and literary defense of the Venetian state. Educated subjects of the \textit{terraferma}, especially in the city of Verona,

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\end{footnote}
welcomed the opportunity for patronage from the Republic and from her local patricians living on the terraferma as administrators for Venice. While Venice maintained strict control over her rule of the annexed cities, nevertheless, there were opportunities for enterprising scholars and aristocrats from Verona to advance to minor administrative positions as provveditori, or local administrators over supplies, sanitation or tax collection. It helped their advancement if they also included positive Venetian themes in their laudatory writings and celebratory festivals. The significance of this becomes apparent when non Venetian, possibly non Italian readers noted that even in the “conquered” lands of the terraferma, it was the local citizenry who praised the organization of Venice not as an oppressor but as an administrator making a light impression on the lands.

A few terraferma humanists received appointments as provveditori, local administrators within the city. They, therefore, could hardly turn down a request to add to the literary production of materials favoring a positive image of Venice. In this study, I propose that the so-called Myth of Venice relied on these writers and literary figures to assist in the maintenance and promotion of the political rhetoric of the Venetian Republic. In the case of Verona, a major terraferma city, the various narrators of the history of this city absorbed a constant flow of positive information about Venice into their local historical narratives. It is my main argument that the histories of Verona, written by Veronese humanists, were often a literary platform upon which to embellish and promote a positive history of Venice to the rest of Italy and to the world.

On the topic of collateral promotion, between patrician and local elite, an exchange between Ludovico Foscarini, a Venetian patrician, humanist, and patron, and the Veronese writer Damiano dal Borgo in 1451 provides some insight. Foscarini wished to employ Dal
Dal Borgo for a specific task: “I know with what brilliance, with what elegance our (Venetian) history will sparkle when you have adorned it.” Foscarini’s efforts to enlist Dal Borgo were unsuccessful. Foscarini then turned to the Neapolitan humanist Porcellio Pandoni to compose a history of Venice, so that “the wartime deeds of Venice would be noted for posterity.” Porcellio did in fact compose a work on Venetian history, commenting on the war between Milan and Venice and the exploits of Francesco Sforza, the condottiero for Venice in 1452.

In this dissertation I will examine this interaction between Venetian patrons and Veronese humanists, a coordination which was at once fluid while conforming to certain guidelines regarding the image of Venice. I survey in this dissertation how Veronese writers, elites, jurists, and notaries contributed to a positive image of Venice in their minor works, as well as the several printed histories of the city of Verona, written between 1405 and 1599. In addition, I evaluate vernacular poetry, such as the Fioretto of Corna da Soncino as well as unpublished writings about Verona, searching for the author’s position on the relationship between Venice and Verona. Quite often, Veronese texts mirror the civic attitudes of Venetian patricians. Venetian accounts of mythic origins found in Venetian texts, later find their way into Veronese literature. Indeed, in one of the earliest compilations of a history of Verona, the Cronica di città di Verona of Piero Zagata,

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hereafter cited as Zagata, wholesale passages from several Histories of Venice are used in
the publication. They are included in Zagata as authoritative descriptions of Verona.\(^9\) They
were more of an endorsement of Venetian propaganda than lack of source materials.

Local Veronese writers praised the Venetian presence in Verona and added to the
Mythology of Venice. Venetian authorities permitted a modicum of self-aggrandizement
regarding Verona as well. A Myth of Verona, which had its beginnings in the ninth century
with the *Ritmo of Pipin* and the visual representations in the *Iconografia Rateriana*, had
taken shape by the time of the Venetian occupation. Venetian censors permitted occasional
displays of *Veronesità* or civic pride in public spectacle, self-congratulatory works of art,
and the occasional wistful appeal to a “Golden Age” of the Scala family. However, these
were tightly controlled exhibitions of local enthusiasm, ostensibly praising the “good old
days” of the city, while actually reinforcing the positive image of the new ruling authority.
Examples of this kind of exhibition will be examined later in the dissertation.

I designate this relationship as a collateral promotion, with Venice publically
affirming a positive relationship with Verona, while closely controlling events behind the
scenes, out of public view. It was primarily an image creation for the non-terraferma
observer, showing how gracious the Republic was in dealing with her subjects. The private
vision of the terraferma subjects was a topic not to be placed in print, although it can be
teased out of texts, as will be shown later in this dissertation.

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\(^9\) Pier Zagata, *Cronica della Città di Verona descritta da Pier Zagata; Ampliata, e Supplita da
Giambattista Biancolini* (Verona: Dionisio Ramanzini, 1745), ed., Giambattista Biancolini, 3 vols.
Some of the authors used in Zagata are Sabellico, Platina, Flavio Biondo, Giovanni Villani, Pietro
Marcello, “Patricio Veneto” and Paulo Diacono.
Indeed, this unequal perception of “the Other” is a corollary of the concept of *Unanimitas*. It extended into the Venetian family, where a child had supervision over the servants in the house, based on his higher rank and dignity.\(^{10}\) I believe that this idea extended into the Venetian government, and into its dealings with the *terraferma*. While the Venetian administration permitted some local expression, of *campanilismo*, or local pride, her attitude towards her subject city was quite different. Virtually nothing was published in Venetian histories relating to the existence of the mainland, towards Venice’s “sister cities.”

That relationship is apparent in the voluminous writings of the Venetian authors Marin Sanudo and Sabellico. They indicate a sense of “otherness” felt by Venice towards her mainland cities. It appears that while the Venetian Republic attempted to create a series of satellite communes on the *terraferma* loyal to La Serenissima, Venetian attitudes towards these cities were part of an attitude of “dissimilarity” in Venetian civic thought. These people, allies of Venice, were from the *terraferma* and were not truly Venetian. They were Veronese, Vicentini, Padovani, but not Venetian. While that dissimilarity is noted, it was a nuanced perception, not overly emphasized in Venetian texts. In Veronese documents and historical narratives, the emphasis on the loyalty of the city to Venice was always paramount, and this unbalanced fidelity between rulers and ruled, *Dominante e città suddite*, was usually suggested in the text.\(^{11}\)

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\(^{10}\) More on this concept and the implementation of this idea onto the *terraferma* will follow in this dissertation. The writings of the patrician Giovanni Caldiera indicate that this kind of superiority amongst children encourage and train them to be in leadership positions as they mature. King, *Venetian Humanism*, 103-106.

Finally, it was part of the Venetian genius, I argue, that the use of local literati was a shrewd tactic for Venice to employ. Much of Italy was against Venetian expansion, especially after the Visconti wars in the 1440’s. The conflicts involving Venice and the participants in the War of Cambrai, (1509-1515), placed Venice in an unfavorable position throughout Italy and Europe. These struggles resulted in the loss of all of the Venetian terraferma and the exchanging of Venetian rule for that of the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximillian. The Papacy, France, Spain and the Emperor were not on amicable terms with Venice, over matters of religious jurisdiction and territorial expansion, to name but two reasons. Only England was an ally of sorts, a country where a pro-Venetian group nurtured good will and acceptability at the court. 12

The Venetian state needed better public informational services and relied on her educated patricians to provide influential publications to persuade their readers of the justice of Venetian actions. On one level, it was an attempt for social equals to discuss attitudes about government with others of the same social strata, be it in England or in Spain or the Papal Court. It is no wonder then that the first translation of Contarini’s Magistrati (1549) published in England in 1599, was a guidebook for the English on the admirable government of the Venetian Republic. What better way to deflect adverse publicity then to encourage local writers to compose laude, histories, poems, and works of

12 See also John Eglin, Venice Transfigured: The Myth of Venice in British Culture, 1660-1797 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001). This is a remarkable study which analyzes the similarities between England and the Venetian Republic and which encouraged a good rapport between the two nations. Both were maritime republics with a ruler with limited powers, both resisted the Papacy and both had a hereditary nobility. He concludes that at one point Venetian institutions were applied to English circumstances with much success. For an earlier study on this relationship see Michael Wyatt, The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation (Cambridge: University Press, 2005), Jonathan Woolfson, Padua and the Tudors: English students in Italy, 1485-1603 (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1999), and the classic John Hale, England and the Italian Renaissance (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing), 1954 (2005).
art praising Venice, her mythical past and her most marvelous rule. Who could argue with that concept and those creating that model?

With the creation of the *De Magistrati*, the so-called myth reaches its summit, according to many authors. Within its pages, translated into several languages by 1600, a reader could find explanations for Venetian conduct over the past millennia. Venice was a model government, composed of three layers of citizenry, governed by laws, overseen by a Doge. It was a system adored by those living under the banner of San Marco.

My research suggests otherwise. It was the Venetian genius to employ local elite to promote Venice during the early fifteenth-century. Much of the political rhetoric circulated within patrician circles unless it had a distinctly political purpose. Initially it was not for public consumption. Moving forward, what better way to deflect criticism of Venetian territorial expansion than by having pleasing accounts of Venice written by those very people whom the Republic had been ruling for a century? If Foscarini, a relative of the Doge, wrote flattering information about the Republic, the enemies of Venice would construe it as an artificial attempt at reconstructing the Republic’s damaged reputation. Praiseworthy remarks and positive opinions of Venice then found their way into the histories of the subject cities. Venice could not construct a better deflection or defense of criticism of her political ambitions.

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14 Contarini, *De Magistrati*, 154 ff “Donatus distinguisheth the inhabitants of Venice into three parts, viz. Plebeians, citizens and Gentlemen. The Plebeians he tarmeth to those that exercise base arts utterly incapable of office or degree in the commonwealth. The citizens to be merchants and men of a degree above the other, capable of certaine popular offices, and the gentlemen to bee those of the great councell, Lords of the state & as aovbe.”
Many of the local Veronese humanists, Giorgio Bevilacqua, Sommariva, Lando, Zavarise, the Maffei, Verita, and Aleardi families received appointments as provveditori, with each of these families filling ten or more positions from 1405 until 1500. Occasionally these posts lead to the position of Chancellor of the city, an office that Lando, Zavarise, and Jacopo Conte Giuliani would secure by the end of the fifteenth-century. It was a largely ceremonial title. Moreover, the holder of that office had to be a public supporter and advocate of Venetian rule, and that support came without question.

1.1 Methodology

This dissertation will evaluate several contemporary histories of Verona written from the early fifteenth-century to the mid sixteenth centuries, ostensibly by Veronese authors. Some of these narratives are anonymous accounts, pieced together in the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. The Cronica di citta di Verona attributed to Pier Zagata is a good example of this kind of narrative. It was a continuation of a thirteenth century chronicle of Paris Cerea, with addendum sourced from unnamed authors, and concluding in the sixteenth century. An amateur historian/merchant, Giambattista Biancolini, compiled the Cronica in 1745. Volume II of Zagata is dedicated to Gianpiero Dolce, “Patrizio Veneto,” “Patrician of Venice.” Earlier works, such as the De Opera de

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Modernis Gestis of Master Marzagaia (1415-1430) and the Liber Dierum of Bartolomeo Lando (1405-1412) were private Latin compositions and not for a general readership. They do not appear in Zagata, Dalla Corte or Moscardo as named sources but were surely consulted. The attributed histories of Torello Saraina, (1540) Giovanni Caroto, (1560) Dalla Corte (1592) and Lodovico Moscardo, (1668) used the original Zagata chronicle with additional source materials, oftentimes augmented with Venetian materials.¹⁹

I use these histories as one information source. These narratives purport to describe the history of Verona, but within a short inquiry, one encounters a subtext of Venetian history running through the main narrative. This is an example of the willing compliance of Veronese authors to use their chronicle as a platform promoting the positive rhetoric of Venice.

I also examine unpublished letters, laude, and poems that represent attitudes towards Venice and Veronese society that are not totally in accord with the Venetian myth. Some frottole or sarcastic poems accompanied by music often included invectives favoring some individual or railing against the rulers of Venice, and their associates in Verona. They reveal an underlying unease with the appearance of Venetian tranquility. Beginning in the last quarter of the fifteenth-century, we find the first impulse of a resurgence of a Veronese mythology. There was a renewal of interest in the Golden Age of the city, stressing the past ruling elite Veronese of the city. An emphasis on the prosopography of Verona emerges, describing a city through her elite families. The history of Verona now replaces an

interest in the current role of Venice in Veronese affairs. The history of the city became the chronicle of her most prominent citizens and her antique monuments. The reasons for this shift will be discussed in this research.

In addition to printed histories, I will also incorporate visual artifacts, which were pertinent to the Mythology surround both Venice and Verona. Specifically, paintings commissioned by the Venetian administration for decoration in the newly constructed Loggia degli Consilio promoted dramatic events in the history of Verona. These usually consisted of depictions of medieval victories that also included the presence of Venice in the cultural and political life of the city. The elevated statue of the Leone de Venezia, raised in every city on the terraferma, added to the mythic presence of Venice. The later destruction of these icons adds to the troubled relationship with Verona and Venice.

The early visual renderings of the city of Verona also indicate what was most important to the cartographer and his patron, in most cases, The Republic of Venice. A clear representation of the city might not be evident on a local map, but the ubiquitous Lion, or a sketch of the Arena, identifies the city. Finally, we must confront the maintenance or lack of maintenance by municipal administrators of the ancient monuments within Verona. The preservation of the Arco di Gavi, the Arena, the Roman theater, and the Scala tombs reflect the Venetian’s administrative interest in preserving or neglecting a connection with the Golden Age of the Scala and the city’s Roman legacy. Failure to preserve these artifacts suggests a disregard for the past. Ignoring these artifacts in the written narratives of the city acts also suggests a disregard for their cultural importance. These antiquities acted as visual memory, a daily reminder to the citizens of a different time, one that the Venetian government did not wish to preserve.


1.2 Definition of Terms

A number of words are used in this dissertation which have a specific intent within this study. Therefore, it seems appropriate to define them immediately, as they will be used in this research.

*Terraferma:* A reference to the mainland of northern Italy west of Venice to the cities of Brescia, north to Friuli, and south to the region known as the Polesine. Under the control of Venice since 1405, the major cities of the *terraferma* included Padua, Treviso, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Crema, Cremona, Udine, and numerous smaller towns within the region. A map of the region is provided in Illustration #15.

A key question which historians have been engaged with is the nature of the *terraferma.* Was it a “state” in the modern sense, a territorial state, a precursor to the modern state, or a collection of independent cities under the hegemony of Venice? Some scholars, especially Knapton and Chittolini, suggest that the *terraferma* was a precursor to the modern nation state in Italy.20

There are several challenges involved with that interpretations. Modern historians, with the notable exception of Angelo Ventura, have viewed Venetian expansion into the

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20 I am not as concerned in the debate as to whether or not the Terraferma was a proto nation in the fifteenth century. Benedict Anderson’s “imagined communities,” evolved much later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). He has virtually nothing to say about Italian, although Switzerland and Mali are examined for their early tries at nation hood.

*terraferma* as a benign annexation of territories, merely a way for Venice to fill a political vacuum with stable government. From this perspective any notion of imperialistic expansion cannot be considered, because the territorial enlargement was not calculated but somehow grew from necessity, without a preconceived or directed plan.

While this reading is open to debate, it is clear that there was an overall plan for the *terraferma*. Indeed, within a half century of its takeover, the cities of the *terraferma* were providing nearly half of the total operating costs for the entire Venetian Republic. Forests were mapped and cut, canals were cleared, widened in order to bring that lumber to Venice, all under Venetian jurisdiction. Taxes were collected, coinage minted with the likeness of the Doge and St. Mark on Veronese coinage, feast days were augmented to include Venetian saints and many other ritual and actual changes in the daily life of Verona.

My position is that Venice offered a unifying administration with little participation by local, non Venetian administrators. While the Republic did not consider the several cities on the *terraferma* as part of Venice, the Republic did utilize the resources of the *terraferma* primarily to Venetian advantage. Venice was, in effect, a conquering power, maintaining the peace and rewarding itself for its minimal efforts. When the first great military crisis confronted Venice in the War of Cambrai (1509-1517) Venice abandoned her *terraferma* cities as a defense tactic to slow down Imperial troops sweeping through

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22 Quintillio Perini, *Le Monete di Verona* (Rovereto: Ugo Grandi & Co., 1902). Under the Dominion of Venice, 1405-1509 the illustrations on the coinage varied. With Doge Steno (1400-1413) we find representative of the Doge on the front and Christ on the reverse. Under Doge Tomaso Mocenigo (1414-1423) a cross on one side and an image of San Marco on the reverse is portrayed. Later in the century Doges Foscari and Nicolo Tron continue with the Venetian imagery. When Verona was taken over by the Imperial forces, Maximillian’s image on the front is matched with St. Zeno on the back, a reference to local imagery.
the area. Venice retrieved these lost cities primarily through treaty and huge ransoms, which the individual cities ultimately were charged.

Therefore, for the purposes of this dissertation, the term *terraferma* applies to a loose coalition of diverse cultural and social communities, bound together by Venice for the general purposes of defense, collection of raw materials and taxation. Any commonality regarding the *terraferma* would be its control by Venice.

*Collateral:* By this term used in the title of this dissertation and elsewhere, I mean a dual but unequal relationship, a subordinate position, exercised by Venice within the several cities on the *terraferma*. In its fullest sense, Collateral Promoters refer to those mainland *literati* or humanists who sought Venetian patronage and used their skills in rhetoric, history, composition, and knowledge of the classics to promote their Venetian patrons as well as Venice as a Republic.

Also included in this term is a guarded sense of reciprocity insofar as accolades by local Veronese writers regarding Venice may be acknowledged with a positive reference by the Venetian Senate, or a Venetian writer such as Marin Sanudo or Sabellico. Yet, in the sum of published works there are few instances of Venetian descriptions of the *terraferma* and Verona specifically while the histories of Verona are resplendent with references to Venice, its history and notable existence.\(^{23}\) In its very essence Collateral


Promotion involves a subordinate client such as Verona writing in praise of the patron, Venice. In return for such accolades Venice offers administrative positions or other patronage such as a patrician secretary in return. Occasionally Venetian writers would acknowledge Verona in letters or in their histories of Venice as a city of abundance, of beauty, and the collateral admiration continued.

**Humanist:** There are several definitions for the term Humanist in use over the past half century. Eugenio Garin’s definition suggested an educated person, usually male, who was proficient in rhetoric, dialectics, languages, and an understanding of the Greek and Roman classics. An important component in this mix was that those humanist teachers, notably Guarino of Verona, sought to elevate the morals and ethics of their students as well as make them scholars. In this way they could best serve and advise those in power using their collective wisdom to make a positive impact on the present state of education.

In their 1982 discussion on humanist pedagogy Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine revisit this definition of humanist based upon the way in which humanist teacher actually taught. They conclude that rather than produce students who thought and had a moral purpose, they trained their pupils to become submissive administrators for princes and the state. Rather than a gentleman versed in the classics, these men were merely components of an early modern bureaucracy, who could recount Cicero in perfect latin when the need arose.

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My definition of humanist as used in this dissertation, leans more towards the Grafton/Jardine model in that many of these men were educated by Guarino or Pantea but the resulting product was a disciplined, educated man whose emphasis was on flattery and eloquence rather than high moral standards.

*Literati:* Perhaps less of a prestigious title than humanist, *literati* do not necessarily need to have been coached for years under a renowned teacher, nor be a teacher himself. Literati were literate individuals, who may be able to read and write in Latin and possibly Greek, could translate from these languages, and had a good command of public speaking. I believe that the term *literati* would be applicable to most of the individuals noted in this dissertation. Those with a more extensive formal schooling with famous instructors would tend to be referred to as humanists. For a *literati* to be chosen for an administrative position would not have raised much interest. For a venerable teacher such as Guarino to work as a *Provveditori* in the city of Verona would have been questioned as a lowering of rank to take such a position.

*“The Other”:* A term associated with Edward Said’s *Orientalism*, usually related to a nineteenth century colonial view of conquered subjects as being in a distinct, distant, and inferior position.\(^{25}\) I have used this term in this dissertation as a particular way to distinguish how Venice and Venetians viewed those members of their territorial cities. This is a problematic viewpoint. Venice has rarely been charged with being an imperialistic power (which she was) and has been suggested as having created a territorial state,(which she did not). Therefore, as some historians have maintained, a term such as “other” could

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not apply because Venice was not an imperial power but a territorial state, thus all were equal.

In fact, as I will illustrate in this dissertation, Venice did make distinctions between true Venetians from the Rialto and the rest, those “al fuori,” outside of Venice on the mainland. While not maintaining an overt duality, Venice nevertheless did distinguish in her laws, taxes, fiscal activities, between Venice and the other. This can also be ascertained in histories of Venice, where the mainland cities are hardly ever mentioned. They were not included because they did not matter except for the collection of food stuffs and taxes.

The concepts of parochialism and *campanilismo* certainly played a part in this condescending attitude, where particular cities vie for prestige by criticizing their neighboring cities as “different” therefore inferior to a particular city. For example, a very well-known north Italian frottola reveals some of these components: 26

> Veneziani, gran Signori; Padovani, gran dotori; Visentini, manga gati Veronese…tuti mati; Udinesi, castelani co I cognomj de Fulani; Trevisani, pan e tripe; Rovigoti, baco e pipe; I Cremaschi fa coioni; I Bresan taia cantoni, ghe n’e ancora de pi tristi…Bergamaschi bruscristi ; E Belun? Pore Belun, te se prorio de nisun !

*Unanimitas*: A term appropriated by Margaret King in her *Venetian Humanism in an Age of patrician Dominance*. 27 It refers to a united position taken by Venetian aristocrats,

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26 “Venetians are great Lords, those of Padova great doctors, the people of Vicenza eat cats , and all of the Veronese are crazy. The Udinesi live in castles with the last name of Fulani, the people of Treviso eat bread and tripe, the people of Rovigo tobacco and pipes, those of Crema produce idiots, the Brescians all sing but are sad, the Bergamaschi are Christ burners and those of Belluno, poor Belluno, that have nothing.” http://www.filoverona.it/marconi/2012_13_ci/veneti.htm.

to all those outside their patrician circle. Polite but firm, Venetians revealed nothing about their thoughts, the actions of the government, or family matters to any outsiders, i.e. non-Venetians of a certain class. This is another reason why, according to James Grubb, Venetians did not write down *Ricordanze* or accounts of one’s family.

Another aspect of *Unanimitas* is a social superiority which affirms the subordinate status of the non patrician, the other. As a rule Venetian male patrician children were permitted to order servants, adults as subordinates. This allowed them to practice on commanding those in society who were not of the same social standing. It is a small reach for the use of this concept to its application to the mainland cities. A distinction was usually made in Venetian histories about “Our Venetian “citizen X and Dr. Y, from Treviso. A classic example of this bi-level relationship was noted by Guarino, who related his being comforted by the Venetian patrician Leonardo Giustiniani over some indiscretion: “ our men judge you to be not so much Veronese… as Venetian…” said Giustiniani. It was written down and remember by Guarino but would certainly never have been put to writing by Giustiniani.

**1.3 Memory and History**

Historians, compilers, chroniclers create histories in order to present contemporary affairs in a particular manner. Authors had to come to terms with their past and they accomplished this by reworking, omitting and embellishing the commentaries they had at their disposal. Certainly, Veronese histories composed in the fifteenth-century would not be the same narrative a modern researcher would create using the same sources.  

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28 I thank Professor Constance Brittain Bouchard for her perseverance in directing my research towards certain topics, especially the role of memory in historical writing, which I overlooked in my initial investigation for this dissertation. Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors: Memory and Forgetting in France, 500-1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 39.
Perspectives are different, outcomes changeable, as well as the audience’s attitude towards these events. Generally the histories compiled in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Verona have little to say about Veronese history prior to 1405. The previous rulers of the city, notably the Scala, did not fit in the template of Venetian rule. All of the positive imagery relating to the Scala, the splendor of their court and their just administration, did not conform to the present achievements of the Venetian administration. For the first century or so of Venetian domination, any mention of this dynasty in local histories was brief and marginal.

When a writer adds information about the Scala family, it raises the question as to the purpose of including such material. This kind of inclusiveness begins to appear after the War of Cambrai (1508-1517), with chronologies of the Scala and informational chapters on Roman ruins in the city. Was the inclusion of these historical references in later histories due to lax censorship? Perhaps it was due to an increased desire of Veronese literati to present a complete retelling of the history of their city. In the case of Zagata, printed in the eighteenth century, these were additions published in a period past the prime of Venetian influence. Carnival and opera seems to have consumed the attention of the now Dowager of the Adriatic. Perpetuating the Myth in Italy or in the terraferma was inopportune. It was

only for export at this point. It was a moment of resurgence of a myth of Verona in local publications.

Finally, Veronese history is usually presented as a teleological, progressive narrative, moving from medieval shadows to the light of Venetian rule. The formal pact between Verona and Venice, the Bollo d’Oro, in 1405, uses that same terminology. 29 The stain of tyranny and chaos fell upon the legacy of Verona with the Scala rulers, despite its pride in its Roman artifacts, its early saints and relics. Removing that darkness from the recent past, Venice is leading Verona into the light of stability and good government. It became a trope, starting with biblical origins, and concluding with Venice in 1405 and beyond. This metaphor applies to most of the other terraferma locations as well.

1.4 Topographical and chronological limits

The dissertation chronology is limited to the manuscripts and books printed from 1405 to the publication of the Historia di Verona (Verona: Andrea Rossi, 1668) of Lodovico Moscardo. Certainly prior to 1405, a number of resources emanating from the Scala court are available. The 1988 exhibition and catalogue, Gli Scaligeri, under the editorship of G.M. Varanini, includes many of these sources.30 They precede the time constraints of this paper insofar as they reflect the historical narrative of Verona under a different political regime. This dissertation will concentrate on those writers during that period directly influenced by the Venetian occupation, circa 1405-1599.

29 The quotation from Isaiah, 9:12, “The people walking in darkness have seen a great light; on those living in the land of the shadow of death a light has dawned.” It was used several times by the Doge in referencing his subjects on the terraferma who were now safe under Venetian control.

Concerning topographical limitations of this study, the city of Verona becomes a specific, geographical fixture, as well as a conceptualized, mythical entity. Most of the writers chose to deal with the city only within the confines of her walls. Other narrators move beyond the urban constraints, encompassing the surrounding countryside adjacent to Lake Garda to the west of the city, and to outlying communes to the south and east, such as Isola Scala and Cologna Veronese. Conceptually Verona, Madonna Verona, Lady Verona are also used in the context of a symbol of Veronesità, of belonging to Verona but exhibiting a geographically amorphic range. Pride of the city, of its past, of its monuments, saints and relics, regional foods and dress, are all involved in this sense of belonging and not conforming to a specific topographical location. The feminization of the city also suggests a subordinate and evolving position in the Venetian cosmos. It was a society ruled by senators and led by the Doge. Verona, home to the Scala rulers, with a military history and flirting with Arthurian mythology as well, moves away from that position towards a more cultured center under Venetian leadership.

1.5 Narratives of Venice and Verona

The relationship between Venice and Verona dates back to 1107 with trade agreements between the two communities. Merchants from either city could not enter either territory without paying a minimal tax to the other. Venice had not yet emerged as a territorial power but was establishing a presence in the Adriatic and Mediterranean as a viable trading power.

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31 Several maps and illustrations of the territory encompassing Verona and the terraferma are found in Illustrations 12-18 and 22, especially illustration 15.

Verona aligned with the Ghibelline faction supporting the Holy Roman Emperor in the mid twelfth century under Ezzelino da Romana. With the ascendency of Ezzelino da Romana (1250-1259), first as Podesta and later absolute ruler of Verona, that city received its first experience with territorial conquest. Under Ezzelino Verona was taken over, he was made Podesta of Padua and was appointed Imperial Vicar of the Marche Treviso which included the cities of Treviso, Belluno and Feltre to the north. His death marks the ascent of the Scala family who continued to pursue territorial gain. They retained the Marche Treviso, Parma, Padua, and Vicenza by 1336. Within seven years, these territorial holdings consisted only of Verona and Vicenza. These military advances indicate that Verona under the Scala was not immune from her own territorial acquisitions. As the Scala hold on the communes of the Marche weakened, by the middle of the fourteenth century other political players moved into the vacuum created, including Venice. Verona still maintained a close tie with the Holy Roman Emperor.

Venice occupied Treviso in 1389 and Vicenza in 1404. After the warfare between Milan and the Carrara of Padua weakened these cities, Venice began her annexations. These reductions in arms and food supplies created confusion and instability, a void into which Venice entered and prevailed without local resistance. After 1405 and for the next two centuries Venice had a tight grasp of her terraferma conquests, a relationship which needed to be explained and defended, often by local writers and supporters of Venice. How and for what purpose Venice set out to accomplish is the main argument in this dissertation. Venice and Verona also shared some components of a mythology of origins and purpose with Venice. It was political rhetoric created to deflect criticism as well as to justify to its own subjects and others the correct interpretation for their actions. Whereas the Myth
of Venice has become a cottage industry of historical research, the mythology relied upon by Verona has been overlooked. As it will be evident, it would be the promotion of the Venetian myth which attracted the attention of Venetian patricians. More than slight hints at a Veronesità were not tolerated. Examples of both myths are listed in this next section.

1.6 Some Components of the Venetian Myth

We can describe the essential components of the Venetian myth under the following five broad statements:

1. The description of the foundations of Venice found in a series of primordial myths.
2. Venice was a free Republic owing allegiance to neither the Pope nor Holy Roman Emperor.
3. The Venetian “annexation” of territory on the mainland came at the request of the “annexed” peoples and was a political necessity.
4. The Venetian State served as a benign administrator of subjects seen as equals, part of the family of the greater Republic.
5. The image of Venice is a creation of Venetian patricians to maintain and project a sense of Unanimitas (political and class unity) especially within the patrician class of Venice and those outside of the Rialto.

Any discussion of these myths generally includes mention of an overarching sense of justice proposed by Venice for all of her citizens, as well as the notion that the Venetian government was divinely inspired and guided, acting under the aegis of a wise Patriciate and Doge, whose rulings follow closely the principles of Catholicism. Venetian expansion during the fifteenth-century resulted in a divinely given responsibility to rule over citizens who freely offered their loyalty to Venice in return for living under the “wings of San Marco,” under the protection of La Serenissima.

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33 The origins and components of the Venetian Myth have been examined in the works of James Grubb, “When Myths Lose Power,” Gina Fasoli, Agostino Pertusi, John Martin and Dennis Romano Patricia Fortini Brown and others cited in earlier footnotes #4 and #6.
The myth of Venice serves as an explanation for her actions following the annexation of 1405. While it attempts to place a veneer of antiquity on its origins and its governmental structure, the main force behind the Myth is the emphasis on benign rule, the willing acceptance by her subjects, and creating unity within and without the Venetian state.

1.7 Some Components of the Myth of Verona

The loosely formed Myth of Verona tends to disregard territorial acquisition and governmental comparisons. It stresses the cultural achievements of the city, from its origins through the Scala dynasty. An outline of the mythology of Verona follows: 34

1. A biblical foundation by Sem (Shem) son of Noah. Later Trojans and Roman settled in the region around Lake Garda.
2. Verona is a Minor Jerusalem, because of its hilly topography resembling Jerusalem and with these hills adopting names such as Calvary, Gethsemane and Bethlehem.
3. The Roman artifacts remaining in Verona indicate that it was an important city under the empire. These monuments, arches, theaters, the Arena, are one of the largest collections of antiquities outside of Rome.
4. Verona is a holy city, blessed with her saints and martyrs (Zeno, Peter Damian, Fermo and Rustico)
5. Under Scala rule, Verona achieved a splendid court that was a model for culture and sophistication throughout Italy. Several important poets, including Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio were entertained at the Scala court and remembered in the literature of these writers.
6. Verona was the birthplace of illustrious men of antiquity, including Vitruvius, Pliny, Catullus and Macer.
7. Verona is an abundant city, surrounded by fresh foods, delightful mountains and lakes, a point not lost on her local poets, especially Francesco Corna.

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34 The component elements for a Myth of Verona are derived from a number of sources: Zagata, The Actio Panteo, the Statues of the Comune of Verona, 1450, the Fioretto, and many other references which will be discussed later in this dissertation.
8. Finally, Verona is the new Parnassus, home of the literary gods, as exemplified by the Acta Panteo held in Verona in 1489.

It will be shown that the myths of both Verona and Venice overlapped, complimented and conflicted in some areas, notably in their ancient origins and recognition of local saints. When this potential conflict became apparent, Venetian hegemony took over and Venetian requirements were followed.

1.8 Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter One contains a review of the various elements contributing to the Venetian myth, as well as the myth’s advocates and critics within the circle of contemporary Venetian specialists. I will demonstrate that, while many of the elements of this historiography have undergone scholarly review, several features remain embedded in the yet unexamined historical literature. These include the promotion of a benign relationship between Venice and her terraferma cities, the peaceful acceptance of Venice as supreme ruler of these cities, and the familiar treatment of these cities, especially Verona, by The Republic. For this dissertation, the most obvious of these lacunae are the interactions between non-Venetian writers and their promotion of the Venetian myth. Specifically, this dissertation will explore the incorporation of the Venetian myth into the several narrative histories of Verona written between 1400 and 1550.

Chapter Two focuses on the city of Verona and its political and cultural history up to the Venetian annexation in 1405. Several contemporary writers of this period are discussed, notably Paris Cerea, Master Marzagaia, and Bartolomeo Lando, with a particular emphasis on the content of their historical narrative as it relates to Verona and to Venice. From this early period, those associated with the new Venetian administration were involved in
providing positive accounts of Venetian actions within the city, as well as for external consumption. I will also consider the evolution of a myth of Verona, a somewhat loose collection of legends of origin, biblical references, tales of St. Zeno, and the Ritmo of Pipin. A “Golden Age” of the Scala emerges by the end of the fourteenth century. It united the city in their overall civic consciousness, Veronesità, reminding them who they were, what was their heritage, and the importance of the Scaliger dynasty to the status of Verona. The myth disappears for nearly two centuries under Venetian domination, only to reappear in the later histories of the city in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The next section, chapter Three, investigates the political and cultural environment of Verona during the first century and a half of Venetian rule. This chapter will introduce the Veronese writers Giorgio Sommariva, Silvestro Lando and Pier Zagata, all of whom contributed to the mythology of Verona as well as initiated a pro-Venetian narrative in the historical literature of Verona.

Chapter Four concentrates on the relationship between Venice and Verona as illustrated in official and unofficial narratives. Two elements of the Venetian myth are most relevant to this study. The first is the incorporation of Venetian rhetoric into Veronese narratives in support of Venice. The ways of incorporating pro-Venetian oratories into Veronese narratives of the city are of vital concern because these integrations provide elaborations upon the Venetian Myth. The second element is the identification of those Veronese literary collaborators who promoted Venice within their histories of Verona. Modern scholarship favors a path of dissemination from the myth that begins from the

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political pulpit on the Rialto to the “citizens” in the piazzas of the subject communes. The participation of non-Venetian *literati* or humanists living in the satellite communities receive little attention beyond those who assisted in the perpetuation of the myth, drawn to the allure of Venetian patronage in the process of historical writing. I will explore and develop those aspects of the collateral relationship between Verona and Venice in Chapter Five.

Non-verbal indications of the relationship that existed between Venice and Verona are also evident in Veronese cartography, painting, and architecture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. I will examine the ample documentation of the significance of the iconography of the Lion of San Marco, erected in nearly every city on the *terraferma*. However, the interpretation of maps and other visual images suggesting a subordinate relationship between the two cities have not undergone extensive evaluation. Maps are subtle yet powerful images, created at the behest of Venetian power brokers, which reinforced their rule over Verona. I discuss these less-well-known documents in Chapter Six.

The final chapter, chapter Seven, addresses the topic of the role of political rhetoric. A component of Venetian political rhetoric was the intimate relationship between San Marco and her satellite cities. Nevertheless, the impact of the Venetian administration on the daily life of Verona has not received appropriate investigation for such an important city. This influence tends to go against the traditional view promoted in print and visual arts, which Venice and her subjects were on familial terms. There was a lack of connection between the official languages of Venice in dealing with her subject communities. In public proclamations, these cities appear dear and familiar, while in an official capacity, in private
Venetian correspondence that familiarity is missing. In this manner another element of the Venetian myth may be challenged, that of an organic relationship of equals. The application of a modern concept of “orientalism” is applicable to the fifteenth-century as well as to the twentieth-century. The notion of “the Other” in Venetian texts illustrates the understanding that those living on the terraferma were not Venetians and not Venetian citizens. This attitude, I maintain, stems from the elite nature of Venetian society, based on the principal of Unanimitas or class unity. They were subjects whose existence served primarily to produce tax revenues and a line of defense for Venice.  

This research contributes to a clearer understanding of and appreciation for the historiography of the terraferma, an area where, in Eric Cochrane’s opinion, “history had long since stopped.” What he likely meant was that local history had ceased to have any accuracy or authenticity, as in the manner of Florentine narratives. Ludovico Muratori’s pejorative commentary on a document from Ravenna pre-dates Cochrane’s opinion of Verona: “Si fabulas quaris easque aniles, haec lege.” (If you are looking for legends and old wives’ tales, read this.) This dissertation will give some examination to answering that assertion.

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36 The concept of Orientalism discussed by Edward Said in his book of the same name, and the term “the other” are used here to describe the unequal viewpoint of Venetian patricians towards their terraferma subjects. While not completely applicable in all of its nuanced applications, “The other ” is a typical reference to the status of terraferma inhabitants. The relationship was cordial but unequal, based on status and history. Said, Orientalism, xviii.


38 Ludovico Muratori, Rerum Italicarum scriptores, “Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium” ed. Albano Sorbelli (Citta di Castello, 1905), vol 18, pt. 1, 574, referencing a medieval source describing the city of Ravenna.
Legends and myths can be valuable in assessing the development of a communal narrative. When the researcher ranges beyond the initial impact of the tradition, to get behind the narrative, and focuses the reader’s attention on the purposes for such stories, the layers of intent unfold. Stories and anecdotal tales incorporated into the total framework of an ongoing mythology, still surrounds Venice and Verona today. When the history of a major commune in Italy is turned into merely a stage upon which the narrative of the Dominante is played out, it requires the proper questions to be asked as to why this occurred and for what purposes.

As Shakespeare’s fictional Venetian Senator exclaims in Othello (III), "Tis a pageant to keep us in false gaze,” our vision of Venice has been diverted towards a view of Venice characterized by Carnival, courtesans, gondolas, intrigue and good government. This view has held sway over much of the past 500 years. The purpose of this dissertation is to show that our present understanding of Venice was the work of many sources—politicians, professional historians, humanist scholars, artists, and architects—all of whom, whether they were Venetians proper or members of subject states in the terraferma, played a part in the creation of the myth of Venice.
CHAPTER II
VENETIAN CHRONICLERS AND THE DEVELOPING IMAGE OF VENICE: 1350-1500

2.1 Modern Historiography and the Development of the Venetian Myth

One of the challenges facing historians during the second half of the last century was the creation of an accurate image of Venice during the Early Modern period, roughly 1400-1650. I will demonstrate that, while many of the elements of this historiography have undergone scholarly review, several unexamined features remain embedded in this historical literature. For this dissertation, the most obvious of these lacunae are the interactions between non-Venetian writers and their promotion of the Venetian myth. Specifically, this dissertation will explore the incorporation of the Venetian myth into the several narrative histories of Verona written between 1400 and 1550.

Scholars from the late 1950’s onwards had been aware of the so-called Venetian myth, its identification and attempted dismantling by systematic research. They pointed out the inconsistencies between descriptions of events involving Venice and the manipulation of narratives for political reasons. Specialists have also challenged each of the themes involved with the topic, hoping to dispel the inconsistencies surrounding the myth. Examining the myth has become a cottage industry of Venetian studies, with specialists debating, condemning, and affirming certain aspects of the legend. The various elements
of the myth of Venice are never clearly defined or easily disproved; it is a scholarly many-headed Hydra.

This process is worrisome for several reasons. All Venetian historical narratives from the fifteenth-century included distortions and exaggeration, fiction with some facts intended to promote the legacy of Venice. Upon examination, this inclination to historical misrepresentation appears to be habitual and not confined to Venice. Histories emanating from other northern Italian courts and city-states during the same period evidence this tendency as well. Certainly, Milan, Florence, and Rome all conceived and promoted their improbable origins, their past glories, and their destinies. However, the Venetian myth has continued to linger over the centuries. The reason for this seems to be that the Venetian legend was clothed in the rhetoric of sincerity and supported by the general success of the Venetian Republic.

Other factors perpetuated this myth as well. Shortly after the Second World War, American and European historians identified Florence and Venice as the repositories of liberty during the early modern period. Hans Baron, Frederic C. Lane and William Bouwsma found inspiration in Florence and Venice as citadels of democracy against tyranny, a particularly compelling thesis given the post-war climate in which they were living. The connection of contemporary Venetian and Florentine histories to modern supporters of democracy forged a closed cycle of this narrative. Indeed, in Lane’s classic *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, while there is no mention of the *terraferma*, he notes that “the mainland,” was an area where Venetian nobles could profit, construct villas, a territory
over which Venice was merely the caretaker. It was an area set apart from Venice but a territory from which she obtained great benefits. 39

Indeed, Lane lists a “Budget of Venice” circa 1500, where the mainland cities contributed more to Venice’s treasury than all other sources of income; these contributions were balanced exactly with the expenditures needed by the Republic to maintain this territory.40 In Lane’s estimate, the terrafirma was a geographic construct “over there,” from which taxes to support Venice were collected.

It wasn’t until the 1980’s that historians in several areas of specialization such as Lauro Martines, Marvin Becker, Richard Trexler, Marino Berengo, Angelo Ventura, and Guido Ruggiero, disturbed the basic assumptions of the myths of both Venice and Florence. 41 Their research indicated for Florence that concepts of Humanism was an integral possession of the ruling elite in Florence, and that the most prominent humanists were also spokesmen for the current regime. This tended to dispel the generally held opinion that the definition of a humanist was one who elevated the society though his understanding of philosophy and the classics. The research of Berengo and Angelo Ventura exposed the


40 Lane, Venice: A Maritime Republic, 237. Eric Cochrane and Julius Kirshner, “Deconstructing Lane’s Venice,” The Journal of Modern History, 47, No. 2 (1975), 321-334, who accused Lane of reviving many of the old myths of Venice being a city of equality, justice, and Republicanism, just as the United States had become in the 1960’s. This “Ideologia Americana” was not lost on Italian scholars. Renzo Pecchioli, Dal ’mito’ di Venezia all ’ideologia americana’: itinerario e modelli della storiografia sul repubblicanesimo dell’eta moderna (Venice: Marsilio, 1983), 161-162.

contradictions involved with the Venetian myth, indicating a less enthusiastic reception on the terraferma for Venetian administration and even less support for the Republic after the wars of Cambrai.

Many scholars believe that the Venetian myth was a threat to an “authentic” historical narrative and should be confronted. The very existence and perpetuation of the myth continues to persuade historians, perhaps unconsciously, that there are bits and pieces of historical truth, which are important in these narratives. Once that premise is accepted the myth is perpetuated, for to accept one aspect is to give the myth life, according to contemporary scholars.42 Scholarly accounting must be completely correct, very accurate, without a trace of nationalistic bias, according to other historians, or so we are to believe.43

2.2 Elaboration of the Venetian Myth

In its essence and derived from several sources, I have already described the Venetian myth in five broad statements:


43 It is still remarkable to find writers referencing Socialist or Marxist leanings in their viewpoint but labeling others, especially Italian sources, as “may have been tainted by Fascist undertones” or being too “Catholic” in its outlook, and rejected. See Grubb, “When myths Lose Power,” 74.
1. A description of the foundations of Venice is contained in a series of primordial myths composed by Venetian patrician writers.
2. Venice was a free Republic owing allegiance to neither the Pope nor Holy Roman Emperor.
3. The Venetian “annexation” of territory on the mainland came at the request of the “annexed” peoples and was a political necessity.
4. The Venetian State served as a benign administrator of subjects seen as equals, part of the family of the greater Republic.
5. The image of Venice was a creation of Venetian patricians to maintain and project a sense of *Unanimitas* (political and class unity) especially within the patrician class of Venice and those outside of the Rialto.

Any discussion of the myth generally includes mentioning an overarching sense of justice proposed by Venice for all of her citizens, as well as the notion that the Venetian government was divinely inspired and guided, acting under the aegis of a wise Patriciate and Doge, whose rulings follow closely the principles of the Church. Venetian expansion during the fifteenth-century resulted in a divinely given responsibility to rule over citizens who freely offered their loyalty to Venice in return for living under the “wings of San Marco,” under the protection of La Serenissima.

Addressing each of these statements in turn will allow the reader to understand the rationale for proposing and oftentimes changing the facets of the myth to meet specific circumstances. An overview of these statements can illustrate how the language and the spirit of each of these points merge into Veronese literature. Some have more direct application then others but the implications of such beliefs—whether real or created for a specific political purpose—on the direction of Veronese historiography were profound.

There exists several origins, or foundational, myths for the city of Venice, intended to explain the rise of that city to greatness from humble beginnings. The *Origo civitatum italie*
seu Venetiarum, written sometime in the early twelfth century, alleged what the early cultivated Venetian felt was their true origins. This document offers several options. The inhabitants of Venice are of noble Trojan ancestry with a famous founding father in the person of Antenor, "who had by the shore entered the lagoon with seven galleys and in that place built the city named Aquilegia, because it was bound by waterways." The freedom-loving inhabitants of the terraferma, Venetici or Eneti, apparently were never subject to any foreign power, and are included as descendants of Antenor. Admittedly, claims of a Trojan heritage were common to many cities in the medieval and Renaissance periods. However, in the case of Venice, the Trojan myth could serve two particular objectives. On the one hand, Venice was formulating a paradigm of consensus, harmony, and independence, the immediate benefits of a civil communal life. On the other hand, with a Trojan pedigree, the groundwork was set for expansionist pretensions that were a focus in the Venetian rise to empire.

Upon an antique past were layered the foundation of a Venetian and Christian origin myth. Instead of invading Lombard’s, it was the pagan hordes of Attila driving the Christian descendants from their homes on the terraferma. These ancestors of the original Trojan settlers took refuge on the marshlands and lagoons of present day Venice. Later Venetian historians such as Sabellico, combined both flight and annexation in a single sentence, incorporated into this ingenious phrase: “The Venetian state regained these borders, (the


terraferma) after the ancient Venetians had been chased away by the Huns and Lombard’s from the land which they, thanks to warfare, had possessed for many eras.”

Venice was also the constant protector of Christian Europe against the Ottomans according to the Venetian chroniclers. The rhetoric engendered in this remark is stunning, insofar as Venice had a good working relationship with “the infidel,” establishing trading embassies in Bursa (1326), Constantinople (1453), and Damascus (1516). The Fondaco dei Turchi, a permanent trading center established in Venice in the seventeenth century, is an example of this long trading partnership. We find Venetian citizens plying their trade throughout the Mediterranean, North Africa and other Middle Eastern trading centers. It is then no surprise that the longest reigning Doge of Venice, Francesco Foscari (Doge 1423–57), was reported to have been born in Mamluk Egypt, son of a wealthy Venetian merchant.

During the War of Cambrai (1509-1517), Venice sent emissaries to the Ottomans for their support against the Christian powers attacking Venetian territory. However, for public consumption Venice was the bulwark and Most Christian State in the struggle with the Turk.

To emphasize the Christian and divine approval, the Venetian state added the miraculous “translation” of the body of St. Mark from Alexandria, smuggled to Venice in

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48 An informed study of the rapport between Venice and the Turks is the work by P. Preto, Venezia e I Turchi (Florence: Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Magistero dell’Università di Padova, 1975), 23-66.
the ninth century. St. Mark was one of several saints venerated in Venice, including Saints George, Nicholas, and Theodore. The redacted laws of the *terraferma* would honor these saints by including them into the statutes and official holidays of the commune. They were now new entities for communal veneration. These maneuvers also brought a sense of common religious ground between the communities, although most of the additions were Venetian saints with relics in Venice, not on the mainland.

The *Origo civitatum* describes the building of the new basilica of San Marco, which houses the relics of St. Mark, “according to the example that had been seen at the temple of our Lord in Jerusalem.” The invocation of Venice as a New Jerusalem was a common reference. We find it in the first narrative of Venice, the *Origo civitatum Italie seu Venetiarum*. The early historical narratives of Verona also reference that city as a New Jerusalem or Piccolo Jerusalem. A recent study, edited by Davide Galati, indicates that the naming of Verona as a Minor Hierusalem was found in the writings of an early Veronese prelate, the Archdeacon Pacifico (+846), who noted that Verona had a Biblical origin. This claim based on the several hills and churches named after original sites in Jerusalem,

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49 Gary Will’s recent work, *Venice: Lion City* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 193 ff. examines the interdisciplinary aspects of the Venetian sense of a civic Religion.


A curious legend attached to the Minor Hierusalem title comes from a later French source whereby the donkey that carried Christ to Jerusalem for Palm Sunday, left Jerusalem on a journey, followed the Adige until it recognized similar topography to the Holy Land, which happened to be Verona. Apparently there was a wooden statue of a donkey in existence in Verona which contains the bones of that animal. Vera K. Ostoia, “A Palmesel at the Cloisters,” *The Art Bulletin*, New ser., 14, no. 7 (March:1956): 170-173.
include the Monte Calvario (San Rocchetto), Porta Santo Sepolcro, and Santa Maria di Betlemme (San Zeno in Monte). The Ritmo of Pipin, one of the oldest poems about Verona, also presents the reader with the accumulation of relics found in the city in the ninth century.\textsuperscript{52} The parallel references between Verona and Venice and the Bible had similar, ancient roots, and may account for this topographical proximity. Venice was a major point of departure for pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land from the thirteenth century onwards. Verona, situated along major travel routes was not too far from Venice, about 120 km. Those returning from the Holy Land have found this city’s similar geography fitting with that of Jerusalem, and make the association.

Venice was a Republic composed of citizens, dwelling on the Rialto as well on the mainland. Venice had no terrestrial overlord, as the city emerged from the lagoons and salt marshes through the skill of her people and grace of the divine. This independent concept was philosophically and legally advanced by Venetian scholars, and affirmed by the University of Padua, which was dominated by Venice. Paolo da Castroa, a distinguished jurist born in Lazio and teaching in Padua, indicated that there was no higher authority than Venice; “Since Venetians do not recognize any superior, they take the place of the emperor for their cities and peoples.”\textsuperscript{53}


\textsuperscript{53} Grubb, Firstborn of Venice, 41.
The Veronese jurist Bartolomeo Cipolla, also teaching in Padua, affirmed, “Venetians in their lands take the place of the emperor.” Since Padua was virtually the only option for higher learning in the Venetian empire, this concept prevailed within the formal educational structure, and was promoted at the University of Padua. While several Veronese jurists, such as Bartolomeo Cipolla and Barnaba da Morano, promoted Venetian legal positions on citizenship and the autonomy of Venetian rule, other Veronese lawyers served in the Venetian administration in Verona.

The myth of supremacy, promoted publically at the annual marriage of the Doge (representing Venice) to the Sea (The Festa della Sensa), was one celebration when Venetian superiority was on display. Described by the Florentine Jacopo d’Albizzotto Guidi, the head of Venice established his dominion over the sea through this ceremony, as well as his authority over the trade routes and territories, which border the Adriatic. As late medieval conventional wisdom understood it, a wife was subordinate to her husband. So too the Doge and by extension Venice, controls the sea and all of its treasures.\(^{55}\) The formal dedication of Verona and the other subject communes of the Republic came to San Marco with a display of ceremonial ritual, memorialized in paintings celebrating the event. In each of these ritualized exhibitions of acquisition the Doge, and by extension Venice, was the authority in command. When local communes such as Verona celebrated feast days, with processions, Venetian authorities interfered with them to advance a Venetian presence and

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a sense of authority. The Feast of Corpus Christi is a significant example of this dynamic, between tradition and new interpretation of those traditional rituals.\textsuperscript{56}

The final components of the myth are the most critical for the development of this discussion. They describe the rationale behind Venetian advancement onto the \textit{terraferma} in the early fifteenth-century and her subsequent administration of these cities. Like the other features of the myth, these comments shift focus and intensity as events alter the perspective and rhetoric in Venetian narratives. Within James Grubb’s several studies of Venetian rule over the communes on the \textit{terraferma}, Venice is presented as a benign power, forced to take over these weaker cities ruled by “tyrants.” Moreover, Venice’s rule was to be non-interventionist, uneventful, and certainly neither aggressive nor imperialistic. In his study, \textit{First Born of Venice}, Grubb concludes that Florence or Milanese expansion was clearly the product of aggressive policies while Venetian expansion was simply reactive and defensive. Grubb offers a summation of his thoughts with “Certainly the expansion was not intended to absorb mainland cities into a greater union,” suggesting that neither a larger “state” nor any greater association with these satellite communes was planned.\textsuperscript{57} That statement might mean that Venice never intended to make Verona part of Venice and form a large territorial state. Alternatively, as other historians have suggested,


the annexation was primarily an imperialistic move to acquire the territories for natural resources and taxation, but not suggesting that the population acquire Venetian citizenship.58

John E. Law’s research also leads to the opinion that the Venetian expansion was never minutely calculated. It was an arbitrary act and capriciously administered. It was more important to have substituted the tyranny of previous administrations for the solid rule of Venice. Venice merely was attempting to strengthen her security. The communes, replacing unstable despots with a consistent government, welcomed this fait accompli, however haphazard. Rather than viewing Venetian activities as a proactive, planned policy following centralizing and unifying policies, as Ventura suggests, Law believes that no written documentation survives which proves such an assertion. Indeed, even though the Venetian Ducale are evidence of Venetian interference, he indicates that they were created as a response to frustration within events on the terraferma, and were thus reactive measures, rather than intentional.59 Michael Knapton’s recent addition to the


59John E. Law, “Verona and the Venetian State in the Fifteenth Century,” Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 52, no 125( London, 1979): 9-22, 9-11 and Ventura, Nobilita e popolo, 40-43,who believes that it was primarily the “iure iusti belli,” right of conquest affirmed by the Padua jurist Marc Antonio Pellegrini, in his Palavini Decisiones Patavinae (Patavi 1614), clv. dec. 1 par 2. where he argues that, unlike Florentine expansion over Pisa, the Venetian’s expansion in the terraferma was a iusti belli, rights of the laws of war.
A comprehensive *Companion to Venetian History* echoes both Grubb and Law, in his conviction that Venetian expansion was neither premeditated, but merely opportunistic, and involved a great deal of “power sharing” between Venice and her satellites. This is the same argument that Knapton has been making since he embarked on this topic in 1986.  

Although James Grubb certainly did not mean it literally, he refers to a statement attributed to the Vicentine nobleman, Giacomo Thiene, in which that nobleman described the intoxicating embrace of Venetian rule. Appearing before the Doge in 1404, shortly after Vicenza’s annexation, Thiene declared:

> Therefore, take this city, its countryside, and our riches, and defend them from the injuries of the Carrarese prince with that valor and greatness of soul, which this Most Serene Dominion has always had. If you do so you will have us as faithful servants and friends, ready to spend not only our riches but even our lives for the glory of your empire.(imperium)

Grubb does not elaborate on this quotation, or the interesting choice of the term “empire” in the speech. In fact, Grubb generally does not question these contemporary

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61 In an impassioned speech “Lady Vicenza” remarked that Venice could “take my laws, rights, my sacred halls, my public and private spaces, take my colonies and whatever surrounds me.” Marciani Latin VI.3, ff 365-39v, quoted in Grubb, *Firstborn of Venice*, 3 , 17.

accounts; they are not for interpretation or elaboration. If Venice did not assert itself as an empire, then it was not an empire. Indeed, the Venetian Doge was very careful not to use the word “Imperium” in coinage or in written edicts. Although the word empire does appear on the tomb of Doge Francesco Foscari in the Frari church, this is a family, rather than a State monument, thus in keeping with a politically neutral position.63 Yet in the 1450 revisions of the statutes of Verona the author of the Prooemium, Silvestro Lando, concluded his introduction by commenting on “the forty-fifth year of Venetian imperium among us.”64 Even though Imperium may translate as simply government, or command or supremacy, it is ambiguous to the modern reader. There was no empire asserted, and certainly no Emperor to confront. It was, after all, the Republic of Venice, so a modern reader might assume that Venice did not have the requisite office holders to justify a more severe interpretation. If we are to accept the Veronese Chancellor Lando, we should accept the milder definition. Here he concludes his short presentation on the reforming of the laws of Verona in 1450 with the phrase “But may they bequeath to us the lot of the lofty and most neighborly Venetian domination,” which is at odds somewhat with professor Knapton’s sense of “power sharing.” Indeed, when Lando refers to the Scala rule he uses Imperium, which translates as Empire. When he uses the same term to refer to the Venetian

63 There was a contemporary outcry against Venetian expansion, especially in Florentine commentary, which has been examined by Nicolai Rubinstein, “Italian thoughts concerning Venetian expansion” in Hale, ed., Renaissance Venice, 197-217. One historical phenomenon, which has not received adequate treatment, especially in English studies, is the “Anti-myth” of Venice. This concerns those writers within and without Venice who criticized the porcelain perfection of the state. The “Anti-myth” and the criticism of Venetian imperialism by members of the Patriciate have not been extensively studied. See Giulio Sancassani, “I beni della ‘fattoria scaligera’ e la loro liquidazione ad opera della Republica di Venezia, 1406-1417,” Nova Historia, no. 1 (1960): 100-157.

64 Silvestro Lando, PROOEMIUM: Statua Civitatis Veronae 1450, Document #5.
presence in Verona, it is the same word but translates as “command.” He knew exactly what the term meant and how to use.

2.3 Venetian Humanist Involvement in the Promotion of the Venetian Myth

What were the backgrounds of these initial promoters of the Venetian expansion? Initially they were humanists, patronage seekers, and employees of patricians in Venice. Many were educated secretaries of the Doge or his entourage. They were generally not of the patrician class themselves, although this is not always the case. In a recent article Monique O’Connell analyses the writings of three of these secretaries, Lorenzo De Monacis (1351-1428), Nicolo Sagundino, (1410?-1464), and Antonio Vinciguerra (1439-1502), and their contribution to the justification of mainland expansion, the alignment of Venice as the defender of Christianity, and the continued expansion of Venice into the Adriatic. She observes that Sagundino and Vinciguerra were not born Venetian, but were from the Greek island of Negroponte, and Recanante in the Marche, respectively. O’Connell repeatedly notes that they were all very loyal to Venice throughout their careers, an asset highly prized by the Signoria and demanded of its followers.

The motives advanced for the takeover of the terraferma cities outlined in Venetian chronicles varied over time in these narratives. Lorenzo de Monacis dedicated an Oratio elegantissima in laude et edificatione alme civitatis Venetiarum to Doge Francesco Foscari in 1421, in celebration of the one thousand years of the founding of Venice. It is likely that Lorenzo had the Laudatio florentine urbis of Leonardo Bruni (1370 -1444) as

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65 A recent study on the early Venetian secretarial efforts to promote Venice is found in Monique O’Connell, “Legitimating Venetian Expansion: Patricians and Secretaries in the Fifteenth Century,” in Michael Knapton, John E. Law, Alison A. Smith, ed., Venice and the Veneto during the Renaissance. The Legacy of Benjamin Kohl (Florence: University Press, 2014), 71-86.
his formula for writing this volume. This begins a shift from pagan and militaristic origins of the state to one based on religious concerns, leading towards the perfection of government. Rather than emphasize the ancient Trojan origins of the city, Lorenzo focused on the Christian antecedents of Venice, strengthening the connection between antiquity and the Church. The “Hand of God” extends to the people of Venice, and this confidently permitted the Republic to continue to expand its territory. 66

Lorenzo’s practical justification for early Venetian expansion was the enthusiasm of the newly conquered populace:

Because of these marvelous deeds [liberating the Adriatic Sea from pirates], in a short time the fame of the Venetians was spread widely, so that suppressed cities took refuge with them as with the chosen vindicators of crimes and as with the public defenders of harassed innocence in order to request their power to help, and many [cities] came under Venetian power voluntary, begging for surrender. And it happened that this sign of Saint Mark, which the Venetians in the shape of a winged lion brought over the entire world as a terror to evil people, appeared to the good truly not just as the shape of an image, but as a certain sign of public safety and freedom. Why, therefore, is it extraordinary if because of these divine works the rule of Venice has reached the Adriatic Sea, and if almost the entire world calls this sea, having given up its old name, the Venetian sea and the gulf of the Venetians? 67

66 Leonardo Bruni, *Laudatio Florentinae Urbis* (1403), “Immortal God, you have conferred so many good things on this one city so that everything—no matter where it happens or for what purpose it was ordained—seems to redound to Florence’s benefit.” And in his conclusion “What more can a city desire? Nothing at all. What, therefore, should we say now? What remains to be done? Nothing other than to venerate God on account of His great beneficence and to offer our prayers to God. Therefore, our Almighty and Everlasting God, in whose churches and at whose altars your Florentines worship most devoutly.” Trans in Benjamin G. Kohl and Ronald G. Witt, ed. *The Earthly Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 149 ff.

The second group of Venetian writers promoting Venetian expansion originated from the educated patrician ranks in Venice. One of the earliest patrician writers who sought to embellish the image of Venice was Antonio Morosini (1465-1434), who created one of the most detailed chronicles of early Venetian history. Morosini’s attitudes reflected the perceptions of the patrician class in Venice. If he had not been a patrician, he probably would not have been able to continue writing for long as his works describe controversial events in Venetian history. His description of the fall of Verona is important insofar as it offers a sense of the Venetian attitude towards events and Venetian involvement in these undertakings.

In his account of the capture of Verona by the House of Carrara and Ferrara, Venice is not a participant, merely a commentator on the events. Morosini makes it clear that the Veronese do not wish anyone to rule them besides the house of Scala, displaced by the Visconti and later Carrara. What he means, I believe, is that the Veronese did not want the Carrara “tyrants” to rule them, opening the door for a Venetian take over.

Morosini constructs an ingenious paragraph on the transition of Verona to Venice. He suggests that Milan sought a buffer zone between Verona and the Visconti. Venice provided the best option at achieving this goal, in Morosini’s opinion.

Meanwhile a short time previously there came the noble Misier Jacopo dal Verme, a citizen of Verona and also a good servant of ours, sent as their ambassador by the government of Milan to the dogal Signoria with a request for financial assistance in the form of a loan, or, in the absence of this, to declare that they wished to see that all the cities

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68 Antonio Morosini, *The Morosini Codex*, Michele Pietro Ghezzo, John R. Melville-Jones, Andrea Rizzi, eds., (Padua: Unipress, 2000), 3 vols. The Codex was given in 1756 to Marco Foscarini (later Doge in 1762-63) by another *litterati*, Annibale degli abati of Pesaro. It has been in the Austrian Nationalbibliothek since 1801 (Ms 6586 and 6587). A copy was made by Giuseppe Gallovich, archivist of the Archivio di Stato of Venice, and held in the Biblioteca Marciana, *MS CL It VII*, 2048-2049.
and fortresses of Verona and Vicenza, Feltre and Cividale and Ca' Matta should be subject to our governance and rule, rather than that these places should fall into the hands of tyrants. The government of Milan knew that these places were of great use and importance for maintaining our security in the area around Treviso, and that their citizens were disposed of their own free will towards being with us, and for our part we were to commit ourselves to making an alliance with him and his sons, for the sole reason of having good relations with him and of favoring the house of Visconti, which had been greatly beloved by this Signoria for a long time. 69

However, the Venetians rejected this offer, responding, “This was because great losses had often followed such actions, because it seemed to us that the time was not ripe for inflicting additional burdens or alliances upon our citizens.” Rejecting the purchase of a city, yet dismayed because of the tyranny inflicted upon these cities by Milan or Padua, Venice refused to act. An astonished Morosini reported on June 22, 1405 that:

Whether it was the result of human activity, or not, I do not know, but I believe that it was more probably the will of God, and so it should always be believed that it was done in the everlasting name of Christ, amen, we heard the news that Verona had been taken, by the decision of its citizens. The report came on the eve of the feast of the glorious St. John the Baptist, on Tuesday the 22nd day of the month of June, about the 22nd hour, when there came and arrived at Venice before the dogal Signoria good and beneficial news by a

69 Morosini, Codex, 77, is another explanation for the takeover of the city of Vicenza. The city demanded to come under Venetian rule, and had to beg Venice, according to Morosini, to take the city under her protection. “This was in accordance with the request made of us previously, when an ambassador, Misier Giacomo da Thiene, knight, was sent by the citizens and people of Vicenza, to say that they wished to accept our dogal rule. He came here with complete powers and a full commission from all the cities and castles, towns and villages and other places subject to them, to make a request on their behalf that they wished to become our faithful servants. Also during the said year we heard through our subjects of Vicenza that as a result of their good behaviour and loyalty they had gained by means of a treaty a castle called Bevilacqua, which is a fort guarding the way between Padua and Verona, and it was well fortified immediately and they put in it the noble Misier Biancho da Riva, a man of good quality and fearless spirit, to guard it. Then we heard from the people of Vicenza that they had overrun the territory of Padua and Verona, and had taken two forts, one on the side of the hills and the other on low ground towards the road that leads to Brentelle in Paduan territory and Monselice... ” Obviously this made any defense of future Venetian expansion a compelling argument.
special messenger, and then an hour later our army had taken possession of the noble city of Verona. 70

Morosini’s passive acceptance of the annexation of Verona concludes that it was, “by the decision of its citizens.” This assertion is included in most sixteenth-century Veronese accounts of the take over as well. However, in early accounts this line of description moves from a narration centering on a peaceful surrender, to one involving military action, which brings the city to submit to Venice.

A native of Padua, the literati Jacopo Sanguinacci (ca 1400-1442?), directed his literary efforts to justify as well as praise the expansionist program of Venice. His poem on Venice and her mainland holdings, the Quartine in lode in Venezia, describes Venice shortly after the terraferma advancement.

Sanguinacci’s value as a writer is in the manner in which he praises the expansion of Venice onto the terraferma, announcing it as a normal process of the territorial state of Venice. His inconsistent justification follows a new defensive rhetoric for Venice. Venice only makes war when attacked, and only for defense. “The lion sleeps and it is against his nature to make war” is the illogical cliché he proposes. 71 The acquisition of Friuli did require the use of military aggression on the part of Venice because the Friuliani were arrogant. The territorial problems and subjugation of Friuli occurred during the years 1418 and 1420. Sanguinacci’s Quartine was written ca. 1420, and would seem to link him to the events of that period. In any case, he wished his readers to recognize what a good thing it

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70 Morosini, Codex, 139.

71 Saguinacci, Quartine in lode di Venezia, 23 “El lion dorme e contra lui sta guato ma sel se turba con el so fiero dente li dara dure stente, si che zia ma non lauera pensato”
had been for communes to come under the protection of Venice. Writing in almost an imitation of the biblical Beatitudes, he continued to praise Venice:

Happy are those who want to be subject to you [Venice] Because you keep them safe in their haven Because you are the comfort of everyone who is troubled and who comes back to you. From this everyone should learn How its good rule is kept in such a way that everyone is very content if he is subjected to it.  

Marin Sanudo mirrors this attitude in his writings as well. In the *Itinerario* (1483), he portrays the Venetians as mild and benevolent rulers. Wisely, he oftentimes uses local references to make his point on this symbiotic relationship. In the northern city of Rovereto, Sanudo reports that there was an inscription in the town that proclaims “Securi dormite omnes; custodiet urbem Pervigil hanc, cives, aliger ipse Leo” (Sleep safe all, the winged Lion himself, always watchful, oh citizens, will guard this city). While the people of Rovereto slept, Venice protected Rovereto, as Venice guarded and watched over the entire mainland.

One may conclude from the examples that Venice was in charge of the cities on the terraferma precisely because the local population wished it to be so. Venice had saved these cities from tyranny while Venice offered a safe, organized life, and a non-obtrusive

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form of government. Venice was a reluctant ruler, as these examples suggest. The military recovery of the *terraferma* was not a planned exercise. These several themes will re-occur in Veronese documents that refer to the Venetian takeover of their city. The 1450 *Prooemium* of the statutes of Verona, repeat these arguments along with several other extracts from Venetian sources on the benefits of Venetian rule.

Venice controlled the *terraferma* with a light hand, initially guaranteeing the status quo in each of the communities through a *Bolla D’Oro*, a pledge of the rights of each city. Whenever Venetian historians discussed the annexation of the *terraferma*, these documents always were included. They were also a part of the local accounts of the cities in question, especially in Verona. The *Bolla D’Oro* emphasized the agreement between Verona and Venice. It was in fact a series of conditions for surrender of the city, drawn up by Venice, and the Veronese forced to sign. Venice still maintained the right to modify or reject these conditions, as Venetian authority deemed necessary. By 1450, in the lifetime of the second generation of witnesses to the annexation, the Bolla was an obsolete document.

### 2.4 The Beginnings of a Venetian Historical Narrative: The Fourteenth and early Fifteenth Centuries

In the *Chronica Brevis*, (circa 1343) Doge Andrea Dandolo (1306-1354) prepares an Christological vision comparing the Doge of Venice and the city to a single entity. Betrayal of that city by one of its own, in this case the former Doge Baimonte Tiepolo and his accomplices was treachery tantamount to the actions of those disciples who had been unfaithful to Christ. Venice was similar to the seamless robe mentioned in the Gospels,
which covered the body of Christ, preserving him and his church from heresy. The origins of Venetian rule and control did not rely on the consent of the people. The rule was an organic, natural extension of the Mystical Body of Christ, represented by Venice and the Church. Apparently, literary practices were limited to ancient references as long as they did not disrupt the current political or social conditions by applying them to contemporary situations. It was easier to appeal to the reclamation of lost territories, or invasions from Attila the Hun, or the local population begging for Venetian intervention, than going through the tedious proof of what the actual legal terms meant which bound center and periphery.

As it relates to this discussion, James Grubb suggests that the responsibility for the formulation and promotion of the Venetian myth (and the anti-myth) is the connection with the political and humanist writings of Venice and its political elite. Margaret King repeats this perception of an internally generated, Venetian promotion of the Myth. Although her research may have widened the circle of humanists supporting Venice, she nevertheless views the perpetuation of this positive version of history as primarily a Venetian construct. In his important study of Venetian ritual, Edward Muir arrived at a similar conclusion, although he did note the recruitment of stranieri to occasionally articulate support of Venice. While Venice was in the senior position in the client/patron relationship, native-


75 It is noted that the Attila myth was carried into the Nineteenth century. Giuseppe Verdi’s Opera of the same name was used as a rallying spectacle, substituting Attila’s Huns for modern day Austrian occupiers, who needed to be driven out to create a new Venice. See Muir, Civic Ritual, 69-70.
born Venetians were not the only resource for the advancement of a Venetian historical narrative. The previous example of the Paduan Sanguinacci illustrates this cooperation.

We also catch a glimpse of this enlargement of the literary base in an exchange between Ludovico Foscarini, a Venetian patrician, and Damiano dal Borgo, a Veronese humanist. Friends with a circle of Veronese literati including Giorgio da Bevilacqua and Isotta Nogarola, Foscarini wrote to dal Borgo in 1451-1452 with a proposal: “I know with what brilliance, with what elegance our history will sparkle when you have adorned it,” wrote Foscarini. This effort continued with his request to the Neapolitan Porcellio Pandoni to compose a history of Venice so that “the wartime deeds of Venice would be noted for posterity.” The most famous humanist of the early Quattrocento, Guarino Guarini, also from Verona, and a scholar always seeking a wealthy patron, implored his friend, the Veronese Battista Bevilacqua, to write a history of the war between Venice and Visconti (1426-1427).

In the last thirty five years or so this definition of the moral uplifting results of humanism has seen some readjustments. Grafton and Jardine’s assessment of the studia humanitatis takes a less ideological approach, warning us not to confuse the ideology of humanism with actual achievement. In their view humanist education merely trained

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students of the elite to become dutiful and obedient servants of the state or the prince. The fact that they could quote Cicero translate Latin embellished their value to the state. The point to teachers such as Guarino Guarini from Verona as examples of men who taught by rote memorization, may have cultivated a sense of uplifting morals but whose main purpose was to mold obedient leaders and followers in the early Renaissance State.\(^7\)

The image of a well-educated teacher seated in \textit{cathedra} lecturing to a group of pupils who copied every word of the lecture is one which perhaps has been overused. A humanist did not have to be a teacher; indeed most of the administrators for the great princes of Europe were literate men steeped in the humanist tradition. These talents afforded them the ability to reason, to refer to examples from antiquity to make a point, and were used as skilled administrators. Most did not continue as university professors. They were taught the tools of an educated man; how they applied them had little bearing upon their training.

In this dissertation the term humanist there refers to a person trained in the humanist studies of classical literature, dialectic, rhetoric, natural philosophy, history, and Latin and Greek. It makes no advancement regarding the use of that knowledge, whether it be for the Church (Barbaro), the state, Galeazzo Maria Sforza or Giustiniani, warfare, such as Carlo and Pandolfo Malatesta, and Frederico Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, who were humanist lords who were also condottieri. Guarino, Filelfo, and Bevilacqua used their training in other ways as well. In most instances the humanist we encounter in this dissertation follow the secular, civic application of their educational tools rather than pedagogical and moral applications. They viewed themselves, as did others, as educated and erudite, secular

\(^7\)Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, “Humanism and the School of Guarino” 58-80, followed by their extended study \textit{From Humanism to the Humanities}. 

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examples for the most part of men comfortable in the presence of the ancients as well
as the Doge.

Another humanist, Giorgio Bevilacqua de Lazise, was enticed by the wealthy
Venetian Francesco Barbaro to write a De bello gallico, concerning the wars between
Filippo Maria Visconti and the Venetians. His Venetian patron Marco Donato would
receive the dedication to this work, a history later praised by Scipione Maffei, who
suggested it should be included in the Rerum Italicarum. Muratori did not include the De
bello gallico in the Rerum Italicarum. 79 It is still in manuscript form in the Biblioteca
Capitolare in Verona.

The relationship between terraferma humanists and their Venetian patrons, as well as
the recruitment of other literary associates to promote Venetian interests, is a topic that has
not received sufficient review. For this reason, the present research becomes relevant and
fundamental to a comprehensive understanding of a Venetian historiography. To assume
that the promotion of Venice was solely the function of Venetian patricians is akin to
suggesting that all of those fighting for Venice were Venetian born, or those artists who
created the art and culture of San Marco were Venetian citizens. This was far from the case.

King distinguishes between several levels of those Venetian elites who took it upon
themselves to maintain and perpetuate the Venetian myth. She divides these elites into

Vescovado di Verona,” Filologia umanistica per Gianvito Resta, Vol. 3 (1997): 1631-1670, and
Riccardo Tonani, “Una Battaglia Medioevale Vista da un Protagonista: Battista Bevilacqua a Maclodio,”
(12 Ottobre 1427), Nuova Rivista, vol. 84 (2000): 481-496. The De bello gallico by Giorgio da Lazise
Bevilacqua is in the process of reaching publication through the ENSU Edizione Nazionale dei testi della
Storiografia Umanistica. Manuscripts of the work are found in the Vatican Library, the Laurenziana, and
the Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona.
three groups. The earliest group, the first generation, consisted of both patrician and scholar who immersed themselves in the newly discovered classical traditions of philosophy, history and language (ca. 1400-1450). Initially these ideological pursuits had loose ties to the government. The second generation (ca.1450-1500) came to defend the basis of *Unanimitas*, the bonding within this social class with the destiny of Venice. It was a patrician creation, which advanced the cultural and social dominance of this group within the circle of Venetian humanists.\(^8\) Nevertheless, while it was a creation of a group within the Senate, those creating the literary representations for the city were not all Venetians, per se.

A third generation of patricians, according to King, took advantage of the printing press, but had less support from the patrician classes, and drew upon the talents, as she termed it, of commoners. From this point into the sixteenth century, Venetian historical narrative is no longer being written strictly by the patrician class. They had other commercial interests. The Venetian elite purchased investment and leisure properties on the *terraferma*, in the hills of the Valpolicella, and along the Brenta canal. Those patricians who may wish to continue to promote Venice as well as those non-Venetians eager for patronage were all that remained to advance The Republic in narratives. The Myth had been formed...its new advocates were changing.

2.5 Pier Paolo Vergerio: *De Republica Veneta* and *De Monarchia*

The first phase of humanist activity contained a mixed group of scholars, patronage seekers, and university professors, directed from the Rialto by several patrician-patrons. Pier Paolo Vergerio was an academic who was eager to compose for his benefactor,

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\(^8\) King, *Venetian Humanism*, 244 ff.
whoever he might be and on whatever topic he might choose. What literary services did these early writers perform? They were to follow the dictates of the Muse of Eloquence, Calliope, who announced:

I am that Eloquence, who inhabits free cities. I move the minds of patricians engaged in the discussion of important matters to do what I wish. I proclaim wars, peace, truces, leagues, decrees. I propose laws…for the protection of the republic and augmentation of the empire. I arouse the very armies and camps.”

Calliope’s existence was an imagined existence, captured, and transcribed by the humanist interpreters to their patrons. This was the early role of Pier Paolo Vergerio, born on the Istrian peninsula but based in Padua, who sought patronage from Venetian clients, papal administrators and others while seeking a teaching position in Padua. Unsuccessful in his endeavors, he became professionally involved in the entourage of Cardinal Francesco Zabarella at the Council of Constance. In 1417, he entered into the service of the Emperor Sigismund, not exactly a friend to the Venetian Republic, never to return to Italy.

Vergerio’s career trajectory during the early years of the fifteenth-century illustrates the motivations of early humanists. Initially he had a personal connection with the Carrara family. Supported by Venice, the Carrara’s return to Padua in the 1390’s was brief but amicable. Venice made Francesco Novello a Venetian nobleman and his son Francesco granted Venetian citizenship. Benjamin Kohl shows how the relationship between the

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81 King, Venetian Humanism, 48-49 ff. Calliope plays an important role in Veronese humanistic activities, most notably the Acta Panteo which will be discussed later in this paper.


Carrara and Venice were cordial until the time of their capture in 1406. Law points out that from 1390 to 1403, three of the Podestas of Padua were Venetian, which suggests a trust between the cities but would also become a prefiguration of what occurred in 1405 with other Venetian subjects occupying a sensitive position within the Carrara government. The presence of a “fifth column” is a possibility but the local narratives do not advance this possibility. We should not discount this possibility as unrealistic, given the results, and a certain Venetian manner of operations.

Pier Paolo Vergerio was born in Capoistria (1470-1545), then part of the Venetian territory, today part of Slovenia. Vergerio wrote the De Republica veneta shortly after the fall of the Carrara in 1405 and before he found employment at the Imperial court in 1417. The De Republica veneta does not mention the aggressive 1405 expansion of Venice, which included the annexation of Padua, Treviso, Vicenza and Verona. Vergerio simply outlines the Venetian myth. He first gives a geographical description of Venice, of the lagoons, inhabited originally by fishermen, a point quickly exploited by anti-Venetian writers—especially Pius II and Benedetto Dei. Vergerio maintains that Venice derived its name from the race of the Eneti, associated with Antenor of Troy, as original settlers. The inhabitants are merchants, honest, and, eager for glory yet seek honor more than profit. Furthermore, the terms Nobiles and Populous are interchangeable, yet are distinct from the

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84 The scholarship of Benjamin G. Kohl on Padua has gone largely unnoticed, especially in Italian publications. Benjamin G. Kohl, “Two humanist accounts of the Carrara Dynasty,” in Chronicling History, 223-249, Culture and Politics in Early Renaissance Padua (Aldershot: Ashgate : Variorum, 2001), and Padua under the Carrara, 1318-1405. I believe his Padua under the Carrara is the best work in English on any of the cities of the Veneto, although it closes with the fall of the Carrara and does not deal with the Venetian takeover to any extent. However, it does underscore dramatically the interaction between the Doge and the Carrara, the duplicity used by Venice to manipulate the family, and their final and tragic end.
term plebs. The “people” who enter into the government of Venice will always be referred to by Vergerio as the nobles and populous. Unlike later versions of Venetian history, Vergerio does not mention the attacks from Attila, which pushed the mainland settlers onto the lagoons, nor does he comment on the association of the city with St. Mark. It is an un tarnished and largely unfinished vision of Venice with no mention of territorial expansion or the terraferma.85

It is revealing that Venetian historians dropped their references to a Trojan ancestry by the end of the fifteenth-century. One recent scholar has suggested that the linking of Troy with imperialist expansion did not sit well with the patrician group Venetian writers. Venetian nobles wished praise for their perfect government but not for military prowess and conquests. The leaders of the Republic perhaps found too close a connection between Venetian movements onto the terraferma as a historical continuation of that Trojan ancestry. After the defeat at Agnadello (1509) and the ensuing war of Cambrai, there was a diminishing reliance on Trojan origins for Venice. Indeed this ancestry was then turned against the League of Cambrai’s members by several Venetian writers. Now Venice sought a continuation of justice and peace, far removed from an aggressive past such as Troy and Rome.86 St. Mark replaced Antenor as the founder of Venice—a divine founder rather than a secular hero. The Trojan legend could still be a force in the local mythology of Padua.

85D. Robey, and John Law, “The Venetian myth and the ‘De republica veneta’ of Pier Paolo Vergerio,” Rinascimento, 15(1975): 3-59. This is an early attempt to suggest that the true flowering of the Venetian myth was not the result of the post Cambrian difficulties, but had been percolating over a century earlier from the pens of writers such as Vergerio, Poggio and George of Trebizond.

where it could do no harm or have serious implications to Venice. For Venice Trojan ancestry was no longer a useful foundation.

Vergerio had a few patrons, none of whom offered him any position of substance. He had been associated with the Carrara. What better way to attempt a return to favor than a brief history of the conquering city of Venice, her achievements, and bypass her most notorious recent acquisitions on the mainland. These territorial conquests were antagonistic during the early fifteenth-century, despite Rubenstein’s contention that the Milanese propaganda machine planned the controversy.87 All of the Italian states were aware of Venetian territorial movements and labeled Venice as an imperialistic power.

Vergerio had written an earlier work entitled *De Monarchia* without a precise date, but sometime from 1395 to 1405. In it, he recommends that the Republican form of government was unworkable, and thus opposed the Venetian governmental structure.88 An article by Robey and Law suggests that this earlier work was in praise of the Carrara. It references Francesco da Carrara the elder as “senior nostre memorie qui haud temere inter prudentissimos princeps et quidem primus habendus est,” “older (most important) in our memory that (he) was a very wise prince and the first one to be so considered.”89 He compared the Carrara rule to a dazzling light in a sky of political darkness. This would

87 Nicolai Rubenstein, “Italian Reactions to *terraferma* expansion in the fifteenth Century,” in J.R. Hale, *Renaissance Venice*, 197-217. This article continues the Baron synthesis of the crisis of Italian liberty with the ever lurking Sforza’s using propaganda against Venice who was aligned with Florence.

88 A century earlier Dante composed his *De Monarchia*, contrasting rule under a papal government or a secular government. In this case Dante chose the secular, Imperial rule as having more legitimacy than a power predicated on supernatural authority. Indeed, Dante was condemned by the Republic of Florence, and found refuge in the pro Imperial court of the Scala of Verona in 1303 and again in 1312-1318.

89 D. Robey and John Law, “The Venetian myth and the ‘De republica veneta,’” 35 fn. 1. Vergerio continues that from the evils of tyranny a heavenly gift is sent, that of a king... “ex celesti itaque munere evenit si qui ex his tenebris erumpant et veram rationem aliquando aspicient.”
surely not have ingratiated him with the Venetian patricians, especially if the work dates from a later, post conquest, period.

What we may conclude from the efforts of Vergerio is that he praised the Carrara in his *De Monarchia*, and, after their demise, switched to themes of the *De Republica Veneta* for literary ammunition to support his employment by Venice. The two works overlap and that would offer a rational explanation of chronology. Vergerio could then effectively write in praise of monarchy, republicanism, and ultimately Imperial rule, hoping that Venetian patrons would receive one form sympathetically.

Law and Robey suggest a more elevated purpose for the work. Vergerio was merely attempting to create a Thomistic view of government, which combined democracy with monarchy and aristocracy! They rely on the assumption that if he had continued his *De Monarchia*, he would have reached the same conclusions as St. Thomas on the preferred alternative government to tyranny.

My conclusion is much less intricate; as in other cases Vergerio wrote to please the group in power, seeking not philosophical answers but a paying position. Moreover, in many other cases, timing was critical. In this case, Vergerio failed to achieve the necessary patronage and Venetian approval. His vacillating political opinions were not lost upon the Signoria and his requests for patronage and promotion did not receive any attention. Undaunted, he soon found another patron in the person of the Emperor Sigismund, and spent his final days at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor.
2.6 Later Fourteenth Century Commentators: Andrea Dandolo and Antonio Morosini

We return to the *Chronica* of Andrea, for his work unites the spiritual origins of Venice - St. Mark’s journey to the lagoons with the founding of the city. Here is a Venetian patrician making a calculated change in his narrative, when he divides his work according to the reign of Doges, much like the history of the Papacy. Venetian history thus becomes a description of the city as a collection of the deeds of the lifetime-appointed Doges. Venice, unlike other communities, disapproved of the elevation of individual families because it caused a disruption in the ideal of *Unanimitas*. This was earlyon in the formation of a cohesive Venetian narrative. It would change over the course of the fifteenth-century.

The Veronese chronicles added a prosopographic approach as well, narrating the history of the city through her important families. In the early chronicles, important families, loyal to Venice and often related to the author, were recipients for praise. Later entire histories, such as Tinto’s *Della nobilita di Verona*, would describe the history of Verona through her selected noble families. Continuity in a city would come through relatives, not temporary heads of state.

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90 Thomas F. Madden, “The Venetian Version of the Fourth Crusade: Memory and the Conquest of Constantinople in Medieval Venice,” *Speculum*, 87, No. 2 (April, 2012): 311-344. Madden examines the parallel histories of the Fourth Crusade, between the Frankish and the Venetian accounts, which were reinforced pictorially by the Venetians, even though they were fairly unrepresentative in the actual occurrences of the Crusade, especially the contention that the Pope were directing the Venetians and ordered them to conquer Zara and Constantinople. For an earlier account see Girolamo Arnaldi, “Andrea Dandolo Doge-cronista” in *La Storiografia Veneziana fino al secolo XVI* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1970), 127-268.
2.7 The Morosini Codex (1365-1438)

Antonio Morosini, the compiler of the Codex we will now review, created one of the most important, informal accounts of the workings of the Venetian Republic in the fourteenth century. He was born into a patrician family in 1365. His father Marco was the brother of Michele Morosini, Doge of the Republic in 1382. 91 The Morosini Codex is a conventional chronicle from the period, of which more than a hundred survive. There are similarities between this work and older chronicles of Nicolo Trevisan, Rafaelo Caresini, Andrea Dandolo, and Lorenzo de Monacis, which suggests collaboration and borrowings from older chronicles. It is a diary of events rather than a continuous narrative, much like the other chronicles of the period. Since Morosini was a member of the Maggior Consiglio, he had firsthand knowledge of contemporary political matters to include in his writings. The chronicle was apparently available to other patrician readers, and was not, as suggested by Morosini, a private diary.

There was, not surprisingly, a particular purpose behind Antonio Morosini. The Morosini Codex narrative typifies the transition in Venetian historical consciousness from a strictly communal focus to the celebration of the patrician families who guided the Republic. Whereas Dondolo’s history of Venice became the history of the Doges, Morosini focuses on the patrician families and their influence on the fortunes of Venice. This is important insofar as it indicates that a consistent outlook, Unanimitas, was at work within the written narratives, evident but not firmly established.

Morosini’s work alerted some Venetian elders to the dangers of written compilations. Explicit incidents surely would convey information that could be useful to Venice’s

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enemies. Indeed, on July 7, 1418, there was a Senate investigation and Morosini’s work taken. From the report of the Senate we read the following decision:

Seeing that it is known that the noble Messer Antonio Morosini son of the late Messer Marco has written two books which he calls chronicles, in which many things are contained which are burdensome to our government, and it is good to arrange and find the means of having the said books, it is proposed that the leaders or inquisitors of this council should send to the aforesaid Antonio Morosini and command him, under a penalty of two hundred pounds, that at once and without delay he should present to them the said two books, and when these books are received, they should examine their contents, and when they have been examined, provision will be made later according to what seems appropriate. 92

Within a few days, a single entry indicated the decision of the Senate: “Some of the pages of the books of Messer Antonio Morosini in which there are noted certain matters causing scandal are to be burned.” 93 This kind of censorship was extensive and assisted in the maintenance of the Unanimitas. Later examples will be the multi volume histories of Marin Sanudo and Mark Antonio Sabellico whose intimate recollections of Venice would not be published for centuries after their deaths, Sabellico in 1718 and Sanudo in 1896. The Morosini Codex is important to this study because Morosini’s comments on the major

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92 Biblioteca Marciana, Venice (Ms. Cl. It. VII, 2048 and 2049) Misti 52, 184r:

*Capta.* Cum sentiatur quod nobilis vir ser Anthonius Mauroceno quondam ser Marci habeat seu scripsit duos libros quos nominat cronic as, in qui bus multa continentur que sunt in onus nostri dominii, et bonum sit providere et tenere modum de habendo libros predictos, vadit pars quod capita sive inquisitores istius consiliii mittere debeant predicto ser Antonio Mauroceno et mandare sub pen a librarum ducentarum quod statim et sine mora presentare eis debeat dictos duos libros, qui bus libris habitis, examinare debeant contenta in eis et ipsis examinatis postea providebitur sicut opportunum facere videbitur. *Rubrica.* Ser Antonius Mauroceno portet capitibus duos suos libros quos scrips it et nominat eas chronicas, sub pena.

93 Misti 52, 187r *Rubrica.* Alique de cartis librorum ser Antonii Mauroceno in quibus notata sunt aliqua induentia scandalum comburantur
events in Venetian history following 1404, included the subordination of the terraferma and her cities.

The takeover of Verona, according to Morosini, is a seamless affair. Venetian troops appear and the joyous citizens open the gates and welcome their liberators. Morosini relates how foodstuffs from Venice arrived into Verona although he fails to mention the protracted siege, or that food supplies were scarce. He further notes that an assessment of “34 ducats per hundred, and more,” per citizen was collected with no citizen refusing to loan the requested funds. Immediately Verona had become a devoted and enthusiastic supporter of Venice. Later Veronese writers would not pick up this indication of harsh times in Verona, but only the demands for annexation would carry into Veronese narratives. Divine retribution, acts of God, earthquakes and plague, were commonplace in the chronicles; human causation, especially Venetian direct intervention, is rarely revealed.

A final point made by Morosini involves the capture and treatment of the Carrara of Padua after the fall of the city. In both Venetian and Veronese literature, this information from the Morosini Codex repeats itself in the narratives of these cities. Morosini reports that on July 1, 1405 several peasants from lands owned by Jacopo dal Verme captured Giacomo da Carrara escaping from Verona. Troops loyal to Venice imprisoned Giacomo, son of the lord of Padua. Taken to Venice under safe conduct, Francesco Novello Carrara and his eldest son Francesco III joined Giacomo to negotiate a peaceful transition of power in Padua. According to Morosini, the Venetians took the men to a monastery for their

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94 Morosini, Codex, XIX, 245. One hundred ducats was calculated by Morosini to provide expenses for one travelling nobleman at the expense of the dogal Signoria, with three foot soldiers, three servants and a steward for each of them, and they could spend 6 and a half ducats of gold for each ambassador, receiving for each of them one hundred ducats of gold for approximately 15 days.
safety. Morosini offers his readers the information that the Carrara had minted false coin that resembled Venetian coin. It was publically proclaimed that no Paduan coinage be accepted in Venice. “Then the dogal Signoria considered and took into account the situation and condition of the lord of Padua, to find an opportunity for us all to maintain our honor as a result of his [Carrara’s] extremely weak condition…”

The Carrara family then disappears from Morosini’s chronicle, although he does fill his pages for November 1405 with events such as the translations of relics to the city, solemn processions, Venetian victories, and the formal dedication of Padua to Venice. He cites the same quotation from Isaiah, used earlier in Verona, that of a people who had walked in darkness now have seen a great light. Almost as an afterthought in a brief notation dated January 17, 1405 (1406) Morosini made the entry:

And so that I do not omit anything from a complete account of the state of the dogal Signoria, and in order to confirm our most peaceful rule that the eternal God, from whom all graces proceed, has provided, always making what is good better, it was announced to the dogal Signoria on the seventeenth day of the month of January 1405 at the hour of vespers that Misier Francesco da Carrara had passed from life very miserably in the Forte prison, and the cause of his death was found to be a condolma, ** or a catarrh.  

All three Carrara actually met their fate within days of each other: Francesco Novello was beaten and strangled in his cell and his two sons executed in a similar fashion, buried in unmarked graves. As a member of the Maggior Consiglio, Morosini would have known

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95 Morosini Codex, 183.

96 Morosini, Codex, 215. The “condolma” referred to the possibility of pneumonia.
exactly the fate of the Carrara’s but reported what was expected. “Homo morto non fa Guerra,” “Dead men do not make war” 97

Morosini’s survey of daily life in Venice reflects what the governing body of Venice wished to report. The historical template was in force: those individuals and cities that moved within the Venetian orbit did so willingly, without coercion. Morosini moves individuals threatening the security of Venice or the status quo, to the margins of the narrative and then they disappear. The popolo were in favor of Venetian rule. Venice, through the actions of the Doge, was a benevolent and just ruler with God providing direction and protection. Local elites were suspect and the people love the Lion of St. Mark on the mainland and eastern Mediterranean.

A consequence of Morosini’s rhetoric and a derivative of the myth is the notion that enemies of Venice were naturally traitors and rebels. The situation of Brunoro Scala the natural son of the late Guglielmo Scala (Cangrande II) is a case in point. Morosini labels Brunoro a rebel after he stirs up unrest in Verona. This was not Morosini’s assessment, but that of the Signoria after labelling Brunoro’s rebelliousness. 98 First, Brunoro was associated with Francesco Novello, and then appointed by the Carrara as lord of Verona, so his basis for rule was suspect. When the Senate learned that Brunoro, “a man of bad conduct,” had joined “with certain persons from Verona and was plotting against us,

97 For a graphic description of the end of the Carrara is found in Galeazzo Gatari, “Cronaca Carrarese.” A. Medin and G. Tolomei, eds., Rerum Italicarum scriptores, new ed. Vol 17, pt. 1 (Bologna: 1909-32), 579, and Benjamin G. Kohl, Padua under the Carrara, 335. There is in the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona an anonymous sixteenth century “constitui gesta mag divae memoriae viri illustris dn.dn. francisci senioris de carraria”manuscript on the history of Francesco Carrara, 1202 (599)”The “Gesta francisci de carraria” which begins, “Constitui gesta mag. Divae memoriae viri illustris dn Francisci senioris de Carraria.”

favoring the house of La Scala in preference to being ruled by us,” they took action. The Senate appointed the knight Taddeo dal Verme to suppress these threats. Morosini indicates that this move was also to “remove any suspicion of ill-will from them,” although there was little support from any of the conspirators of either money or troops, which could be given to Brunoro. Apparently, bribes and payoffs to certain members of the Veronese gentry ensued, smoothing matters, and Brunoro fled the city.

This “irritation” lasted for several years. It exacerbated matters when the Emperor Sigismund conferred the hereditary titles to Verona and Vicenza upon Brunoro on June 22, 1412, an event that fell beyond the chronology of Morosini’s work. Later Venetian writers glossed over, or omitted these events, preferring to dwell on a continuously positive view of Venice, her intrigues, and ultimate Venetian victory.

2.8 Embellishing the Venetian Image in Historical Narratives and Art

Another non Venetian commentator, Jacopo d’Albizzotto, was an enthusiastic supporter of Venice. Jacopo was born in Florence 1377 into a merchant family. His financial matters are unknown but he seems to have been part of the court of Cosimo de Medici. He associated himself with public figures such as Antonio di Matteo Meglio,

99 This event is mentioned in G. B. Verci,  Storia della marca trivigiana e Veronese , XIX, Bk XXIV doc. 2100 (Venezia: Giacomo Storti, 1786-1791), 49-54.

100 Morosini, Codex, 221-223.

101 Jacopo d’Albizzotto Guidi,  El sommo della condizione di Vinegia , with commentary is found in Vittorio Rossi, “ Jacopo d’Albizzotto Guidi e il suo poema inedito su Venezia,”  Nuovo Archivio Veneto (1893): 3-57. He was a member of the scuola S. Cristofo, a guild open to “ potevano entrare tute bone persone et boni merchadanti bone persone nei nobili e nei medici fisici e cerusici,” enter good persons and good merchants and persons who were neither noble or doctors nor surgeons.” Rossi, Jacopo d’Albizzotto, 9-10, fn.2. A recent edition is edited by Marta Ceci,  El Sommo della condizione di Vinegia  (Rome: Zauli Arti Grafiche), 1995.
“cavaliere di corte,” although Jacopo had not reached any high societal status. Yet he could write that he had secured a humble little place in a “minor Parnassus” within the Medici following. Owing money to the commune, he followed Cosimo d’Medici in his exile to Venice in 1432 where he remained after Cosimo returned to Florence a year later. Jacopo’s exact trade is unknown while in Venice and her territories, but he does provide some information on the eastern Venetian empire. Perhaps his ventures took him in that direction. Nevertheless, he was so enamored with the city that he wrote a lengthy description of praise to Venice in 1442, dedicated not to a particular patron, but to the city and the Palazzo of the Doge. Of the three extant manuscript copies, one is in Berlin, one in the Patriarchal seminary in Venice, and one was the property of Scipione Maffei. The Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona received it as a donation.

The poem follows many other laude and praises Venice as crowned king of kings, controller of the sea and the mountains. The lands that Venice governs are gifts from God and include grains, wines, oils, fruits and fish. He goes on to describe the Rialto populated by merchants and cambiatori (moneychangers), who stand out because of their sumptuous clothing. In his closing comments, he writes, “Throughout Italy, Lombardy and Tuscany, according to what you see, Venice is the most noble and sovereign.”


103 In terms of availability of sources for the perpetuation of the Venetian perspective on history, Giuseppe Biadego, Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti Biblioteca comunale di Verona (Verona: 1892) reveals a number of Venetian chronicles, many from Veronese libraries, which could have been used to create much of the history later printed in Verona. These include a Cronaca veneta dalla fondazione di venezia fino al 1443, a history of Venice from Pietro Delfino, dated to the sixteenth century, another entitled Dell’Origine et accrescimenti di Venetia nelle Isole delle Lagune dal 421, and finally a Memorie di alcune cose più notabili raccolte da una cornice veneta manoscritta.

Jacopo’s description of Venice is of a mighty Republic, one that has accepted the responsibility of protecting all of the terraferma. For most of these cities, Venice either gained control by the will of the people or, conquered them through war. In either case, the results benefited the newly absorbed communes. When Jacopo refers to the seizure of Vicenza, he comments: “They took over the city of Vicenza under their lordship and their Dominion without further violence.”  

The same benign intent followed Venice into the conquest of Padua, albeit acquired through force of war. Eventually, this worked for the benefit of the Paduans, as Jacopo poetically notes:

> From Padua and the Padovani they (Venice) acquired the land with strength and their swords in their hands. And if I am not in error there are now stronger castles and more land which they won through war. And today the Padovani are getting fat with grand possessions, since they became subjects of the Venetians, because before under the rule of the Carrara, they were unhappy, who squeezed them for money, that they only wore nothing but giornee and farsetti; now they a good haven , and now dress in silk and wool, and they are not so hurt in the purses now.  

His mention of giornee and farsetti refer to the cheap over garments worn by men and women in the countryside. Jacopo warns of an impoverished state if Padua does not submit to the Venetians. Then Padua would return to the tyrannical and unfortunate days of the Carrara. A city under Venetian rule is a prosperous city. The prosperity of subject states is

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106 Jacopo d’Albizzotto Guidi, *El sommo della condizione di Vinegia*, 39 and 72. “Di Padoa la città e ’l Padovano hanno costoro acquistato tal terra co’lor possanza e colle spade in mano. E se lla mente mia qui non erra, son più castelle forti, con più passi, che hanno vinto per forza di guerra.E ora e Padovan’ son tutti grassi di grand’ave, po’ che fïr soggetti a’ Viniziani, ché prima eran lassi da quel da Carara, che molto stretti e’ gli teneva, di danar’ si muntiche non vestivan che giornee’ e farsetti: si ch’a buon porto e’ son or si giunti che veston panni di seta e di lana, ch’alle lor borse non son or si punti.” Translation by Sandra Toffolo, *Depicting the city, depicting the state*, 186. References to medieval dress can be found www.villaggiomedievale.com accessed July 4, 2015.
another theme that forms part of the myth, found in later narratives of Verona as well as those of Padua. Jacopo does not explain this prosperity or its maintenance on the

terraferma.

Jacopo does admit to his readers that not all of the terraferma complied peacefully. Padua was one commune persuaded to accept Venetian rule. Venice forcibly acquired some castles in the controlled territory since they were held by Genoa. Jacopo does not give an unbiased narrative but one with a partisan review of Venice and her conquests. He is less constrained in his description of the relationship between Venice and her communes, especially after the initial take over. He mentions the violence used, but is ready to justify these actions for the greater good of all concerned. In this way, his approach is reminiscent of the work of Sangunetti and the Venetian treatment of Friuli. Once Venice has acted, her behavior needed justification. Some of these non-resident apologists were a bit more forthcoming in their commentaries, justifying unsavory topics that usually were not part of the Venetian myth. Jacopo d’Albizzotto Guidi’s work on Venice was an early example of a non Venetian, especially a Florentine, praising Venice from an outsider’s perspective to the rest of the world.

2.9  Tommaso Mocenigo and Giorgio Dolfi: Croniche dela nobil cità de Venetia et dela sua provintia et destretto

There were occasionally glimpses of discord and some ideological clashes found at the highest levels of Venetian government. Within twenty years of the acquisition of Verona, Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1343-1423) began to rethink Venetian expansion onto the terraferma, questioning the accuracy of the placid image of the current territories, as a
garden, which produces much and costs little. Mocenigo was not as strident as a previous ducal Chancellor, Rafaino Caresini, had been forty years earlier. Caresini wrote that while the sea was the source of Venetian honors and riches, the terraferma would bring, not a garden, but a series of “scandals and mistakes” upon Venice. This argument, not published during the lifetime of Mocenigo or Foscari, appeared only in the nineteenth century.

Mocenigo’s policy with regard to the terraferma was challenged by the party led by Francesco Foscari as well as other nobles interested in forging an alliance with Florence and pursuing a strong expansionist policy westward. According to Dennis Romano, the party of Mocenigo had their property holdings in the eastern Mediterranean, which could remain as a source of profit. Foscari’s group opted for westward expansion where their members would likely receive salaried administrative jobs and where they had or could continue to purchase land. This conflict erupted into a rare personal attack by Mocenigo against Foscari, found in several speeches purportedly given by the Doge during his last years of his rule. These dialogues, found in Sanudo’s Vite dei dogi (1494), indicate the Doge’s favorable attitude toward continued trade and peace with the Visconti, and against any alliance with Florence. They appeared in print only in the nineteenth century.

107 Briefly, Venetian expansion of the terraferma and Istria is as follows: Capoistria 1348, Treviso 1339, Vicenza, 1404, Feltre and Belluno, 1404, Padua 1405, Verona 1405, Brescia 1426, Bergamo 1427, and Crema in 1449. See the map of the terraferma, Illustration 14.

108 Giorgio Cracco, “Patriziato e oligarchia Venezia nel Tre-Quattrocento,” in Florence and Venice, 71-98.

109 This idea was advanced by Lane, Venice: A Maritime Republic, 226, and the diarist Priuli, and discussed recently by Romano, The Likeness of Venice, 28-29.
In the third discourse, supposedly made on his deathbed in early April 1423, Mocenigo warned his peers to keep the peace, noting, “God destroys those who wage unjust war,” referring to continued expansion. Directly attacking Foscari, Mocenigo predicted the outcome of westward expansion: “And God does not wish it. If you make him (Foscari) Doge in no time you will be at war. And he who has ten thousand ducats will not have even one thousand; and he who has ten houses will not have but one…And you who are now lords of lords, will be vassals to soldiers.”¹¹⁰

These early Quattrocento ideological and political disputes offer evidence that a purely defensive policy was not behind Venetian expansion. Territorial expansion was a topic before the Venetian Senate, so historians cannot claim that these were spontaneous and reactionary movements. The economic implications were clear, with good commercial prospects in the silk and wool trade, in land acquisitions, and the control of natural resources. Expansion meant more wealth for a segment of the Signoria and patrician elite without the hazards of sea travel or conflict with the Ottoman Empire. The annexations of subject states apparently fostered debate between the factions within the Senate.

To counter Mocenigo’s Testament, Giorgio Dolfin (1398-1446) proposed an affirmation of the pacific intentions of La Serenissima. Dolfin’s Cronicha dela nobil cità de Venetia et dela sua provintia et destretto: origini-1458, depicts Venice, not as an imperialistic conqueror but a Republic that accumulated territory based on the free will of

¹¹⁰ Hans Baron, Humanistic and Political Literature in Florence and Venice at the Beginning of the Quattrocento: Studies in Criticism and Chronology (Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press, 1955), 201. Baron dismisses the first two testaments as fabrications while Romano suggests that all three were later redacted and inserted during a later period when war with Florence was imminent. Nevertheless they do reflect opposing views on Venetian expansion as well as opposing motives for this activity.
the population. Venice purchased castles, or inherited territory on the mainland. Dolfin saw Venice as a benevolent power. Fire destroyed the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua in 1420. Ambassadors arrived from Padua asking Venice for assistance. Venice gracefully and “willingly decided with the Consiglio dei Pregada (the Senate) to help the said commune to rebuild the said palace, in honor of that Signoria and of the city of Padua.” Dolfin does not indicate that Venice had ruled over Padua for some fifteen years at that point and that the Paduans might have reasonably expected that Paduan’s Venetian administrators would maintain these buildings.

In sum Dolfin, a Venetian senator, does not gloss over the practical exigencies of territorial expansions in the *Cronicha*. Venice sent soldiers to conquer Padua in 1405. Afterwards, the Paduans sent envoys to Venice to request terms, where “they were accepted benignly by the Signoria, and they received good and worthy favors of concessions and many jurisdictions.” Francesco da Carrara, refused an “agreement” from Venice, and executed by a just Venice. The events surrounding the demise of the Carrara shift from death by disease and disappearance to a description of an execution for just reasons.


112 Dolfin, *Cronica dela nobil cita*, 2: 206-207. “et a questo la Signoria gratiosamente et voluntiera deliberò con el Conseglio de Pregadi de sovegnir la ditta Comunità per reffar el ditto pallazo per honor de quella Signoria e dela cità de Padoa…”

113 Dolfin, *Cronica dela nobil cita*, 2: 136. “The above mentioned messer Francesco da Carrara and his sons Jacomo and Francesco came to their end in a Venetian prison, which they merited.” “El sopraditto missier Francescho da Charrara et soi fioli Jacomo et Francescho terzo feceno la sua fine e lasua morte in le prexon di Venetia, si come loro li havea meritado.”
What is notable in Dolfin’s account of the Carrara family narrative is Dolfin felt no need to justify the actions of Venice. The acquisition of the city and the acknowledgment and acceptance of Venetian rule by the Paduans is all that matters. It would be correct to assert that from these early stages of Venetian historical writing the portrayal of the Republic was one of a benevolent power. Venice must conquer threats in order to bring peace and security to the lagoons and to the terraferma. It is reasonable to conclude that Dolfin’s arguments gave further form to the Venetian myth. Clearly “Machiavellian” forces were at work in Venice even before the birth of the Florentine whose name describes the actions of unscrupulous politicians the world over.

2.10 Paolo Morosini: Memoria storica intorno alla Repubblica di Venezia

Many of the Venetian sources were “unofficial” patrician treatises. The essays reflected the beliefs of an enthusiastic and concerned group of elite citizens, eager to participate in the affairs of Venice. The treatises relied on the earlier versions of the central narrative which then were embellished further though contemporary events. The writings of Paolo Morosini (1406-1482) are an account of this elite perspective to promote the benevolent impression of Venice and territorial expansion. Morosini’s Lettera a Ciccho Simonetta, is dedicated to the secretary and counselor of the Sforza dukes, written perhaps in the second half of the fifteenth-century, as Simonetta was executed in October of 1480.

Morosini devotes a chapter in his *Lettera* on Venetian interventions in Ferrara, Verona, and Padua. He compares the tyranny of the Scala and Carrara families—the ruling families of the states before they were subjugated to Venice—with the Venetian government’s desire for justice. The following passage, from Morosini’s *Memoria storica intorno alla Repubblica di Venezia* illustrates his view of these interventions as the products of the inherent love of the Venetian Senate for peace and not as efforts to expand the Venetian empire on the mainland.

The Venetians cannot in any way be accused of ambition; since, I would almost say, I have not seen a republic, nor a prince, nor a king, even if one would number all of the princes in the world, who has, like us, both renounced many and such beautiful provinces, and taken up arms so many times for the saving of friends and neighbors.¹¹⁵

Morosini indicates that after the subjugation of Verona, the Signoria had contemplated giving that city to Nicolo d’Este, to avoid the impression of Venetian conquest. Upon reflection, however, the fact that d’Este had made war on Verona became a contributing factor in the Senate’s decision to keep Verona as a subject state. Morosini seems to be one of the few historians to include this reference to Nicolo d’Este and does so without citing

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¹¹⁵ Paolo Morosini, *Memoria storica intorno alla Repubblica di Venezia*, VI, LIII. “che i Veneziani non possono per verun conto essere accusati di ambizione; giacchè, quasi direi, non vi fu Repubblica, non Principe, non Re, quand’anche si volesse annoverarli tutti dal principio del mondo a quest’età, i quali abbiano, come noi, e ricsuate tante e si belle provincie, e prese si spesse volte l’armi a salvezza degli amici e vicini.” Translation by Sandra Toffolo, “ Depicting the city, depicting the state,” 189.
any reference. The anecdote reinforces the notion of a materially disinterested Venice taking position of a new territory as a moral responsibility, not territorial expansion.

Venetian chronicles written by educated patricians, were still the norm at the end of the fifteenth-century, using a few trained secretaries, and other interested parties. It was time for Venice to follow the lead of other Italian city-states and appoint an official historian. Only with the adoption of an official historian could the Senate hope to exercise direct control over what information was available to the public.\textsuperscript{116}

2.11 Marin Sanudo: \textit{Itinerio}

Marin Sanudo (1466-1536) is one of the best sources for the history of Venice and the \textit{terraferma} at the end of the fifteenth-century. The young patrician clearly thought of himself as the official historian of Venice because of his voluminous writings. Sanudo’s collection of works is impressive by any standards: fifty-eight volumes of Diaries; \textit{De Origine, Situ Et Magistratibus Urbis Venetae, Ovvero, La Citta Di Veneti}; and a history of the Doges of Venice. In his \textit{Itinerario} (1483), written when he was just 17, Sanudo offers glimpses into the process of Venetian policymaking. The \textit{Itinerario} documents his travels throughout the \textit{terraferma} with three Venetian \textit{auditori}, including his cousin, as they dispensed justice and responded to appeals from local courts. Sanudo became \textit{camerlengo}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[116] Florence had professional humanist writers/statesmen such as Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, and Bartolomeo Scala, the Florentine Chancellor who narrated the events of that city in his Quattro libri delle Istorie Fiorentine, early in the fifteenth century. Alison Brown, ed. \textit{Bartolomeo Scala (1430-1497): Chancellor of Florence} (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979), as well as “Bartolomeo Scala: Humanistic and Political Writings,” \textit{Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies}, vol 159 (Tempe Arizona, 1997), “Oratio Pro Bello Suscipiendo in Turcos (1468)” 245-250, is an anti-Venetian oration, accusing Venice of refusing to join a league of Milan, Ferrara and Florence in 1467-68 as well as to encouraging Florentine exiles to return to Florence, ostensibly to instigate unrest.

\item[117] Felix Gilbert, “Biondo, Sabellico, and the Beginnings of Venetian Official Historiography,” 275-93, an excellent article but with a dismissive tone towards Sabellico as a writer.
\end{footnotes}
in Verona, chosen to the Major Council and ultimately elected to the Venetian Senate in 1498. He did not receive the post of official historian, even though elected to the Maggior Consiglio and to the Senate, which seems to indicate that Sanudo lacked the necessary insider political influence or that his writing abilities did not fit into the narrative tastes of the Senate.

Sanudo avoids discussions of politics in the Itinerario. Even at the age of seventeen, he is well aware of the implications of being a patrician and adhering to the Unanimitas to his social class. He refers to opposing factions only if necessary. Sanudo tends to remain objective and factual; his writings follow a neutral course of narration. He avoids negative remarks.

In De Origine, Situ Et Magistratibus Urbis Venetae, Ovvero, and La Citta Di Veneti Sanudo rhetorically uses the term “tyrant” when referring to Ferrara and other cities, attaching Venice’s present expansionist activities to a long line of polemics stretching back over a century, which justifies conquest due to the unhappiness of some territory’s subjects and the tyranny of their current rulers. They conclude with humanistic

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118 Filippo De Vivo, “How to Read Venetian “Relazioni,” Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme 34 no. 1–2 (2011): 25–59; Filippo De Vivo, Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 57–70; Angelo Ventura, ‘Introduzione’, in Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato, ed. Angelo Ventura (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1980), VII–XXVII. See Donald Queller, “The development of Ambassadors Relazioni,” in J.R. Hale, Renaissance Venice (1973), 174-196. The Relazioni referred to in this paper were not as formal as ambassadorial reports. Indeed, in several of the Relazioni from Verona to Venice in the mid-sixteenth century, the exiting Podesta failed to write the required information concerning the population, and agricultural output. There was apparently a template, a form to follow, and the blanks just needed to be filled in. In this case he failed to even accomplish that task.
justifications of Venetian expansion into Venetian expansion into the terraferma.\textsuperscript{119} The presence of a tyrant necessitates the intervention of Venice. In the following passage, taken from the Itinerario, Sanudo rationalizes the subjugation of Verona using the same device:

(Verona) was the capital and seat of the king of the Marca Trevigiana at the time of the tyrant lord Scala, who held Padua, Treviso, Vicenza, Feltre, Belluno, Brescia, Parma Reggio and Lucca: But Ezzelino de Romano, tyrant, subjected it (Verona) in 1250, and after him came other various tyrants and Podesta. After ten years Mastino, first of the Scala, and his descendants, then under Giangaleazzo Visconti, finally Francesco de Carrara conquered it, and caused great calamities and intolerable harm. The in 1404 it came under the Venetian empire, for its benefits and freedom, astonishingly growing, becoming wealthier and improving day by day. \textsuperscript{120}

\textsuperscript{119} Sanudo, Itinerario, 16, 28, 39, 104 refers to the tyranny of the Este family. The ploy of accusing one’s opposition as being tyrants and oppressing their own people, and thus creating a demand for invasion and conquest is a well worn topos in early modern narratives. As Baron’s early studies reveal this rhetoric was fueled by bureaucratic humanists from Florence against the Milanese, and used unsuccessfully it appears, by the Venetians early on to justify their territorial expansion. See Baron,\textit{ Crisis of the Italian Renaissance}, 134-145., Nicolai Rubinstein, “Italian Reactions to terraferma expansion in the fifteenth Century,” 197-217. Edward Muir, “Republicanism in the Renaissance Republics?” in John Martin and Dennis Romano, ed.\textit{ Venice Reconsidered} Venice Reconsidered. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000, 147 ff. Recently David Barnes, \textit{The Venetian Myth:Culture, Literature, Politics, 1800 to the Present}. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014, where he traces the 14\textsuperscript{th} century usage of the necessity of expansion onto Fascist Italy’s claims prior to World War II for justification of her conquests. Part of this narrative is also developed in Sandra Toffolo, “\textit{Depicting the city, depicting the state},”195 ff.

Sanudo depicts Venice as the natural and desired alternative to tyranny. The Venetian State was acting to bring those terraferma communes currently under the role of tyrants back into the Venetian family of communes. 121 Sanudo’s conclusion: cities under the benevolent rule of Venice are prosperous cities. In affirming and acknowledging the link between Venetian subjugation and prosperity Sanudo’s work echoes the earlier volume of Jacopo d’Albizzotto in his El sommo della condizione di Vinegia, who affirmed that those under Venetian rule were prosperous.

2.12 Marin Sanudo, and the Concept of citizenship in the Venetian Terraferma

By the early 1550’s the Venetian Senate began to recognize the need to bind more closely with subject states on the terraferma in an attempt to emphasize affiliation and familial connection to the Venetian state. Sanudo highlights as evidence of Venetian generosity: the provision of justice—through various Venetian-appointed civic officials

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121 Sanudo, Itinerario, 43. “perche questo Polexene altre bolte fu veneto” The Polesine was a portion of the adjacent to the Veneto, to the south of Padua during the war of Ferrara. It had passed to Venice in 1395 until 1438 as a pledge for a loan to the Este. Cf. Law, “The Venetian Mainland,” 153.
(Podestas and *auditori nuovi*)—as well as the construction and maintenance of municipal structures damaged by fires, and, in the case of Padua, the donation of monies to the University of Padua. All of these “gifts” required a reciprocal sense of loyalty from the *terraferma* communities. 122

Early writers acknowledged the association between the *terraferma* and Venice. The primary relationship centered on the contributions of subject state wealth and resources to Venetian state coffers in return for protection. Guidi’s *El sommo Della condizione di Vinegria* (1442) makes the connection between tax revenues and the income of the state: “Lepanto gives to the Venetians such a large income of ten thousand gold ducats from the fish market” and from the possessions of the many peasants under Venetian rule. 123 Dolfin wrote that in 1422 the lord of Morea in the Peloponnese peninsula offered his lands to Venice:

> which should look after it and keep it with people, infantry, knights, and crossbowmen, so that it would not fall into the hands of the Albanians, Turks, and infidels. And [he said] that the aforementioned king despot would remain in his principality and with his title, and that the said places would be very useful and fruitful to the Signoria of Venice and to its state 124

Even the Franciscan writer Barduzzi noted in his *Laude of Verona*: “As for the great benefit and yearly profit to the most illustrious Republic of Venice from the taxes paid to

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122 Sanudo, *Itinerario*, 23, 26, 15, 27. “(L)a nostra Ill.ma Signoria, la qual amava le suo terre et subditi bene meriti, per ben suo li [the auditori nuovi] havea mandati con tanta spexa, accio se alcun se volesse lamentar ut supra, faria justicia, et jurò quello diceva per i nodari era scripto.”


124 Dolfin, *Cronicha dela nobil cità de Venetia*, 2:217. cited and translated by Sandra Toffolo, Depicting the city, depicting the state, 205 fn. 785.
her by Verona, I prefer to say nothing, although these amount to more than a hundred thousand gold pieces annually.”

Despite these acknowledgements, writers seldom attribute aspirations of empire building to the Venetian state. Morosini and other Venetian writers attempted to neutralize economic hostility by stressing a closer relationship between center and periphery. Morosini’s works claim that far from empire building, the decision to attach a terraferma subject state to Venice was a reluctant measure, debated in the Venetian Senate. In the case of Vicenza, Morosini claims that Venice accepted that city to save its people from further tyranny. Morosini’s work exemplified the kind of rhetorical argument used by Venetian apologists.

One aspect of the Venetian origin narrative often overlooked in modern historiography is the selective sharing of Venice’s unlikely claims of Roman ancestry with the mainland. In *Venice and Antiquity* (1996), Patricia Fortini Brown traces the origins of some of these claims. Brown speculates that Venice—with no direct links to Roman civilization—appropriated the veneer of antiquity through terraferma conquests and, as such, in the reframed Venetian history. Venice had no antique monuments or statues, so conquest allowed the Venetians to “adopt” a new past. Venetian antiquity is an antiquity through association. The Venetians not only shared their antique patrimony, occasionally Roman, sometimes Trojan, with subject states but they went further and Christianized it as well,

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126 Paolo Morosini, and Giovanni Cornaro, *Memoria storica intorno alla Repubblica di Venezia*, XII.

through legends of St. Mark and the intercession of the Pope Alexander III. Indeed Sanudo’s invitation into the Concilio Maggiore was for his work in copying Roman inscriptions in the *terraferma*, not for his multi-volume observations of the *terraferma*.\(^\text{128}\)

His epigrams offered the presence of the ancients on Venetian soil.

At times, however, Venice chose to disassociate the State from antiquity, and emphasize the Christian nature of the State and cultural models including St. Mark, Pope Alexander III, St. George and St. Ursula. Sheila Das has written a cogent study entitled “The Disappearance of the Trojan Legend in the Historiography of Venice,” about the elimination of pagan elements from the historiography.\(^\text{129}\) The preferred origins now of Venice were the ancient Christian Veneti living on the *terraferma*. This myth was easier to incorporate into the discussion of origins than mythical Trojan ancestors. Some Venetian writers promoted the Christian origin myth, with its mainland connections, others reaffirmed that Venetian authority on the mainland was merely a return to what had already existed for centuries in acknowledgment of the Trojan or Roman myth.

Another possible reason for the dismissal of the ancient claims to classical origins is the association of empire building attached to the origin myths of Rome and Troy. If Venetians acknowledged and celebrated their ties to ancient Rome and the Trojan empire too enthusiastically, any movement into “non-Venetian” territory continues the imperialistic heritage of the past. After the War of Cambrai, Venice sought to create a more peaceful creation myth, with the emphasis placed on her Christian foundation.

\(^{128}\) See also the recent article on Sanudo’s interest in the antique inscriptions found in the various cities of the *terraferma*. Alfredo Buonopane, “Marin Sanudo e gli "antiquissimi epitaphii, “ in Marin Sanudo, *Itinerario per la terraferma veneziana*, edizione critica e commento a cura di G.M. Varanini (Roma : Viella, 2014), 95-104, also Angela Caracciolo, “Il Terzo visitatore nella biblioteca di Marin Sanudo il Giovane e nelle sue camera,” *Studi Veneziani* LXII (2011): 375-418.

With the acknowledgement of a common Christian origin, Venice and the *terraferma*, a larger question arises. If both mainland inhabitants and Venice share a common ancestry, why is one the ruler, the other the ruled? To explain this conundrum Sabellico suggested that the inhabitants from the mainland, fleeing the invasions of the Huns, moved to Venice. Each city of the mainland conveniently occupied a separate island (those from Aquileia to Grado, inhabitants from Padua to the Rialto). Implicitly Sabellico relates where the people came from, but how they created Venice is not explained.\textsuperscript{130} Gasparo Contarini’s *Magistrati*, (1547), proposes that the takeover of the mainland of northern Italy, was merely the return of the Venetians to what they had lost to the Huns, who had forced the Venetians onto the lagoons.\textsuperscript{131} Homecoming, rather than expansionism was Venetian Senate’s plausible explanation for the situation.

The preceding sections discussing origin literature from Venice and the *terraferma* have moved from early chroniclers—Morosini and Dolfin—to the more erudite narratives of humanist writers such as Sanudo, Sabellico and Priuli. As the earlier commentaries perceived events, Venetian expansion does not contain these subtleties. Brutality, aggression, and muted violence were included in chronicles to justify conquests. These manuscript accounts were generally in Latin, and as such, their dissemination was limited to a small, educated circle. The chronicles were also restricted to a Venetian audience who were already familiar and supportive of these narratives.

As foreign hostility towards Venice increased, from France, the Papacy, and the Holy Roman Emperor, the Senate needed a new approach to reach an expanded audience that

\textsuperscript{130} Marcantonio Sabellico, *Del sito di Venezia città*, 34.

\textsuperscript{131} Libby, “Venetian History and Political Thought after 1509,” 25.
included wealthy citizens of subject states. These new histories stressed the benevolence of the Venetian State. The annexation of the terraferma was merely the reluctant actions of a benign power. Venice claimed that her actions sprang from a desire to protect individual communities from tyrannical rule through her involvement. Another function of these histories was to convince occupied territories of their place within the larger Venetian community. It was a short step to have members of these communities assist in the promotion of such a benevolent state.

2.13 The Concept of Venetian Citizenship and “the Other”

I conclude this section with an examination of this conundrum of identification, of “the Other” in Venetian texts, of how Venice viewed her territorial conquests. In contrast to the Venetian rhetoric of equality of communes under Venetian control, there was an undercurrent of elitism. In Marin Sanudo’s De origine, situ et Magistratibus (1493), the reader is reminded that the name Venice only refers to the Rialto city rather than the total territory. When Sanudo refers to the mainland cities he uses a term meaning “on the outside,” a fuori. Sanudo refers to the auditori nuovi, those who go “outside” to the terraferma and Istria, and judge there as they would judge in Venice herself, inside dentro. Sanudo comments on the auditori nuovi, that usually once every two years “they go outside to the terraferma and Istria as syndics,” and journey into the mainland as a period

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“when they are outside,” while the local judges are suspended “outside in the same way as happens in this city (land).” By the exclusion of everything outside Venice as being “elsewhere,” Venice presents herself as a self-contained entity, reinforcing a sense of “Otherness” for the terraferma. We cannot forget the formal attitude of the Senate when referring to Verona: Fearful of rebellion from the Scala it was written in the Senate Misti that the Scala intrigued “with certain persons from Verona and was plotting against us, favoring the house of La Scala in preference to being ruled by us.” The “us” is significant in the relationship.

The Itinerario (1483) is a work written in situ, derived from Sanudo’s notes while accompanying his cousin as a auditori nuovo in the terraferma. The patrician continues to make the distinction between Venice and the Venetian terraferma through his terminology. He uses Venitiani or Veneti to refer to true Venetians from the Rialto, as distinct from the other local citizens of the terraferma. “Our” Venetians living or working in Padua or Vicenza are distinguished from local citizens, who were separate and not equal.

In the example of Treviso, an early Venetian conquest, Sanudo recognizes and acclaims this earlier acquisition, positively commenting that Treviso came under Venetian control in 1388. Even this long traditional relationship makes no difference in Sanudo’s view. He suggests that there is a distinction between “sir Bartolomeo Malomba da

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133 Sanudo, De origine, 126. “vanno fuori in terraferma et per l’Histria in sinichado”; ‘quando sono fuora”; ‘suspende li giudicij si fuora come in questa Terra.”Other examples include his views on the offices of the auditori “et uno di loro va ogn’anno fuora nel Friul et Istria a scuoder, et incantar datij et altro in utilita della Signoria nostra” and “ tutte le sententie fatte si in Venetia come fuora in terre et luoghi noistri” 111, 126. “Other examples every year on one of them goes in Friuli and Istri a scuoder, et incantar datij et altro in utility della Signoria nostra” and “ all sentences are made in Venice from without in places in our territories.” Sandra Toffolo expands on this relationship in her dissertation Depicting the city, depicting the state. 214, fn 820.,

Puovolo, one of our Venetians” and “the doctor and knight Agostino da Onigo, citizen of Treviso.” This casually implied distinction resurfaces several times in Sanudo’s writings. The distinction made between the one man from mainland Venice and the other from Treviso is not based on where they lived; one lived in Treviso and the other near Asolo. It was not based solely on citizenship, as this designation had expanded by the end of the fifteenth-century. It was who the individual in question really was, Venetian or an outsider.

This goes to the heart of the question, who was a Venetian? Who were those living outside of Venice under Venetian control? Platitudes and annexation rhetoric aside, ( dear as our daughter, like a child to a parent) only cittadini originari, citizens de iure, their children or grandchildren born and residing in Venice were considered Venetian citizens. 

Foreign leaders could be made Venetian citizens: the Scala and Carrara were made citizens as an honor of their association with Venice. Beneath the cittadini originari were the civilitas de gratia, foreigners who had rendered some service to the city and to whom the Senate wished to honor. They needed to petition the Senate and if accepted, they became Venetian citizens. The tax and residency requirement was waived in these cases.

There were several grades of Venetian citizenship, each of which conferred specific trading privileges and tax rate. In order to obtain such a status the citizen had to have lived


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in the city of Venice for 15 years and have paid taxes. By the middle of the fifteenth-century, the cities on the *terraferma* were considered citizens *de intus*, as having economic rights, the ability to work and trade only in Venetian territory, but were not offered complete rights of access, especially involving trade on the water, or in the Levant. *Civilitas de intus* allowed a person to trade within the city of Venice, except trade with the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, the German resident merchants. *Civilitas de intus et extra* permitted trading throughout the Venetian dominions, under the protection of Venice. This status of citizenship required twenty-five years of residency in Venice proper and tax payments. In exchange for this privilege, those citizens needed to make loans to the city in equal parts to that investment which they traded. *Cives originari* could trade merchandise of unrestricted value while under the protection of San Marco.  

All levels of *popolares* had certain rights, specifically the right to be judged by a Venetian magistrate, either in the main city or in the city of their origin. However, the question of law and legal structure needed to be addressed, insofar as each community was governed by Venetian dictate and local statute. We know that the *auditori nuovo* were temporary judges who tended to delay justice while bouncing cases back and forth between the commune, the Rialto, and elsewhere. Noble status did wonders in the achievement of certain legal goals.

Being a citizen of Treviso in 1483, then, also implied possessing citizenship *de intus*, but that did not modify the distinction between the two men whom we met earlier. This is not how Sanudo describes the physician/knight Agostino da Onigo.

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137 Stephen R. Ell, “Citizenship and Immigration in Venice, 1305-1500.” (PhD. diss. University of Chicago, 1976), 33. This brief study, however erudite, is confusing in that Ell enumerates several classes of citizenship over a span of a century. Titles changed yet the same title was applied to a similar class of citizenship. Most important the underlying weakness of the study is the enumeration of the benefits derived from each of the levels of citizenship, which, according to the study, amount to primarily trade opportunities.
Although existing geographical and legal differences were undoubtedly also a factor, the way in which Sanudo differentiates between the two men is based on a fundamental perception of the dichotomy between mainland and capital city and its inhabitants. Sanudo continuously makes this distinction between mainland Venetians, “our Venetians” and mainland citizens of Treviso. Evidently, Sanudo considered it important to point out that there were true Venetians living in the terraferma and that there was a distinction between people coming from the city of Venice and from subject cities on the mainland. This factor was essential in Sanudo’s perception of the Venetian state. It creates a view of small, clearly demarcated units of ‘Venetian-ness’ on the terraferma, which is thus depicted as the ‘other.’ In essence, there was an “otherness” to the recently acquired states. While their natural resources reflected well upon the Republic, nevertheless each segment was kept at a polite distance in terms of their status with the Republic.

This was not a singular example. In Brescia, it was apparent that there was a dual standard of address and formality. The outward trappings of equality were exhibited while in formal discourse. According to Bowd, Brescian records indicate the honor and dignity which was formally displayed upon the Podesta and Capitano, addressed as “magnifico Ser.” The rectors addressed the city council members with respect in the written records.

138 There are a number of references of separation between Venetians living on the mainland and the locals. See Sanudo, *Itinerario*, 31, “I found five houses at the castle of Bovolenta, (near Padua) near the Piave, very beautiful, where there were many Venetian houses. ‘(D)emum fate mia cinque se trova il castello di Bolenta ch’e pur soto villa bella, adornato di molte caxe di Venitiani,” “This house of Noventa is beautiful near the walls of three houses of our Venetians, Hironimo Malipeiro, etc.” “Questa villa di Noventa e bellissimo, piena di caxe di muro de Veneti nosri, zoe di Hironimo Malpiero, di Piero Vituri, di Chimento Thealdini, de Troylo Malipiero et f. di Martin Pisanelo, et ha una bela chiesiula, la caxa di Nicolo Bafo, di Ant. Marzelo, di Jac. Gusoni, di Zuan Da-Rio, et di quelli da Buvolo.” Citation and translation by Sandra Toffolo, *Depicting the city, depicting the state*, 215, fn 823 from Sanudo, *Itinerario di Martin Sanuto per la terraferma veneziana nell’anno MCCCLXXXIII* (Padova: Tipografia del Seminario, 1947), 114–115.
However, the Venetian Senate referred to the Brescian council as “our subjects,” in their formal written deliberations, which was for Venetian eyes only.\textsuperscript{139}

It can also be mentioned that in some of the later histories of Verona, a similar attitude was in evidence, an insulating note of “us” and “others.” In several instances there is an idea of conceit when the author refers to “our Verona,” our Veronese, our citizens, our lands. Zagata uses this expression sparingly, whereas Dalla Corte refers several times to “Nostra Verona,” to Jacopo de Fabbri, “nostro Veronese” and “Jacopo de Cavalli, Veronese,” mentioning one of the local knights who participated in turning the city over to the Venetians in 1405.\textsuperscript{140} Verci tends to overwork the references in his \textit{Storia della marca trivigiana}, indicating “nostra civitate,” “terrarium nostra,” and “civitate nostra Verona.” Lando makes no such attribution in his \textit{Prooemium} to the laws of Verona. He compares the city to a mythical Jerusalem, which might shine with Venice, arriving at some kind of fantasy location in the universe. Nevertheless, most Veronese writers felt that, if they were not equal and were therefore different from the Venetians among them, they wished to accentuate that unique position, using those men, monuments, and myths that best exemplified their city.

Even the Venetian prelate Contarini needed to explain citizenship to an outside world eagerly trying to peer into the world of Venetian politics. In Book II of his \textit{de Magisteribus} he touches on several intertwined topics: the non-rigid nature of Venetian society as well as the innate fear of Venice of her subjects. He indicated either that “strangers” sometimes are adopted into this cadre of citizens, regarding their nobility or that they had been dutiful

\textsuperscript{139} Bowd, \textit{Venice’s Most Loyal City}, 32. On occasion, the Brescian Council referred to themselves in the same terminology, as “subjects” of Venice.

towards the State. Without giving examples of this procedure in action he then moves to a more obscure subject, that of the threat of civil strife and sedition amongst its peoples: 141

To create in this our city...whose office above magistry of authority and power, whose office above all other things should be to have especially care to see that among the citizens should not arise any strife or dissention whereby there might ensure any scandal or uproar. And to prevent factions or the attempts of any wicked citizen that should conspire against the liberty of the commonwealth, of which sort of mischief if there should be evil destiny, to creep into the commonwealth they then to have absolute authority to punish and chasten the same lest otherwise the commonwealth might thereby receive harm.

Contarini’s real purpose was not to explore these possibilities, but rather explain and possibly neutralize the events that had burst into the open during the Wars of Cambrai.

Finally, we cannot forget the exchange between Guarino and Leonardo Giustiniani over the matter of political intrigue within the Venetian Senate. Someone in the Senate had accused Guarino of writing a too biting satire, implicating Venice in a rude manner. Leonardo Giustiniani came to his defense in the Senate and assured his former teacher that “our men judge you to be not so much Veronese as Venetian...who so often extolled above the stars the praises of the Venetians with your elegant words and writings.”142 A clearer distinction cannot be imagined.

Several scholars have recently attempted to place Contarini’s work into the wider context of events in sixteenth-century Europe. The question of why Cardinal Contarini


wrote his *De Magistratibus* has elicited several responses, ranging from his deep loyalty as a Venetian diplomat and intimacy of the workings of the Republic, to a study of propaganda to spread the Myth of Venice, in English, beyond the lagoons of Venice. I believe that a more plausible answer encompasses both assertions. After the coronation of Charles V in 1529 the Republic began to grasp that their world had changed. Agnadello, the War of Cambrai, new attitudes about territorial preservation within and without the Senate, pointed towards modification, compromise, new strategies. Even Sanudo acknowledged in his diary that “El mondo e mutado.”

Elizabeth Gleason has analyzed this topic and concludes that the prime motivation for Contarini’s *De Magistratibus* was to accept Venice’s weakened military position. In its place was presented an accentuated image of Venice as a prototypical government, a model for the rest of Europe to follow. To view the *De Magistratibus* as a moral compass for sixteenth-century rulers somehow misses the mark. More to the point, the acquisition of Charles V of Milan and the Peace of Bologna in 1529 more than likely brought into a closer vision of the political reality that Venice was no longer an active player in the affairs of Europe. They had to adapt to this new role, to adjust to the new realities of the political situation. Professor Gleason perhaps is not as cognizant as Contarini was regarding the changes this power shift would have. Contarini realized that military power no longer was workable for Venice. By reforming her image into less of an imperialistic power but as a city of culture, peace and justice, Contarini set into motion another and defining chapter in

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the Myth of Venice. Venice was a just Republic, always seeking peace, now provides a template for those who will continue to pursue such a petty game. The message it would seem as “Emulate us, be just, and strong internally and you will appear to be strong morally to the rest of the world.” The myth changed its rhetoric from a cohesive Republic to a moral state of culture, from the descendants of Troy to the children of peace. It would now be non-patrician commentators picking up the promotion of the Republic.

Recently Elizabeth Horodowich has explored another facet of this desire to increase Venice’s image in the world, while that position was seriously in decline. Nicolo Zen, son of a prosperous Venetian family constructed a narrative indicating that Venetians, not Genoese, had actually discovered the New World a century before Columbus.¹⁴⁴ His dello scoprimento (Venice: 1558) was as much about the New World as about Venice and the Zen family. For Nicolo Zen the discovery of America served as a platform to set his play of Venice, to portray his city’s greatness, comparing the Spanish suppression of the Americas with their attempted subjugation of Venice during the Italian wars. Just as Venice had resisted Roman and barbarian conquest, and now Spanish conquest, she alone stood free against the Spanish. Zen does not use his sweeping historical narrative to include Venetian conquest of the terraferma. Perhaps they were too preoccupied in discovering the New World.

To sum up the previous portion, Venetian positions from the early fifteenth-century were an evolving series of polemics that organically linked Venetian expansion to realignment with ancient homelands, pleas from the cities on the terraferma for Venetian

intervention, and outright acquisition through the *juris bellum*, the law of war. Venice did not seek these acquisitions but once made, governed them justly in a locally focused balance between Venetian concerns and local privilege.

Most important for this discussion is who was advocating these points of view. Initially it was promoted in the writings of the Doge and other patricians on the Rialto. Later, trusted non-patrician secretaries and humanists, many not from the Republic *per se* but from surrounding cities or Aegean colonies, offered their literary talents in support of the Republic. Ultimately, it became local writers from Verona, Treviso, Friuli, who incorporated these points of rhetoric into the fabric of their local history. Once Venice had taken control of these terraferma cities, they were not considered as partners in the governing process, rather as unequal’s with nuanced degrees of acceptance.

2.14 Embellishing the Venetian Image: Collateral Promotion in Venice and Verona: Pictorial representations of Venetian and Veronese mythology

The visual arts proved an effective weapon in Venice’s cultural arsenal to protect and maintain the Venetian Republic. A discussion of the iconographic motifs—the visual images and symbols—used in Venetian art is referenced here because they assisted in defining the image that the Republic wished to project. Symbols and images, even centuries apart, can suggest to the viewer much about Venetian attitudes towards their own perceptions, and sharing those attitudes with their subjects and visitors. Paintings representing Venice and her subject states, composed centuries after the events they depict, are similar to historical narratives in this respect. In a sense, what is visual is real and visual reality frequently composed to enhance the image of Venice.
Thomas Coryat, a seventeenth century English traveler and author of *Coryat’s Crudities* (1611), provided English-speaking audiences with a record of what is essentially one of the first accounts of the Grand Tour. Coryat spent an inordinate amount of time in Venice where he dwelt on some of the cultural aspects of the city. Writing from the Doge’s Council Hall, he mentioned a painting on the “roof” of the hall:

and next to the Dukes throne is painted a picture of the Virgin Mary in marveilous rich ornaments, with an Angell crowning of her; and many other very excellent pictures are contrived in the same. A little above the Duke is painted the Virgin Mary againe with a crowne on her head, attended with the Angels; shee feedes the winged Lyon with a branch of the Olive tree, by which is signified peace.  

Coryat may have been describing Tintoretto’s *Voluntary Submission to Venice* in the Sala Dei Maggiore Consiglio (1578–1585). It is not difficult to misread this work. *The Voluntary Submission* refers to the Venetian conquest of the *terraferma* cities. (Illustration 7) A representative of each community mounts the stairs to approach the Doge who, unconcerned with earthly events, looks towards a celestial female, Lady Venice. She offers a laurel branch to a Lion, the symbol of St. Mark, the patron saint of Venice. The representatives of the several cities hurry to offer their ceremonial keys, books, and formally sealed documents to the Doge, dutifully submitting to their new lord. From these subdued and submissive individuals the drama builds to the rapturous exchange between Lady Venice, The Lion of Saint Mark and the Doge.

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A group of preparatory sketches by Palma Vecchia the Younger for his *Triumph of Venice* (1582) indicates how consciously artists adhered to this interpretation of the Venetian myth (Illustration 1). The identity of the chained and writhing figures is unclear and they do not appear in the final painting. Did the figures in the preliminary sketches not present the impression the Senate wished to transmit to its observers? The final painting (1585) still presents a fettered group, but these figures now represent thankful citizens before a personification of Venice, crowned by a winged figure with a quill or palm, possibly a reference to the artist (Illustration 2). This *Triumph of Venice* now depicts grateful subjects with arms elevated in thanksgiving rather than the desperate subjects of the preliminary sketches. Venetian patricians were often the patrons setting forth the parameters of myth, while others composed. Artists and authors alike presented their compositions to the Republic or the Republic’s representatives, receiving compensation and recognition in return. It is another example of non-Venetians assisted in the collateral promotion of Venice, although these were commissioned works rather than noncommissioned pieces.

In the Council chambers of the Loggia del Consiglio in Verona, the first public building built in the city under Venetian rule (1451-1493), is a collection of works begun in 1566, consisting mostly of religious scenes by native-born Veronese artists including works by Bernardino India, Orlando Flacco, Gerolamo Verità, Gian Battista, Montano and Gerolamo Fracastoro. In 1595, The Veronese Consiglio commissioned two other local artists, Jacopo Ligozzi and Sante Creara de Fochegioli to execute works depicting important events in the history of Verona.147 Jacopo Ligozzi (1547-1627) and Sante Creara

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147 These paintings in Verona include The Victory at Desenzano (fictional) reported of the Veronese over the Barbarossa at Vacaldo in 1164 by Paolo Farinati (1598), Victory of the Veronese over the
(1571-1630) received contracts to create two related incidents of the Veronese past. The work by Sante Creara has the lengthy title The Consigning of the Keys of the City of Verona to the Venetian Military Commander Gabriele Emo; the work by Ligozzi, The Voluntary Consigning of the Keys to Doge Michael Steno. Executed in Florence and transported to Verona in 1619, the painting now adorns the chambers Loggia of the Council. The insertion of the term “Voluntary” into the title, emphasizes the required intent of the subject cities in these renderings. The patron, not the artist, however gave the designation labels for these paintings.

The impetus for these works is likely twofold. There had been the devastating fire in 1577, which destroyed the Consiglio offices in Venice. Within those rooms had been a series of works by Tintoretto and Palma Vecchio the Younger extolling Venetian victories over her enemies and mainland cities. Venice wished to memorialize her conceptualization of these important events in Verona’s history, and display them upon her local Consiglio’s walls. Some of these events date to the twelfth century, which would suggest to the viewer a sense of continuity in Veronese military success. The two most relevant works for this discussion, the Consigning of the Keys to the Military Commander Gabrielle Emo and The Voluntary Consigning of the Keys to Doge Michael Steno were arguably the most important political events in recent Veronese history. Like the historical narratives written about Mantovani on the ponte Molino in 1199 by Orazio Farinati (1603), and the Night Battle at the Ponte delle Navi, between Cangrande II and the rebel Fregnano in 1354 by Pasquale Ottino. The Consigning of the Keys of the City of Verona was restored in August of 2010 amidst great elation in the city, according to one report in L’Arena, Verona’s local paper. For the development of this architectural project see Raffaello Brenzoni, “La loggia del consiglio veronese nel suo quadro documentario,” Atti dell’istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti (1957-1958): 265-307, and Gunter Schweikhart, “Il Quattrocento: formule decorative e approcci al linguaggio classico,” Pierpaolo Brugnoni, and Arturo Sandrini, eds., L’architettura a Verona nell’eta della serenissima (Verona: Banco Popolare, 1988), 19-32. Both paintings represent the fidelity of Verona to Venice at the time of submission to the Venetian Republic in 1405.
Verona, the paintings illustrate a visual narrative of the relationship between Venice and Verona. Though the events are important in the history of Verona, there is no doubt that the actual subject of the works is Venice triumphant over an annexed state.

The iconography of the *Consigning of the Keys* and *The Voluntary Consigning of the Keys* is both a standardized and obvious reflection of the Venetian myth. The *Consigning of the Keys of the City* (Illustration 6) depicts the formal passing over of the keys from Verona’s representative Petro da Sacco to the Venetian military commanders Gabriele Emo and Jacopo Dal Verne, in the Piazza Erbe in Verona on June 22, 1405. Flagpoles and a lance frame the central figure, probably da Sacco who holds a plate with the keys to the city. The seated Emo, surrounded by other Venetian dignitaries, receives the keys of the city from da Sacco.

The overall impression is of restrained excitement. There are cheering citizens on the balcony, a soldier holds back a woman from rushing the platform and embracing the Venetian ambassadors. A bare-breasted Madonna Verona looks towards the heavens, while the water god Athesis, symbol of the Adige River, floods the floor in a gesture symbolizing abundance. This action takes place in Piazza Erbe Verona, the city’s traditional mercantile center. Through the arch in the center, engulfed in light, is the Piazza della Signoria, the new seat of power, moving from darkness into the light of Venetian rule.

In Jacopo Ligozzi’s *Consigning of the keys of Verona to Doge Michele Steno*, the action moves from the symbolic transferal of the keys to the city on June 22, 1405, to the formal submission of the Verona to Doge Steno in the Piazza San Marco on July 12 of that same year. (Illustration 3) The Veronese representatives dressed in white, joyfully represent their city before the Doge. In Zagata’s *Cronica di citta di Verona*, he records that
the Doge received the ambassadors with the *Bolla D’Oro* guaranteeing their communal and individual rights. In his speech to the ambassadors, the Doge quotes Isaiah, 9:12 in that “The people walking in darkness have seen a great light; on those living in the land of the shadow of death a light has dawned.” Indeed, the approach up the steps in Piazza San Marco moves from darkness into the light. Literally and metaphorically, the words and the painting offer similar messages.  

A recent cleaning of the painting has revealed a further message. In the upper register can now be seen four heavenly figures looking approvingly at the ceremony: St. Mark recording the event in his book, the Virgin Mary reading with the infant Jesus offering a benediction, and St. Zeno, patron of Verona, also viewing with approval this act of submission. A fish hangs from the saint’s fishing rod, a reference to one of the saint’s favorite pastimes while bishop of Verona.

Earlier writers such as Zagata and Marzagaia mention the basic details of the Veronese submission to the Doge. Later chronicles including those of *Anonimo Veronese*, Moscardo, and Dalla Corte provide more detail, giving the names of the ambassadors, the festivities following the transfer, down to the number of additional horses taken along. Apparently, the further away from the event the more embellishment the writer could add, with little debate as to its factuality.

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149 I am grateful to the Museo di Castelvecchio, Archivio fotografico, and its coordinator, Arianna Strazieri, for making these images available to me. This is a quotation from the early Iconografia Rateriana with the deity pouring his bounty onto the city. A large dog in the painting, sits motionless. It possibly is a dual reference to fidelity as well as a play on the name “Cane Grande.”
Sante Creara’s painting is important for several reasons. First, in it the artist obviously sought to portray the jubilation of the people of Verona with their new rulers. The act of presentation is important: the Veronese representatives must walk up a long flight of steps to present to the Venetian conquerors the symbols of their city. The free dedication of one’s gifts, of one’s self in this act, is common in Venetian religious art.

More to the point, it is within the very substance of patronage that the benefactor controls the artistic content of the work commissioned. Lady Venice surrounded by her adoring new subjects was just another artistic problem solved by positioning and gesture.

A laudatory poem or history of the patron’s native city, written with a clear didactic purpose, emphasized the patron’s attributes rather than the skill of the writer. As with the rhetoricians of antiquity, a professional humanist was required to be able to argue each side with equal skill, the presentation and eloquence was more important than one’s commitment to either position. References to obscure Greek or Roman figures indicated the literary repertoire of the writer, which was essential for this kind of writing technique.

After the fall of Verona in 1509, the Emperor Maximillian employed one of the most important painters in that city. Imperial administrators hired Giovanni Maria Falconetto (1468-1535) to do some communal redecorating. He accepted a commission to paint over images of the Lion of San Marco on the city’s walls, replacing them with the coat of arms of the Emperor. Giorgio Vasari, an early art historian, relates that Falconetto also accepted an assignment from two German advisors to the Emperor in the church of S. Giorgietto, near the church of St Anastasia. Vasari reveals that “Therefore, having known the lack of perfection of his work in painting, and delighting in the above way of architecture, he began to observe and portray with great diligence all the antiquities of his native Verona,”
drawing his inspiration locally. With the change of government, from Imperial to Venetian rule, he moved to Trento. There “he passed some time painting certain pictures.” When the immediate threat of his collaboration had passed, he moved to Padua where he obtained a Venetian patron, Luigi Cornaro, whom he served for the final twenty-one years of his life. In this case, campanilismo was merely a veneer that covered an artist making his way through turbulent times.

Artistic expression incorporated and transcended current politics, with production by local humanist literati or painters rising above campanilismo in terms of loyalty. It was a matter of creativity and continued employment rather than allegiance to one’s place of birth. If their constructions promoted their patrons, and the content was in conflict with their own beliefs, this does not seem to have troubled these artists. The creative conscience and a sense of patriotism hardly conflicted, if this understanding ever existed. The willingness of a Venetian patron to embrace Falconetto’s work underscores the business relationship between patron and artist. Artistic expression and loyalty to one’s city were not necessarily co-existent.

Falconetto’s decoration of the important chapel of San Biagio in SS. Nazaro e Celso remains a masterpiece of late Renaissance painting, completed under Imperial rule. Yet in his case, there is more to the incident as told by Vasari. Once a popular painter in Verona, Falconetto found it best to flee his city because of the outrage he was facing in the city as a collaborator, especially after the return of Venetian troops.

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Outrage from whom, one may ask? Vasari underlines Falconetto’s celebrity as a collaborator in this way:

and all the more because he drew after him, on account of the great credit that he had with his neighbors, the whole mass of the people who lived in the Borgo di San Zeno, a very populous part of the city, in which he had been born and had taken a wife from the family of the Provali. For these reasons, he had all the inhabitants of his district as his followings, and was called throughout the city by no other name but that of the “Red-head of San Zeno.”"^{151}

What this suggests is that the citizens of at least the contrada of San Zeno were proud of Falconetto despite or perhaps because of his work with the Imperialists. This would counter the suggestion that all Verona was in favor of a Venetian return to power.

Indeed, it seems that the opposite were true; the people were content with their current rule and feared Venetian retribution when they returned. It seems that when his fellow citizens turned against him, Falconetto followed the Emperor north to Trent for his own safety. Realizing that the political climate may have changed in Verona he then sought a Venetian nobleman as his patron, again changing sides for the sake of making a living and safety. Like Leonardo da Vinci, Falconetto’s talents ranged and shifted from painting to architecture according to the need of the patron, surely part of Renaissance self-fashioning in a very tangible manner.

Tintoretto, whose family was from Padua, was a native born Venetian. Sante Creara, Ligozzi, and Guarino Guarini were Veronese by birth, while Mantegna was born in Isola di Carturo, midway between Padua and Vicenza.^{152} They were talented men who offered

\^[151] Vasari, *Vite*, 44.

their services to their patrons, the Patriciate of the Venetian state, the Este of Ferrara and
the Gonzaga of Mantua, and others. The iconography was not their own, rather it was a
translation of the themes of the Myth which they were paid to realize.

An earlier example also fits into this scheme of patronage and the hierarchy of status.
Attributed to Andreas Mantegna and now housed at the Biblioteque Municipale in Alba, is
a drawing of Guarino Veronese offering his translation of a volume of Strabo to his patron,
the Venetian administrator and soldier Jacopo Antonio Marcello.\(^\text{153}\) (Illustrations 10-11) It
was a specific commission as were the drawings of the exchange between patron and client.
In the next scene, Marcello offers the Strabo to King Rene of Anjou, a potential patron with
whom Marcello wished to ingratiate himself. In the first picture, Guarino’s eyes are
downcast, acknowledging his inferior position with his patron. In the gifting portrait
Marcello looks directly into the eyes of the seated King, who is shown greeting Marcello
as an aristocratic equal. (Illustrations 10-11) Dennis Romano describes this arrangement,
as “a relationship between unequal’s in which one partner is superior to the other in his
capacity to grant goods and services.” Natalie Davis’s study of French gifts examines such
a nuanced approach to giving.\(^\text{154}\) What is important here is the iconography of gift giving
and receiving, and the appropriate gestures involved with each. Gifts giving moved from
those of lesser status to those of greater status. When the gifts involved have symbolic
value, the iconography becomes more complex.

\(^\text{153}\) Biblioteque Municipale, Albi, MS 77, fol. 3, illustrated in King, *The Death of the Child Valerio
Marcello*, 132-133.

\(^\text{154}\) Dennis Romano, “Aspects of Patronage in Fifteenth-and Sixteenth-Century Venice,” *Renaissance
France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). My appreciation for this interesting source is directed
at my advisor, Dr. Michael Levin.
Expanding on this theme, we arrive at a basic understanding, which highlights the relationship between Venice and her acolyte states. Venice could set the template of her magnificence but it was essential for her dominated communes to show their approval for this supremacy. In this sense roles are somewhat reversed; Venice gives Verona the gift of peace and stability if Verona will willingly give up its autonomy. There is little doubt about who is subservient to whom. Verona willingly gives up the keys of the city to the Doge. It is a pleasure for Guarino Veronese to present his translation of Strabo to his patron. It is the privilege for the territorial states to give up their freedom upon an altar, which ascends to the heavens, which then reciprocates its gifts to its representative on earth, the Doge. It was important for Venice to promote the destiny and triumphs of Venice. It was even more important, and the effect would be greater, if subject states also promoted Venice in public spaces, as well as in art, music, and text or literature.

Modern scholars explain that the Veronese submission to Venice, depicted twice in the most public of spaces, was a reflection of “rule by consent.” They reach this conclusion because that is how Venetian documents describe it. In my view, this merely perpetuates the Myth of Venice.\textsuperscript{155} Investigation of this facet of the Venetian Myth has been lacking. It is my purpose to illustrate that, while the Venetian Republics promoted the history of Venice, there was a significant collection of other, non-Venetian writers involved.\textit{Literati} from the mainland territories took part, as well as humanists who sought patronage to promote the Venetian story. They wished to justify Venetian expansion into the\textit{terraferma},

\textsuperscript{155}Law, “Verona and the Venetian State in the Fifteenth Century, ” 9-22, 12, offers several possible motives for the Venetian takeover, and maintains that each have some shred of merit, but refuses to commit on a single rationale, concluding that all had a bit of historical validity.
and to emphasize the benign consequences of that rule. Once established, they were to maintain the cultural drumbeat of a protracted justification for Venetian presence.

2.15 The Anti-Myth of Venice: Verona, The Pope, Milan, Florence, and Jean Lemaire de Belges

The discovery of the remains of Antenor in Padua (1274) led to the building of a grand tomb in that city, and this construction added prestige to Padua. Not to be out done the Venetian historian Marco (1292) calculated that Antenor must have founded Venice before Padua, for Venice was a logical place for him and his men to have first landed, established the city, then proceeded to Padua. Attempting to link this antique personage with both cities Marco then commented: “Here lies Antenor, founder of the city of Padua. He was a good man; everyone followed him.” 156 It was reasonable, did not raise conflicting issues and allowed some expression of civic pride. It began the skeletal formation of a myth.

Before the Venetian expansion in the fifteenth-century onto the terraferma, Venice had taken over Treviso in 1339. Verona under the Scala family was also expanding their territories and conquered Padua in 1328 under Cangrande. In a Dedizione di Treviso e la morte di Cangrande, which praised the ruler of Verona, the author placed the founder Antenor, Padua, and by implication Venice, in yet another position: “Here lies Antenor, founder of the city of Padua, He was a traitor, as is any who follows him.” 157 We do not


find these kinds of bold assertions and implications in later histories of terraferma communes. Nevertheless, it did begin an anti-narrative about the origins, the very core of Venice.

The ideology of Padua and their origins fell into suspicion, while the new Veronese rulers realized that to debunk a city’s history was to undermine the citizen’s sense of identity as well. These were practical tactics in the fourteenth century but a far too primitive method for Venetian humanists to copy a century later. The literati of these various Venetian communes wished to attach themselves to the administrative anchor, the Venetian authorities. These scholars were adept at filtering history to fit their patron’s intent. With little investigation, these writers present information as fact. In the end Venice won all of her wars, while maintaining her integrity and earning the adulation of her citizens and former enemies. This was the template for the writing of Venetian history with any deviation from this paradigm strictly forbidden.

Venice faced political opposition from several sources at the end of the fifteenth-century: France, Florence, Milan, Hungary and occasionally the Papacy. Hostile rhetoric against Venetian interference on the mainland was available early in the fifteenth-century and continued through the War of Cambrai. Writing against the idealization of Venice, Pope Pius II (+ 1464) concluding with a scathing attack against both the spiritual and secular hypocrisy of Venice:

They wish to appear Christian before the world but in reality they never think of God and except for the state, which they regard as a deity, they hold nothing sacred, nothing holy. To a Venetian that is just which is good for the state; that is pious which increases the empire…They measure honor by the decree of the Senate, not by right reasoning...you think your republic will last forever. It will not last forever nor for long. Your populace so wickedly gathered together will soon
be scattered abroad. The offscourings of fishermen will be exterminated. A mad state cannot long stand. 158

While it is correct to conclude that much of this rhetoric was in response to the Venetian refusal to comply with papal demands for a crusade, Pius II was not the only religious or political figure to express his disdain for Venice.

Anti-Venetian rhetoric, usually anonymous, was more common during periods of political unrest. Antonio Medin’s La storia della repubblica di Venezia nella poesia, lists numerous political tracts pertaining to Venice. One anti-Venetian tract, a poem entitled Carme contro I Veneziani (1438), was written anonymously by a courtier of the Visconti, sometime after the Visconti-Venetian wars (1427-28, 1429-33). The poem ends with the prediction of the Visconti seizing all of Venetian cities, “fata volunt, Deus ipse iubet, sic sydera poscunt,” “the fates would have it, God himself commands, as the stars demand it.” However, the victories of Francesco Sforza’s, the Milanese condottieri working for Venice, apparently disproved these predictions and brought victory to the Venetians.159

Florence was at the forefront of all attempts to debunk the Venetian aura of respectability. Perhaps the city on the Arno could not bear to have a rival in Quattrocento Italy. Francesco Vettori, friend of Machiavelli and unsympathetic commentator on Venice


159 Antonio Medin, La storia della repubblica di Venezia nella poesia, 491. Medin indicates that this was written by a courtier in the employ of Filippo Maria Visconti immediately after the first victory of N. Piccinino against the Venetian league.
remarked on the “Three thousand Tyrants” who rule Venice, referring to the patrician class and Senate:

Regarding the republics, the worst is Venice, which has lasted longer than other republics which we have noted. Is it not tyranny when three thousand patricians hold sway over one hundred thousand people and when none of the common people can hope to be patricians? Against a patrician in civil cases, no justice can be expected in criminal cases, the common people are wronged, patricians protected.

Benedetto Dei, a Florentine merchant and the author of several memorable quotes concerning events in Venice, is so irrational that the veracity of his comments must come into question as outpourings of petty jealousy. His most infamous remark is found in an *ad hominem* comment in a conversation with a Venetian, which includes the retort that: “I am not at all surprised because I know that with you [Venetians] everything comes from the ass, and nothing from the head; experience makes it all clear to me.”

A disgruntled Venetian merchant, Martino Merlini, wrote to his brother in June of 1509 complaining that the injustice of Venice ranks among the sins for which the city stank to heaven, “puzava fin al ziello,” and took great pride in this lack of justice in their dealings with their subject cities. Though Merlini was not part of the patrician elite and not bound

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by any sense of Unanimitas or societal show of consensus, he does demonstrate an awareness of events and some restraint.

The Venetians attempted to counter anti-Venetian rhetoric but generally, such responses were limited. Bernardino Corso prepared an unpublished manuscript in the Marciana library, entitled Del Gallo hara dal astuto dragone April of 1498. A year earlier, he had written a brief poem in praise of the Duke of Gandia, Juan Borgia, upon his entrance into Urbino. The Del Gallo is a short piece on the topic of Charles VIII’s impending French invasion. The intimidating tone of Corso’s invective might gain favor with a Venetian patrician. The French, the object of this invective, are threatening Italy. They will witness, “The powerful lion moving/that frightens the entire universe/by destroying fields and shattering walls/that will astonish Mars with admiration.” The verse ends with Corso sending a cheeky message directed at the King: “My little Gaul: for the good of France/peace is safer than the lance.”

In Jean Lemaire de Belges’s La legende des Venitiens (1509) we find another tract, this time opposing the Venetians and encouraging the French King to descend into Italy. Written for Louis XII following the victory at Agnadello, this brief pamphlet attacks many of the superstitions of the Venetians, and makes the claim that the Venetians believed


163 Rodolfo Renier, “Due sonetti relative alla morte del duca di Gandia,” Giornale storico della letteratura italiana, Vol. XII (1888): 306-308. Corso seems to have been another writer seeking employment, using his talents for whoever would accept his verses, in this case the son of Rodrigo Borgia, Pope Alexander VI.

164 Bernardino Corso, Sel Gallo hara dal astuto dragone, Ven. Marc. It. IX 363 (=7386) f.126r.in Medin, La storia della repubblica di venezia nella poesia, 134 and 500.
the legend of the Erythraean Sibyl, which purportedly would protect them. God is the only protector and He was against Venice, according to Lemaire.¹⁶⁵

The image of the Lion of Venice encompasses a defender, a benevolent ruler, and a fearsome guardian of her territories. That being noted Venice and her promoters had little to say about her communities. The relationship was a distant one, important only when taxes needed collecting or the empire was in danger. These cities then acted as a series of buffers, a defense on the mainland for the true Venice on the lagoons.

From the early fourteenth century through the first half of the sixteenth centuries Venetian authors and *terraferma* authors writing for Venetian patrons, including the Venetian Senate, produced narratives documenting the foundation, ascension, and the position of Venice within the Mediterranean world. The mythology of Venice grew as written and visual artifacts embellished the image of Venice. Venetian officers and patricians were closely involved in defining the parameters of the legend and their vision of Venice. This myth advanced showing Venice to be a benign caretaker of the various communities on the *terraferma*, offering security from tyranny and protection from external threat.

Venetian identity did not include her satellite states such as Verona in her history. It was up to each of these communes to maintain their sense of place in the newly created world of Venice. Whether that place was as part of the Venetian cosmos or as a separate entity remained to be determined. The next chapter will discuss the components, which were essential to be included in a history of Verona.

¹⁶⁵ Jean Lemaire de Belges, *La Legendes des Venitiens* (1509) A. Schoysman, ed. (Brussels, Academie Royale de Belgique, 1999), 4-5. It is interesting that Jean Lemaire would mention the Sibyl, as it had recently been depicted in the Sistine Ceiling frescoes, as it had earlier been constructed on the floor of the Cathedral in Siena, also completed in the 1480’s.
CHAPTER III

VERONESE CULTURE AND SOCIETY : 1300-1405

3.1 Current research on Renaissance Verona

The cultural history of Verona has been widely ignored by contemporary researchers, especially English-speaking scholars. One of the reasons for this dearth in research is that the history of the Veneto has overwhelmingly been the history of the exploits of Venice. In this chapter, I will bring the current research on the Veneto and Verona up to the present, which will underscore this observation. It hopefully will also emphasize a wide range of research possibilities for future scholarship. It is my observation that the Veneto and the terraferma cities will become the next Tuscany to be quarried by scholars of the Quattrocento and beyond.

Only in the past forty years have scholars begun to focus on the individual communities broadly encompassed in the express terraferma. Scholars writing for English-speaking audiences include John E. Law (Verona), Benjamin Kohl (Padua), James Grubb (Vicenza), Joanne Ferraro and Stephen Bowd (Brescia), Christopher Henry Carlsmith (Bergamo), and Michael Knapton (Friuli). Gian Maria Varanini studies the terraferma with a focus on elements of political life in Verona at that city’s University. Recent anthologies on Venice now contain sections on the individual cities, although they tend to recycle older studies by the various authors.166

166 Several other collaborative efforts on works dealing with Venice may be mentioned because they contain useful information not only on Venice but on the terraferma as well. John R. Hale, ed.,
With the exception of works by John E. Law and Geoffrey Newman, there are relatively few dissertations with Veronese history as a primary topic. Virtually none deal with cultural aspects of the city. Several American and British scholars have made Verona a center of their inquiries. When Verona is the focus of study, the subjects discussed are typically art history or literature. The works of Law and Newman concentrate respectively on political and architectural issues, and do not address Angelo Ventura’s

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critical assessment of Venetian rule over the *terraferma* subject states. This situation is slowly changing, but the positive view of Venetian activities in the *terraferma* is still the norm within contemporary scholarship, and has been since Bouwsma and Lane published their studies of Venice in the early 1960’s.

One recent collection, *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, edited by Eric R. Dursteler (2013) includes an assortment of essays by Edward Muir, Margaret King, Michael Knapton and Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan in which the authors revisit earlier themes and rework previous scholarship.\(^{168}\) What is unique about the *Companion* is it ventures away from primarily political and economic themes to include essays on historiography, music, painting and architecture. These cultural markers are lacking in many of the older studies of *terraferma* communities, which concentrated on political exploits and relied primarily on archival materials. Interdisciplinary perspectives tend to be narrowly focused. When the Venetian presence is the focus for scholarly research, too often the communities themselves come off as cultural and political backwaters.

Apropos of this, Eric Cochrane has noted in his studies the work of historians in the Italian Renaissance. Cochrane found that when cities were taken over by powerful territorial entities such as Milan and Florence, traditional histories were discouraged or stifled especially “when the subject cities were frankly governed for the sole benefit of the

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dominant city…which was usually the case in Tuscany.”

He mis-attributes two Veronese historians, Cerea and Zagata, as historians of Volterra to arrive at this conclusion.

Cochrane’s position is that Verona was such a backwater that “history had long since stopped in Verona, so much so that what passed for historical commentary was actually censored Venetian documents which were deliberately being passed on to this anonymous source.” Cochrane refers to a mid-fifteenth-century chronicle, the *Anonimo Veronese*, which recorded the military exploits of Venice. The author of the *Anonimo Veronese* was identified by Giovanni Soranzo in 1907 as Cristoforo Schioppa, a Veronese merchant who had contacts with Ferrara, Mantua and of course Venice. Venetian officials interrogated Schioppa family members for trading with Mantua during an ongoing war between Venice and that city. Cochrane does not address Schioppa’s motivations for incorporating inaccurate information from Venice and then praising Venetian efforts on the *terraferma*, an action which would seem counter intuitive.

But there seems to be little doubt, using the recently published manuscript collection known as the *Chronicle of Paris Cerea*, that much of the information incorporated into the history of Verona was offered long after Cerea’s death in 1277. It was incorporated into the multi volume *Zagata Chronicle* which makes use of information highly focused on the

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Venetian presence in Verona. To this end Cochrane may have a point, until the mid-sixteenth century at any rate.\textsuperscript{172}

Schioppa no doubt received filtered information and much of what is contained in the \textit{Anonimo} is solid material about the daily activities in Verona. A Venetian writer continued the aforementioned Paris de Cerea’s chronicle after Cerea’s death in 1277. Several Venetian sources are identified as interlopers for the Zagata chronicle of Verona. Though Cochrane’s work is flawed, he is accurate in his assumptions that the Signoria dominated the information stream coming from the Rialto. Manipulation of data was a common working practice within the Venetian political agenda.\textsuperscript{173}

Cochrane’s study, while valuable to scholars, follows the traditional Vasarian assumption—historical narrative is a creation of Tuscan historians, where it reached perfection. In Cochrane’s estimation professional historians had ceased to exist, or at least were eclipsed by Tuscans, by the sixteenth century. Cochrane references 750 writers in his 690-page study. Only fifty of the mentioned sources originating in the \textit{terraferma}. This consists of some seventeen large and thirty or so smaller communities in the territory, reflecting only a smattering of extant source materials dating from 1200-1550. He does mention a “\textit{terraferma} tradition” in historical narratives. This tradition features a narrative that typically condemns overthrown tyrants, praises the current regime, and entirely fails to recognize existing internal conflict within the commune.

Cochrane’s primary thesis is that \textit{terraferma} historians, unlike their Florentine contemporaries, were incapable of constructing an historical narrative by analyzing the

\textsuperscript{172} Renzo Vaccari, ed., \textit{Il Chronicon Veronese di Paride da Cerea e dei suoi continuatori}.

\textsuperscript{173} Filippo De Vivo, \textit{Information and Communication in Venice}, 57–70.
past. Cochrane condemns Verona as culturally remote in terms of both the terrafirma historical experience and her artistic and cultural potential. If Veronese literary efforts are the sole source of this estimation, there is some validity to Cochrane’s assessment. It fails to consider other types of cultural expressions produced by a sophisticated society dominated by a foreign power. Verona e suo Territorio, an eight volume collection of scholarly research that predated Cochrane’s research by two decades, had already illustrated clearly that Verona and the Veronese had historically more to offer scholars than an ancient Arena and the Madonna Verona. The Verona e suo Territorio is not mentioned in History and Historiography. Either it was not consulted or was not thought to contain enough pertinent information for Cochrane’s purposes.

To conclude it is time to reassess our historical focus on Venetian history to include and even specialize in the histories of those several independent communities and their relationship with Venice during the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Of the dozens of doctoral dissertations cited earlier dealing with Verona, only a handful have become books. The Biblioteca Comunale di Verona on line catalogue indicates that since 1984 only seventeen published works dealing with Verona during the quattrocento are found in this repository, Five by Gian Maria Varanini and another by his student Alessandra Zamperini. 174 A quick search of World Catalogue offerings on the same topic

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A check on Amazon book listings reveals that works on Verona, mostly guidebooks and reprints, total a mere 151 titles, while those on Venice over 5300. Google Scholar overall mentions Verona in some 5100 articles since 2011, while Padua had 8500 and Vicenza some 1900 titles of articles and books. Google Italia brought back similar results in proportion to Google: Verona 2600 citations, Venice 5600 citations, Padua with 4000 and Vicenza 1200, for works dealing with the period of the Renaissance, 1350-1650.
shows a similar dearth in offerings, but does include a reprinting of Alethea Wiel’s 1902 *The Story of Verona.*

3.2 The Early history of Verona from Rome to the Scala Dynasty

Verona is located in a geographically strategic position along trade routes between Germany, Venice, Milan and ultimately Rome. Protected by the pre-Alpine Colle San Pietro to the north, the Adige river winds around the city a short distance from the largest fresh water lake in Italy, Lake Garda. Because of its location Verona was a natural setting for early Roman encampments. In 148 BC, the construction of the military road known as the Via Postuma connected the Brenner Pass, Genoa with Aquileia. It is a major city along the Via Postuma, which ran across northern Italy, to Verona, where it split, part of the road going south to Mantua, the other portion through Verona, over the only bridge in Roman Verona, the Ponte Pietra, to end some 125 miles to the east in Aquileia on the coast. If all roads lead to Rome, many roads lead to Verona during the Roman era.

Rome and her inhabitants in Verona built many structures in the city, the Arco dei Gavi and L’Arena outside the city walls, the Theatro Romano on the hill overlooking the city, the forum known as the Piazza delle Erbe, the Porta Borsai and Porta Leone within the city. Pliny, Virgil, Virbio Sequestro and Sidonio Apollinare all mention Verona, offering a direct link with antiquity.\(^{175}\) In the seventh century Isadore of Seville would remark on the origins of Verona in his *Etymologies.* From the sixth to the ninth century, the city passed from Ostrogoth rule under King Teodorico, through Charlemagne’s son

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Pipin, who made Verona the seat of his Kingdom of Italy (774). Ultimately, Verona associated itself with the Ghibelline faction attached to the Emperor and established an independent commune by the mid twelfth century.

Through a chaotic twelfth century, Verona was under the rule of the Podesta Ezzelino da Romano, a ruler vilified in practically all contemporary chronicles but a man who brought stability to the city. Following his demise begins the ascendancy of a “Golden Age “of the Scala family in the city, a family which would expand the city and rule with legendary effects for over a century. 176

In 1172, in the ancient Roman center of Verona, the commune created the Piazza del Comunale. The construction of the Palazzo of the Commune in this Piazza began in 1194 Veronese governmental authority once more established at the physical center of the old Roman city, the forum later known as the Piazza Erbe. In his Prooemium to the statutes of Verona (1450) Silvestro Lando reminded readers and citizens of Verona of their past, recalling for them the important literary and legal figures of the present. He briefly mentions the Scala family, who ruled Verona for nearly 150 years. This reluctance to dwell on a successful political alliance is understandable, as Lando was the Chancellor of Verona working under a new, Venetian regime.

The Scala family originated in Germany, and was in the service of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria. As minor officials in Verona, the family established itself and took over as

Podesta after the death of Ezzelino. Taking names such as Mastino, Cangrande, and Cansignorio, and Alboino they quickly integrated their lineage in both the secular and ecclesiastical worlds of Verona. Their names became metaphors for power, “Mastiff,” “Big Dog,” “Lord Dog,” and Alboino, a nominal link with the Longobard past and their rulers.177 Members of the Scala family were abbots of St. Zeno, and five became bishop of Verona.178

During their rule the Scaligeri dynasty expanded into Vicenza, (1311) Padua (1318) and Treviso on the terraferma. By 1336, they controlled Parma, Lucca and Brescia and the northern cities of Belluno, Feltre and Cenedra. Nevertheless, by 1342 their expansion contained only Verona and Vicenza. The territory annexed by Verona in midcentury included several of the communes appropriated by Venice a half century later.179

The Scala’s political exploits, while important, are not as vital to this study as those cultural aspects of their rule, which encouraged later writers to view this period as the apogee of Veronese history. An important corollary to later Veronese descriptions of this Golden Age is the perception of the Scala inside and outside of their court.

The hospitality shown to Dante Alighieri by Bartolomeo and Cangrande Scala (1312-1318) is reflected in Dante’s comments about Verona and the Scala court. Petrarch also found his way to Verona in 1345, as did Boccaccio in 1351. What is most important is the

177 In 572, King Alboin was murdered in Verona in a plot led by his wife, Rosamund. It is assumed that Alboino took that name in memory of King Alboin.


cultural climate, fashioned during this period within an environment that encouraged art, artists and welcomed political exiles.  

For our purpose, it is important to determine how local chronicles described the Scala cultural life and created a Golden Age in Verona. We must keep in mind that pre humanists such as Benzo d’Alessandria, Gidino da Sommacampagna, Alberico da Marcellise, Giovanni Mansionario, Parisio da Cerea and Master Marzagaia, who were associated with the Scala court, created many of these writings. Like the Veronese literati a century later, these scholars realized that their livelihood was interrelated with the preservation of the Scala lineage, in word and in deed. It was a cult of personality based on successful rule, as well as one which linked the past with current events in the city. In many of these accounts, emphasis on the antique references of the city was a major point of discussion, which assisted in the creation of a myth of Verona. They were included in the overall praise of the city, incorporating the Scala presence with the monuments of the past. The cult of personality of the Scala family was the basis for the Myth associated with the city. Once that foundation began to weaken at the end of the fourteenth century, the Myth attached to the city lessened as well. A good part of this diminished existence was due to the near obliteration of any mention of the Scala in Veronese narratives during the fifteenth-century under Venetian rule.

Giovanni Villani wrote that on the death of Cangrande, after his conquest of Treviso, was “fu il maggiore tiranno e ‘l piu possente e ricco che fosse in Lombardia da azzolino di

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romano infino allora, e chi dice di piu.” “was the most tyrannical and the most powerful and richest man who was in Lombardy from Ezzelino da Romana unto then, who can say more?" These remarks are not surprising, as Villani was a political figure and had to maintain a distance between Florentine interests and outside powers. Petrarch remarked on the hospitality of Cangrande. Boccaccio, in the seventh novella of day one of the Decameron, referred to Cangrande as a great leader of Verona: “It is clear that his fame has spread throughout the world, that he is favored by fortune and that he is one of the most notable and most magnificent lords in Italy.”

Literary figures rarely disparaged current rulers, unless it was during a time of war, and then often anonymously. Therefore, the laudatory remarks of Boccaccio and Petrarch are not surprising. When you take into account the positive comments of Scala notaries and Chancellors such as Benzo Alessandria, one may question the sincerity of the work. However, in other writings, the adversarial content is clear and forthright. Alberto Mussato, one of the several “pre humanists” living and writing in Padua (1261-1329) warned that city of the tyranny of Ezzelino and the intentions of the Scala. The De obsidione domini Canis (1315) was a polemic against Verona and Cangrande for his expansionist movements, especially against Padua. It is one of the few works showing Cangrande in a negative light. It refers to the female personification of Madonna Verona, as that disastrous “old woman Verona,” a city that only produces tyrants.

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181 Giovanni Villani, Cronica di Giovanni Villani (Florence: 1823, reprint, 1980), Vol. 5 Chapter CXXXVII 180-181. Villani ends by saying that his glory was less in life than in death, a charge which is not substantiated in contemporary literature.

182 Pietro Fanfani, ed. Il Decameron di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio (Firenze: Felice le Monnier, 1857), I: 86. “si come chiarissima fama quasi per tutto il mondo suona, messer cane Scala…cose fu favorevole la fortuna, fu uno de’piu notabile e de piu magnifici signori…nel italia.”

These negative remarks did not dampen the overall impression that the Scala dynasty, especially Cangrande, ushered in a Golden Age of Veronese culture. It is not surprising that such a flourish of cultural activity, music, art, monument building, and poetry, would be features of a society that later writers under Venetian hegemony, would wish to avoid rather than emphasize. These histories avoid the political pitfalls of referencing the Scala family, as they might compare favorably to the present Venetian rule. The Scala were either excluded from these narratives or reviled as tyrants. \(^{184}\) This left few topics to write about, which did not include the distant past, but praise for the current regime.

In the statutes of Ezzelino (the tyrant) of 1228, the Forum refers to the Piazza Erbe, and there was a law providing 500 lire a year for the maintenance of the monument known as the Teatro Romano. The laws of the city of 1327—by then under the rule of the Scala family—continues to refer to structures and places using their ancient names. Persons damaging either the Arena or Teatro Romano received severe fines. \(^{185}\) These laws are some of the earliest attempts at civic preservation in Italy, although the observance of the rules was difficult to enforce. It is evident that some of the rulers wished to preserve their patrimony, realizing its symbolic relationship to a sense of Veronesità. \(^{186}\)

Under the rule of the Scala family Verona becomes a preeminent ruling class in the history of northern Italy. The family ruled Verona for more than a century through thirteen


\(^{186}\) There is actually a modern test to determine one’s Veronesità, [http://www.larenadomila.it/barbarani/test.htm](http://www.larenadomila.it/barbarani/test.htm)

122
family members beginning with Mastino I (1262-1277). The Scala may have attempted to emulate Roman expansionism as they extended their territory briefly south to Lucca and Pisa, and east to Padua. Even though Cangrande Scala’s primary interest was in territorial expansion, the Scaligeri had enough resources to create an elegant court life, as several poems of the time, notably the Bisbidis of Manoello Giudeo, describe.

Even after 1375, as the family declined in power, building projects continued. The construction of bridges across the Adige, and the building of fountains brought larger supplies of water into the city. Cangrande Scala II built the Castelvecchio next to the Arco di Gavi beginning in 1354. In 1368 Cansignorio Scala installed an antique sculpture in fountain in the Forum (Piazza Erbe) renamed the Madonna Verona. Its name and later inscription are incorrectly cited in Il Chronicon of Paris de Cerea, which also refers to an older source for an event which occurred in 1368. The sculpture, adorned with a banderole bears the motto of the commune, “Est iusti latrix urbs hec et laudis amatris,” which is found on the official seal of the city. “This city is the bearer of justice and the lover of fame.”

187 The Scala Signore were Mastino (1262-1277), Alberto (1277-1301), Bartolomeo (1301-1304), Alboino (1304-1308), Cangrande (1308-1329), Alberto II (1329-1351), Mastino II (1329-1351), Cangrande II (1351-1359), Paolo Alboino (1359-1375), Cansignorio (1359-1375), Bartolomeo II (1375-1381), Antonio (1381-1387), Guglielmo (1404). See Carlo Cipolla, Compendia della La Storia politica di Verona, 123 ff.

188 Document # 3. Immanuele Romano (Manoello Giudeo) Bisbidis di Manoello Giudeo a Magnificenza de Messer Cane de la Scala
http://www.classicitaliani.it/duecepdf/manoello.pdf. This translation is graciously provided Dr. Fabian Alfie, Head, Department of French and Italian, University of Arizona.

189 Renzo Vaccari, ed., Il Chronicon Veronese di Paride da Cerea e dei suoi continuatori, II, 120 for the construction of the Castelvecchio and on page 138 for the building of a number of fountains. The name Madonna Verona is attributed to Bishop Sicardo of Cremona in the twelfth century by Zagata, I, 232.

The Venetians had other plans for antique structures in Verona that earlier governments had tried to shelter. Around 1450 the Arena, which had been protected under the Scala, was officially designated an “edificium memorial et honorificus” and was ordered to be closed by the Venetian governor. Used as a quarry for building materials, the Arena came again under communal protection at the end of the fifteenth-century, which could be lax at enforcing monument preservation. These monuments, after all, recalled antiquity and the recent Scala regime, portions of an historical memory Venice wished to minimalize.

A sharp decline after the plague of 1348 reduced the population of Verona to 14,600 in 1409, 20,800 in 1456 and 42,000 in 1502, according to David Herlihy’s assessment of the “estimi” or tax listings. 191 During the second half of the fifteenth-century, the population of the city was growing. A flourishing woolen and silk manufacturing trade drew immigrants from surrounding territories, especially Lombardia and Piedmont. Relative peace interspersed with occasional conflict with the Visconti in mid-century encouraged the growth of the economy and population, as well as laudatory works, written by Veronese literati, on the valor of Venetian forces. 192

191 David Herlihy, “The population of Verona in the first century of Venetian rule” in Renaissance Venice, 91-120. These figures are essentially the same as Tagliaferri’s earlier estimations. Amelio Tagliaferri. L’Economia Veronese secondo gli estimi dal 1409 al 1635 (Milano: Giuffre, 1966), 54.

Mythologies related to the foundations of Verona were constructed and refined under the Scaligeri through stories of the city’s biblical origins, the presence of saintly bishops, martyrs, and the notion of Verona as a holy city resembling Jerusalem. Unfortunately, these legends too closely resembled those of the mythological origins of Venice. The annexation of Verona in 1405 effectively disconnected the cultural continuity of the city’s mythology.

3.3 The Beginnings of a Myth of Verona

The purpose of this section is to review several important historical sources relating to Verona prior to and shortly after the annexation by Venice in 1405. The discovery of two early medieval links to the city, the map known as the *L’Iconografia Rateriana* and the poem in praise of Verona known as the *Ritmo of Pipin*, stimulated an interest in the older histories of the city.  

3.4 *L’Iconografia Rateriana*

The *Iconografia Rateriana* is the oldest drawing of the city of Verona, dating from the ninth century. Its importance lay in its merging of secular and antique imagery, illustrating but not naming some fifty structures, divided nearly equally between walls, gates, bridges, monuments and ecclesiastical buildings. (Illustration 16) Verona under the Scala lords now had a visual link between antiquity and the present. The presence of the river god Athesis, protector of the Adige River, adds a bit of local mythology to the map. In addition

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194 See Illustration #16. *Iconografia Rateriana*. 

125
the map’s title, *L’Iconografia Rateriana* connects the document to an early medieval bishop of Verona, Raterio, who in 964, expressed affection for both the city and its monuments in his writings.

The *Iconografia Rateriana* was the basis for the iconic representation for the city in the coinage of the Scala and on the seal of the city. In a document dated 1326 a Veronese notary Bonomo, indicated that the seal of the Commune of Verona was a wall of a city with gates, three towers and a cross above the tower. In the middle of the wall was the inscription “Verona.” 195 It was the same seal given to Venice in the power transition in 1405, along with the keys of the city. The seal had been a powerful symbol of the Scaligeri rulers, was lost during the transitional period, and a new seal was created later in the late fifteenth-century. That seal mysteriously disappeared around 1450, necessitating the creation of a new *sigillo* in 1474.

### 3.5 The Ritmo of Pipin

The *Ritmo of Pipin*, also known as the *Versus of Verona, In Praise of Verona* or the *Ritmo*, may be considered one of the earliest examples of a “history” of the city even though it is more of a brief narrative poem concerning the *mirabilis urbis*, the marvels of city, than a chronology. Most of these *laude* follow a similar direction: praise of the city, and her saints and churches. Very little political notation is made until the mid-fourteenth century when courtly chronicles of the Scala unapologetically praised the current Scaligeri ruler.

(Document #1)

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The early tenth century *Iconografia Rateriana* was also “rediscovered” in the fourteenth century as an early description of the city, one that has a connection to the seal of the city. The early verses of the *Ritmo* offer a virtually verbatim description of *Iconografia* in prose:

It is arranged like a square and firmly walled;  
48 towers rise above its circuit,  
8 of which stand out high above all the rest.  
It has a vast tall labyrinth throughout its circuit,  
from which a person making an unwary entrance would not be able to escape, unless by the light of a lamp or with a ball of string.  
There is a broad and spacious forum paved with stone,  
Where in the four corners stands a great archway;  

The symbolism of the city of Verona differed from the individual seal of the Scala family for probably good reason. They were distinct entities, as each great family in Verona had a distinctive seal. United under the seal of the city, combining antiquity with contemporary rule, myth and legend with religious overtones, and helped to create a iconographic identifier for the history of Verona.

The *Praise of Verona* was written during the reign of Pipin, son of Charlemagne, (781-810), following his victory over the Avars at the beginning of the ninth century. It was then that Pipin and Bishop Ratoldo sponsored the reconstruction of the basilica of San Zeno. Since this major architectural project is missing in the *Ritmo*, we may assume that this composition dates from between 796 and 805. The author was probably a cleric in the

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city, given the biblical references that demonstrate an awareness and lineage of the ancient bishops of the diocese of Verona, and his references to the churches and relics of the city. The *Ritmo* celebrates the beauty of the town square and its walls, around which rise forty-eight towers, a paved court, castles and bridges. The city prided itself on its successive bishops, the chair of St. Zeno, and the mystical heritage evoked by the relics of saints preserved in the churches. It is important to understand that during this early evocation of the city, pagan remains of the Verona are mentioned as worthy of praise. Even though non-Christians had founded the city, nevertheless its anointed status had endured and still had a purpose: “Oh happy Verona once rich and famous, you are invested with the custody of the blessed, who will defend you from the enemy and fight the wicked.”  

In his study of early descriptions of medieval cities, J.K. Hyde commented that chronicles tended to follow established patterns. They began with a mythical foundation by Trojans or Romans, or as in the *Ritmo*, which reminds the reader of Verona’s glorious Roman past in order to encourage a nascent civic spirit. Christian heritage is important, but the non-Christian, cultural history of the city is also significant, if placed in its proper context. There is a certain power or authority resulting from this contrast between this Christian city and the ancient pagan community.

Politics and cultural representations have no place in the early *Ritmo* of the city. The *Ritmo of Pipin* does not mention the antique monuments of the city, although the Teatro

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198 *Ritmo*: “O felicem te Verona ditata et inclita, qualis es circumuallata custodes sanctissimi, qui te defendet et expugna ab hoste iniquissimo.”

Romano and Ponte Pietro are represented in the *Iconografia Rateriana*.\(^{200}\) The writer of the *Ritmo* moderates his condemnation of the ancient rulers of Verona, as men “who did not yet understand our God,”\(^{201}\) What was important for the narrator of the *laude* was that Verona was a city populated and led by saints and holy men, and protected by the relics of her saints. This heavenly city, a New Jerusalem, built on the ruins of the Romans, conquered those who sought to eradicate the Church. The extension of that idea onto Venetian rule apparently did not register in Quattrocento historical narratives. Virtually every early chronicler, such as Marzagaia, Lando, and Paris Cerea were aware of the importance of the antique history of the city, but did not make that connection in their narrative. This especially was subdued under Venetian rule, in the works of Zagata, the Anonimo Veronese, and Dalla Corte.

3.6 Verona, the Nuova Hierusalem, Minor Hierusalem

The reference to Verona as a “Minor Jerusalem” may not have not been as complimentary as first imagined. Several historians, including Nino Cenni, Maria Fiorenza Coppari and Gian Paolo Marchi have all noted that the incorporation of the communal insignia with a distant, religious land rather than a non-Christian, Roman image was a tactic used by pro-Venetian writers to undermine the city’s classical heritage. It associated the city with a more detached and spiritually indeterminate history.\(^{202}\) A recent study by Davide Galati

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\(^{200}\) The cartographer’s emphasis in the *Iconografia Rateriana* was the churches in tenth century Verona, mislabels the L’Arena as the Teatro Romano which is not depicted on the map but is located on the hill overlooking Verona.

\(^{201}\) “Ecce quam bene est fundata a malis hominibus, qui nesciebant legem Dei nostri atque uetera simulacra uenerabantur lignea lapide.” “Here it is, well founded by pagan men, who ignored the law of our God and worshipped the old idols of wood and stone.”

suggests that this naming of Verona, as a Minor Hierusalem was first found in the writings of an early Veronese prelate, the Archdeacon Pacifico (+846), who assumed or proposed a Biblical origin for that Verona. Pacifico recorded that Sem, son of Noah, named the city “Piccola Gerusalemme.” Sem also found that the landscape of Verona reflected the geographical features of Jerusalem, with a “mons calvarius,” a “mons olivetus,” and a hill named “il calvario.” How these biblical figures arrived in Verona, and how they were aware of the topography of Jerusalem is unexplained.

A sixteenth-century manuscript, attributed to a Veronese merchant, repeats Pacifico’s remarks of the son of Noah calling Verona *minorem Hierusalem* and in doing so codifies the biblical origins of the city. Silvestro Lando, Chancellor of Verona, incorporates this information into his *Prooemium* to the statutes of the City of Verona in 1450. The result is an origin myth for Verona that is acceptable, because it is Christian, and does not diminish or compete with Venetian claims of Roman origins. It diminishes Verona’s affinity with her Roman origins. It emphasizes that Verona’s roots go back to a mythical period, passing over the importance of the Roman origins of the city.

This notion of a Minor Hierusalem is then repeated in the *Dell’antichita et ampiezza della citta di Verona* (1540) by Torello Saraina. In this work, three friends have a conversation on the origins of the phrase “picciola Gerusalemme.” Saraina references the

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Verona associated with the Minor Hierusalem are Santa Maria di Nazaret, piazzetta Nazaret, Santa Maria di Betlemme (San Zeno in Monte), Santa Maria in Organo piazzetta Santa Maria in Organo, Santa Siro e Libera, teatro Romano, Santissima Trinita, via Santissima Trinita, Monte Calvario (San Rocchetto) Chiesa santo sepolcro(Santa Toscana), Porta Santo Sepolcro via Porta Vescovo, and the church of Sant’Elena, Piazza Duomo.

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203 Two manuscript collections contain references to Verona as a Minor Hierusalem, one in the Trivulziana in Milan, written by the Veronese merchant, Bartolomeo di Simone Bolzanino Dal Muronova, and dated from the fifteenth century. Trivulziana 964, al f. 23 r and Biblioteca Capitolare, CCVI, contains references to Noah, Pacifico and the Bible but their origins are obscure.
Prooemium to the statutes, “perche nelle prefazioni degli statuti I nostri maggiori lasciarono scritto, Verona essere chiamata picciola Gerusalemme” (Why do they refer to this term, Verona, as picciola Gerusalemme?) “Then I said because the view of our city resembles Jerusalem …represented by the hills and mountains and the churches of San Rocco, the mount of Calvary, and another church known as Nazareth, while another one is called Bethlehem.” Realistically the 1450 statutes crystalized a tradition, which was very old, and probably predated Pacifico in the eighth century. It was one of the mainstays of the Veronese mythology.

In 1474 the seal of the city of Verona was changed to include the phrase “Verona minor Hierusalem di (vo) Zenoni patron,” alluding to the city’s patron saint and its traditional reference. Even though the seal mentions the “minor Hierusalme” reference, this is one of the final attributions of the city to this biblical reference. This concludes a medieval vision of the city as the minor Hierusalem, and begins a new phase of historical memory, with the patron Saint Zeno now representing the commune. Zagata does not mention the Saint Zeno connection and Dalla Corte only once in his three volume account of the city, referring to the 1473 inscription on the seal of the city without its connecting symbolism. Neither Moscardo nor Maffei refer to the origins of the city in conjunction with the concept of a minor Hierusalem. By the beginning of the fifteenth-century Venice was moving away from Roman or Trojan origin mythology. Her focus became more Christocentric, religious and began to rely heavily on the imagery of San Marco. Verona

204 Torello Saraina, *Dell’antichita et ampiezza della citta di verona* II, 8-9.

was also shedding her biblical and religious origins, taking on the more tangible symbolism of St. Zeno. Yet, at one point in mid-century, consideration was given to the co-patronage of either St. Peter Martyr or San Bernardino and St. Zeno for the city. 206

Unlike the accepted canon threaded throughout Venetian historical accounts—the founding of the city by St. Mark, the possession of his body through divine intervention, and the special status given to Venice by Pope Alexander III—Verona’s foundations were to be considered suspect at best. Indeed, in the sigillo or city seal of 1439 the motto “Est iusti latrix urbs haec et laudis amatrix” circumscribes the image of the palace of Theodoric. The new sigillo of 1473 featured the walled city of Verona with an image of St. Zeno in the middle and the words “Gerusalemme minore.” 207 It was in this way that Venice presumably rejected whatever cultural impact of the past, especially the Scala and other historical rulers had on the city. The possibility of handing down to posterity a new emphasis on the commune’s legacy would circumvent the century of Scala rule. St. Zeno, a local saint of minimal territorial importance, would serve the role of symbol for the city.

3.7 The Golden Age of Verona under the Scala

In 1988, the Commune of Verona asked a scholarly committee to research and produce a comprehensive volume about Verona and the Scaligeri for an exhibition in


207 Nino Cenni and Maria Fiorenza Coppari, I segni della Verona veneziana, 43-47 with reproductions of the sigilli. Girolamo Dalla Corte, Dell’istorie della citta di Verona, vol. III, 103-104 discusses the use of the old and new communal motto. The old version which is also found on the banderole of the Madonna Verona, “Est iusti latrix urbs haec et laudis amatrix” has an unknown origin. It was replaced by the “Verona minor Hierusalem “motto in 1473, a civic act which followed a loan of eight thousand ducats from Verona, raised for Venice to fight the Turk. It also precedes the exit of the city of the knight, Girolamo Novello, with 200 soldiers to do battle against the Turks.
Castelvecchio Museum. In that same year the city council of Verona supported an exhibition simply entitled *Gli Scaligeri: 1277-1387* and published the proceedings of the program. Under the editorial leadership of Gian Maria Varanini, the publication provided the first overview of this important cultural and political dynasty in Verona.  

Under the heading, “cultura” Gian Paolo Marchi discussed the image of Verona and the Scaligeri court in the literature of the period. Many of these are fragmentary poems and writings including the *Il Chronicon* di Benzo d’Alessandria, and the *Trattato dei ritmi volgari* of Gidino da Sommacampagna.  

None, however, reflects the colorful chaos of a day in the streets of Verona and at the Scaligeri court as described in the *Bisbidis* of Manuello Giudeo, (1292-1337?). The *Bisbidis*, reprinted as Document #3 in this paper, is dedicated to Cangrande de la Scala. A portion of it gives the flavor of the court and this imaginative writer, complete with onomatopoeic sounds of nonsensical meanings:

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ch’Amor è ’n la sala
del Sir de la Scala:
e quivi senz’ala
mi parea volare;
ch’io non mi credea
di quel ch’i’ vedea,
ma pur mi parea
in un gran mare stare.

Baroni e marchesi
de tutti i paesi,
gentili e cortesi
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for Love is in the room
of the lord of La Scala,
and there, without wings,
He seemed to fly.
For I didn’t believe
in what I was seeing,
but still it seemed to me
that I was lost in a great sea

You will see arrive here
barons and marquises
noble and courteous,

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210 Fabian Alfie, “Alias Manoello Giudeo: The Poetics of Jewish Identity in fourteenth Century Italy,” *Italica*, 75, No.3 (Autumn: 1998): 307-329. This is an excellent analysis without publishing a complete text of the work. However, this unpublished translation was graciously provided by Dr. Alfie, Chair, Department of French and Italian, University of Arizona. See Documents #3.
qui vedi arrivare; from all the lands.
quivi Astrologia Here, you will hear
c con Filosofia Astrology disputing
e di Teologia with Philosophy
udrai disputare; and with Theology;
e quivi Tedeschi, and here, Germans
Latini e Franeschi, Latins and Franks
Fiammenghi e Ingheleschi Flemish and English
insieme parlare; all speak together
e fanno un tombombe, and they make such a noise
che par che rimbombe that seems to echo
a guisa di trombe in the manner of trumpets
chi 'n pian vòl sonare. that are played on the plains.
Chitarre e liute Guitars and lutes,
vïole e flûte, viols and flutes,
voci alt’ed argute voices, high and shrill,
qui s’odon cantare, are heard singing here.
Stututù iﬁù iﬁù
stututù iﬁù iﬁù
stututù iﬁù iﬁù

Perhaps not as flamboyant as Manello, the poet Fazio degli Uberti wrote about the various courts and cities in Italy and beyond. Exiled from Florence, he was active in Verona at the Scala court of Martino II and was in the diplomatic service of Luciano Visconti in 1346. His *Dittamondo*, written between 1345 and 1367 and taken from the Latin “Dicta Mundi” (literally those of the world) praises the city of Verona while emphasizing the feminine characteristics of the city, personified in the banderole carried by the Madonna Verona in the Piazza Erbe. The banderole reads “Est iusti latrix urbs haec et laudis amatrix” “This city is the bearer of justice and the lover of fame.” 211 Within the next half century,

another icon of Verona, St. Zeno along with Verona’s status as a Minor Jerusalem, would transform this image of feminine beauty from a Madonna into the exalted queen and lady.

Ah Verona, noble and rich city  
Lady and queen of the Italian lands  
Formed above the Adige  
Where virtue and valor breed…  
Not among the Germans nor the Gallic peoples  
Searching through all Europe, I do not believe  
That you will find a more angelic Lady…  
Ah Verona, noble and rich city  
Lady and queen of the Italian lands  
Formed above the Adige  

The popular symbolism of Venice underwent a similar transition but at a later time, appropriating the image of the Celestial Queen into the personification of Venice. In her guise as the crowned Queen of Heaven, Venice sits alongside the Lion of Saint Mark, awaiting loyal supplicants to approach her throne. The close association with the founding of Venice and the day on which the Annunciation to the Virgin (March 25) was celebrated, nine months before Christmas, is more evident in Venice at the beginning of the sixteenth-century than any earlier period. This probably stems from a controversy over the Immaculate Conception, supported in Venice and Verona. Possibly the Venetians felt they had the sole right to a feminine personification of Venice, a right that did not apply to the other subject states.

After the fourteenth century poem quoted above there is a movement away from the personification of Verona as the “Madonna Verona,” or City of Justice, or City of the Scala, into a community dominated by another, greater dispenser of justice and happiness.

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The argument for the mythical origins of Venice became stronger than the arguments found in the poetry of itinerant courtiers. Madonna Verona gives way to Lady Venezia, challenging the origins of a myth of Verona in the process.

It would be up to the historians, chroniclers, notaries writing during the first century of Venetian administration to resuscitate the legacy of past generations in Verona. Their inability to fulfill that challenge is the subject of the next chapter on the early narrative tradition in Verona.
CHAPTER IV

EARLY VERONESE SOURCES: NOTARIES, CHRONICLERS AND LAWYERS

In this section, I examine the various forms of historical expression originating from Verona from the thirteenth century through the fifteenth-century. Some of these chronicles are anonymous. Others are fragments of chancellery notations. Virtually none of the chronicles was for public display. Under the Scala leadership, each of the authors of these narratives had some connection with public life. Their works, viewed through the lens of an official “just outside the doors of power,” permits us to view historical events just before the Venetian take over in 1405 and for the first few decades after their instillation as rulers of Verona. 213 What was important to these writers? What purpose did they have for this narrative? Did the narrative reflect their relationship with the regime? Most important, having established the narrative style of Veronese writers, did the focus and content change after the Venetian annexation?

Chapter Three investigates the political and cultural environment of Verona during the Scala regime and during the first century Venetian rule. This chapter will introduce Veronese writers Paris Cerea, Bartolomeo Lando, Meister Marzagaia and Pier Zagata, all

of whom contributed to Veronese historiography, and initiated a pro-Venetian narrative in the historical literature of Verona.

4.1 Paris Cerea: (1200-1277) *Il Chronicon*

Perhaps the most important chronicler of Verona in the mid-thirteenth century, was Paris Cerea, a writer whose work proved so popular that it was added to and continued into the fifteenth-century. The notary Paris de Cerea (Paride da Cerea, Parisio de Cerea) wrote the *Il Chronicon Veronese*, (hereafter cited as *Chronicon*) covering the period from 1115-1277, which included other, unknown manuscripts and documents. The *Chronicon* was edited with supplements by Giambattista Biancolini (1697-1780). The *Chronicon* is a complex work with additional narratives by other commentators, some Venetian, some Veronese, attached to the original compilation.

The *Chronicon* emphasizes the political and military affairs of the Scala family, especially Cangrande Scala (1291-1329) and Mastino Scala II (1308-1351). The focus of the author is clearly to chronicle the history of the dominant ruling family, and thus *Il Chronicon*.

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214 Renzo Vaccari, ed., *Il Chronicon Veronese di Paride da Cerea e dei suoi continuatori*, with an introduction by G.M. Varanini, “*La tradizione manoscritta del Chronicon veronese nella seconda metà del Quattrocento e il contesto politico-culturale Veronese,*” III-XX. The older publication of Paride de Cerea is found in the *Chronicon*, ed. Georg Pertz. *Monumenta Historica Scriptores*. 19 (Hanover: Hahn, 1866), 2-18. We know that Paris relied on earlier sources because of his personal dates and his reference to a *terremoto* or earthquake in Verona in 1117.

Chronicon offers a limited view of the city and its cultural environment. Following the narrative tradition of the period, the author “documents” the Creation, the Flood, then moves into the modern era. Past and present events are noted, but Cerea does not attempt to analyze or interpret these events.

Cerea, who lived until 1277, discusses the political rise of the Scala family in Verona. As a notary in the Scala court, he was a witness to their rapid assumption of power. Cerea indicates that the Scala subjection of Verona was virtually bloodless and occurred in accordance with the wishes of the Veronese people. “The aforesaid Lord Mastino Scala was made and created Captain of the People of Verona, by the city of Verona and the wishes of the people of the city, and the common will of the same.” Cerea’s chronicle continues with remarks relative to Mastino Scala II’s rule of the city. Except for the occasional references to processions and feasts in which the people joyously participated, there is no further mention of popular involvement. Rather than analyze the events Paris Cerea imparts the overall message that the people of Verona were pleased to be under the rule of the Scala.

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216 There is an incomplete manuscript of the Chronicon in the Biblioteca Comunale di Verona (Ms. 885 Cl. Storia Ubic. 168.6 Busta 84/9) which corresponds to Muratori’s publication. L.A. Muratori, Rerum Italicarum scriptores (Mediolani, ex Typographia Societatis Palatinæ, 1723-1751), “Chronicon veronese,” 8, Part. III, 617-680. G. Biadego, Catalogo descrittivo, 473 nr. 1059. Luigi Simeo, “Il codice muratoriano del Chronicon veronese e la sua attuale condizione,” Atti del real istituto veneto di scienze lettere ed arti, 93 (1933-34), and F. Riva, “La Biblioteca civica di Verona,” in Notiziario Banca Popolare di Verona, 3 (1981): 51-59. This seems to be the last printed study on this individual who has not found a presence in the Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, but was noted in Maffei’s Verona Illustrata, 107-108 III Bk 2.

217 Cerea’s Il Chronicon Veronese would be embellished and incorporated into the history of Verona by Biancolini and others as a source for the late medieval period in Verona, with variants on the original manuscripts found in Verona, Oxford and surprisingly Venice. Cerea’s Chronicon Veronese is the basis for the multi volumed work known as Zagata, Cronica della citta di Verona.

218 Il Chronicon Veronese, 1, 183. “MCCLXII Dominus Mastinus de la Scala predictus factus fuit et creates capitanus populi civitatis Verone de communi voluntate et consilio populi civitatis eiusdem.
What follows in the *Chronicon* is a litany of the adventures of the members of the Scala family including an act of fratricide in 1359 when Cansignorio Scala murdered his brother Cangrande Scala II. Cansignorio fled to Padua and returned to Verona with the backing of Francesco Carrara, lord of Padua at which time he, Cansignorio Scala, and his brother Paolo Alboino Scala, were elected signori of Verona and of Vicenza “a voxe de populo” (by the voice of the people). According to the *Chronicon*, the Scala rule continues more or less as usual until another family murder.

The narrative written by Cerea covers only the early years of the Scala regime, through 1277. It should be stressed that the original *Chronicon* ends in 1277. What is added to it are accounts probably by a Venetian source relating to the events in Verona. While the exploits of Mastino Scala continue in *Il Chronicon*, they are terse remarks, generally unqualified, devoid of interpretation, as were most narratives of that period. The author no longer mentions any further popular involvement in Mastino’s rule, although there are multiple processions and feasts in which the people joyously participated. Rule of the Scala continues, punctuated by marriages, alliances and visits by dignitaries. In 1381 Antonio, Consignor’s natural brother, murders his other brother Bartolomeo, an event noted in a detached manner. 219 By 1381 a second Venetian commentator replaced the first continuator of Cerea, and passes judgment on the Scala family. 220 The next entry for 1382

219 “On the 12th of July, on the vigil of Saint Margarita, was found dead Miser Bartholomeo de la Scala with one of his companions named Galvan, in the terrace of Santa Cecilia, in front of the door of miser Antonio da Nogarola, who said it was clear that miser Antonio Scala had murdered his brother. Miser Bartolomeo was 24 years old, and was buried with many honors.” *Il Chronicon Veronese dei Paride da Cerea*, I, 50.

220 We are aware of a transitional writer at this point this for several reasons. Cerea died by 1277 and his manuscript was continued by a Venetian source through 1380. After this another Venetian source, according to Renzo Vaccari, *Il Chronicon Veronese di Paride da Cerea e dei suoi continuatori*, II, part 2, 20 ff. continued the chronicle.
indicated that Antonio Scala had married Samaritana di Polenta of Ravenna. The commentator attributes the destruction of the Scala house to his (Antonio’s) folly and Samaritana’s vanity. In 1387, Antonio Scala left Verona ahead of the entrance of the Duke of Milan and his troops. Antonio sought refuge at the court of Carrara, and was later exiled to Ravenna where he spent his last days. Thus did the city of Verona become subject to the Milanese.

This portion of the *Chronicon* not only includes condemnation for the Scala’s fratricide but it also suggests causation. The evils of folly and pride ultimately led to the downfall of the Scala family. Antonio’s unpopular choice of bride would eventually be an excuse for popular revolts thus providing Venice with an opening to move into the city of Verona. Ultimately, it was Samaritana di Polenta, his overbearing wife who influenced Antonio’s downfall.

The Scala were not quite finished with Verona. In 1404 Guglielmo Scala, with the help of Francesco Carrara, and the Marchese Este of Ferrara would briefly take control in Verona after the death of Gian Galeazzo Visconti. This arrangement lasted until 1405 when Venice, this time with the support of the Duke of Mantua, took possession of Verona in an action that included citizens of Verona as well as Venetian troops. According to *Il Chronicon* only seven men were killed, so the Venetian continuator of Cerea reports, making it a somewhat bloodless take-over, which adds to the appeal of a popular Veronese acceptance of the invasion.

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221 G.M. Varanini, “Donne e potere in Verona scaligera e nelle signorie trecentesche. Primi appunti,” Paola Lanaro and Alison Smith, eds., *Donne a Verona: Una storia città dal medioevo ad oggi* (Sommacampagna, Cierre Edizioni, 2012), 46-68, esp 58-61, where professor Varanini attempts to salvage her reputation, indicating that the only historians writing about her was Master Marzagaia. As the teacher of her husband Antonio, deposed in 1387, Marzagaia felt that Samaritana di Polenta was a bad influence and a woman filled with *superbia*.  

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Indeed, the next six years (1406 until 1412) takes up only five sentences in this chronicle. They consist of Venice purchasing the port city of Zara, Venice placing a bounty on Brunoro and Antonio Scala, an earthquake, and in 1412 a small rebellion against Venice by a group of “Ribaldi e forestieri,” and more offers to apprehend the Scala brothers.

It is reasonable to conclude that at Paris de Cerea’s death in 1277, a Venetian author or authors continued the narrative of the Chronicon and did so with a pro-Venetian agenda. This is the earliest example of Venice’s active involvement in the creation of a historical narrative of Verona. After 1277, Venice becomes the main character in the history of Verona, in the Chronicon. Veronese writers, most of whom were employed by Venice, lost control of their ability to critically write about their own history.

4.2 Magister Marzagaia: (1350-1433) and the De Opera de Modernis

Gestis (circa 1415-1430)

The Opera de Modernis Gestis, (hereafter cited as Modernis Gestis) composed by Magister Marzagaia, chronicles events under the rule of the Scala family circa 1360-1405, but written during his exile from Verona after 1405. It is a journal, a free-flowing itinerary of events, rather than a historical narrative. Marzagaia, as an eyewitness to many of the events, makes the Modernis Gestis an invaluable source for early modern Verona.

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222 Renzo Vaccari, ed., Il Chronicon Veronese di Paride da Cerea e dei suoi continuatori. Vaccari’s editing of the several compilations which make up the Chronicon indicates other hands involved in the compiled manuscripts, most of them Venetian.

223 The original manuscript is housed in the Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona, Marzagaia Veronensis, de gestis modernis libri quatuor. Biblioteca Capitolare, CCV (194) s XV, with another in the Comunale di Treviso. It is available in a printed edition by Carlo Cipolla, “Antiche Cronache Veronesi” in the collection Monumenti Storici publicati dalla R.Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, Series Three, II (Venice: 1890).
The life of Magister Marzagaia’s is well documented. He taught Antonio Scala, whom he mentions twice in his work, as well as the Veronese humanist Guarino Veronese, who wrote a *laude* in praise of his teacher at Marzagaia’s death. Marzagaia also refers to his father Careto, who may also have had a position in the court of the Scala family. One of Marzagaia’s duties for the Scala family was to translate classical works for his young pupil, Antonio. His work included a rendition of the history of Valerio Massimo, known as the *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem*, a collection of anecdotes, histories of Greek and Roman nobles largely taken from Livy, and rules for living a moral and cultured life.\(^\text{224}\) Marzagaia models his *Modernis Gestis* after the *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem* and references the work several times.

On October 1387 the Veronese revolted against Antonio Scala and the Visconti captured the city.\(^\text{225}\) At the time, Marzagaia was living in the Palazzo Scaligeri (now the Castello Vecchio). Ousted with the Scala family, Marzagaia joined them in exile.\(^\text{226}\) Marzagaia was with Antonio Scala at his death in January 1389.\(^\text{227}\) Several of his friends

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\(^\text{224}\) W. Martin Bloomer, *Valerius Maximus and the Rhetoric of the New Nobility* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1992, proposes that the memorable deeds and sayings of Valerius Maximus was the most widely read prose after the Bible during the Middle Ages and early Renaissance.

\(^\text{225}\) Mariateresa Sivieri, *Antonio della Scala, Francesco il vecchio d carrara. Due uomini, due città a confronto nella seconda metà del secolo XIV* (Padova: CLEUP, 2006), 121 ff. This is one of the best explorations of the last period in Scala and Carrarese rule.

\(^\text{226}\) Giulio Sancassini, “I beni della ‘fattoria scaligera’, ” 100-157. This was a usual transferal between transitional rule, to reward with an arm’s length sale property that was owned by supporters of the previous ruling house. A pact was proposed between the Veronese and the leaders of the Visconti, Giovanni degli Ubaldini, Capitano General, Spinetta Malaspina and Guglielmo Bevilacqua, advisors to the Visconti. This document, reprinted in older histories of the Scala, singles out several of the Scala intimates; Philippo de Banzerello, Zuane de Calavena, Maestro Marzagaia, and Guglielmo Paniza. They had fled Verona, and therefore had all of their possessions confiscated by the Visconti as their personal punishment.

wrote letters to the Visconti pleading for pardon for the exiles from the Scala administration. Marzagaia had returned to Verona by 1399 and lived in the *contrada* Della Pigna, a well-to-do area in the heart of the city. It was the same elegant section that the literary figure Guglielmo da Pastrengo, friend of Petrarch and author of the book *de Originibus*, had his residence. Another document cited by Cipolla links the two writers in this contrada.\footnote{228} In 1404 (April) Guglielmo Scala attempted to retake the city, but by 1405 Venice was in control of Verona.

Throughout the *Modernis Gestis* Marzagaia references classical authors: Justinian, Seneca, St. Jerome and Valerio Massimo. Dante appears twice in the *Modernis Gestis*, indicating that Marzagaia was aware of the new literature as well. Marzagaia’s translation of Valerius Maximus for Antonio Scala and the modelling of *Modernis Gestis* after Maximus indicate an intimate knowledge of ancient authors. The chronicler of the *Modernis Gestis* also relied on earlier Veronese chronicles as well, including mentions of an earthquake in 1117, the flooding of the Adige in 1239, and the death of Ezzelino da Romano in 1259.\footnote{229} This suggests that he had access to other informational contacts such


\footnote{229} *Il Chronicon Veronense di Paride da Cerea*, I, 2: 95 “In the year of our Lord 1117 on the 4th day of June there was a terremoto (earthquake) in Italy which destroyed part of ‘La Rena.’ This information came from the Venetian addition to *Il Chronicon Veronense*. Marzagaia’s fortunes were changing and in September of 1406, the Consiglio of Fifty and the minor council of XII had appointed “Maestro Marzagaia” as a teacher for three students who were to be taught grammar so that upon graduation they would be sent to Padua to study law or medicine. The Maestro salary was 10 lire per month ONLY at the end of the year, and if the students were sufficiently trained and passed their exams. A poorly compensated professor at the University of Padua would receive only 40 ducats a year, approximately three times Marzagaia’s salary.\footnote{229} Using the *Estimo* or tax records of Verona from 1409 and 1425, we can trace Marzagaia’s remaining years with some accuracy.
as chancery entries, manuscripts deposited in monasteries, or common memory rather than
directly sourced from informal manuscripts.

Just as it is important to determine what sources Marzagaia used in his compilation, it
is also significant to determine how later historians used this *Modernis Gestis* as a
reference. This indicates the unquestioning nature of historical writing in Verona, using
older sources, including them in one’s new history, and continuing on. Questions of
accuracy or political motivation rarely entered into these narratives. Zagata lists him as
“Marzagaglia.” 230 The sixteenth-century writer Torello Saraina mentions him in passing
while an obscure, unpublished manuscript, the *Cronaca Verone* of Pietro Albertini, also
makes a short reference to Marzagaia. 231 Only Scipione Maffei included Marzagaia as a
writer of merit in his *Verona Illustrata* in 1732. Maffei championed Marzagaia to Muratori

230 Zagata, *Supplementi alla cronica di pier Zagata* II, 146. In vol. I, the author dedicates the work to
Dionisio Nichesola, a Patrizio Veronese (1745) and includes a list of authors and manuscripts used in
preparing this volume is offered: Flavio Biondo, Dalla Corte, Moscardo, Muratori, Sabellico, Villani are
cited. No reference to Marzagaia or Paris de Cerea is noted.

Illustrata*, III, Book II 135; G.B.C. Giuliani, *La Capitolare Biblioteca di Verona* (Verona:1888), 121,
dell’Università di Macerata*, VIII (1975): 367-376; also his “Il preumanesimo Veronese,” in *Storia
cultura veneta*, 2, II, 137 ff; G. Soldi Rondinini, “La dominazione viscontea a Verona (1387-1404),” in
*Verona e il suo territorio*, IV, 1 (Verona: 1981), 44, 46, 64 s., 85, 88, 98, 105; R. Avanesi, “Verona nel
Quattrocento,” 28-30, 31 n. 2; J.E. Law, “La caduta degli Scaligeri,” in G. Ortalli and Michael Knapton,
(Roma: 1988), 88 , 94 , 97; G.M. Varanini, “Gli Scaligeri, il ceto dirigente Veronese…,” in G.M,
Varanini, ed *Gli Scaligeri*, 1277-1387 (Verona: 1988), 119; see also “ also his II “De modernis gestis” di
M…., *Gli Scaligeri*, 550 , also, in the *Gli Scaligeri* collection “ Maffei, Muratori e le fonti cronistiche
Veronese (1723),” 561; G. Maroso, “I Bevilacqua: ‘radaroli e milites,’ ” *Gli Scaligeri*, 142; On the
manuscripts of the *De modernis gestis*, see Cipolla, cit., VIII-XII, XXVI , S. Marchi,ed, *I manoscritti
Biblioteca capitolare di Verona. Catalogo descrittivo redatto da don A. Spagnol* (Verona: 1996), 255-
257. On the codices of the manuscripts in the communal library in Verona see the useful G. Biadego,
*Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti Biblioteca comunale di Verona*, 468 n. 1046 (902-903), P.O.
to include this chronicle in *Rerum italicarum Scriptores*, which he did not. It was published in the series *Monumenti Storici publicati dalla R.Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria* in 1890, edited by Carlo Cipolla.\(^2\)

The historical themes that run through *De Opera de Modernis Gestis* are similar to other chronicles during the early modern period. The purpose was to promote the memory of the Scala family, and in particular, to focus on the last Scaligeri with whom the author had a client/patron relationship. Marzagaia counterbalances the history of the Scala family with the story of their predecessor Ezzelino da Romano, tyrant of Verona.\(^3\) Later in the *Modernis Gestis*, Marzagaia criticizes the Carrara family of Padua whose role in the overthrow of the Scala family led to Verona’s overthrow by Venice in 1405. Indeed, it becomes clear at this point that the *De Opera de Modernis Gestis* is an *apologia* for the Scala family rather than a history of Verona. Historical events are inserted into the wider narrative and create an indispensable resource for this early period. But Marzagaia’s technique of condemnation of the previous regime, in this case Ezzelino, and elevating the current Scala rule, was one adopted by other fifteenth and sixteenth-century Veronese commentators writing under Venetian control.

\(^2\) Just as it is important to determine what sources Marzagaia used in his compilation, it is also significant to determine how later historians used this *De Opera de Modernis Gestis* as a reference. Zagata lists him as “Marzagaglia” The sixteenth century writer Torello Saraina mentions him in passing while an obscure manuscript, the *Cronaca Verone* of Pietro Albertini also makes a short reference to Marzagaia. Only Scipione Maffei included Marzagaia as a writer of merit in his *Verona Illustrata* in 1732. Maffei championed Marzagaia to Muratori to include this chronicle in *Rerum italicarum Scriptores*, which he did not. It was published in the series *Monumenti Storici publicati dalla R.Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria* in 1890, edited by Carlo Cipolla. In my research, Marzagaia was little noted by later writers of the city of Verona. This is probable because these commentators had little use for incidents relating to the Scala regime. That group and those who supported them, were of little value to the Venetian structure then in place.

Authors of the early chronicles of Verona, such as the *Ritmo di Pepin*, concentrated on the religious importance of the city. Marzagaia’s *De Opera de Modernis Gestis* follows this formula as well. In the early chapters of the work, he discusses miracles, earthquakes, and neglected relics found in Verona. Yet the religious components are still primarily included as “accessories,” enriching the reputation of the Scala family. His topics include a discussion of the cult of Marie de la Scala, mentions of the bishops and abbesses from the Scala family, the generosity of the family, and the religious devotion of the family. All of these characteristics and activities are the hallmarks of good rulers.\(^\text{234}\) As in earlier medieval chronicles, Marzagaia combined sanctity, the miraculous, and the powerful into a history of the ruling family.\(^\text{235}\)

Miracles associated with the Scala were common in the *De Opera de Modernis Gestis*. Following the death of Beatrice Scala (+1384), wife of Bernabo Visconti of Milan, Verona experienced a severe earthquake. The deceased queen appeared in the sky over Verona.\(^\text{236}\) Even though she was the wife of a rival lord, as a Scala she was a protectress of her native Verona. Her appearance indicated to the Veronese that a member of the Scal

\(^{234}\)Marzagaia, *De Gestis modernus*, I: 23 “ut tercentum fortunarum tenuisimi paupers, omnique invida, liberrimi abaula quotidi, abirent saturi” “and to their fortune some three hundred paupers, some invalids, were fed daily.” See the several studies of Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), which is an important book built upon her earlier “Profezie in Piazza: Note sul profetismo popolare nell’Italia del primo Cinquecento” *Quaderni storici* 41 (1979): 500-539. Although her research tends to focus on the sixteenth century, her overviews are applicable to earlier periods as well. I once again thank Dr. Michael Levin for directing me towards this work. On the events surrounding the finding and translation of the relics of St. James see V. Bertolini, “Alcuni note su S. Giacomo del Grigliano,” *Atti e memorie Accademia di agricoltura, scienze e lettere di Verona*. VI, 9 (1967-1968): 367-388.


\(^{236}\)Marzagaia, *De Gestis modernus*, I: 35.
family continued to watch over the city. Marzagaia rarely offers the reader dates so it is difficult to form an accurate chronology of events. Marzagaia either assumed that his readers would be familiar with events, or, more likely that it was the event that was important and not the date of the occurrence.

Marzagaia’s work displays a certain bitterness towards the Carrara of Padua as the natural enemies of the Scala. Characterized as one who disrespects religion, Francesco Novello Carrara, Marzagaia refers to him as “Novelum Ethiopem.” This term refers to his dishonesty, a play on the Carrara name and the pejorative use of Ethiopian.\textsuperscript{237} In another section of Modernis Gestis, “De Prauis Persuasionibus mulierum,” or the “improper persuasiveness of women,” Marzagaia directs his displeasure towards Samaritana da Polenta, Antonio Scala’s wife, whose extravagant life style weakened the moral fiber of her husband. \textsuperscript{238} Samaritana’s influence over Antonio led him to murder his brother Bartolomeo, according to Marzagaia.

The Modernis Gestis is primarily a collection of anecdotal material. The Modernis Gestis was written during the Venetian occupation after 1406. Marzagaia mentions the occupation of Venice in only one passage in the work in which he describes the entrance of the Venetian troops into Verona to the acclaim of the people. His main concern was,

\textsuperscript{237} This reference is attributed to Origen (+253) who used the metaphor of blackness for sin and identifies that concept with Ethiopia or Ethiopians. David M. Goldenberg, The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 44 ff.

\textsuperscript{238} Marzagaia, De Gestis modernus, book 4,” De Prauis Persuasionibus mulierum,” 277 ff. Samaritana da Polenta was the daughter of Guido III da Polenta, ruler of Ravenna, and Lisa d’Este. Her history would a curious chapter in the history of the Veneto and it appears that only her negative portrayal in Marzagaia consists of her only appearance on the historical state. G.M. Varanini reintroduces her as a sympathetic figure in his recent study “Donne e potere in Verona scaligera e ne signorie trecentesche. Primi appunti,” 58-62.
following in the outline of Valerio Massimo, to illustrate through historical evidence, how to live a moral and ethical life.

This assertion of the peaceful transition from independence to a subject city is an early example of the incorporation of Venetian rhetoric into the formal written history of Verona. A key group of *terraferma* cities—Verona, Padua, Treviso, Vicenza and Brescia—were conquered, surrendered to Venice, and offered their capitulations before the Doges at San Marco. Representatives of each city received in return gold-sealed documents, ostensibly recognizing the laws and property of the city. Less than five decades later, the Venetian government began to rethink the promises it made to the subject cities. They would eventually systematically reject the suggestions of local rule that they had earlier affirmed, and what is less apparent but most important to this story, and the history of Verona, are Venetian efforts to revise Venetian history and rewrite Veronese statutes. With the help of Paduan jurists friendly to Venice, the Republic sought a way to frame their conquests and aggressive actions in a more positive light.

In the *Opuscula*, a separate section of *Modernis Gestis* (362-640) Marzagaia compares the past rule in Verona with his observations on Venetian rule. In 1412, the Veronese revolted against the Venetians, at the instigation of Brunoro and Antonio Scala.\(^{239}\) This event is extensively covered by later Veronese historians—Zagata, Dalla Corte, and Moscardo—but is given only a brief, nostalgic reading in Marzagaia. He deplores the revolt, because it upsets the natural order of the state. While this brief popular political explosion rekindled his memories of the Scala family, Marzagaia chose not to elaborate

\(^{239}\) John E. Law offers a concise study of this brief rebellion in his “Venice, Verona and the della Scala after 1405,” 157-185.
upon it, possibly because this particular piece of history was too new and close to the collective memory of the Veronese.

Marzagaia condemns the revolt but takes the opportunity to note that the Scala were not at fault or that the revolt did not begin with the consent of Antonio Scala. Carlo Cipolla cites the Venetian chronicler Marino Sanudo who recorded how for hours people ran about the streets of Verona shouting anti-Venetian slogans, “Viva l’Imperio e la Scala.” This reference is not verifiable using the general source cited, but John Law suggests another work by Sanudo, the Vite degli dogi and several other Venetian sources such as Dolfin and Morosini to indicate this general enthusiastic attitude. 240 There must have been some examples as Sanudo mentions that the Veronese council, controlled by Venice, issued a fine for anyone shouting the family name of Scala in public. Boisterous exaltations of “Viva Scala, Viva Marco, and Viva Emperor” are quite frequent in the literature. Ultimately, they become a slogan to express support, usually by the non-elite population, suggesting a pro-Venetian writer.

Why Venetian narrators would mention anti-Venetian sentiment serves to underscore part of the brilliant techniques employed in Venetian narratives. This example of including “bad news” in the narrative is investigated in more detail below, but the presence of such information may be interpreted in several ways. First, there were some members of the local populace, presumably of the local elite, who were pro-Imperial, and pro-Scala, and possibly anti-Venetian. This had been and continues to be a recurring theme in Venetian

240 Law, “Venice, Verona” 169, fn. 95, gives Dolfin, Cronaca, f. 282v, Morosini, Cronaca, f. 689 and Sanudo, Vite, coll 865-66 as references for these remarks. I believe he has imposed these statements, dated to the early Quattrocento, to references allegedly made in the early 1500’s when Imperial forces actually entered into the city. It may also refer to the title of Imperial Vicar which the Emperor Sigismund had bestowed on Brunoro Scala in 1412.
historiography, placing the local elites associating with the conspirators against Venetian authority. Marzagaia does not mention who this group was, and historically there was not much fervor to be pro Imperial in 1412.

A second theme follows in many of the early histories of Verona. It was essential to explain this pro-Imperial attitude by certain elite citizens, as well as clarify the reason for a pro-Venetian attitude by “the people.” Therefore, Marzagaia indicates that the majority of the “people” of Verona were loyal to Venice, which suggests that the insurrectionists were men of some means, including the family of Maffei and Nogarola. Zagata noted that some of those executed in the 1412 uprising included a medical doctor, a notary, a priest and his son.241 The Venetian chronicles, on the other hand, balanced the account, citing the rebels as “artexani” members of the “puovolo menudo,” a “few of the riff raff,” “homeni de puobolo de piccolo condition…queli di misrerì.”242 Recent studies attempting to isolate the identity of the Veronese “elite” conclude that they were of the merchant class, exerting great influence on the Venetian administration.243

The local Veronese chronicle asserts that the common people supported Venice, while Venetian writers, specifically Dolfin, placed blame on the lowest classes, men of humble condition, neither accusing nor condemning the elite or the merchant class in this

241 Zagata, 52 ff for a list of some of those who were killed fighting against Venice. Nogarola was captured and executed in the Piazzetta in San Marco, after presenting a safe conduct from the Venetian authorities.


short-lived revolt. What this accomplished was to offer Veronese commentators the opportunity to identify families of potential patrons at their own peril. Venetian writers placed the blame on the nameless masses while maintaining a quiet alliance with the city’s elite, a non-specified collective body.

In summary Marzagaia could have been an important chronicler of Verona during an important period of political transition. For many of the key events Marzagaia was a careful witness. He adopted the expressive register of a moralizing narrative for episodes chosen according to his moods and his resentments, observing disagreeable events - especially the last Scala, with a disappointment, one would believe, because he was responsible for Antonio Scala’s education. He sets the tone for later histories, both Venetian and Veronese, in that he describes the earlier regime with a flawed background that justifies the group presently in power. This will become more evident in the later Venetian accounts justifying the political changes on the terraferma. His training as a notary let to a dispassionate presentation in his chronicle. In his private narratives, his detached style oftentimes makes his chronicle a lunch of bland facts when they could have been a more savory stew of information.

4.3 The Liber Dierum Iuridicorum of Bartolomeo Lando

The recently edited Liber Dierum Iuridicorum of the notary Bartolomeo Lando (1370 - 1413) provides a crucial link between Marzagaia and the later chronicle of Piero Zagata.

244 For a fuller review of Marzagaia see R. Avesani, “Il preumanesimo Veronese,” in Storia cultura veneta, 137-138. The continuation of his work, the Opuscula, contains many of his personal thoughts on his former lords, and their errors. His believe that the marriage between Anthony Scala and Samaritana da Polenta, which made Antonio a captive to the whims of this woman. The chapter is entitled “De Prauis Persuasionibus Mulierum” on the Persuasiveness of Women.” or the “Distorted beliefs of Women.” Book II of the Opuscula is entitled “VIZI DONNA ” devoted to the exploits of Samaritana da Polenta.
Lando was a communal employee, and as such, his Liber Dierum was unlike those of other chroniclers. Because it originated from a public office, and given his notarial background, it offers an insight into the mind of a notary while serving in a time of transition from Scala to Venetian rule of the city. Like the De Opera de Modernis Gestis, it was not a text intended for dissemination. It was to be taken as a private notebook but was saved in the archives for some reason. And its pro Venetian perspective certainly did not hinder in the political ascendency of his son, Silvestro Lando, who was made Chancellor of the city in 1450.

Bartolomeo Lando came from a family of modest origins, a recently urbanized group who emerged as artisans, wool and silk merchants, and notaries during the rule of Cansignorio Scala (1340-75) and Antonio Scala (1362-1388).\textsuperscript{245} From this middle class a robust nucleus of the first families of notaries or artisan backgrounds emerged. Families such as the Pellegrini, da Sacco, the Fracastoro and the Spolverini were encouraged and protected by the ruling family through their involvement as loyal notaries, allies and familiars to the courts of Cangrande and Mastino Scala.\textsuperscript{246}

\textsuperscript{245} Bartolomeo Lando, Le annotazioni Cronistiche del Notaio Bartolomeo Lando sul Liber Dierumiuridicorum del Commune di Verona 1405-1412). Gian Maria Varanini, ed., on line fermi.univr.it/medioevostudiedocumenti/Varanini_I.pdf. Varanini indicated that the family name of the notary Bartolomeo “quondam magisti Landi” is always referred to as “de Sancta Cecilia,” a reference to the contrada in which the citizen lived. The surname Lando was adapted only in the next generation, and given to Bartolomeo’s children, including Silvestro Lando. A half century later Silvestro would be the Chancellor of Verona and would write an important and laudatory preface to the statutes of the City. At the same time, he assisted in changing the statutes of the city while being patronized by the Venetian administration in Verona. The edition of the Liber Dierum used for this dissertation comes from a modern transcription taken from an eighteenth century manuscript and edited by Varanini.

\textsuperscript{246} G.M. Varanini, “Gli Scaligeri , il certo dirigente Veronese, l’elite internazionale” in Gli Scaligeri, 113-124. See also Antonio Cartolari, Famiglie gia’ascritte al Nobile Consiglio di Verona, 129-130, where a five line notice of the “Landis” family is inserted.
The social mobility of the Lando family is easily demonstrated, as they were elite members of Veronese society. The Lando family was originally “borozersius” or linen sellers, who purchased raw materials from the farms of the Scala, as well as from lands along Lake Garda and in the village of Cavaion. Lando family members purchased these properties because their former owners, the deposed Carrara family, were now available to Venetian loyalists. As a token of their good will and to soften their entrance as rulers of the city, these bargain sales were encouraged by the Venetian government to be sold to families supporting the new Venetian regime as well as Venetian citizens themselves. Grubb estimates that 29% of Scala lands in the Veronese and 33% of da Carrara properties were purchased by Venetians.

Bartolomeo was born circa 1370-, and was a notary by the time of his emancipation in 1397. In the society of the district of S. Cecilia, the Lando family was engaged in the crafts and trades of that contrada as “scapizator pannorum” or woolens or linen cloth merchants. In 1400, Bartolomeo married Domenica, daughter of Giovanni “draperius”

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247 The Archivio di Stato, Verona, contains the Lando archives, of some 75 documents dating from 1368 to 1407. ASVr, Lando, perg. 8 (1355) ASVr Lando, perg. 70 (1407).


250 ASVr, Antico Ufficio del Registro, Istrumcnti, reg. 69, cc. 589v-591v. Men were emancipated around 25 years of age, which would have made Lando about 27 years old at the time of his emancipation. A relevant study by John E. Law, “Age qualifications and the Venetian constitution: the case of the Capello family,” Papers of the British School at Rome, 39 (1971) 125-136, 128, indicated that the age requirements went from 18 to 25. Also Thomas Kuehn, Emancipation in Late Medieval Florence (New Brunswick, NJ, 1982), 159-161.

251 An excellent collection of professions found during the early modern period, and their modern equivalent, can be found in the classic economic study of Renaissance Verona, Amelio Tagliaferri. L’Economia Veronese, 207-216. Herlihy’s on line assessment of the Veronese catasto also provides occupational equivalents. http://www.disc.wisc.edu/archive/catasto/cat_abst.html
of Mercatonova, who lived in Ponte Pietra, another wealthy contrada. They had six children including Silvestro (1403-1483) who was Chancellor of Verona from 1440-1483. Bartolomeo’s career began while working on behalf of the abbot Bisconti Pietro Paolo “de Capellis” of the monastery of S. Zeno in the early 1390’s where he specialized in feudal investiture and leases, as well as acts of jurisdiction. He was often present as a witness for documents in the monastery as well as acting as their counselor.

From the perspective of authorship, it is clear that Lando did not compile the entire Dierum Iuridicorum. Towards the end of the work another notary, Giorgio da Ponte Pietra, continued the narrative in the Dierum Iuridicorum, beginning with the invasions of the Hungarians, led by the condottieri Pippo Spano, onto the Venetian mainland, (January, 1412) and the arrival of the new bishop of Verona, Guido Memo on 10-11 May, 1412.

Bartolomeo’s interests lay in observing and noting commonplace items in his Liber Dierum Iuridicorum, the beginning of the harvest of cereal crops, processions for saint’s days, and public punishments and executions. They are matters of fact, items without comment. According to a classification rule proposed by Zabbia, unlike notaries active in the capital cities such as Florence, Venice, and Pavia, the chroniclers of subject cities wrote history “standing outside closed doors,” while occasionally holding public office. Strictly speaking, the writer was a “reporter notary,” reacting to current informational stimuli from his unprivileged position of observer, rather than from a historiographical tradition of adding to the collective memory of the city.

Lando began his chronicle in January of 1405, in the period just prior to the Venetian takeover of the city. However, in his first entry, he commented on an epidemic and famine

in Verona, and war with the Venetians and the Carrara in Veronese territory. In an almost matter of fact insertion, Lando wrote that on Tuesday the 23rd of June “veneti acquisiverunt dominium civitatis verone”, “Venice had taken over the city of Verona.” There is no explanation of why or how this event occurred, or what impact it might have had upon Verona. This expression follows the attitude of Paris Cerea, Zagata, and Marzagaia.

After this important turn of events, a week went by without another entry. Lando does not detail the mechanics of this transition, the individuals involved or the consequences of the event. The actions of 23 June 1405, recorded without comment, is in keeping with Lando’s position as an employee of the commune of Verona. Lando does not reveal if he was among the delegation sent to Venice as part of the surrender process, although he does comment on the number of horses available to the Venetians. These details, provided in later accounts such as Dalla Corte and Verci, do not generally include sources for this specific kind of information. Apparently, Lando’s information was from firsthand knowledge and direct observation.


Lando’s brief description provides evidence of the immediate imposition of Venetian holidays into the daily life and official administration of the city of Verona. In April 1406, the Veronese participated in a festival in honor of St. Mark, the patron saint of Venice. Zagata and Moscardo also mention processions held in honor of St. Mark. Veronese nobles and an “excited” populace participated in these festivities, which concluded with a mock battle between Christians and Saracens and “Marcum et Tristan and Isolte.”

Lando mentions another insidious form of Venetian interference in the city’s life occurred in May of 1406. It was the attempt to devaluate the local coinage by 25%, later revised downward to only 16%. Accused of forging coin, one Iacobus Cavalierii of San Pieror ad Carianum in the Valpolicella, had his hand cut off and then he was burned in the Arena. New research indicates that Venice only allowed Veronese money to remain in circulation for about seven months in 1406. After that year, only Venetian coins became the official currency. These new coins would circulate at three-quarters of the value of the Veronese denominations.

255 A.I. Pini, “Le arti in processione. Professioni, prestigio e potere nelle citta stato dell’Italia medioval.” in A.I. Pini, Citta, comuni e corporazioni nel medioevo italiano (Bologna: CLUEB, 1986), 259-291. The Arthurian legends in the northern courts were very popular, as the study by Joanna Woods-Marsten has suggested in her The Gonzaga of Mantua and Pisanello’s Arthurian Frescoes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). Several rooms in the Gonzaga Palazzo Ducale in Mantua were frescoes by Pisanello with scenes of various Arthurian romances. Similar references are evident in Verona in the church of St. Anastasia, also by Pisanello, specifically the St. George and the Dragon frescoes with Arthurian knights in full armor. The names of the Nogarola sisters, Isotta and Ginivere also suggest one family’s desire to connect to the Arthurian Legend.


257 Alan M. Stahl, Zecca. The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 63-64, and the standard, Quintilio Perini, Monete di Verona (Rovere: U. Grandi & Co., 1902), 62-68. After Brescia came under Venetian Rule in 1428 in a similar situation occurred whereby was required to send gold and silver to Venice in exchange for debased regional coinage, stamped with the image of the Lion of San Mark. Bowd, Venice’s Most Loyal City, 159-160.
Perhaps in order to provide a balanced view, Lando’s account for May 28 affirms the Venetian sense of justice. In later accounts of this incident, Lando mentions that several notables from the Veronese gentry were arrested, charged with treason, and sent to Venice. The Republic also demanded hostages, as already an anti-Venetian sentiment was evident in the cities of the terraferma, especially Verona. Lando does not dwell on the specific charges, only mentioning the release of the hostages, cleared of crimes within a month. The Venetians were watchful and this leniency serves to underscore their sense of impartiality.

Venice’s response to purported Veronese traitors was both fair and cautious as the fates of the four of the nobles related by Lando indicate. The loyalty of Niccolo Bonaveri was unquestioned. Bonaveri was vicar of the Domus Mercatorum three times between 1421 and 1434, and assigned with the delivering of tax monies to Venice. Antonio Maffei received a knighthood by the Paduan ruler Francesco Novello Carrara in 1404, and was therefore suspect. Venetian attention focused on Antonio Maffei and his sons as principal opponents of Venice. The Venetian administration in Verona confiscated all of their goods. Antonio repeatedly tried to ingratiate himself with the new Venetian order, with no success. Marco Merzari and Antonio Maffei harbored an animosity towards Venice but did not suffer the fate of other Veronese “upstarts.” Moreover, Venetian officials appointed

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258 John Law attributes the Lando diary to another Veronese notary, a Bartolomeo de Santacecilia, perhaps confusing the contado in which Lando lived with his last name. At any rate the four Veronese involved were Antonio Maffei, Merrigo Mezzari, Niccolo Bonaveri and Marco Maffei. See John E. Law, “Venice, Verona and the della Scala after 1405,”160-161.

259 A.S.Ven Senato “Misti” reg. 46 f. 6r.
the fourth suspect, Marco Maffei, to a position in Verona in 1406 to oversee the recovery and storage of corn, one of the few administrative positions opened to locals.\footnote{Zagata, Supplementi alla cronica di Pier Zagata (Verona: 1749), II, 249.}

Lando included several instances of Venetian heavy handedness in his Chronicle. Varanini calls them “minimal episodes.” from June 28, 1406 through April 1407. Readers of the \textit{Liber Dierum Iuridicorum} need to recall that after 1406 Bartolomeo Lando is a notary in the service of the Venetian overlords of Verona. Lando’s account now begins to include more commentary of justice in Verona. He mentioned the execution of Antonino da Bergamo for treason, for his failed attempt to deliver the Castello of Monzambano to the enemy. He notes the July 1407 execution of four citizens convicted of treason, though he does not provide information on their treasonous activities. With the exception of these events, Lando’s account is silent about early plots against the Venetians that appear in later Veronese and Venetian histories.\footnote{For example Zagata and later Dalla Corte described the conspiracy of Galeotto Bevilacqua, in September of 1407. Two Scala “agents,” Paulo de Valdocho and Ochiodecane, friends of Brunoro Scala were reported to be working in Venetian territory. Lodovico Moscardo, \textit{Historia di Verona}, 258.} His records present a vision of a tranquil but just Verona under Venetian rule.

There is no direct mention in the \textit{Liber Dierum Iuridicorum} of one of the most notorious conspiracies of the early fifteenth-century involving the actions of Giovanni Nogarola, uncle of famed humanist sisters, Isotta and Ginevra Nogarola. Though Nogarola had entered Verona with Venetian troops in 1405, he continued to correspond with the Scala as late as 1412. As a mercenary in the employment of Venice, he was condemned and executed between the two columns in the Piazzetta in Venice with the notice, “This is Giovanni Nogarola, public traitor, who was granted a safe-conduct to come over to the
Republic and who later conspired against the honor of the Signoria.”²⁶² The remaining Veronese branch of the family managed to persevere and prosper after this incident. The only mention of conspiracy by Lando is his often-repeated phrase “Die lune XV conspiratio ventorum in nocte sequenti,” “On the day of June XV there was a conspiracy of the winds on the following night.”

Lando’s Liber Dierum Iuridicorum shows little evidence of interest in Verona’s antiquities—particular the historic structures in the center of town. Later Veronese writers are much more concerned with the preservation and explanation of historical artifacts, but Lando marginalizes the importance of the monuments of the Roman era. Without further comment, Lando indicates that workers stripped parts of the Arena of its marble to build the Castello S. Felicia, which overlooks the city. The Arena was always an accessible site for building materials, despite efforts by the Scala and later Venetian administrators to halt its demolition. The Arena was also a gathering place for prostitutes and their patrons, a point repeated in several chronicles.

From a notarial perspective, working under Venetian rule, the Liber Dierum Iuridicorum is conspicuously pro-Venetian. In 1407, Lando recorded that the celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi “with great devotion by the people of Verona.” Moreover on the first anniversary of the dedication of Verona to Venice, Verona is described as “sub umbra Felicia dominion Venetorum deducta,” “under the happy shadow of Venetian dominion.”²⁶³ On this, important anniversary the occupation is re-written, history revised, so that Verona’s current subjugated state is the result of the consent, not the conquest, of

²⁶² Morosini, Cronaca, f. 690, Sanudo, Vita deli Dogi, col. 865.
²⁶³ G. De Sandre Gasparini, “L’amministrazione pubblica dell’evento religioso; qualche esempio terraferma veneta del secolo XV,” 201-217.
the Veronese people. By August of 1406 Lando indicates that there were marble statues of
the lion of San Marco affixed to the walls of the communal palaces. These symbols, created
in Venice and transported to the various subject cities to standardize Venetian iconography,
affirmed to all a visual sign of the sovereignty of Venice over her cities.264

This brief summary of Bartolomeo Lando’s work in Liber Dierum Iuridicorum
illustrates that professional writers in Verona were probably encouraged to compose their
works according to a pro-Venetian perspective. There are no anti-Venetian extant
documents from this early period. What was written follows a narrowly defined narrative
path. As we have noted with Venetian Chronicles and the case of Morosini, private
chronicles may be examined as well. Lando minimalizes unpleasant events while
emphasizing positive characteristics of Venetian administration. Also minimized or
eliminated from the record altogether are recollections of Verona’s own ancient past and
references to the Scala family’s role in the history of the city. It is as if an entire spectrum
of Veronese cultural and political history were erased, substituted with a template of pro-
Venetian rhetoric. There was to be no past, only a present and future under Venetian
dominion.

264 The history of the Lion of San Marco on the terraferma has been studied extensively by Alberto Rizzi.
His recent study takes into account the contesting for priority in the urban centers of the subject cities.
Alberto Rizzi, “Colonne marciane e contesti urbani nello Stato Veneto prima e dopo Cambrai,” in Enrico
Guidoni e Ugo Soragi, eds., Lo Spazio nelle citta Venete (1348-1509) (Rome: Edizioni Kappa, 1997),
190-203. See his earlier studies as they deal with Verona, Alberto Rizzi, “Il leone di Venezia a “Verona
fidelis,”” 611-671, and his provocative “Leonoclastia cambraciam,” in Renato Polacco, ed., Storia dell’arte
marciana: sculture, Tesoro, Arazzi. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Venezia. 22-24 Ottobre,
1994 (Marsilio Editori: Venice: 1997), 21-33. Visual representations of the myth are numerous and are
often confused as muted symbols, or mere remnants of the Venetian presence on the terraferma. See Nino
Cenni and Maria Fiorenza Coppa ed. I Segni Verona veneziana: (1505-1620) ( Verona: Cassa Di
Risparmio di Verona, 1999), Rizzi, “Leonoclastia cambraciam,” 21-33; as well as studies by Heleni
Porfyriou, “Verona XV-XVI secolo: Da virtu civile e decoro pubblico “ in D. Calabi, ed. Fabbriche
Piazze, Mercati La Citta Italiana nel Rinascimento (Rome: Officina, 1997), 189-223; David Rosand,
Myths of Venice, and most recently Iain Fenlon. The Ceremonial City. History, Memory and myth in
4.4 Giambattista Biancolini’s Compilation of the Cronica della Citta di Verona Descritta di Pier Zagata (1745)

The collection of historical materials referred to as the Cronica della Citta di Verona Descritta di Pier Zagata, hereafter cited as Zagata, is actually a compilation of the works of several historians cobbled together centuries later by Giambattista Biancolini (1697-1780). Biancolini was a merchant and antiquarian in eighteenth century Verona, and the author of an eight-volume history of the churches of Verona. Of all the authors who may have contributed to the writing of Zagata scholars, we know most about Giambattista Biancolini, and virtually nothing about his Veronese sources.

Born in Verona in 1697, he was the son of a silk merchant who was fortunate enough to marry well and spend his life pursuing his ambition of historical research. He focused on the history of Verona, while simultaneously continuing his mercantile enterprises. Biancolini’s popularity as a writer did not reward his efforts during his lifetime. Three factors limited his popularity: he was an isolated scholar, an amateur, and his association with trade tainted his work. Unfortunately for modern readers, Biancolini was either unwilling or unable to draw conclusions from his narratives, or to analyze the importance of the activities he recorded. Nevertheless, he was able to amass a huge amount of seemingly disconnected information about the city and its monuments. Though more chronicle than history, and with a minimal of organization, Zagata remains the first modern multi volume “history” of Verona. Despite its many flaws the Zagata is an essential source for researching the city of Verona.

The important eighteenth century Veronese historian Scipione Maffei, (1675-1755), in his listing of early writers of Verona in the *Verona Illustrata* (1732), does not mention Biancolini by name. Maffei praises Ludovico Muratori for having rediscovered the works of Paris Cerea in a manuscript in the Estense library in Ferrara, the *Cronica Veronese*. Maffei observes that others had added to the *Cronica Veronese*. Two other codices found in the Estense library, extends the period of the *Cronica Veronese* to one ending in 1374, the other continues to 1446. A third codex discovered by the historian Lodovico Moscardo brings the *Cronica Veronese* to 1510.\(^{266}\) The Biancolini /Zagata, compilation, which included all of these sources, was not recognized by Maffei for reasons that will be noted shortly.

At one point Maffei suggested that most of the material used by Biancolini, was “borrowed,” lifted as it were from a deceased scholar-cleric, Ludovico Perini. Maffei not only fails to mention Biancolini; he neither records nor recognizes any source named Pier Zagata.\(^{267}\) A great deal of professional rivalry went into these decisions. Armando Petrucci,

\(^{266}\) Scipione Maffei, *Verona Illustrata* (Verona: Jacopo Vallarsi and Pierantonio Berno, 1732),107-108. See also Giuseppe Biadego. *Catalogo descrittivo*, where three manuscripts of the *Cronica Veronese* with extended culmination dates are located. 473, Lodovico Moscardo, *Historia di Verona*.

\(^{267}\) Maffei mentions several of the writers which have been covered in this paper including Paride or Parisio and Marzagaia. Biancolini is not mentioned. See the interesting article by Luigi Simeoni, “Rapporti tra le opera dei due erudite Veronese Lodovico Perini e G.B. Biancolini,” *Atti dei Reale istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed art.* 88, pt. 2 (1928-29), 1-16. Maffei, in his correspondence with other scholars, made veiled references to Biancolini. “Ci sono degli spiriti, vorrei dire mediocri, inferiori e gregari, che paion fatti per essere i raccoglitori, l’inventario e il deposito di tutti gli scritti dei geni: sono plagiari, traduttori, compilatori; non pensano per nulla, dicono quello che gli altri anno pensato; ... non hanno nulla di originale e di proprio; non sanno quello che hanno imparato e non imparano altro che ciò che tutti volentieri ignorerebbero, una scienza vana, arida, priva di diletto e di utilità... “There are spirits, I would say mediocre and gregarious, that seem to be made for collectors, inventory and storage of all the writings of men: they are plagiarists, translators, compilers, saying nothing, saying what others had said the year before; ... they do not have anything original and justly, they know not what they have learned and did not learn anything for they wish to be ignorant, a futile science, barren, devoid of pleasure and utility” Maffei, *Epistolario*, (1700-1755) *Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze e Lettere di Verona* (Milan: Giuffre, 1955), II, 1309.
in his brief notes on Biancolini in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, believes that much of the work for the monumental *Notizie storiche delle chiese di Verona*, (8 volumes, 1749-1771), had already been collected by Ludovico Perini who died in 1731. Perini’s unpublished manuscript and commentaries were housed in the Benedictine monastery of S. Zeno, where Biancolini “had the possibility of consulting it, and making ample use of it,” according to Petrucci.268 Neither Petrucci, nor Maffei, identify concrete examples of plagiarism, nor do they cite specific incidents of scholarly impropriety. Maffei, a nobleman, could make such accusations about a non-aristocratic rival without fear of retribution and Petrucci continued the calumny. In Zagata Biancolini provides a brief bibliography, in which he does not include either Paris de Cerea or Perini, but does reference the Marquise Maffei.

The full title of Biancolini’s compilation is the *Cronica della Città di Verona descritta da Pier Zagata; Ampliata, e Supplita da Giambattista Biancolini*. 269 Zagata begins with the work of Cerea and draws from the other two codices described above, Lando and Marzagaia. However, there is little information on the identity of the other historical contributors to the compilation. Biancolini states in his foreword that one of the contributors was a fifteenth-century Venetian named Pier Zagata. 270 Several unknown

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268 Petrucci, “Biancolini, Giambattista ”43. The author does indicate that if later work by Biancolini on the bishops and governors of Verona was original and scholarly in scope and execution. Cf., Biancolini (Verona: 1760). Several of the sources in the Documents section of the *Cronologia* refer to the Vatican library as sources for the manuscripts.

269 Pier Zagata, *Cronica della Città di Verona*.

individuals are responsible for the work eventually under the editorship of Biancolini. We can trace the ever-changing nature of the political relationship between Verona and Venice through Zagata and through the material presented by each of these authors during various time-periods.

Biancolini is important because he collected and composed the historical collection of informational fragments known as Zagata. It is possible that he did “borrow” work that had been compiled by earlier writers. It is also probable that Maffei and others borrowed from the same source without offering adequate citations. Today the Zagata and Biancolini’s Notizie storiche delle chiese di Verona (1749-1771) are the basic references used by scholars attempting to write Verona’s history.

In Biancolini’s foreword to the reader in the Zagata he explains that Pier Zagata might be a member of the “ordine medio” in Venice, although he would not or could not confirm any surviving members of the family still living in his day.271 Part of the confusion for readers of Zagata is that the specific voice and timeframe for information is not always evident. What is clear is that Pier Zagata was probably a Venetian writing or commenting upon Verona’s history from a typically Venetian viewpoint. What is possible is that Biancolini created Zagata to be a vague, uncontested source from the past. By keeping the identity of his sources unfamiliar, it coincided with many other anonymous sources used by Biancolini. In another instance in the Zagata, Biancolini connects a well-known Veronese family (Rizzoni) with one of its less known members, to wrap the compilation

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271 Zagata, In Biancolini’s Cronologica Dei a section of the rulers include all of the Podestas and Capitani in the city as well as the surrounding countryside.
with a sense of authenticity. As a pastiche of several writers, the identity of any of them would remain vague, as they remain today.

We know something of Biancolini’s political preferences. He writes, “And perhaps he left in silence (Zagata) the period after 1375, a time in which this city, after the many disasters it suffered, finally came under the governance of the Most Serene Dominion of the Republic of Venice, when peace and tranquility was enjoyed.” Biancolini was a supporter or at least respectful of Venice, while his contemporary Scipione Maffei is defiantly engrossed in all things Veronese, not Venice. Here for really the first instance, a serious split begin to take shape in Veronese historiography.

Biancolini mentions other writers, Alessandro Canobbio, Gianfrancesco Tinto, and several anonymous Dominican monks. In total, he cites some thirty-three authors as additional sources for this compilation. Many of the writers came from Verona, with several from Venice, Florence, Milan and Mantua. One scholar he does not mention is Lodovico Perini, who, according to Luigi Simeoni, was the source of most of the information for the Zagata and Biancolini’s comprehensive Storia degli Chiese di Verona.

Turning to the Prologue of Zagata, we find that he begins with a listing of the early Kings of Rome, followed by a brief mention of the Creation, Noah, and the Temple of Solomon, in that order. Much of this information comes directly from the Il Chronicon

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272 Cronica della citta di Verona, I, 5. “in tempo di cesare fiori cajo valerio catullo, eccellente poeta. Alcuni vogliono che in sermione trasse i natali, ma come scrive S. Girolamo nel Cronico, nacque egli in Verona, e non in Sermione, della qual penisola dicono che fu padrone, ed ebbevi deliziosa villa...” in the time of Gaius Caesar there blossomed Valerio Catullo, an excellent poet. Some want to note that he was born in Sermione, but as St. Jerome wrote in his Chronic, he was born in Verona, and not in the peninsula of Sermione, but he was later master of a delightful villa there...”

Veronese of Paris de Cerea. Zagata then relates the story of a woman known as Madonna Verona, the Labyrinth called “la Rena,” and the notion that Trojan soldiers originally populated Verona. Zagata’s portion of the Cronica di città di Verona also lists famous Veronese authors beginning with Catullus, who was born in Verona, and not in nearby Sirmione, as some had believed. Zagata identifies Macro, Vitruvius, Cornelius Nepote, and Catullus as important citizens of the city. These classical legends, promoted in fifteenth-century Veronese literature, also appear in the sculptural program for the Loggia del Consiglio. Zagata observes that both Plinys, the Elder and the Younger, were Veronese. Trying to prove this last point turned into a research cottage industry in the last quarter of the fifteenth-century. It becomes part of the historical canon in Zagata. This narrative is interspersed with notes from Biancolini added within the text in a different, italicized font, making it difficult to distinguish which text was the work of the two authors. When a Veronese source does not cover a topic, Biancolini uses other commentary, usually Venetian, to fill in the lacuna. There is little separation of author, chronology or materials in Zagata.

Until 1220, Zagata produced only one entry per year in which he listed the various Podestas in Verona. A later appendix in volume III continued by Gianpiero Dolce, lists the Podestas until 1600. In the pre-Venetian period, from 1208 until 1220 twelve men held the title of Podesta. Four of the twelve had their origins in nearby communes rather than Verona proper. This emphasis on the foreign status of the chief administrator of the city to some extent laid the groundwork for the Veronese acceptance of Venetian rule. The notion

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of a non-citizen, of an “outsider” acting as head of the commune for a brief period was acceptable and became the rule with the Venetian governors. During the period of strong seigniorial authority, the origins of the Podesta were presumably of less importance than the Podesta’s loyalty to Verona and good administrative skills.275

From 1222 onwards, Zagata provides more details for each year, compounding evidence that the events were happening during that author’s lifetime, or that the author was relying on reliable sources. In 1228, Zagata introduces “Misser Iberian da Roman,” the unstable lord and Podesta known as Ezzelino da Romana. By 1250, he was Signor of Verona because of his abilities but the 1258 executions of several citizens of the city revealed his barbarity. By 1259, Ezzelino was dead and in 1260, “Mastino Primo de la Schala” was Podesta of Verona. A popular electorate selects Mastino Scala as Capitano of the People “by the wishes and consent of the Council of the People of Verona, “in 1263.

What follows in Zagata /Biancolini is a Supplement, presumably written by Biancolini relying on a Venetian continuation of Zagata. The writer does not hide his animosity towards Samaritana da Polenta, whose vanity leads to the downfall of Antonio Scala. This is probably an allusion, though not referenced, to Marzagaia’s chronicle, De Opera de Modernis Gestis (ca. 1415-1430), for virtually nothing else in contemporary literature even mentions Samaritana, the wife of Antonio Scala.276 The last Scaligeri are pawns, according

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275 It is also striking that in 1213 Verona began an expansion project of her own, acquiring the northern city of Trent, which ultimately protected the northern trade routes of the city. Foreign rule and communal expansion were not foreign to the Veronese or to other Italian communes. In the fourteenth century, Venice took over Treviso and occupied Vicenza for a short while.

276 C. Cipolla, “I gioielli dell’ultimo principe scaligero,” in Versi e prose per le nozze Kayser-Gasperini (Verona 1880), 24, 26 ff. details the extravagance of the Scala-da Polenta marriage. Alessandro Carli notes that Samaritana was “ fu un emporio di tutti I più bassi difetti che vagliono a far destestare un carattere, arrogante, prosuntuosa, superba e fastosa fuor di musura.” “an emporium of all that contained the lowest defects belonging to a destitute character, arrogant, presumptuous, vain and pompous beyond measure.” Alessandro Carli Storio della citta di verona. V: 364. Zagata II, Saraina II:. 54 describes her
to Marzagaia, shuttled between the Visconti and the Carrara families, ultimately forced to flee the city. Zagata ends his chronology in 1385, with the death of Cangrande Scala, who was succeeded by his sons Bartolomeo and Antonio, who were elected Signori of the city by the “voxe de Populo.”

The social shifts and power realignments created by these alliances followed by invasions culminated in a short lived rebellion by the Veronese, and the attempts of the natural sons Bruno and Antonio Scala to rule, and the return of the Carrara. It is at the conclusion of the first part of the Cronica that the term tirrani, tyrant, is frequently used to describe the Carrara family. Quickly Venice is involved, capturing Padua and then Verona. The subjugation of Verona is swift and minimally reported: But to return to the Veronese, those under the tyrannies especially under the lord Visconti, and the city sent immediately ambassadors to Venice to present the usual guarantees of allegiance. And in memory of this dedication it was decreed that each year on the day of the birth of St. John the Baptist a procession would be made to the church of S. Giovanni in Vale.

Immediately after this event, the narrator comments that the Jews (1408) were charging immoderate interest. Under Venetian rule, “questa miserabile nazione” the Jews are forced to wear the yellow letter O to announce their religion to the public. This is the first mention of Jews in Zagata, and one of only several references made in the entire

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278 Zagata, I:130-131.
chronicle of a Jewish presence in Verona. There was no causality, no suggestion of any animosity between the communities, just the charges of their usury. Were there other underlying causes for these disruptions? In Zagata the expulsion of the Jewish community usually followed closely political or military disasters. A similar expulsion will be noted later in Zagata in 1499 and 1515, after the disastrous Wars of Cambrai.

Perhaps this policy was initiated by the Veronese or was a Venetian strategy through their representatives in the subject cities. According to G.M. Varanini, the “elite” citizens took these measures in cooperation with the Venetians.279 In Treviso, laws involving Jews seem to have modified. In 1408, the Venetian Podesta Michele Malipiero, along with three supervisors or provveditori, requested a new contrati with the Jewish community. In nearby Vicenza, which was relatively late in forming a Jewish community, there was no mention of Jewish animosities until the 1430’s when the Vicentine elites led by the nobleman Giacomo Thiene, refused to repay their loans at the 15-20% annual rates they had agreed upon.280 We recall Thiene as the representative offering the liberties of Vicenza to Venice in 1404. There were anti-Jewish rumblings and perhaps individual cities had imposed stricter regulations on money lending. It was not until the late 1440’s that a concerted and structured effort on the part of Venice to control Jewish loans was formed. By 1446, and only outside the city walls, could Jews conduct their lending arrangements in the communes of the terraferma. Loans were to be limited, and in the smaller communes


280 Rachele Scuro, “La presenza ebraica a Vicenza e nel suo territorio nel Quattrocento” in Mueller, Lo status degli ebrei, 103-123.
contrati eliminated altogether. This was the beginning of the Monte di Pieta, a local Christian association to loan money at lower interest to undermine Jewish money lenders.

Another factor was the Franciscan friars who make usury a major topic in their preaching, focusing on the Jewish population as living off “the bones of the poor.” In order to maximize their loyalty of the dirigenti, the local elite, the Venetian government agreed, cancelled the contracts, and expelled the Jews. Yet there was little mention of the religious orders, especially the Franciscans, as leading these actions in Zagata. It was the Franciscans who led the opening of the Monte di Pieta in most Italian cities, an operation supported by local governments. In Verona, the Monte was located in the Piazza Signoria, behind the Loggia di Consiglio.

Zagata narrates the repetitive laws against the Jews. It began with outrage from the “local population” which forced the Venetian administrators to step into the crisis to maintain order, to organize and dissipate the unrest. Responding to local pressures of the Veronese or Vicentine, Venice corrected the problems and maintained order. Henceforth whenever the Metropole had problems with their Jewish residents in Venice, terraferma wide corrections took place. When this occurred, the Signoria dealt with it on a wider territorial basis, sending a clear signal that disputes over interest rates, loans etc. involving the Republic on the Rialto would have larger consequences beyond the lagoons.

Reinhardt Mueller’s study, Lo status degli ebrei nella terraferma veneta, explains that the majority of Jews living in the Veneto lived in the villages outside the main population centers. Treviso, perhaps the smallest and least regarded city on the terraferma, was the center of Ashkenazi Jewry in the Veneto, with minor communities in Soave, Villa
Franca and Legnago as centers for Jewish life.\textsuperscript{281} In addition, the Signoria had to ratify any contrati, between a commune and the Jewish community dealing with money lending. In the words of the young Bartolomeo Cipolla, the Doge must accept “The agreements our city has made with the Jews are made with the same level and with the same gravity,” as other compacts had been made. \textsuperscript{282} This may illustrate the theory and reality of Venetian leadership. If a legal opinion was written, it would indicate the willingness of the Venetian Signoria to uphold the law, or at least to know an opinion of what the law should mean. They accepted one view when it suited them, later changing their posture regarding the Jewish population.

Steven Bowd offers a detailed portrait of Venetian administrative volte-face in his study of Renaissance Brescia.\textsuperscript{283} In 1464, Venice adopted Cardinal Bessaron’s counsel of leniency towards Jewish residency in Venetian territory, thereby permitting more contact between Christians and Jews. Adhering to this method would lead more Jews towards conversion. When the intended effects did not materialize, the Republic permitted individual communes to restrict their tolerance for their Jewish population, as in Brescia in 1480. The interesting statement of the Venetian rectors on this subject clarifies the situation. In April of 1494, the rectors expelled the Jews of Brescia with the following rationale:

\textsuperscript{281} Reinhold Mueller, ed. \textit{Lo status degli ebrei}, 4-5.

\textsuperscript{282} G.M. Varanini, “Societe Cristiana e minoranze ebraica a Verona,” 4, “civitas nostra pacta iniurat cum dictis iudesi et grave erat dem falere.” Although this article and, indeed, the entire collection is an initial foray into the subject, Varanini’s contribution is both illuminating and stimulating to scholars, suggesting many new areas of social research.

while the Christian church may tolerate the Jews, it has in no way decreed that they have to be tolerated in Brescia; they should be treated like…public prostitutes, who because of their filth are tolerated (only) while they live in a bordello, even so should these Jews live their stinking life in some stinking place, separate from Christians.…  

At this point, the Zagata chronicler rapidly moves from 1405 to mid-century to 1509 with the displacement of the Venetians by the Emperor Maximillian and then the quick return of Venice in 1517. Verona is once again under the Most Glorious government of Venice. The League of Cambrai, the battle of Agnadello, invasions of Imperial and ultramontane forces are all shuttled to the side in the chronicle. Zagata examines the response of the loyal Veronese to their adversity, as well as measures the reception of Venice by her estranged city. Zagata mentions these responses in passing and moves on.

The next installment in Zagata, November 26, 1552, is a Chronology of the Scaligeri family under the authorship of Alessandro Canobbio, followed by several chapters discussing the walls surrounding the city of Verona. Canobbio (1532-1608) was an elusive writer, mentioned in Book Four of Maffei’s Verona Illustrata as an author engaged in other nonliterary, oftentimes religious endeavors. He wrote a Compendio del l’Istoria di Verona, currently housed in the Biblioteca Comunale di Verona in manuscript form and printed in 1587.  

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285 Zagata, I, 137 ff. The Scaligeri family are only mentioned through 1407, shortly after the birth of Brunoro Scala. Moving the chronology further would have presented other problems such as acknowledging their existence after the Venetian takeover.

286 Giuseppe Biadego, *Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti*, MS 993, Historia di Alessandro Canobbio intorno la nobilita e l’antichita di Verona, as well as Albero della famiglia Scaligera (Verona: 1601); Compendio del catalogo dei vescovi e diversi santi di Verona da s. Euprepio sino all’anno 1602.
What follows in Zagata /Canobbio are rambling remarks on architecture, communal statutes, inscriptions on monuments, and an essay on the monetary system of Verona, attributed to Biancolini. It should be noted that this is about the same time (1525) that the rettori (Podesta and Capitano) were submitting general, prefabricated reports to the Venetian Senate as to the status of their city over the past two years or however long their tenure required. In virtually every instance the condition of the walls of the city is noted, the number of towers evident and any new military configurations are included. During his travels, Marin Sanudo made similar notations in his Itinerario throughout the terraferma, sketching each city’s fortifications along with population assessments. Along with the number of souls in the city and the amount of woolen goods produced, seem to form the bulk of these bi-annual reports. These Relazione follow a formulaic template, offering information the Senate wanted to hear, and little else.

Jacopo Rizzoni continues the second volume of Zagata /Biancolini. Rizzoni was the nephew of another, more famous Jacopo Rizzoni, who was created Count Palatine by Pope Nicolas V and confirmed by the Emperor Frederick 1452. The ennobled Rizzoni apparently was also a teacher in Verona and corresponded with Ciriaco d’Ancona (1391-1452). He

Gino Benzoni, “Canobbio, Alessandro,” Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani - vol. 18 (1975), for an extensive biography. The Compendio was printed in Verona by Angelo Tamo, and dates to 1587.

A. Tagliaferri, ed. Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma, 'Numero Unico:' In occasione della stampa e presentazione del volume XIV e ultimo della 'serie', (Trieste: Libreria Goliardica, 1979). The same kind of information was offered in Bergamo by the rettori, see Bruno Polese, ed Relazioni dei rettori veneta in Terraferma: Podestaria e capitaniato di Bergamo (Milan: Giuffre editore,1978). Although interesting to read, one quickly appreciates the formula for these reports, which include: “the city has so many souls, and has so many walls. We have paid so much tax and exported so much wool, or iron, or wine. And the people are the most devoted subjects to the Republic.”

was a *maestro* in Venice and later referred to as “nostro familiari” by Pope Paul II, one of his students. Maffei recognizes “Giacopo Rizzone” as the teacher of the Pope, and remembers him with the epigram: “Rizzo is my name, Verona is my homeland, I have written peaceful nonsense without filthy jokes.” We have no idea of why Rizzoli is listed by Biancolini as a continuator of Zagata, other than his uncle was an important Veronese humanist who did his best work in Rome.

Rizzoni begins with the last Scala rulers and with Venice confronting a much more diabolical Carrara family. He asserted that Francesco Carrara mutilated and murdered adversaries, including the defacement of the Venetian ambassador by cutting his nose and ears. He quotes Sabellio that Carrara also murdered two Venetian heralds, acts which certainly violated military conduct. Rizzoni continues the prevalent historical method of condemning the previous administration, which will elevate the current regime.

Carrara was weak by nature and unhealthy, and soon an advocacy of Venice develops in the text. Rizzoni’s entry for 23 July 1405 includes the incident when Venice took over the city of Verona: “el populo de Verona tolse la citta a quelli da carrara e adi 24 la dete a la signoria de venesia.” “The people of Verona took the city from the Carrara and...”

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289a “Rizzo mihi nomen, verona est patria nugas descripsi placidas et sine sorde iocos.” Maffei, *Verona Illustrata* III, 247. This is borrowed without source by Maffei from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona, C77r “Ephitaphium d. Jacobi rizoni dese ipso” noted by Biadego, *Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca comunale di Verona*, 193. Perhaps this reference to Rizzoni was to have a negative reflection on his character and his inclusion into Zagata by Biancolini, Maffei’s rival.

291 Zagata: II, 80.
These early seeds of the Myth of Venice had fallen upon a fertile source in Zagata. Rizzoni is unique in that he quotes long passages from well-known Venetian publications as the source for his history of Verona. Even though in the Zagata chronicle the typeset changes as the source changes, oftentimes it is impossible to determine the origins, Rizzoni, Sabellico or Sanudo, so confusing is the narrative. There is no concealment: the history of Verona was the activities of Venice.

Biancolini is important in that he gives some direction and a chronology to events in Verona, but not in a sequential order. His later commentators used that framework to elaborate on Zagata, such as listing all of the rettori in Verona from the 1230’s through to the eighteenth century. Within the chronicle, whole passages of text are also included, though without commentary or elaboration. Although not written in a historically pleasing style based on modern standards, Zagata provides at least a source, however vague, for other historians to agree with, refute, or embellish.

Another writer introduced by Biancolini is the Venetian scribe/historian Marcantonio Sabellico. He highlights the transition from Carrara to Venetian rule, from an independent Verona to a subject city. ’s account of the annexation of Verona is taken from his own history of Venice, the Rerum Venetarum. (1487). Biancolini quotes Sabellico at length, offering a fawning description of Verona, its monuments and early history. Interspersed with the ouster of the Carrara and the willing obedience offered by the people to her new overlord Sabellico’s comments do little to enhance a local perspective of the city.

292 Zagata, Cronica della citta di Verona, I, part 2, 45.

293 Marcantonio Sabellisco, Rerum Venetarum (Venice:Andrea Torresano, de Asola, 1487).
Marc’Antonio Coccio, writing under the name of Sabellico (1436-1506) has received an unfavorable reception by twentieth-century historians for several reasons. Born in Vicovaro, near Rome, he was another non-native Venetian who wrote to the tastes of the Senate. He filtered information to provide a narrative, which focused only on a positive Venetian perspective. Cochrane finds that Sabellico contained the worst traditions of the fifteenth-century humanists as well as absorbed the Venetian myth making tradition. Whatever Venetian writers had written about an event was the undisputed truth. One wonders why Biancolini included Sabellico as a major commentator within the Zagata chronicle except that perhaps he believed that any positive information gathered on his city was useful, despite its origins.

More importantly, by using Venetian sources the Zagata chronicles fit into the concept of Collateral Promotion. In 1484 Sabellico was living in Verona, invited by Benedetto Trevisan, Podesta of the city. Much of Sabellico’s Rerum Venetarum was composed in Verona while he resided there to escape the plague in Venice. One can only speculate as to the sources for the history of Venice might have been available in Verona at the time. But the fact that a Venetian living in Verona, had written a history of Venice and that this Venetian history is then quoted by Biancolini affirms the reciprocal notion of Collateral Promotions, even as late as the eighteenth century.

According to Sabellico, Venice was the new Rome, directly descended from Trojan warriors and Roman nobles, who immediately invested in commerce rather than fishing or producing salt, thus circumventing the common narrative of the early Venetian’s occupations. Eric Cochrane’s assessment was that Sabellico had managed to merge the worst defects of Quattrocento historiography and the Venetian chronicle tradition in
History of Venice. Sabellico’s information was suspect, he quoted sources out of context, and he was a “busybody.” Cochrane then suggests what he should have included, which begs the question entirely. Yet Sabellico was so well received by the Venetian patricians for his literary achievements that he received a bonus, a stipend and a chair at the school of San Marco. 

He was all but the official historian of Venice whose writings were based on incomplete sources. By the 1600’s the *Rerum Venetarum* was the authoritative history of Venice. This was the source consulted and included in Biancolini’s adaptation of *Zagata*, for better or worse. He represented what Felix Gilbert has described as a bridge between what had been and what was becoming of Venetian history:

> But the consciousness of continuing an unbroken tradition may also be a reason why the establishment of the *studia humanitatis* in Venice represented no break with the intellectual world of the past and no new order of values, but rather the cultivation of those aspects of humanism which could be *adjusted* to the traditions of the past and be used in the present”

An historical bureaucracy was developing in Venice and in the cities of the *terraferma*. Moreover, it was evolving along rather well delineated lines, integrating local elites loyal to Venice, local humanists praising Venice in their works, and Venetian

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patricians using the terraferma cities as way stations for advancement within the Venetian hierarchy.

Sabellico’s comments end in the Chronica of Verona, which follow a continuation of the achievements of Venice. In it, he mentions the purchase of Zara and the death of Michele Steno, Doge of Venice, without further elaboration. The history of Verona has become a subchapter in the history of Venice. The insertion of Sabellico’s History was a virtual duplication of Zagata’s first Book.

The Veronese chronicler and continuer of Zagata, Jacopo Rizzoni was hesitant to list the several rebellions by the Veronese during the early years of the takeover, but it is clear that his allegiance was not with those rebelling against Venice. For example, he wrote that on March 2, 1412, some Veronese “rascals” (mascalzoni) and foreigners attempted to take the Ponte Nuovo but the Venetian administration held the bridge. Rizzoni names the leaders of the coup attempt, and indicates that a bounty was placed on Brunoro Scala and his brother. Those captured were hanged, while new names were added and new executions reported.

Another rebellion occurs in 1438, this time with the Veronese and the duke of Mantua acting treacherously against Venice. This rebellion was short lived and those responsible apprehended. Why Rizzoni lists these participants, long after the event, questions the intent of the author. Either it was the widening of the historical narrative or it might have been to discredit descendants alive at the time of his publication. Looking at the identities of those captured it was probably because their names were hardly those of the Veronese elite: Perfilippo Cartaro, Zuan Piceni, Abolaoro da Pisa, and Dario, son of
Don Pero da San Justo, another conspirator. Perhaps this listing indicated that the power of the state had eradicated these earlier “rascals” from Veronese society, leaving behind no signs of their existence at the time of Rizzoni’s writing, in the early 1500’s. Venice confronted and defeated this insurrection attempt and order restored.

To conclude, Zagata’s Chronica is a potpourri of facts and daily affairs with little interpretation, consequences, or cohesiveness. It is a pastiche of manuscripts ranging over several centuries with additional commentary by Florentine and Venetian narrators. It is important to understand what events deserved emphasis and remembrance, which to omit, and which would be included in later narratives, long after the events had left the collective memories of the commune. It was Biancolini’s compilation, so the inclusion and exclusion of information must fall on his shoulders. In the end, the Zagata chronicle remains a continuation of a pro-Venetian polemic, combining local chronicles with outside narratives to produce a multi volume panegyric to the exploits of Venice on the terraferma and in Verona. Within this hodgepodge of information what does emerge is the directing hand of an eighteenth century writer knitting together various sources seemingly without direction but with a purpose of at least combining disparate sources into a several volume account.

4.5 Silvestro Lando, the Statuta Veronae and Bartolomeo Cipolla

Silvestro Lando expressed the political concepts taught him by Guarino, and he became interpreter of these concepts on behalf of the elite of the city and the Venetian administration. Silvestro was the son of Bartolomeo Lando, a student of Guarino, a correspondent with the Gustiani of Venice and an actively pro Venetian administrator.  


It is recalled was a pliable humanist writer, who sought Venetian favor through his works, and apparently pleased them, remaining Chancellor until 1483. Born in 1409 Lando was early on attached to the Venetian administration as well as to Guarino. Whereas Guarino also wrote the *Prooemium* to the statutes of Vicenza in 1425, they were brief and without the elaborate flourishes of his pupil Lando’s later references in his *Prooemium* to the statues of Verona in 1450. If the purpose of Guarino’s educational techniques was to produce dutiful administrators for Venice, he succeeded in Silvestro Lando.  

In Lando’s introduction to the Veronese statutes, he theorizes that the political status of Verona, within the sphere of Venetian rule, was one of moderate freedom, a middle way between the uncertainties of the city-state, which Verona had been involved with for the past century and a half. The elite of Verona had neither the resources nor the courage to resist the subjugation by a prince, such as the Sforza or Carrara, and were therefore in an untenable position. The acceptance of the “unwritten” agreement between Venice and the mainland (the dominante) thus enables the survival and transformation of a civic ideology in Verona. Venice in fact, saved Verona from chaos, in Lando’s interpretation of events.

Lando, however, neglected to mention the *Bolla D’Oro* of Doge Michael Steno in his *Prooemium*, the original document guaranteeing the city’s independence and legal

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framework for the first half century of Venetian rule. Venice could rescind, terminate, or modify the *Bolla D’Oro* as it wished. It was only a temporary solution to enable the cessation of fighting. Apparently, the new redaction of the city’s statutes of 1450, repeated in many of the other communities of the *terraferma*, was important for Venice. These statutory changes effectively cancelled the initial arrangement between Verona and Venice, moving both into different levels of the relationship, Verona in a subordinate position with Venice maintaining an elevated status as ruler.

Similarly, Silvestro Lando represented the notarial profession’s best characteristics. Marino Zabbia writes at the conclusion of his important monograph on notarial chroniclers that notaries always came from groups who continued to play a public role of cities. As members of families often engaged by magistrates for advice, they were important to these key officials as advisors. Perhaps it was because notaries usually expressed a strong attachment to traditional values in their writings, whether dominant or dominated. They were however malleable, able to rely on sources which would uphold almost any decision or action of government. In this way, they easily confirmed the wishes of the power in control. 299

In the *Prooemium* to the reformed statutes, Lando reminds his readers of topics embedded into the cultural memory of the city. These could be reference points used by future historians, in their praise of Verona. Many of these features related to natural resources, abundant agriculture, hunting and fishing, as well as the “Minor Jerusalem”

theme. Lando then compares the state to a human figure, its laws flowing like blood to give substance to the body. He then makes the questionable transition to the notion that as the body politic grows pale it can only heal through a reforming of the laws. This reference to bloodletting as a healing action would resonate with those reading these words. That practice was prevalent in Verona as well as at the medical school in Padua and so would add further authenticity to the state’s plan of rejuvenating the body-politic of Verona. Introducing changes into the political body of Verona, ridding the body of the “bad” humors of past rulers, would, in the end, be the correct stimulant for the city. Lando praises Verona as a city adorned with good regulations, which are being reformed, and made even better. Venice does not appear in this first portion of the introduction, nor does she seem to be part of the transfusion and transformation of laws.

Many of the attributes in the Prooemium came from the writings of the ninth century Archdeacon Pacifico. They were repeated by Silvestro Lando in the Prooemium. We find the same bucolic references in the writings of Lando’s teacher, Guarino Veronese. For example, Guarino wrote to Iacopo, son of Doge Francesco Foscari:

In Verona there are some very learned men, my fellow countrymen of Verona who send forth praise of my apples, who produce the best choice of wine and olive oil to taste, excellent fishing hunting, bird watching. There are sunny pastures and hills and other cities to visit, but many are common in many cities but the outstanding young men of our city demand a special badge of honor.  

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Lando included some of these references into the Preamble not only as a tribute to his teacher but as a link between those things most familiar to the Veronese and the changes in the law, most of which were redactions of the original statutes and therefore unfamiliar. Nearly fifty years after the Venetian invasion few were alive to recall life under the Scala regime. It was a strategic move to jump from vague biblical foundations or political personalities such as the Scala, and land on familiar ground in the present rule of Venice. Thus, Myths of Verona and Venice were emphasized instead of the political realities of the past. It was easier to remember vague fables about Trojans and a woman named Verona and erase the vestiges of an historical memory which was beginning to fade in the collective consciousness of the city.

Lando builds upon this imagery of past characteristics of Verona. He records the Latin inscription on the Porta Borsari, linking Verona with Rome, dedicated to the Roman consuls Valerian II and Lucillus. He spoke of monuments, literary talents within the city, and agriculture. Lando’s text does not rely on many other older sources for more description. Rather, he includes references of contemporary elites, praising those who have recently helped to make Verona a renewed and strong commune, one that supported Venetian rule. Contemporary Veronese writers complimenting their city are included in this section.

In the *Prooemium*, Lando refers to medieval histories in his quest for the sources of the city. The biblical references to the founding of Verona by the sons of Noah, “scriptores hebraici, a sem e Noe filio” follow a similar topography of the region, with a “montis calvarii, Nazareth, bethlem.” following Archdeacon Pacifico, giving form to the myth of the city. Lando mentions the illustrious Roman notaries of the city, Catullus, Macer, and Pliny, linking the biblical and the antique past of Verona. In official discourse Verona’s origins are somewhat biblical, and thus avoided references to Troy or Rome.

Only in the middle of the *Prooemium* does Lando introduce politics. The Scala “tyrannized” Vicenza, Padua and the smaller cities. Lando cites the “savage domination” of Ezzelino, indicating the extreme of how the city had been governed. Moreover, the Scaligeri inflicted “intollerabilesque iacturas,” “intolerable losses” upon the city, although the author does not specify what they were. Even though Verona had good laws, there were problems in the administration of justice. This removes the guilt from the population and places it on the poor administration by the Scala, Visconti and Carrara. Enter Venice, “by the permission and beneficence of God,” who ended the Scala’s desire to build an empire and who now govern Verona justly. Exactly what position Verona plays in this new scheme is not detailed.

By 1450, under the Venetians a political “meritocracy” was established, and Verona is pleased to be safely under the wings of the Lion of San Marco. Lando makes an

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Peregrino, Agostino Montanea, Antonio Rudolfo, citizens quite expert in the application of many things, and finally, Vitaliano Faela, Antonio Donato Cavodasino, Giovanni Michele Falcibo, and Bernardo Lombardo, law clerks.”

302 “ Ioanni quoque galeatio vice comiti ligurum duci duo de viginti et francesco demum carrariensi biennio per extremas calamitates intollerabilesque iacturas ac miserables erunnas seruierit.” *Prooemium*, Document 5,
interesting statement about Verona: “For we lack nothing which seems to concern liberty, true and pleasing, since we have been permitted the power of having a senate, establishing law and creating magistrates,” which are patently incorrect assertions. The Chancellor spoke of liberty, of Venice’s tranquil freedoms and policies of which Venice demands only honest, hard work while in Verona, and gives the option of enjoying freedom, and security.

303 Lando connects this calm to the power of Venetian justice and to the government of the Republic, which he continues in the Veronese statutes. The government of Venice functions in such a way that from her high position she permits anyone, either rich or poor, to appeal her decisions. Everyone will have the same possibilities of recourse against injustice and the protection of Venice. According to Lando, Venice, known as the temple of justice, was “assaulted by the cruelties of men, ascended to heaven, and now descends from heaven, to Venice.” The Christ imagery and Venice is not difficult to detect.

Lando concludes his introduction with the argument that all laws should change periodically, because the ancient laws of Verona were hardly relevant to contemporary affairs. Added to this is the reminder that not all of the laws proclaimed by Venice and the Senate of Verona have been put into a single volume, so redaction of the laws need to take place. Bad humors, like outdated laws from prior regimes needed to be discarded and the new humors which are being introduced will restore balance to Verona.

How was the city to accomplish these changes? Lando indicates those chosen to modify the law came from the three orders of citizens. He proceeds to list fourteen men, five legal advisors, three “citizens quite expert in the application of many things” and six

303 Prooemium, Document 5, “nos quidem sumus in arce quasi verae, ac tranquillae libertatis constituti, & ab intestinis seditionibus liberi, & ab externis pertubationibus tuti.”
law clerks. These changes should be called “Zaccarian,” in honor of Zaccaria Trevisano the Podesta of Verona, who “guided” these changes.

For Lando, to be a subject of Venice is to be in a tranquil place, which is neither a monarchy nor a popular republic. Lando does not explain the exact status of Verona, except that it is a “stato di equilibrata liberta.” It is not surprising, for this attitude is found in the writings of Lando’s teacher, Guarino, who felt the best form of government was a classical version of monarchy. It also follows in the writings of the humanist ecclesiastic Matteo Bosso (1427-1502). Written a few years after the Proemium to the Veronese statutes, Bosso attempted to determine what the best form of government was for Verona. He suggested monarchy, oligarchy or popular assembly as possibilities. Following natural law, Bosso concluded that only monarchy reflects the natural law of God, as all authority emanates from the divine. These ideas seem to derive from Pier Paolo Vergerio, from the De Monachia, and his work on the Venetian Republic, and applied to the situation in Verona.

Although the concept of a closed governmental system was appealing to Venetian patricians, the attitude of those who were not promoting Venetian ambitions was not as enthusiastic. Indeed, when Guarino was asked by a fellow Veronese, Count Battista Bevilacqua, to translate into Latin his work on the Battle of Maclodio (12 October 1427) Guarino declined. His telling response indicated that “telling the truth is very dangerous in history, bringing forth the naked truth, honesty, valor, as well as their opposites, [and] was

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a procedure which once it attracts too much attention, one pays for with one’s head.”\(^{305}\) In another instance, when Guarino was fearful of some accusations against him of political satire against Venice, Leonardo Giustiniani defended him in the Senate, later assuring his former teacher that “our men judge you to be not so much Veronese as Venetian…who so often extolled above the stars the praises of the Venetians with your elegant words and writings.”\(^{306}\) Humanist notoriety could be exhilarating, as long as one’s words were in stride with the prevailing political attitudes of the moment. We also catch a hint of a distinction between civic identities, one Venetian, the other Veronese. It was an acknowledgment that there was a division in citizenship between the center and her peripheral states.

Reflecting on a related topic of humanistic integrity the Veronese humanist Onofrio Panvinio (1530-1568) exhibited a similar reaction as Guarino. He had written a *Viginti septym pontificum maximorum elogia et imagines aeneis typis delineatae* (1568) and dedicated it to the Marquis di Massa e Carrara, grandnephew of the Pope. In the draft copy of the *Viginti septym pontificum maximorum elogia et imagines aeneis typis delineatae* Panvinio suggested that Pope Innocent III (1161-1216) was born to a humble family. That statement had incurred the displeasure of the Marquis of Massa, grandnephew of the late Pope. Panvinio, an Augustinian hermit, had to find a more suitable expression to convey his historical insights. Panvinio amended his work before offering the formal copy to the Marquis, changing the implication that the Pope’s father Aaron was from “mediocre

\(^{305}\) Battista Bevilacqua was the General of the Venetian Cavalry at the battle of Maclodio. Scipione Maffei mentions Bevilacqua in his *Verona Illustrata*, part II, “L’storia Letteraria, 98. For a recent analysis of the battle and Bevilacqua, see Riccardo Tonani, “Una Battaglia.”

genere” to a more befitting, “his father Aaron came from a normal class of knights.”307 His was an especially delicate subject in the Veneto, as Innocent III is prominent in Venetian history, permitting that city to trade legally with the Saracens, as a token of the special relationship between the Republic and the Church.

We conclude that humanist scholars realized the precarious position they found themselves in while attempting to write histories for their patrons. These were to be life-like portraits of the patron, albeit showing neither flaws nor weaknesses. That apparently was the bargain the Veronese writers realized and accepted as their part in the client-subject relationship.308 We find this balance perfectly achieved in Lando’s Prooemium.

In his summation of the Prooemium to the Veronese statutes Silvestro Lando chose several men who were conspicuous for their contributions to the prosperity of Verona. The first two mentioned are Zacharias Trivisano, (il giovane), (1404-1465) a Venetian patrician and Bartolomeo Cipolla, a Veronese jurist. Trivisano was born into an influential Venetian family, following his father (1410-1411), as Podesta of Verona. He had also served as Captain of Candia in Crete for the Venetian state. Zacharias served in that capacity from


308 As if to underscore this point a manuscript of the history of the monks at S. Silvestro by Lodovico Perini, Istoria Delle Monache Di S. Silvestro Di Verona: Con Altre Notizie (Padua: Gio Manfre, 1720), follows the important events in the cloister as well as the city from the thirteenth century to 1380. The next installment is dated August 1424, as if the preceding 40 years had disappeared, a period which ushered in Venice and her administration. Internet accessed June 5, 2015. https://books.google.it/books?id=o0M_AAAAcAAJ&pg=PP11&lpg=PP11&dq=Istoria+Delle+Monache+Di+S.+Silvestro&source=bl&ots=duGpvdnfne&sig=mU4Hjt79LIH0EuMCWCCkJKWo9Q&hl=it&sa=X&ei=VFdyVbX0PMr-gwTbnoCQDA&ved=0CCEQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Istoria+Delle+Monache+Di+S.+Silvestro&f=false
1449-1450, the time of the writing of the statutes, and who requested that Lando write the introduction to the laws. 309 Lando then mentioned Bartolomeo Cipolla, and concluded with “praise for our Lord Zacharia Trivisano, Lord Antonio Venerio knight as prefect, Francesco Foscarì, duke of Venice, Iacobò Aleardi and Tebaldi Capello, “viris prudentibus.” 310 As a law professor in Padua Bartolomeo Cipolla was certainly included in that category of “virus prudentibus.” We are becoming aware of a relationship between the legal intellectuals, humanists, and the Venetian government, intertwined as unequal, interdependent forces, working together, to serve the purposes of the Venetian Republic, and further their personal advancement.

It was essential, from a professional, legal, and political perspective, to provide an explanation to Verona, to the Veronese, of the turmoil, from the conquest/dedication in 1405, and the Venetian Visconti wars of 1439-41. It was also important to attempt a certain measure of clarification of the relationship between the communal citizenry, its ruling elite and Venice. Bartolomeo Cipolla was the perfect candidate to accomplish this task along with other local scholars to not only rewrite the statutes of the city but to act as an interpreter to their fellow Veronese of the position of Venice throughout this period.

Bartolomeo Cipolla’s formal training combined academic training and the forming of proper connections. Born in Verona in 1420 he began his studies in Bologna, transferred

310 Cipolla was a premier legal mind at the University of Padua and a strong Venetian supporter. See Bartolomeo Cipolla: un giurista Veronese del quattocento, and G.M Varanini’s contribution in this volume, “Bartolomeo Cipolla e l’Ambiente Veronese: le Famiglia e le isituzioni municipali,” 105-148. The Capello (Capela) family were one of the first Venetians to have a financial interest in the rule of Verona by Venice. They received some 25,865 lire from the agent of the provedore ale blave for supplies of grain to the city. See Law, “Age Qualification and the Venetian Constitution: The Case of the Capello Family,” 127 ff.
to Padua in 1444, where he decided to study law with another Veronese, Tommaso Turchi.\textsuperscript{311} Even though it was mandatory for citizens of the terraferma to attend University of Padua, there were a few exceptions to this rule including Giorgio Bevilacqua of Lazise and Cristoforo Lanfranchini who graduated from Ferrara.\textsuperscript{312}

Within a five or six year period during mid-century, a few Veronese had graduated from the University of Padua.\textsuperscript{313} They would form the core of a pro-Venetian group of humanist scholars, legal experts and administrators, who would serve the Venetian administration in Verona. Among them were Antonio Pellegrini, Lelio Giusti and Cristofo Piancioni who sponsored the printing of the statutes in 1475. Led by Cipolla they worked on the reformulation of the laws incorporating Venetian legislation and legal direction onto the older code of the city. This group includes Filippino Emilei, Gaspare da Malcesine, Gerolamo Maggi, and Bernardo Brenzoni. Joining them was the Paduan professor of Law, the influential Lauro Quirini (1419-1479).\textsuperscript{314} Many would be appointed to important positions within the Venetian legal hierarchy as elite Veronese jurists. They had to support the statutes which they helped reform, and were charged with upholding through

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\textsuperscript{312} G. Borelli, “Doctor an miles: aspetti della ideologia nobilare nell’opera del giurista Cristoforo Lanfranchini” in Il Primo dominio veneziano a Verona, 53-71. Lanfranchini is shown as an example of a upwardly mobile individual who connected his political ascent in Verona to external titles such as knight and doctor which he never achieved but which he felt were his right as a nobleman in spirit! Also see Paul F. Grendler, Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600 (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 140-41.


interpretation, these laws as they were used in other mainland courts. There was little deviation in this course of legal practice. Venetian interests in the total legal system was paramount and had precedence over local statutes.

In Cipolla’s case, his staunch defense of the laws promulgated by Venice over those of the terraferma won him a lifetime of celebratory honors, culminating in knighthood and the title of Count Palatine by Emperor Frederick III in 1469. It was Cipolla, representing The Republic, who argued against any restraint on the powers of Venice, especially when dealing with their subject communes. Cipolla advanced the concept that Venice, built upon the sea, had no terrestrial lord. According to the Paduan jurists, neither the Holy Roman Emperor nor Roman law had jurisdiction within the Republic. This arrangement, extrapolated from the peace between Frederick Barbarossa, the Doge and Pope Alexander III in 1177, which gave Venice the status of equality with the temporal and spiritual powers. This idea was derived from the legend whereby, at the Pope’s request, a third umbrella (baldachino) was brought to the meeting of the Emperor, the Pope and Doge, so that they all could sit together as equals. As part of the Venetian myth, it made for a pleasant conclusion to a more complicated situation.

315 It should be noted that such collaboration with either Venetian or Imperial rulers were not always welcomed. When Frederick III had bestowed knighthood and noble status on a few Veronese in 1452, several “frottola” or madrigal like poems were circulated attacking some newly created nobles. See G.M. Varanini, “Polemiche su nobilita e nobilitazione.” Una frottola contro alcuni patrizi Veronesi creati cavalieri da Federico III nel 1452,” in Per Alberto Piazzi: Scritti offerti nel 50° di sacerdozio (Verona: Biblioteca capitolare di Verona, 1998), 381-409. Also see Cipolla’s earlier study on fragments of poetry written in Italian concerning the Scala, Venice and Verona. C. Cipolla, “Posie minori riguardanti gli scaligeri,” Bullettino dell’istituto storico italina 24(1902): 189-200. Also P. Mainoni, “Una testimonianza di denuncia politica di costume sociale nella Milano viscontea: le frottole di Bartolomeo Schella,” Nuova Rivista Storica 5(1991): 134-46, for examples of anti-political polemics in Milan.

316 Bouwsma, Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty, 54-55.
Dennis Romano suggests that Doge Foscari became the imperial vicar of the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund in 1437. He suggests that the result of this appointment was a nuanced heightening of the image of Venice and Venice’s imperial connections in the eyes of its subject states and the rest of Europe. The action legitimized Venice’s annexation of the terraferma and gave the Doge legal responsibilities to the Emperor. Apparently, Venice rarely honored that responsibility.

The practical observation of local statutes was subject to interpretations at the discretion of Venice. In general, after the 1450’s, local laws were mere guides for the Podesta of Verona to follow. If the understanding of a local law conflicted with Venetian interests, the local statute was usually not enforced. A useful reference to the Mediterranean holdings of Venice will serve to reinforce this point. Benjamin Arbel, long recognized as an authority of Venetian rule on the western Mediterranean, summed up Venetian recognition of law as follows:

317 Romano, The Likeness of Venice, 124-127.

318 For Verona the Statuti of 1327 have been recently published under the editorship of Silvana Anna Bianchi and Rosalba Granuzzo, Statuti di Verona del 1327.

The reconstructed statutes of 1450 are found in Francesco Carlo Pellegrini, Degli statuti di Verona e di alcuno dei piu ’signalati giuristi che la illustrarono, brevi notizie scritte da Francesco Carlo Pellegrini (Padova: Tip. Cartallier e Sicca, 1840), a good overview but lacking explanatory content. Recently Lanfranco Vecchiato’s “ Gli statuti del 1450” Vol V, I, 73 ff in Verona e il suo Territorio (Verona: 1995), offers a better explanation of the changes. For the nearby commune of Cologna Veneta, see the recently published statutes under the editorship of Bruno Chiappa, Statuti di Cologna Veneta del 1432 (Rome: 1995). G.M. Varanini has also written several articles generalizing the changes of the local statutes throughout the terraferma under Venetian rule, attempting to show the relative non-involvement of Venice with local laws. “Gli statuti delle citta della Terraferma veneta dall’eta signorile alle riforme quattrocentesche” in G.M. Varanini, Comuni, Cittadini e Stato Regionale: Ricerche sulla Terraferma veneta nel Quattrocento Verona (Verona: Libreria Editrice universitaria, 1992) and “Lo statuto del 1399, Nota introduttiva,” in Antonio Ciaralli, G.M. Varanini, eds., Lo statuto del collegio dei giudici e avvocati di Verona (1399) (Verona: Ordine degli Avvocati di Verona 2009), 21-47.
Venice adopted what may be described as a typical colonial attitude: it was much more concerned with fairness and justice at home (and even then up to a certain degree) than in its overseas colonies, where, with the passage of time the Republic increasingly allowed the local elites to manage local affairs. 319

Venetian authorities needed to maintain order in subject cities, although there was no uniform juridical legislation was in place to maintain that harmony. Venetian bureaucrats relied on local laws and local elites to administer subject states but Venetian interests were of primary concern. Venice encouraged the development of local bodies representing the “popular strata” to provide a stable legal foundation. On the other hand, whenever conflict developed Venice intervened in support of the local elite against popular but contradicting legislation. The Republic could not act in any way to disrupt social harmony, which was the foundation of the Venetian aristocratic regime. Verona could not enact any local laws that might impinge on Venetian authority. This applied not only to intra mural legislation, but laws governing territorial forests and waterways as well.

The utilization of local, educated jurists with ties to Venice such as Lando and Cipolla, is an early example, although Venice tapped into local citizens as early as 1421 for assistance as a provvisor. Names such as Pellegrini, Maffei, Aleardi, Verita and Cappella are found in the first few decades of Venetian rule as low level administrators in the city. The primary function of these legal officials was to create interpretations of Venetian law for the terraferma and to sustain ordinances favorable to Venetian authorities in their local communities. Verona remained with a Podesta who exercised political, administrative, and juridical functions, and a Capitano, with responsibility for fiscal and military control of the

The rettori and their collaborators praised their Venetian “hosts,” and worked through their terms in the hope of earning higher and more responsible posts, preferably in the Levant, especially Crete or Cyprus. Lauro Quirini, for one example, ended his days, as an “Auditor veterum non” in Candia 1450-1451. In 1452, he took up permanent residence on the island of Crete as a wealthy land speculator and entrepreneur.

It is clear that Veronese intellectuals assisted in the establishment and promotion of Venice during the first century of the Republic’s hegemony. These early humanists seemed eager to write to please Venetian officials in return for career advancement. These authors write primarily of a Verona in the shadow of the greater Venice.

This chapter has provided a brief survey of several of the most important “official” expressions of Verona. Chapter Four will explore documents including unpublished laude to the city, and evidence of the voices of frustrated elite cut off from power. The attitudes of the disenfranchised of Verona towards Venice as well as their native Verona is a topic that needs further investigation.

See Zagata, II, 254-259 for a listing of the various offices and their responsibilities in the terraferma. To emphasize the titular nature of the Venetian mainland administration, see Giorgio Borelli. Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in terraferma: IX: Podestaria e Capitano di Verona. Here we find a formulaic series of dispatches concluding the tours of duty by the various Podestas and capitani. They follow a set pattern, indicating what a privilege it has been to serve Venice, how the subject city was a faithful daughter of Venice etc. In fact, in the report of the unimpressive patrician Sebastiano Venier (Podesta 1566-1568) to the Signoria his fourth paragraph of the letter reads “Nel territorio sono anime per la descrittion fatta …..femine…..puti et gioveni fino ad anni ….homiini fino ad anni 50 ….nella citta done…puti et gioveni …homiini …vecchi……. He needed only to fill in the most accurate numbers in this template to send to Venice! He apparently failed in that responsibility as well. Relazioni, 56.
CHAPTER V
VERNACULAR NARRATIVES OF VERONA: 1460-1500

5.1 Barduzzi, Francesco Corna, Anonymous Frottola, Giorgio Sommariva

Where is the holy image of her who keeps
my heart imprisoned
with a thousand keys
Where are those eyes so sweet and gentle
which loaned the light to my eyes
Beautiful Verona that keeps my heart locked
Adige you that wash her beautiful face
And her shining and beautiful hair\(^{321}\)

A minor Veronese humanist, Giorgio Sommariva, wrote this short poem in the
1470’s. It is today located in a collection of manuscripts in the Biblioteca Comunale in
Verona.\(^{322}\) Among his romantic poetry and patriotic verse, his other works included
prose against the French, Florentines, and Jews whom he associated with the murder of
Blessed Simon of Trent. This is unfocused, but for our purposes extremely useful
writing, for it opens a window onto the world of forgotten writers who created works that
reflected the personal outlook, perhaps Venetian temperament as well, of the moment.

\(^{321}\) Vittorio Mistruzzi, “Giorgio Sommariva rimatore Veronese del secolo XV,” Venezia 1924 (estratto
da Archivio Veneto-Tridentino, n.s., 6, 1924): 115-202, 132, fn.4. This extract is taken from a manuscript
identified as “Giorgio Sommariva, Canzoniere del Sommariva, lingua rustica Veronese padovana e
frulana,” Biblioteca Comunale in Verona.
\(^{322}\) Giuseppe Biadego, Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti, 119, 157.
This attitude is captured in an article written by Carlo Cipolla, one of Verona’s finest historians of the nineteenth century.

In 1879 the Cipolla wrote in the Archivio Veneto, one of many local periodicals that came into existence after the Risorgimento in Italy. In it, he uses Verona as an example of how nontraditional, local chronicles and popular accounts can be of use as historical sources. He illustrated how one early Veronese text relied on such sources, and how the use of “anonymous accounts,” poems and letters add to the overall value in developing a modern narrative of the period.

In the Biblioteca Comunale di Verona, a manuscript known as Codex 1051-1055 contains a fifteenth-century copy of a manuscript entitled “In Lode Di Verona.” Written in Veronese dialect, rather than Latin, sometime after 1468 and before 1493, it includes a brief poem that describes the wonderful sights of Verona. This anonymous poem may serve as a template for later descriptions of the city, especially the Itinerario of Marino Sanudo, (1483), Francesco Corna’s (1487), and Barduzzi’s In Praise of Verona, (1488).

This short poem describes the city and its environs, and refers to the agricultural bounty of the surrounding countryside:

Verona, godi poi che sei si grande
Che per monte e piano batti l’ale,
E poi che fra li homini mortali
La gloria lode e tuo nome si spande
Chiamar te poi la cita veata
Fructi tu hai de piu sorte e boini
Figi zentili mandole armelini
Persechi zali e pruni damaschini
Pomi d’adamo naranzi e citroni

Verona, be delighted, because you are
so grand that over mountain and plain
you spread your wings
and because among mortal men
your glory. praise, and name are spread
Summon you then blessed city
Fruits you have in abundance and good
Soft figs, almonds from Armenia
Persian pears and Damascan prunes


Absent are any references to contemporary politics or the ancient monuments of Verona. There is no mention of the strength of the city’s relics, as in the *Ritmo* of Pipin. The note on Pliny may be a quotation from the 1450 *Prooemium*, or perhaps a reference to the controversy surrounding the origins of Catullus and Pliny. Nevertheless, there are several allusions to previous rulers, with the Golden Age of Verona under the Scaligeri as important points of reference for this writer. When describing the various sites, the river and the bridges, the author mentions “Le belle tore ET le Arche di Signori,” a reference to the Piazza dei Signori now controlled by Venice, but the term applied to the “lords,” the Scala family, not the Venetian Podesta.

In the next stanza, the author mentions various castles, including the Castel Vecchio, and the Cittadella, both constructed by the Scala and Giangaleazzo Visconti. The author notes the Bishop’s Palace but not the Loggia della Consiglio (1476-1493), which was then under construction as a focal point of Venetian power. He refers to that “Montorio vidi, in Veronese el fiore,” a reference to a well-known area and castle, which were flourishing under the Scala, known as the Campo Fior, located in Verona, a part of the large gardens of the Scala family.

These lines accentuated the beauty of Verona, its bountiful production of foodstuffs and praised the surrounding countryside. It paid homage to previous rulers for cultivating this beauty while making no mention of the Venetian administration, which had ruled the city for nearly a century. It offered reserved praise free from political implications, commenting only on the natural beauty of the landscape. It remained in manuscript form.
until Marchesini published it in 1895. Later commentators would use similar descriptive devices, praising the past but rarely mentioning the contemporary situation, and certainly not the political climate. Verona was a place and perhaps a concept as well, transcending political affiliation, transitioning into an Italian Parnassus.

It is also a valuable work insofar as it borrows from several other works that described Verona. For example, in the first stanza the author refers to the “le belle tore” and later “l’altra torre,” references taken from *The Ritmo of Pipin*, the earliest description of Verona. Barduzzi comments in his published *Letter*, on the abundance of wine, foodstuffs, and other delicacies coming from the Garda region. There are hints from the *Fioretto* of Francesco Corna (1487) on the fruits, wines, and abundance, which Verona has to offer.

The *Lode di Verona* is important in our discussion in that here is a descriptive poem composed without the presence of or reference to Venice. The author builds upon older as well as contemporary descriptions of the city, reflecting nostalgically to a moment under the Scala, without sharing contemporary life in the city as a construct of the presence of Venice. The *Fioretto*, perhaps written a little later, is still modelled after older descriptions of the city. However, the *Fioretto*, published shortly after its composition, does not omit the presence of Venice in the beauty of the city. They were contemporaries and, although they were aware of the city, that which was important to them finds its way into each account. In this way the *Lode di Verona* of Barduzzi is one of the last pieces of literature written under Venetian rule, which recalls a Veronese Mythology practically devoid of a Venetian presence.
5.2 Bernardino Barduzzi: A Letter in Praise of Verona

From the informal, unprinted verse, we now turn to more formal, printed accounts. These would have had a greater impact on Verona and Venice, portraying these communities to a wider audience. A letter written by the Florentine Franciscan priest Bernardino Barduzzi to his prelate friend living in Florence, Giovanni Nesi, begins this private, personal narrative of impressions of the city. This letter dated to 1489, recalls Barduzzi’s travels to Verona at the invitations of the Franciscans of San Fermo in Verona, to preach. It was composed in 1489 and published shortly thereafter in Verona, which raises the first question of why a private letter between clerics would be published in the first place?

We know a good deal about Giovanni Nesi, (1456-1506). He was an intimate of Piero de Medici, and had several calligraphers make copies of his works as presentation copies to Piero de Medici and Pico della Mirandola. Apparently, Bernardino composed this *Praise of Verona* for Nesi after a six-month stay in Verona. The exact date of its composition is unknown, but 1489 is the publish date for the *Epistola in laudem civitatis Veronae ad Johannem Nesiu*, (cited as *Epistola*). We know the printer, Paulus Fridenberger, because he was the only active publisher in the city who used this style of Roman type, and apparently specialized in publishing works relating to the city.\(^\text{325}\) Only two copies of the Veronese *incunabule* are extant, one in the Biblioteca Civica in Verona and the other in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence. This version also contains the little

known decorations added by Felice Feliciano, an important Veronese scribe and calligrapher. According to Giambattista Carlo Conte Giulia, canonical librarian at the Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona, the *Praise of Verona* was one of only 13 books published in Verona prior to 1500, although he misdates its publication as 1499, not 1489, correcting the dating in his later *Della Tipografia Veronese* in 1871.\textsuperscript{326}

What is unique about the *Praise of Verona* is its purity and non-embellished quality, not trying to persuade the reader of the erudite character of the author. Barduzzi indicates as much: “Please give these words of mine to our friends to read, particularly our learned teacher Landino and Pietro Medici…” Why was such a short *laude* praising a small community published in the first place? Perhaps it served a larger purpose than just an epistle among religious friends. Of course, the question can be posed, how, if at all, does the author present a portrait of Venice and Verona in this now public offering and for what purposes? While no definitive response can be given, certainly strained relationships between Florence and Venice at this late date certainly must be brought into the discussion. Barduzzi begins his *laude* with some facts of the city’s history, of its Roman foundation, and attributes the founding of the city to a Trojan woman named Verona. He mentions the Roman Theater above the city but not the Arena. The Minor Jerusalem references seem to have lost their appeal. Moving out of the city to Lake Garda, Barduzzi describes the fresh water fish and the olive trees, which grow abundantly on the shores. Much of this information comes from the *Prooemium* to the statutes of the city of Verona and possibly from the anonymous *laude* to Verona. Venice makes a brief but unflattering

\textsuperscript{326} Giambattista Carlo Conte Giulia, *La Biblioteca Veronese* (Verona: Tipografia Vicentini e Franchini, 1858), and the later *Della Tipografia Veronese* (Verona: Tipografia Antonio Merlo, 1871).
appearance: “As for the great benefit and yearly profit to the most illustrious Republic of Venice from the taxes paid to her by Verona, I prefer to say nothing, although these amount to more than a hundred thousand gold pieces annually.”

The Franciscan’s reluctance to embellish on what he had already mentioned is a wonderful tactic. The image of Venice, in this Florentine mind at any rate, is one of an Imperialist power exacting large amounts from an otherwise idyllic city. Nevertheless, the author did not wish to add to any unfair impressions he has already made.

Why would a private letter, outlining the treasures of Verona, make a comment about the role Venice was playing in the peaceful city near Lake Garda? It may be a veiled repudiation of Venetian acquisitions on the terraferma, draining her most prized cities of their wealth. This was a period just prior to the Italian wars, after the Pazzi conspiracy, when tensions between Venice and Florence were high. The French Invasion of Italy in 1498 united Venice and Florence against the invaders. A few years after the publication of this “private” letter, the Florentine Dieci wrote to their ambassadors in Milan that it was important to explain to King Louis XII that: ‘the nature and ambition of the Venetians and their inordinate appetite to dominate…look for every way to increase their state, aspiring to be kings as in the example of the Romans.’

Was there any connection between the Letter in Praise of Verona and Florentine political policy? A decade earlier Benedetto Dei (1418-1492), a Florentine merchant and political operative, had written his anti-Venetian invective, so this more peaceful, private

327 Bernardino Barduzzi, A Letter in Praise of Verona, 40.

328 Quoted in Nicolai Rubenstein, “Italian Reactions to Terraferma expansion,” 217, fn. 91. The dating on this letter was 5, July 1498. At virtually the same time as this letter, Venice declared war against Ercole of Ferrara while Florence remained neutral.
correspondence might have followed in its wake. There is no established connection between this poem and Florentine politics, although Guicciardini and Machiavelli also had misgivings about the Republic and its relationship to Florence.

The printing of this private correspondence praising Verona and undermining Venice possibly had third party political implications. Nesi had links to Savonarola in Florence.

Why should this private letter be printed quickly and disseminated, or be printed for that matter at all, is a mystery which has eluded scholars as well as the editors of the 1974 reprinting.

5.3 Francesco Corna: I Fioretto

It has been that Barduzzi had borrowed his references for the Laude of Verona from a nearly contemporary poem entitled I Fioretto: De Chroniche de Verona e de tutti I soi confine e de le reliquie che se trovano dentro in ditta citade, (1479, 1503), (hereafter cited as I Fioretto). Written by Francesco Corna, a blacksmith who lived in Verona in the contrada of S. Nazaro, it is a poem of 256, 8-line octaves, 2048 verses, and exemplified a style of writing found in the Veneto in the late Quattrocento. Giovanni da Verona produced similar examples of rhyming works in 1465, writing laude for Borso d’Este of Ferrara. He


331 Francesco Corna da Soncino. I Fioretto: De le Antiche Chroniche de Verona e de tutti I soi confine e de le reliquie che se trovano dentro in ditta citade. The manuscript was completed in 1479 printed in 1503 in Paris and 1515 in Mantua. In addition, Rino Avesani’s illuminating study “In Laudem Civitatis Veronae” in Studi storici Veronese Luigi Simeoni, XXVI-XXVII (1976-1977): 183-197 where he traces some of the imagery found in the I Fioretto to earlier works by Guarino and to later local writers such as Adriano Valerini.
received a monthly stipend to produce such titles as *cantari Lion runo, Bel Gherardino, l’Attila flagellum Dei* and others.\(^{332}\) Apparently, the *I Fioretto* was a popular, local work, and was distributed through several printings in 1479, 1492, and 1503.

We can determine how Corna divided his poem and what was considered important to him in this *cantare*. Looking back to the *Ritmo of Pipin*, Corna emphasized the city’s relics as communal protectors. Strange as they might appear to the modern reader, the three heads of the 11,000 martyred virgins, a fragment from the tongue of St. Simone, and the entire body of St. Biagio, were all important relics for the city. Corna moves to the Roman reminders of the city, Teatro Romano, the Amphitheater (*labirinto*), the newly proposed Loggia del Consiglio then under construction, the Arche Scaligeri and the fountain of the Madonna Verona. There is no mention of Verona as a minor Jerusalem, as that identifier of the Veronese Myth had all but vanished from the popular imagination by the end of the century.

From a political perspective, Corna tactfully mentions specific Veronese rulers who would continue the uplifting tone of his poem. The Scala had been gone for nearly a century and their offspring were extinct, so alluding to their rule was not out of place. “As lords, the first was Mastino who of the Scala was made lord, brought into the state and

\(^{332}\) Nino Cenni and Maria Fiorena Coppari, *I Segni della Verona veneziana*, 127-128. These brief historical guides to Verona, are written by local historians with wide ranging interests well as specific areas of study. The five volumes printed thus far include *I segni della Verona romana, I segni della Verona romanica, I segni della Verona scaligera, I segni della Verona veneziana 1405-1487* and *I segni della Verona veneziana 1505-1620* (Verona: Cassa di Risparmio di Verona, Vicenza Belluno e Ancona, 1990). Their historical perspective tends to counter American and local Italian scholars in that they view the Venetian annexation of the *terraferma* as a negative and continuous Imperialist act, with constant attempts at undermining local culture, and consistent communal reassertion of cultural identity.
confirmed by the people.” 333 The Visconti and Carrara each receive brief mentions, followed by the current ruler of Verona, “Madonna Venezia.” 334

E quando piacque al Verbo puro e netto, de li anni che fu mille e Quattrocento e quattro e mezo, il zorno benedeto di San Zuan Battista, ch'io non mento questa regina col suo chiaro aspetto a madona Venezia, come i' sento, sì se acostò come a ferma colona, donando a lei la sua regal corona de nobel gemme relucente e bella, de riche pietre de grande valore, cioè mura e torre e le grandi castella, e li palazi ch' era dentro e fuore; e sempre sta con lei come sorella, dandoli aiuto, sussidio e favore, né mai non se partì da la sua scola, sego obediente più che sua filiola.

And when it pleased the Word pure and clear, from the years that was one thousand four hundred and four and a half, the blessed day of Saint John Baptist, (June 24 1405) I am not lying, this queen with her clear vision Madonna Venezia, like a firm column giving us her royal crown resplendent and beautiful with noble gems, with rich stones of great value, that is walls and towers and great castles, and the palaces that were inside and outside. And always she stands with us as a sister, giving us help, support, and favor, and never did she leave our company. And we are obedient to her more than a daughter

Several Venetian indicators are apparent in these stanzas from the Fioretti. The combination of the new feast for John the Baptist coinciding with the Venetian takeover of the city of Verona suggests divine assistance in the enterprise. What follows is the subtle transformation, from the Madonna Verona to that of Madonna Venezia, a substitution in fact of one icon for another. Finally, the ubiquitous reference of the relationship between Verona and Venice, “as a sister” and “obedient daughter,” reminds the reader of the two important cities. It was in regular use by Venice in her communications with her terraferma cities.

333 Corna, Fioretto, sections 16-25, “Come signore: e fu il primo Mastino che da la Scala fe signorezare, perché si bene si portò nel stato, che dal populo suo fu confirmato”

334 Corna, Fioretto, sections 24-25.
Corna concludes his work praising Venice with the liberators Jacopo Verme and Jacopo Cavalli, commanders who fought in the service of Venice in the takeover of the city. Corna mentions Gerolamo Novello, who was the Veronese captain of the Venetian troops against the Turks in Friuli. Rizzoni’s continuation of Zagata (Pt. II, I, 87) details the exploits of Novello as a brave son of Verona working for Venice. This begins the inclusion of contemporary “illustrious viri” into the narrative, a model that many other works would replicate. It not only made the poem “relative” but ensured elite support as well.

In the 1503 edition of the *Fioretto*, there were few illustrations or xylographs. One includes a view of Verona with the Lamberti tower and the Gardello towers (next to the Piazza Maffei in the Piazza Erbe) both decorated with the Lion di San Marco. Indeed, these are the only two symbols found on the entire woodcut plate. According to Alberto Rizzi, the Lamberti “Lion” was most likely a large fresco executed by the Venetians as they completed the tower during the period 1448-1464 and which housed the two famous bells, named the Rengo and the Marangona that regulated time in the city.  

The Gardello tower’s complete decoration eludes us. Both towers were partially destroyed sometime after 1509, when Imperial troops occupied the city, and Venetian symbols of power were removed or defaced.  

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335 The *Marangona* signaled fires, work times, and the hours of the day, while the largest, called the *Rengo*, was used to call the population to arms or to invoke the city's councils. Zagata noted their existence “L’anno 1172 fu brusà tutta la città di Verona per li cittadini per la gran parte, ch’era tra loro, et in quello anno fò fatto il fondamento della torre di Signori Lamberti, che si chiama da mo la torre delle campane sopra el Palazzo de Verona.” In fact, the name of the Marangona comes from Marangona of San Marco in Venice because the functions of this bell was to regulate beginning and quitting time in the Arsenale or shipyards. It is tuned to the key of “A.”

336 Alberto Rizzi, “Il leone di venezia.” 632 ff. Also Gunter Schweikhart, *Fassadenmalerie in Verona* (Munich: Bruckmann: 1973), esp. 27 ff. for an account of the artistic shifts on public buildings as one political group was forced out and another took its place.
and Giovanni Maria Falconetto, painted over the icons of Venice, replacing them with the black eagle of the Emperor after the occupation in 1509.

The depictions of Verona in the Fioretto follow a similar, generic style. They offer a visual description of one city that could substitute for another city, with some modifications. In the Nuremberg Chronicle or the Liber Chronicarum, Damascus, Verona, Mantua and Naples all share a similar woodcut. This corroborates Gombrich’s assertion that from the Nuremberg chronicle of 1493, the printer uses the same woodcut for several different cities, with only the title of the city differentiating it from another city. Indeed the same woodcut for Verona is used in another book to represent the Sicilian town of Mazara del Vallo, found in the De topographia inclyta civitatis Mazarae by the physician Gian Giacomo Adria. Apparently, he borrowed the map from Corna’s Fioretto, only changing the town’s name, but not the city’s coat of arms or any other architectural references. (Illustrations 12-13). This might explain why the Arena, Arco dei Gavi, and other architectural indicators of the city were not included. The publisher then can label it

337 The Nuremberg Chronicle, or the Liber Chronicarum 1493, Morse Library, Beloit College -- selected maps and views. http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00maplinks/medieval/nuremchron1493/nuremchron1493.html


Verona, add important signs on towers or buildings, and then remove them when that image was destined to become another city, with new superficial markers.

What is important is that in the original printing there were several visual markers as well as the title VERRONA to indicate this city, not a general place. This raises the question of why the Arena is not found in this particular print, but found later in the book. The two Marcian lions are prominent in the xylographs on the towers, as the most distinctive elements in this city. They are, in fact, to act as substitute identities for the city rather than the generic cross on a shield. This is a subtle yet significant shift in iconographic identification for the city. The Lion of St. Mark replaced the traditional communal landmarks, giving the city of Verona a new source of identity.

The *Fioretto* promoted Verona as a city in a familial relationship with Venice, first as a sister, later in a mother-daughter relationship. Nevertheless, in the visual description of the city, Venetian symbolism overshadows any sense of equality in the city. The dynamics of *terraferma* individuality had shifted from one that was local and familiar to one of diminished identity. As has been suggested earlier, one finds this fluctuation in status in the work of Sanudo, when the importance and the very presentation of the Venetian mainland became the defining feature in the Center and Periphery relationship. Earlier in the fifteenth-century, the relationship between the *terraferma* communes with Venice was distant. Thus, the individual identities of the cities appear in print and visual examples. Towards the end of the century, the dominant reference to Venice begins to take hold. Verona is at once a little sister, and later a mere extension of the *dominante*. The Republic now depends on the glitter of the *terraferma* to be a reflection of Venice, to magnify the sparkle of La Serenissima. The similarities between the Center and Periphery were not
blurred, they were merely omitted. Poetically the relationship was one of domesticity; in real terms, there was an “Otherness” associated with the relationship.

5.4 Anonymous *Frottola* against Veronese nobles

Another overlooked manuscript offers a sense of social conditions and social positioning in Verona during the late Quattrocento. In 1998, G.M. Varanini published an article on anti-noble polemics in mid-century Verona. Varanini discusses a *frottola* or rhyming song against an unworthy Veronese, knighted by the Emperor Frederick III in 1452. 340 This poem of 278 stanzas calls into question the inequality in the notion of nobility in fifteenth-century Verona under Venetian rule. This anonymous piece essentially vilifies the knighting of several unworthy “student knights” by the Emperor Frederick III when he visited Venice in 1452. Many of those knighted in Venice by the Emperor were from prominent Veronese families. 341

This kind of polemic actually follows Venetian writings of the same period, which includes Giovanni Caldiera (1400-1474) a physician who wrote a substantial work entitled *On the Excellence of the Venetian Polity*, which advocates the idea that Venetian nobles had exclusive rights to rule, a status into which they were born. This is closely associated with the concept of *Unanimitas*.

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341 G. Peretti, “Prime indagini su Nicolo de Medici,” *Studi storici Luigi Simeoni*, 56 (2006): 503-525, esp. 513-514. In 1433 The Emperor Sigismond bestowed knighthood on Alvise Dal Vermer, Antonio Nogarola, Bartolomeo Campagna, Giacomo Lavagnoli, Giovanni Cavalli Gentile Spolverini, Guglielmo Dalla Pozzo. A special honorarium was established, the “Cavalieri del Dragone.” Many wealthy Veronese were wool merchants and did business in the Balkans where this title was established. Most of the men listed as knights were part of the wool trade. Demo ‘L'anima della citta’, 147-148, 223, 274.
Another promoter of a hereditary nobility was a Venetian priest born of Dalmatian parents, Francesco Negri. His On Aristocracy (1495), much of which was perhaps “borrowed” from della Porcia’s De reipublicae venetae administratione, promoted the belief that those nobles who governed, ruled justly, because their noble blood permitted them to do nothing less. His brief comment to the patrician fathers regarding their son’s education is edifying. Good instruction of the aristocracy produces good leaders. “For whoever could be so foolish to expect that a republic in the hands of the ignorant could long survive.” 342 Negri was not able to penetrate the Venetian inner circle of literati, however, and appealed to the Doge Agostino Barbarigo (1419-1501, Doge 1486-1501) for continued patronage. He lamented his poverty to Barbarigo, even though under this Doge’s tutelage many men had been educated.

If Venetian nobles had exclusive rights that set them apart…exactly what made a nobleman? Venetian jurists had decided who or what made a nobleman: a knight did not create another knight; he earned that honor only by the Emperor. 343 The jurist Cristoforo Lanfranchini (1430-1502) had specifically addressed this topic, as did Bartolomeo Cipolla. The suspicion, according to our anonymous writer, was that the Emperor was handing out these honors for money, to people who were, in his opinion, unworthy of these benefits.


343 Trevor Dean, “Knighthood in Later Medieval Italy,” in Studies in Honor of Giorgio Chittolini (Florence: Florence University Press, 2011), 143-153. On line http://www.fupress.com/archivio/pdf/5381.pdf Accessed July 4, 2015. Dean disputes that the title of knighthood in Italy was not diluted or devalued due to a communal, mercantile environment. He records a ceremony involving Cangrande della Scala in 1329 making a great number of knights from Verona, Padua and other cities of northeast Italy. Apparently, when Venice annexed Padua in 1405 the Venetian commander also knighted a number of Paduan men who had served the invading army.
In this passage the Emperor asks the candidates who they are: 344

Lui respose “Scudero, io volentera saperei de que gente tu sei e de que conditione” Respose el babione: “Signor, c' son de quelli che sempre son fideli alla cha imperiale, che fin a qui porta le ale e l'aquila a l'insegna.

They replied I want to know Of what men are you and of what status The baboon responded Sir we are those who are always faithful to the Emperor we have on our doors the eagle and sign [of the Emperor]

To exasperate matters, one of those receiving the title was an impoverished member of the elite, Gian Francesco da Campo, who made and lost his fortune from usury and illegal trade. He was the object of the *frottola* mentioned above. His condition, part of a category known as the “shame faced poor,” received support by those more fortunate members of his class.

These charges were later raised by the humanist Gian Mario Filelfo, who proposed that in order to be made a knight or a doctor, it was enough to present oneself on your knees in front of the Emperor and utter anything you wished: “vengono le folle e nessuno se ne va deluso” “the crowds come and no one leaves disappointed.” 345

Similar accusations were made in the *Anonimo Veronese*, which claimed:

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344 G.M. Varanini, “ Polemiche su nobilita e nobilitazione ,” 381-409, and G. Borelli, “Doctor an miles,”53-71. It is interesting that those who were inducted into the order of the dragon put that symbol on their tomb (Lavagnoli), and on the facades of their palazzi (Alvise dal Verme and his palazzi Emilei in the quartieri di San Biagio. Nicolo de Medici, a wealthy wool trader and banker had the dragon symbol placed above the doors of San Giovanni della Beverara, in the church of San Bernardino. Alessandra Zamperini, “ Prime note per un affresco Veronese del 1523 dal convento di San Giuseppe della Beverara.” *Annuario Storico Zenoniano* (2013): 99-114.

The Emperor Frederick created Borso Marchese Duca of Modena e Rezo, and then Count of the Polesene de Ro (v) iro, and in this case he made many knights; also many scholars from Verona and other places for a few denarii they were made doctors without ability, only having the dignity of being made so by the Emperor, and also many were made doctor, knight and count.\textsuperscript{346}

If the \textit{Anonimo} was actually a Venetian confection made up of material Venice wished to have disseminated, this would indicate the Senate’s attitude towards these artificially created nobles by a foreign power. Venice neither accepted nor appreciated these Imperial appointments but were tactful in their restraint.

While these honorary concessions of titles was irritating to some, it begs the question as to the position of Venetian authority over this activity. The ceremonies occurred in Venice, according the \textit{Cronica di Anonimo Veronesi}, but for the Venetians it did not seem to matter.” i veneziani fanno si festa all'imperatore ma poi lo lasciano trastullarsi con i dolci e con la frutta e ritornano ad occuparsi di politica seria.” “The Venetians made a party for the Emperor but then let him toy with sweets and fruit and (they) returned to deal with serious politics.” \textsuperscript{347}

What this suggests is that the Venetians were willing to stand back, allow their titular overlord, the Emperor, to create nobles within their territory, even though these titles stirred unrest at worst, anonymous \textit{frottola} at the least level of complaint, and possibly social tensions among the elite. Jurists such as Cipolla and Lanfranchini also denounced this kind of ennoblement, for it became a theoretical problem for the Venetians. It forced landed

\textsuperscript{346} Soranzo, \textit{Cronica di Anonimo Veronesi}, 32.

\textsuperscript{347} Soranzo, \textit{Cronica di Anonimo Veronesi}, 34.
elite, generally non-Venetians, to serve dual allegiances to both the Emperor as well as Venice. True, the requirements of being a vicar of the Emperor may have had little resonance in Italy, but it did raise questions. Brunoro Scala became an Imperial vicar in 1412. Which power would Verona support in an invasion from the Emperor? Whom would the Emperor support in the case of a conflict? As serious concerns they might be, it did not stop both Cipolla and Lanfranchini from receiving such titles at the hands of the Emperor, Lanfranchini in 1452 and Cipolla honored as a Conte Palatine and knight in 1469.

348 This effectively halted their invectives against the bestowing of such honors. Presumably, they would not question their legitimacy as being of noble blood and therefore entitled to these titles.

A Venetian title or citizenship was not a casual title. Subject cities received a form of citizenship that offered respect for local laws and status within their own city.349 If the Emperor elevated humanists and aristocrats within the various communes to various titles, they would necessarily impose some obligations upon the recipients.

This created strains between Venice and the Emperor. During periods of political instability, these artificial titles would exacerbate the tensions, especially in the sixteenth century. These pressures forced the recipients to tread cautiously in a world dominated by Venice but with the specter of the Emperor always in the background. This might explain

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349 Reinhold C Mueller, La banca dati CIVES: privilegi di cittadinanza veneziana, dalle origini all’anno 1500. http://www.civesveneciarum.net. This recent project offers a fascinating analysis of who, when and from where citizenship was permitted in Venice. The Veronese who were granted citizenship numbered roughly 150 from the 1350’s though 1500, with roughly a third of that number being granted just prior to or shortly after the Venetian takeover in 1405.
why some narrators accused the elite of harboring Imperial sympathies. Veronese families such as the Nogarola, Bevilacqua, Aleardi, da Faenza, Cipriani, Montanari, Spolverini, Giusti and Sagramoso received knighthoods or were made counts Palatine and familiars of the Imperial court. Perhaps it was a way to strengthen ties between the Emperor and Venetian governments. It did not seem to cause much dissention, in Venetian accounts at any rate. Nevertheless, the tension was palpable and possibly acted as a catalyst for some of these families to show their support of Venice as civic administrators in Verona.

5.5 Giorgio Sommariva: Cronicheta e ricordo de alcune cose notabili de Verona

Giorgio Sommariva has been an overlooked figure in Veronese history who fits the description of a local humanist with close ties with the Venetian administration. Born into an elite Veronese family in 1435, he was an intimate with the Podestà Federico Corner and other public figures in the city. Elected as provvisor communis or administrator of the fortifications of Verona in 1477, by 1488, he received the appointment as a Venetian provvisor of fortifications of Gradisca in the Friuli, despite a serious legal difficulty.350 Giuseppe Biadego commented on the variety of topics found in Sommariva manuscripts in the Biblioteca Comunale in Verona. Over thirty vernacular works mocking villani or rustici, some love poems and the occasional anti-Semitic polemic are found in this carte or folio. These compositions followed closely the events surrounding the incident in Trent

http://fermi.univr.it/medioevostudiedocumenti/Frale.pdf.
involving the child “Blessed” Simon in 1475 and condemning Jews for usurious practices.

In his role as provvisor communis, it was Sommariva’s task to review the fortifications within and without the city, making frequent reports to the Podesta, Federico Corner (1476-78). We find his name listed amongst those who wished to take over the architectural work on the Loggia in 1476.

Sommariva translated into Italian and had printed Homer’s Batracomiomachia and Juvenal’s Satires for the Podesta. He praised Corner with a sonnet that ended with yet another elegy to the Capitano of the city. Not to be overshadowed in the political game which was being played, Filelfo sent Sommariva a poem in return, elaborating the stature of the Venetian Capitano, as divine, ingenious, a protector of all men as well as angels (putti). Filelfo did not receive any appointments in Verona.

Sommariva is interesting for several reasons: he did not fit the typical humanist profile of scholar for employ, as a teacher and writer. He was a fortifications specialist, yet managed to write poetry and became something of a chronicler in the employment of

\[\text{\textsuperscript{351}}\text{Giorgio Sommariva cart autografo, 1494 Archivio di Stato, 20 carte poetry carte 1657. This carte contains various poems primarily on ancient history but several of contemporary interest: c. 8v “Marzocho io penso al tempo tuo future” and c. 10 “da lion vengo: la si fa banchetto” Giorgio Sommariva, Gallos exhoratio 2327 s. XIX. Giuseppe Biadego, Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti , 119, 157. For his anti Jewish works see A. Esposito, ed., “ Lo stereotipo dell’omicidio ritual nei processi tridentini e il culto dei “beato” Simone” in Processi contro gli Ebrei di Trento (1475-1478), I: (Padova, 1990), 53-95, and the detailed study by Michele Spiazzi, Gli opuscoli antissemiti di Giorgio Sommariva (1478-1484) I casi di Trento e Portobuffolè (San Pietro in Cariano: Gabrielle, 1995).

\text{\textsuperscript{352}}\text{Raffaello Brenzonì, “La Loggia del Consiglio Veronese nel suo quadro documentario,” 258.}

\text{\textsuperscript{353}}\text{Giovanni Mardersteig, “Tre Epigrammi di Gian Mario Filelfo a Felice Feliciano.” See also other unpublished works of Sommariva in the Biblioteca Communal di Verona, 157 (1657) c 8.v and c.10 Marzocho io penso al tempo tuo future” and da lion vengo : la si fa banchetto.”}
Venice. Yet he was not included into the select group of Veronese humanists compiled by Margaret King. He wrote a short *Cronicheta e ricordo de alcune cose notabili de Verona*, dated February 14, 1478. It is a brief history of the early rulers of Verona, a listing of the important families, and an account of the Venetian takeover of the city. It is also a fairly accurate and insightful listing of the physical properties of Verona and the surrounding territory, population, and agricultural attributes, indicating not only the condition of the community but his perceptiveness in combining a poet’s fluidity with an administrator’s keen eye.

After listing a dozen or so older noble families in the city, including his own, he moves from “Ecelino” da Romano (the tyrant) through the Scala, and, by the third section Sommariva approaches the critical years from 1387 with the Visconti to 1404 with the Carrara. By June 22 1405 “la Jillustrissima et Excellentissima Signoria de Venecia mando el suo exercito atorno Verona…” “Venice took over the city.” In the Provvisioni del Consiglio Veronese, Cipolla “discovered” that the date of the takeover was June 23, the Vigil of S. John the Baptist, and that the Venetians “acquisto il dominio della citta di Verona” according to the document. Another manuscript, the “Cronaca Zangaruol” confirms the June 23 date, but uses the year 1404. As the Venetian calendar began on March 1, and the Veronese New Year was December 26, there is a difference in dating

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354 Margaret King, *Venetian humanism*, Profiles 315-449. Of the several Veronese writers included by King, Sommariva is included only in a footnote for his work *Enarratio sententiae laetae a Serenissimo Venetorum Imperio in infidos Habraeos patraores atque participes martyrrii beati Sebastiani novelli* (Verona: Bernardinus Celerius, 1480). More attention is paid to Bevilacqua da Lazize, Domizio Calderini, Cristofoo Lanfranchini, Guarino Veronese, Dal Borgo, Celso Maffei nad Isotta Nogarola.

between Venetian and Veronese writers. Zangaruol then embarks on a list of the various
castles in the region: Peschiera, Castelaro dal Lagosello, Belforte, Vilipent, Pontemolin.
This variance in dating, superimposed upon the mainland until the mid- fifteenth-century,
resulted in a frequent difference in chronology as well.

Sommariva mentions a conspiracy in 1412 and another in 1439 when a traitor opened
the walls to Nicol Pizenino and Del Vermo who entered Verona on the side of Mantua.
From this point on it is a history of intrigue with the Gonzaga, and how the loyal Veronese
give their support to the Venetian rectors. The threat was gone and Sommariva took it upon
himself to compile an inventory of the city and territory for his Venetian employers in
1478. He offers no sources for his numbers, which tend to be rather accurate based on
comparisons with later estemi: 

There are 60 vicarates, some large and some small,
There are 280 villages and communes
There are 71,613 boche (mouths) in this area
There are 14,419 cows, and 500 cows which give milk
There is 28,709 lire within these communes
In Verona there were, in 1473, 27,378 boche, (mouths)
without listing the monasteries, hospitals, priests and
mendicants, which might add another 3000.

He concludes his list with an accounting of wool production in the region, and
illustrating to the Camera Fiscale the value of these outlying communes to Venice. He was
a loyal administrator for Venice, but his poetic muses withdrew when he was about his
work as provvisor communis.

356 V. Fainelli, "l' Data nei documenti e nelle cronache di Verona," Nuovo Archivio Veneto n.s. 41
(1911):128-176.

357 Cipolla, "La relazione di Giorgio Sommariva," 187-188, who cites other statistics from 1522 and
1538 which show a remarkably accurate relationship to the figures provided by Sommariva.
What was the purpose of the *Cronicheta*? In the first place, it was a personal account dedicated to his friend Federico Corner and there are no corresponding copies in the Venetian archives, only the one extant copy in Verona. It seems that, like other chronicles written at this time, the platform for the *Cronicheta* was Verona, but it really was about Venice. From an insider’s perspective, Sommariva offers his opinions on the state of fortification in and around Verona to his friend, the former Podesta, to share with Venetian authorities. Sommariva had an unquestioned distrust for Mantua, an avowed enemy of Venice. He assumed that this attitude and his gift would further ingratiate himself to the former Podesta. By all accounts Sommariva was a Veronese and loyal subject of Venice. Probably this status described many of the Veronese administrators and elite.

Sommariva was an isolated figure, a writer, political analyst, and servant of Venice. Throughout his political life, he still found time to write imitative works, knew how to dedicate translations to the appropriate parties, and survive. He was an example of a man, part of the local elite, who became embroiled in legal actions contrary to Venetian law, was punished, and later restored, to his former positions because of his value to the state. To have such a powerful patron permitted, perhaps encouraged, a sense of immunity, that no crime or legal subterfuge would feel the extreme brunt of the law. Like the earlier malefactors involved with defacing the house of Lionello Sagramoso, Sommariva seems to have been able to put several sordid incidents behind him and move forward with his connections with the Republic.

To conclude this chapter on the early writers of Verona, we have found that virtually all of the authors, notaries, and chroniclers, artists and Venetian administrators were usually in accord with Venice, and found ways to praise their new lords as a method of
advancement. Venetian patricians posted on the *terraferma* as *rettori* attracted local educated humanist/jurists, seeking jobs carrying out the administrative system for the Serenissima. The examples of Bartolomeo Lando, Silvestro Lando, Cipolla and others underscore the beginnings of profitable, socially mobile careers using this argument.

By the end of the Quattrocento, and certainly after the Venetian defeat at Agnadello, and the ensuing War of Cambrai, a new direction is evident in the historians of Verona. This group was aware of a weakening in Venetian power on the *terraferma* as well as the external pressures of the Ottoman invasions, and the political tensions with the Papacy and the Emperor. They were also restless at not having an historical account that included themselves and their family’s achievements in a communal history. If the true definition of nobility was of lineage, there was little in their city’s history that reflected that history, focusing on important families. True, the *Prooemium* to the city’s statutes noted several prominent local families, but these were included in narratives that were primarily pro-Venetian in content. These individuals, mentioned in passing, continued to prosper in the city through Venetian defeats, Imperial invasions, and the return of Venice. At this point, circa 1550, begins the changing attitudes of the Veronese aristocracy towards Venice and her power structure in Verona.

Another motivational factor might also have been taking place as well. James Grubb has earlier commented on why Venetians did not write *Ricordanze*, or personal diaries. The elite subjects in the *terraferma*, especially Verona, were not concerned in participating in the Venetian patrician sense of *Unanimitas* or collective unity. They apparently were not concerned in living in anonymity as well. From the mid-sixteenth-century onwards local Veronese historians such as Torello Saraina, Giovanni Caroto and Francesco Tinto
rewrote the history of the Veronese, including their own families and others throughout the histories of their city.358 The emphasis on noble family histories, illustrious citizens evolved into a major platform for future historians to build their descriptions of the city, culminating with Maffei’s Verona Illustrata in 1732.

One event seemed to offer a brief glimpse at the future of historical writing and the relationship between humanists, and the Venetian administration, combined with a very real sense of recognizing the emerging Veronese elite and the importance of that culture. That episode was the Panteo Actio, enacted in honor of the Veronese cleric/teacher Antonio Panteo. Panteo’s former students and current scholars, humanists and jurists, staged this event before several Venetian dignitaries in the Piazza della Consiglio in 1489. This lengthy account is discussed in the following chapter, along with other humanist narratives of the late fifteenth-century in Verona. It will show an early public attempt to honor local Venetian dignitaries, and display local humanists before their Venetian administrators, and honor an esteemed teacher who touched the lives of many of the affluent in the city. It was also the beginning of a renewed sense of public civic pride, the use of a public spectacle to promote the city of Verona as well as the Venetian presence in the city.

358 Giovanni Caroto, De Le Antiquita de Verona, G. Francesco Tinto, La nobilita di Verona (Verona: Girolamo Discepolo,1592), Torello Saraina, De origine e amplitudine civitatis Veronae, and Torello Saraina, Storie e fatti de Veronese le nel tempo de signori scaligeria (Verona: Francesco Rossi, 1549).
CHAPTER VI
THE ACTIO PANTEO: PUBLIC SPECTACLE,
PRIVATE INTENTIONS

6.1 The Festivities

In the spring of 1484 an important humanist celebration occurred in Verona, involving the politically connected figures of the city’s elite and literati who were part of the substructure of the administration and who organized the gathering. In the few scholarly attempts that have been made to describe the celebration it has generally referred to as the “Actio Panteo,” a public celebration in honor of Giovanni Antonio Panteo, a Veronese cleric and teacher of many of the children of the Venetian and Veronese elite.359

Born in 1446 in Lazise on Lake Garda, and son of a stonecutter (lapicida), Giovanni Antonio entered the priesthood and became the protégé of the priest Matteo Conato, prior of San Lorenzo in Verona, and later Bishop of Tripoli. The Venetian Ermolao Barbaro, a student of Guarino, was the protector of San Lorenzo and soon recognized the talents of the young Giovanni.360 Several years after his appointment to Bishop, Barbaro made


360 Two references found in the Antica Archivio Verona, outline the career changes of Antonio Panthea. The first, undated, announces that “joanne Antonio filio m gregorii lapicide e verone cleric infrascripti dni mathaei episcope triopolitani,” and another dated 5 November, 1463 “in contrada pontis petre in
Giovanni Antonio his secretary, through the intercession of the newly installed Bishop of Tripoli.

Historians of Veronese humanism, such as C. Perpolli, Rino Avesani, Gian Paolo Marchi, and G. Bottari have been careful to show a genealogy in humanist education in the city, starting with Marzagaia, his student Guarino, and Brognoligo, the teacher of Antonio Panteo. They have attempted to create a pantheon of acquired knowledge within a century of humanist activity in the city. And so Giovanni Antonio da Lazise (Panteo) “professor artis grammaticae et rhetorice,” was also a student of Guarino in Ferrara, and later Bianco Ceruti in Verona. This is a workable paradigm but it is simplistic and fails to take into account other scholastic influences that might also have influenced students. The actual situation was probably far richer and complex. These historical overviews omit almost entirely the discussion of teachers of smaller schools whose writings and ideas never captured the attention of local officials or the Venetian leadership. These scholars are known primarily through notations in the tax documents (catasto) or in court documents.

Tax records (catasti) are quite useful in identifying other influences. A teacher, Petrus Grammaticus, is cited in the catasti of 1456, 1465, and 1473. Other teachers include Cosma da Brescia, who is noted in the records of 1465, 1473, and Giovanni da Lazise, who is mentioned in 1465, 1473, and 1482. The records also show evidence of women instructors including Caterina del fu Antonio in 1465, Benedicta Viola in 1491, Caterina, figlia del fu Niccolo da Gandino in 1492, and another woman identified only as Savia is listed in 1492 as maestre of a scuole di puerorum, where young people went to learn to
read and write.\textsuperscript{361} Of Filippino da Reggio, present in Verona in 1447, 1465, and 1473, we know little. Many of the teachers were not appointed by the government and may simply have been itinerant educators. Antonio Panteo da Lazise’s pedagogical career intersected with many of the most influential students in Verona in the late Quattrocento. The celebration of his career in 1484 also elevated and underscored the importance of the administrative and political achievers in the city, the sons of the best-known patrician families and their potential Venetian employers.

The educational framework is not quite as simple or defined as the overviews indicate. Some secular teachers offered instruction to the clergy; some clergy offered instruction to lay students. Jacopo Malatesta, a cleric, (+1505) was the master of the acolytes in Verona and revered as the finest teacher in the city during the period following Antonio Panteo. Malatesta’s students were boys destined for the priesthood. Moreover, we know that eight years after the Actio Panteo, a similar festival was held in Malatesta’s honor. Scipione Maffei mentions Malatesta in the \textit{Verona Illustrata} as a “master of the acolytes who left many orations which are still in manuscript.”\textsuperscript{362} Were other young men taught as well, and what other influences were brought to bear upon these students, especially within an Episcopal intellectual setting? Antonio Brognoligo was a secular teacher who introduced


\textsuperscript{362} Scipione Maffei, \textit{Verona Illustrata}, III, 248.
Panteo and Domincus Calderini to the Latin classics. The interaction between secular and clerical was not so clearly defined: some clerics attended the school of Guarino, including several who become bishops and at least one saint.

Other educators from outside of Verona, Nicolo Tartaglia from Brescia in 1520 and Master Baltassare 1437 are mentioned in the estimi (estimation of property value). Baltassare composed an encomium in honor of his new employment, similar to that of Linus at the Actio proceedings: “After travelling through many cities in Italy I decided to establish myself in Verona for the public honor and for the utility of everyone who wished to train himself in the subject that I teach; instructions in how to read and record every type and variation of money and arithmetic.” A similar description will be used by several muses in the Actio to describe why they arrived at Verona, in this case a scholarly Parnassus.

When Bernardino of Siena visited Verona during 1422-23 he, along with Alberto da Sarteano, attended Guarino’s classes in rhetoric, where Bernardino expressed joy at Guarino’s school and teaching. Yet that jubilant influence did not have a great deal of impact upon Bernardino who admired the ancients but found Christianity a richer, fuller truth: “And mind you, this is a different kind of teaching knowledge, it is not the rhetoric of Tullio (Cicero) This rhetoric of the word of God is better.” So much for any great amount of secular learning penetrating the world of San Bernardino!


364 Christopher Carlsmith, A Renaissance Education. Schooling in Bergamo and the Venetian Republic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 269-270.

It was because of Guarino’s stature as a teacher that the re-written statutes of Verona contained legislation appointing a master of grammar and rhetoric, a doctor in law, and a doctor of medicine, paid for by communal funds. Perhaps it was the example of Guarino, who in 1429 accepted an offer to go to the court of Ferrara, which stimulated this addition to the laws. The pay and the political climate in Ferrara were more favorable for an educator than in Verona. The statute indicated the importance of instruction of the educated elite for the administration of the commune. The Veronese Council of XII approved another school in 1474, run by the Carmelite friar Joanne Andrea Ferrabos. That he is even recognized in the Actio is remarkable. This friar seems to have had an irascible temperament and did not last long on most of his assignments: “Et Ferrabos omnes Italas qui circuit urbes, erudiens juvenes,” “and Ferrabos traveled throughout Italy educating youth.” The emphasis is on the “travelled” notation, as he was rarely welcomed in any city for more than a year with the exception of the rural town of Treviso. For his efforts, he received 50 ducats for a year where he taught two lessons a day, lecturing on Dante instead of lecturing on history. After a year he moved to Treviso where he taught for 10 years. All of these scholars would be forgotten, receding into the shadows, under the impact of the priest from Lazise, Antonio Panteo.

*vivificante, che fa vivare l’anima e anco il corpo. E appi che altra dottrina e altra scienza e questa, che non e la rettorica di Tulio. Questa rettorica della parola di Dio e migliore.”*


367 “It becomes somewhat confusing dealing with the name of the priest and the festival in his honor. Antonio Panteo, Antonio Pantheo and the Actio Panthea are used interchangeably. The collected work was published under the title of Giacomo Counte Giuliani, Panthea Action (Verona: 1484).
Panteo arrived in Verona in 1463 and from parish documents, we can trace his rise in the city: “St. Augustine [church] beyond the walls of Verona, we present John Antonio, son of Gregory the stonecutter, a priest of Verona to the undersigned Mathew, Bishop of Tripoli.” and “in the quarter of s. artini aquaria, in the church of S. Laurence is present Joan. Ano\tonio, cleric, son of Gregory, stonecutter.” 368 Panteo is also noted by later historians, Maffei and Moscardo, to have been taught by Antonio Brognoligo.

In 1473 he assumed the title of rector of the church of Ognissanti near the Castelvecchio. In the same year he opened a school teaching Latin and Greek to young men from the elite families in the city. In a manuscript found in the Biblioteca Comunale di Verona, (MS 1366) are listed the disciples (students) of Panteo, who included Dante III, Agostino Capello, Jacopo Giulia, Petrus Emilius and others who were prominent members of patrician families.

Venetian administrators of the various towns had a great deal to say in terms of what was taught and who was doing the instruction. 369 Panteo’s pedagogical techniques and the texts he relied upon are unknown. His main contribution was his ability to draw from the upper ranks of the elite, students whose ambitions led them far from the church of


369 Paul F. Grendler, Schooling in Renaissance Italy, 140-41, Grafton and Jardine, From Humanism to the Humanities, 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), and Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany: Teachers, Pupils, and Schools, c. 1250-1450 (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2007).
Ognissanti and into the world of political opportunity, sharpened by their humanist abilities.

Venice wanted educated and loyal administrators and assistants without ambition. Venetian citizens were the power elite in any city of the *terraferma*, but they needed well-connected, learned and determined local patricians to carry out their instructions. Having taught this kind of student Panteo was rewarded with a festival at his retirement. The festival combined myth, rhetoric, and Venetian eulogy, and references to the most important teacher in the city since Guarino. In a peculiar way, the festivities for the Actio reflects the way in which local history was being written in Verona. The festivities, like the city, was the platform upon which the Maestro stood, with Verona acting as the podium for the historical narrative. The main actors were the local humanists, performing ostensibly for Panteo, but really for an audience of Venetian administrators, in a spectacle of self-promotion. If local civic humanism could be tapped in order to further one’s career, so much the better. If contributing to the Myths of Venice and Verona with this festival and its trappings, it served its purpose.

For a day, in 1484, the city of Verona, the *Nuovo Hierusalem*, was transformed into Mount Parnassus where the gods and their acolytes frolicked, paying homage in poetry to their noble teacher. Mount Baldo became Mount Olympus, and the children of citizens dressed in costume to honor the cleric whose main interest after Christ, was Catullus. To bless these proceedings, the festivities were performed in front of the Venetian Podesta, Francesco Diedo and an assembled entourage of Venetian officials.

First trumpets sounded and columns of youths dressed in rich clothes marched in file towards the Piazza Signori from the Franciscan church of San Fermo less than 500 meters
from the Piazza. Each participant was given a name of a god or goddess: Latona’s son, Apollo made his way with this group, as did Bacchus, with one hand holding a Tirso (a symbol of fertility, topped with a pine cone and festooned with fennel) and with the other hand guiding his cart. To his right, astride an ass was Silenus accompanied by several satyrs. Next an elderly man appeared with a long beard, dressed in purple clothing from an eastern land. The most amazing figure was Mars, supporting a shield of gold, incised with the figures of monsters. Eighty knights rode in pairs and approached the Piazza de Signoria.

The purpose of this procession of mythical personalities was to honor Giovanni Antonio Panteo, the teacher of many of those portraying mythical characters. It was coordinated by his pupils- Virgilio Zavarise, Jacopo Giuliari, Agostino Capello, Girolamo Brognoligo and Dante III Alighieri, who recited Latin poems in honor of their teacher. All were former students, and all, from time to time, part of the elite administration apparatus of Venice in Verona.

These former students, now men of letters, supported themselves with their polemics and eulogies of Venice or were involved with the Venetian administration of the city. They approached the Piazza dei Signori and the attending Venetian officials proclaiming praise for La Serenissima: Roberto Sanseverino d'Aragona, luongotenente and condottieri, sat in

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V. Branca, “Momarie veneziane e Fabula di Orfeo” Umanesimo e rinascimento, 54 (1980): 57-75. Branca’s study indicates that this kind of festivity, while not common, had been performed decades prior to the Actio in Verona. Similar gatherings had occurred in Ferrara in 1433, Giovanni Marrasio, a humanist, reported; near Siena in 1429 there was a Batracomonomachia (literally a war between frogs and mice, possibly written by Homer) in Reggio Emilia in 1453, later Bologna in 1487 with Cupid, Diana and nymphs. In Ferrara Guarino replied at that festival quoting a line from Marrasio indicating that he was aware of the humanist as well as his involvement in an earlier festival. On a speculative note, the Batracomomicachia recounts the battle between land animals, mice, and aquatic creatures, frogs. Would it stretch credulity to suggest the implications for Venice and her terraferma colonies in this fable?
the middle, to his right Francesco Diedo, the Podesta of the city. To his left Francesco Marcello, Prefect, Marco Pesaro, Provvisor dell’Esercito, and Antonio Marino superintendent of the Annona, or the official responsible for overseeing the apportionment of foodstuffs. Also present were Girolamo Soranzo, camerario, and an officer who was in charge of the treasury of the Commune, Director of public funds, many knights, senators and a great following of people.371

What is known about the festivities is drawn largely from a letter written by Giacomo Conte Giuliani to the Venetian patrician Antonio Venier, in which he reported the texts of the recited epigrams. Later, another humanist writer, Virgilio Zavarise included a Carme or poem on a similar topic, written shortly after Giuliani’s letter.

According to the Actio two processional lines left the church of San Fermo, the first guided by Linus, the mythical poet master of Orpheus and Hercules, preceded by six richly dressed youths and accompanied by trumpets, while another seven youths carried a golden

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This important administrator evolved from the Roman Empire, whose responsibility was to provide foodstuffs in the various cities only to Roman citizens. The Annona Civica is discussed in Peter Brown’s recent study Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), where this administrative official provided some stability during difficult times in the various Roman cities. A counterpart was found in Venice but only for Venetian citizens. Brown’s other contribution to this present study is his recreation of the relationship between the various communes, especially in North Africa and Italy, with Rome itself. He concludes that the notion of a localized community to which one was aligned overshadowed any sense of one’s primary allegiance to Rome. This parochialism or campanilismo, I believe, remained in the various communities of northern Italy well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was that localization of allegiance, which has been overshadowed by recent historians who portray the terraferma cities as accepting the transition into the Venetian empire as a natural and welcome fait de complait.
crown for Panteo. Bacchus and Silenus followed the god Apollo. A second group was led by Belo, King of the Orient. He was dressed in purple, adorned with precious jewels with a flowing beard. He followed four “Ethiopians” and with great flourish, gave Panteo a purple robe. The procession arrived in the Piazza dei Signori, stopping in front of the “invictissimus” Venetian general Roberto Sanseverino. To his right and left, were seated the Podesta and Capitano of Verona, along with the other Venetian administrators mentioned above.

Linus spoke of his reason for coming to Verona. Mount Parnassus had been overrun by barbarians, which was the cause of his departure. He delivered a recycled poem by Dante III Alighieri, similar to one that Alighieri had already sent to the Podesta Francesco Diedo, taken from his *Epaenodia* months earlier. After giving a salute to the Venetian authorities, Linus recounted how he had wandered to the east and west and stumbled upon the verdant Adige region and Verona. These barbarians had “dried out the sources of the song, and no more adorned their temples with laurel leaves.” In this fertile land, he found grapes, and a perfect temperate climate. Here he sought out Panteo, priest of Apollo. Belo, the messenger with the long beard, announced that he had come from Tyre. That city had great glory in antiquity but fell to oblivion because no poet sang of its splendor. He was also overjoyed to have discovered Panteo in Verona. This city would become the

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372 Although Italians of the Quattrocento, especially in the Veneto, knew “Ethiopians” these characters were probably not African, but appeared in costume. See the artistic representations by the Veronese artist Domenico Morone of what is suggested as an “Indian” and Ethiopian from the New World. Hans-Joachim Eberhardt, “Nuovi studi su Domenico Morone, Girolamo dai Libri e Liberale” in Gino Castiglione and Sergio Marinelli, eds., *Miniatura Veronese del rinascimento* (Verona: Stamperia Valdonega, 1986), figs IV. 2, 106, and 52. 9 , 244 by an unknown artist.

373 Perpolli, *L’ Actio Panthea*, 6-7, “inaridirono le sorgenti del canto e nessuno piu orno le proprie tempie con le fronde d’alloro.”
new home of the gods, “Founded by the Rieti [Verona] has always been a friend of the poem, the birthplace of Catullus, and Macro, and many poets are alive and famous.”

By referring to the ancient Reti as the founders of Verona Linus circumvented any reference to Trojans or other ancient groups who might interfere with the Venetian foundation myth. Antenor was the founder of Padua, the Veneti occupied Venice, and the Reti inhabited Verona. It was the reworking of a myth, which joined Venice and Verona. No early writers mention the Reti in their histories of Verona as part of a foundation narrative. However, it fit in with the Venetian template of their foundation myth and so suitable in the overall theme of the festival.

Each of the students of Panteo wrote Carme or poems of praise that were recited under a god’s name: The muse Clio (history), Euterpe (flute or pipe music), Urania (astronomy), and Apollo recited the verses written by Agostino Capello. Melpomene (singing), Terpsichore (dance), Erato (lyric poetry) with Bacchus speaking the prose composed by Virgilio Zavarise, and Linus reciting the poetry of Dante III Alighieri. Polimnia (pantomime and dance), Calliope (eloquence), and Silenus were provided poetry by Giacomo Conte Giuliari.

Soon the second group of mythical characters arrived, guided by Belo, King of Tyre, and father of Dido. One wonders if the similarity of name between the Venetian Podesta Diedo and the mythological Dido was intentional. In mythology Belo was to have conquered Cyprus and established a kingdom there, much as the Venetians had done from the thirteenth century until mid-seventeenth century. The connection was not overlooked. A poem by Agostino Capello was recited to the dignitaries including Podesta Diedo, in

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which Capello praised Verona as fruitful to poets, a second Athens under Venetian administration. Girolamo Brognanigo’s poem, spoken by Mars, referred to the Venetian condottieri Roberto Sanseverino, and gave an opportunity to relate publically his exploits in the successful Venetian war against Ferrara and his taking of the Rocca di Ficarolo near Ferrara. After this oration all of the dignitaries and crowds celebrated that Panteo deserved the gifts, which were being offered, garments of royal purple and golden crown. It was the stage upon which Panteo was praised but the acclaim was also placed upon the dignitaries assembled as well by students who were either employed by or wished to continue to be in the good graces of Venice.

The tenure of a Podesta or Capitano was brief, about a year and a half within each commune. Their appointment was not due to their expertise but actually their lack of experience, and their naivety of local politics and legal issues. They were not a permanent threat to the Veronese but could certainly be an intellectual and cultural ally amidst the swirl of politics and intrigue. Flattering poems upon arrival, during, and upon departure certainly instilled pleasant memories of a city and her cultured subjects.375

The principal writers of the poems in praise of Panteo and the laude of Verona were among the most well-known Veronese humanists and social elite in the city. Many of them were connected by education and vocation to both Panteo and to Venice, but left faint traces in contemporary documents with the exception of the Emilei who will be discussed later. However, this festival indicated to the Venetian attendees the abilities of local writers, the

375 Giorgio Ronconi, “L’ingresso di Ermolao Barbaro nel Vescovado di Verona.” The Podestas of Verona in the fifteenth century rarely repeated their service but often members of the same Venetian family, such as the Donato, Contarini, Foscarini, and Zorzi, were continuously sent. Also Monique O’Connell, et.al., Rulers of Venice, 1332-1524: Governanti di Venezia, 1332-1524 interpretations, methods, database. User’s Guide. ACLS Humanities E-Book, 2009.
purported importance of Verona as a cultural center, and that the idea of Veronesità could be maintained within a framework maintained by Venice.

6.2 Dante III Alighieri (1462-1510)

Panteo’s students were taught to compose laude and to poetically compliment those who were invested with power, among other courtesies. Indeed, as Margaret King proposed, the intellectual affinities of “Periphery” and “Center” were an accepted and expected part of the political arena. Both of these groups of intellectuals, the patricians because of their direct access to government, and the non-noble elite, because of their identification with the interests of the Patriciate, were more likely to express political concerns in intellectual activities. They championed social values consistent with aristocratic rule and, at the very least, would be taught to avoid the articulation of concepts contrary to current political objectives. As we have noted in the case of Guarino, to criticize a Venetian patrician was to criticize the Venetian state. The client–patron relationship was a function of Unanimitas, praise or criticism of one reflected upon the whole structure. However, as we have noted, the anonymous frottola, did serve a limited purpose of literary revenge, but it was against an individual, a Veronese, not a member of the Venetian administration.

Poems, laude, speeches and festivals were a part of the program of usefulness to the ruler and of moving ahead within the system. The dependency of patronage was so strong that it effectively eliminated any sense of creativity that would propose ideas contrary to those consistent with Venetian proposals and ambitions. In this sense it seems that Panteo

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continued the pedagogical purposes of Guarino, if we follow the interpretations of Grafton and Jardine, which I think are applicable in this case.377

After even a cursory overview of the Actio Panteo it becomes clear that the festivities and the publication of the work were the work of prominent Veronese humanists working within the Venetian system, wishing to have their lives and deeds acknowledged, if not in the history of the city, then by their Venetian administrators. Under the guise of publically praising a learned teacher of the city, they hoped to accomplish both. At the same time, the Actio acknowledged many of his students and followers who now were among the illustrious men of the city.378

The Actio provided a platform to praise Venice and her local administrators, who had overseen the peace and economic growth in Verona during the second half of the fifteenth-century. Now, symbolically, Veronese literati encouraged the muses and gods to be welcomed in a safe haven, a new home in Verona, under the protection of St. Mark.

It is my contention that going beyond this humanistic conversation, Venice tolerated and promoted local intelligentsia to compose glowing accounts not only of Venice, or of a Podesta, but also the history of this particular city, as long as it portrayed life under the “wings of San Marco” to be better than the tyranny from which Venice freed the city. In essence Venice required that their own creation, legends they had created surrounding the takeover of terraferma cities, be integrated within humanist tracts, however distant they might be from those actual topics. We need only refer to the Statutes of Verona to find those nuggets of Venetian rhetoric. Not only did the earlier narrators such as Marzagaia


378 As noted earlier the Actio was published in Verona shortly after the event in 1484 by Count Giulia, a student of Panteo.
and Cerea indicate the acceptance of Venice by the will of the people, Lando adds his emendation to this contention: “The forty-fifth year is now past, since that city by the permission and beneficence of God has been governed by the most illustrious and distinguished senate of Venice.” 379 Not only popular approval but the deity had a hand in this transformation of Verona as well. These myths had to be perpetuated after the acquisition and control of a city especially if that location had classical roots, a humanistic following. Thus it had to be confirmed by the local intelligentsia in their writings of praise for Venetian administrators for added credibility.

One of the participants in the Acta Panteo was Dante III Alighieri. Born in 1462 he showed early on a friendly intimacy with the Venetian magistrates who governed Verona. His affinities with Venice became well known, so much so that he fled in exile to Mantua when the Emperor Maximilian occupied Verona on June 1, 1509 rather than live under foreign occupation, as some accounts indicated. 380

Another example of this kind of laude came in the way of a welcome to the new Podesta of Verona, Francesco Diedo in 1482, composed by Dante III Alighieri. 381 It is in a poem of some 253 lines and composed two years earlier than his contributions to the Actio Panteo. In it Alighieri used imagery similar to his later contribution in the Actio: the

379 Silvestro Lando, Prooemium Statutorum magnificae civitatis Veronae, 522.

380 Vittorio Mistruzzi, “Dante III Alighieri,” in Antonio Avena and Pieralvise di Serego-Alighieri , eds. Dante e Verona (Verona: Tipografica Cooperativa, 1921), 57-125. Mistruzzi notes that Alighieri held posts with the Venetian government from 1491, where he was made Podesta of Peschiera, a town on Lake Garda in 1498, fn. 70-71. However, that act was for public consumption only, as he had made known arrangements in Mantua that in the event of his death his body was to be transported to Verona to be buried in the church of S. Anastasia. As Avesani indicates, his sense of Veronese loyalty may have been fictitious as well. In 1511 he is listed as living in Verona under Imperial rule, as one of the 12 auditors for the city, working for the Emperor.

muses abandoning Parnassus, wandering the world, and moving to Verona, under the governorship of Diedo, where they found a new home, having fled the former Parnassus of Rome.

Rino Avesani suggests, and I think correctly, that these references are an indirect attack on Rome and her rulers as well, which were welcomed by the Venetian government.\textsuperscript{382} It was a cutting denunciation of the treacherous treatment by the Papacy in 1482 in the war involving Ferrara, when Pope Sixtus IV had combined the enemies of Venice, the King of Naples, duke of Milan with Florence into a Holy League.\textsuperscript{383} Later in the poem Calliope commented on the treachery of Rome, “lamenta et fidei violatae dedecus ingens,” “whose violations brought disgrace upon Rome’s reputation.” Alighieri offered similar flattery to Giorgio Cornaro, when he began his service as Capitano of Verona in 1501.\textsuperscript{384} One poem encompassed the new Venetian administrator, praise for the city of Verona, solidarity with Venice and condemnation of a common enemy combined in four single spaced pages.

Dante III Alighieri has been portrayed as a faithful administrator and supporter of Venice in Verona. Including his involvement in the Panteo, Alighieri held a number of offices in Verona as \textit{provveditori} throughout his career. Upon the arrival of Imperial troops in 1509, he is reported to have moved to Mantua to escape involvement with the enemy.

\textsuperscript{382} Avesani, “Verona nel quattrocento La civita delle Lettere,” 224-225.

\textsuperscript{383} Mistruzzi, “Dante III,” \textit{o tempura mores / o misery… mea moenia nunquid/ tam firmis fundata animis gens perfida servat? / exemplo tu roma meo si nomine tanto nunc es digna tamen cur non pia foedera constans inconcussa tenes atque inviolabile sacre/ pignus amicitiae, superum iurataque teste numine pacta foves in aperta pericula mortis" “However, why pious treaties consistently maintained, unbroken and inviolable sacred pledges of friendship, the power of the gods to witness sworn oath agreements, who favor the real danger of death.”

\textsuperscript{384} Mistruzzi, “Dante III,” in \textit{Introitus Mag. Ci domini Georgii Cornarii equitis Capitanei. Ant Arch Ver Arch del Commune, Atti del Consiglio, N, 69r. Cornaro was very well connected; he married the sister of Emperor John IV Megas Komnenos (c. 1403 – 1459), Valenza-Eudokia Komnena, and Cornaro’s sister was Catherine, Queen of Cyprus. She retired to Asolo and died in 1515, reigning over a cultured setting in that picturesque town.

236
However, other sources indicate that he returned from Mantua and served as an administrator for the Emperor. He is recorded as living in Verona in 1511 so his fidelity to Venice might be questioned.

6.3 Giorgio Bevilacqua: The Public Promotion of Jacopo Marcello,

*De bello gallico*

Another local writer, Giorgio Bevilacqua de Lazise (1406-1463+), author of the *De bello gallico* has been mentioned earlier. He was one of the most noteworthy of the participants in the Actio Panteo, a Veronese humanist on the periphery of the inner circle of Venetian *literati*. He is also one of the outstanding examples of a literate administrator who became a dutiful spokesman for a Venetian patrician, using his skills as a humanist for a dubious purpose.

Born in 1406 Bevilacqua was deceased by the time of the Actio, yet his literary status was recognized by Zavarise as an important figure in Veronese literary circles and so he was included posthumously in the Zavarise’s *Carme* of illustrious men. In the year of his birth (1406), his family were permitted to purchase former Scaligeri land from the new Venetian authorities, as did many patrician families in Verona who took advantage of this windfall.385 As has been noted the Bevilacqua were intimately involved in the Venetian rule in Verona and took advantage in word and deed to show their appreciation for their new overlords. Despite his outsider position Bevilacqua is a good example of the kind of person who exchanged well-turned phrases with high born, influential Venetians.

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Bevilacqua was a student of Guarino from 1420-23. In 1436, he went to Padua to study law but later switched to the University of Bologna in 1437, an almost unheard of change as all Venetian subjects had to matriculate at the University of Padua, rather than allow useful and skilled individuals to be lured outside of the realm. In 1437, he had repatriated to Verona and entered public life. He was a counselor to the city from 1439-41, taking part as an advisor in the Podesta’s court from 1447-50. By 1443, he was made Vicar of the Casa dei Mercanti, and in 1466 was appointed Podesta of Legnago, which indicated that he had some administrative responsibility but was still under Venetian oversight. He was a very active Veronese nobleman within Venetian administration. He is mentioned not only in Zagata but also in Maffei’s Verona Illustrata as an important Veronese writer.

Bevilacqua attended Guarino’s school with the influential Venetian Ermolao Barbaro, later to become Bishop of Verona. In 1454, Barbaro was installed as Bishop and Bevilacqua wrote him an elaborate letter of welcome and encouraged him to improve the Veronese church. Referring to ancient Greek and Roman philosophers and to Barbaro’s own family, Bevilacqua welcomed him back to Verona where he had studied under Guarino. Bevilacqua had many close associates in Verona including Bartolomeo Cipolla and Guarino. 386

After the fall of Verona to Venetian forces there was a period of relative tranquility interrupted in 1438 by a disastrous war between the Milanese allied with Mantua and aided

386 Giorgio Ronconi, “L’ingresso di Ermolao Barbaro,”1656-1657. A student had to get special permission from the Venetian Signoria to study in any other institution besides Padua. Pierpaolo Brugnoli, “La dimora di Giorgio Bevilacqua Lazise umanista Veronese del Quattrocento,” Atti e memorie dell’Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze e Lettere di Verona. 170 (1993): 155-171 Bevilacqua was a friend of the Nogarola sisters. Isotta Nogarola also offered a letter to bishop Ermolao Barbaro praising Verona and her family’s devotion to the new vicar. They all knew he was well connected not only to the church, but to his humanist relative also named Ermolao, who was Patriarch of Aquila.
by the condottieri Piccinino, and Venice, led by Francesco Sforza. In this war the Visconti wished to tear both Brescia and Bergamo from Venice while Sforza wished to become ruler of Milan. The several cities in the *terraferma* stood in between these warring factions.

This war was highlighted by the retreat of the Venetian condottieri Gattamalata from Brescia to Padua, the transportation of the Venetian navy over Mount Baldo, the taking of Verona by the *condottieri* Piccinino, and the Venetian naval victory on Lake Garda. An anonymous poem, which appeared in Verona, was dedicated to “ad illustrem principem Franciscum Foscarenum ducem Venetiarum” and implored quick action by the Venetians against the Visconti.\(^{387}\) Local writers praised the various proponents: In Feltre Andrea Regino wrote a treatise in praise of Francesco Sforza, while Giovanni Michel Alberto da Carrara exalted Jacopo Marcello for taking the war across the Adda and camping under the very walls of Milan. One Veronese writer, Francesco Aleardi, left his family and elite lifestyle to follow Sforza into the field and record his deeds.\(^{388}\)

Bevilacqua entitled his book *De bello gallico*, and dedicated it to the Venetian patrician, diplomat and scholar Marco Donato with the preface: “Most elegant and prestigious *juris consule* Giorgio Bevilacqua to the patrician Marco Donatum.” In the preface, the author writes of the efficacy of eloquence and after having recalled several famous men of antiquity, moves on to illustrious warriors in the Middle Ages. He lavished praise upon Venice and her commanders, averring that no one proved greater to Venice and her conflict over Milan than the commander Jacopo Marcello. After giving an account

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\(^{387}\) Cited in Giuseppe Biadego, *Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti della biblioteca comunale di Verona*, C 156 r 157 r and 157r-158r , 45.

of eight battles in the war, he describes the peace, followed by the marriage of Bianca Visconti with Francesco Sforza, and their wedding in Venice.389

One of the most interesting incidents in the war was the transport of the Venetian fleet by land over Mount Baldo, down to Lake Garda to confront and ultimately defeat the Visconti fleet assaulting Brescia. Various writers praised different commanders for this feat but Bevilacqua praises the Venetian commander Jacopo Marcello, his patron. In his Benacus another Veronese author, Ludovico Merchenti, attributed the Venetian exploit of bringing the navy over Mount Baldo to Stefano Contarini, while other scholars saw Gattamalata leading the Venetian troops, as his idea. In the Maggior Consiglio room in the Ducal Palace there is a painting depicting this famous military feat. Painted on the side of the first galley dragged over the mountain are the arms of Marcello and Stefano Contarini, leaving little doubt as to the contribution of Marcello. 390


390 Gabriella Milan, “ Merchenti, Ludovico,” Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani - vol. 73 (2009), and Umberto Franzoni, Storia e leggenda del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia (Verona: Edizioni Stori, 1982), and King, Death of the Child Valerio Marcello, 247.
6.4 The Private Promotion of Jacopo Marcello:

The *Excusatio adversus: consolatores in obitu Valerii filii*

The relationship between the administrator Marcello and the humanist Bevilacqua takes a strange twist following the conclusion of the Visconti wars and his *De bello gallico*. By 1463 Bevilacqua was in Udine as the secretary to the Venetian Jacopo Marcello (1399-1465), who was a lifelong administrator for the Venetian military. Marcello served at various times as provveditori, a provincial governor, senator, ambassador and in several instances, military commander defending Venetian outposts. Marcello had made many friends as an administrator for Venice including Francesco Sforza, Guarino Guarini, and King Rene of Naples, later Count of Provence. Late in 1462, he arrived in Udine to protect Venetian property from the Austrians and later to protect interests in Trieste. In the 1450’s, Marcello’s attentions turned from military matters to his interest in politics and becoming a patron of humanist scholarship. We have already mentioned that he had Guarino translate Strabo’s *Geography* for King Rene, and Mantegna to illustrate the work as well as a set of drawings known as the St. Maurice manuscripts, also for King Rene. Strabo was a favored classical author for Venetians at this time. Strabo cited the Gaul’s rather than the

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391 The title *provveditori* in the Venetian Republic referred to a supervisor in various outlying territories, where they were to adjudicate on specific subjects. It was an appointed administrative position, with little authority and for a short duration.

Trojans as the founding fathers of Venice. Thus in one commission Marcello linked King Rene’s ancestry with that of Venice and, in a sense, with Marcello himself.

Marcello surrounded himself with writers, scholars, and artists and had rather mundane reasons for doing so. In the 1450’s, the exact date is unknown, Bevilacqua wrote an important De bello gallico (on the Lombard war) dedicated to the Venetian nobleman, politician, and amateur humanist Marco Donato.\(^{393}\) The De bello gallico praised the exalted hero of the war Jacopo Marcello. According to Bevilacqua it was Marcello who saved Verona, protected Brescia, and commanded the Venetian navy over the mountains to defeat the Milanese. When referring to Marcello’s mountainous exploits, Bevilacqua and others recalled Marcello’s Roman ancestors, who ostensibly defeated Hannibal’s elephants as they crossed the Alps. Of Marcello’s naval maneuvers, Guarino wrote that Marcello’s feats were reminiscent of Xerxes at the naval bridge or the Turkish maneuvers over the Bosporus. By the early 1450’s Jacopo Marcello’s humanist entourage was a marketing machine singing his praises based on information and exaggerated reports generated by those who had not been present at the battles and Marcello’s paid humanists.

In April of 1452 while Marcello was provveditori in Crema his third wife, Lucia da Leone, gave birth to a son, Valerio. Reports of Marcello’s life tell that Valerio grew to be a refined and intelligent child, who yearned to imitate his famous father. Tragically, in 1463, Valerio became ill and died shortly before his ninth birthday. Marcello’s grief

became a catalyst for the humanist scholars surrounding him to try to comfort Marcello with letters of encouragement and strength.

In April 1463 the humanist George of Trebizond wrote Marcello a substantial letter of condolence, which was soon followed by a second letter from the ducal secretary, Cinnolo Saguandino. In August Isotta Nogarola wrote a letter in sympathy and by Christmas Francesco Filelfo produced an extensive *De obitu Valerii filii consolatio*.*394* Nine other humanists submitted letters of grief to Marcello, including a Latin elegy written by Filelfo in the name of his patron, Francesco Sforza, attempting to console Marcello and Marcello’s friends.*395* However, the most interesting of these responses to Valerio’s death was written by the Veronese humanist Giorgio Bevilacqua da Lazise, who would become Marcello’s secretary in Udine. The *Excusatio adversus consolatores in obitu Valerii filii* (13 November, 1463) was alleged to have been composed by the father Jacopo Marcello as a response to these letters of condolence, but he was too grieved by his loss. It was ghost written by Bevilacqua at the request and apparent direction of Marcello.

Bevilacqua played several roles in these exercises: he wrote under his own name, wrote under a pseudonym, and under the name of his employer (Marcello). Bevilacqua (as a friend and as a secretary) claimed that over a year of grief was ill suited to the station and dignity of Marcello. “I cannot bear your being accused of pusillanimity,” wrote his secretary. To silence Marcello’s accusers for his loss of dignity Bevilacqua composed the

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*395* King, *Death*, King calls this the “literary commorialization” of the child Valerio and notes that at least another seven individuals, including a soldier, and a professional writer of elegies hired by Borso d’Este of Ferrara.
Excusatio at the direction of Marcello, “So I have written the letter, as I persuaded you should be done, as though you yourself had composed it in your free evenings and addressed it from you to the Divine King Rene… Now I give it to you, as if it had been written by Marcello.”

Margaret King plausibly argues that Marcello approved of the writing and the false attributions as a means of ingratiating himself with Rene, as he had attempted to do with the earlier Strabo translation by Guarino. By collecting the enormous literary outpouring from some of the leading Italian humanists regarding his son’s death, and offering his own response to their entreaties, Marcello in effect coordinated these manuscripts and finished it with his own answers to their queries on grief. It also acted as a platform upon which to receive “unbiased” praise regarding his achievements from his secretary, as well as to direct praise onto his employer, the government of Venice.

Although Jacopo claimed the authorship of the Excusatio as a defense to silence his well-intentioned associates, he fully intended it to be circulated. According to Margaret King, the Excusatio is an “incoherent work: and deliberately so.” Its meaning was to ramble, seemingly reflecting the mindset of the father, an authentic response from the grieving Venetian patrician. It is a letter to King Rene, which purports to present an aging father, is right to continue grieving. This follows the child Valerio’s speech, offering a

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litany of the father’s accomplishments, a military life most noble that the young Valerio had wished to emulate.

The condolence letters all share an extensive life history of a child, who was only nine at his death, and whom most of them never knew. In several of the humanist texts there is repeated the touching story of the first time Marcello and Valerio see one another, three months after the child’s birth. The child immediately knew his father, and preferred to gaze at the man rather than feed at his nurse’s breast. These attributes would certainly be connected to the lives of saints, taken from the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine. The story of St. Nicholas of Bari reflects a similar incident, a saintly baby refusing to nurse while he was occupied with matters that are more spiritual. 398 In Marcello’s case, the deification of a child is a reflection of the qualities of the father. It was also reported in several of the accounts that the child indicated on his deathbed that he would rather die than to see his father die. Moreover, if he survived, he would dress in somber clothes, in imitation of his father. Margaret King emphatically points out, Marcello or his secretary most likely circulated a template of facts, talking points as it were, to insure continuity while still allowing for humanistic literary license.

If such similarities occurred within the descriptions of the life of an obscure child, there is no question surrounding these works reporting on the life of Marcello and his heroic deeds. His military career, the transport of ships over the Alps, the liberation of Brescia and Verona are all points of discussion and praise. One writer, Perleone, wrote that Marcello himself paid his troops from his own pocket while another, Fortebracci,

contended that Marcello himself received no bounty from the taking of Milan. Many of them drew parallels from the life of Valerio and noble Romans from whom he descended. Pannonius, a student of Guarino, attributed to Marcello, a most noble Roman ancestry: he was descendent from the “toga clad Roman fathers, strong column of Venetian destiny.” Marcello exceeded his Roman ancestor, the former taking Syracuse in three years; the latter took Verona in three days.399

In order to assuage Marcello for the loss of his child, many of the writers reminded Marcello of his family’s greatness but also of the greatness of Venice. One writer known as the Anonymous B (perhaps a student from Padua, perhaps Bevilacqua), as well as Filelfo and Perleone, weave their praise on the origins and greatness of Venice within their condolences. Bevilacqua manages to comply with this literary focus, whereas praise for Venice overshadows the child Valerio. The Republic continues after the child recedes from memory.

Bevilacqua discussed the origins of Venice, the flight towards freedom onto the lagoons of the Venetian peoples, the early Doges, the translation of the body of St. Mark, all of the key points addressed by Edward Muir in his study of civic ritual in Venice, but promulgated in the earliest of histories of Venice.400 The history of Venice in Bevilacqua’s work is focused on the Trojan origins of Venice, who were the ancestors of the Veneti, a free people who populated the lagoons even before the founding of Rome. Bevilacqua outlines the history of justice and liberty within Venice, not only within the city but within

399 King, The Death of the Child Valerio Marcello, 68-69.

400 Edward Muir, Civic Ritual, 65 ff.
her cities on the *terraferma* The child Valerio had disappeared from the discourse; the center of attention is now Venice and her grieving patrician, Marcello Valerio.

Without overly speculating on the undercurrent of these humanistic outpourings, it is possible to conclude that there is evidence of a good rapport between the Venetian aristocracy sent to manage these subject cities and the local elite, even during periods of tension and even rebellion. The example of the Actio Panteo is an early instance of celebrations that included all of the Venetian administrative strata, patiently observing the festivities, rightly assuming that they and their home city would be praised along with whatever *spettacolare* the locals could provide. This episode involving Jacopo Marcello illustrates how simple explanations of events, the praising of an individual, could be transformed into a stage for the eulogizing of Venice. For Bevilacqua, the central themes of his works are the history of Venice and her mythic uniqueness, not the death of the child Valerio.  

While promoting the memory of Valerio, and the exemplary character of Jacopo Marcello, Bevilacqua was widening his range of supporters to include those Venetians seeking another such skilled talent for their own purposes. The last recorded letter we have is one from the Venetian patrician Ludovico Foscari praising Bevilacqua for Bevilacqua’s dedication to him of his commentary on Cicero, 1467.

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402 King, *The Death of the Child Valerio Marcello*, 308.
6.5 Contemporary Descriptions of the Panteo and their Importance

The *Carme Cum Enumeratione Poetarum Oratorumque Veronensium* and *de Viris Illustribus il Antiquissimis qui ex Verona claruere* are both composed by Virgilio Zavarise, former student of Panteo. This festival to honor Antonio Panteo by his disciples was also described by Conte Giuliari to the Venetian patrician and new Podesta, Antonio Venier.

Nevertheless, it was the poem by Virgilio Zavarise that gave the most detailed description of the events with additional mythical elaboration. In this narrative Zavarise celebrated some forty Veronese writers whose memories were inscribed in later histories of the city and who were distinguished by their letters and humanist activities, and their connections to one another and to the Venetian government. The physical procession and festivities were important, but the written accounts and embellishments of Zavarise and Dante III continued the laudatory relationship between Venetian administrators and their humanist environment. Curiously Antonio Panteo is hardly cited in this rambling poem, the focus being on those illustrious Veronese writers, dead or alive, who should be remembered.

How Zavarise’s work fits into this discussion can be mapped in several ways. First, he is describing a civic demonstration of Veronese mythology promoted by local intellectuals. It was performed before their Venetian administrators incorporating these men and the Venetian state into the argument that Verona, under La Serenissima, was the new home of the muses. The Actio Panteo illustrates how much Venetian encouragement was sought, and tacitly received in their official capacity as administrators for a distant government. Moreover, those who were doing the promotion and performance were not
unknown to the Venetian administration. In some instances, they were bureaucrats, educated elites seeking continued favor of her representatives or possibly employment in Venice.

The *Carme* of Virgilio Zavarise illustrates the collateral promotion of the Venetian myth. Here Veronese subjects attempted to advance their own agenda under the patronizing vision of Venice. Their actions served to reinforce the idea of mutual tolerance and affirmed the notion that Venice was less a governor than a caretaker of her subject cities. The *Carme* includes Zavarise’s personal ambitions as a rising administrator as well as describes Verona as a mythical cultural center, which did not interfere with a Myth of Venice. Venice was still the political and economic power on the *terraferma*. This permitted Verona to assert herself as a cultural center while not overstepping her bounds as a subject city.

Rather than enumerate here the forty or so humanists who participated in the Actio, a short biography of each is found in Document #7. What is apparent is the initial connection to the teacher Panteo, since many of these humanists were his students. However, it was the intricate web of social and political connections that went far beyond this connection that reality oversteps the pedagogical links. For Nogarola, Conte Giuliai Aleardi, and Zavarise, Dante Alighieri III and Lanfranchini, this event was a platform for a larger agenda. On one side was a desire for praise, of self-promotion and recognition by the Venetian administration. This was countered by a desire by Venice to have her mythic history, her historical talking points, repeated by educated men from the subject communes. In this way these public events become part of a non-written program of Collateral
Promotion of the Myth of Venice and of a growing mythology beginning to emerge in Verona.

6.6 The *Carme* of Virgilio Zavarise and the Literary Extension of the Actio

Virgilio Zavarise *Cum Enumeratione Poetarum Oratorumque Veronensium* is conserved in the Biblioteca Comunale di Verona, which also contains a copy of the Actio. Its author, Virgilio Zavarise, was one of the two guiding spirits behind this celebration of Verona, Panteo his teacher, and his devoted and politically connected students. Fluent in Greek and Latin, possibly Arabic and Hebrew as well, Zavarise was another elite scholar who moved in the elite circles of aristocratic Verona.

Born in 1452, Zavarise later married Giacoma Maffei, also from a prominent Veronese family, with whom he had six children. He was a student of Brognanigo, and awarded notary status at the age of 16 by Count Palatine Paolo Andrea Del Bene. Elected as notary for the prestigious Casa dei Mercanti in 1472, he entered the Consiglio dei Dodici, while in 1498 made Chancellor of the commune. He died March 5, 1511, succeeded in his office as Chancellor by Conte Giulia, his friend and collaborator of the Actio Panteo. As a scholar, Zavarise knew and praised Marin Sanudo, the Podesta Pietro Loredan, the historian Marcantonio Sabellico and Bernardo Bembo, the Capitano of the city. Perhaps his most eloquent testament was his encomium, *de laudibus Veronae*, dedicated to the Modenese Panfilo Sasso, who later made a collection of documents celebrating Verona.\(^{403}\)

\(^{403}\) A copy of his chancellery activities is preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale in Verona MS 1102 (948) *Repertoria librorum provisionum seu consiliiorum magnicae comunitatis Veronae, et registrorum litterarum ducalem cancellariae mag d potestatis Veronae enucleata in epitomen per me virgillum zavarisium prefatae comunitatis cancellarium et in aliud volumen per ordinem alphabeti redacta incipiendo 1405 et finiendo per totum 1490*. 

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This description by Zavarise was written approximately at the same time as the Panteo procession, even though it includes new characters in the festivities. It will be remembered that Zavarise was also a student of Panteo and would become the future Chancellor of the city, so his affinity with Venetian administration was unquestioned.

Yet the *Carme* is different. Zavarise continued the pantheon fantasy in his work but connected Verona and the Muses. Venice has little to do with this poem. His more important purpose was to display those important Veronese humanists who may have escaped notice under the guise of this mythic encounter. In the *Carme* Zavarise places himself on Lake Garda, awaiting the arrival from Brescia of his cousin Francesco Emilei, who also wished to offer his praises to Panteo. It was there on the lake that the muse Calliope appeared and informed the author of her arrival in Italy and to Verona. Francesco Emilei revealed that it was he who requested from the Venetian authorities permission to meet with Panteo.

Calliope, accompanied by Dante III on her right and Agostino Capello, on her left, was taken into Verona and were accompanied to the church of Ognissanti, where they offered their gifts to Panteo. This was the very church where Panteo was rector in 1473 and was located on the Corso Porta Palio, to the right of the Castelvecchio. Indeed, Francesco Emilei, although a foreigner, donated money for the Cathedral chapel of SS. Filippo e Giacome Maggiore. In fact a branch of the Emilei family had obtained property near Cavalcaselle from Venice, part of the sale of the spoils of the Scala in 1408.

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404 The church of Ognissanti is located near the Porta Palio, to the right of the Castelvecchio, about 100 meters from the Arco dei Gavi. It was incorporated after World War II into an unsightly construction, located at Civico N 18, with a doorway permitting access to the courtyard of the church, today transformed into an office, while maintaining intact the original structure.
Agostino Capello, a relative and participant in the Actio is noted in the registry of notaries in 1478, the Casa dei Mercanti in 1480, and was deceased by September of 1500.\(^4^0^5\)

He had been a student of Panteo, friends with the Nogarola family and an intimate with the Venetian government in Verona.

In all some eighteen persons who were present and mentioned in the Panteo are included by Zavarise, with another twenty-five writers listed but who were either not present or deceased by 1484. It is this inclusiveness that indicates that the Carme was not about Panteo as it was about literary Veronese of the recent past. These were the people to whom later Veronese writers would remember, read, and republish. The laude and Actio became the template for the literati of fifteenth-century Veronese humanists, but the laude seems to focus more on Veronese writers with less emphasis on the Venetian component of Verona.

It can be concluded that the Carme, while mentioning Panteo, is really a platform for Veronese writers who may or may not have been students of Panteo to be counted in a new Pantheon of Veronese literati. Under the guise of furthering the exploits of the muses and of the Actio, the Carme prepares the reader for the continuation of presenting prominent figures found in later encyclopedic collections such as Tinto and Maffei. These literary figures were now standing on a stage set for Veronese actors and literary figures.

\(^{405}\) Sancassani, “I beni della fattoria scaligera,” 107-108.

6.7 Zavarise’s promotion of Illustrious Veronese of Antiquity:

_the De Viris Illustribus il Antiqussimus qui ex Verona clauere_ 407

The _De Viris Illustribus il Antiqussimus qui ex Verona clauere_ was Zavarise’s entry into the controversy surrounding the patrimony of several important men of antiquity. The _De Viris_ was both a literary and artistic attempt to honor those men of antiquity from Verona, as a permanent fixture in the cultural life of the city. Part of the challenge of these endeavors was to provide evidence that proved that these individuals were in fact from the city, increasing local self-esteem. This was critical in that it provided a foundation upon which to build a contemporary and verifiable sense of importance for Verona. The city or at least members of its elite were slowly becoming comfortable with their Venetian overlords. Part of this comfort level allowed them to attempt a strengthening of their own sense of civic identity, to reinvent a communal personality which had been obscured in local histories and public displays for nearly a century. With the building of the new Loggia del Consiglio (1476-1493) it had been decided by the Veronese council that the structure would be crowned by several statues of Verona’s most illustrious men, a first step in the secular canonization of these local writers.

Briefly, the Loggia del Consiglio was built on a location previously controlled by the della Scala and later Visconti, and was now held by Venice. It was a symbolic replacement of power in the city, destroying the old regime’s property and replacing it with a newly designed edifice representing Venetian authority. The Palazzo del Commune was the site of the communal tribunal and prison, and the Grande Palazzo or Castelvecchio housed the Podesta. Concentrating administrative offices near the Piazza Erbe made sense, practically

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407 _Illustrious men from Verona since antiquity._
and symbolically. As early as 1451 the city council discussed the need for a more dignified place for its meetings. It would only be in 1476, after the renovations of older buildings failed, that a new edifice was approved.

Even today, the Loggia is incorrectly called the Loggia di Fra Giocondo, so named after the famous Veronese architect and designer of the Rialto Bridge in Venice, who probably had nothing to do with the construction or architectural design of the Loggia. An unknown architect, Daniel Banda, seems to have been in charge of this construction, as was noted in the Actio Panteo. Upon its completion the Venetian authorities required the inscription “PRO SUMMA FIDE SUMMUS AMOR” “FOR MUCH FAITH MUCH LOVE” be placed over the main doors as a reminder of Verona’s responsibility towards Venice. Banda was identified as the architect of the Loggia for the first time in the Actio Panteo.

The statuary decorations atop the Loggia included both Plinys, Emilio Macro Vitruvius and Catullus, or as they were known the “De Viris Illustribus Antiquissimis qui ex Verona claruere.” By 1493 construction of the Loggia was essentially complete and the statues were to be created to adorn the top of the Loggia. A competition was held and the sculptor Alberto da Milano won the commission for the statuary. As was the process, his work had to be judged by other competent artists. A review was held, which included the local artist Domenico Morone, whom Vasari indicated was “more famous than any other painter in that city, Liberale being in Siena.” 408 The appraisal was successful and the figures were accepted.

408 Vasari, Vitae, VI, 309. Also Raffaello Brenzoni, Domenico Morone. Vita ed Opere (Florence: Leo S. Olschki,1956), as well as his La Celebre Loggia del Consiglio Veronese, opera collettiva di umanisti della citta e di artisti comacini (Verona: 1958). Fra Giocondo was promoted as a likely architect, not because of his Veronese roots, but because he was a Venetian engineer.
It will be recalled that in the Actio Panteo (1486), there were references to Pliny and Macer in the poetic festivals, with Catullus and the others the mainstay in the cultural pantheon of Verona. At approximately the same time in Rome the nephew of the former Bishop of Verona, also named Ermolao Barbaro, had written a *Castigationes Plinianae* (1493), disputing the patrimony of Pliny. In this work Pliny was described as coming from Como, not Verona. One of the followers of Panteo, Piero Donato Avogaro, had persistently petitioned the Veronese council in favor of Pliny’s Veronese paternity.

This assertion became the topic of academic debate, and Veronese humanists were motivated by the implied prospects of the *De Viris Illustris Antiquissimis qui ex Verona claruere in 1495*. The discussion was ended, for the moment, with the installation of the five illustrious, and probably fictitious Veronese personalities atop the new loggia. In accepting these new “Veronese saints,” Venice tempered this enthusiasm in her own manner. Nevertheless, the Venetian Senate made sure that the Loggia del Consiglio was not to be a benchmark for Veronese sentiments: the Venetian Senate had the original Latin inscription *Atrium* removed, which suggested that the Loggia was a meeting place of equals to debate and make laws. Only the representatives of Venice were considered equals in this manner.

The *De Viris Illustris* was written by Avogaro as a congratulatory work to honor the Venetian cardinal Marco Corner, who had been nominated Bishop of Verona in 1503-1524. The local humanists certainly needed Venetian support, and such dedicatory works

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assisted in gaining that support. The fact that stato and chiesa were joined within the bishop made his election even more important to those locals seeking favors, positions, or recommendations.

Avogaro divided his *De Viris Illustribus* into two parts; in the first section he seeks to correct and elaborate on the origins of Pliny as being Veronese, using simple archeological methodology rather than basing his judgment on hearsay and local myth. He also relies on Panteo’s scholarly writings, such as the *Annotationes*, and other local writers such as A. Partenio, *In Catullum commentationes* (Venice, 1487?) and Catullus himself as a source. Avogaro also cites Strabo’s *De situ orbis*, translated by Guarino no less, which praises the role played by Verona in the ancient world. Avogaro reviews ancient sources for references to Verona, of her monuments, the Arena, the Arco dei Gavi of “L. Vitruvius L.I. Cedo architectus,” various churches and wall epigrams and arrived at an identification of Pliny. He first establishes Pliny as being Veronese, then combined with a reference from Pliny mentioning “catullum conterraneum meum” “my countryman Catullus,” draws the logical conclusion. Avogaro cites several other ancient texts who refer to Pliny in a similar way, and certainly indicates that Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and other recent writers referred to Pliny as being a native Veronese.411

If nothing else the *De Viris Illustribus* brought attention to the degree of scholarship local humanists would muster in order to give voice to a strong sense of their history, especially when “outsiders” sought to tarnish their patrimony, their illustrious forbearers.

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411 “De viris,” 265-ff. The author points out that in some ancient references Pliny is referred to as “Veronensis” and in the same codex as “novocomensis” See also Biblioteca Comune di Verona, Matteo Ruffo 1212 (1033) “Mattheus Rufus, quod plinius senior sit veronensis, 1491,” yet another attempt to support the contention of Pliny as being a native Veronese.
The assumption, rarely articulated, was that contemporary writers were somehow the heirs and continuators of the illustrious ancients. Apparently, there was a need to reestablish this link between past and present. The Veronese humanists attempted to rebuild on a foundation of scholarship rather than myth, but stopped short when other research conflicted with their desired conclusions.

Several years after the Actio, we have noted the completion of the Loggia and the wish to include both Plinys in the pantheon of illustrious Veronese. We cannot exclude the *I Fioretto*, mentioned in Chapter 2, as a paean to Verona and Veronesità. These later works cited contemporary writers, living humanists or those recently deceased, as having an important role in the continuation of Veronese humanism, dating from the high point of ancient Rome to the contemporary world. Humanist writers, unlike their medieval predecessors, were interested in concrete examples, ancient references to the history of their greatness, not the endless encomiums to fish, local produce and wines.

By the end of the fifteenth-century Venetian reliance on educated patricians to prepare laude, histories, and orations in praise of Venice had diminished. Although the notion of Unanimitas was still an effective concept, after the battle of Agnadello in 1509, enthusiasm for Venice had waned. Venetian patrons no longer requested these laude, verses, poetic Carme, which used to be the domain of local humanists, notaries, and the educated elite fell into disuse as literary tools. There seems to have been a rift in the society of the subject cities of the Veneto after the defeat of Venice at Agnadello and the invasions and take over by the Holy Roman Emperor Maximillian.

There were differing interpretations for the lack of protection and control by Venice, seen by some as a breach of their pacts with their territorial cities. From a Venetian
perspective these were seen as delaying tactics, allowing the cities to be conquered in order
to slow the invaders onslaught towards Venice. There was a disconnect between those
Venetians who saw this as a military maneuver, and those terraferma cities who experienced the effects of these tactics on a daily basis. There was a growing
dissatisfaction between those who still gave titular allegiance to Venice and those who were not as enthusiastic about a continued Venetian presence on the terraferma. A malaise of confidence had set in, permeating many levels of society and culture on the terraferma.

Gian Paolo Marchi, an astute modern historian of Verona, believed that as a result of these invasions and foreign occupation, reliance on Venice and faith in the Church had become empty words. He cites an Inquisitional report investigated by one Fra Manelfi in 1551, a priest of Verona, who had testified that he had long been a Lutheran, and was now moving towards the Anabaptist sect. He avowed that Christ was only human, that confession and baptism were in vain and that the Pope was the antichrist.\textsuperscript{412} Even within the Episcopal palace in Verona, under the great reformer Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti, members of his household were collecting Lutheran books and speaking out publically on the efficacy of the sacraments.\textsuperscript{413} The Bishop’s own nephew Mantovano, was interrogated, revealing that he had made public statements questioning purgatory, ecclesiastical celibacy, the cult of the saints, basic Catholic doctrine. He claimed to be directly inspired by Christ. The Bishop, aware of the ideas of his nephew, released him after two days in


\textsuperscript{413} Adriano Prosperi, \textit{Tra Evangelismo e controriforma: G.M. Giberti (1495-1543)} (Roma, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1969), 268, fn. 252, and Alexander Nagel, \textit{The Controversy of Renaissance Art} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 197. Bernardino Ochino, head of the order of Capuchins, was also a guest of Bishop Ghiberti, unaware of his deep Lutheran leanings.
incarceration. Mantovano reflected that, if he had been inspired by Christ, the Lord would not have abandoned him so quickly! He was sent to London and religious sanctuary.

Marchi, in his introductory notes to the *Le Bellezze di Verona* of Adriano Valerini (1545-1592), believed that the invasions and occupations undermined the fidelity of the Veronese towards their “sister” or “mother” Venice.\(^{414}\) Added to this uncertainty was an economic crisis in the woolen trade in Verona, described by the historian Moscardo at the end of the century. Many of the local aristocrats left their estates and went into the mechanical arts to earn a living. They became sellers, dyers, abandoning their social status in the process. They invested in the countryside, and its produce, especially wool and silk. Later, it became impossible to be re-admitted to their social class, to return to their social standing. By the mid 1550’s the wool and silk trade was in decline. Nevertheless, the movement out of the city to seek wealth continued. The local merchants abandoned the urban centers, investing in the outlying areas of the city, oftentimes with Venetian partners.

It was a loss of political balance that encouraged local writers to explore new topics for their craft. While not totally abandoning a Venetian centric theme, they explored the possibilities of a Veronese focused historical perspective. Certainly after mid-century the direction in which history was written in the city was changing, and the fluctuations in the narrative perspective profound. This was not the case, however, of the writing style or literary intentions of every writer and historian writing about Verona.

If the verbal depiction of Verona by Venetian and Veronese writers was complimentary, symbiotic, even laudatory, the depictions of the city in non-verbal representations was more focused in its intent to define the image of Venice and Verona and the relationship

between Center and Periphery. That is the theme of Chapter Six in this dissertation, reviewing Venetian representations of Verona through the sixteenth-century in cartography, painting, and architecture.
CHAPTER VII
VENETIAN REPRESENTATIONS OF VERONA THROUGH THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: THE VENETIAN AND VERONESE MYTHS IN CARTOGRAPHY, PAINTING AND ARCHITECTURE

7.1 Maps of the City and Their Cultural Significance

If the verbal depiction of Verona by Venetian and Veronese writers was complimentary, symbiotic, even laudatory, the early cartographic depictions of the city were more focused on the intent to define the relationship between Center and Periphery. The cartographer followed the patron’s directions. If this observation is accurate, and as far as we can tell from fifteenth-century contracts between artists and their patrons it is, a map can tell us much about the attitudes behind its creation, and the importance of this city to Venice. ⁴¹⁵

For example what are the prominent architectural structures emphasized on the map? Were there structures, which were not included for, reason, perhaps a church or political building. Are some structures distorted in such a manner as to increase or obscure their identity? Is a countryside included in this cartographic illustration…are their people inhabiting the city or countryside…are military figures indicated? ⁴¹⁵

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⁴¹⁵ Gino Sandri, “Una carta topografica del secoli xvi e la deviazime delle acqua Veronese in territorio vicentino,” Atti e memorie della Accademia di agricoltura, scienze e lettere di Verona XI, series V (1934-35), 1-22. Also Rodolfo Gallo, “A fifteenth Century Military Map of the Venetian territory of Terraferma,” Imago Mundi 12 (1955), 55-57. The map in question, found in the Topkapi palace in Istanbul, shows the terraferma with cities and military installments in Latin and Cyrillic alphabet. No monuments or symbolic notation is found on the map, thus its immediate purpose seems to be clear.
celestial presence, angels, the deity, or the Virgin separately or along with symbols of the governing power? In the case of Veronese maps and maps of the terraferma cities in general, the Lion of San Marco is usually displayed in the heavens along with some heavenly creatures, carefully watching over the territory below. All of these features lend themselves to direct the viewer at more than a geographical description of the city. It includes other layers of information, which the audience should be aware of as well.

The earliest extant map of Verona, the Carta dell’Almagia created under Venetian rule is dated 1439-40, and is found in the Archivio di Stato Venezia. Verona is situated in the center of the map surrounded by the countryside, a unique perspective for early maps. Labeled structures include the important monumental structures of the city, the Arena, Piazza dei Signori, Palazzo del Commune, and the major churches. The anonymous cartographer included no noticeable indications of a Venetian presence.

A year later a Lombard, Giovanni Pesato, produced a military map at the time of the Venetian-Visconti war, circa 1441. This map includes the sign of the “Leone Marciano,” the Leone di San Marco to indicate the ownership of this territory. We have addressed the significance of these symbols earlier in the map found in Corna’s Fioretto. As with the later map, the Pesato maps indicated the powers behind the successful war and their prizes.

Two other drawings, one dated 1479, the other probably a few years later, were commissioned by the Republic as the focus is on the walls and fortresses in and around Verona. Little attention is given to recreating the monuments of the city or public spaces. A design for a map by the Veronese artist Giovanni Caroto (1488-1566) created for Torello

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Saraina’s *De origine e amplitudine civitatis Veronae* (Verona: 1540), views the city from a southern perspective emphasizing some ecclesiastic elements and the defensive characteristics of the city. There are few references, which would indicate a Venetian presence by this late date. A few civil monuments are depicted including the Arena and the Piazza Erbe with the Lamberti tower and the Leone of San Marco.\(^{417}\) Vasari commented that another early sixteenth-century painter and contemporary of Caroto, Nicolas Giolfino, was commissioned by the Venetian Signoria to work on maps of the entire *terraferma*. On Feb. 27, 1545 the Venetian Signoria sent to the rectors of Verona a request that Giolfino use his talents to represent lands and countries, and was told to perform a survey of the entire territory of Verona, claiming as compensation two ducats per month for himself and his family. \(^{418}\) If these maps were ever created, they have not been discovered.

This trend of using local artists continued into the sixteenth century. The reasons are clear. It would encourage patronage between Venice and her subject cities as well as underline the premise that local Veronese cartographers knew the terrain of their city better than others did. In the case of Giolfino he was not a cartographer, but a local painter who chosen to draw maps from time to time.

\(^{417}\) Giovanni Caroto, *Le Antichita di Verona.*

The Venetian Senate commissioned a Veronese cartographer, Cristoforo Sorte, to create five large maps in 1578 of the *terraferma* cities for the Republic, from Venice to Milan, and from Mantua north to Friuli. 419 These would not have the flamboyant putti, and angelic descriptors indicating that these cities belonged to Venice. Later detailed maps of the city by Paolo Ligozzi and Paolo Fambotti overemphasize the Venetian domination. The Ligozzi-Fambotti map of 1648, entitled *Verona fidelis*, featured the Leone di San Marco and putti grasping banderoles announcing Verona’s status.420 (Illustration 19) In this later seventeenth century rendering the map was an overview of the city, similar to the Map of Venice (1500) by Jacopo de' Barbari, which is drawn from an elevated perspective. In it, he indicates hundreds of main buildings, piazzas and monuments, with the city comfortably outlined within sturdy fortified walls. This unique perspective was achieved by using several different bell towers as drawing outposts.

What do these few maps reveal about the relationship between Verona and Venice? What is perceived as Venetian territory is presented in whatever manner the patron wishes. By the early 1600’s maps of the city not only introduced the viewer to selected views but emphasized other iconography as well. They confirm in pictorial, printed form, what dispatches, and histories of Venice had maintained all along: Verona was a faithful city, “Verona fidelis.” The city’s identity reflects the iconography of Venice.

419 Juergen Schulz, “New Maps and Landscape Drawings by Cristoforo Sorte,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 20: 1 (1976): 107-126. It is not clear whether these maps were ever completed.

In the seldom-referenced map, dated to 1630, Madonna Verona kneels in the heavens, offering her crown as Queen of the city to the Doge of Venice. Surrounded by angels and joined by the personification of the Adige River, the image is one of a reaffirmation of the fidelity of Verona, the subject state, to Venice. To the left of this scene are the religious icons of the city: St. Zeno with his crozier and a fish, St. Peter Martyr, and the Virgin and Child blessing the city. Verona submits herself freely to the Venetian Doge—an offering authenticated in print.  

It is not surprising that when Venetians commissioned maps of terraferma cities, a main concern was on fortified castles, walls, waterways, and the availability of forests--benchmarks for a Venetian presence within that city. The inclusion of historical monuments had little place as markers for Venetian topographers unless they reflected a Venetian presence. Venice determined what was important to Venetians.

The intent of the patron of the map is also clear. A 1581 map by the German cartographers Braun and Hogenberg, the Civitates orbis terrarium, provides an accurate description of some 546 cities from all over the world. Verona’s description was detailed, modeled after Caroto’s earlier map without the inclusion of principle monuments in the city. There was no reference to a Venetian presence whatsoever, but their rendering of the City of Venice included illustrations of the Senators and their manner of dress and numbered references to the many important sites in the city, including the Ghetto. The cartography of the terraferma, like the formal paintings in the ducal chambers, represent

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421 Marco Girardi, Alberto Perini, and Marcus Perini, Antiche stampe di Verona dal Quattrocento al Novecento, 37, #19, “Verona citta celeberima” Francesco Valegio, on a design by Paolo Ligozzi.

422 This site was the only one which one could view an enlarged version of the map of Venice. http://usm.maine.edu/maps/exhibition/10/4/sub-/the-sephardic-jewish-diaspora
an iconographic plan of the subject cities, and their relationship to Venice. For the description of Venice, it was essential to delineate the important monuments and sites of the city. For the terraferma cities, one or two antiquities would suffice, as long as the pictorial reference of Venice was reinforced.

7.2 Paintings as Evidence of Social Standing, Political Affinity and Vendetta

There have been no comprehensive studies of the details of commissions for the inclusion of symbols, paintings, or historic quotations painted internally or externally on homes in Verona. A study of the opposite scenario--that of defacing someone’s domicile as a response to a vendetta, a visual shaming of the inhabitants that would negatively affect the reputations of the victims—would also be compelling. Though pictorial shaming was not a common practice in Verona, a closer examination of some of these defamatory actions offers insight into disorders in the urban setting of the communal state and sheds light on relationships among the elite families in Veronese society.423

By the tenth century Verona had outgrown its original boundaries and the city was characterized by new walls, streets, and ecclesiastical buildings. A noticeable change would have been the increased number of freestanding strongholds and house towers. These dominated the city and implied a quasi-military environment. There are frequent references to wooden or metal gates on the exterior of houses, and the irregular shape of

423 Valentin Groebner, Defaced: The Visual culture of the Late Middle Ages (New York: Zone Books, 2004). Much of the work of Gunter Schweikhart, conserving and studying the exterior murals of Verona is well known. Gunter Schweikart, Mauro Cova, Giuliana Sona, Pittura murale esterna nel veneto, Verona e provincia (Bassano: 1993), as well as Schweikart’s earlier Fassadenmalerei in Verona (Munich: Bruckmann, 1973).
many of the houses indicate frequent additions. These embellishments protruded into the streets, forcing realignment of the lanes, which were documented in notarial entries. 424

Roman urban planners followed precise lines in “old Verona,” the area adjacent to the Porta Borsari, the Piazza Erbe and the Piazza dei Signori. These accurately outlined forms were discarded by the time of the eleventh century expansion and certainly by the time of the Scala rulers. Modification of the houses of a merchant or artisan would consist mostly of interior changes and would not have much of an impact on the exterior urban landscape. However, the alterations of the houses of the elite would most likely had a greater effect. As wealthy citizens acquired houses, sometimes adjacent, sometimes not, the result was the closing of streets to accommodate these changes. A portrait of the dwellings of the upper class of the city, and the significance of painted murals on the dwelling, or the defacements of these houses would be a study worth pursuing.425

The decoration on the outside of the house transmitted an ideological message of the identity of the family through the exhibition of a coat of arms (stemma). Correspondingly, the execution of obscene pictures and mocking (schernito) forms on the house of the domus patrizia (main home) represented a grave insult, and decreased prestige. This activity was certainly not a Venetian phenomenon. 426


425 For this phenomenon in other cities on the terraferma see M. Piana e E. Armani, “Le superfici esterne della architettura veneziana” in Facciate dipinte. Conservazione e resa (Geneva, 1984), 75-78.

426 Luigi Simeoni, “Una vendetta signorile nel 400 e il Pittore Francesco Benaglio,” Nuovo Archivio veneto 5 (1903, 1891): 252-258, 253. Trevor Dean indicated another caricature “traitor to the Holy Mother Church, to the popolo and commune of Florence and to all its allies,” as hanging by his left foot, upside down on a gallows, with a Siren on his left and a Basilisk on his right while wearing a bishop's
In Verona in 1475 an incident with the Sagramoso family illustrates the Venetian/Veronese tensions and required the intervention of the Venetian Podesta. In 1452 the Emperor Frederick III had made Lionello Sagramoso a count. His family were loyal supporters of the Scaligeri and originally were rural aristocrats, owning land along Lake Garda in Malcesine. They were knighted under the early Scaligeri. Sagramoso purchased several dwellings in the old part of town, the Via Pigna, and attempted to create a compound living situation for him, his wife Anna Tramarina, and nephews Donato and Pietro, sons of his brothers Tommaso and Ognibene. The nephews were designated as Sagramoso’s heirs. In his testament of August 26, 1486, Lionello refers to two domus principalai, one “domus contigua viridario,” and the other “domuncula,” assuming living accommodations for both men and women. Sagramoso’s neighbors were the Pellegrini and the Alighieri, both well to do families in the city. The Sagramoso, though they did not hold many official positions, seemed to have been in good standing with the Venetian authorities.427

The family’s rise in status bothered some other clans and created an atmosphere of jealousy and hostility with some elite urban dwellers. There was also tensions between Venetian patricians and local Veronese elites. In 1475 a Venetian patrician, Francesco Bollani and a Veronese Marchese, Leonardo Malaspini came to the Sagramoso compound

with servants, soldiers from the Venetian Capitano, and two painters, Francesco “a Blado” and Martino del fu Zeno from the outlying town of Isolo. The two artists proceeded to paint, under torchlight, obscene and uncomplimentary figures that dishonored Cristofo Sagramoso and his family, “imagini oscene e vergognose con disegni di corna ecc.” “obscene and shameful images with drawings of the horns,” a symbol of cuckoldry.428

The perpetrators were apprehended and tried. The two patricians were fined and imprisoned; Bollani was sentenced to a year in prison, a fine of two hundred ducats, followed by a ten-year banishment from Verona. Malaspina was given six months in prison, fined one hundred ducats, and banishment for two years with the potential of additional exile. The painters were given four months in jail and were forbidden to work for Malaspina for one year.

Two points allow this incident to fit into the chronicle of Veronese/Venetian relationships. The condemnation of Malaspini and his subsequent punishment did not prevent him from holding public office in the future; he was made Consigliere of Verona in 1490, Communal Orator to Venezia in 1492, 1498 ,1501, 1503 and 1505, Conservatore della pace in 1491, and in 1504 Governatore del Monte di Pieta in Verona.429 He was one of several Veronese “gentlemen” sent to meet and escort the queen of Cyprus when she visited Verona in 1496. 430


430 Dalla Corte , III. 121.
The earlier conviction proved neither an impediment to the future success of this Veronese nobleman, nor did it tarnish his reputation with the Venetians. It might actually have allowed Malaspini to move up a rung on the social ladder. The structure of the Venetian legal system was one in which justice and punishment were often applied arbitrarily. Judgements could be modified, eliminated or increased in favor of the Venetian Republic. Isabelle Chabot and Anna Bellavitis have noted that newly-married Venetian men who moved in with their in laws, often made life unbearable for their new relatives. Occasionally the new family members would damage private heirlooms or even deface family coats of arms, requiring a new father in law to request his new son in law “not deface or obliterate the family coat of arms from the façade of the house.”

Dissemblers could be found outside as well as inside one’s living quarters.

The obscenities were the product of two painters, Martino del fu Zeno a minor artist and Francesco Benaglio, a well-known painter in Verona (1430-1492?). Both men were sentenced to four months in jail. Surprisingly Benaglio was perhaps the most famous painter in Verona in mid-century, for he was chosen to create the 1462 Triptych Virgin and Child with Saints in San Bernardino, considered a major commission for the new Franciscan church. It followed Mantegna’s St. Zeno altarpiece of 1460 and is a highly imitative triptych modeled on the San Zeno work, created under the patronage of the Venetian Bishop Correr.

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431 See Isabelle Chabot and Anna Bellavitis, “People and property in Florence and Venice,” in Marta Aymar-Wollheim, Flora Dennis eds., At Home in Renaissance Italy (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 2006), 76-85, 82.
Sagramoso had donated the building and the decoration of the Franciscan library at San Bernardino. His wife commissioned another painter, possibly Domenico Morone, a student of Benaglio, to decorate the library, as the two were among the most important artists in the city at the time. No formal contract exists but we know that the friars of San Bernardino used Morone to paint several works in the newly built church, including a chapel and organ panels. His relationship with the Sagramoso family had always been respectfully cordial. 432

7.3 Architecture, Sculpture and Painting as Political Commentary:

The Loggia degli Consiglio and the Creation and the Destruction of Venetian symbols

Gian Maria Varanini has written that towards the end of the Quattrocento, the building of the Veronese Loggia (1476-1493) was embellished by various symbols of Venetian

432 The Sagramoso situation concluded a few years later 1486, when Lionello commissioned the painter Jacopo del fu Antonio della Beverara to decorate the facade on his home, the same one that had been vandalized in 1475. The model was specifically of the geometric figures similar to the ones in the Piazza dei Signori, the ones painted next to “the image of St. Mark.” These were the part of the decoration of the Venetian Podesta and apparently Sagramoso felt he wanted an ornament, a symbolic rendering that mirrored those decorations of the seat of power, affirming his allegiance to that power, or at least suggesting that loyalty.

The problem was that Antonio’s work did not measure up to the quality that Lionello expected. Two uninvolved artists, Domenico Morone and Antonio Badile were requested to judge the quality of the two frescoes. They agreed that the work was of the same quality and advised against Sagramoso. After Sagramoso’s death Morone went on to decorate the newly built library in the church of San Bernardino in Verona. He decorated the frieze of the library with mythic figures, which would then be used on the facade of the Palazzo Bevilacqua on the avenue now known as the Corso Cavour. This palazzo was designed by Michele Sanmicheli (1484-1559) who most likely incorporated Morone’s design for one aristocratic family onto the building of another. Morone was also one of the maestre selected by the commissioners of the Loggia to judge the quality of the statues placed atop the Loggia.

Non-Veronese experts could have been used, but it was perhaps a nod towards local expertise that the architect and many of the artists of the Loggia were local men, using locally quarried materials. Does this display a sensitivity on the part of Venice to maintain the appearance of local control? Perhaps, but Council records in Verona indicate that the Venetian administrators still scrutinizing almost every cut of the tagliapetri, (stonemason) lacerta (stonemason) and muratore (bricklayer) on the building of the Loggia. 432 Certainly every financial expenditure for the building was scrutinized as well.
power on its façade. He refers to the fictive reliefs of Roman Emperors along the exterior columns. One could also argue that the placement of the Loggia, its physical presence, did more to underscore a sense of Veronese power rather than Venetian strength. Indeed, the Loggia exists on the site of the Scaliger’s Consiglio Vecchio, their seat of communal power. The new Venetian work superseded the older structure, as one source of authority replaced an older source, still within the same urban space. With references to Roman antiquity on the façade, and an edifice crowned by Veronese luminaries, this building was not outwardly a Venetian-inspired structure.

The process, which led to the creation of the new Loggia, is symbolically telling as described in the *Anonimo Veronese*: 433

> For the community of Verona, at the request of the Rectors, Francesco Sanudo podestà and mis. Zacharia Barbaro, Capitano requested to the Lordship of Venice, though Domenico Guantero doctor and orator, to have an old palazzo, broken and uninhabitable, which was in the piazza housed the Signoria in Verona, torn down, and on the same earth to reconstruct a new one where the Council if la Signoria granted this and this was on October MCCCCLXXVI.

Reliefs of Roman Emperors, those symbols of the Loggia, were actually recycled motifs found on Veronese antiquities rather than in Venice. In his Oxford Dissertation on architecture in fifteenth-century Verona, Geoffrey Newman, argued that, “the relationship

433 Soranzo, *Anonimo Veronese*, 321. The Veronese historian Moscardo (1668) also mentions this desire “Riuscendo incomodo il luogo nel Palazzo dell’Ragione per adunare il consiglio del quale si erano lungo tempo I Veronese servitor e pero ottenuto alcune case di ragione del principe serenissimo situate sopra la Piazza de signori con danaro per dadia ricavato del principe fabbricarono la loggia e sopra di essa il palazzo dove anche a tempi nostril riducesi il Consiglio” “Succeeding in this uncomfortable place in the Palace of Reason to assemble the Consiglio which had been a long time the main place of assemble for the Council, but the Veronese were able to obtain some homes because of the most serene prince located above the plaza of the lords with money given to build the loggia and above it also in the building where at times resides the Council.”
of the Loggia to the Roman remains in Verona is revealing, as it denotes a critical examination of the antique monuments (in Verona) and a degree of selectivity.” He commented that the windows of the Loggia mirror the middle story of the nearby Porta dei Borsari. The plant motifs arranged on the Loggia with a strict symmetrical pattern, follow closely the arrangement of the same foliage on the Arco dei Gavi in Verona. This monument attributed at that time to Vitruvius, was presumably an ancient Veronese architect. Rather than indicating a Venetian structure housing Venetian authority, the Loggia actually better described as a series of architectural quotations from antique Veronese monuments, which emphasize the history of Verona and not the presence of Venice. In this way, we may catch a glimpse of a subject city finding its architectural voice, however soft, and for however short lived.

This emphasis on Verona is due to the architects and builders responsible for the Loggia. Originally this structure was known as the Loggia de Fra Giocondo, named after the Veronese born cleric and later Venetian architect. Indeed, the true origins of the Loggia were revealed in the Actio Panteo. In the Actio (circa 1486) the humanist Virgilio Zavarise, noted that:

He (Daniele Bando) completed the building, which seems to the observer to reproduce the Roman arches, the (Loggia) the pride of the people, a monument worthy of mother Verona and honor of our posterity. In fact you can admire

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434 Geoffrey S. Newman, *Veronese Architecture in the Quattrocento*, 243. The campanile of San Marco in Venice was used as a model for the bell tower of the church of San Nazaro e Celso, which was constructed at the end of the Fifteenth Century. San Nazaro e Celso is located in Veronetta, a suburb across the Adige river from the old city center. In the collection *Palladio e Verona*, ed. Paola Marini (Verona: Neri Pozza Editore, 1980), the entry by Gunter Schweikhart, “La Rinascita dell’Antico,” 85-103, followed by Howard Burns, “I Monumenti antichi e la nuova architettura,” 103-120, detail the relationship and influence of Roman antiquities in Verona to Venetian building plans.
numerous images of famous men who are famous descendants (of this city). \(^{435}\)

Even though Fra Giocondo (1434-1514) ultimately had little or nothing to do with the Loggia, apparently the contemporary Veronese *cognoscenti* were aware of the builder, the architect and his sources of inspiration.

It is curious that the Loggia project should reflect the name of Giocondo. Born in Verona, he worked for the Pope, was a paid architect for Charles VIII in Italy and Paris, and designed the Venetian Fondaco dei Tedeschi. He did redesign some bridges for Verona but nothing of any lasting merit. It probably was politically astute to give the accolades for the Loggia to the Venetian engineer rather than a local builder. Indeed, one finds a later relief portrait of Giocondo on the side of the Loggia, which would offer to contemporary Veronese a visual identity for the inspiration and direction to local builders, without whom presumably could not have achieved such a stunning interpretation of antique local monuments into a modern building. It was fictitiously under the leadership of Fra Giocondo that the Loggia came into existence. Daniel Banda, the architect of the Loggia, does not have a monument to commemorate his work but is mentioned in the Actio Pantea, which preserves his reputation. \(^{436}\)

\(^{435}\) “Egli (il Banda) portò a termine l’edificio, che all’osservatore sembra riprodurre gli archi romani: è (la loggia) l’orgoglio del popolo, monumento degno di Verona madre, e onore dei posteri nostri. In faccia si ammirano numerose immagini di uomini celebri che hanno fama presso i discendenti.” R. Brenzoni, “La loggia del consiglio Veronese nel suo quadro documentario,” 283-284, as well as Schweikhart, “Il Quattrocento,” 19-30. It was originally Panteo who promoted Banda’s achievement but it was not until the twentieth-century that Brenzoni discovered the corroborating documents.

\(^{436}\) *Itinerario di Marin Sanudo*, 99. The three responsible for the work were Antonio Donato de Cavodasino, Agostino Montagna and Cristoforo Banda. Gunter Schweikhart, “Il Quattrocento,” 14. See also Geoffrey Newman, “La Loggia dei Consiglio” in *Palladio e Verona*, 122-123. In Zagata’s three volume *Cronica* he does not mention the Loggia, per se but in 1492 there is a brief statement concerning “terminasi il palazzo del consiglio” the completion of the councilor’s palazzo, earthquakes, invasion of locusts, and the “Gli ebrei vengono cacciati della città e territorio.” The Jews were driven out of the city and the territory. Zagata, *Cronica*, II 86-89.
The iconography of the Loggia’s decoration stresses both the glories of “Verona Romana” and the city’s renewed prosperity and culture. Atop the structure were mounted statues of the city’s most famous people from antiquity, Pliny, Vitruvius, Catullus, Macer and Nepos along with the city’s arms. The Veronese humanist Pietro Donato Avogadro described the statues in his work *De Viris illustribus antiquissimis qui ex verone claruere*, dating from 1493, when the figures were put in place atop the Loggia. Avogadro viewed the statues as representations of the past greatness of Verona and as possible inspirations to his contemporaries.

Architectural structures can have many interpretations. Another explanation for the structure can focus on a later inscription over the entrance, dated to 1592, reaffirming Verona’s allegiance to Venice: “PRO SVMA FIDE SVMUS AMOR,” “For much faith much love is given.” This demand, found throughout the *terraferma* on buildings and monuments, suggests the need of Venetian authorities to remind their *terraferma* subjects of their duty. Unconditional fidelity was expected and demanded, but was rarely enthusiastically displayed. Several sources, including the recent work by Marco Francescon have suggested that this inscription was a way of recognizing and insuring Veronese loyalty during the Imperial occupation.

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438 The appeal to the faithfulness of the various subject city was a constant concern of Venice, as found in the diaries of Sanudo and Priuli and local chronicles, especially after the Italian wars. See Mario Brunetti, “Treviso fedele a Venezia nei giorni di Cambrai,” *Archivio veneto* ser. 5, 23 (1938): 56-82.
Yet an incident, rarely discussed, involved an inscription placed on the Loggia by the Veronese popular council. The Veronese Council had originally inscribed on the Loggia the Latin inscription Atrium, which suggested that the Loggia was a meeting place of equals to debate and make laws. Instead, the Venetian authorities changed the inscription to emphasize that the Loggia del Consiglio was merely a place for the local council to give their consent to Venetian legislation: “ex veterum scriptorum auctoritate locus ad cogendum senatum non-atrium sed curia solet appellari.” “Former writers in authority wrote that the Senate was held not in an atrium but was called a curia.” Venetian authorities had the offending term (and its implication) scraped from the doorpost.439

The pictorial representation of the Justice of Trajan was an important theme after the conquest of Verona in 1405. The legend recalls an episode in the life of the Roman Emperor. Trajan was engaged in the war with the Dacians. Despite his involvement as military commander a persistent widow petitioned him to render judgment on the murder of her son. Attempting to placate the woman Trajan told her he would make a judgment when he returned from battle. The woman persisted, reminding him that he might not return from the conflict. He made the effort to settle her case despite his other pressing responsibilities. This was a popular image in the Veneto, referring to the themes of Romanitas, justice and piety. Cremona and Brescia had similar images of this iconography, as Bowd suggests, “better serving to flatter Venetian rulers, who were often praised for ruling with justice over their subjects.”440 Not only was the metaphor of Trajan and


440 The legend of Trajan, its permutations and uses in the late Middle Ages, is noted in Gordon Whatley, “The Uses of Hagiography: The Legend of Pope Gregory and the Emperor Trajan in the Middle Ages,” Viator 15/15 (1984): 25-64. The legend is included in Dio Cassius (Epitome of Book LXVIII, chapter 10), and Bowd, Venice’s Most Loyal City, 90. The story of the Justice of Trajan moved Pope Gregory
Venetian sense of duty and justice raised, but also the association of Venice with ancient heroes and ancient moral values.

An early representation of this topic, today in the National Gallery, London, by a little known Veronese artist, possible Domenico Morone, dates to the late fifteenth-century. While its interpretation predates any discussion of post 1519 events, it was a powerful image for Veronese artists. As this representation was part of a cassone marriage chest, the important, personal message of clemency and justice within the bonds of marriage were implied. 441

In the Platea Dominorum, or the Piazza dei Signori, the most significant urban space of secular power in Verona, there were several symbols relating to the presence of Venice. In the same Piazza stood a Leone di San Marco, below which was a model of a geometric decoration. Some have confused this attribution with the enormous Leone di San Marco set atop a column in 1523 to commemorate the return of Venice to Verona.

In fact, two Leoni di San Marco are still visible in the Piazza Signoria. One Leone was attached to the wall across the courtyard from the Loggia di Consiglio, and was partially destroyed during the Imperial occupation during the War of Cambrai. The other was commissioned by Giovanni Dolfin, a Venetian official and created by Sanmichele in 1533. This might be the same decoration of St. Mark, which will be discussed shortly as being covered by the Black Eagle of the Hapsburgs in Bandello’s account, which follows shortly.

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to pray for the damned soul of this pagan and God caused the Emperor to be “raised from damnation to the highest bliss,” a curious notion in traditional Christian theology. This tale is also recounted in H. Baron, Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance, 50-51.

Varanini concludes his important article on outdoor frescoes by offering the hypothesis that it was perhaps a show of Venetian dominance in the Palazzo dei Signori to erect a statue of St. Mark and a church of San Marco alle Carceri, next to the Piazza del Mercanti. He also notes that under the façade of the Church of Sant’Anastasia, to the side of the Piazza Erbe and adjacent to the sculpted Legend of San Peter Martyr, a Leone di San Marco was placed with the crest of Verona below its feet. While I am not familiar with the location of this symbol, there is, in the Piazza Erbe, the famous Leone di San Marco erected on a column by the Venetians in 1523, which has a cross on a shield, the crest of the city of Verona. Add to this the two towers, the Lamberti and Giusti with the Venetian Leone di San Marco painted on the structure in the same vicinity, and the concentration of Venetian power through symbolic messaging is evident. Varanini does not view this in any way as an antagonism to Veronese “civic religion,” which for him, did not exist. Most of the city was in step with Venetian control of the present, past and future of the city.


443 Rizzi notes several Leone di Venezia in Verona; one on the Castelvecchio, former stronghold of the Scala Family, on the church of S. Zeno, sculpted Leone on the Palazzo del Commune, in the Piazzetta Monte on the Monte di Pietà, the Porta Vescovo, Porta Palio, in total some 43 images of the Leone within the city, and those concentrated in the area known as the Piazza Erbe and Piazza dei Signore. Alberto Rizzi, “Il leone di Venezia a ‘Verona fidelis’,” esp. 632 ff., Most of these Leone were erected in the aftermath of the League of Cambrai, circa 1520-1540.

444 G.M. Varanini, “Facciate affrescate a Verona 18-19, and Giorgio Chittolini, “Civic religion and the countryside in late medieval Italy,” in Trevor Dean and Chris Wickham, eds., City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy. Essays presented to Philip Jones (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), 69-80. The iconography of Venice was taken seriously by the Venetian Senate. Indeed, the Interdict of 1605 was instigated by inappropriate respect being shown to Venetian symbols. Two clerics, Scipione Saraceno, a canon of Vicenza, and Abbot Brandolino of Nervesa, were accused of crimes ranging from mockery of the symbols of state authority to sorcery and murder. They were to be tried in secular rather than ecclesiastical courts.
No discussion of Veronese art of this time period is complete without a discussion of the work of Domenico Morone, who was commissioned by the Venetian administration, according to Vasari, to paint the façade and interior of the Signoria building:

Saying nothing of the many pictures that he executed after the manner of those times, which are now in monasteries and private houses, I begin by recording that he painted in chiaroscuro, with "terretta verde," the facade of a house belonging to the city of Verona, on the square called the Piazza de’ Signori; and in this may be seen many ornamental friezes and scenes from ancient history, with a very beautiful arrangement of figures and costumes of bygone days. 445

Domenico Morone practiced his art for the elite, churchmen, and the Venetian rulers in a non-political, professional manner, and was in local demand at the end of the fifteenth-century. Venetian administrators appreciated and chose classical historical motifs for the structure possibly to appease the local population and to remind them of their ancient heritage while imposing a modern sense of authority. Antiquity, other than the myth of a Trojan pedigree, really had little to do with Venetian history. Then why choose scenes from antiquity to decorate their administration building? It seems that the most obvious references reflecting antiquity were all around them, locked in the history of the city of Verona.

Giovanni Maria Falconetto (1468-1535) a well-known artist in Verona, sought employment from whichever side of whatever conflict engaged the city. Vasari commented on his career when he returned to Verona from Rome in 1509:

On the house of the Della Torre family he painted a large escutcheon crowned by some trophies; and for two German noblemen counselors of the Emperor Maximilian, he executed

in fresco some scenes from the scriptures on a wall of the little church of S. Giorgio, and painted there life size portraits of these two Germans one kneeling on one side and one on the other…And while the city of Verona was under the Emperor he painted the Imperial arms on all the public buildings and received for this from the Emperor and good salary and a patent of privilege, from which it may be seen that many favors and exemptions were granted to him….Now when the city again changed its government and returned to the rule of its ancient masters the Venetians, Giovan Maria, being known as one who had served the party of the Emperor, was forced to seek safety in flight, and he went therefore, to Trento, where he passed some time painting certain pictures. 446

A recent interpretation on this artwork shows the Emperor Maximilian and his knights commandeering a chapel in the church of San Giorgetto, next to San Anastasia, and demanding that their portraits be placed within the religious scene as donors. 447 Today there is still evidence on the Lamberti Tower and the Gardello Tower, both in the Piazza Erbe, which indicates the faded Lion of St. Mark. These may date from a later period, painted over the Imperial eagle, which Falconetto had originally executed.

Another relatively unknown Veronese artist, Girolamo da Verona (1472-1555) described in one of the Novelle of Matteo Bandello, is reported to have followed a somewhat different course when ordered to “redecorate” the former Venetian municipal buildings in Verona.

446 Vasari, Vite VI, 44-46. An early study of Falconetto’s pro Imperial position is found in Giuseppe Gerola, “I cavalieri tedeschi in San Giorgetto di Verona, “ Madonna Verona (1912): 1-12. The kneeling soldiers are to the left and right of the Virgin, in the symbolic Hortus Conclusus complete with unicorn found in the Dominican church of San Giorgetto, Verona. The knights are identified as Casper Von Kunigl and Hans von Weinck, counselors to the Emperor.

447 See Lucas Burkart, Die Stadt der Bilder: Familiale und comunale Bildinvestition im spatmittelalterlichen Verona (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2000), esp. 213-218. Apparently, the church next to St. Anastasia in Verona had a long history of German influence, from the time that the Scaligeri recruited soldiers during the brief incursion of Cangrande II to Bolzano to the court of the Marchese Lodovico of Brandenburg, fleeing a revolt in Verona. He was able to borrow about 100 soldiers to put down the revolt from an illegitimate side of the family with the support of the Gonzaga. The city was returned to Cangrande in 1354 with their help. This small church dates from that period.
In his *Novelle*, Bandello described the incident:

The painter of which I speak was master Girolamo da Verona, which almost all have known and in a little time it was that he died. He was the more facetious and pleasant man and the best companion you could imagine. He was so fond of our Venetian Lords, and all of Verona knew that.

Now those calamitous times of wars that few in our city were without pain, while they remember that Verona was controlled by the enemies of San Marco, but it was not possible that master Girolamo to be silent and not show his affection.

Now one day the lord of Verona, Gian Battista Spinelli, count of Cariati, wished to remove the Venetian symbol that was on the door of the former Venetian Podesta. On that spot he wished Girolamo to paint the eagle insignia of the House of Austria. And then he was to cover the rest of the Leone di San Marco with similar placards. The commission was given to Girolamo who unwillingly took the assignment.

Nevertheless in those days it made sense to profit from the hands of those who had tormented you, to earn a living and paint those insignia. And since they were being painted in the public square (Piazza dei Signoria) a few people stopped to watch. The painter was sorry to remove the San Marco. He began to say while he was painting the Eagle the slogan *Durabunt tempore curto*, (it will only last a short time). The Count, the Emperor’s representative, was now accused of being a Marchesco, a follower of San Marco, the people believing that these words were addressed by the Count. The Count approached Girolamo about the meaning of this phrase he kept repeating and Girolamo confessed that he researched the words with an artistic purpose:

“Sir, I have said I will confess that I researched words, and say again, that those signboards will not last. You know why? I got sad because that color in the air and the rain does not hold up.” Admirably the ready reply pleased the Count, and in effect he thought that to this end what narrated had, purely those words, and most had not investigated before the fact. What that sentiment against the Emperor was, nevertheless, the sagacious painter said the words, as his friends later said, with the hope that the Venetians would soon take back the city and that the Eagle with the insignia of Austria, would be removed. In this way he fooled the Count, who also
face, and who became very domestic and drew much profit from the story. 448

Neither Vasari nor Del Pozzo mention this incident or is it found in early accounts of Veronese artists.449 It might have been anecdotal, or contrived by Bandello to add his commentary on the foreign invasion of Italy, and “his” Verona. (He was born near Milan and died in France). It does correspond with Marin Sanudo’s account of the occupation of the city. The Veronese historian Ludovico Moscardo makes Count Giovanni Battista Spinelli, Conte of Cariati a tyrant overlord of the city and who repeatedly demanded payment from the city to pay Imperial soldiers. He did attempt to alleviate the tensions in the captured city by creating a grand feast during Pentecost in 1515. Cariati resorted to a time tested method of calming fears within the city by putting together a festival in the Piazza dei Signoria, offering fruits and confetti. The women enjoyed drinking from a fountain spewing wine and dancing for the entire day.450

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448 Matteo Bandello, “Le Novelle del Bandello” in Tutte le opera di Matteo Bandello, ed Francesco Flora (Milan: Mondadori, 1942), Part 2, Novella X, 848-860. Found at http://www.letteraturaitaliana.net/pdf/Volume_4/t77.pdf. accessed September 19, 2015. The title “Piacevoli beffe d’un pittor Veronese fatteal conte di Cariati, al Bembo e ad altri, con faceti ragionamenti.” may be translated as A Mockery by a Veronese painter upon the Count di Cariati, Bembo and others, with mischievous intent. Bandello, a priest and later Bishop of Agen in Bordeaux, has also been associated with providing the basic information for Shakespeare’s Romeo and Juliet, according to Veronese sources such as Della Corte.

449 Bartolomeo Del Pozzo, Le Vite de Pittori de gli scultori et architetti Veronesi (Verona: Giovanni Berno, 1718).

450 Nino Cenni, and Maria Fiorenza Coppa, ed. I segni della Verona veneziana 1505-1620, 12. There has not been much recent scholarship on this period in Veronese history. Much of the research was done in the early twentieth-century, studies by Giorgio Bolognini, Verona durante la Guerra di Cambrai e il dominio di Massimiliano I d’Austria (Perugia, 1906), Quintilio Perini, “Il governo in Verona di Massimiliano Imperatore” Archivio storico Veronese XVI (1883): 145-176, 249-278, and G. Biadego, Cronaca Veroneses degli anni 1591-1510 (Verona, 1895), privately printed as a wedding gift.
Another artistic collaboration involved the Veronese painter Domenico Riccio, known as Brusasorci. Vasari mentions his affinity for local inspiration in this manner:

In the first of these...is the fable of the nuptials between the Benacus, called the Lake of Garda and the Nymph Caris, in the person of Garda from whom is born the River Mincio, which in fact issues from that lake. In the house of Messer Pellegrino Ridolfi, also at Verona, the same master painted the Coronation of the Emperor Charles V, and the scene when, after being crowned in Bologna, he rides with the Pope through the city in great pomp.

The Cavalcade of Charles V is a massive work of some 40 meters painted by Brusasorci in the luxurious Palazzo Ridolfi-Da Lisca, a fresco recently restored by the Provincia di Verona. The work completed in 1565, some 35 years after the Bolognese event. It possibly followed a model after an engraving by Nicholas Hogenberg in 1530.

A decade later a similar cavalcade of the Emperor was depicted in the Palazzo Fumanelli near the church of Santa Maria in Organo in Verona. Dated to 1575, it is attributed to Jacopo Ligozzi, the artist who painted The Voluntary Consigning of the Keys to Doge Michael Steno (Illustration 6). It is ironic that this Veronese born artist would capture symbolically the shifts of power from Venetian domination to a victory of the Imperial forces over Venice. It is even more interesting is that in 1582 the Veronese painter Paolo Farinati depicted another Cavalcade in the Palazzo Quaranta in Verona, the same

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451 Vasari, Vite, Book VII, 282. Diego Zannandreis, Vite dei Pittori scultori e architetti Veronese (Verona: G. Franchini, 1891), 148-149 which follows Vasari’s lead almost verbatim, makes no mention of this huge fresco in the casa Ridolfi. A modern examination of Charles V’s entrance into Bologna, without mentioning the artistic inspiration, is Konrad Eisenbichler, “Charles V in Bologna: the self-fashioning of a man and a city,” Renaissance Studies 13, No.4 (1999): 430-439. The symbolism Charles attempted to realize was the transformation of the Cathedral in Bologna into St. Peters, giving the illusion that he was indeed in Rome and was accepting his crown in Rome from the Pope.
artist who with Ligozzi decorated the interior of the Loggia with pro Veronese paintings such as Defeat of Barbarossa at Vacaldo in 1164.\textsuperscript{452}

The *Cavalcade of Charles V* in the Palazzo Ridolfi represents the Pope and Emperor followed by cardinals, many horsemen, the court of the Pope, royal guards and above all “many gentlemen from Verona, in superb clothing.” The fresco represents the coronation of the Emperor in 1530. The Ridolfi family were sympathetic to the Imperial cause, as were other Veronese nobility. According to Carolari’s work, the *Cenni sopra varie famiglie illustri di Verona*, the Ridolfi came to Italy in 1209 with the Emperor Otto IV. \textsuperscript{453} The Ridolfi were apparently also on good terms with the Venetian government and held offices for Venice as members of the Consiglio and as Podesta of Peschiera. By the early sixteenth century, the family had switched their allegiance to the Emperor. \textsuperscript{454}

Gunter Schweikhart’s *Fassadenmalerie in Verona* (1973), which examined the façade frescoes on buildings throughout the city of Verona, found many overlooked outdoor images, which can be cited as further evidence of a family’s political allegiance, especially pro-Venetian sentiments immediately after the Hapsburg withdrawal from the city in 1517. \textsuperscript{455} It follows that interior designs would have less impact and public viewing

\textsuperscript{452} Paola Marini and Gianni Peretti, ed. *Cento opera per un Grande Castelvecchio* (Verona: Museo di Castelvecchio, 1998), 47-53.

\textsuperscript{453} A. Cartolari, *Cenni sopra varie famiglie illustri di Verona* (Verona: Vincetini e Franchini, 1855), 57-58.


\textsuperscript{455} Schweikhart, *Fassadenmalerie in Verona*, 219-220. Alessandria Zamperini’s observations parallel the conclusions of this author in her brief “Dopo Cambrai. L’antico della restaurazione” in her collection *Elites e committenze a Verona. Il recupero dell’antico e la lezione di Mantegna* (Rovereto: Osiride, 2010), 205-210. She suggests other works by Nicola Giolfino and the monument tomb of the della Torre
as decorations on the façade of one’s house. As Schweikhart indicated the decoration of the façade of one’s own house indicated some opinion as to the political feelings of the inhabitants. Yet one could always argue that no one authorized the “decorations,” or were the work of enemies, especially when the ousted powers returned. On a house on S. Tommasso (via Carducci) the painter Girolamo Mocetto (1458-1531) worked extensively in Verona producing frescoes which Schweikhart has interpreted as being pro-Venetian in content. One incomplete inscription states: “Quam Rvat Venetum Imperium Sanctus Q Senatus,” “The Senate should fall as the Holy Empire.” Beneath is another inscription “In Propria Venit et Sui Eum Receperunt” a reference to John I: 11-13. (He came to that which was his own, but his own did not receive Him). Within this fresco the Venetian Lion stood, partially in water and on land, with Doge Loredan (1436-1521), surrounded by senators. 456 These inscriptions and illustrations, while perhaps straightforward in their intent, could appear to be a Delphic prophecy, open to a variety of interpretations by the viewer. These follow two scenes from Roman history, Justice Triumphs and the Continence of Scipio, understood here to be an allusion to the justice and magnanimity of the Venetians towards their subjects, in this case Verona.

Housed in the Castelvecchio Museum in Verona, Mocetto completed two other filio Venetian works, a fresco of Trajan and the Widow and The Continence of Scipio.

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in the church of San Fermo, the Pellegrini chapel in San Bernardino, and a chapel in Saint Anastasia as borrowing from classical Roman antiques in Verona in their composition, 207 ff.

456 Schweikhart, Fassadenmalerei, photo # 133, Girolamo Mocetto, circa 1518. In a painted compartment of the fresco was the Veronese crest of the Cattaneo family as explained by Pietro Nanin, Lo Splendore della Verona Affrescata, Nino Cenni, Gunter Schweikhart, eds., (Verona: Valdonega, 2005), 108 ff. Nanin was a local artist who copied the decaying frescoes from many of the buildings in Verona. The re-issuing of his work in color was a marvelous cultural gesture by the city of Verona in 2005.
According to one author the use of these two stories as themes of frescoes on a Veronese home were interpreted as the use of Trajan as personifying Venetian justice and magnanimity, as La Serenissima was to her subjects after her return to power after the War of Cambrai. 457

Two late Quattrocento Veronese artists used Verona as a backdrop for other Roman allegories as their subjects. Returning to Domenico Morone (1442-1517?), he is credited with the two panel portions of a cassone or wedding chest entitled the Rape of the Sabine Women, now in the National Gallery London. This might be construed as a veiled representation of the Venetian invasion of Verona; it is nevertheless a rare subject for cassone panels, as a recent study concludes. 458 Another work attributed to Morone, also in the National Gallery, is a Trajan and The Widow, circa 1490, somewhat earlier than the frescoes mentioned above. 459 It is on wood, presumably for a cassone, emphasizes the justice of the sovereign ruler.

The themes of many of these works were primarily religious, but with political overtones. By the third quarter of the fifteenth-century they took a decidedly secular turn, some remaining religious but others including portraits of donors. Mythic themes also


458 Jacqueline Musacchio, “The Rape of the Sabine women on Quattrocento marriage-panels,” Marriage in Italy, 1300-1650. Edited by Trevor Dean and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 66 – 82. Musacchio argues that the theme of the Sabine’s would encourage women to produce more children in an area decimated by consistent plague. However she notes only four extant examples of this theme in cassone paintings.

tended to capture the artistic imagination in Verona. Nevertheless, for what purpose and with whose patronage were they created? Especially evident are the decorations for the Consiglio di Loggia in the Piazza della Signoria, with Roman profiles, apparently modeled from Roman coins. Niccolo Giolfino, (1476-1555), a contemporary of Francesco Morone (1471-1529) executed a series of frescoes in the Church of San Bernardino in Verona, using local cityscapes as backdrops. One, the *Martyrdom of Saint Agatha* displays an angry mob in the Piazza Signoria in front of the Loggia di Consiglio, chasing a fleeing Barbara prior to her execution. The juxtaposition of chaotic justice in front of the seat of Venetian administration may have been intentional. The fresco thus illustrates past and present, the violence of earlier centuries compared with the tranquility of the present under new Venetian rule. Using that interpretation, however, would suggest that Venice was not a just administrator in this case, condemning a holy woman to death.

There is a revealing scene to the right of the fresco. Within the sweep of this fictive landscape we observe that the rendering of judgment upon the saint is depicted to the right of the Piazza Signoria. It is nearly an exact quotation of the gesture depicted in the Justice of Trajan which has been previously mentioned, the defendant or supplicant on the bottom of a stairway leading to a platform, upon which is seated the magistrate. In this case, an old man, seated on a throne, stretches out his arm indicating her condemnation. To the right of the Piazza della Signoria is the Palazzo della Ragione that housed the magistrates in Trecento Verona as well as during Venetian rule. There are a series of steps leading up to the entrance. Was this a conscious notation of the state of justice in the city in the early 1500’s and was the execution of Venetian justice in the city meant to be portrayed by the frail old man in the fresco?
Vasari and del Pozzo describe Giolfino, Badile and Falconetto as artists who painted several semi-political frescoes in the Piazza Erbe. Classical themes with marine subjects decorate the interior of the third floor of the Palazzo Stoppa. Another local artist, Giovanni Francesco Caroto (1480-1555) worked on the exterior first floor, creating *Lotta di Ercole con l’Idra* (1501-1508) on the façade of the Palazzo Montanari in the Piazza Erbe. According to Alessandra Zamperini, this theme represented the Imperialistic cause, with “Hercules Germanicus” being associated with Maximilian I. Indeed, above the Hercules figure is a tondo of Cesare in profile. This begs the question as to the identity of the Hydra…Venice, the Holy League or all of the enemies of Venice combined? And, if it was painted just prior to the period of Imperial occupation (1509-1516), why did the Imperial forces permit it to exist in full view in the Piazza Erbe, the main market and shopping district in Verona? To conclude, the visual and verbal representations of the late Trecento through the Quattrocento followed a program of caution and containment, focusing on the present rather than the city’s past. It has been shown that local references and influences still found their way into some of the architectural and pictorial works of the period. In the written context the accounts of the city were not histories per se, and offered some opinions and allusions to antiquity or to recent history, as that best suited the interest of their patrons, in

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461 Gunter Schweikhart, Mauro Cova, Giuliana Sona, ed. *Verona e provincia*, especially Cova’s analysis of Caroto’s work in the Piazza Erbe, 45.
many cases the Venetian administration. Marzagaia, the Anonimo Veronese, the I Fioretto, described an idyllic city, with little references to Verona’s past history, with a focus on the present status of the city. The frescoes and statues, which adorned the Loggia, hinted at a history, but did not encourage investigating that history. It was the representation of important persons, yet without explaining these representations. Perhaps these figures were well known to the people of Verona and needed no identification. In essence, what was accomplished would suffice for inspiration. We are reminded of the much maligned sixteenth-century writer, Giovan Francesco Tinto, whose largely plagiarized account included the statement “Verona ha fatto bene a assoggettarsi a Venezia: le e inferior in tutto, fuorche nell’ antichita,” “Verona has done well to submit to Venice: she is inferior in every way, except her antiquity.” In essence, the works of antiquity served as inspiration for contemporary architectural and pictorial creations as long as they were subtle references. This indicates enthusiasm of incorporating Veronesità into the contemporary scene as well as using familiar visual representations from the city. The incorporation of the lion of Venice certainly illustrated an acceptance of the Venetian rulers of Verona, part of which, I would argue, was part of the collateral agreement with the Republic, accepting Venetian symbols and mythology in exchange for Venetian approval of Veronese cultural expressions.

The continued existence, reference to and incorporation of older images and quotations from Verona’s history, especially Roman antiquity, was permitted by her Venetian overlords as harmless expressions of an era long disappeared. Yet that continual

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462 G.F. Tinto, La nobilita di Verona, 341. Maffei determined that this work was plagiarized by Tinto who did not deserve to be included in the Verona Illustrata’s listing of Veronese historians. Other historians freely used his work as a reference.
amalgamation by local artists, writers, architects suggests an adherence to the past, one that pointed the way to a time after Venetian control. The Wars of Cambrai revealed the susceptibility of Venetian military power. As that influence began to diminish, especially by the middle of the sixteenth century, it permitted an even stronger impetus to use local imagery, encouraging local historical writing and paintings with an indigenous viewpoint. The lens of historical perspective was changing, refocusing on Verona rather than Venice. It would take another century to complete but the initial movement began in the early Cinquecento during the Wars of Cambrai.

This style of historical narrative was acceptable to Venice for they did not have to defend themselves against accusations from a questioning populace. The elite, and some minor Veronese aristocracy tried to participate in the Venetian administration. They generally were content in their appointments to Council, as lawyers, notaries, and petty administrative assistants. However, this legislative arm was merely an assembly of local elite who would recommend changes to their Venetian Podesta or Capitano. In effect they were maintained with the appearance of power where none existed. Ultimately they too would tire of the outline of influence without substance and began to exert their energy in more cultural venues to promote their family and ultimately their city.

The rural dweller or contadino had begun to have more direct contact with Venice insofar as many inhabitants from the Rialto purchased property in the hinterlands of Verona, the Valpolicella, as summer homes and agricultural refuges. Many became permanent inhabitants of the terraferma. While this relationship might have remained intimate, a third group of citizenry emerged, the merchant class of Veronese. They needed the raw materials of the contado for their wool and silk and wine production. That
relationship was rarely cordial, oftentimes seen as contentious, accounting for animosities and shifting allegiances, especially during times of invasion and political unrest. These relationships would be tested over the first thirty years of the new century with the invasions of the terraferma by Italian, French, Spanish and Imperial troops. The shifting of allegiances, the surrender of the city, and the retaking of the city by Venice strained these alliances and opened Venice not only to criticism by her own lagoon population, but also revealed her weakness to her subject cities. It is at this nexus, around 1550 and forwards, which a new view of self-determination and self-identity begins to emerge on the terraferma especially in the historical narratives in Verona.

CHAPTER VIII

BEYOND THE ZAGATA CHRONICLE: LOCAL HISTORIANS AND
THE REFINING OF THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE IN VERONA

8.1 Jacopo Rizzoni and the Continuation of the Zagata Chronicle

As it has been presented in previous chapters, the Chronicle of Zagata is a collection of various unnamed writers from the thirteenth through the 16th century, composed by the eighteenth century researcher Giambattista Biancolini. While the entire chronicle is highly suspect in terms of origins and authorship, it does offer a description of the early sixteenth century is important insofar as it deals in part with the tumultuous period during the war of Cambrai, 1509-1517.

It is interesting to see how Biancolini views this era from the vantage point of two centuries. His multi volume history of Verona fades, however, when compared with the other scholarly histories of the city during the period 1550-1750. Saraina, Dalla Corte, Tinto, Moscardo, and others contributed to the overall history of Verona between 1550 and 1650, and we can ascertain those influences which guided their writing. While earlier writers avoided mention of the Scala dynasty, later writers expanded on their coverage of this family. Fifteenth century narrators neglected to comment on local monuments and historic structures, while later writers embellished their works with descriptions and illustrations of the Arena, the Roman Theater and ancient gates to the city. Even though they all had an unwavering allegiance to the presence of Venice in the affairs of the city,
we can notice some slight movement away from a unquestioning adherence to Venice, towards an independent history based on local sources, and focusing on the city itself. Only with the publication of Maffei’s *Verona Illustrata* in 1732 was there a substantive change in that direction of historical narrative for the city.

The extant documentation for the history of Verona after the Venetian acquisition of the city is marginal, limited to several notary accounts and the *Anonymous Veronese* which we have examined. Biancolini’s presentation of the Rizzoni addition in the *Zagata* chronicle is a pastiche of anonymous and named sources patched together in the eighteenth-century. Jacopo Rizzoni, whose identity is vague and contribution even murkier, is also absent in the archives of Verona during the period he purports to recount, 1471-1506. Nevertheless his volume in the *Zagata* chronicle is valuable for its portrayal of life before and after Agnadello, and the Venetian reaction regarding the city of Verona.

There is a challenge with the Rizzoni component of the *Zagata*, in both organization and chronology. He first appears in Volume II, which begins in 1471 with the death of Cristoforo Moro, Doge of Venice and concludes in 1521 shortly after the Peace of Noyon which ended the Cambrai wars. Biancolini follows this with his own insertion beginning in 1522 as a supplement to Rizzoni. He continues a rambling discussion of cultural achievements in eighteenth century Verona, such as the Accademia Filarmonica orchestra performing in Verona in 1735. Rizzoni then returns and begins his new “memorie istoriche” with the creation of the World, and the origins of Verona. Several pages later, he is discussing the antique memorials of the city, from the amphitheater to naming a certain “Zentildona troiana che haveva nome Verona,” a Trojan Gentlewoman who was
named Verona” identifying the city. On the next page Rizzoni discusses 1405 with the first Venetian troops and names a Jacomo Surian Podesta in 1406. This is a person who is not found in any of the Veronese narratives. In 1406, Zagata lists a Giacomo da Riva as Podesta, which is confirmed in several other sources.

Biancolini provides insufficient information on Rizzoni. Biancolini contends that the monks of San Michele in Verona had his manuscripts, with the inscriptions “Hic liber est mei Jacobi de Rizzonibus,” as proof of his existence. Following the historian Alessandro Canobbio, this church and monastery was established in the eighth century and was partially built under the supervision of Archdeacon Pacifico. The Benedictine monastery apparently was a repository for archival materials for the city. Moreover we are reminded that Rizzoni was the nephew of the famous Benedetto Rizzoni, an important Veronese at the Roman court. The few studies by Marchi on the Rizzoni family fails to provide much information about his life. Marchi does corroborate, however, that our Giacopo was the nephew of the more famous Benedetto Rizzoni. Biancolini ends his brief biography with a suggestion that Rizzoni may have been disgraced, for his narrative ends abruptly in

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464 Zagata, II, 217 ff. especially 221 on the naming of Podesta Jacomo Surian, who is followed by Pero Pisan and Roso Marin, also unknown figures in Veronese history. II, pt. 2, 72. To reiterate, from page 85 forward Rizzoni discusses events from 1477 through 1521. On pages 217 forward Rizzoni returns to his narrative, beginning with the creation of the world and ends in 1506.

465 Zagata, II, XIII. There is no proof for the existence of these manuscripts, although there is a manuscript in the Biblioteca Comunale in Verona, C77r “Ephitaphium d. Jacobi rizoni dese ipso” indicating that Rizzoni boasts he is a Veronese. That boast is reprinted in Maffei as well.

1521. There the editor Biancolini picks up his chronicle as a “Supplemento di Giambattista Biacolini alla cronica di Giacopo Rizzoni.”

However, Giacopo Rizzoni is now titled “patrizio Veronese.” Soon we sense Rizzoni’s pro-Venetian perspective, integrating several myth fragments from Venetian narratives into his work. Within a few pages, he describes events in 1505 and the War of Cambrai, which is the real focus of his narrative. Nevertheless, it is Venice which features prominently in his chronicle. He reminds us what many contemporary historians have failed to include in their chronicles, that the Pope placed Venice and her subjects under an Interdict in 1509 because of the War of Cambrai. Only after Verona surrendered to the Emperor and was under the control of the Bishop of Trent, that the excommunication was removed.467

In the Veronese Councils, two days after Agnadello, Rizzoni describes as a moment of extreme peril, when the councils asked for divine help. That was in the official record. There was no agonizing by the Councils whether to surrender to the Emperor. In keeping with a semi religious atmosphere, Rizzoni indicated that the people of Verona welcomed the Emperor with tree branches in hand, crying “Emperor Emperor”…and carrying white banners with the black Eagle. Maximillian stayed for a short time then returned to Peschiera on Lake Garda and to the King of France. Were the people of Verona in support or not of the new ruler of their city? In Rizzoni’s report, they were both, but only temporarily.

Rizzoni makes the claim that there was a great controversy between the undefined “people” and the noble citizens who wished to surrender. We now begin the debate over

the elites who were pro-Emperor and the “people” who enjoyed the rule of Venice. Rizzoni incorporates the second talking point of Venetian mythology, that the abandonment of Verona was a calculated move by Venice. Verona surrendered to Imperial forces on June 17, 1509, but by the middle of July, Venetian forces retook Padua and there was a real possibility that Verona would be returning to Venetian as well. This may have weighed upon the Veronese in several ways: first, it suggests that perhaps the Venetians had not totally abandoned their cities and were making efforts to recapture them. Further making statements or taking actions in defiance of the Imperial forces, or escaping into exile, might have been a prudent course of action if Venice actually retook the city.

Rizzoni notes that the political upheaval that gave Verona to Maximilian was instigated by the Veronese elites, who hoped that they could expect an increase of authority in handling local public affairs if the Emperor prevailed. The “people” were sympathetic to a return of the Venetians, according to this narrator. The myth is somewhat difficult to disprove regarding local loyalty. In his *Dispatches to Florence* Machiavelli offers his observations that “the gentlemen who appeared to them of being guilty [of being pro Imperial] are not Marcheschi (pro-Venetians) but commoners and a tiny populace, all common people, were all pro Venice.” ⁴⁶⁸ We return to the division of Guelfs and Ghibellines, rich and poor divided in their allegiances. Machiavelli confirms his suspicions that the wealthy were loyal to the Emperor, the rest loyal to Venice. How accurate that assessment might be is conjecture.

A good deal of the animosity between the people and the Imperial rulers was caused by the designated governors themselves. George Neydeck, Bishop of Trent, was now chief administrator of Verona after Imperial forces captured it. Cipolla slyly suggested that he was sure that the people did not love him, but was not certain if they actually hated him! Bernardo of Cles succeeded Neydeck, also from the Episcopal seat of Trent, while Count Spinelli Cariati was responsible for charging the serious taxes and the constant unbearable harassment from the soldiers. Cariati was from a Genovese banking family and was an emissary of the Emperor in Naples. Rizzoni concludes that it was the Count who allowed his soldiers to extort money and goods from the population of Verona.

The city of Verona first passed to the Spanish, then to France. The Imperial governor of the city suggested that those Veronese who had been faithful to the Emperor, as they would soon be in positions of power in any event would rule the city of Verona! With the return of Venice in 1517 there came the usual jubilation, pledges of loyalty, even a transport of a decorated marble Leone di San Marco to the cathedral amidst the shouts of ‘Marco,’ which had been hidden during all of the years of subjugation.

The supplement of Rizzoni confirms several salient subsections of the Venetian myth. First Venice never abandoned her terraferma cities; they had all good intentions of retaking them rapidly. It was a delaying tactic, all in the greater plan of the Republic. Next Venice was never far away from her sister cities; she constantly made raids against outlying cities and military outposts. Veronese visited the Venetians at night, Imperial troops even visited

469 Carlo Cipolla, La Storia politica di Verona, 235.

these camps for food and money! The disloyal elites caused discord in the city. These unnamed “elites” were pro Imperial, while “the people” remained loyal to Venice throughout the ordeal. Finally, the retaking of the city came through skilled negotiations, to the acclaim of the people. Venice immediately began a refortification of Verona, so that this situation would never happen again. The later historian, Tinto would exchange the deft negotiations image with a 200,000 gold ducat ransom paid by the Venetians to regain Verona.

At the very end of this description, Rizzoni records the following lines:

In time of the last war, we saw the beginnings in Verona of two groups one called the Marani, and the other Martelosi. The Marani was those who took the part of the Emperor. The Martelosi where those who were loyal to Venice and they were greater in number, because almost all the of the people generally held on this side, and because some of the greatest evils to the city were caused by the Marani, who the Lords of the City allowed them to exist and were responsible for many scandals that were conceived in the mind of the people.” ⁴⁷¹

Biancolini, the compiler of the Zagata chronicles inserts a text at this point attributed to Doge Leonard Loredan, and dated 1517. It refers to factions within the Veronese Council, but does not mention Marani and Martelosi, which would have acknowledged the existence of some dissent in the population. Varanini interprets these factions as the age-old Guelph and Ghibelline groups, existing a century after the Venetian conquest of the city. Biancolini indicates that the pernicious factions were under the influence of Conte

⁴⁷¹ Zagata, Cronica della citta di Verona II, 193, “In el tempo de la prepicta guerra videlicet al principio el se cominicio in Verona due parte, una dicta marani, e l’altra martelosi. Li marani era quelli che tegnea la parte de lo imperador. Li martelosi quella di vinitiani e era molto mazor il numbero de martelosi che de marani, perche quasi generalmente tuto il populo teneva da questa parte, e su causa questa parte de grandissimi danni per la citta così pubbici come privati, e so non susse sta che la Signoria, poiche su intrata in Verona che messe le man de nanti el faria intravenuto de molti scandoli per li odij che erano concepututi in le mente de le persone”
Pompei. The Venetians of course, knew these factions early on and the reform of the Veronese councils following 1408 banned such power groups. Moscardo suggests that these groups were composed of “maggiori, minori and minimi” in the councils, even though such factions were banned early under Venetian rule.

The real enemy, according to Rizzoni, were again the Jews of Verona. In 1526, they were charging excessive usury in the city, according to Rizzoni, a recurring entry in Veronese chronicles: “Now the Jews had returned to Verona because of the immoderate usury charged by them, in reverse of Christian practice, they sent again many families into the city. The city petitioned the most serene prince not to permit them to initiate any new services.”

These details follow after the author explains the poverty of the Veronese and that the Republic had ordered that some of the buildings in the Jewish area near the Piazza Erbe were to be demolished to create space for military housing. Houses were destroyed and new structures built near the Cittadella outside the walls for many of these people.

These actions came shortly after the inception of the Ghetto in Venice, traditionally dated to March 19, 1516. This closely follows the Venetian victory at the Battle of Marignano on September 13, 1515, five months before the War of Cambrai was concluded (August 1516). The proximity of these actions in Venice and later in Verona once again suggests Venetian strategy of benign neutrality until a decisive point has been reached (conquering of a city or a major victory in battle), then swift action against their opposition, in this case, the Jews in their territories. The strategy also included the modification of

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472 Zagata, 209, “ora erano stati rimessi gli ebrei in Verona ma a causa delle immoderate usure da costoro inverso de cristiani praticate sendo ite molte famiglie un altra volta in ruina ottenne la citta dal principe serenissimoche non potesse questa nazione per l'innanzi prestare piu a guardagno”
architectural structures, reinforcing of fortresses, and in the case of the Ghetto, enclosing within the city, a group of people who, according to the Republic, needed scrutiny.

Rizzoni concludes his chronicle with a rambling list of important citizens of the city who greeted or accompanied the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in 1542, and the Duke of Urbino the following year. Then Rizzoni reference the Veronese Filarmonica, started by “our citizen” Dionigi I de Dionisi, as well as important teachers, Pietro Beroldo Doctor and philosopher, Pietro Pittato, a mathematician, and Count Alessandro Bevilacqua, a musical composer. He segues to important Veronese academics such as Sanmicheli the architect, and Valerio Palermo as “excellent professors of humanist letters who presented in the Accademia a very elegant and learned oration.” 473 Veronese history now includes a listing of illustrious contemporary Veronese citizens. A few scholars such as Pietro Beroldo, doctor and philosopher, Pietro Pittato, mathematician, and Paolo dal Bue a linguist, as well as “Gentlemen,” Count Alessandro Bevilacqua, Count Gianfrancesco Sagramoso and Count Alessandro Pompei, a student of architecture. These lists would increase dramatically in the writing of Veronese history over the next century until the narratives become a catalog of the achievements of the notable families of Verona.

The aftermath of Agnadello is practically nonexistent in Rizzoni’s extension of the Zagata chronicle. While flirting with a section of Veronese academic luminaries, he was interested in portraying a tranquil city, loyal to Venice, and ready to begin the task of rebuilding under Venetian control. Mistreated and abandoned, the Veronese wished to reunite with Venice after the Wars of Cambrai. Factions opposing such an arrangement may have been in evidence but they were not included in this section of Rizzoni’s narrative.

473 Zagata, Cronaca, “eccelente professore delle umane lettere fece nell’Accademia una molto dotta ed elegant orazione.” 213
Concluding, the later chapters of Zagata continue a filio-Venetian description of Verona, and her loyalty to Venice. It remains the largest collection of pro-Venetian rhetoric under the guise of Veronese history in print. Zagata is the example par excellence of the continuation of the Venetian Myth using local histories as the stage where the exploits and justifications of Venice are performed. Just enough superficial information is offered so that Rizzoni may be considered as a trustworthy source. With no biography to substantiate his narrative, nor references to investigate, Rizzoni relies on his family name, not his abilities or historical sources.

8.2 Torello Saraina: *De Civitatis Veronae origine et amplitudine* and *Storie e fatti de Veronese le nel tempo de signori scaligeria*

In this section we examine three additional Veronese historians who wrote in the decades after Agnadello (1509). Torello Saraina (1475-1550) Giovanni Caroto (1495-1555) and Onofrio Panvinio (1530-1568) created historical studies of Verona, each chronicling the past rather than interpreting those events, as well as formulating lists of important Veronese professionals, including the city’s social and political condition. They added immensely to the early history of the city and breached an informational gap between the city of antiquity and the communal history under the Scala. Included in their histories was information such as the development of Scala rule, vernacular translations of epitaphs praising the Scala, and publication of original manuscripts. These authors provided some data from primary sources but offered little interpretation of this

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474 Torello Saraina, *De Civitatis Veronae origine et amplitudine*, and *Storie e fatti de Veronese le nel tempo de signori scaligeria*. There is a sparse notation of Saraina in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* under the references of Saraina in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* under the references of Saraina in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* - vol. 20 (1977). Onofrio Panvinio (Onuphrii Panvinii Veronensis Augustiniani) *Antiquitatum Veronensium Libri* libri VIII (Padova: Pauli Frambotti, 1647). Also there is a paragraph entry in the Treccani Enciclopedia, not the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. 

301
information. In most cases, they continue to be disseminators of Venetian views, reminding the reader of the important podestas, doges, and Venetian acquisitions rather than on the history of Verona. However, they are important because they began the laborious process of reclaiming Verona’s earlier history, which had been neglected in histories. They began to express a Golden Age for Verona, one that no longer lived in the glow of an all-important Venice. Venetian power had begun to wane while the prestige of Verona began its ascent. Finally, difficult as it may have been, these writers composed their histories before the Zagata compilation in 1732. They are writing and having their works published several decades after the Cambrai wars. In many instances, they were eyewitnesses to the events, which makes their commentary and opinion valuable for later research.

Torello Saraina’s work, entitled *De Civitatis Veronae origine et amplitudine*, was published in 1540 and was followed by a *Storie e fatti de Veronese le nel tempo de signori scaligeria* in 1542. Both were published in Verona under somewhat lax Venetian scrutiny. The *De Civitatis Veronae*, was dedicated to Bishop G.M. Giberti, and published in 1586. A lawyer, Saraina, offered anecdotal material in discussing the origins of the city as well as investigating ancient writers such as Strabo, Martial, and Tacitus who mention

475 My note regarding lax Venetian scrutiny was made because in each of the publications of Saraina and Caroto, there was no inquisitor’s mark of approval. For example Saraina *le Historie e fatti de veronesi* (1649) is dedicated to the Marchese Francesco Ghirardini and on the colophon is noted “Per Francesco de Rossi, con licenza de’Superiori” indicating that all proper reviews were concluded. Caroto’s work also does not indicate any Venetian or ecclesiastical approval. However, in the later work of Scipione Maffei, *Verona Illustrata* (1732) an enthusiastic approval by no less the Inquisitor of Verona, Gio.Paolo Mezzoleni, is included. It reads “having seen by the faith of review and approval of the Paolo Mezzolini Inquisitor of Verona, Verona illustrated as the book is entitled, contains nothing anything against the Catholic faith as attested to Our Secretary, and nothing against our principles and morals, grant license to Jacopo Vallar and Pierantonio Berno, librarians in Verona, which it is printed by observing the orders on the subject of prints, and present copies to public libraries of Venice and Padova. February 22, 1730.” A recent work dealing with the intricacies of printing a book in Verona details the account books of the process. Included was a regular supply of fruits and sweets to the local Dominican inquisitor! Conor Fahy, *Printing a Book at Verona in 1622* (Paris: Fondation custodia, 1993), 114-116.
the city in their works. In Book Three he refers to ancient Veronese luminaries, Pliny, Vitruvius, and Catullus, reminding us of Zavarise’s *Viri Illustribus*, while making few references to contemporary literary figures. Verona based her greatness on former accomplishments rather than contemporary social or cultural achievements. For Saraina the Veronese myth was not an expanding phenomenon, but a closed collection of past activities.

The historical value of the *De Civitatis* is the inclusion of several illustrations by Giovanni Caroto and the inscriptions that Saraina made and which are included in the work. The *de Civitatis* contains one of the earliest printed maps of Verona, an elevated view showing a sparse city, with the Piazza Erbe crowned with the Winged Lion of Venice. (Illustration 14)

It is with Saraina’s later work, the *Le Historie e I Fatti de Veronesi*, that the author moves towards analyzing patterns in Veronese historical literature, involving his works as part of a continuum from the late Middle Ages to the present. He uses a similar writing style as his predecessors, Marzagaia, and Zagata, in vilifying the state of Ezzelino da Romano. He reminds his readers of the court of the Scala, especially Cangrande, and, in a poetic tribute, compliments him for having the most glorious virtue, creating peace and tranquility, qualities that are evoked even in Saraina’s day. In part of his history, Saraina establishes a dialogue with several people, including Giovanni Caroto, which makes the narrative interesting but at times confusing. He comments on how active “the people” were in the administration of the Scala government, and that Cangrande had driven out the

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Guelfs in the city and was invested with the City of Verona by the Emperor. These events are noted after the War of Cambrai, when Verona was back under Venetian rule.

Saraina establishes arguments which were later incorporated by historians into the growing Veronese myth. First, Verona was a free city from its inception and history, even after entering into the Venetian dominion. Next, the Scala had a clear title to the city by way of Imperial investiture early on, and they provided peace and tranquility, something the Venetians apparently had not accomplished in recent memory. He compresses the lengthy history of the Scala at the end of the second chapter to a succinct statement. It demonstrates that for one hundred and twenty seven years the House of Scala had been lord of Verona, but was no longer.

Yet when it came to his necessary Venetian political allegiance statement, Saraina quickly passes over the occupation in 1405 and the brief revolt in 1438. He moves from 1438 to 1519 in one sentence:

May of 1509 in this month the Emperor Maximillian became Podesta, which ended in January 1516 in which the said Maximillian restored to Venice her legitimate lordship which with most grateful satisfaction to God, and all the people who have up to this time governed, and with God's help, will govern for a long time still. The end. 477

While acknowledging Venetian rule Torello Saraina was cautious not to besmirch the previous rulers of the city. While being diplomatic in his study of Verona, he did emphasize

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477 Saraina, _Le Historie e I Fatti de Veronesi_, Book 3, 23, “ maggio del mille cinquecento noue nel quale mes venne in podesa di Massimiliano Cesare che la possedette fino al mes di gennaairo mille cinqueento diciasette nel quale fu dall istesso Massimiliano restituita a Venetiani suo legittimi signori I quali con grandissima satisfattione di Dio e di tutto il popolo l’hanno fino a questo tempo retta e governata e con l’aiuto di Dio, longotempo ancora la reggeranno. il fine.”
the stability of the Scala lords, the marvelous antiquities of the city, and the hope of a promising future for the city and for Venice.

The *Historie e I fatti de Veronesi* may be classified as early revisionist history, perhaps as semi-inclusive historical reporting. Those political figures in Verona’s past, especially the Scala family, were not accused as being tyrants per se. He explored their reign for any reminders of a positive cultural life rather than an assessment of being enemies of the current Venetian rulers. For the most part the previous rulers of Verona had culturally illuminated the city, and should be cherished in Verona’s collective memory.

This is an important point. Previous writers used the Scala as a comparison of chaos and poor administration with the calm and just rule of Venice. (Silvestro Lando, *Anonymous Veronese*, early books of Zagata). The “Golden Age” which was so often avoided, was making a reappearance at approximately the same moment Venetian power is beginning a decline. Now the Scala dynasty is being memorialized in detail, the splendid culture of their court, their territorial conquests, and the individual rule of each of the family over the century and a half rule. The emphasis was on the notion that for most of its history Verona was an independent commune, aligned with the Holy Roman Emperor, and well ruled by the Scala family.

Actually Saraina began a rehabilitation of Ezzelino da Romano, the tyrant of Verona. Saraina refers to “questo e il tenore del compromesso,” the content of the compromise between Ezzelino da Romano, Podesta of Verona between the Podestas of the *terraferma*, Bergamo and Milan, to adhere to peace in 1227. Ezzelino, the notorious tyrant, was being exhibited in print as a man of compromise and peace. As such it was an unheard of historical footnote to local literature. Saraina continued with more overtures of peace
between Verona under Ezzelino and the Padovani and Florentines in 1287. It was a revisionist view of pre Venetian history, and other historians would carry these ideas forward in their narratives.

8.3 Giovanni Caroto: *De le antiquita de Verona*

Where Torello’s words praised Verona, her antiquities and the Scala, Giovanni Caroto provided Torello’s work with a series of woodcuts depicting the city in the 1590 publication. Notwithstanding the *Fioretto’s* sparse illustrations, Caroto embellished the Latin text with visual references of the city. One intriguing if rough depiction is an elevated view of the city, with sparse buildings, streets and several historical references: the Arena, possibly the Porte Borsari, the Lamberti Tower and the newly installed Leone of San Marco in the Piazza Erbe. The illustrations were the same as those used by Caroto to adorn his own version of a history of Verona, the *De le antiquita de Verona con novi agionti da M. Zuane Caroto pitore* (1560). He also included several original *laude* on the city…praising Verona and the artist who composed this short volume.

Caroto records that *De le antiquita* was for those who did not speak Latin, making it a more accessible work, even though it is primarily woodcuts and Latin epigrams. It is reminiscent of the history of Venice, the *Les estoires de venise*, by Martino da Canal in 1275, who wrote his opus in French rather than Latin to gain a wider readership, presumably outside of Venice.

The *De le Antiquita* was printed in Verona in 1560 and later in a facsimile edition in 1977, edited by Gunter Schweikhart. 478 Caroto’s work, especially his illustrations, were popular among humanists, including the German cartographer Sebastian Munster, whose

478 Giovanni Caroto, *De Le Antiquita de Verona con novi agionti*. 
1556 edition of the *Cosmographia* includes Verona, a city in which one finds the remains of the classical epoch, which are found in few places other than Rome. Munster’s rendering of the Roman Amphitheater replicates Caroto’s earlier illustration in the *de Origine et Amplitudine Civitatis Verona*. It was not uncommon to reproduce one woodcut, in one book, for different books. Publishers relied on the ignorance and imagination of the audience to create an vision of the city, however inaccurate.\(^{479}\) The images in *De la Antiquita* were an original compilation of woodcuts of important monuments and inscriptions, used in this and other contemporary Veronese narratives. Through his images, Caroto’s work makes an important visual statement in the historical narrative of Verona.

Why publish it? Apparently Caroto felt that there was enough of an interested audience who would purchase the book. It could have been about ancient Rome or Venice…but it was about Verona because there had been and continued to be an interest in the city, not only its importance in antiquity but also its position in contemporary life. Venice was humbled during the wars while the Holy Roman Emperor desired to have the city as his axis in a redesigned Italy. Indeed, Verona was an Imperial city. A new attempt was being made to renew that Imperial status with a descendent of the Scala.

Perhaps a more practical answer is available. After the Wars of Cambrai, the French, Spanish, and Imperial forces fought to possess Verona, and brought destruction to many areas within its walls. Could it be that Caroto, whose self-portrait is included in the work, held a more practical concern. After the Wars of Cambrai, the French, Spanish, and Imperial forces fought to possess Verona, and brought destruction to many areas within its walls. Could it be that Caroto, whose self-portrait is included in the work, held a more practical concern.

as “Johannes Charotus pictor veronensis,” was concerned about what mementos of antiquity remained and needed to be visually recorded for posterity?

Because of Caroto, we are fortunate to have an intact drawing of the Arco dei Gavi, which was later dismantled in the Napoleonic wars and re-assembled only in 1932. Caroto’s illustration indicates statuary of Strabo andMacro, now lost to us as well as two statues atop the Arco dei Gavi. In his illustration of the anterior of the Porte Leone, located near the Piazza Erbe, Caroto recorded populated friezes, statuary and two gates in scripted names of the builders, P. Valerius, Q. Caecilius, Q. Servilius and P. Cornelius. All that remains today is one gate and virtually nothing above it. (Illustrations 13-14) His original graphics followed the sparse text describing the city, with virtually no reference to Venice as a protagonist in this book. When other histories were written, their authors used Caroto’s illustrations with some embellishment to indicate a Venetian presence. In this way Giovanni Caroto followed in the steps of other artists who travelled to Rome to measure and sketch crumbling monuments, to preserve what remained of their ancient nobility. Caroto accomplished for Verona what Brunelleschi, Alberti and Raphael did for Rome and Palladio achieved for Venice.480

8.4 Onofrio Panvinio : Antiquitatum Veronessium libri VIII

An important but overlooked sixteenth-century historian of Verona was the Augustinian monk Onofrio Panvinio (1530-1568). Maffei referred to him as the “padre della storia” of Verona, based not so much on his techniques or historical understanding

but from his compilations. 481 Indeed, Maffei used Panvinio’s *Antiquitatum Veronensis libri VIII* (1558) extensively as a template in his *Verona Illustrata* a century and a half later, so he owed much of his research to Panvinio. The Augustinian monk’s major secular work, the *Antiquitatum Veronensis libri VIII*, (1558) was not published until the late seventeenth century in Padua. In Carlo Giuliari’s 1888 compilation of volumes contained in the Biblioteca Capitolare Verona, there are several entries for works by Panvinio, but does not include his *Antiquitatum Veronensium*. 482

For twelve years, Panvinio lived in Verona at a monastery near the church of Santa Eufemia, dedicating himself to studying history. He was later sent to Padua and Rome and became a much-admired teacher. In the frontispiece of his *Antiquitatum*, he lists many of his works, along with a map, taken from Caroto’s *De la Antiquita*, of the outline of Verona. A comparison of Caroto’s drawings of the Porta Leone, in the *Antiquitatum Veronensium* with a modern day view, indicates their appearance from the sixteenth century. (Illustrations 16, 17, 18) While using some of Caroto’s illustrations there is a new map of Verona included in the work, a more detailed description of the city with numbering which identified buildings. What we see in this “Verona Fedelis” map is the city greeting her visitors by a huge Winged Lion mounted above the Porta Nuova entrance and the visible

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481 Carlo Giuliari, *La Biblioteca Veronese*, and his later *La Capitolare Biblioteca di Verona* does not refer to the history of Verona by Onofrio Panvinio. Giuseppe Biadego, *Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale di Verona*, similarly recorded none of Panvinio’s writings. The Biblioteca Comunale di Verona today owns several of the 1648 edition of the *Antiquitatum Veronensium libri VIII* (Padova: typis Pauli Frambotti, 1648). The 1732 edition of Maffei’s *Verona Illustrata* rather than an 1825 version that has recently been published, should be used, as it is available on line. The later version is an incomplete abridgement.

elevated statue of the Leone in the Piazza Bra. These images are not found in Caroto’s *De la Antiquita* and presumably added to Panvinio’s document by his publisher after his death. (Illustration 19)

Panvinio followed other Veronese historians in writing history based on primary sources rather than anecdotal evidence as much as possible. As an example, he used the numerous inscriptions in Verona to verify his narratives. However, misinterpretations of the inscriptions lead to faulty conclusions. Thus, the inscription on the Arco dei Gavi indicating Vitruvius [the master architect] was misinterpreted. “L. VITRVVIVS. L. CERDO ARCHITECTVS,” Lucius Vitruvius Cerdone was therefore the architect of this work, a Greek slave, as the name indicates Cerdone, released by a Roman named Lucius Vitruvius. There was no relationship between him and the famous architect. But the continuation of this fiction was good for the maintenance of Veronesi mythology.

Ultimately, Panvinio’s interest lay primarily in ecclesiastical narratives, which take up a great deal of his opus. The political, social and cultural manifestations of the city are truly lacking in his writings. Apparently, only religious events mattered in Verona, offering the history of the city on a religious rather than Venetian platform.

This historical oversight is important in the written account of Panvinio insofar as he was disposed to embellish the history of Verona, certifying that important men of antiquity, Vitruvius and Pliny were native Veronese. He also reminds his readers of the Trojan origins of the city, Antenor and his soldiers, long after Venetian historians ceased to include that group into their narratives. In this regard, his historical accuracy was far less apparent than his sense of *Veronesità*.

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483 Sheila Das, “The Disappearance of the Trojan Legend in the Historiography of Venice,” also Bruno Nardi, *Saggi sulla cultura veneta del Quattrocento e Cinquecento* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1971), and
Panvinio does not dwell on the history of the Scala but includes several illustrations of the Scaligeri tombs, though not by Caroto. The Scala are mentioned only a handful of times, owing to a chronological format, which allows a sentence or two during each important year to briefly describe but not elaborate upon events. These are the first images in print of these important pieces of the Veronese past.484

Although Panvinio refers to Saraina as “vir omni laude dignus,” and includes his portrait in his work, the Augustinian historian wrote a history with a much different approach than the lawyer Saraina. It is only in the third book of the *Antiquitatum Veronensium* that Panvinio discusses the antique Roman monuments in Verona. In the previous two chapters, he considers wider issues such as the history of the Veronese territory as well as the governing Roman political institutions. In his introductory comments, he proposes that the settlers of Verona were Veneti but had some Trojan ancestry. This conforms to the Venetian historical narrative tradition that Venice was merely reattaching herself to the mainland during her takeover of the *terraferma*.

In the *Antiquitatum* from the fourth to the seventh chapters, Panvinio summarizes the history of Verona from its origins and the introduction of Christianity until 1558. In this respect, he was the first historian to bring his narrative into the present day, albeit without analysis or commentary. Whereas Zagata, Dalla Corte, Saraina and other writers dwell on the history of Verona, Panvinio wrote for a limited, and primarily a religious readership, especially as it remained in manuscript for nearly a century after his death. This manuscript

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484 Panvinio, *Antiquitatum Veronessium*, 169-173
was published in Latin in 1647, whereas the earlier historians of the city were printed in Italian rather than the Veronese dialect. In 1925 the city dedicated a statue of Onofrio Panvinio in the arch in the Piazza dei Signori. 485

In Book VI he began listing important Veronese writers from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, although all were deceased at the time of the writing. Beginning with prominent churchmen such as Matteo Bossi, Ludovico Campanae, and Hieronymus Plumatinus, he adds the philosophers, Leonardo Nogarola, Ludovico Nogarola and the physician Fracastoro. Later Bartolomeo Cipolla and Cristoforo Lanfranchini appear in the narrative. These delineations, categorizations of important scholars, were not augmented until the time of Maffei and the Verona Illustrata. Panvinio is sparse in his inclusion of historical writers in Verona noting mostly minor figures such as Cotta, Gullielo Pastrengo, and Torello Saraina mentioned first, as well as himself, with a bibliography of some twenty-two of his previous publications. He erroneously includes Ioannes Diaconus (John the Deacon) as a Veronese historian and incorrectly refers to Franciscus Felicianus rather than Felice Feliciano. Since Panvinio’s work was published nearly a century after his death, additions, along with several illustrations were probably not part of the original manuscript.

Panvinio concludes with teacher/orators such as Guarino, his son Baptista, Domitus Calderinus, Pantheo, and the sole female writer Isotta Nogarola. Politically the monk acknowledges the Scaliger rulers, but does not overly elaborate, as later historians would

485 The archways of the Piazza Signoria were spaces to be filled by prominent Veronese, with statues of San Zeno vying for space with the 1559 statue of Girolamo Fracastoro, the Veronese doctor, poet and astronomer. Dressed in Roman garb and holding the orb in his hand, the sphere immediately struck the popular fantasy: Fracastoro, it is said, will drop the orb on the head of the first Veronese gentleman who passes under the arch. It remains intact today. The statues of contemporary Veronese on the Piazza mirror the statues above them, set atop the Loggia, of Vitruvius, Pliny, Catullus, Emilio Macro and Cornelio Nepote. In 1756, the statue of Scipio Maffei was also placed on another arch in the Piazza Signoria. In 1925 two additional statues were added, the historian and theologian Enrico Noris (1613-1704) and the cleric, historian and archaeologist Panvinio Onofrio (1529-1568).
do. He also includes a listing of local painters such as Pisanello, Altichiero, and Stephano. This enumeration of important artists will be carried forward by other Veronese historians, again culminating with Maffei. Panvinio does single out the Verme family, traditional supporters of Venice, but refers to Petrus, Luchinus, Jacobus, and Ludovico Verme, as operatives for the Visconti! Perhaps this was his way of indicating the opportunistic nature of that particular clan, working both sides of a conflict, as other Veronese had done. Perhaps it was his way of indicating that the family was willing to assist in whatever regime was in power to provide experience and stability.

He then begins a chronological rendering of important events in Verona, as earlier writers had done. Reaching 1405 and the Venetian take over, the event is announced and swiftly reported without comment or analysis; “atque in hodiernum diem magna cum rerum suarum amplificetione sub tante reipulicae umbra quietissimi permanent”… “And to this day with great increase of their property under the shadow of such a Republic, (the city) quietly continues.” 486

The writer is more concerned about who was ruling than how they ruled. For the year 1423, he reminds us that Franciscus Foscari was the Doge, Eugenius III the Pope, and Guidone Memmio the Bishop of Verona. There is no description regarding the quality of rule at that time. Rapidly moving into the sixteenth century, yearly information is scarcer still: the only notes for 1521 is the election of Doge Antonio Grimanus, followed in 1523 by Doge Andrea Gritti. In 1544 he writes that Matteo Ghiberti was made Bishop of Verona, and ends his chronicle in 1558 with the election of Augustus Lippomaus as Verona’s Bishop.

486 Panvinio, Antiquitatum Veronesium libri, 215.
What we may understand from Panvinio’s account is that he was quite aware that he worked under two authorities: Rome and Venice, and paid homage to both while researching the early history of Verona. We do not know if he considered himself a patriotic Veronese, but did preserve a literary image of Verona without a great deal of commentary. In the frontispiece of his work, under his picture, follows his name, the fact that he was Veronese, and then the fact he was a monk and specifically in the Augustinian order. Researching the ecclesiastical history of the city and of Italy was of utmost importance, but he was aware that stirring the political waters with any hint of Veronese unrest would upset the celestial paradigm of subjects, ruler, Emperor, Pope and God, and between churchman and populace. It was a seamless arrangement which had to be, and was, preserved in historical narrative, a typology where the past had also to be reflected in the present.

8.5 Giovanni Tinto: *La Nobilita di Verona* (1599)

By the middle of the sixteenth-century a change in the direction of historical narratives in Verona begins to appear. This shift is evident in the three volume *La Nobilita di Verona*, authored by Giovanni Francesco Tinto.\(^{487}\) The history of Verona now moves into the realm of narrating that history with a greater emphasis on the elite families of the city. Recently Emlyn Eisenach has argued that Verona during the early sixteenth-century was a city with weak Venetian authority, inept communal councils and an increasingly assertive local nobility. These elites began to reaffirm a stronger sense of identity, based not on deeds or virtue, but rather on lineage and family.\(^{488}\) Perhaps she underestimates Venetian

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\(^{487}\) Tinto, *La Nobilita di Verona* (Verona: Disceloli, 1592).

authority and overstates strength of local aristocratic elites to underscore her contention that aristocrats, especially aristocratic women received more political traction due in part to the fluidity of marriage laws in a Pre Trent period. She also argues that Verona was a masculine dominated, brawling society, one in which ingenious women found ways to have their way with the Church, the law and unfaithful husbands. It seems logical that in most urban societies the status of elite women and their ability to maneuver within that society differed from women of the middle or lower classes. It certainly appears to have been the case in Verona and Venice, as recent research affirms. 

Nevertheless, Eisenach does raise the issue that a new channel of historical reading was developing, specifically the glorification of the family, based on a male elite, their historical memories, and a solidification of the patriarchal order. Opposing this is her contention, and I believe rightly observed, that within this new order the reformers of Verona, Bishops Giberti and Valier attempted to equalize the laws regarding marriage, divorce, separation, and inheritance in order for women to negotiate for themselves using ecclesiastical courts rather than secular authority to settle marital disputes.

In a vigorous application of logic, every act of departure from a marriage was a challenge to the social order and a subversive social act. This certainly was the attitude in Venice for centuries. Women had to make the case that, in the face of a husband's flagrant abuse, they were *upholding social order* by their departure from that family. Courts were

response All too often it seems that it was short lived jealousy until the individual writing such vitriolic polemics were themselves elevated to knighthood.

sympathetic to their claims when presented with the evidence. How the destruction of the family unit somehow acted to strengthen that unit does sound like sophistry but it does highlight that deviations from the family was an alarming act in sixteenth-century Italy. The continuation of a matriarchal unit preserving the female line of a family name was acceptable. This was one of the reasons advanced by Venetian legislators against homosexuality, insofar as it was an abomination against God and the social order, with the prevention of the continuation of the family, the basis of the Republic.\textsuperscript{490}

The presence and promotion of elite families in the history of Verona comes full force in historical writing, beginning with Tinto’s \textit{La Nobilita di Verona}. It is accurate to state that by the mid 1550’s historians of Verona attempted to shift their focus to include Verona’s leading families, especially their own clan, as representative of and in the city’s historical progress. It was thus possible to avoid the political ramifications of history if one adheres to a strict elaboration of the biographies of notable and usually related people, and connected to the history of Verona through her families. In a way it would be tantamount to interpreting the history of the city through her monuments; safe, important, highly visible, and generally without political overtones. Venice remained the platform upon which was staged the history of the city, and the players are still primarily Venetian.

However, more Veronese actors are appearing, if not as main characters, then as props and part of the landscape and cityscape, but visible nevertheless. Indeed, after the third quarter of the sixteenth-century Venetian influence politically and economically had begun to wane. Local historians writing about subjects that interested their social class as well as Venice accepted this swerve in historical direction, as long as the Serenissima was not

\textsuperscript{490} Ruggiero, \textit{I confine dell’eros}, 9 ff.
criticized. Veronese collateral commentators on Venetian history had now inherited a laissez-faire attitude by the Serenissima in the promotion of their own Republic and the possible advancement of their own city’s history.

If Maffei concluded that Saraina was the father of history of Verona, and offered Panvinio several pages in his Verona Illustrata, his own description of Tinto and his work on the Nobility of Verona had no room for such praise. In Chapter Four, “De gli scrittori Veronese” Maffei commends Panvinio who, in that writer’s opinion, was by far the most analytic and comprehensive history of the city until his own work, nearly two centuries later. Maffei then insults another writer, and these comments are quoted in their entirety:

After this was Giovanni Francesco Tinto, who took (stole) the work still unpublished by Panvinio. He tried to take the substance, yet changing the order to conceal the mine (of information) but in the same time fooling everyone. It is entitled Nobility of Verona, and divided into five books. A few others were with him in this, and other writings were made, things of a local nature, short with unimportant entries. 491

Even though Maffei admonishes Tinto for lifting from the “unpublished” work of Panvinio, several pages earlier Maffei himself admitted to borrowing from Panvinio, while referencing him as a source. In his Verona Illustrata, Maffei mentions only Panvinio, Saraina, Tinto and Alessandro Canobbio as the historians worthy of remembrance. After mentioning Tinto as a writer, he condemns him as a plagiarist. In Book Five Maffei praises Count Lodovico Moscardo for his efforts in his History of Verona (1668) but only as a late

comer to the group, an ordinary mortal standing on the shoulders of those who had done the research.

Tinto’s three-volume work is a collection of chapters repeating ancient history, areas which Panvinio and others had already covered. Only in the end of volume three does he touch on “Degli huomini e donne illustri Veronese.” He listed some contemporaries, i.e. post 1400 notables, including the usual writers and theologians, including Matteo Bosso and the Nogarola family (without Isotta). “Francesco” Feliciano prolongs Panvinio’s incorrect attribution as a mathematician, while mentioning Guillermo Pastrengo, Torello Saraina, and the already mentioned Onofrio Panvinio. No references to the family of Maffei are to be found, which perhaps accounts for the scholarly tensions. A proper comparison between Panvinio’s Latin text and the three-volume study by Tinto surely would indicate a great amount of facts gathered from the other. Nevertheless, one could also make a similar remark about Maffei’s later work, although he gave Panvinio much more exposure.

Tinto produces a compilation of events from biblical times to the present on the Noble History of Verona. He emphasizes the impact of the Scala on the building of Verona as well as focusing on the Roman antiquities of the city. His second volume concentrates on the churches of the city, almost a precursor to Biancolini’s eight volume work, and returns to contemporary history with the Venetian annexation of Verona, followed by the Wars of Cambrai. Regarding the former, Verona was taken over “with the universal consent and happiness (allegrezza) of the citizens.”492 The Veronese ambassadors to Venice were made aware that they were being freed from the tyranny of the Scala, Milan and the Carrara. It is a repetitive display of the Venetian template of historical narration.

492 Tinto, La Nobilita di Verona ,196.
In the next chapter Venice loses all of her *terraferma* acquisitions, while a few pages later has them returned to her after paying a huge ransom to the Emperor. There is no mention of any Venetian presence around the city, or her incursion’s against Imperial troops. There is no note of Venetian perseverance to remain close to her captured cities. Venice paid two hundred thousand ducats for the return of Verona. Happiness is restored to the city and the Venetian administrators are received with much *allegrezza*!

Tinto does not dwell on politics, or on Venetian involvement in the city. He delights in discussing the importance of ancient monuments, the ancestors of Verona, and her position as a Roman city. Certainly Ezzelino was a tyrant who makes a brief appearance. The Scala are mentioned for their building abilities. He concludes with a several page listing of the most ancient families of the city, few of whom had a contemporary presence in the city. Tinto weaves from present to past histories, without references, focusing on ancient Verona, the Scala and then the Church. It is evident that he borrowed much of his information from Panvinio without citing this reference. He does fill in some historical gaps from antiquity to the advent of Venice. He is respectful of Venice but that authority is not the center of his study. Difficult times, invasions, rebellions and plague do not concern the author. The smooth transition of a historical narrative is his main concern, although he does not achieve it in this history of Verona.

Tinto is an important but not widely recognized writer of the Veronese past. Scorned by Maffei he work has been relegated to the occasional reference by specialists. He did, however, uncover and promote several topics in Veronese history which were now available for all readers to absorb. This, coupled with the weakened position of Venice in the center–periphery balance, allowed more latitude in published accounts about the city.
To conclude this section we will follow chronologically the historical descriptions of Verona during the latter part of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Comparing the writings of these two historians most cited by sixteenth and seventeenth century accounts on the history of Verona, Girolamo Dalla Corte and Ludovico Moscardo, and their description of the city under Venetian rule. Dalla Corte’s three volume *Historia di Verona* (1592) was followed by Count Ludovico Moscardo’s single volume *Historia di Verona* (1656). Certainly one relied upon the other and upon previous writers for information and their approach was similar as well. What is critical is how each described several serious events in Veronese history and if they followed the guidelines put forth earlier in Venetian and Veronese narratives.

I have chosen two seminal events to illustrate this reliance on other texts. First, how the Venetian takeover of the city in 1405 was described in their histories. Second how was the defeat at Agnadello in 1509, the invasion of Imperial troops, and their ultimate exit in 1517, presented within these histories. Further how was the attitude between Venice and Verona displayed after these years of difficulty. The re-establishment of Venetian control over the city is an important marker in the historical narrative of these two writers. What do we learn about these events though the chronicles of Dalla Corte and Moscardo?

To reiterate, Venetian depictions of these events followed generally the following arguments: On the takeover of the city, it was a voluntary offering of submission to the city by the populace. 493 This point was made in the fifteenth-century and continued through

the seventeenth century. It finds its way into contemporary history as well. Regarding the aftermath of Agnadello, Venice briefly abandoned the city but within Verona, the people remained loyal Marcheschi, even at the price of their lives as reported by Sanudo and Machiavelli. Venetians had never abandoned the city, though they had attacked the countryside, making raids on outposts, but never abandoned the city until they could recover it. Finally, Venice and Venetian control returned, the two cities were reunited and the rule of the Republic continued seamlessly and peacefully.

It is important for our discussion to recognize how Veronese writers dealt with these issues in their texts and how they were influenced. It is a daunting task. The biographical literature for either Moscardo and Dalla Corte, indeed on the historians of Verona in general, is sparse. An article published forty years ago concludes that both writers inaccurately borrowed from Torello Saraina’s history, including some errors concerning the free communal status of the city in the ninth century.\textsuperscript{494} I have not been able to obtain a recent Tesi di laurea at the University of Verona on a related subject.\textsuperscript{495} The comprehensive \textit{Bibliografia Veronese} (1974-1987) has only two entries for Saraina in these compendia, and they refer to his use of illustrations in his history. The \textit{Indici} of the \textit{Atti e memorie della accademia di agricoltura scienze e lettere di Verona}, the prestigious


\footnote{\textsuperscript{495} I have not been able to obtain a copy of a recent theses by Nicola Cordioli, “Erudizione, storia, antiquaria a Verona fra 16. e 18. secolo ; Saraina, Moscardo, Maffei” (Verona : Università degli Studi, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Corso di Laurea in Lettere, 2002). As of the writing of this dissertation, I have not been able to contact the author nor obtain his Thesis. As with many Italian scholarly papers, the author must waive their rights for others to review their work. One copy is available in the Biblioteca Comunale di Verona. I have not been able to see it or make a copy.}
scholarly academy founded in 1768, offers a few citations within articles, and casual references to these historians in its Index.\footnote{Giuseppe Vivani and Giancarlo Volpato, ed. Bibliografia Veronese (1974-1987) I (Verona: Fiorini, 1991), and Giuseppe Viviani, ed. Indici of the Atti e memorie della accademia di agricoltura scienze e lettere di Verona (Verona: Accademia di agricoltura scienze e lettere, 1996).} They were prolific and important writers of their time, yet rarely mentioned by contemporary scholars. Maffei offers Dalla Corte only two sentences in his Verona Illustrata, leaving the reader with the sense that Dalla Corte lifted considerable information from other historians, especially Panvinio, and was being punished for it. Moscardo, a competing Veronese aristocrat, is cited by Maffei primarily for his museum of curiosities in Verona, not his history of the city.

8.6 6 Girolamo Dalla Corte: (1529-1596) Dell’istorie della citta di Verona

Girolamo Dalla Corte’s description of the occupation of Verona in 1405 is a joyous narrative, filled with happy ambassadors going to Venice to accept the Doge’s Golden Bull of rule over the city. In honor of the Veronese attendance a palio was held in Venice, with the prize of a cloth of cremesino, a golden cloth, similar to one used to award to the winner of the palio in Verona. Shortly afterwards relics of the Blessed Arrigo da Bolzano were found in Verona in the Castello of San Felice (1407), while Venice began a massive building program of fortifications in the city. It is Dalla Corte who first affirms the reality of the history of Romeo and Juliet, while the other historians are silent on this myth.\footnote{Dalla Corte, Dell’istorie della citta di Verona Vol. II, Bk X, 79 ff. The events surround Romeo and Juliet are dated by Dalla Corte to 1302.} In short Girolamo Dalla Corte is a potpourri of facts and rumors concerning Verona and its surrounding territory.

The surviving Scala, Brunoro and Antonio, were listed as outlaws with a large bounty placed on them, 3000 ducats dead, and 5000 ducats if captured alive. Dalla Corte is rather
open in announcing a series of conspiracies in the city, such as the one in May of 1412, when some locals paraded around the city shouting “Scala! Scala! Liberty! Liberty!” Dalla Corte mentioned that: “I believe that the people who heard this and the sweet name of liberty and took up arms.”498 He continues that these few people were deceived and, after trying to take a bridge leading over the Adige, failed in their attempt. For the next three pages Dalla Corte includes those conspirators who were executed. The bounty on the Scala went up to 8000 ducats alive and 4000 ducats dead. Moreover, Dalla Corte mentions that one of the conspirators, Berton Mantovano, gave food to the conspirators, “possibly against his wishes,” and was nevertheless executed.

The fact that Dalla Corte enumerates ambassadors, number of participants, the gifts offered, to the Doge suggests he was using documents unknown to previous writers. This information is not found in Panvinio, and certainly not in the Anonimo Cronica. It is possible that he had access to Venetian recollections of these events? He is specific about festivals in Verona, the yearly procession on St. John’s day where “Una pezza di bellissimo velluto cremesino, o come altri dicono di panno d’oro,” “A beautiful piece of crimson velvet, or as others say, of cloth of gold” is purchased by the city council and presented to the assembled Venetian ambassadors, as a token of Veronese fidelity.499

There is an empathetic note in Dalla Corte’s narrative; it is not a completely positive portrayal of Venice and there is a sense that perhaps Verona was being manipulated by The


499 Dalla Corte, Dell’istorie della citta di Verona Bk III, 2.
Republic. Scala were being harbored by the Emperor and shortly (1414) the King of Hungary invaded the Friuli with 8000 soldiers. They came perilously close to Verona, later retreating to Padua. The Imperial troops were led by the condottieri Pippo Spano, who fought for the Hungarians against the Turks. Dalla Corte indicates that, because of his lack of victory, Pippo was returned to Hungary and killed by having molten gold poured down his throat. His execution occurred in 1415.

This is an interesting incident for several reasons. First, Pippo died in 1426 of natural causes and is buried next to the tombs of the Hungarian Kings in Székesfehérvár Basilica. A Florentine Vita di Filippo Scolari, volgarmente Chiamato Pippo Spano, was published in 1570 which debunked the molten gold story. But as Pippo and Hungary were enemies of Venice, it was necessary for Dalla Corte to insert this bit of anecdotal material into his history to show how uncivilized the Hungarians, i.e. the Holy Roman Emperor, really was. This is how the Emperor repaid defeat; and this is how dangerous it was for any power to go against Venetian might. These Hungarians are descendants of the same horde which originally forced the early Venetians from the terraferma and onto the marshes and lagoons of Venice. Indeed, the story had the flavor of the Ottoman Turk, exotic, and was worth repeating in print. Other short rebellions occurred in 1414, more executions, this time punished by drawn and quartering, and more references to defensive walls. The myth of Pippo Spano would be transmitted unquestioned to later histories of Verona including the history of Moscardo.

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500 Domenico Mellini, Vita di Filippo Scolari, volgarmente Chiamato Pippo Spano (Florence; 1570), 63-65 memorializes the condottieri. A recent article discusses the place of the Scolari family and Pippo within the Imperial Court of Sigismund. Katalin Prajda, “The Florentine Scolari Family at the Court of Sigismund of Luxembourg in Buda,” Journal of Early Modern History 14 (2010), 513-533. Neither book nor article makes any mention of any execution of the condottieri.
The writing of the *Historia* also provided a platform for Dalla Corte to include his illustrious ancestors in the narrative, a common practice. In the case of Girolamo Dalla Corte this occurs early in his work. He indicates his forbearer, Jacopo Dalla Corte who, in 1421 was elected to transcribe the statutes of the city. Later he writes that the same Jacopo attempted to improve conditions in the Ospidale di Santi Jacopo e Lazaro, and was immediately supported by the Podesta, praising him for his good work.

Dalla Corte mentions the creation of the first Venetian citizen of Veronese descent in 1428, one Bartolomeo di Giovani Pellegrino, “for his faithful services and for all of his legitimate descendants.” He was actually not the first Veronese to be so honored; 135 others had been made citizens since 1305, including every Scala ruler. The purpose for citing this can take several directions: to praise a contemporary Pellegrini, whose female head Margarita commissioned the elaborate chapel attached to the church of San Bernardino in Verona between 1528 to 1557. Or it could have been inserted to show the magnanimity of Venice in extending her highest praise upon a citizen of the terraferma. In either case including the Pellegrini was a strategic addition, showing both gratification in a Veronese family’s contribution as well as the generosity of Venice. Moreover it does

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502 Mueller notes that the Scala were made Venetian citizens; Cangrande in 1329, Alberto and Mastino, 1339, Giovanni 1353, Mastino 1376, Antonio in 1385 and Cangrande II in 1394. Pellegrino was the second of his family to be awarded citizenship. At least eight of the Carrara were also made citizens throughout the fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries.

suggest that elevation to Venetian citizenship was an improvement over a simple Veronese status.

Dalla Corte devotes a good deal of the *Historia* to the ceremonies surrounding the creation of new nobles by the Emperor Sigismondo; Antonio Rizzoni in 1432, Luigi dal Verme, and Gentile de Sparavieri the following year. Donato Sagromoso was created Count Palatine in 1438. From this point onward Dalla Corte continues his narrative for ten pages without dating his activities. We are informed that those Veronese supporting Venice against the war with Milan apparently put lights in their windows at night which remained lit until mid-day as a show of their support La Serenissima. It was a harmless but effective ploy for the support of Venice in 1438, for a show of *Verona Fides* early in the century. 504

Why did Dalla Corte include these incidents? Presumably, this was to provide a sense that all of Verona’s elite and her citizens were fervent filio-Venetians. Dalla Corte continues to maintain that the transition to Venetian rule and the first century under their administration was an admirable achievement, despite several minor rebellions during the first half century. He did not elaborate upon these disruptions, only suggesting that they were from a minority of disgruntled followers of the outlawed Scala, often with Imperial support. They were quickly and ruthlessly put down.

As to the second significant period of historical narrative, that of the League of Cambrai and Imperial invasion, Dalla Corte presents an interesting position. As early as 1502, he reaffirms the great love felt by the Veronese for the Venetians and their

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504 Book XIV, 52, “vogliono alcuni che questa sazione sosse fatta nel principio della notte altri un poco innanzi l'aba ma cio poco rileva basta che fu di notte e i Nostri acciocche le tenebre non potessero impedire il corso della vittoria dello sforza. corsero a gara a metter de lumi per le fenestre a su le porte ed illuminaronu talmente le strade, che parea di mezzo giorno.”
administrating *rettori*. This is reciprocated, it appears, when the Doge Leonardo Lorendano elevated the prominent Veronese family, the Giusti, to Counts, a title usually reserved for the Emperor or Pope to bestow. Buildings were constructed; the Loggia was completed in 1492, and the restoration of the Bagni di Calderon, the hot spring spa near Padua which had been neglected and was rebuilt. A new League was formed in 1495 between the Pope, Maximilian, Venice and Spain to defend the Church. The Jews were driven out of Verona and their territory in 1499. A Jubilee was declared in 1500, money is collected by the Venetian State for the poor, and a Plenary Indulgence proclaimed in 1503.

Suddenly nature appears to have turned against Venice. There was an outbreak of the *malfrancese* or syphilis, a malady studied and apparently successfully treated by a Veronese physician, Girolamo Fracastoro (1478-1553). Bad storms, earthquakes, and a girl born with two heads were recorded. In 1495, a woman was changed into a man through some unknown power. The plague appeared followed by extreme cold, so frigid was the weather that jousts were held by *stradioti* (mercenary cavalrymen) on the frozen Grand

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505 Book XVI, 125. His remarks proceed an earlier commentary in Dalla Corte XVI when in 1488 the Emperor Frederick came to Verona and appointed a number of elite Veronese to knighthood including a Giusti family member, 114. Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), also includes the awarding of doctorates by both the Emperor and Pope, while no mention of the Doge making such privileges is noted.

506 Paola Lanaro suggests that the Veronese economy improved in the second half of the century, and with it the rise of the Monte di Pieta in the city. Local elites, which included many of the humanists discussed in this dissertation, denounced the Jews in their writing as part of an attempt to deflect blame or encourage the Monte. The financial needs of the merchants could now be fulfilled by the Monte at a less rate of interest. There was thus, no longer a need for Jewish lenders. The names of Lelio Giusti, Felice Felicina, Antonio Pellegrini, Giorgio Sommariva, and Bartolomeo Cipolla all were in a position to bring anti-Semitic charges in their writings. See Paola Lanaro, “Struttura e organizzazione economica nella Verona della seconda metà del Quattrocento,” *Note di Lavoro*: Universita Ca’ Foscari, Dipartimento di Scienze Economiche, 2006.
Canal in 1490, followed by extreme flooding. Dalla Corte had nature prepare the reader for what was to follow.  

The dramatic buildup conceived by Dalla Corte is as sudden as his rapid narration from the mid 1400’s to the end of the century. In 1495 a League involving the Papacy, the Holy Roman Emperor, Spain and Venice is proclaimed against France. The Veronese are overjoyed that there was such a combined effort against the French invasion of Italy.  

It fits into a pattern which Verona (and Venice) desired, a general defense of the church, liberty, and possibly a crusade against the Turks. It was a grand plan, which, according to Dalla Corte, the Veronese hoped to play a part. Shortly the building disaster explodes in Dalla Corte’s narrative. Tempests, plagues, more unnatural births and supernatural disasters are on the rise.

The League of Cambrai is formed against Venice. Venice is routed at the Adda (with no mention of the battle of Agnadello), and the city and her territories excommunicated. The Venetian rettori permitted some retreating soldiers back into Verona, but soon the rettori and soldiers retired to Venice. Dalla Corte makes the forceful statement that the Venetians only wanted to defend their city of Venice, essentially allowing their terraferma holdings to work out their own arrangements. Bergamo then surrendered to the Emperor.

507 Ottavia Niccoli, Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy, 32-33.

508 Dalla Corte, III: 120. “a difesa di santa chiesa, e della dignita e liberta di ciascun di loro d’ordine della signoria si fecero in tutte le sue citta e castella e massime in Verona per tre e notti allegrezze grandissime;”

509 The recently published L’Europa e la serenissima: La Svolta del 1509 nel V centenario della battaglia di Agnadello, covers several aspects of the battle, such as the economic impact on Venice, the relationship between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, and German public opinion on the consequences of the battle. There is far less information provided on the impact on the societies directly affected by
With the Venetian administration gone, it was the Veronese who made the decision not to allow any more retreating soldiers enter the city. Dalla Corte records that those remaining Venetian rettori questioned Veronese loyalty, and required letters from the Veronese communal government pledging their fidelity. With a massacre of Venetian and Veronese forces at Peschiera (La Rocca fortress) it was decided by the Veronese Council to surrender to the Emperor, an event which concludes Book XVI.

Dalla Corte minimalizes the events; he notes that the Venetian administrators fled for their lives leaving behind a defenseless city, weak local administers, and the expectations of continued loyalty to Venice! He increases the power afforded to the Veronese councils, who make the important decision regarding the fate of Verona. It was the Veronese administrators, among them Chancellor Zavarise, who were responsible for the surrender to the Emperor. The city remained in the hands of Imperial troops from 1509-1517.

During the occupation of Verona, Dalla Corte maintains a position that Venice continued to be tenaciously involved with the city, immediately trying to reconquer Verona. Soon Vicenza was retaken by Venetian forces, Soave, and then Montagnana. However, Spanish troops entered Verona, bringing with them disease and disruption. Dalla Corte relates an incident of the bell ringer of the Lamberti Tower, one Benedetto Pellegrino who was accused of attempting to open the Bishop’s gate for the Venetians in 1512. He was caught, drawn and quartered in the Piazza Signori by the Spanish, who then sacked the city. Immediately the Veronese are reported to have begun collecting money for Venice, showing their continued loyalty to Venice.

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Dalla Corte does not draw a malicious portrait of the Emperor; he accepts ambassadors from the city, exchanging French for Spanish troops to appease the populace. Dalle Corte then lists those Veronese who were traitors to the Emperor, i.e. pro-Venetian patriots. None were of elite status: Thomas Pompeius de Insulo, Hieronymus Guiiotus de Sancto Paulo, Ludovicus de Azzano, Marcus Antonius de Monte de S. Petro Incarnario, hardly local aristocrats. From their surnames they seem to be suburban patriots rather than urban dwellers, S. Petro Incarnario is in the Valpolicella foothills, and Azzano is in the Friuli. This tends to support the contention that the outlying districts of Verona were to be pro-Venetian, while the city elites moved towards the Emperor. All in all the occupation of the Imperial forces are described by Dalla Corte as being “unpleasant.”

Dalla Corte’s account of the history of Verona ends in 1517 with the peace between the Emperor and Venice. Jubilation in the city and a statue of the Leone of Venice is hauled into the Piazza, adorned with letters of gold: “veritas de terra orta est et iustitia de coelo prospexit,” “the truth has sprung up out of the earth, and righteousness looked down from heaven.” The value of this act is that the lion presumably had been a locally made artifact, indicating the great love of the Veronese for their Signoria.

The remaining chapter of the Istoria contains brief portraits of local dignitaries, including Bishop Giberti who receives several short mentions. Dalla Corte praises twenty or so individuals for receiving congratulatory recognition from Venice for their exploits. And to further ingratiate themselves Dalla Corte mentions that on several occasions more attention is being paid to the infrastructure of the city; it was being cleaned. He goes so far

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510 Dalla Corte, Dell’istorie della città di Verona, Book XVIII, 203-204.

511 Dalla Corte, Dell’istorie della città di Verona, Bk XIX, 252, quoting Psalm 85:11.
as to mention the repair of the Arena, a place where prostitutes entertained their customers. Many of the houses near the Arena where the women also plied their trade were owned by a certain Doctor Alessandro Prandino, an elite insider in Veronese society.\textsuperscript{512} It is only in the last few pages of the final chapter that Dalla Corte includes some politicians, archbishops and men whom he felt needed to be included, much as an afterthought.

Entertaining and filled with minutia, Dalla Corte ’s work serves as a multi-volume introduction into the new history of Verona, ostensibly by one hand and written with the perspective of some half century after the events he describes. At this late date Dalla Corte is still an apologist for Venice, following in line with earlier writers, corroborating the positive involvement of Venice in the affairs of Verona.

\textbf{8.7 Ludovico Moscardo, \textit{Historia di Verona} and the redefining of citizenship}

Count Ludovico Moscardo (1611-1681) was a prominent Veronese aristocrat who was interested not only in the history of his city but of the antiquities, especially those artifacts which concerned his native city. His \textit{Wunderkammer} or room of curiosities was known throughout Italy. In his collecting program he familiarized himself with original documents and artifacts. It is in his first work, \textit{Memorie del museo di Lodovico Moscardo dal medesimo descritte}, published in 1656, where he affirms his patriotism, not to Venice but to Verona. \textsuperscript{513}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[\textsuperscript{512}] Dalla Corte, \textit{Dell’istorie della citta di Verona} Bk. XX, 306, “ che le femmine di mal affare che allora con grandissimo dano e vituperio del commune, si trovavano qua e la sparse per la citta of si partissero della citta, o andassero ad abitar tutte di dietro all arena in certe case che erano di alessandro prandino dottore.” Cartolari relates that the Pradini family were members of the Consiglio in 1517 , knights, poets and juriscouncils. A. Cartolari, \textit{Famiglie}, pt. 2, 87.

\item[\textsuperscript{513}] Conor Fahy, \textit{Printing a Book at Verona in 1622}, cited earlier, deals with the printing of the contents of the Museum Francisci Calceolarii, a well-known \textit{Wunderkammer} in Verona. Ludovico Moscardo purchased the original account books related to the printing of this book.
\end{footnotes}
We are on the cusp of the Enlightenment, with Verona and Venice moving in different directions economically and culturally. Yet towards the end of Book I of his *Memorie del museo* Moscardo describes a Harpie in his collection as a beast with “le quali erano figurate con la faccia di donna, le alid augello il ventre grande, I piedi con gli artigli e la coda di serpente.” 514 He follows this with a chapter entitled “The invention of the bombardment” in which he details an assault on Verona. He places the blame on Venetian troops, quoting Guicciardini, calling it a diabolical machine, not human, and traces its usage back into the fifteenth-century. 515 Apparently, Moscardo was a traditionalist in terms of medieval warfare and bestiaries.

Moscardo’s *Istoria of Verona* can properly be described as a chronicle rather than an interpretive narrative, and continues as the other histories did, using the history of the city as a launching site for the overarching history of Venice. However, Moscardo envisions a more sweeping account, involving the events of the Holy Roman Emperor, France, Spain, the Papacy, and the Turks, with events in his city making occasional appearances.

Moscardo does not dwell on the events of the Scala, but, following Saraina, includes Ezzelino da Romano, the universal culprit of Veronese history, and places him in a softer light than earlier writers. Indeed, Ezzelino included “the people,” plebes in his rule, expanding the popular council from 80 to 500, the majority being composed of “the people.” He later confirms that the major participants in the transition from Carrara rule

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to the takeover by Gabriel Emo and Venice in 1405 were the city’s elite! He does reference the city’s art, architecture and sculpture with contemporary projects which reflected historical events. In Book Ten he reviews the takeover of Verona by Venice: On the 24th of June the people accepted and acclaimed for their lord Venetian dominion, and gave the possession of Verona to Gabriel Emo and to the Marchese of Mantua, the name of the lord they accepted.”

He then refers to the sixteenth-century canvases within the Council chambers illustrating this scene. He mentions the several paintings, referencing historical topics in the council rooms, citing Felice Brusasorci “nostro Veronese” and Giacomo Ligozzi as their creators with a decidedly patriotic flair.

While outlining the effects of the defeat of Agnadello, foreign take over, and the eventual Venetian re-conquest of the City, Moscardo concentrates on the deprivation of the city, people reduced to eating horse and mule meat, and the loyalty of her people to Venice, in some way bringing a noble status to the Veronese in their suffering. He wrote that at night the Spaniards and Germans, unable to be paid by their leaders, would scour the countryside, ending up at the Venetian camp and asking for payment! Over time the Venetians were able to have many soldiers and their captains in their pay, enemy combatants who eventually helped Venice recapture the city. The war ends in a few pages, the Venetian authority returns, and Moscardo moves onto the rebuilding of the cities walls, the translation of the body of St. Gualfardo to the city, and the building of the Madonna

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516 Moscardo, Historia di Verona, Book X, 264, “Alli 24 di giugno il popolo accetto, e acclamo per lor signore il dominio Venetiano, e diede il possesso di Verona a Gabriel Emo e al Marchese di Mantova, che a nome della signoria l’accettarono ...”

517 Moscardo, Historia di Verona, X, 372, “Fra tanto mancava dentro i danari ne potendo i soldati conseguir le lor paghe, molti de spagnuoli cominciarono ad uscir di Verona singendo di far scorrerie nel pases e passavano nel campo venetiano così poco doppo segui di due milla tedeschi correndo nel campo de’ nemici pontualmente le paghe.”
del Corona on Monte Baldo. The overall impression that Moscardo leaves is that, even though the Veronese had been taken over by invading armies, Venice never abandoned them, was always harassing the enemy troops, was always in contact with the local pro-Venetian leadership. This follows older histories of the city without offering too many specifics.

Moscardo then mentions the deplorable condition of the Arena, where stones were used for building material for the city’s fortifications. In this way, he was able to use the Arena as a symbol of the city, and how, after petitioning the Venetian authority, some noble Veronese were able to halt its destruction in 1545. Yet in an earlier reference to the Arena he is saddened by its conditions, as if it were an iconic talisman, now reduced to a crumbling place, a home for prostitutes. He makes the comment that these women were “protected by some youths from the nobility, “con i loro brogli impedirono l'effetto,” “with their racket being protected.” 518 When he refers to the Arena, which Dalla Corte found to be an inviting place for prostitutes, Moscardo reminds his readers about the attempts to make repairs to that structure, not link it to dishonest activity.

Nevertheless, there seems to be unwarranted praise regarding the patriotic nature of Verona under Venetian rule. The Arena and Teatro Romana were being saved from destruction in the 1540’s due to a rekindled sense of Veronesità. At about the same time the council in Verona was debating the decorations of the Loggia with heroic paintings of Veronese and Venetian victories. Moscardo comments that the equestrian statue of the Cangrande della Scala had fallen, having been struck by lightning, lying in the mud and

518 Moscardo, Historia di Verona, XI,411 and 444.
had been mutilated over time. In a recent study G.M. Varanini, indicated that this was the Veronese Council’s way of attempting to obliterate the city’s past while focusing on the immediate environment under Venetian rule.

Yet Moscardo’s recollection varies from this interpretation. In Book XI, he writes:

For some years now the equestrian statue of Cangrande Scala fell onto the earth and was lying on the ground in the cemetery of St. Mary. The elder Giacomo Moscardo provveditor of the commune petitioned to the Consiglio that the repair and decoration the city would be well served if the statue was put back on its rightful spot and passed the decree as you can see. 1615.

What apparently was the result of a lightning strike or possible earthquake, Varanini claims that it had occurred much earlier (1550’s) and only now (1615) did the Veronese and their Venetian administrators attempt to repair the monuments around the city as well as promote a sense of communal pride with patriotic paintings in the Loggia. Moscardo promoted his relative Giacomo, the provveditori of the city, as the archaeological savior of the monument. Since Saraina and Caroto did not mention it, it seems to have been a

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520 Moscardo, XI, 462, “erano alquanti anni che la statua equestre di Cangrande Scala dera caduta e giaceva in terra nel cimiterio di santa maria antica fu da Giacomo moscardo provveditor di comun raccordato al conseglio che per decoro e ornamento della citta sarebbe stato bene ripola al suo luoco dove passato il decreto fu accommodata come si vede. 1615” See also the early work of Antonio Avena, “La Salma e la Tomba di Cangrande I Scala” in the collection edited by Dante e Verona, 397- 420, 417. He cites Moscardo above, but G.B. Verci Storia della Marca trivigiana, VII 71, suggests that the equestrian statue was toppled by an earthquake and high winds in 1612, “Anno 1612. Martii in consilio XII. Statua canis grandis sclicheri ex Veroneae Principibus jam annis circiter tercentum locata super janaum templi deipara Virginis super plateam, diebus elapsis, seu terremotos, seu ventorum violentia in preceps collapsa, erogatis ex ere publico ducatis quinquaginta in pristino loco reponatur.” Zagata notes that in 1616 Giacomo Moscardo, a Nogarola, a Serego and Malaspini were noted as Provveditori di Comune. Zagata,III. pt. 2. 276.
recent problem, which was taken care of in due course. Indeed, as has been pointed out, as an overarching theme of Moscardo, is the desire to repair and to maintain monuments of the past, rather than allow them to fall into disrepair.

As we have seen Varanini’s observation suggests that the lack of maintenance of the Scala statues was an attempt to obliterate that family from the collective memory of the city. From Moscardo’s quote, above, we realize that this was not the intent at all. This conclusion is also confirmed if one looks at Panvinio’s work, printed in 1648 but written in the 1560’s. In this highly detailed, widely known account, we find a rather extensive description of the rule of the Scala, with a full-page illustration of the Scaliger tombs. Perhaps the publisher added them at a later date to embellish the work. It seems that the printer relied on Panvinio’s notes as to which illustrations and inscriptions should be included. If the statue fell at the time alleged by Varanini (1550’s) or closer to the time when the Council requested it to be repaired, it is illustrated in a complete and clean state. This suggests that there was a continuous respect for this legacy, not one that suddenly materialized in the early seventeenth century due to the faltering administrative powers of Venetian rule. It is also noteworthy that Maffei’s *incipit* on the first page of the *Verona Illustrata* shows the Scala equestrian tombs.

Rarely does Moscardo reveal any social impropriety in his narrative: occasional purse-snatchers, some banditry, and some simple problems with Jews infringing on Christian settlements within the city. Nevertheless, Moscardo does make an interesting statement in the Eleventh book of the *Historia*. The author begins with an affirmation of the most wonderful and Catholic Republic of Venice, a state which rules with such prudence, justice

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and equity. But there are some, unnamed, who wished to write publically about “these 
“diabolico scrittore” The year was 1605:

Under this benign and temperate government we have continually enjoyed a tranquil peace and the abundance of all good things. So that from all men living on earth we in Verona never desired to live under another prince. We wish to continue to serve her with our usual serenity, our unshaken faith forever. So we say and we wish to say in public, in the name of our country, to protest that if this diabolical writer or other impious and wicked writers act in such a reprobate manner we will respond in writing the facts. Ten months ago following the endorsement of our most illustrious rectors, the author, the principal writer of this false work was guilty of lèse-majesté and should be punished by our Justice. 522

We have no idea what this publication might have been. After offering a glimpse of some political conflict he moves ahead to discuss the frost in Sicily, horrible rain in Verona and the proclamation of a Jubilee year by the Pope. This was in the period 1607-1608.

Earlier in book XI and in the year 1517 Moscardo also refers to two political rival groups in Verona, the Marani who had and continued to support the Emperor and the Martelosi, who supported the Venetian Republic: “between these were born many hatreds which were ancient and caused confusion when the election of the Counselors of this city came about.” 523 Having stated this tantalizing point he moves on to the election of the Council of Verona, with no further reference to these rival groups, their strengths nor their influence in the city. However, it must be noted that the borrowing from one historian to

522 Moscardo, Historia, XI, 453. Moscardo does not mention the name of the book or pamphlets nor its authors.

523 Moscardo, Historia XI: 385.
another was commonplace. If Zagata mentioned rival factions, they also found their way in Dalla Corte and Moscardo without much investigation or elaboration.

It is interesting that this brief note, suggesting internal division, has served as a basis of several studies which refer to these groups as descendants of Guelph and Ghibellines, or pro and anti-Venetian sentiments. What might be deduced, and what several modern historians have tried to intimate, is that the very existence of these factions indicated the loose political rule exerted by the Venetian administration. By permitting political and economically charged groups access to the city councils shows that Venice was a benevolent administrator, not an imperialistic power.\textsuperscript{524}

The problem with this analysis is that, even if there were “elite” families in the city, their allegiances mattered little to a political force which permitted communal councils whose every decision had to meet the approval of the Podesta and the Capitano as well as the Venetian Signoria. Not to overstate a metaphor but the \textit{nuovo auditori} also reflected this kind of administrative chutzpa; accept cases on appeal and continue to drag on the process back and forth to Venice without resolution. This give the appearance of justice, while paying basic lip service to the process. This permitted elite factions, Guelph’s and Ghibellines, to function and offers the illusion of change while really accomplishing nothing at all. The fact that less than 150 Veronese were made Venetian citizens for the first century of Venetian domination addresses the intent of the Center in this relationship.

\textsuperscript{524} Paola Lanaro (Sartori) has written on the composition of the elite in Verona, early on in her article “Un Patriziato in formazione: L’esempio Veronese del ‘400” in, 35-51 where she concludes that the Consiglio of Verona was dominated by several prestigious families over the period 1421-1516, such as Giusti, Bevilacqua-Lazise, and the Guarienti, based not on economic status but by the prestige of the family and their relationship with Venice. Her later book, \textit{Un oligarchia urbana nel Cinquecento Veneto: Istituzioni, economica societa} (Turin: G. Giappichelli, 1992), expands upon this theme to show how the second intervention by Venice in 1517 effectively closed the governing body in Verona, creating a land owning elite.
In addition, of that number roughly fifty were elevated to that status just prior to and immediately after the takeover in 1405 by the Republic.\footnote{Reinhold Mueller, *La banca dati CIVES: privilegi di cittadinanza veneziana, dalle origini all’anno 1500*. http://www.civesveneciarum.net.}

Moscardo is careful to treat the Church with respect, noting preachers, the building and decorations of churches, the arrival of the various Bishops and ecclesiastical dignitaries. Yet the episcopacy of Matteo Giberti (1495-+1543, Bishop 1524-1543) certainly the most important Bishop of the city in the sixteenth century, almost escapes mention. He is hidden in the narrative with a long line of ducal activities, building projects in Verona, and the mineral baths, the famous Bagna di Caldero near Padua. Giberti is mentioned twice in Moscardo’s index: his entrance into the city as Bishop in 1524 and his death in 1543. Despite this paucity of information, this period is described in Moscardo as one of religious turmoil. It might be mentioned that Giberti was the first non-Venetian bishop of the city in over a century.

Monks and monasteries were the object of scandal, and their “i loro dannati appetiti” brought down the wrath of God. Four citizens are elected, along with the bishop and the most glorious *retrtori*, to look into the matter. What follows is a curious inventory of the financial worth of each of these monasteries rather than an index of their transgressions. This style is similar to those prepared by Bishop Giberti during his important Pre-Tridentine reforms and pastoral visitations from 1525-1542.\footnote{Antonio Fasani, ed., *Riforma pretridentina della diocese di Verona: Viste pastorali del vescovo G.M. Giberti 1525-1542* (Vicenza: Istituto per le ricerche di storia sociale e di storia religiosa,1989), 3 volumes, as well as the earlier analysis of Adriano Prosperi, *Tra Evangelismo e controriforma: G.M. Giberti*.} These occurred in 1531 while Giberti’s agents made their visitations, which ironically concentrated on the many
outlying parishes, some in hidden valleys in the Alpine foothills. Very little of the investigations were focused on the inner ring of the diocesan headquarters which actually included a family member and a close confident who had Lutheran opinions.

Concluding Moscardo’s *Historia*, he follows the template of earlier historians of the city, although his work does offer a sense of place and interest in Verona. Venice is constantly present, always casting the shadow of power over the mundane events of the city. Moscardo lists those important professionals, doctors, writers, painters who were native Veronese, thus making some progress in reporting local historical events. He makes no attempt at establishing a lineage of the artists or their influences, nor of Veronese authors, except the titles of their books. As an aristocrat Moscardo is most interested in his family’s role in the history of his city.

Moscardo does not mention many sources in his work, but he does dwell on Francesco Tinto, whom he refers to as a “Chierico” (cleric). The man despised by Maffei, but held in esteem by Moscardo, is described thusly: “Tinto, versed in belles letters who wrote of the Nobility of Verona, and its origins, a historian truly fluid and erudite, and much appreciated by our citizens.” 527 These references point to important Veronese are interspersed throughout the work, but not with a separate section of “Illustrious Men ” as was found in Maffei. The *Historia* remains a platform upon which the victorious deeds of Venice are performed, and those tribulations encountered by Verona are mentioned and remedied by the Republic.

Indeed, the opening remarks of Moscardo’s *Historia*, Chapter 12 summarize his attitude towards Venice and her relationship with Verona:

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527 Moscardo, *Historia*, 441.
We enjoyed for a long course of years in our city our full happiness and under the moderate government of the Venetian Republic, being a flower … of continuous tranquility. You could not possibly express in the city or in the countryside or duplicate the happiness of the inhabitants, the busy commerce and the opulence of the citizens.  

While mindful of the tranquility of Venetian rule Moscardo soon reverts to both a medieval and very Venetian template for explaining the famine and plagues which soon attached themselves to Verona. As we have noted there was a relationship between the events visited upon a city or a people and the conduct of the people. Direct divine intervention is a Biblical construct, which flowed into medieval chronicles and later histories. It also was a fundamental Venetian view of history, that the correct and moral conduct of Venetians and her subjects continued heavenly blessings upon the divinely chosen Republic. Conversely, their failings brought down the wrath of God upon all: “but the people with pride because so much happiness went astray in errors and luxuries irritated the Divine omnipotence, who sent terrible but just retribution.” Plague, famine, warring factions take up the last chapter of the Historia, with a curious mention of a sculpture executed by Clemente Molli, in the middle of the Piazza Bra, representing Venice and the

528 Moscardo, Historia, 472, “Erasi goduta per lungo forso d’anni nella citta nostra una piena felicita e sotto il moderato governo della republica veneteta, essendo fiorito un continuo otio e una continuuata tranquilita non si potrebbe esprimere quanto si nella citta come nel territorio augmentata la copia degli habitanti la frequeza del trafico e l’opuzenza di cittadino.”

529 Ottavia Niccoli, Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy, 190.

530 Moscardo, Historia, 472, “ma il popolo insuperbito per tanta felicità traviato negli errori e lussi irritò la divina omnipotenza a il terribile ma giusto castig.”
Adige river in 1634.\textsuperscript{531} French Jacobins, destroyed it in 1797 with only a fragment of the Doge’s hat, the \textit{corno dogale}, located in the Museo Castelvecchio, Verona.

Moscardo does not analyze the reactions of Venice and Verona after the Peace of Noyon in 1516, which ended the War of Cambray. He does not comment to any degree about it in his \textit{History}. Moscardo begins his eleventh chapter with an opinion on Venice:

\begin{quote}
The glorious Republic Venetian returned to the peaceful possession of this noble but desolate city in the way as it had been, as we have narrated in this book, which I send to our governor Luigi Contarini.\textsuperscript{532}
\end{quote}

Life returned to normal and from the nobility of Verona a Veronese Council was elected, walls are reinforced, while Moscardo recorded that the Emperor Maximillian died in 1520.

8.8 Adriano Valerini: \textit{La Bellezza Verona} (1546-1593)

Adriano Valerini’s \textit{La Bellezza Verona} (hereafter cited as \textit{Bellezza}) continues this chapter by presenting perhaps the most notorious example of Veronese humanist writing. Notorious because it was a blatant exercise by one gifted humanist desperately needing to ingratiate himself with both Venetian and local elites and used a slim volume of anecdotes and myths about Verona to accomplish this task. Unlike the literary personalities who preceded him Valerini did not seek service with Venice or Verona. The \textit{Bellezza} was an overtly self-promotional piece, naming influential contemporary persons, under the guise of a historical project.

\textsuperscript{531}C. Semenzato, \textit{La scultura veneta del Seicento e Settecento} (Venezia : Alfieri, 1966), 17-19, 41, 78, 84; Laura Orbicciiani “Molli (Moli), Clemente,” \textit{Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani} - vol. 75 (2011).

\textsuperscript{532} Moscardo, \textit{Historia}, 384, “Ritornata la gloriosa Repubblica Venetiana al pacific possesso di questa nobile si ma desolata citta nel modo che nel precedent libro habbiamo narrato, mando per pretore al governo di essa Luigi Contarini.”
Adriano Valerini, son of a Veronese aristocrat turned woolen dyer (tintori), was born in 1546. 533 Adriano’s father had been an educated assistant for Bishop Giberti. Adriano perhaps attended the school of the acolytes, for his brother embraced an ecclesiastical career. Adriano chose a quite different path, and became an actor, specializing in the role a buffoon. Travelling with a troop led by Vincenzo Armani, they moved from Mantua, Verona, to Paris, and back again to Verona. It is there that he took the stage name of Gelosi, the comic clown. Moreover, it was in Verona he began to write poetry and prose. 534

He was apparently successful, for he performed in Venice before the King of France, Henry III, in 1574. The next we hear of Valerini is his expulsion from Mantuan territories by order of the Duke, where he is mentioned as the perpetrator of lewd verse on stage. Returning to Verona in 1583 the comedian came to the attention of none other than Carlo Borromeo, who felt his comedies pushed the limits of taste too far towards lust, filth and dishonesty.

Beset by this professional problem Valerini began to write about Verona, his birth city. It was a blatant attempt to ingratiate himself with the civil and religious authorities together with leading members of the elite who had snubbed his family. Perhaps with enough polish he could even obtain a state license to remain and act in the city, a commune which had a natural prejudice against actors, especially comedians.

533 R. Brenzoni, Adriano Valerini : umanista Veronese (1545 - marzo 1592) (Verona : Tipografia Roma, 1956), Valerini notes his craft to be as “an actor who perfected the ancient art of introducing comedies and only making them dishonest and scandalous things,” “che pervertono l’arte antica introducendo nelle commedie disonestà solamente e cose scandalose,” Adriano Valerini, Le Bellezze di Verona, XIV.

By another stroke of good fortune Valerini was forgiven his previous indiscretions in Mantua and joined the Compagnia del serenissimo duca di mantova, the Duke’s protected group of actors. Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga went so far as to write to the Podestà of Verona in favor of Valerini. The response was curt and final: “the rectors of Verona were most opposed to this kind of entertainment and forbade his performing in the city.”

His last play entitled Afrodite, perhaps reflected his professional situation: Human life is one continuous night, while death is a shiny horizon, which will bring back resplendent days. Valerini died in August of 1593.

Valerini wrote his Bellezza in 1585 and began this guide to the beauties of Verona with a defense of the city against some ill-advised poems by one Francesco Berni, the former secretary to the Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti and who had the Bishop as his protector. In his preface to the Bellezza, he made a comment on Berni, suggesting that the man sounded like Ascalaphus, a reference to the figure who was transformed into a screeching owl in the underworld. Valerini accused him of being deaf as well, devoid of all senses if he could not praise rather than blame Verona.

In fact the poetics of Berni reveal more than a small reliance on Soncino’s I Fioretto, as he mentions the monuments, the lakes and the fish of Lake Garda. Where Berni does err, in the opinion of Valerini, was his stark description of conditions in Verona. These were typical of forestieri regarding another city. Berni was from Tuscany and had a dislike for Verona, even though he was employed there:

535 Marchi, Forma Veronae, XXXIV, “il rispose al duca che I rettori Veronese erano alienissimo et contrary a tal sorta di trattenimento.”

536 Francesco Berni, Rime, poesie latine, e lettere edit e inedit, ordinate e annotate per cura di Antonio Virgili; aggiuntovi la Catrina, il Dialogo contra i poeti, e il Commento al Capitolo della primira. Antonio Virgili (Florence: Le Monnier, 1885), 68-69.
Why the eternal mud which adorn their pretty streets
Producing these beautiful things, the most famous four
being  buried even under one’s eyes
are beans and sluts, poets and lice

Valerini used these descriptions to avenge a city demanding restoration. He commented that other native born poets such as Giovanni Cotta “Veronese” (born in Vangadizza di Legnago 1480-died 1510 Viterbo) also wrote lovingly about “his” Verona:

Verona, who can see you
And not love you immediately
has abandoned love
This, I believe he does not love
He lacks loving feelings
And is grateful only to hate

After calling Berni to task Valerini begins his Bellezza. His purpose was straightforward: he wished to perpetuate the memory of those literate and illustrious men of his patria. He addresses the mayor (sindicus) Girolamo Marcabruni, and refers to those important men who tower over the loggia of this very palazzo of council, the Loggia.

Valerini is the consummate, ambitious humanist described in this dissertation, one who uses his talents primarily for patronage. There is not a drop of sincerity in the cup of praise he offers about Verona. He continues, “and my beautiful country and the Venetian republic That with those wise hands loosens and tightens his restraints as I would be willing to be

537 Adriano Valerini, Le Bellezze di Verona, 371, “Perche I fanghi immortali Ch adornan le lor strade graziose Producon queste e alter belle cose Ma quattro piu famose Da sotterravri un drento insino a gli occhi Fagiuioli e porche e poeti e pidocchi.”

like the Theban Menoeceus…” a reference to a character who dies in the play Antigone. Obscure references certainly was the style of literati during the early modern period, and even earlier in monastic writings, indicating the wider knowledge base of the writer.

Valerini begins a history of the Origins of Verona, with the story that the city had initially been settled by the Tuscans from the Etruscan family of VERI, a source he “borrowed” from Saraina. The total formation of the name Verona derives from VE for Venezia, RO for Roma, and NA, from Naples, the combination of these three great cities into the perfection of Verona. To continue his sycophantic work, Verona is eternally joined to Venice, which was built by the hands of the gods.

Valerini remarks that the purpose of his work is not to praise Venice but to praise Verona. But it is clear that this book is yet another stage to perform for the ruling elite. The Scala family is mentioned in passing as the creators of the Castel Vecchio but then examines the origins of the abundant carp which were found in Lake Garda. Linking the divine and mortal, he tells a story of Saturn hunting on Lake Garda and requesting to be ferried across the lake. The leader of the fishermen, Carpo (capo?) demanded an exorbitant price for this service and so was changed into a voracious fish, the carp, by Saturn. In the Bellezza , Valerini is everywhere and nowhere. The Bellezza is where imagination and historical narratives merge into a stage play of delightful and unreliable fantasy.

The Bellezza is valuable insofar as Valerini brings the literary culture of the city into the sixteenth-century as well as reflects on older literary figures. Contemporary men of

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539 Bellezza, 5, “e per la mia bella patria e per la veneta Republic , che con sagge mani le allenta allenta e stringe il freno sarei pronto come il teban meneceo a precipitarmi…” Menoeceus was a descendant of the Spartans and the father of Jocasta and Creon. Menoeceus sacrificed himself to end a plague in Thebes. Apparently, Valerini is offering to make many sacrifices for the mayor and for Verona if he is given permission to write his work on Verona.

540 Bellezza 8-10
letters such as Girolamo Verita, Giacomo Bonfaio, and Nicolas Pellegrini as well as Giulio Cesare Scaligero are mentioned. Scaligero was living in Paris in the service of the King. He also reminds his readers about Bartolomeo Cipolla, the jurist from the previous century and Torello Saraina whose history of Verona was extensively mined by Valerini. Of course in recent memory Matteo Bosso, Giovanni Panteo, Panvinio, and Virgilio Zavarise are cited by Valerini as part of an illustrious and continuous Veronese literary tradition.\footnote{Valerini, \textit{Bellezza} 90-92.}

The work is also important in that it begins a Who’s Who of contemporary, nonliterary Veronese nobility: Mario Bevilacqua, conte Paulo Canossi, Orazio Bolderini, the Sagramoso family, and Giovan Francesco Emilio. Valerini includes as many elites as possible to widen his audience appeal. Similar in scope to many of the other \textit{laude}, the \textit{Bellezza} offers a veneer of history, covering a list of well-placed aristocrats. In this case important Veronese who could speak well of the author and perhaps secure him a more substantial role in contemporary Veronese history were listed.

By the conclusion of the book Valerini refers to contemporary men and women who influenced the arts; Isotta Nogarola, Laura Schioppo and Isabella Canossa, the latter rarely included as contemporary writers. Perhaps his greatest achievement was to recall current painters who were mentioned in print in one of the first instances in a history of the city: Nicola Giolfino “who painted as much with his left hand as he did with his right hand,” and Domenico Brusasorci, and Giacomo Ligozzo. He mentions Paulo Caliaro, “who chose to live in Venice and who was sensitive to this fact,” as well as Paulo Farinato and Bernardino India.\footnote{\textit{Bellezza}, 105, “che dipingeva tanto con la sinistra quanto con la destra mano,” referring to Giolfino, a reference taken from Vasari’s \textit{Vite}. V, 286.}

Concluding his work on the “beauties of Verona,” he included
engineers, a mathematician, astrologer, and the choreographer, Cristoforo Sorte, the cartographer, was apparently someone with whom Valerini was familiar.

Valerini’s perspective on Verona and Venice in his work is rather straightforward. It was apparent that the motivating factor was not an overwhelming love for his city. The singular purpose was to garner favor with Venetian authorities and Veronese elites, so he might be able to practice his acting within the city and its territory. Certainly, there was a sense of localized pride within his writings but the purpose was to include as many references as possible to Venice and living persons in power who could assist him in advancing his cause. The Bellezza becomes an encyclopedia of titles, a list of important people with little information beyond registering their name. We have witnessed this process before with other writers in the fifteenth-century, hoping to gain favor by their works within the sphere of Venetian authority. In an age of print these accolades moved far beyond the confines of the city or the territory and could be duplicated. The Bellezza glorified those elites which it mentions, so too did these elites advance the career of the writer who put these talents together.

Throughout the fifteenth until the middle of the Cinquecento, the relationship between Venice and Verona may be described as tense but amicable, neither overtly oppressive nor openly acquiescent. Venice chose an overbearing posture after the Wars of Cambrai, draining the city and her countryside of product, taxes, and other material goods at below market value under the guise of costs for protection. Venice controlled the city and ruled without excessive force. When a confrontation loomed, a tactic of obfuscation served to underpin a large part of this rapprochement. Part of the local component of the Myth of Venice is that, by accepting Venetian rule, the city’s elite believed that they had been
incorporated into the Venetian “system” as well. Somehow they too had achieved some power within the structure of Venetian politics. By offering superficial offices, which lacked power to Veronese elite, Venice relied on her own patrician administrators to operate the city, paying lip service to local officials.

The local Consiglio, made of Veronese citizens, had primarily consensual and advisory powers rather than substantive authority to make laws. We have already cited several local writers and scholars who had attempted to reinvigorate local sympathies in a spirit of Veronesità with marginal success. Nevertheless, in each instance, from the Actio Panteo to Valerini’s description of Verona, there was always that literary reinforcement of the benevolence of the dominating power. The writers acknowledged that whatever condition Verona found herself in, with her antiquities, monuments, famous men, and plentiful supplies of fish, all under the watchful eye of Venice, her protector.

Despite its accommodating tone, Valerini’s La Bellezza Verona does slightly advance the writing of the historical narrative in Verona. This work rapidly moves from being a chronology of the city, as traditional histories had done, to rather a cultural guidebook, much like the program of a play. The author introduces us to the principal actors, the producers, stage crew and all the rest of those individuals who help put the production together. That essentially is what La Bellezza Verona does, to mention in print the principals in Veronese cultural life, to assign them a place in the future, as well as enlist their support for the author in the present. Even though the producer of this fictive production is Venice, Valerini is wise to focus on the importance of the local Veronese in this cultural structure. He looks forward to Alessandro Canobbio, Verci and ultimately Maffei in his historical presentation, rather than backwards to Zagata and Dalla Corte.
Certainly, after Agnadello in 1509, there was a shift in attitudes concerning the altruism of Venice. At their most desperate hour, the Venetian manipulation of history is apparent. Verona was an unfaithful subject, surrendering rather than resisting the Imperial forces. Verona is clearly “the Other” in Venetian narratives, with the guilt for her submission spread throughout Veronese texts as well. Moscardo reviews a letter written to the people of Verona by the Doge, just before the assault on the city by the Imperial troops: “you Veronese are like gold, like the most precious of metals. You know that this most precious of metals is made through fire...We hope that we can continue with your fidelity and cooperation as our children, whose faith will shine for all of the world.”

543 It is my contention that these local writers absorbed the historical markers of Venetian rhetoric as they were applied to their own city and incorporated these into their chronicles of praise of Venice, their laude and eulogies for Venetian administrators, the reformed laws of the city, and finally into the fabric of their own histories of the city. This process comes to an abrupt halt in the Verona Illustrata, published in 1732 by Scipione Maffei.

8.9 Scipione Maffei: (1675-1755) and the Verona Illustrata

By the early eighteenth century the secular wave of the Enlightenment had taken hold in northern Italy, especially in the terraferma. Old cultural boundaries had been redrawn, Venice was in decline, and the pressure the Republic had applied over her western cities was easing. New academic societies were formed in Mantua, Padua, Trento.544 In 1768 the government of the Serenissima established in its territory academies of agriculture, with

543 Moscardo, Historia di Verona, X 336.

544 The Academy of Buon Gusto in Trento, the Timidi in Mantua, the Accademia dei Ricoverati in Padua, and the Dissonanti in Modena. The British Library Database of Italian Academies is an excellent source for determining membership of these associations. http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/Default.aspx
the task of “learning good methods to deal with and...ways to derive greater benefit from the land which understands to the different natures of the soil ... and teach and lead the peasants and landowners across the Venetian domain.” 545 This primarily agricultural collective matured rapidly into the Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze e Letter di Verona and was the most important intellectual society in Verona during the last years of Venetian rule.

Not only were the communities on the terraferma interested in improving their living conditions, they found themselves as destination cities. Verona, Padua and Venice were important stops in the itinerary of the Grand Tour. Even though most of the English travelers were Protestant, their interaction with local elites offered an exchange of cultures and ideas which hastened the decline of a Venetian intellectual hold on Verona. Progressive attitudes encouraged educated elites to compose less confined histories of their communities, and to promote their aristocratic families detached from the primary imperative of a religious based narrative or Venice centered account. Within these narratives the histories of prominent families and individuals were paramount in the formation of local communal histories. While interpretative studies were still in the distance, focused narratives on illustrious men and women, monuments, and scholarly texts from a narrow localized perspective were in vogue. As such Scipione Maffei’s Verona Illustrata was a model of this historical narrative, written by the erudite nobleman in 1732.

Scipione Maffei was born into an illustrious Veronese family, going back to the fourteenth century. Born in 1675, his mother was the Marchesa Silvia Pellegrini, also from

http://www.aaslvr.it/storia “occuparsi con buoni metodi e assiduo impegno sui modi di trarre dalla terra qual maggior frutto che rispettivamente alla diversa natura del suolo può essa somministrare [...] e ammaestrare e dirigere i villici e i proprietari terrieri in tutto il dominio veneto.”
an established Veronese family. Maffei was Veronese first, rather than a Venetian, as he was particular to write about the important Roman heritage of Verona as a foundation to the book. Even though the *Verona Illustrata* front piece is entitled “All’ inclita republica veneta unica discendenza della Romana.” “To the illustrious Venetian republic descendant from Rome,” the *Verona Illustrata* is unlike virtually every other historical narrative encountered thus far. The *Verona Illustrata* is not dedicated to any Venetian lord, bishop or administrator. Venice has only a minor role in Maffei’s history, and this aristocrat apparently had no need of patronage. Besides a brief nod to Venice, the book proceeds as a compilation of important and noteworthy events and persons from Verona.⁵⁴⁶

Although the *Verona Illustrata* (hereafter cited as *Illustrata*), is completely different from any of its predecessors it relies on some features of earlier works. The *Illustrata* does not attempt to follow a chronological approach. Maffei manages to dedicate a good portion of the *Illustrata* to Roman history and an explanation of the antiquities found in the city. He quickly adopts Pliny and Catullus as natives of Verona and concludes that the origins of Verona were Etruscan, not Roman, effectively denying Venetian claims of tribal affinity and a rejoining of the mainland with the lagoon. In essence the *Illustrata* was becoming an authoritative, illustrated guide for the city of Verona.

Maffei is particular with his sources, naming the famous and unknown such as Parisio de Cereta, Guglielmo da Pastrengo, Guido da Sommacampagna, concluding with Marzagaia, whose work he mentions was an imitation of Valerius Maximus. Maffei categorizes his topics based on professional skills: writers, architects, physicians, historians. Maffei mentions several Veronese jurists, beginning with Bartolomeo Cipolla,

and Giusti, Lanfranchini and a few others who worked within the councils of the Venetian administration. Maffei offers more attention to poets and teachers of Latin, offering “Giovanni Panteo e discepoli” fourteen pages of information. Panteo was described as a great teacher and perpetuator of Veronese culture, as were his disciples. He concludes the end of Book III with Felice Feliciano, “A Veronese gentlemen by custom and nationality handsome, and very popular.” Maffei is careful to note their local affiliation, their campanilismo as it were.547 After a brief discussion on the government of Verona he concludes that that “non e male nella città che i cittadini stessi non si facciano” “it is not good [that] in a city the citizens themselves do not act,” meaning that the citizens cannot act.548

The remaining chapters of the Illustrata continue with old and modern painters, sculptors, important families, including the Maffei, religious figures, a Who’s Who compilation not found in previous histories of the city. Nevertheless, his real focus are the museums whose collections went beyond the dilettantism of the elite into the first phase of antiquarianism. Maffei’s collections were not just intended to preserve the history of Verona but the patrimony of all of Italy. Museums of inscriptions, battered lapidary monuments, busts, statues ripped from city walls and monuments, now were housed in these palazzi within the city. Findlen cites a letter from Maffei to Anton Francesco Marmi, antiquarian to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, where he describes his “lapidary museum” as a

547 “gentiluomo Veronese de costumi et nazione prestante, liberale e piacevol molto.” Maffei, Verona Illustrata, Book, 194A recent article in a Veronese giornale challenges the concept of veronesita. Francesco Butturini “La veronesità? In Butturini’s opinion piece he points out that many of the icons important to Verona such as her important saints, the della Scala, her fortifications, etc. all come from outside sources, with very little indigenous participation or creativity. He fails to include art or music nor consider the concept of adopting of icons and incorporating them into one’s own mythology.

form of cultural Veronese patrimony, preserving these antiquities so that they would “neither perish nor go out of Italy anymore.” This is an interesting assertion, moving from the particular love of one’s paese to represent a greater Italy, which was still a geographical expression.

The *Illustrata* is a remarkable work, the first and most impressive of its kind as a study of the city and her history. It is not driven by a desire to promote the church or the political workings of the city. Its main goal was not to underline the positive effects of Venice upon the city. Rather it is a cultural study of the most noteworthy achievements of the city of Verona over the two millennium of its existence. For Maffei, it is those things which are represented by statues, monuments, books, and ancient commentators which reflect the ideology of the *longue durée* of a culture.

The *Verona Illustrata* concludes this study of writers who participated in the formation of the early modern narrations of Verona. We have moved from chronicles and compilers such as Marzagaia, Lando and Zagata, who had eyes trained on their subject as well the positive reception by their overlord, Venice and her Signoria. Later commentators, Moscardo, G. Dalla Corte and Tinto built upon the base of the earlier commentators, continuing their errors, but still adhering to a filio-Venetian perspective. The events of Verona were somehow reflective of an otherwise greater Venice. The compilations by earlier historians were merely platforms of a stage in which Venice was the main and in some cases, only performer.

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549 Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 396-397. See also her “Possessing the Past: The Material World of the Italian Renaissance,” *American Historical Review*, 103 I (February 1998): 83-114, where she reviews a number of studies on collecting and collections in Italy.
These and other writers, including Giorgio Bevilacqua, Isotta Nogarola, Giorgio Sommariva and Cristoforo Lanfranchini, though not composers of extended histories of the city, provided smaller paeans to their patrons in the form of their *Carme, laude*, and orations to Venetian notables, *rettori* and *vescovi*. They used their literary skills to entertain their political lords as well as to promote their own self interests. While their concern in the history of Verona may have been sincere their ultimate rationale was to entice and ingratiate themselves with their Venetian lords. This was, as also previously mentioned, an excellent collateral relationship because Venice sought “the other” local citizens in writing its own praises, finding that to be more of an efficacious manner of self-promotion.

It is with Scipione Maffei and his followers, Alessandro Carli and Giambattista Verci, that Veronese historical studies enter into another stage of development, away from the persistent, overarching presence of Venice, with a focus on their city, with minimal intrusion from The Republic. There was a fundamental history of Verona to be written and it began within the pages of the *Verona Illustrata*.

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CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

Leone di San Marco, leone del profeta
ad est do Creta corre il tuo vangelo
Si staglia contro il cielo il tuo cimbrolo strano
La spada e non il libro hai nella mano

Lion of St. Mark, the lion of the prophet,
to the east of Crete runs your gospel.

Silhouetted against the sky your strange symbol:
why the sword and not the book do, you have in your hand?

Francesco Guccini, Asia (1981)

Many of the current interpretations of Venetian activities on the terraferma are actually
a continuation of the Myth of Venice. Many of the works reviewed in this dissertation by
historians such Bouwsma, Varanini, Grubb, Law and Knapton continue to be driven by this
centuries-old sympathetic view of the image of Venice as a benign, minimally intrusive
power, one that protects rather than violates the subject commune’s well-being. The image
of a benevolent Center protecting grateful satellite locations is all-pervasive in scholarship.
The relationship is variously described as that of a mother and daughter, or a sister to sister.
In 1428 the Venetian Senate described the Veronesi as “Veneti proprii,” “Venice’s Own”
because of the loyalty displayed by the Veronese towards the Venetians in the then-recent
wars with the Visconti. The term also supports the notion that the annexation of the *terraferma* was merely a re-acquisition of the Venetian Roman mainland.  

Scholars have interpreted the Venetian “annexation” of the *terraferma* as a defensive maneuver, an action requested by the local population to replace the previous tyrannical powers that had ruled the city. Once established Venice made minimal changes to the city, and continued local laws and customs, which created a larger, peaceful territory under a local administrator. According to Venetian historians this situation was characterized as a loose amalgam of cities rather than an empire and was used to describe both Venice’s territories in the eastern Mediterranean and the western *terraferma*. This interpretation first appears in early accounts of Venice, often written centuries after the fact, and the concept emerges in full form in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The narratives appear in subject communes as well as in Venice proper and it is this common trope, which contemporary scholars tend to rely upon in their approach to Venice.

The purpose of this dissertation is to illustrate that the continuation of the Myth of Venice in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the work of Venetian patricians with the willing assistance of *terraferma* humanists. This is a proposal that, in my research, has never been asserted nor explored. The *terraferma* *literati*, especially those from Verona,  

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551 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato Misti, reg. 57, fol 13 r. A. Menniti Ippolito, “Le dedizioni e lo stato regionale. Osservazioni sul caso veneto,” Archivio Veneto ser. V, vol. 162 (1986): 5-30, 17. Professor Muir’s work on the Friuli, *Mad Blood Stirring*, also suggests that Venice was not interested in this region except for its defensive position. In this case there is some validity to this claim, as the region around Udine was rather desolate and unproductive, “Venice left Friuli relatively untouched…Venice did not even assert full sovereignty over the region but merely asked the Pope to accept the reality of its occupation…” 16 ff.  
552 Michael Knapton in his recent contribution entitled “The *terraferma* State,” in *A Companion to Venetian History*, 85-124, still maintains a great deal of this approach to Venetian history. Even though his article uses the term *Terraferma* State he avoids using the term state to apply to Venice. Further he maintains that Venice had no clear plan of acquisition over her territories, either in the eastern regions or the *terraferma*. They were mostly defensive moves for protecting Venice.
used their skills to navigate the channels of Venetian patronage, producing pro-Venetian polemics from their native city in return for Venetian patronage and trust. The role of non-Venetian narratives contributing to the Venetian myth has rarely been articulated, formulated, or advanced in Venetian studies. While scholars such as Margaret King, James Grubb, and Agostino Pertusi have traced the development of Venetian humanists, their focus has been on the Venetian perspective of this rhetoric. Rarely, except in the case of Bevilacqua have non Venetian-born writers been associated with the promotion of the Republic or its administrators. That conclusion simply has not been draw in past or current research.553

This collective presentation flows closely alongside the literature attributed to the early Venetian writers such as Giustiniani, Dandolo, Sanudo and Contarini. These and dozens of other Venetian apologists, writing between 1400-1650, offered the template for the justification of Venetian expansion and rule which was presented to Italian powers, the Papacy, and other European nation states. These polemical tracts were not for local consumption by Venice’s terraferma readership, and certainly not for her Greek speaking eastern colonies. There was no need to convince these territories of their positions; the reality of their situations were made clear on a daily basis. In general, Venetian historians did not acknowledge terraferma participation in matters relating to Venice.

These scholarly writings were designed primarily for an external rather than an internal market. The narratives were aimed at readers in non-Venetian Italian city states (Florence, Milan etc.), the Papal States, the French, Spanish, English and Imperial territories. The

narratives were presented as an explanation to the uninitiated or curious of Venice’s intent regarding land acquisition, how political affairs were managed, while articulating the reasons for the continued prosperity of Venice. When presented in twentieth-century scholarship the narratives form part of a continuous internal Patrician solidarity, citing other aristocratic views as a justification for their positions. The histories are convenient handbooks for those about to embark for Venice, suggesting what they could expect to experience and how they were to experience the city. Further, these narratives of the Republic refreshed the memory of those who had visited the Republic, clarifying what they really had witnessed. They were written by those most intimately involved in the daily experiences of Venetian rule, Venetian patricians and their educated citizens, living abroad in the terraferma.

The mythology of Venice, even though analyzed by scholars such as Grubb, Fasoli, Romano, Fasano and Gaeta, still has a fascinating hold on the modern historical imagination especially when the topic turns to the formation of the modern state. If Venice was the archetype of the modern capital of the territorial state of the terraferma, then dealings with individual communal entities had to be one of inclusiveness, justice and freedom, those traits being most prominently displayed in Venetian writings, especially in the 1450 statutes of the city. All were citizens, spoke the same language with slight variations, had a common religious experience and administrative mechanisms, which was provided for and overseen by Venice. Somehow, the Venetian state of 1500 can be considered a prototype for the modern European nation in the twenty first century, according to some writers.554 Scholars want to be able to determine the origins of the nation

state in Italy. No better model than Venice seems to have existed. As noted earlier in this
document, after the Second World War these sentiments were combined with a sense of
Liberty, and the myth of Venice was reborn into the modern age.

Venice had to be the prototypical model of the nation state. If not, how could Venice
possibly exert as much pressure, authority, and domination upon a decentralized collection
of territories? If Venice was not strong enough to administer a disparate collection of cities,
why did she administer these cities if not for territorial hegemony? According to scholarly
tradition Venice’s empire building did not involve the abuse of citizens of the subject states.
The success of Venice is attributed to a tradition of good and just rule. 555

What Venice produced was a self-serving polemic—in the historical narratives –
assuring the rest of the European world that all was well in the Venetian Republic. Venice
was strong and all of the “sister cities” under Venetian administration were pleased to exist
in the protective shadow of the Lion of St. Mark.

Recent studies, such as those proposed by Margaret L. King on the humanist tradition
in Venice, proved the catalyst for this study. Traditionally proponents of a virtuous
Republic, those mainland literati and Rialto humanists wrote in a highly complementary
manner about Venice. They conformed to a sense of Unanimitas, through which one would
expect a writer to seek acceptance by his elite peers or when seeking a position as a client
to a well-established patron. What King did was to make a connection between Venetian

555 The perspective of a benign and non-invasive Venice begins as early as Brian Pullan’s study, Rich
and Poor in Renaissance Venice (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), 26-27, when he spends a few pages
discussing the movement of Venice onto the terraferma and their method of government. “Families
already prominent under the Carrarese and Scaligeri continued to rule the affairs of their cities under
Venetian governors.” As this dissertation and other scholarship has pointed out, there was involvement
but hardly meaningful rule.
born patricians and pro-Venetian writings. The role of patronage was important but only as it related to local Venetian writers. Her work on the Venetian Humanists and the promotion of Venice revealed the ultimate patronage/client relationship, between the Veronese Giorgio Bevilacqua and the Venetian Marcello Valerio. Nevertheless, she stopped short of connecting other Veronese humanists to Venetian patronage, maintaining that phenomenon was still primarily a Venetian construct.

This dissertation pushes that boundary and includes discussions of the collateral writings and promotion of Venice by non-Venetian writers and focuses attention on non-Venetian humanists writing in praise of (and support for) Venetian actions. Local historians would praise their city and Venice in the same poem or history. Venetian writers too wrote poems and histories that praised The Republic and that might briefly acknowledge the accomplishments of subject states. These efforts were recognized as self-serving by those outside of the Republic. Nevertheless, by the mid fifteenth-century it had become a tired, overworked polemic taken for granted as disingenuous by writers and readers alike.

As long as non-Venetian writers, especially those coming from territorial cities, continued to praise Venice, they could expect reciprocity in terms of complimentary references in Venetian writings, but more in the order of promotions within the Venetian administration. Venice pursued a course encouraging subject states to continue to sponsor local “patriotic” activities including the holding of festivals, and the creation of public works of art, architecture, and literature as long as the creations did not disrupt the fragile confection of the image of La Serenissima.
By the early fifteenth century a Venetian humanist writing in praise of the Republic had little trouble attracting a Venetian patron. He was welcomed and read by an erudite and literate Italian audience, but because of Venice’s suspect patronage his work might have had diminished rhetorical currency abroad. On the other hand poems, local histories, *Laude* composed in praise of Venice by non-Venetian humanists would have made a much more credible impact to a wider audience than a Doge’s history of his city. Indeed, such praiseworthy prose emanating from Padua, Vicenza or Verona would have the force, the veracity of one living under the rule of San Marco, and praising that situation. It would have more of an effect on its readers, mostly non-Venetian, perhaps non-Italian, than the tired polemics of a Venetian aristocrat writing about the benefits of the La Serenissima to a non-Venetian audience. Despite recent commentary interpreting the reasons for Contarini’s *De Magistrati*, it was an explanation to a non-Italian audience on how things worked in Venice. Most of it was a theoretical exercise in representing the entity that was Venice. The fact that Contarini, although a Venetian, was also a Cardinal of the Catholic Church, (though still a layman) lent itself towards his being a neutral but informed observer of Venice to the English court.\(^{556}\)

When historians such as Varanini, Grubb or Law use local narratives that are complimentary of Venice, these sources receive praise for their accurate description of the city, and her people. Narratives of Verona such as Zagata, the Anonimo Veronese, and Dalla Corte, have been discarded as unprofessional commentators who do not draw conclusions or evaluate sources. In all events, they do stand as credible witnesses of life

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\(^{556}\) Elizabeth Gleason, “Confronting New Realities: Venice and the Peace of Bologna, 1530,” in *Venice Reconsidered*, 168-184 and her *Gasparo Contarini*, 130-132. Two years after he was elevated to the Cardinalship Contarini said his first mass as a priest.
in Verona under Venetian rule, if they are read with an understanding of why and who were writing these texts.

My argument in his study has been that these mainland promoters of the Venetian myth used Verona, Padua, and Vicenza, as platforms to launch their laudatory histories about their native city, but more to the point, on Venice. Verona was the stage upon which sprung the descriptions dealing with Venice and her admirable relationships within and without the city. Many, if not all of these writers were local elites who were striving for advancement within the Venetian bureaucracy. As this dissertation has indicated, virtually every one entered into some form of administrative position in the employ of Venice. Indeed, the great humanist event of the fifteenth-century in Verona, the Acta Panteo, was performed ostensibly to honor a revered Veronese teacher. Virtually all participants in the spectacle were highly placed Veronese or member of the Venetian administration, there to honor their teacher but in effect there to honor their Venetian overlords and to promote their own self-interest under the cloak of festivities praising their former teacher. (Appendix 7)

Chapter One traced the early histories of Venice that created the prototype for the image that the Republic wished to have submitted to a wider audience. Other historians who have studied Venice have isolated these attributes that they had gleaned from the writings of Dolfin, Morosini, Sanudo, Contarini and the rest. The major shortcoming for many of these studies is that they believe that the Venetian myth began shortly after Agnadello, (1509), in response to that catastrophe. In fact the myth had been under construction for at least a century prior to the defeat, as the early chapters of this dissertation has shown. The paradigm was created by Venetians but advanced by Venetians and non-Venetians alike.
The overarching result is that as Venice had a high regard for her own history, she had very little to say about her colonies a hundred kilometers away from the Rialto. These territories, her ancient cities and monuments existed in the shadow of the Lion of St. Mark and her representatives. When Verona was mentioned in Venetian literature, by writers such as Morosini, Sanudo or Sabellico, it was generally with the deepest respect, while briefly commenting on her landscape, grapes, the abundance of Lake Garda, some of her most promising and memorable assets. Aside from the writings of Sanudo and Sabellico few Venetian created any detailed history of the terraferma or Venetian colonies. They had no use for such literature; it had no practical currency. Indeed, the terraferma was not part of a territorial state. Rather it was merely a source of revenue, an outpost for the defense of Venice, and a bountiful area to build villas and retire or pay extended visits.

Chapter Two addressed the development of a Myth of Verona, a series of secular and religious narratives that refer to Verona in biblical terms, a characteristic which paralleled a developing backstory for Venice as well. These components of a grand Verona were maintained in Veronese accounts until the mid-fifteenth century and then all but disappear in the chronicles of the second half of the century. This period was followed by the promotion of a Golden Age of Verona under the Scala, which was further developed in the Chapter Three. A vibrant court, host to Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, the city of the Scala was the envy of all northern Italian courts. Yet after the annexation of Verona in 1405, that narrative virtually disappeared from the histories as well. The Scala become a mere footnote in local chroniclers as tyrants, supplanted by the Venetian forces who were warmly welcomed by the Veronese.
This dissertation notes a significant change from the descriptions found in the early chronicles of Verona, such as Marzagaia, Lando, and Pier Zagata. These chroniclers ignored the Scala, welcomed the Venetians, and their writing became the template for future histories of the city, but a template borrowed or imposed from Venetian sources. While Silvestro Lando, chancellor of the city of Verona in 1450, does refer to Verona as the Minor Jerusalem, it is passed over quickly. The history of the city is in the present, with Venice, not the past of Noah, Antenor, and the Scala.

This becomes the motif for later descriptions of the city. Within the praise offered to the city in the Acto Panteo, or Bevilacqua’s Historia de bello gallico, it is Venice and her representatives who receive the lion’s share of the recognition. Within these commentators, we find local elite connected to the Venetian administration, using the name of Verona in their titles but actually expressing a not always subdued praise of the Republic as the master of a city of willing and joyful citizenry. If Verona is not the focus of Dalla Corte or Zagata’s histories, neither is the terraferma the concentration of Sanudo’s Itinerario per la terraferma veneta. In each instance, Venice shines through both accounts as the true focus of the narrative. It was part of the collateral promotion of Venice in the writings of local literati.

This work also contends that it is important to recognize the importance of nonverbal representations of Venetian authority in Verona including those found in various maps, paintings, and key architectural works such as the Loggia in the Piazza Signoria. An observer would be able to translate the iconography of Madonna Venezia receiving the keys, seals, and adulation from her subject cities, permitting, encouraging the observer to believe that it is the Madonna herself, not the personification of Venice, accepting these
gifts. I also briefly use as an example of iconoclastic messaging on the defacing of the symbols of power and influence in Verona. Visual, social projections of power were strong enforcers of Venetian authority, be they religious processions or public executions. In Chapter Six it is suggested that Venice used visual images as extensively as the written word to project her message and her mythology—visual images are key elements in the education of the non-literate segment of the population. Let us not forget the impact made by the elevated “gold calf” of the quattrocento, the Leone of San Marco, in every city and community in the terraferma. It was in a form all could understand, rather than an obscure Latin text.

Part of the nuanced view of the Myth of Venice is the underlying perception of the terraferma as “the other,” “on the outside” of the World of Venice. Venetian rhetoric suggested an intimate relationship between herself and her communities. However, in the written accounts, in the messages with the Senate proceedings, wrapped within the notion of Unanimitas and within the historical narratives, subject cities were always considered “outside” Venice, not full citizens as those living on the Rialto. It is a subtle but real distinction, hardly articulated but universally understood.

This study illustrates the important role that non-Venetian humanists and artists played in the promotion of Venice. Those from the mainland who sought favors and positions constructed complimentary, favorable local histories about the Republic. Ultimately, these works turn out to be nothing more than pro-Venetian manifestos. As long as this relationship remained in place, Venice need not promote herself any longer. Her losses in the east of Cyprus in 1573, Crete in 1669 and in 1716, Corfu, made it abundantly clear that rhetoric alone was to going to impress readers about the greatness of Venice. It was a much
more convincing tactic if supposedly “captive” cities wrote about their “captor” in such glowing terms, defusing international critics and enabling mainland subjects to partake in Venetian patronage. It might be described as a proto typical Stockholm Syndrome in historical writing. For many of these it reads like a sycophantic exercise, with proper allusions and kind references, signifying the points Venice wished to convey.

The final chapters of this dissertation brought the Veronese narrative out from under the shadow of Venice through the analysis of the developed historical voice in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Saraina, Moscardo, and Maffei, were not humanists seeking patronage. They were noblemen, merchants, professionals who were appropriately polite to Venice, but began to concentrate on the noble families in the city as the underlying structure of their histories. Through them they created a narrative of the greater elite community. In so doing, their writings tell a more exclusive history of the city of Verona as a central player on her own stage, with participants who were resident talents and events that concerned the city and its environment. This concludes with the publication of Scipione Maffei’s Verona Illustrata in 1732, nearly devoid of references to Venice or Venetian control, or politics whatsoever. While dedicated to the obligatory Most Serene Venice it was an independent historical production for a soon to be independent Verona. Having made that nod to Venice, Maffei begins his first chapter incipit with an illustration of the Scaligeri tombs, a reference that clearly sets the tone of the Verona Illustrata.

The majority of the historical narratives written in Verona are not discriminating Renaissance histories. In several cases the histories were collected plagiarized accounts. Others such as Valerini were blatant attempts for inclusion and appointments. Some, such as Saraina, Moscardo and Dalla Corte managed to include new research on the cultural
aspects of the city as well as looked backwards to periods prior to Venetian annexation. They included additional aspects of their city’s history to report, whether it was the coinage of Verona, the Arena, or a chronology of the Scala family. In this regard later sixteenth and seventeenth century writers chose a wider lens in which to view Verona. Venetian supervision of the communes seems to be in decline. In this power vacuum a local history of the city could be written, without much interference from Venetian authorities, as the experience of publishing a book in Verona affirms.

The early outlines of *terraferma* history drawn by Berengo and Ventura have been dismissed shortly after their appearance because of their harsh criticism of Venice as an imperialist power and its mistreatment of her subject cities. They have been criticized and avoided by a mostly English speaking scholars such as Lane, Bouwsma, Grubb, Law, Clough, and Knapton, who viewed the Venetian Republic as a stalwart defender of liberty in the face of aggressive tyranny, much as these writers had experienced in the 1930’s and 1940’s. Later Italian scholars of the next generation, specifically Gian Maria Varanini, followed in this assessment. While Ventura especially imagined Venice as a predatory power, younger historians still look to Venice as the Defender of Liberty, and promoter of religious freedom and tolerance. Above all, Venice was the source for the dissemination of literature of all shapes and persuasions via her printing establishment. While some recent studies have shown that the Republic was really not overly tolerant, or liberal on religious views, with tight controls on her printing press, and speech, the drumbeat for a progressive view of Venice continues, especially among Italian historians of the present generation.557

Attention is now being paid to an alliance between the Verona’s elites and

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Venice to jointly administer the city. It is then projected that this was an administration of equals.\textsuperscript{558} It was not.

A good deal of this has to do with the circle of scholars educated by and influenced by Knapton, Varanini, and Cozzi, at the Universities in Udine for Knapton, Varanini at the University of Verona and Gaetano Cozzi, a member of the faculty of Language and Foreign literature in Venice. While we may scrutinize the writings of Priuli, Sanudo, Dalla Corte, Moscardo, and all of the Venetian histories that have recently come to print, seldom does the researcher find anything, which casts the slightest hint of irregularity in the relationship between Venice and her satellites. As an historical marker, scholars seem to wish to find examples, which reinforce the Center and Periphery paradigm, which naturally leads from the grand scheme of politics to the localized phenomenon of inter-societal relationships, between minority and majority communities in Italy, Spain, and the Eastern Mediterranean. If the concept of Convivencia can be applied to Spanish Christian interactions with Moslems and Jews, why not to Venetian conduct on her terraferma?

It has been the object of this study to go beyond the histories written by local writers and question the motivation for their chronicles. While we cannot delve into one’s intent after half a millennia, it can be ascertained what events which were not reported and perhaps why certain events were repeatedly cited. We have been led to assume that because the Venetian or Veronese notaries or councils or the Venetian Signoria did not report it, it did not exist, even though other sources and events point to the contrary. I suggest that in

many cases, the motivations behind acts would never appear in the Senate’s records but would be understood to be carried out effectively. There is no trial record for the deaths of the Carrara family but the result was the same. “Homo morto non fa Guerra.” Nor are there documents for the decision to invade Padua or Vicenza or Verona. In addition, even though there were suspicions as to why Venetians soldiers fled Verona during the War of Cambrai, which we learn from “non-official sources,” we find little in writing in the missi of the Signoria to explain the reasoning behind these actions.

It was in the activities of this Republic that carried more weight in its administration of the mainland. While maintaining the pretext of civility and being very conscious of public opinion, Venice hit upon a strategy, which worked remarkably well; speak glowingly but sparsely about your territories, encourage them to write well about La Serenissima, reward the loyal humanist, and the charade continued, carried into the twenty first century.

Recent historians marvel at how successful Venice must have been to have survived until 1797. The cause for such longevity must be attributed to a successful governmental structure and the support of its subjects. For this writer the utter amazement is that nearly three hundred years after the disintegration of the Republic, the mythology of Venice continues to be attached to most histories of the Renaissance, and Venetian studies in particular. Hopefully this study of one territorial city, Verona, has uncovered not only some of the techniques of Venetian rule but the subtle suppression and diversion of the early modern historian’s craft in the commentary on their city, and that city’s response to assert and maintain its own identity.
Edward Said, although not a scholar of Venetian history but an astute observer of human sociology, commented on “the other” with his references to western interpretations of “the east.” That dichotomy was oftentimes blatant, condescending, and colorfully inaccurate, yet still survives in our representation of the region and her peoples. The vision of Venice fits into this form of Orientalism in a curious manner as well. In her territories, eastern and western, there was contained a similar arrogance of superiority, of paternalistic intent, with always a friendly but firm separation between the entities, the governors and the governed.

A separate and unequal characterization remained in the literature of Venice until very recently. Margaret King notes the concept of Unanimitas but does not broaden its application beyond a literary trope. Unanimitas also includes a sense of superiority over those whom you control. We are reminded about an incident, noted by Jacob Burckhardt and attributed to Sabellico when was a teacher in at the Scuola di San Marco. He was popular with his patrician students, to the extent that oftentimes the students were invited back to his home for continuation of classes, or socializing. Yet he noted that whenever the conversation turned to specifics regarding political or public life, rulings by the Senate, legal issues, the students consistently were silent, closed down, especially in the presence of a non-noble. “When I ask them what people think, say and expect about this or that movement in Italy they all answer with one voice, that they know nothing about the matter.” According to Felix Gilbert the intention of this remark was to praise Venice, to illustrate the much-admired ability of the Venetian ruling group to maintain secrecy about

559 Edward W. Said, Orientalism, xviii.
political affairs. According to Burckhardt this attitude camouflaged any attempt at
getting to an accurate accounting of the history of Venice, a stratagem she imposed upon
herself and her satellites.

I suggest a combined conclusion on this matter. The youth were not to trust any non-
Venetian, non-patrician, nor were they do extend any courtesy beyond the superficial
respect due to a teacher. In the classroom he instructed them and they were his respectful
charges. On the street, in Venice proper, they were in control, backed by their patrician
families. In the same way the satellite communities of the terraferma were likened to the
non-patrician observer.

Modern commentators who are not enthralled with Venice, who made accusatory
accusations against the Republic have themselves been tossed into the dustbin of history.
Those who have accepted Venetian chronicles and narratives, have done so
wholeheartedly, passing over the absence of local dissent, rebellion, subtle and overt
examples of domination, as quaint reminders of a magisterial Republic. In the large picture
Venice was La Serenissima, the Serene one. Any notions to the contrary are disregarded,
while the mainline myth continues to be repeated.

A half millennium ago Machiavelli poignantly commented on the symbol of Venice.
In an entry written from to the Ten in Florence from Verona on December 7, 1509 he
commented:

It is understood as Venetians and in all places where they
became lords they paint a San Marco with a book and a

560 Felix Gilbert, “Venice and Humanism,” 16, and his “Biondo, Sabellico, and the Beginnings of
Venetian Official Historiography,” in J.G. Rowe and W.H. Stockdale, eds., Florilegium Historiale:
Essays Presented to Wallace K. Ferguson, 275-93. I was not able to corroborate his reference in the
Opera omnia/Sabellicus, Marcus Antonius Coccius, Basile: 1560, 4: 400 but a similar comment ascribed
to Sabellico is mentioned in Jacob Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (New York:
sword in his hand. It seems wise for them to understand that to keep a state the sword and not the books, or study, is what is needed.\textsuperscript{561}

A twentieth-century poet/song writer, Francesco Guccini, moved beyond the myth. He asks in an almost childlike manner, about the strange symbol for Venice. Why the sword in the hand of the lion of Saint Mark?

\begin{multicols}{2}
Leone di San Marco, leone del profeta  
ad est do Creta corre il tuo vangelo  
Si staglia contro il cielo il tuo cimbolo strano  
La spada e non il libro hai nella mano  

Lion of St. Mark, the lion of the prophet,  
to the east of Crete runs your gospel.  
Silhouetted against the sky your strange symbol:  
why the sword and not the book do you have in your hand? \textsuperscript{562}
\end{multicols}

It is as if to question the iconography which claims peace and yet includes a weapon. \textit{Pax Tibi Marce, Evangelista Meus}, which accompanies the Leone sends several messages as to the potential for force by The Republic. For over a thousand years perhaps we have finally come to understand that in order to subjugate peoples and maintain positions of power, a variety of techniques are needed. Based on the research presented in this dissertation, a clearer view of the Republic should replace the benign yet awkward image of Venetian relations with her Stato di Terra. Both the sword and the book were used in the maintenance and promotion of the Republic. Oftentimes the subject territories provided both items as well.

\textsuperscript{561} N. Machiavelli, \textit{Legazioni e commissiare}. S. Bertelli, ed. (Milan 1964), III, 1202, cited in Innocenzo Cervelli, \textit{Machiavelli e la crisi dello stato Veneziano} (Naples: 1974), 21, “intendesi come i viniziani in tutti questi luoghi dei quali si ringsignoriscono fanno dipingere un san marco che in iscambio di libro ha una spada in mano; d’onde pare che si sieno avveduti ad lor spese che ad tenere gli stati non bastano gli studi e i libri.”

The description of this process, oftentimes presented in local narratives by writers from annexed cities, extoll the virtues of the Republic and their intended employers. These writers have offered to generations of scholars the history of the Republic from a contemporary vantage point. Within the framework of current research, each interpretative article and monograph has become a tessera, a colorful piece in the total mosaic, which is the history of Verona and Venice. The current image portrayed by Italian and English speaking scholars reveals a peaceful Verona under the benign rule of Venice, co-existing and prosperous until disturbed by Napoleon in the mid-eighteenth-century. My research has challenged that view, showing a city beset with rebellions suppressed by Venice, a city willing to change sides in response to military invasions, while producing writers who wished to curry favor of Venice through their writings and historical narratives.

We must now rethink and re-focus on these histories, poems, and paintings, charts and Laude, these shining scholarly tesserae, through a new historical lens. To continue a simple analogy, not all of these colorful pieces of the Venetian Mosaic were forged in Murano glassworks on the islands of Venice. Some of the tesserae were created on the mainland, in Verona. We should view them as the creation of individuals who took part in a collateral project to maintain a positive vision of Venice for the world to witness. While not completely imprecise they have, and still do, assist scholars in perpetuating “that alluring confection” which is Venice. In the future the tesserae of history may be arranged to form a quite different image of the city of Verona under Venetian rule. Surely, it will modify our vision of Venice as well, and experience a different portrait of that city and those cities under her control. The research in this dissertation will stimulate that ongoing reconstruction.
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The state archives of Verona are being digitalized under the direction of Andrea Brugnoli. They have completed their project through the twelfth century, which, while not assisting in my research will open opportunities for medieval scholars working in the field of Veronese studies.

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APPENDIX A

ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1. Sketch by Palma Vecchio the Younger *Triumph of Venice* (Florence, Uffizi) 1582

Illustration 2. Jacopo Palma Vecchio the Younger for *Venice Triumphant*. Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Ducal Palace. (1585)


Illustration 10. Andrea Mantegna. (Giovanni Bellini?) *Guarino of Verona Consigns His Translation of Strabo to Jacopo Antonio Marcello* 1459

Illustration 11. Andrea Mantegna. (Giovanni Bellini?) *Jacopo Antonio Marcello Consigns the Manuscript to Rene of Anjou*, 1459

Illustration 15. The Venetian terraferma in the fifteenth-century ending with the battle of Agnadello (1509)
Illustration 16. Verona and her Provincial communes
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Illustration 22. Porta di Leone, front 2013

Illustration 23. Paolo Frambotti “Verona fidelis” Panvinio’s Antiquitatum Veronensium libri octo, Padua, 1648.
Illustration 24. Palma the younger. Doge Francesco Venier presents the conquered cities to Lady Venice (1580) Verona is represented by the cross in an oval.

Illustration 25-26. Angelo Portenari Della felicita di Padova (1623) and detail.
APPENDIX B

DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENT #1 THE RITMO OF PIPIN (795-806)

The Ritmo is found online in Gina Fasoli and Francesca Bocchi, La città medievale italiana: Lodi di Verona, in the very useful online source RETI MEDIEVALI. Translated by Scott Keister, University of Akron with further emendations by Constance Brittain Bouchard.

Magna et preclara pollet urbis in Italia in partibus Venetiarum, ut docet Isidorus, que Verona uocitatur olim antiquitos. Per quadrum est scompaginata, murificata firmiter; quaranta et octo turres fulget per circuitum, ex quibus octo sunt excelse qui eminent omnibus. Habet altum laberintum magnum per circuitum, in qua nescius ingressus nonuilet egressum, nisi igne lucerne vel a filo glomere; foro lato, spatiose, sternato lapidibus, ubi in quatuor cantus magnus istat fornices; plateas mire sternate de sectis silicibus; fana, tempora, constructa a deorum nomina, Lunis, Martis et Mineruis, Iouis atque Veneris, et Saturnis siue Solis, qui prefuget omnibus.

Et dicere lingua non ualet huius urbis scemeta intus nitet, foris candet circumsepta luminis; in ere pondos deauratos metalla communia; castro magnu et excelso et firma pugnacula; pontes lapideo fundatos super flumen Adesis, quorum capita pertingit in orbem in oppidum.

Ecce quam bene est fundata a malis hominibus, qui nesciebant legem Dei nostri atque ueteres simulacr a uenerabant ligna lapidea.

There is a distinguished and powerful city in Italy in the region of the Veneti, as Isidorus informs us, which from ancient times has been called Verona. It is arranged like a square and firmly walled; 48 towers rise above its circuit, 8 of which stand out high above all the rest. It has a vast tall labyrinth throughout its circuit, from which a person making an unwary entrance would not be able to escape, unless by the light of a lamp or with a ball of string. There is a broad and spacious forum paved with stone, Where in the four corners stands a great archway; and there are piazzas wonderfully paved with cut stone, and sanctuaries and temples named after the gods, the Moon, Mars and Minerva, Jupiter and Venus, and Saturn or the Sun, who outshines them all.

The tongue is not strong enough to describe the beauties of this city. It shines from within, from without it glows as if surrounded by lamps. There are works of bronze, masses of gold and other metals. There is a great and lofty castle and a strong fortress. There are stone bridges built over the river Adige whose peaks it wets along its route through the city.
Look how well the city was founded by evil men, Who did not know the law of our God and Venerated the wooden and stone idols of old.

Sed postquam uenit ergo Sacer, plenitude temporum, incarnuit diuinitatem nascendo ex Virgine, exinanuit semetipsum, ascendit patibulum; inde depositus, ad plebem Iudeorum pessimam, in monumento conlocatus, ibi mansit triduo; inde resurgens cum triumpho sedit Patris dextera. Gentileitas hoc dum cognuit, festinauit credere quare erat ipse Deus celi terre conditor, qui apparuit in mundo per Marie utero. Ex qua stirpe processerunt Martyres, Apostoli, Confessores et Doctores et Vates sanctissimi, qui concordauerunt mundum ad fidem catholicam. Sic factus adimpletus est sermo Daviticus, quod Celi clariter narrant gloriam Altissimi ad summo celorum usque terre terminum.

Primum Verona predicauit Èuprepis episcopus secundum Dimidrianus, tertius Simplicius, quartus Proculus confessor pastor et egregius; quintus fuit Saturninus et sextus Lucilius; septimus fuit Gricinus doctor et episcopus; octauus pastor et confessor Zeno martyr inclitus: qui Verona predicando reduxit ad baptìsimo, a mali spiritui sanauit Galieni filiam, boues cum homine mergentem reduxit ad pelago, et quidem multos liberauit ab hoste pestifero, mortuum resuscitauit erepto ex fluoio, idola multa destruxit per crebra ieiunia. Non queo multa narrare huius sancti opera, que ad Syriam ueniendo usque in Italiam per ipsum omnipotens Deus ostendit mirabilia.

But after the Savior came, the Fulfillment of the ages, And divinity was incarnated from the Virgin’s birth, And emptied itself and ascended the pillory, And then was entrusted to the lowly rabble of the Jews, He was placed in a tomb and stayed there for 3 days, And then rising in triumph, He sat at the right hand of His Father. The Gentiles recognized this fact, and hastened to believe That it was God Himself, creator of heaven and earth, Who appeared on earth through the womb of Mary. From that beginning came the Martyrs, the Apostles, The Confessors and Teachers and the most holy Bishops, who harmonized the world with the Catholic faith. Thus the word of David was fulfilled, and the highest heavens clearly describe its glory all the way to the highest point of heaven and the end of the earth. First the bishop Euprepis preached at Verona, Second was Dimidrianus, third Simplicius, Fourth was Proculus the famous confessor and pastor, Fifth was Saturninus and sixth was Lucilius; seventh was the teacher and bishop Gricinus; Eighth was the pastor and confessor Zeno, the renowned martyr: who led Verona back to the praise of baptism, and healed the daughter of Galienus of an evil spirit, he led cattle, sinking with their cowherd back from the sea, and indeed he freed many people from a deadly enemy, he revived a dead man rescued from a river, he destroyed many idols through frequent fasting. I am not able to tell the many works of this holy man, Who by coming from Syria all the way to Italy, Through the all-powerful God himself, showed His miracles.
O felicem te Verona ditata et inclita, qualis es circumuallata custodes sanctissimi, qui te defendet et expugna ab hoste iniquissimo. Ab oriente habet primum martyrem Stephanum, Florentium, Vindemiallem et Mauro episco po, Mammam, Andrônico et Probo cum Quaranta martyribus: deinde Petro et Paulo, Iâcobo apostolo, precorem et baptistam Iohannem, et martyrem Nazarium una cum Celso, Victore, Ambrosio; inclitus martyr Christi Geruasio et Protasio, Faustino atque Iouitta, Êupolus, Calôcero, Domini mater Maria, Vitale, Agricola.

In partibus meridiane Firmo et Rustico, qui olim in te susceperunt coronas martyrii, quorum corpora ablata sunt in maris insulis. Quando complacuit Domno regi inuisibili, in te sunt facta renouata per Annonem presulem, temporibus principum regum Desiderii et Àdelchis.

Qui diu morauerunt sancti nunc reuersi sunt quos egregius redemit cum sociis episcopus Primo et Apollenare et Marco et Lazaro quorum corpora insimul condidit episcopus aromata et galbânen, stacten et argôido, myrra et gutta et cassia et tus lucidissimus. Tumulum aurem coopertum circumdat preconibus; color sericus fulget, mulcet sensus hominum, modo albus modo niger inter duos purpureos.

Oh you are fortunate, Verona, both blessed and distinguished, As if you are surrounded by a wall of the most holy guardians, Who will defend you from an attack by even the most bitter enemy. On the east you have the first martyr, Stephanus, Florentius, Vindemialis and Maurus the bishop, Mamma, Andronicus and Probus with 40 Martyrs: then Peter and Paul, Jacob The apostle, and John the forerunner Baptist, And the martyr Nazarius together with Celsus, Victor, Ambrosius, the famous martyr of Christ Gervasius, And Protasius, Faustinus and Jouitta, Eupolus, Calocerus, Mary, mother of the Lord, Vitalis, Agricola.

To the south are Firmus and Rusticus, Who once took up the crowns of martyrdom in you, Whose bodies were carried off to the islands of the sea. When it was pleasing to the Lord, the unseen king, His deeds were renewed in you through Anno the protector, In the days of the kings Desiderius and Adelchis, Who lingered for a long time, and have now returned saints, Whom the famous bishop redeemed with their comrades Primus and Apollanaris and Marcus and Lazarus, Whose bodies the bishop buried at the same time After they were perfumed with sweet sap and myrrh, And he surrounds the tomb, completely covered with gold, with holy men; The silken color shines and soothes the senses of men, Now white, now a black purplish color.
The famous bishop Anno prepared these things the best he could:
Through his ashes the flame of his good works shines bright
From the south, from the ends of the earth, all the way to our lands.
On the west Systus and Laurentius guard Verona, and Hipolitus, Apollinaris, the 12 Apostles of the Lord, and the great most holy confessor, Martinus.

There is no need to praise yourself, splendid powerful city of Italy,
redolent with the sweet scent of Saints, wealthy among the hundred lands of Italy. For they all praise you: Aquileia and Mantua praise you, and Brixia, Papia, Roma And Ravenna; through you is the portal all the way into the lands of Liguria. The great most dutiful king Pipin lives in you, not forgetful of his duty or good judgment, who always doing good makes prosperity for everyone.

We will sing praise to the Lord God, the unseen king,
Who adorned you with such mystic flowers.
How brightly you shine and sparkle just like the radiant sun!

Saint Zeno, pray for all us mortals.
Viva l’excelsa Scala Viva la prole diva
De la scala io liva Ch’a mal far non si cala
Viva lo suo mastino Che come uccel divio
La ricopre con l’ala Viva la sua phenice
Ch’ce de virtu radice, e de iusticia equala
viva l’excelso prince che per sua virtu vince
ciascuna coas mala viva l’ono de Italia
viva de virt valia la magnificia scala.

Viva the excellent La Scala
Viva their Divine offspring
From the fruit of the Scala
No evil have they done
nor harm they have done
Viva Mastino
That like a Divine bird
Protects us with his wings
Long live his phoenix
who radiates virtue
and equal justice
long live the excellent prince
who by his virtue wins
over all bad things
praise to the honor of Italy
praise his true valor
the magnificent Scala.
Del mondo ho cercato 
per lungo e per lato 
un caro mercato 
per terra e per mare. 
Vedut’ho Soria 
infin Erminia 
e di Romania 
gran parte, mi pare.

Vedut’ho ‘l Soldano 
per monte e per piano 
e si del Gran Cano 
poria novellare. 
Di quel ch’aggio inteso 
veduto e compreso 
mì sono ora accesso 
a volerlo contare;

ché pur la corona 
ne porta Verona, 
per quel che si suona 
del dire e del fare. 
Destrier’ e corsiere 
masnade e bandiere 
coracce e lamiere 
vedrai rimutare.

Sentirai poi ‘l giach 
che fan quei pedàch 
giach giach giach, 
quando gli odi andare.

I’ve searched the entire earth 
far and wide 
across land and sea, 
for a dear market. 
I’ve seen Syria 
up through Armenia, 
and a large part 
of Romania, it seems.

I’ve seen the Sultan 
on the mountain and the plains, 
and I can also relate 
about the Great Khan. 
about what I’ve understood, 
seen, and comprehended 
I have now been fired up 
with desire to speak about it.

Because Verona still 
bears the crown, 
for what one hears 
about its speech and deeds. 
Warhorses and chargers, 
clans and banners, 
breastplates and armor 
you’ll see being changed.

Then you’ll hear the giach, 
the noise of the pedàch, 
giach giach giach, 
when you hear them walk.
Ma pur li tormenti, 
mi fan li strumenti, 
ché mille ne senti 
in un punto sonare

But then you’ll hear the rustling 
that all the instruments make: 
because you hear more than a thousand 
playing in just one place

*dudìf dudìf*
*dudìf dudìf*
*dudìf dudìf*

bandiere sventare.
Qui vengon le feste 
con le bionde teste; 
qui son le tempeste 
d’amore e d’amare.

the banners flutter.
Here come the partiers 
with their blond heads; 
here are the tempests 
of love and of loving.

Le donne *muz muz*
le donzelle *usu usu*
le vedove *sciùvi vu*
ti possa annegare!
Si trovan fanteschè 
tutta piu fresche 
a menar le tresche, 
trottare ed ambiare.

The ladies *muz muz*
the damsels *usu usu*
the widows *sciùvi vu*;
you may be drowned among them.
The servant girls are there 
still quite fresh 
to engage in intrigues, 
to trot and to walk.

L’una fa: “Così”;
e l’altra: “pur sì”;
e l’altra: “Sta qui, 
ch’ai vo per tornare.”
In quell’acqua chiara, 
che ‘l bel fiume schiara, 
la mia donna cara 
vertù fa regnare;

One says, “just so,”
and the other, “of course,”
and the other, “stay here,
for I’ll go and then come back.”
In that clear water
that the lovely river replenishes
my dear lady
makes virtue reign;

ch’Amor è ‘n la sala 
del Sir de la Scala: 
e qui vi senz’ala 
mi parea volare; 
ch’io non mi credea 
di quel ch’i’ vedea, 
ma pur mi parea 
in un gran mare stare.

for Love is in the room
of the lord of La Scala,
and there, without wings,
He seemed to fly.
For I didn’t believe
in what I was seeing,
but still it seemed to me
that I was lost in a great sea.

Baroni e marchesi 
de tutti i paesi, 
gentili e cortesi

You will see arrive here
barons and marquises
noble and courteous,
qui vedi arrivare; from all the lands.
quivi Astrologia
con Filosofia
e di Teologia
udrai disputare;

e qui Tedeschi,
Latini e Franeschi,
Fiammenghi e Inglese
insieme parlare;
e fanno un tombombe,
che par che rimbombbe
a guisa di trombe
chi 'n pian vòl sonare.

Chitarre e liute
viole e flauta,
voci alt'ed argute
qui s'odon cantare,
Stututù ifiù ifiù
stututù ifiù ifiù
stututù ifiù ifiù,
tamburar, zuffolare.

E qui bon cantori
con intonatori,
e qui trovatori
udrai concordare.
Quivi si ritrova
mangiatori a prova,
che par cosa nova
a vederli golare.

Intarlatin
intarlatin
intarlatin
ghiribare e danzare.
Li falconi cui cuì
li bracchetti gu gu
li levrieri guuu uu
per volersi sfugare.

E qui falconieri,
maestri e scudieri,
ragazzi e corrieri, 
ciascun per sé andare.
E quanto e quanto 
e quanto e quanto 
e quanto e quanto 
li vedi spazzare.

E l’uno va sù 
e l’altro vèn giù: 
tal donna vèn giù, 
non lassa passare. 

Bis bis bis, 
bisbisbis disbidis 
bisbisbisdis 
udrai consigliare.

E qui babbuini 
Romei e pellegrini 
Giudei e Sarracini 
vedrai capitare. 
Tatim tatim, 
tatim tatim, 
tatim tatim, 
sentti trombettare.

Balaùf balaùf 
balaùf balaùf, 
balaùf balaùf 
udrai tinguigliare. 
Di giù lì cavalli, 
di sù lì pappagalli, 
su la sala i balli, 
insieme operare.

Dududù dududù 
dududù dududù, 
dududù dududù, 
sentirai naccherare. 
Ma quel che più vale, 
e al Sir non ne cale, 
veder per le scale 
taglier trafugare, 

con quel portinaro, 
che sta tanto chiaro, 
che quel tien più caro 

boys and runners, 
all going on their own account. 
And so many, and so many, 
and so many, and so many, 
and so many, and so many 
will you see wander around.

And one goes up 
and the other comes down, 
that lady comes down 
and doesn’t let you pass. 

Bis bis bis, 
bisbisbisdis bidis 
bisbisbisdis 
you will hear be advised.

And you’ll see baboons, 
Romers, and pilgrims, 
Jews, and Saracens 
all arrive here. 

Tatim tatim, 
tatim tatim, 
tatim tatim, 
you hear trumpeting.

Balaùf balaùf 
balaùf balaùf, 
balaùf balaùf 
you’ll hear echoing. 
The horses below, 
the parrots above, 
dancing over the halls, 
working together.

Dududù dududù 
dududù dududù, 
dududù dududù, 
you’ll hear the castanets. 
But what’s worth more, 
and what doesn’t matter to the lord, 
you’ll see filching and snatching 
upon the stairs, 

with that doorman 
who is so clear 
about what’s dearest to him
che me’ ne sa fare.
E qui de ragazzi
vedut’ho solazzi,
che mai cotai pazzi
non vidi muffare.

Qui non son minazze,
ma pugna e mostazze,
e visi con strazze
ed occhi ambugliare.
Gegegi gegegi,
gegegi gegegi,
gegegi gegegi,
gli uccelli sbermare.

Istruzzi e buovi,
selvaggi ritrovi,
ed animai novi
quant’uom pò contare.
Qui sono leoni,
e gatti mammoni,
e grossi montoni
vedut’ho cozzare.

Bobobò bobobò,
bottombò bobobò,
bobobottombò bobobottombò,
le trombe trombare.
Quivi è un vecchiume
che non vede lume,
ché largo costume
li fa governare.

Qui vèn poverame
con sì fatte brame,
ch’el brodo col rame
si vòl trangugiare.
Quivi è una schiera
di bordon di cera,
che l’aere la sera
si crede abbruciare.

Tatàm tatàm
tatàm tatàm,
tatàm tatàm,
e’ liuti tubare.
Qui sono gran giochi
and he knows what to do with it.
And here I’ve seen some games
of the young lads,
and I’ve never seen
crazy people like them stay quiet.

Here there are no threats,
but fists and blows,
and faces with bruises,
and blackened eyes.
Gegegi gegegi,
gegegi gegegi,
gegegi gegegi,
the birds flutter.

Ostriches and oxen,
you find wild beasts
and unusual animals—
as many as can be counted.
There are lions here,
and juvenile cats,
and I’ve seen fat rams
butting one another.

Bobobò bobobò,
bottombò bobobò,
bobobottombò bobobottombò,
the trumpeting of bugles.

There’s a group of old men
who no longer see the light
but a generous custom
has them be led around.

Here comes a group of poor
with such strong desires
that they want to swallow
broth cooked in copper pots.

Here’s a troop
of flaming firebrands
who, in the evening,
are thought to burn the air.

Here there are great games,
di molti e di pochi,  
con brandon di fochi  
vedut’ho giostrare.

for many, and for few;  
with firebrands abla ze  
I saw them jousting.

Qui vengon villani  
con sì fatte mani,  
che paiono alani  
di Spagna abbaia re.  
Qui sono le simie  
con molte alchimie:  
grattarsi le timie  
e voler digrignare.

Now come the peasants  
with their roughened hands  
and they seem like Great Danes  
barking like dogs.  
Here are the monkeys  
with much alchemy;  
they scratch their temples  
and they bare their teeth.

E di un riso: che c’è?  
che c’è? che c’è?  
heee heee heee heee;  
ogni uom vuol crepare.  
Qui son altri stati  
sì ben divisati,  
che tra li beati  
sen può ragionare.  
E questo è ‘l signore  
di tanto valore,  
che ‘l grande onore  
va in terra e per mare.

And with a laugh: what is it?  
What is it? What is it?  
Heee heee heee!  
Everyone dies from laughter.  
Here are other ranks  
well dressed in their costumes,  
that you can talk about them  
being among the blessed.  
And this is the lord  
of such valor  
that his great honor  
spreads across land and sea.
Verona, godi poi che sei si grande Che per monte e piano bati l’ale
E poi che fra li homini mortali La gloria lode e tuo nome si spande

Godì e triumpha poi che tanto vale Di virtu de inzegno et d’opifico El qual concede natura beneficio Ad altrui parca et teco liberale

L’aire el sito chiesi el fiume e i ponte Le belle tore et le arche di signori
De le zentil Verona cum stupori Palazi torre loze piaze e fonte

Castel san Pietro, San Felice, el Monte El Castel Vechio el Ponte e l’altre torre E quella Citradella che soccorre Verona de tre parte, o Julio conte

Le muri vidi le roche e le porte Di bosaro e la rena cum le ale
Ti tito flavio la sedia regale Li monticuli palazzi alti e forte
La Garzaria la becharia mazore

Li moderni palazi e segnorile Cum quelle done nobile e zentile
La Pieta el palazo de monsignore Montorio vidi in Veronese el fiore
El campo marzo de li pelegrini La campagnola de li malaspini
Campalto cermisone de valore

Legnago porto dove l’adese corre Cerea menerbe palazzi e zardini
La bivilaqua vidi al confini San bonifacio o Julio per suo amore

Soave montefore ilasi e tregnago Zevio isola el tartaro e nogara
Buxolengo garda e piscer cara Bardonli lazise semio el lago
Vilafranca valezo mencio el ponte Val de l’altena e vale polisella El Veronese el fior de italia bella Malsesino i lisini o julio conte

Verona la ben posta sei chamata Che de biave abondi e zentil vini
Vernazi mocatelli e marzamini Carpion trute sardelle ogni zornata
Olio armenti e carne delicata Fasan cotorni sterne e francholini
Formazi benei lane e panni fini
Chiamar te poi la cita beata Fructi tu hai de piu sorte e boni Figi
zentili mandole armelini Persechi zali e pruni damaschini Peri moschati cirese e meloni Pomi d’adamo naranzi e citroni
Codogni peri e pomi delicati Vino zentile di pomi granati
E uva ben frescha o cita felice D’ogni tempo ha come Plinio dice
Verona, be delighted, because you are so grand that over mountain and plain you spread your wings and among mortal men your glory, praise, and name are spread Enjoy and triumph then by virtue of your genius and of your splendor Nature benefits you, for others are frugal and you are liberal The air asks the river and the bridges The beautiful towers and arches of the Signori of gentle Verona one is amazed with the Palazzi, towers which cover the piazza and fountains

Castel San Pietro San Felice on the mountain and Castelvecchio and bridge and the other towers and the cittadella which secures Verona on three sides, oh Count Gulio

I see the walls and the rocks and the gates Porte Bosaro and la Rena with the wings Of Titus Flavio, the royal seat the Monticuli Palace and the strong La Garzaria

The modern palaces of the lords with those noble and gentle women And the La Pieta and the palace of the bishop I see Montorio, the flower of the Veronesi In the field of Mars and of the Pellegrini The Campagnola de li Malaspini The high camp of the Cermesone

The port of Legnago where the Adige runs From Minerbe to Cerea are palaces and gardens The Bevilacqua saw the boundaries of San Bonifacio or his love for Julio

Soave, Montefiore, Ilasi and Tregnago Isolo di Zevio, the river Tartaro and Nogara, Bussolelgo Garda and dear Peschiera, Bardolino, Lazise along the lake

Vilafranca, Valezo, Mencio and bridge Val de l'altena and Valpolicella The Veronese is the beautiful flower of Italy Malcinno, Lisini oh Count Julio Often Verona is called well placed

That wonderfully abundant and soft wines Vernaccia, moscatelli and marzamini Carp, Trout, sardines every day delicate oils and well fed herds pheasants, partrages, terns and quail good cheese, wool and cloths I remind you then this beautiful city With fruits of many kinds, and good Persian Zali, Damascen prunes Moschati pears, cherries and melons Codogo pear and delicate apples Soft wines of pomogranates and fresh grapes O happy city for all times, as Pliny said
Document #5 Silvestro Lando: Statua Civitatis Veronae, 1450.
Translation by Scott Keister, University of Akron.

NOMINE DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI

Duodecim et quinquagint a reipublicae Veronensis
Praesidentium in Leges & Statua Civitatis Veronae
PROOEMIUM

Quemadmodum nonnulli sapientes: & in primis Plato. Civitatem humano corpori
simillimam esse dixerunt: ita etiam Leges in ea vitalem quasi sanguinem, vel
validissimos nervos esse censuerunt; quia sicut illud exangue & enerve, ita etiam
hanc Legibus, pro tempore quoque reformationibus carentem penitus interire
prorsusque dissolve necesse foret: fuere, & alii qui mores Civitatis, & instituta
quasi muros, alii autem quasi rerum cardinem appellarint. Sive igitur hoc, sive illud,
omnes eo nimium specstasse videri possunt, civitatem quae beata, ac sempiterna
optet esse, oportere eam non tam originis vetustate, ac situs opportunitate,
aedificiorumque magnificentia, virorum etiam praestantia, quam juris & justitiae
ornamentis, atque praesidiis praeditam esse. Etenim si iis quasi naturae, & corporis
bonis fidendum esset, quis negaret Veronam posse cum reliquis non modo italiae,
se exterrarum etiam gentium uribus conferri ne dixerimus anteponi. In primis
namque scriptores haebraici, a Sem Noe filio eam conditam tradunt, posteaque
minorem Hierusalem munitione locorum, agrorum amoenitatem, fructuum affluentiam,
situs fere totius similitudine vocitatam. Nam & in hunc usque diem apud nos,
ut loca eadem sic maxime montis dominii, qui est olivetus montis calvari, vallis
Dominii, Nazareth,Bethleem Sepulchri nomina consequentia
praestant qua laude vetustatis nulla major, aut praestantior proferri potest

IN THE NAME OF OUR
LORD JESUS CHRIST

OF THE TWELVE AND FIFTY WHO PRESIDE IN
THE VERONESE REPUBLIC

over the Laws and Statutes of the City of Verona

PREFACE.

Just as some wise men, and Plato most of all, have said that a city is quite similar to the
human body, so they have also determined that the laws in that city are like its vital blood
or its strongest tendons, because just as when that body grows pale or lacks strength, so
when also this city is without laws or under certain conditions goes without reformation,
then it is doomed to utter ruin and to be destroyed completely. There have also been some
who pronounced the customs and institutes of a city as its defensive walls, but others, as
the hinge on which its affairs depend. Therefore, whether it is the one or the other, certainly
everyone so far has been able to observe that a city which wishes to be both blessed and
everlasting must needs be endowed not so much with an ancient origin or with an
advantageous location, magnificence of buildings or even with excellent men, so much as
with the adornment and protection of law and justice. As a matter of fact, were it to place its trust in these, as much as in the goods of nature and the body, then who could deny that Verona would compare with – indeed, we might even say surpass – not only the rest of Italy’s cities, but also those of the entire world? For in the first place the Hebrew authors proclaim that it was founded by Shem the son of Noah, and that later it was called a “minor Jerusalem” on account of the fortification of the region, pleasantry of its fields, its abundance of fruit and the similarity of nearly every site. For even in our own day, the names, especially of the Lord’s mount, which is called “Oliveto,” and Monte Calvario, Valle del Domino, Nazareth, Betlemme and Sepolcro, exhibit analogies as if they were those very same places. With this praise of its antiquity, it cannot be rendered any greater or more distinguished.


And then after the Gauls, a savage and warlike nation, scorched Rome they sought to acquire new territory for themselves and, upon seizing Verona under chief Brennus, they improved the city very much. The city then emerged almost at the halfway point at the center of the hill where, fortified by a resplendent and magnificent stronghold, it takes in what Virgil calls the “pleasant Adige.” The city has a kind of valley which acts as a great defense to the outlying land, in which none of the bordering peoples from Trent to the Adriatic Sea has the right to use the bridges. The walls, too, both public and private are of spectacular magnificence. The first of all amphitheaters stands out among them, which in Italian is called an “arena,” a work of such admirable magnitude and inscrutable structure, that it is believed to have no equal in almost the entire world. Two walls extend around it
like arms in front of the old walls of the ancient city. On one of these walls, which opens up in the middle of the road towards the old entrance and the ancient stronghold, there is an epigram at the church of Blessed Michael, which bears the title “Porta Gemina dei Borsari.” On the archway of this it reads as follows: *Venerable colony of Verona the new Gallieniana. The walls of Verona built on the third Nones of April, dedicated to the consuls Valerian II and Lucillus, at the decree of most holy Gallienus our Augustus on the first Nones of December, at the insistence of Aurelius Marcellinus the most perfect man, overseen by Julius Marcellinus.* The basilica of the very blessed Zeno, which was also built quite magnificently, can be visited with its lavish endowment. In it there is that most sacred body of that very patron of ours whom the city reverences and venerates as its chief patron and protector. But the outlying country is very well fortified with the Baldi Alps, Lake Benaco, Mincio along with Peschiera, Ostiglia, Legnago, and Cologna with its towns, or rather suburbs, and the one time Abbeys of Vangadizza, Lonato and Ripa, while the themes and fields are defended by valleys. It is striking in the pleasantness and advantage of its springs as well as rivers, hills, pastures, fishing, hunting and fowling. Further, it is very rich in every kind of fruit, and in the choicest varieties, and especially in oil.

The abundance and excellence of Legnano is rather plentiful, the ambit of whose countryside is about two-hundred miles away, but the city itself seven more. Finally, everywhere the air could not be more salubrious, while the site is pleasant, regal and safe wherever you go. The native inhabitants alone should not move, but foreigners must seek residence.

Minds of the highest caliber and unique among our people come here, men of outstanding judgment and virtue, whose illustrious houses are considered a witness to the highest and noblest achievement – the two Plinys came from abroad and Aemilius Macer and Catullus, about whom Martial writes in his epigrams “As much as Verona owes Catullus, so much less does Mantua owe Virgil.” Nor is Guarino any inferior to them, the very great and renowned orator in both Greek and Latin eloquence, who is easily the best in our lifetime. Those excellent feats and magnificent exploits declare this very fact, since Verona was once the head of the Marches and seat of the kingdom – of Philip the Elder Augustus, Theodoric, Albinus – the former was King of Lombardy, the latter King of Goths and Italians, and finally Pipin King of Franks. But I pass over the fact that this city was the prince of Italian affairs, as it were, especially at the time of the della Scala when it lorded over Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Feltro, Belluno, Brescia, Parma, Regio, Lucca almost all at once. Therefore, these gifts of nature and ornaments of fortune are of the kind that, endowed with these goods from all the cities of Italy, Verona can be considered and, indeed, proclaimed blessed.

However, one could say that the institution of its laws comes second to the superior understanding of its wise men when it comes to establishing its felicity and increasing it. Those laws were not the primary cause of its blessedness; rather, it was those who administered them in the best way who are the reason that city can be called most blessed. As a matter of fact, I ask, what advantage may there be in having laws in a city, as Pomponius says, unless there also be those who can administer them?

Verona also had laws, and they were always suitable under certain conditions, but even though it had laws, it was nonetheless not always in the hands of those who administered them well.

Quam ob caussam diu illa discordiis & seditionibus ac bellis civilibus vexata in faevum tandem Icineri de Romano dominatum corruit. Quod quidem fervitutis initium suit, anno incarnate Verbi MCCL. Hunc etiam variae postea tyrannicae potestates Consecuute sunt: etenim decimo post anno Mastino primo scalidae, ac deinceps minoribus ejus, annis prope centum & XXVII. Joanni quoque Galeatio Vicecomiti Ligurum duci duodeviginti & Franc. demum Carrariensi biennio per extremas calamitates, intollerabilisque jacturas ac miserabilis erumnas servivit. Nam scalidae duces & ipsi quidem cives quamvis rem populi agere primum viderentur, sibi tamen imperium ad extremum quaesivisse inventi sunt. Sed nec ipsa quidem priscæ libertatis tempestate eam Suisse liberam nostra haec tempora

484
docent nam Leges in praesentiarum & judicia, quae omnem libertatis statum tuentur, & continent, ut a potentibus, sic & a sapientibus sine vi, & cupiditate reguntur; tum quidem omnia violento, intemperatoque premembantur arbitrio.

Agitur enim quintus jam, & quadragesimus annus, quam ab illustrissimo atque amplissimo Venetorum Senatu, concessu, & beneficio Dei, Civitas ista regitur. Quo tempore quanta fuerit erga nos pietatis justitiae, religionis magnitudo enarrare quis postet? Harum enim virtutum tam praecipuus, &que observantissimus cultus illus est, ut suam jam supra mille annos libertatem egerint & liberos simul, & beatos effecerint eos, qui ut nos illis sponte, & affectate pareant. Id quod non tam per aliorum exempla quam per nostram comprobationem longa ipsarum rerum experientia ducti plane praedicare possumus nihil enim nobis abest quod ad veram, & jucundam libertatem spectare videat. Quum & Senatus habendi & Legis condendae & creandorum Magistratum potestas nobis permissa fit, & universae tandem civitatis & Reip gubernandae, honor ac dignitas;

For this reason it became harassed by discords and seditions and civil wars and at last collapsed into the savage domination of Ezzelino da Romano. This was the beginning of its servitude in the year 1250 of the incarnate word. Afterward various tyrannical potentates followed his example. As a matter of fact, ten years later it was a slave to Mastino I della Scala, and then to his descendants, and nearly a hundred and twenty-seven years later also to Giangaleazzo Visconti duke of Liguria for eighteen years, and finally to Francesco da Carrara for a period of two years through extreme calamities, intolerable losses and wretched affliction. For the della Scala lords and even the citizens, although they seemed at first to maintain a republic, nevertheless came in the end to require an empire. But not even these events taught these times of ours today that this city used to be free at a time of ancient liberty. For the laws and justice at present which protect and maintain every condition of liberty are administered without force or cupidity by governors as much as by wise men – at that time, however, everything was oppressed by force of violence and arbitrary, unrestrained decree.

The forty-fifth year is now past, since that city – by the permission and beneficence of God – has been governed by the most illustrious and distinguished senate of Venice. Who can relate how great the piety was, the justice and reverence which they showed us at that time? For, being so eminent and very observant of these virtues, it was so adorned with them that it has maintained liberty now for more than a thousand years, and at the same time it has rendered free and blessed those who submit to them, as we have, voluntarily and eagerly. We are in a position to declare this, admittedly, not so much by the examples of others as by our own approval, since we have been prompted by long experience in these very matters. For, we lack nothing which seems to concern liberty, true and pleasing, since we have been permitted the power of having a senate, establishing law and creating magistrates, and, at last, the honor and dignity of governing the entire city and republic.

Ipsis autem Principibus ac Senatoribus Venetis relictis cura, opera labor sumptus sudores, pericula, nos quidem sumus in arce quasi verae, ac tranquillae libertatis constituiti, & ab intestinis seditionibus liberi, & ab externis perturbationibus tuti. Age quod venetae Reip regimen sic institutum habetur, ut etiam ab ipso illo celsiore ducali folio libera permittatur cuique provocatio ut non minus inopi adversus injuriam, quam divitori aditus
pateat liceatque cuique coram tum dicere quod libeat, tum audirc quod cupiat unde
clementiam cum animadversione conjunctam nocentes, boni autem dignitatem cum
commodis, & honore permistam ab illa senatoria majestate, ac ducali fede reportant. Sub
qua est cuique rerum suarum liber usus, sub qua uxororum pudor ac pudicitia inviolate, sub
qua liberorum conjugia non coacta sub qua denique arbitria hominum non circumscriptha.

Ex quo quidem Venetiarum civitas justitiae templum dici potest in quam illa pridem
hominum sceleribus offense cum ascendisset in coelum de coelo nunc descendisse videtur.
Habeant sibi alii vel regiam potestatem vel rem poplarem in hac quidem sollicitae
libertatis imaginem, in illa autem servilis metus miseriam in utraque multiplices varias
calamitosasque rerum mutations comparient. Nobis autem relinquant excelsae
accole ndissimae venetae dominationis fortem. Nobis relinquant nostram hanc parendi &
imprandi conditionem. Nobis relinquant nostrum hunc moderatae libertatis statum quum
ex Platonis sententia sit tam immoderate libertas mala quam immoderata fervitus pessima.
Est enim mirabile dictus quod & a sapeintibus regimur liberi & cum sapientibus
dominamur subjecti quo status quis in terries liberior ? quis jucundior quis stabilior? Quis
dici potest optatior?

But, on the other hand, the duty, service, labor, expense, effort and hazards are left to the
princes and senators of Venice. We have, indeed, been established as if in the stronghold
of true and peaceful liberty, free from internal sedition and safe from external disturbances.
Well then, this governance of the Venetian Republic is believed to have been instituted
such that the right to appeal is permitted everyone by that rather lofty ducal throne; such
that access to it is open to the needy as much as to the wealthy in the face of injury; and
such that each is permitted to speak as he wishes and to hear publically what he so desires.
Hence, criminals return with clemency added to their punishment, while good men bring
back dignity mixed with benefits and honor from that senatorial majesty and ducal seat.
Under it each is permitted the free enjoyment of his own property; under it the modesty and
chastity of wives remains inviolate; under it the marriage of free men is not forced; under
it, finally, men’s choice is not circumscribed.

On this account the city of Venice can indeed be called a temple of justice, in which that
city, after being assaulted by the crimes of men and ascending to heaven, now seems to
have descended once again from heaven. Others may hold royal power or a republic – in
one is the image of anxious liberty; in the other, the misery of servile fear. However, they
will discover in both kinds of government multiple, various and calamitous upheavals of
state. But may they bequeath to us the lot of the lofty and most neighborly Venetian
domination. May they bequeath to us this our condition of subjection and rule. May they
bequeath to us this our state of moderate liberty, since it was Plato’s belief that excessive
liberty is bad to the same degree that excessive servitude is evil. For it is a wonder to say
that we are free in being governed by wise men and, since we are ruled as subject to wise
men, in this state who is freer on earth? Who is happier, who more stable? Who can be
called better?

Cum principibus enim & Optimatibus nostra omnis res est quorum principatum graeci
vocant. Quamobrem civitatis ac Reipublicae nostrae fortunatus ac foelix status habendus
est quia medius inter extrema versetur ex quo ille honestior tutiorque & esse & haberi
possit, & eadem ipsa ratione beatior quum ut Plato inquit genus humanum non ante defiant

486
in malis versari quam rerum publicarum gubernacula aut homines recte philosophantes adepti sint taut ii quibus gubernare contigerit, divina quadam forte philosophentur.

Id autem etsi superiori tempore cognoverimus tum maxime Zacharia Trivisano Praetor nostro perspeximus viro quidem quem omnium liberalium atrium doctissimo, tum philosophier Civilque ac Pontifici juris insignibus decorato, aviat quque ac praecipi e paterna, magis autem propriae virtutis rerumque a segestatum Gloria resulgente Cujus praeclarissimas in omni genere atque praestantia laudes explicare difficile ac longum effet., eas etiam quas hoc anno pratuae sure experti fumus quem singularem illius justiriam, integritatem constantiam sapientiam liberalitatem prudentiam antea quidem late celebrbm, ad Nos etiam fama perltem singularemque in primis ejus in Nos pietatem re atque opera ipso cognovimus. Cui cum maxime hujus populi fides stadium observantia erga Venetum imperium perspect suerit, commoda nostra honores amplitudinem non mod ut aequissimus Praetor, sed ut diligentissimus paterfamilias curare augere tueri propagere studuit, cujus tantopere apud Nos valuit auctoritas ut necessariam Legum nostrarum reformationem eo praetor aggredi non dubitavimus; ut per hanc & absens semper adesse e mortus usquequaque Veronensis Praetor vivere Nobil videatur. Quum igitur vetus eo praetor aggredi non dubitavimus; ut per ha tantopere Praetor, sed utque perspect impierium ipso cognovimus. Cui cum maxime hujus populi fides stadium observantia erga Venetum ad Nos etiam fama perltem singularemque inprimis ejus in Nos pietatem re atque opera ipso cognovimus. Cui cum maxime hujus populi fides stadium observantia erga Venetum imperium perspect suerit, commoda nostra honores amplitudinem non mod ut aequissimus Praetor, sed ut diligentissimus paterfamilias curare augere tueri propagere studuit, cujus tantopere apud Nos valuit auctoritas ut necessariam Legum nostrarum reformationem eo praetor aggredi non dubitavimus; ut per hanc & absens semper adesse e mortus usquequaque Veronensis Praetor vivere Nobil videatur. Quum igitur vetus illa statutorum traditio ex magna parte rebus praeferiibus et temporum nostrorum opportunitatibus minime congreret, ad quas omnis legume ratio semper est accomdanda ita ut tempus quasi pares juris recte dicit possit. Quumque multa jam essent continui desuetudine exoleta extrarenque plurima Veneti Senatus Decreta, Pretorum nostrorum Edicta nostra quoque Senatus Consular extra volume ipsum vagantia visum est unum in corpus, & stilo convenieniitore ac contiruiri ordinatione omnia enucleate & digesta conferre.

Since our entire estate is in the hands of princes and optimates, whose principate the Greeks call “aristocracy.” On this account the state of our city and republic must be deemed fortunate and blessed, since it is a medium between extremes, and for that very reason is more blessed, because as Plato says, human kind will not cease to dwell among evils before the governance of republics or men who philosophize correctly are secured or before those men, whose lot it is to rule, begin to philosophize by a certain kind of Divine fate.

But even if we knew this in the past, we observed it especially at the time Zaccaria Treviso was our Praetor, [Podesta] a man at once very learned in all the arts and adorned with the emblem of philosophy as well as civil and canon law. He was a brilliant reflection of his ancestors’, and especially of his father’s virtue, but much more of his own and of those deeds he has accomplished.

It would indeed be a lengthy and difficult task to enumerate his outstanding praises in every kind and every excellence, even those which we put to test this very year of his Praetorship, since we recognize the unique justice of that man, his integrity, constancy, wisdom, liberality, prudence, celebrated widely in the past and conveyed to us by his reputation, and his singular piety towards us both in fact and in deed. Since the trust, zeal, and observance of this people towards Venetian rule was most evident to it, he took pains to manage, increase, protect and propagate our advantages, honors and greatness not only as the most just Praetor but as the most diligent paterfamilias. His authority became so influential among us, that we did not doubt it necessary for that Praetor to embark on a reformation of our law code so that, through this reform, the Praetor of Verona would seem to be forever in our presence though absent and, when dead, altogether alive among us.
Therefore, since that ancient tradition of statutes was for the most part hardly relevant to contemporary affairs and to the interests of our day – and every rule of law should always be accommodated to this, so that time can rightly be called, as it were, the parent of law – and since many things faded away from constant disuse, and since there used to be very many decrees of the Venetian senate, edicts of our praetors, those deliberations of ours as well as those of the senate which have strayed out of that volume, it seemed best that they all be compiled into a single volume, and set out and arranged in a more consistent style, and cohesive order.

Illa etiam praecipua ad hanc reformationem ratio nos compulit quia quum nomen Venetum in animus nostris tot annos fixum & impressum geramus adeo ut pro Imperii seti salutae ac Gloria per tot, & tantos labors per tanta incommoda per tanta rerum indigentiam quum primum Sigismundi Pannoiorum Regis e Brunorii Scalidae tum proxime Philippi Mariae Vicecomitis Ligurum ducis ac Joannis Francisci Gonzaga mantuae marchionis incursions obsidiones oppugnationes direptiones tulerimus ita ut nec sermon nec fames aec petis nos a Veneti Imperii charitate ac fide sperare potuerit non era consentaneum nec prorsus decens ut quod haesperat in corde non legerut in codice name antea Joannis Galeatii nomen ubique personabat .

Quam quidem ad remconscidemdam reformarores ex tribus vicium & virorum ordinibus delegimus D Antonium a Tertiis Bergomensem ipsus nostri Praetoris assessore D Petrum Franciscum a justis, D Christophorum, a Campo, D Antonium Peregrininum, D Bartholomaum Cepolam, Jurisconsultos,prudentissim os. D Jacobum Lavagnolum equitem.D Bartholom  aeum Peregrininum, Augustinum Montanero , Antonioun Rodulphum, cives usu terum plurimarum, peritissim os deinde vitalianum Faelam, antonium Donatum Cavodasium, Jonnem Michaelem a Flacibus & Bernardum Lombardum tabelliones probatissimos, e una quoque Silvestrum Landum civitatis, ac Reip Cancellarium qui eriani hanc ipsam legume nostram praesationem consecit & erum reformationi, atque ordinationi plinium tribuit. Caeterum quia ad hujus tanti operis connexionem affuit in primis, ut ante dictum est, ipsius Praetoris nostri auctoritas arque sententia qui plurima de suo ut iualtqueris perissimus e rerum usu prudentissimos addidit; videtur jus Zacharnum recte appellari posse e quidem convenientius quam Papinianum ac Flavianum jus suerit appelliatum quum neque Papinianus ad leges regnum in unum compositas neque flavius ad lintum actionium Appio Claudio surruptum quicquam attulerint.

It was that reason most of all which compelled us to a reformation, since we bore the name of Venice for so many years, which was fixed and then driven into our hearts so much that on behalf of the safety and glory of its empire no sword, hunger or plague was able to separate us from the charity and trust of the Venetian empire, through so many troubles and of such a grievous kind, through such setbacks, such destitution of estate, when we endured the incursions, sieges, assaults and the despoilment first of Sigismund King of Pannonia [Hungary] and then of Brunoro della Scala, and most recently of Filippo Maria Visconti Duke of Liguria and Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga Marquis of Mantua. For this reason, it was not fitting nor entirely appropriate that what
stuck in our hearts was not read in a book, for the name of Giangaleazzo used to resound everywhere.

For this reason, it was not fitting nor entirely appropriate that what stuck in our hearts was not read in a book, for the name of Giangaleazzo used to resound everywhere. In order to complete this task, we selected reformers from the three orders of citizens and men: Doctor Antonio Terzi da Bergamo assessor of our Praetor, Doctor Pier Francesco Giusti, Doctor Cristoforo Campi, Doctor Antonio Peregrino, Doctor Bartolomeo Cipolla, the most prudent jurisconsults, and, further, Doctor Jacopo Lavagnola our knight, Doctor Bartolomeo Peregrino, Agostino Montanea, Antonio Rudolfò, citizens quite expert in the application of many things, and finally, Vitaliano Faela, Antonio Donato Cavodasino, Giovanni Michele Falcibo, and Bernardo Lombardo, very upstanding law clerks and, along with these, also Silvestro Lando Chancellor of the city and of the republic, who also composed this very preface to our laws and contributed very much to their reformation and arrangement.

But since the influence and opinion of that Praetor of ours was present above all (as was said above) for the completion of such a task as this – he who, being very expert in law and quite prudent in the application of things, added a great deal to it from his own experience – it seems that the law could rightfully be called “Zaccarian,” and it certainly would be called thus more appropriately than “Papinian” or “Flavianian,” since Papinianus did not produce anything on laws written in a single kingdom, nor did Flavius for the book of cases he stole from Appius Claudius.

Id quod divina quadam sorte videtur factum quum Zacharias senior clarissimus in primus juris consultus equestrique, ac senatorii ordinis & in omni genere laudis omnium sui temporis praestantissimus jam prudem Praetor nostre commendatissims quatto in Nos Imperii anno hanc ipsam reformationem adortus magistratus autem exitu praeventus perficere nequierit undeream filie perficiendam quodammodo reservasse tradidisteque ex istimari potest. Atque ideo jus ipsum sic appellandum per primam Legem decernimus ut hoc ipso juris cognomina utriusque sit Patris & Filii meritorum apud Nos & posteros nostros sempiterna memoria. Tu igitur Verona tot & tantis naturae, ac fortunite bonis dotata & in primis novo libertatis genere decorate Leges has tuas tani Praetoris nomine, & auctoritate illustratas ambabus ut ajunct, minibus suscipe ut tibi cumulate foelicitas adfit, quum abundare te vides agrorum ubertate, legum religion, administratorum earum fide, arque integritate quos quidem bonos vel bonis legis antependentes, prae optandosque arist judicat, idipsuinque expertas es. Tu altera Hierusalem surge illuminare veneto sydere a quo tibi religio justitia libertas illumit, citi bum fide parendo regnare dicisti gradere in hoc lumine perge pulchra frui libertate, quam vitae antependam ducas, quque non in armis aut opibus, sed in fide tantum, ac studio custoditur. Nam sicut divina majestas ita veneta celsitudo corda ipsa hominum metitur & spectat in qua quidem felicitate corroborate jam & confirmata, sussragente tibi divino spiritu in aeternum permaneas. Data in cancellaria communis Veronae XIV Kal. Septemb. Anno incarnate verbi MCCCL, Indict XIII D. Zacharia Trivisano, junior praetor, et d Antonio venerio
This seems to have been accomplished by a certain Divine power, since Zaccaria the elder, a man of the equestrian and senatorial order who was very renowned and learned most of all in law and the most outstanding in our day for his praise in every kind, and our very commendable Praetor for a long time, had on the fourth year of his rule among us undertaken this very reformation. But during his magistracy he was unable to bring it to completion, prevented as he was by death. Hence it is possible to conceive, in some sense, that he reserved the completion of this task for and handed it over to his son. And for this reason we resolve that this law code ought to be named for the first law so that, by having the same name as the law, the memory of the father and the son be deservingly everlasting. Therefore, you Verona, endowed with so many blessings of both nature and fortune and adorned most of all with a new kind of liberty, receive these laws with both your hands as your own, laws rendered illustrious by the name and authority of so great a Praetor, so that blessedness be heaped up before you, since you see that you are abounding in rich fields, in reverence of law, in the trust and integrity of those who administer them. Aristotle deems that these men should certainly be placed before and preferred over the laws and this you have altogether proved by experience. You, another Jerusalem, rise up and shine with the star of Venice – from her radiates reverence, justice and liberty to you and in your faithful obedience to her you have learned to rule. Step into the threshold, proceed, enjoy fair liberty, whom you lead in marriage and prefer over life, and who is guarded not in arms or wealth but in faith alone and devotion. For just as the holy majesty, so the loftiness of Venice sits in judgment over the hearts of men and beholds them. May you remain unto eternity in this felicity, which has now been strengthened and confirmed for you through the Holy Spirit as intercessor.

Given in the chancery of the commune of Verona on 14 September in the year of the incarnate word 1450 on the thirteenth Indiction. Doctor Zaccaria Treviso the younger Praetor and Doctor Antonio Venerio Prefect of the Guard of the equestrian order; in the twenty-eighth year of the Dogeship of the most illustrious Prince, Doctor Francesco Foscari, but in the forty-fifth year of Venetian imperium among us. Jacobo Aleardo and Tebaldo Capella, prudent men and patricians of the Republic were provisors.
Document # 6 Veronese writers noted in the Actio Pantea and the Carme of Virgilio Zavarise, 1484.

Those present at the festivities in honor of Panteo

Francesco Aleardi (1421-1491) composed in 1449 a discourse in praise of Francesco Sforza that acted as an initiator of peace between Sforza and Venice. He was a Provveditori in Verona in 1465 and 1471, according to Zagata. The Aleardi lives in Benedetto in a palazzo, which was carefully inventoried in the early fifteenth-century and published by C. Cipolla “Libri e mobili di casa aleardi al principio del sec. XV” Venice: 1882, extract of the Archivio Veneto, XXIV, part I(1882).

Aleardi’s library contained works of Aesop, Boethius, Lucius, Ovid, and texts on grammar. Sacred writings included two volumes on the Psalms, New Testament, an office of the Virgin, and the Gospel of St. Mathew. Works in the vernacular included Dante, Boccaccio, the Proverbs of Schiavo da Bari, and a map of Ethiopia.

Aleardi was the third Veronesi to attribute the naval maneuver over Monte Baldo to another hero, Francesco Sforza.

The composition of 1449 praising of Francesco Sforza, published by Muratori in R.I. SS(vol XXV) Laudes ad modum historiae a Francisco Aleardo veronesensi concinnatae anno 1449 in magnanimum ac clarissimum imperatorem et illusrissimum principem Comitem Franciscum Sfortiam Vicecomitem. Prior to this Sforza was in the employ of Milan against the Venetians but by 1449 had switched sides, pushed by his wife and possibly this work praising him. He then worked with Venice, perhaps stopping in Verona on his way to accept his position in Venice. Within this context the oration of Aleardi appeared.

Aleardi was so impressed by Sforza that he left his wife, children and riches to follow him in battle. In the Actio he is remembered “sfortiadae texens aleardus proelia magni qui confert altae bysantiae moenia romae” This work frequently made comparisons between Sforza and other great warriors of antiquity.

Aleardi was also a friend of the scholar Francesco Filelfo and Venetian patrician Taddeo Quirini, who gave a Greek codex containing ten dialogues of Plato with marginal annotations and a dedication to Aleardi:


In MS 1366 of the Biblioteca comunale di Verona there is an epitaph from Panteo on the death of Ludovico Nogarola, who died in 1488. Following this work “Epithaphia Joannis Antonij Panthei veronensis et discipulorum eius Nogarolae perenitati…” follows the names of those who followed Pantheo, including Dante III Alighieri.
Perpolli states that Dante lived in Verona until it was taken over by Imperial troops so he retired to Mantua where he died on 15 November 1513. He was buried in San Anastasia in Verona. Others maintain that he held offices under Imperial troops and served the new Imperial government.

He was friends with Sanudo, enamored with Laura Brenzoni Schioppo, and wrote flattering letters to the various Podestas. Every time a new Podesta arrived, Dante would write new poems directed his own compositions towards that Podesta.

For Francesco Diedo

sisters, rejoice, enthusiastic
actors, bards rejoice in your
company, we come in your
health, you who come to the
home of Catullus

When Bernardo Bembo was elected Podesta of Verona in 1502 and later Giorgio Corner, new prose emerged. Dante corresponded with Matteo Rufo, and wrote verses on the death of Calderini and Panfilio Sasso, other students of Panteo.

**Andrea Banda.** (1450-1499) juris counselor was disciple of Panteo and of Antonio Brognoligo.

Born in 1450 of Cristoforo Banda and Francesca da Monselice. Archive veronesi archivio del commune, anagrafi di S. Fermo. “Dominus andreas banda doctor annorum franciscus eius filius ann. 18” assuming that Banda would have married around 20, the anagrafi was 1491, so if he was born in 1450, married in 1470 by 1491 he had a son of 18 years of age.

He was an orator to Venice in 1476 at the election of Doge Pietro Mocenigo and again in 1486 at the election of Agostino Barbarigo as Doge. Zagata lists him as Podesta of Legnago in 1488 and Vicar of the Casa dei Mercanti in 1482 and 1493 important positions for non-Venetians.

He offered hospitality to Caterina Corner, Queen of Cyprus, in 1497, who later was removed of her throne and retired to the nearby city of Asolo. She wrote to his son’s wife in 1499, from her court in Asolo...."I was greatly saddened to have heard the cause of the death of the late writer Andrea.[Banda] He was held by us in no small estimation. “Asolo 9 march 1499.

He composed a carmina in laudem operis et auctoris,

The *De Laudibus Veronae* of Panteo was addressed to Andrea Banda, friend and co-disciple of Antonio Brognoligo. In 1482 Banda was elected vicar of the Casa dei Mercanti, and attempted to return to its former dignity, after it had fallen into decay under Venetian rule. Panteo wrote in the printed dedication to Banda:

Banda also assisted in writing the redacted statutes of the Casa dei Mercanti, 1484. The codex which contains this rewriting “Statuta et ordinamenta domus mercatorum” Verona
Museo di Castelvecchio, It is an ornate and beautifully illustrated miniature, the work of Francesco dai Libri, representing a woman signifying justice carried on a chair by four fauns, merging mythology and Christianity. Above the fictive niche stand two lions of San Marco, suggesting that La Serenissima would maintain order if these statutes were not followed. Gino Castiglioni e Sergio Marinelli, ed., *Miniatura Veronese del rinascimento* (Verona: Museo di Castelvecchio, 1986), 228.

Upon the death of Brognoligo he wrote a short *Carme* dedicated to his master (Ms 2072. Bibl. Comun. Di Verona, c.121 r.)

“Carmen andreae andae ad excellentem virum ac utriusque iuris doctorem famossimum dominum bartholomeum caepollam tamquam patrem ac preceptorem suum foeliciter incipit.

**Agostino Capello.** Disciple of Panteo (1420?- 1500+) Notary of the Casa dei Mercanti in 1480. In the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cart misc sec XV: Kristeller, Iter, I 104-05, a collection of epigrams dedicated to Antonio Venier, Podesta in Verona from 1482-83, by several Veronese writers, including Panteo, Giacomo Conte Giuliani, Leonardo Montagna and Agostino Capello.


**Fioravante Catani or Catanei Catanei.** (1449-1508?) originally from the Veneto town of Lendinara. He was counselor of the commune in 1486, a notary of the Casa dei Mercanti in 1471, knight of the procurator in 1473, vicar of the district of Villafranca in 1487, and took part in the court of the Podesta in 1494, 1501, 1503, 1505, 1508. Documents on the family are found in the antiche archivio Veronesi, “cariche sostenute dalla famiglia catani.” Panteo referred to Catanei as a “musis deditissimus ” “a most devoted muse.” Catanei wrote poetry about unfaithful love, about one Maddalena, who married his rival.

**Bartolomeo Cendrata,** son of Giacomo, brother of Battista and cousin to Ludovico, below. He also wished to praise the Muses and so wrote a group of verses for the wedding of Cristofo da Monselice and Margherita Brenzoni in which he celebrated her beauty. He wrote another verse on the marriage of Gioconda Pindemonti with Bartolomeo Landi, son of Silverstro, Chancellor of the commune and redactor of the Statutes of Verona.

He and his cousin Ludovico were actively promoting the Veronese origins of Pliny.

Carmen epithalamium in Bartolmeum Landum et jocundam pindemontaim veronenses per Bartholomeum Cineratam veronensem editum “dive caelestis moderator aulae

Cf Giuseppe Biadego *Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti della biblioteca comunale di Verona,* 46

Ludovico Cendrata. (1440?-1497?) He was a student of Guarini in Ferrara, then returned to Verona in 1437, where he maintained a correspondence with Isotta Nogorala.
involved in public life, he was an orator to Venice in 1491, and participated in the Podestà’s court for 18 years ending in 1497.

In August of 1484 he wrote a letter in to Marcantonio Morosini, Podesta of Brescia, praising Marcantonio Sabellico and, indirectly, the Venetian Republic. He praised Sabellico and his working methodology in his profession of historian with his erudite curiosity and the resources which he uses. Sabellico was competent for the great work ahead of him.

He and his cousin Bartolomeo actively promoted the Veronese origins of Pliny.

Cendrata wrote a letter of praise to the two Nogarola sisters, and referred to their tutor Martino Rizzoni. Ludovico’s mother was the sister of Isotta’s Veronese friend, Damiano dal Borgo, revealing a network of kinship and literary friendship. At one point there appears to have been a budding romance between Isotta and Damiano, according to King. A notary, Cendrata held several magistracies and diplomatic missions in Verona.


Cendrata, a friend of Sanudo and Panteo, fought in favor of the notion that Pliny was of Veronese origins. Indeed Sanudo wrote a letter to the cousin of Cendrata, Bartolomeo Cendrata, where he expresses his homage to Ludovico:

Letter to Domino Iohanni Nicolaes Faellae, cavaliere e giureconsuluto, “Christophorus schioppus, compatriot noster procudubio videntur exposcere, verona 1481.

#2 Equiti aurato marco Antonio maurocento, Podesta of Brescia.

#3 To the Morosini, “Noi declaravit tua magnificentia” 1484

#4 To the giuresconsulto domino Antonio peregrine, Verona 1484


**Francesco Diedo** (1435-1484+) Podesta of Verona, possibly a student of Pantero.

Diedo certainly studied in Venice in the School of the Rialto under Paolo della Pergola, who was the head of the school between 1421-1454, as well as Ognibene da Lonigo.

During his career he was elected ambassador to the Hungarians (Mattia Corvino) in place of Francesco Venier. He was nominated as ambassador to Chambery (replacing a Dandolo). In 1470 he was appointed Capitano of Vicenza, then Podesta of Ravenna, then in 1475 Capitano of Bergamo, finally appointed Podesta of Verona in 1483.

Franciscus peneutius clericus c 24 r “Epitaphia in magnificum d francium diedum Veronae praetoreem ‘ququis es hinc sacrum nobis absiste moveri


**Nicolo Ilarione Fontanelli**, (1440-1500?) monk (Hillarion monachus”) son of Baldassar Fontanella, studied Greek and Latin, and died in Rhodes. A Veronese canon who donated his books to the Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona. Cf Wolfgang Strobl. “Der
Jacopo Conte Giulari, (1450? -1518+ ?) friend and peer of Dante III, disciple of Panteo and editor of the Actio. Giulari had a wonderful library and was a member of the Collegio degli avvocati del Verona.

For such an active humanist there are mere glimpses of his live in extant records. Perpolli offers neither a date of birth or his education, except the names of his parents. He was elected to the Casa dei Mercanti in 1475, which would place his date of birth at least to 1450. He entered the communal council in 1489, was made vicar of Cerea in 1496, and elected Chancellor of Verona in 1512 at the death of Virgilio Zavarise.

When Marcantonio Sabellico fled the Republic of Venice from the plague in 1485 he called upon his friend Giulari and stayed with him. Giulari assisted him in his writing of the history of Venice, using Giulari’s extensive library. Sabellico later wrote an homage to Giulari. Marcantonio Sabellico’s (ca. 1436–1506) Des reparatione linguae Latinae from 1490. Jacopo Conte Giulari, one of the interlocutors of the dialogue, talks about the decline of Latin culture during the “gothica tempestas,” the Middle Ages, and about how the losses that in recent times are being partly remedied under Venetian administration. Although true Latin culture was not yet restored, there were many who led the way towards that goal, through whom the Roman tongue would shed the barbarian “squalor” which had long covered it.

Sanudo referred to him as being “small in body but grand in soul.”

Giuliari was elected and continued to be an official of the Cancelliere of the commune of Verona, and office which he held until 1512.

Laeliades Iustus Giusto (Giusto Giusti), (1406- 1483) son of Lelio Giusti from an elite Veronese family. He was a important orator and lawyer of the period. In 1488 he was received in Venice for the congratulations of the election of Doge Marco Barbarigo, and again in 1514 he was invited to speak before Cardinal Marco Corner. He was sent on similar missions from Verona to Venice several times, in 1478, 14 84, 1487, 1492, 1494, 1495, and 1496. The family Giusti was a member of Veronese communal council and represented the city in Venice. Rinaldo Fulin, vols. 19-20 Archivio Veneto (1880): 251- 254

Lelio Giusti assisted Bartolomeo Cipolla in rewriting the communal statutes of Verona in 1450. There is a text addressed to him from Antonio Cipolla to Lelio Giusti cc 167v-168 r A long poem addressed from Mario Filelfo to Antonio, “proprietor Hyebetanus” when he was the vicar mayor of the commune in Zevio cc 168 v 170v, l’ormai ben noto
He also argued the question of the patrimony of the two Plinys. It was Giusti’s suggestion that the statue of Pliny the elder was placed on top of the Palazzo del Consiglio. Giusto, son of Lelio Giusti, was noted as an excellent orator:

Lelio Giusti, giuresconsulto was created a knight in 1452 by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III, and his nephew was invested in 1502 by the Venetian senate as count of Gazo.

In the seventeenth century some members of the Giusti family were executed in Venice for treason. Giuseppe Tassini, Condanne capitali eseguite in venezia sotto la repubblica (Venice:1867).


Eldest son of Lanfranchino Lanfranchini, was born in Verona in 1431, belonged to a family of modest means, with little public exposure: his father was one of the "Domus aediles Mercatorum" “Celebrated merchants “in 1439. Nevertheless, in 1441 the will of the brother of his father, Jacques de Paniciis, gave the family a considerable estate (essentially from 458 campi or fields in and around the town of Nogarola) that allowed him to assume regular studies.

In 1452 he was appointed Comes Palatinus et eques collegiatus, the title of which was awarded by Frederick III (in whose honor the Lanfranchini wrote a commendation. The title of count, which was part of the many degrees of nobility granted in the fifteenth-century in an attempt to consolidate the Emperor’s authority. Frederick still had an important value in some cities in north central, especially in those of the Venetian mainland, and this act undoubtedly allowed Lanfranchini to start his political and diplomatic career with greater ease.

Little is known about his university education. He studied in Bologna, where, in the opinion of Pardi, he received the title of doctor juris utriusque. He received a doctorate in canon law at Ferrara, May 17, 1455. In Ferrara, even before graduating he held the chair of extraordinary civil and canon law, for which he delivered inaugural speech in October 1448 (Paris, Bibliothèque National, Fonds lat., 7853: Oratio pro suæ lecturae primordium in dolce Ferrariae Gymnasio cf. Kristeller also, II, p. 406)
In 1456, Cristofo Lanfranchini was the head of the family, and lived in their ancestral home in the contrada of S.Egidio: he lived with his brothers Donato, Louis, John, Jerome, Donato's wife, Percha's sister's son Donato, Lanfranchino.

On eleven occasions between 1457 and 1501, Lanfranchini went to Venice to perform various tasks, and in 1458 was appointed to the Civic Council of Verona. A confirmation of the prestige he enjoyed in 1462, he delivered a speech in Venice, along with other members of the aristocracy including Guglielmo Bevilacqua, Ludovico Nogarola, Lelio Giusti, for the election of the Doge Cristoforo Moro. Again in 1471, he went to Venice for the election of Doge Niccolo Tron. The speech given by Lanfranchini on the latter occasion is known for printing of Oratio to Nicolaum Tronum, published in Verona in 1472. A similar Oratio by Petrus Franciscus Ravennas, Oratio pro patria ad illustrissimum principem Nicolaum Tronum was published in Venice in Nov of 1471.

On two occasions, in 1469 and in 1479, the Civic Council appointed him mayor of Verona. Between 1456 and 1503 twenty-four times he was called to be part of the curia of the city mayor, was appointed vicar of the Casa dei Mercanti in 1464, 1470, 1472 and 1476 and governor of the Monte di Pietà in 1490, 1494, 1496 and 1499 (cf. Borelli, 154-157 and related archival sources reported).

In addition to employment policy and prudent manager of its assets (together with his brothers he went on to broaden and consolidate the properties in Nogarola), Lanfranchini devoted himself to intellectual and moral reflection: in 1497 he published an interesting work, the Tractatus seu quaestio utrum preferendus doctor also sit miles. Written in the form of epistolary dialogue with his son Bartolomeo, the work follows in the wake of the treatises of noble humanist Coluccio Salutati, Bartolomeo Sacchi, and Poggio Bracciolini. It opens with a wish to understand an issue that arouses his indignation, since the "milites" or knights claim to be preferred when compared to the "doctores." So he demands to know the legal basis for this thesis. Lanfranchini responds as to the enrollment privileges of doctores and milites (doctors and knights): starting with milites, citing the opinions of Bartolo da Sassoferrato and Baldo degli Ubaldi, he then passes to the doctores.

Following careful analysis of the requirements of the military, which shows that the militia is not a dignitas and can not determine nobility, the latter, in fact, is not transmitted by riches or by inheritance. In the opinion of the referring lawyer of Verona Bartholomeo Cipolla, Lanfranchini states that only virtue and good morals make the noble man ("Virtus et boni mores ergo faciunt aliquem nobilem, not genus simpliciter," ibid., c. 21). The conclusion is that "doctores praeecedant milites quia doctor valde honorandus est cum ex polleat own virtue" (vs. 24), so much so that even a person of humble birth, if well educated and upright morals, can be held noble. On 7 May 1494, Lanfranchini had his will prepared. He died on June 20, 1504.

Family, known as Francischinus de lombardis purchased della Scala land in 1408

Leonardo Montagna (1425-1485) His name was given by his godfather Bernardo Giustinian, son of the more celebrated Leonardo, which affirmed their political connections. Montagna wrote that in his youth he wrote love poetry in the style of Petrarch; a trionfo in three chapters, a canzone and a sonnet, while in his adulthood he modeled his writings after Dante.

He also wrote a work exhorting a Jew to become Christian.

On his tomb it suggests that he lived a distressed existence. “Christ was my only recourse in this troubled sea…”

In 1422 the father was an ambassador to Venice and in the same year was made fattore general by the Bishop of Verona. In 1450 he participated in the revision of the statutes of the city. The father, Agostino was in communication with Ermolao Barbaro and Guarino and in 1463 he contacted Panteo. He died in 1474.

Leonardo was a follower of Gian Pietro d’Avenza, a disciple of Vittorino da Feltre with whom he had a great relationship. He wrote an epitaph for the illustrious Venetian Marco Donato.

Literati and Veronesi poet who composed laude to women, and dedicated one to Barbara, Marchesa di Mantova when she visited Verona, as well as a work which applied ancient prophecies to contemporary events. Leonardo wrote a work dedicated to Ermolao Barbaro, an apologia of Borso d’Este.

In 1482 he composed several epigrams, one to Ludovico Nogarola, the other to the Venetian Captain Giocomo Carcello who died in May of that year during the Venetian assault on Gallipoli. Others included two Latin epigrams for Antonio Venier, Podesta of Verona 1482-83, and to the Venetian Niccolo Donato. He was a correspondent with Ludovico Cendrata, another member of the Actio. Source: Valerio Sanzotta. “Montagna, Leonardo” Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani 75, (2011), also Avesani, Verona e il suo territorio, IV, 2, 145-173.

Francesco Nursio Timideo (1453-1508) Secretary of Caterina, Queen of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia. He was secretary to Giorgio Corner who was the prefect of Verona as well as corresponded with Sanuto.

He also wrote on the expedition of Charles VIII to Italy where he expressed strong patriotic feelings and appealed to Italy to repel the invader and have faith in Venice !!! cf V. Rossi, Poesie storiche sulla spedizione di Carlo VIII in Italia. Venice: 1887, IX

He is mentioned along with another humanist in the Actio “e Nursio che piange in versi la morte di dafne, e tu o sparavieri, che ti accosti allo spirito di un Marziale.” “and Nursio crying in verse at the death of Daphne, and you Sparavieri, who approach the spirit of a Martial.”

He wrote to Tiberio de Schiopis, “veronensis amico incomparibili”

See Giuliani, Dialogo in volgare Veronese del secolo XV di Francesco Nursio Timideo. Verona : Viviani, 1881. He was also intimates with the Emilii, and the Schioppo families.

Giovanni Antonio Panteo (1446-1497) Priest for whom the Actio was dedicated. Secretary to Bishop Ermolao Barbaro, who had been a student of Guarino. Wrote a Laude
in Praise of Verona, which is lost. Asked to write the prologue to the Statuti of the Casa dei Mercanti in Verona whereby he praised Venice and the Venetian administration. His students, (Ms 1366 Biblioteca Comunale Verona), included Laura Brenzona, Bernardino Palazonus, Petrus Emils, Jo Franciscus Capitaneus, Augustinus Capellus, Hier Dionysius, Gilielmus Guarientus, Bernardino Rigetus, Antonius Romanus, Hier Baglinus, Dantes III Aliger, A.P Hier, Betelerius, Zeno Cresarius, Benedictus Aretinus, and Franciscus Diedo, future Podesta of Verona.

A famous work of Panteo is the De Thermis Calderianis. Giuseppe Biadego Catelogo Descrittivo dei manoscritta della biblioteca Comunale di Verona, #278 (2072) There is also #280 (1366) a “Carmina antonij panthei recitata in laudem mag antonij venerio per lauram brenzonam et in laudem francise brenzone sponse eius sororis.”

Also Biadego, Catelogo #1212 (1033) “Matthaeus Rufus, quod Plinius senior sit veronensis. Apparently was well travelled and taught eventually in Rome. From Milan in 1501 he was on a diplomatic mission (for Venice) and wrote to Sanudo on the progress of the French in the peninsula. He suggested that Pliny was not born in Como, but that the original references were changed from “veronensis” to “novocomensis” in the printing from Venice of the Historia naturalis. Source: Carla Maria Monti “Matteo Rufo, la patria di Plinio e un manoscritto di dedica passato in tipografia” Centridiricerca.unicatt.it/creleb_9.Monti.pdf

Matteo Rufo (1452-1512) “Rufus Christi Phoebique sacerdos” Priest in the church of S. Tommaso in Verona, and composed a defense of Pliny as having Veronese origins. Biadego, Catelogo #1212 (1033) “Matthaeus Rufus, quod Plinius senior sit veronensis. Apparently was well travelled and taught eventually in Rome. From Milan in 1501 he was on a diplomatic mission (for Venice) and wrote to Sanudo on the progress of the French in the peninsula. He suggested that Pliny was not born in Como, but that the original references were changed from “veronensis” to “novocomensis” in the printing from Venice of the Historia naturalis. Source: Carla Maria Monti “Matteo Rufo, la patria di Plinio e un manoscritto di dedica passato in tipografia” Centridirerca.unicatt.it/creleb_9.Monti.pdf

Antonio Sparavieri,( 1446-1501). Follower of Antonio Brognoligo. The prolific Sparavieri’s writings are found in the estemi of the Condrada of Braida, Antichi Archivi Veornesi, Arch. Del Comune, Anag. di Braida in 1458 “Petrus de Sparaveriis ann 76 Agnola uxor eius ann.67, Angelus eius filius ann 32, Madeleia uxor eius ann 32, Antonius eurs filius an 12.” He was a student of Brognoligo and remained active in Veronese civic life. He entered the Veronese Council in 1488, the Curial court of the Podesta in 1489, was made sindaco (mayor) in 1491, finally vicar of Tregnago in 1479 and of Torri in 1491.

Virgilio Zavarise (1449? - 1511) He was Calliope in the Actio which he helped organize the Panteo. Descendant from one of the oldest and most illustrious Veronese families, he was born in 1449 or 1450. At the age of 16 (1467) he received the privilege of being made a tabellionato…a notary by the Count Palatino Paolo Andrea Del Bene. Three years later he formally requested admission into the Collegio dei Notai and was accepted, proving that he had the abilities for this office In 1485 he was elected to the Consiglio dei Dodici, and 1498 nominated Chancellor of the city. He was in charge of the Veronese Council which deliberated turning Verona over to the Emperor Maximillian.

Humanists Imagined and included in the Panteo but absent from the Festivities

499
Benedetto Brugnoli. (1427-1502) Born in Legnago (Verona), and educated in the classics as a “Veronensis” Ognibene da Lonigo or Leoniceno, a humanist teacher was a student of Vittorini da Feltre who taught in Venice in the 1440’s and 1450. He received the patronage of Bianca Borromeo, the mother of the Nogarola sisters. He delivered the funeral oration for Elisabetta Nogarola, the sister of Isotta’s father (her aunt) who was the wife of the nobleman Jacopo da Thiene in Vicenza.

Ognibene became the teacher of Benedetto Brugnoli as well as instructed Francesco Diedo (1433-84), Podesta of Verona in 1483-84 during the time of the Actio as well as a correspondent with Ludovico Foscarini. Brugnoli taught in Venice for about 40 years. His most important student was Domizio Calderini who initially was a disciple in Verona of Antonio Bronoligo.

Because of his influence in Venice the Veronese Council was obliged to elect as a teacher “umanita…tanto ai giovani che aspirano ad entrare nella cancelleria ducale, quanto e quelli che desiderano continuare negli studi letterari e di dare, ai primi, esercizi pratici di stile epistolare Latino come faceva, dice il document , un tempo Benedetto Brugnoli, qui magna assiduitate id peragebat.

“A teacher of humanities to teach those youths aspiring to enter into the ducal chancellery, when and where they desire to continue in their studies, they must first practice the writing Latin style as it was taught in the time of Benedetto Brugnoli, who taught with great frequency.”

In the action Actio he is remembered as: “Et venetos brognole docens justissime censor Castigans veteru mendosa volumina vatam”

He had an oration delivered at his funeral in 1502 by Battista Ignazio, an “Oratio in laudem Benedicti Prunuli, Venetiis Ex Accademia aldi romani.”

Paolo Dionisi “Rhetorices Paulus.” (1424-1501) Veronese canon, who donated his books to the biblioteca capitolare di Verona. Giambattista Carlo Giuliani, La Capitolare Biblioteca di Verona (Florence:L. S. Olschki, 1888). published (doc. IV) the testament of Dioisi was made on June 26, 1501 when these donations were made.

Paol Dionisio was a doctor of canon and civil law, and vicar general of Ravenna, archpriest of S. Floriano and Canon in the Cathedral of Verona.

Giovanni Andrea Ferrabo, A member of the Carmelite order, public master in Verona for one year in 1475, and poet laureate. He taught in Naples, Sicily, Spain, Urbino, and Perugia. (1467-68). Apparently he was disliked in Perugia, and so warned against students going there to study.

The council of XII and the 50 deputies of Verona hired Joanne Andrea Ferrabo on Dec 8 1474 to “conducendo ed legendum studia humitatis,” with a salary of 50 gold ducats. He was to teach two lessons per day, morning and afternoon, and on Sunday held the Dante chair, and lectured on history. By 1475 he was in Treviso, where he accepted a position.
to teach for 10 years. According to Virgilio Zavarise “Et ferabos omnes italas qui circuit urbes erudiens juvenes.”

**Battista Guarino.** (1435-1513) Youngest son of Guarino Veronese who succeeded his father as a teacher in Ferrara and Venice.

In 1458 he wrote a farewell letter to the outgoing Podesta of Verona, Niccolò Marcello, as well as dedicated a translation of Agesilaus of Xenophon to the Bishop Ermolao Barbaro. Perhaps his most well known work was *De ordine docendi et studendi* (“Concerning the Order and the Method to be Observed in Teaching and in Reading the Classical Authors,” where he sets forth the understanding that students are to be valued, not mistreated. Corporal punishment is to be replaced with healthy competition between students and educators must be gentlemen. Battista Guarino De Ordine Docendi et Studendi (1459) W.H. Woodward, ed., *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), 159-178.

He was included in the Actio primarily because of his lineage rather than his work done in Verona.

**Celso Maffei** (1415-1508) Celso was a Cenobite monk who was elected general of the order and returned to Verona to the cloister of S. Leonardo. Very pro Venice in his writings yet was aware of the pressures by the Venetian senate upon the Clergy. He threatened Venice that those who went against the church would be visited by God’s wrath. While under interdict in 1482 he reminded Doge Vendramin what he could and could not be permitted to do so during the proscription.

**Jacopo Maffei.** He was also known as Jacopo Volterranno.

Wrote vernacular poetry but was also obviously politically active. He composed love poetry to Laura Loredan (Brenzoni Schoppero) c.1r Ornatissimo viro d Jacobo Volaterrano secretaries apostolico b de rizonibus veronen 1487

According to Zagata, one Jacopo Maffei was Proveditori di Comune in 1488 and Vicar of the Casa dei Mercanti in 1491. He is listed several times between 1494 and 1499 as a Proveditori and finally he is listed as Podesta of Legnago in 1403. Zagata: *Cronica della citta di Verona* II, 257.

**Leonardo Nogarola.** (1403? +1487?) Brother of the famous Nogarola sisters Ginevra and Isotta. Studied with Lauro Quirini in 1452 in Padua and was knighted by the Emperor Frederick III. His brother, Giovanni, was executed in Venice for treason in attempting coup with Brunoro Scala. Leonardo was created a protonotario apostolico in 1477 after the loss of his wife, but refused to be made a cardinal. Wrote extensively on the Immaculate Conception and was an early proponent of this doctrine, later championed by the Franciscan order and was represented in the iconography of the library of the church of San Bernardino in Verona.

Family purchased della Scala land in 1407 Giulio Sancassini, “I beni della ‘fattoria scaligera’, 126
Ricio (Giacomo Rizzoni). In the Actio he is mentioned as “Romanae salibus ricio charissimus aulae.” He was the younger brother of Martino and nephew of Giacomo who died in Rome in 1485, where he was one of the abbreviatores maioris praesidentiae in the Papal Chancery. His brother Martino was to have been the successor to Guarino as a teacher in Verona. He is not mentioned in the Actio. His son Giacomo may be the person attributed by Biancolini as the author of Book II of the Zagata chronicle.

Source: G.P. Marchi. “Un umanista Veronese negli uffici della cancelleria pontificia” Studi storici veronesi, XV (1965) 215-35. He wished to be considered a Veronese native… as Marchi indicated in this brief poem: Rizo mihi noemn Verona est patria… Rizzio is my name, Verona is my homeland.”

Mentioned but Deceased Veronesi Literati

Antonio Beccaria: (1400–1474) A student of Vittorino da Feltre in Mantova who, as a youth wrote erotic Latin poetry. He left Italy and went to England to work for Humphrey, Duke of Glouster, uncle and tutor of the King Henry V in 1434. After Humphrey was accused of wishing to take over the crown and was assassinated, Beccaria returned to Italy. Returning to Verona he was attached to the retinue of Ermolao Barbaro, and who in 1458 apparently helped the young Panteo obtain the secretariat to Barbaro.

It is curious that he is mentioned in a discussion of the origins of Pliny in the Casa Barbaro.

Apparently Panteo argued that Pliny was not “novocomensis,” or “from Como,” yet Beccaria had taken the contrary approach, based on the testimony of Tranquillo, Eusebius and Tertullian, who believed that Pliny was from Como.

Beccaria, priest and familiar of the Bishop Ermolao Barbaro was on good terms with Panteo. 843 (1132) c.i r Antonii becarie sacerdotis veronen, prohemium in diosii traductionem de situ orbis haabitalis ad clariss physicum magistrum hieronymum de leonardis. 1477.

Giorgio Bevilacqua Lazise (1406-1500)


He later changed to Bologna, a difficult choice in 1437 for educational options were controlled by Venice. Later that year he had repatriated to Verona where he entered public life. He was a councilor from 1439-41, took part in the Podesta’s court, 1447-50, in 1443 was made Vicar of the Casa dei Mercanti. In 1466 was made Administrator in Legnago.

After Verona was taken over by Venice there was a period of relative tranquility interrupted in 1438 by a long and disastrous war between the Milanese allied to Mantua and aided by the condottieri Piccinino, and Venice, led by Francesco Sforza. In this war the Visconti wished to tear from Venice both Brescia and Bergamo.
This war experienced the retreat of Gattamalata from Brescia to Padua, the transportation of the Venetian navy over Mount Baldo,(2200 meters) the taking of Verona by Piccinino, and the Venetian victory on Lake Garda. An anonymous poet dedicated to “ad illustrem principem Franciscum Foscarenum ducem Venetiarum” implored quick action by the Venetians against the Visconti. Local writers praised the various combatants: In Feltre Andrea Regino wrote in praise of Francesco Sforza, while Giovanni Michel Alberto da Carrara exalted Jacopo Marcello for camping under the very walls of Milan.

But the most important writers on this war were three Veronese, Bevilacqua, Ludovico Merchenti and Francesco Aleardi.

Bevilacqua also wrote a lament on the occasion of the death of Jacopo Marcello’s son. King discusses this in her book The Death of the Child Valerio Marcello, and it is outlined in this paper, Clarrissimo equestris ordinis viro d jacobo Antonio Marcello in gravissimo casu obitus valerij filii.

Bevilacqua entitled his book Historia de bello gallico, and dedicated it to the Venetian patrician Marco Donati with an ample preface: “Most elegant and prestigious jurisconsul Georgi Bevilacqua to the patrician Marco Donatum. “ In the preface the author writes of the efficacy of eloquence and after having recalled the most famous men of antiquity, he moves to the Middle Ages. However, no one has proven greater than Venice and her conflict over Milan. After describing eight battles in the war he describes the peace and the marriage of Bianca Visconti with Francesco Sforza, and their wedding in Venice.

The justification for this work, put in the mouth of Jacopo Marcello, but written by Bevilacqua, is preceded by a letter in which the author indicates the generosity of Jacopo, then vicar of Udine Margaret L. King, The Death of the Child Marcello Valerio. She calls it an “incoherent work: deliberately so.”

According to Bevilacqua an Excusatio adversus consolatores in obitu valerii filli (Apology against the consolers on the death of his son Valerio) ostensibly the work of Marcello. In reality it was the work of his ghost writer, Bevilacqua. It is a dialogue between consolers and inconsolable father who continue to grieve despite conventional practices on how to deal with this grief. It is a letter to King Rene, the letter purports to present an aging father in his right to continue grieving. It is curious that the mother of Valerio, and wife of Marcello, does not appear in these excusatii.

Although Jacopo claimed the authorship of the Excusatio, it is a defense of Marcello to silence his well-intentioned accusers. King: The work is a hoax engineered by Marcello and his accomplice, showing that after Jacopo moved to Udine the business of grieving and written letters of grieving became a cottage industry, transforming human pain into undying words, “to confer upon it the immortality of letters…”

Bevilacqua was a student of Guarino. Moved to Padua to study law and entered into a correspondence with the Nogarola family. Between 1439-41 he was consiglieri to the Podesta in 1447, 1450, 1453. He was a vicar to the Casa dei Mercanti in 1466 and was made Pretore in Legnago in 1466. Source: Carlo de’Rosmini. Vita e disciplina di Guarino Veronese e de’ suoi discepoli (Brescia: 1806), Vol 3, 72-75.

Antonio Brognoligo (1456- 1482) A renowned teacher who instructed Virgilio Zavarise and Domizio Calderini among others. Wrote a poem on the origins of Venice, based on
Divine Providence, in which the origins of Venice were discussed. Some of his students were Zavarise, Panteo, Andrea Banda, Fioravante Catani, the monk Ilarione, Antonio Sparavieri, and Domizio Calderini. Indeed, Panteo wrote a *Carme* dedicated to Brognoligo, “Carmina exposition Lucani”

At one point Brognoligo wrote a canto on the beauty of the countryside, dedicated to Antonio Cipolla, another Veronese poet and brother of Bartolomeo Cipolla, the legal scholar and writer of the Statutes of Verona. Bartolomeo Cipolla was knighted by Frederic III in 1471, died in Padua in 1474.

**Domizio Calderini** (1444 - 1478) Calderini came to study in Verona from nearby Torre del Benaco, where his father was a notary. He studied with Antonio Brognanigo and later Brognoligo who was the master of a school for Veronese youth, and later studied in Venice under Lauro Quirini. He later transferred to Rome where he was attached to the Roman Accademia and a circle of students who were followers of Cardinal Bessarione.

He was appointed by the Venetian Council to teach grammar, rhetoric and sciences. In 1508 he was officially recognized by the Venetian Senate as a teacher of the humanities “for those youths who aspire to enter into the Ducal Registry.”


**Bernardinus Campanea**. Bernardino Campagna, (1463 – 1514) author of a tragedy (Maffei III, 135) and a Passion of Christ, dedicated to Sixtus IV. Declamatio bernardini a campanea pro ul A defense of Ulysseus acc used by the Trojans on the death of Ajax. He is briefly mentioned in Zagata as having written a commentary on Medicine. III 147.

**Ceruto Bianco** (Ceruto Blanco). (1427-1484) A disciple of Giovanni da Lazise, with a degree in jurisprudences and secretary of cardinal Foscari and. Antonio Condulmer, Provveditore of Peschiera 1483-84. He was a Doctor of Law and secretary to the Venetian Cardinal Foscari.

**Bernardino da Peschiera Cillenio**. (1445-1484) Was in the service of Ludovico Marcello, priore of the Commenda di S Giovanni del Tempo in Treviso

He moved to Rome and was a member of the Accademia Romana, (Accademia di Pomponio). That group was suspected of a conspiracy against the temporal power of Paul II and the Academy was persecuted and her members fled. Cillenio moved to Venice.

He was the author of a commentary on Tibullo, dedicated to Battista Orsini, vice-rector of the University of Rome. He later composed a poem on the conquest of Negroponte (1470) and a Commentum in Priapeia, which is lost.


**Antonio Cipolla**, (1423-1484) owned property in Belfiore di Porcile, near Belfiore d’Adige. Antonio Cipolla was the son of Michele and of Caterina Giulieri, one of the most

Brognoligo wrote a tongue in cheek poem on the estate at Porcile, literally “pigstye.” Cipolla recognized it to be somewhat squalid but also fertile and well-populated, where he developed an industry of silk, cultivated saffron and from his coach he commented that it was

redolentque rosal ac lilia campi
floribus et varios producit terra colores
ac volucres mira praestant dulcedine cantus.

smells of roses and lilies of the field
flowers and produces the various colors
and birds sweetly perform songs.

**Colombino Veronese.** (1440-1482) Born in Verona, moved to Mantua to the Court of Gonzaga where he was an educator. Wrote a work dedicated to the Gonzaga and a poem dedicated to Filippo Nuvoloni, a warrior, diplomat and author. He succeeded Mario Filelfo as the teacher of the Gonzaga children, especially Federico Gonzaga.

He was asked to undertake several diplomatic missions or the Gonzaga, to Bologna, Rome and Germany. His correspondence and diplomatic letters are in the Archivio dei Gonzaga in Mantua.

He is noted in the Actio only because of the city of his birth, but because of his scholarly and diplomatic connections. In October, 1476 Marchese Ludovico Gonzaga recommended Colombino to become professor of grammar to the Podesta of Verona.

in that city,”for a good sum of money.” A few years later (1479) he was sent by Federico Gonzaga to Salzburg where he was likely to urged the Emperor for an Imperial Diploma of Investiture for the Marchese. (Perpolli 1918), 74.


**Gian Nicola Faella.** He was made a doctor by the Emperor Frederic III in 1452, and Count Palatinate and familiar of the Imperial court. CF G Dal Pozzo, collegii veronensis judicum advocatorum elogia ( Verona: 1653), 90. He was an orator in Venice at the election of Doge Pasquale Malipiero in 1457, Cristoforo Moro 1462 and Nicolo Marcello 1473. c 106-107r “ ad sermonem insulam benaci dum eam viscere cum claro juris consulto joanne Nicola faela.

Gaspare da Verona (1408 ? +1476) wrote a commentary on Juvenal, and a history of the Venetian Pope Paul II. He was a professor of Roman history and language. Many of the brightest scholars abandoned the smaller humanist center of Verona moved to larger cites such as Rome and Venice. Domizio Calderini, Benedetto Brugnoli, Gaspare and Colombino may be counted in this list.

Apparently he was born in Verona and was a follower of Guarino Guarini and is thus included in the Actio.

Gaspare left Verona in 1426 to study in Bologna where he made friends with Ambrogio Traversari. He knew Stefano Porcari, then Capitano of the people of Florence, to whom he remained faithful friends all of his life. He followed him to France, England and later, Puglia. By 1432 Porcari embraced the monastic life and entered the convent of the Camaldolesi, which he left by 1439. In 1452 he mentions the death of his wife and his remarriage. Porcari led an abortive rebellion against Nicholas V. He was hanged in 1453 in Rome.

In 1445 Gaspare ran a private school where he got the reputation of praise from the youths related to the most powerful prelates such as Gabriele Marcello and Rodrigo Borgia.

Guarino Veronese (1374-1460) The most famous educator in Verona prior to Panteo.

Ludovico Merchenti (1400-1473-82?) Born to Francesco and was another student of Guarino in 1419. Originally, his family name was Barulli and were followers of the della Scala family. After that family’s demise, the Barulli family changed their names to Merchenti to distance themselves from further dishonor.

After a trip with the Brenzoni family he wrote a poem about the lake, Benacus, filled with classical references. As a notary he took part in public administration. In 1431 he was a consiglieri to the Podesta of Verona, and in 1452 was made Podesta of Peschiera. As a notary he was also in the Podesta court in 1460, 61, 63, elected to the Casa di Pieta in 1460, superintendent of the Registry in 1456. He married into the wealthy Verita family, his first wife having died in 1433. Was a professional notary and had an active part in public administration.

In his Benacus Merchenti attributed the Venetian exploit of bringing the navy over Mount Baldo to Stefano Contarini. Other scholars see Gattamalata leading the Venetian troops, as his idea. In the Maggior Consiglio in the Ducal Palace, there is painted on the side of the first galley moving up the mountain the arms of Marcello and Stefano Contarini. Umberto Franzoni, Storia e leggenda del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia. Verona, Edizioni Stori, 1982, 233.

When Filelfo arrived in Verona in 1467, Merchenti was already 67 years of age, but he called Filelfo the “divino maestro” and dedicated his poem Benacus to him. He also dedicated it to Ermolao Barbaro and was composed between 1467-1471 when Barbaro died.

Isotta Nogarola (1418-1466) Isotta and her sister Ginevra were important female humanist from an elite Veronese family who were friends with the Podesta Francesco Barbaro in 1434-1435. He later put them in touch with his nephew Ermolao Barbaro, future
Bishop of Verona as well as the ill-fated Jacopo Foscari, son of the Doge. Martino Rizzoni was their teacher, perhaps one of the best-qualified masters in Verona at the time. Guarino Veronese was not their teacher but an infrequent correspondent.

C44 ad dominam isotam Nogarolam” est isota meo tua dulcis epistola fixa Isotta communicated not only with Guarino and his son but also Bevilacqua.

Francesco Barbaro, Jacopo Foscari, Ludovico Cendrata, Tobia dal Borgo, and Damiano dal borgo, kinsman of Tobia.

Isotta’s inclusion in the Actio is due to her achievement as the creator of an early salon for local humanists to discuss and encourage other’s writings. In her own right she composed many letters and a delightful “Dialogue on Adam and Eve,” edited by King in 2004.


**Gian Nicola Salerno,** (1379-1426) scholar and friend of Guarino, juris counsel, teacher who wrote Latin poetry. He was born in Verona in 1379 and was made Podesta of Mantua in 1416, Florence in 1418, Bologna in 1419, Siena in 1420. By a Bull of 1421 he was elected a Roman senator.

Salerno frequented the school of Guarino when he was in Verona.

He died in 1426 at the age of 47, and was buried in San Anastasia, in the chapel of S Nicolo.

According to Perpolli, Guarino said that Salerno’s generosity was recognized by Lorenzo Giustinian and Bernardino di Siena. Giustinian said he loved God, but could not refrain from loving Salerno. San Bernardino, after having held a meeting (colloquio) with Salerno, is said to have exclaimed “Woe is me, Woe is me that I believed that the virtue which lies under the hood of this Monk. Under the hood of this knight there is so much to make me blush.”


**Tobia del Borgo.** (1415-1451) a friend and correspondent with the Nogarola sisters. He was the nephew of Damiano del Borgo, who was also a friend and correspondent of the Nogarola sisters.

In 1432 he went to Ferrara to study jurisprudence with Guarino.

His first letter to Isotta was on the occasion of her sister Ginevra’s marriage In 1438.

In May of 1438 he was in Pavia, and in June he was in Venice, then back to Pavia where he remained for 4 years. He wrote several orations in praise of Francesco Barbaro (1441) another to Orsatto Giustinian(1442) and in 1441 dedicated to Niccolo III d’Este a Carmina praising him for his peaceful works in that state of Ferrara amidst the turmoil of Italy in the early Quattrocento. He moved to Florence, Venice, Milan, and Ferrara and wrote in
praise of Francesco Barbaro in Verona. He ultimately moved his family to Rimini to serve Sigismondo Malatesta as his historian. He died in 1451.


**Catullus.** The tomb of Catullus in Verona was manifestly the fruit of pure fantasy as is the balcony of Juliet now off the Piazza Erbe in Verona. His statue above the Loggia is a testament that he was one of the *vir illustres* of the humanist circle in Verona. There was little doubt as to his Veronese origins.

**Ludovico Guarino,** son of Battista, who was the son of Guarino. First a student of Guarino (his grandfather) then of Panteo in Verona.

**Emilio Macro,** A Veronese, who died in 16 AD. He was the author of a Theriaka and a Ornithogonia which discussed, respectively, poisons and birds. Few fragments of either of these works are extant. His statue adorns the top of the Loggia della Consiglio in Piazza Signore, Verona.

**Romuleas Musas.** With Guarino began a listing of the prominent Veronese humanists of the past. He died in 1460.

**Vitruvio Cerdone** was credited with being the architect of the Arco dei Gavi, as per an inscription twice on the arch. There is some evidence to attribute the Arena to this architect as well. Vitruvius Cerdone, however, was the architect of this period: possibly a freed Greek slave as the name indicates Cerdone, freed from a Roman named Lucius Vitruvius. While not comparable with certainty - as suggested by Mommsen - the noble 'Vitruvius' brings to mind the X books of Vitruvius on architecture, who lived in the time of Julius Caesar and died in the reign of Augustus.