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Patricia H. Labalme

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Saints, Women and Humanists in Renaissance Venice

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INTRODUCTION

This volume collects twelve previously published essays, that appeared between 1955 and 1999, by the Renaissance historian, foundation executive and academic administrator, Patricia Hochschild Labalme (1927–2002). Patsy – as she was always called – was born in New York City on 26 February 1927, the daughter of Walter and Kathrin Samstag Hochschild, and grew up in a well-to-do and civic-minded family. She was educated at New York's Brearley School and at Bryn Mawr College, where she graduated *magna cum laude* in 1948. There she studied with, among others, Felix Gilbert, who urged Patsy to develop her interest in Renaissance history by undertaking graduate work at Harvard. There she worked in the fields of ancient, medieval and Renaissance history with several professors, including Helen Maud Cam and Werner Jaeger, who provided intellectual and academic models for her lifelong interest in cultural history. She wrote her doctoral dissertation on the Venetian historian and statesman, Bernardo Giustiniani, under the direction of Myron P. Gilmore, earning her M.A. from Harvard in 1950 and her Ph.D. in history in 1958. Upon graduation, Radcliffe College awarded Patsy its Caroline A. Wilby Prize for the best original work in any department for her dissertation on Giustiniani. While still a graduate student at Harvard, Patsy undertook her first research campaign in Venetian archives and libraries, published her first article, a note on Guarino Guarini in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (reprinted here as Essay I), and taught for several years as instructor in history at Wellesley College.

While completing her dissertation Patsy returned to New York where she taught history at the Brearley School from 1957 to 1959. There she married French-born industrial designer and fundraiser George Labalme, Jr. and formed a family that eventually numbered four children, three daughters and a son. She published a revised version of her thesis as a book with Storia e Letteratura, *Bernardo Giustiniani: A Venetian of the Quattrocento* (1969), and taught as lecturer in history at Barnard College from 1961 to 1977. Patsy became an active member of Columbia's distinguished Renaissance Seminar, which met monthly under the presiding genius of Paul Oskar Kristeller. In 1976, she contributed an essay "The last will of a Venetian patrician (1489)," which included a discussion of the cultural milieu and edition of the testament of Bernardo Giustiniani, to the Kristeller Festschrift, *Philosophy and Humanism* (Essay II in this volume).

Patsy Labalme's interests took a novel turn in the spring of 1978 when she was invited a speak at a symposium on learned women of early modern Europe

held at Vassar College in observance of the tercentenary of the awarding of the first doctorate to a woman, the Venetian Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia. Patsy also spoke at the international tercentenary conference held in Padua that autumn, and served as contributing editor of a book containing a selection of papers from several Cornaro tercentenary conferences, *Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past* (1980). With authoritative essays by Natalie Zemon Davis, Werner Gundersheimer, Margaret L. King, Ann Sutherland Harris, and Kristeller, the collection was soon issued in paperback and became a standard text in university courses in the emerging field of Women's Studies.

Patsy's own contributions to the achievements of la Cornaro as an exceptional woman and scholar were published in a brief synthesis in a collection of essays issued in Vicenza in 1980 and in a longer piece, "Women's roles in early modern Venice: an exceptional case," in *Beyond Their Sex* (see above), that she edited for the New York University Press (Essays III and IV in this volume). Her exploration of the careers, milieu and writings of cultural and literary women of early modern Venice continued in her lengthy essay, "Venetian women on women: three early modern feminists," published in the *Archivio Veneto* (Essay V). Her most sustained period of archival research in Venice resulted in her "Sodomy and Venetian justice in the Renaissance," published in 1984 (Essay VII). Building on the work of Gaetano Cozzi on the particular qualities of Venetian justice and the studies of younger scholars, Guido Ruggiero and Elisabeth Pavan, on violence and sexuality, Patsy examined the central role of the Council of Ten in suppressing sodomy, while emphasizing the government's flexibility in controlling and punishing deviant behavior, especially among Venice's nobles. At the same time, she continued her work in the cultural history of early Cinquecento with an examination of Pietro Aretino's lampooning of the leaders of early modern Venice (*I vertuosi*) in his *La cortigiana* (Essay VI).

By the early 1980s, Patsy's deep learning in Renaissance history, considerable administrative skills, and her shrewd judgment of people, projects and situations had propelled her into a career as an academic executive and trustee of foundations, schools, and learned societies. Already in 1975 the Brearley School had elected her to its Board of Trustees, which she served as President from 1978 to 1982 and as Life Trustee from 1983 until her death. Her service as a Trustee of the American Academy in Rome for two decades from 1979 to 1999 was anything but perfunctory. Patsy often sat on the juries for fellowships in Italian and Post-Classical Studies, relished the annual June visit of the trustees to Rome and Italy, and contributed her expertise to the Academy's efforts to endow fellowships and generate funds for new programs. The same held true for her term as Executive Director of the Renaissance Society of America (1982–85), and service as a trustee from 1982 until her death. But Patsy's most important administrative work was as a trustee of the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation

which combined programs for the humanities, performing arts and research libraries, with grants for independent research for students of Venetian history, music, art and culture from the United States, the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth. From 1979 until her death Patsy Labalme was a trustee and the head of the humanities program of the Delmas Foundation. Under her leadership, the Foundation's grants for independent research have transformed research and publication in Venetian history and culture, both with its fellowships and subventions that have enabled former fellows to put their scholarship in print.

During this period, Patsy Labalme also followed a distinguished career in academic administration at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. She served as Associate Director of the Institute (1982–1988), Secretary of the Corporation (1982–1992), and from 1992 to 1997 she was Assistant to the Director. Most remarkably, despite her heavy commitment to administration at the Institute and her work as a trustee for the Delmas Foundation and other institutions, including the Lawrenceville School near Princeton, Patsy Labalme continued to write and publish. In the last decade of her life, she returned to the study of the cultural and intellectual milieu of Bernardo Giustiniani and his family, which had been the subject of her dissertation written forty years earlier. In several essays, she concentrated on the process of canonization of Bernardo's uncle, the Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani, the first Patriarch of Venice. Her account of the vicissitudes of this process shows Patsy's shrewd awareness of both the subtleties of papal politics in the late Quattrocento and Venice's singular concept of holiness (Essays VIII and IX). Her broader investigation of the Venetian government's attempts to promote at least some of its members to official sainthood was first presented as a conference paper which was later published in the volume of its proceedings as "The cult of saints in fifteenth-century Venice" (Essay X). Another paper continued her work on the Giustiniani family: it is a close reading of Ermolao Barbaro the Younger's letter of consolation of 1489 to Marco Dandolo on the occasion of the death of maternal grandfather, Bernardo Giustiniani (Essay XI).

In the 1990s, Patsy Labalme also undertook a project that had been suggested by her mentor Felix Gilbert when she was an undergraduate at Bryn Mawr: a volume in translation of selections of the massive diaries of the Venetian chronicler and statesman, Marin Sanudo, which constitute an indispensable source for our knowledge of Venetian and indeed European politics in the first three decades of the sixteenth century. Supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Patsy recruited Italian professor Linda Carroll to translate selections from Sanudo's famous diaries, while she and Laura Sanguinetti White edited the volume and provided the introduction and historical commentary on the events described. A foretaste of the project (describing the politics of aristocratic marriage in early Cinquecento Venice) may be gained from the article "How to

(and how not to) get married in sixteenth-century Venice (selections from the diaries of Marin Sanudo)," published in *Renaissance Quarterly* in 1999 (our Essay XII). At the end of her life, she was awarded special status as a visitor in the School of Historical Studies at the Institute, where she worked at finishing her book of selections from Sanudo's diaries, which was eventually published by the Johns Hopkins University Press in 2008 as *Venice, Cità Excellentissima, Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo.*

Patricia Labalme was a quintessential New Yorker whose gracious presence enlivened any event or occasion. But those who knew her well perceived other qualities: moments of fun-loving exuberance and a passion for tough intellectual inquiry beneath her refined and elegant exterior. She especially relished the give and take of conferences dedicated to Venetian themes. For example, she had the Delmas Foundation provide travel stipends for an international conference on Venice and the Veneto sponsored by the Society for Renaissance Studies and held at the Folger Shakespeare Library in September 1993; a selection of the papers was later published in a special issue of *Renaissance Studies*, 8, no. 4 (1994). Throughout her career, Patsy Labalme took a lively interest in the research and aspirations of the Delmas fellows and other younger scholars. Following Gladys Delmas's death in 1991, she and the other trustees continued the tradition of hosting luncheons to welcome new fellows in Venice. At the end of her life Patsy saw the world of Renaissance, and especially Venetian, studies as a vast cooperative enterprise where scholars would share their knowledge and expertise in the advancement of common goals. Her own career had been advanced by working closely with older mentors and scholars. In addition to her famous friendship with Jean and Gladys Krieble Delmas, she remained devoted to her mentors, Felix Gilbert, Werner Jaeger and Myron Gilmore, and found new ones in Paul Oskar Kristeller and Vittore Branca. She forged a special friendship with the Renaissance scholar and book collector Phyllis Goodhart Gordan, who shared Patsy's love for their three almae matres, the Brearley School, Bryn Mawr, and Harvard. During her years as an administrator at the Institute and as the Delmas trustee most concerned with the Venetian fellow program, Patsy served as a mentor to and became a beloved friend of numerous scholars of the next generation. The essays reprinted here document another aspect of Patsy Labalme's achievement: she was simply the most accomplished student of the culture, politics and historiography of Renaissance Venice that her generation produced.

BENJAMIN G. KOHL

Betterton, Maryland
October 2009

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I

Identification and Translation of a Letter of Guarino Guarini of Verona

A letter from Guarino unknown to Remigio Sabbadini and consequently not included in his edition of Guarino's correspondence[1] was discovered by Mr. E. Lobel in one of the Bywater manuscripts of the Bodleian Library.[2] The letter is in Greek and is addressed to "Leonardo." It was written in Padua and is dated August 1st, but no year is given. It will be seen that the recipient was Leonardo Giustiniani, a Venetian patrician and poet (1389?–1446), a pupil and friend of Guarino's, and that the letter was written in 1416.

The identification of the recipient as Leonardo Giustiniani rests primarily upon a reference to a brother Marco. While neither of the other two "Leonardi" who were correspondents of Guarino, i.e. Leonardo Aretino (also known as Leonardo Bruni),[3] and Leonardo Teronda, a Veronese notary,[4] can be shown to have had a brother with that name, Leonardo Giustiniani did have an older brother, Marco, sufficiently friendly with Guarino to be mentioned in a letter of 1424 from Leonardo Giustiniani to Guarino.[5] Then, Francesco Barbaro, "so dear" to the recipient, was indeed a close friend of Leonardo Giustiniani's, their relationship dating back to the time when they were both pupils of Guarino's. The mention of "the handsome Maffei" may or may not be the

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[1] *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*, I-III, ed. Remigio Sabbadini, *Miscellanea di Storia Veneta*, Series 3, VIII, XI, XIV, 1915–19.

[2] E. Lobel, "A Letter of Guarino and Other Things," *The Bodleian Quarterly Record*, V, 1926, pp. 43–6. I am indebted to Roberto Weiss who, in his article, "Some unpublished correspondence of Guarino da Verona," *Italian Studies*, 11, 1939, pp. 110–17, first drew my attention to Lobel's discovery.

[3] See F. Beck, *Studien zu Lionardo Bruni*, Berlin, 1912, and Mehus, *Leonardi Bruni Epistolarum libri* VIII, Florence, 1741.

[4] Leonardo Teronda was a Veronese notary. There is only one known letter from Guarino to him, written on the 25th of March, 1416 (*Epistolario*, I, p. 105; III, p. 47). The fact that the two men were in correspondence in 1416 is offset by the date of March since Guarino's elaborate apologies for not writing would hardly have applied to a silence of four months between men who, according to extant evidence, rarely corresponded.

[5] *Epistolario*, I, p. 419, l. 45.

same as the Maffei of a letter from Leonardo to his son Bernardo,[6] but he cannot be definitely identified. A minor confirmation lies in Guarino's appeal in the Greek letter to Leonardo's gentle nature, for in two other letters from Guarino to Leonardo, a similar allusion is found.[7]

The date of the letter is indicated by Guarino's presence in Padua on what was obviously not a permanent stay, since, as he writes, his home was in Venice at that time. From 1414 to 1418 Guarino lived in Venice,[8] but in 1416, when the plague broke out there,[9] he took temporary refuge in Padua. A precipitous departure from his house, which he left empty of servants, but where most of his books remained, is hinted at in the letter. That Francesco Barbaro was also in Padua at this time and for the same reason is known from two discourses which he delivered there one of the 26th of August, 1416, and one on the 25th of October, 1416.[10]

This letter, then, is the first of the ten extant letters of the Guarino–Giustiniani correspondence. It is the only one in Greek. The next one chronologically was also written by Guarino to Leonardo from Padua, three months later, on the 5th of November, 1416.[11] It opens with a greeting identical to that of the Greek letter, the Greek words being a translation of the Latin formula, *si vales bene est, ego quoque valeo.* It is significant that both letters mention, each twice, certain "conversations," ὁμιλίαν and συνήθειαν in one, *sermones* and *consuetudo*[12] in the other. For these two men as well as for other humanists of their day, these words epitomized the interchange, the dynamic relationship between student and teacher, friend and friend, or reader and author, by means of which the power of the new learning was experienced and of which these letters were a reverent expression.

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[6] Bernardo Giustiniani, *Orationes, nonnullae epistole, traductio in Isocratis Libellum ad Nicoclem regem: Leonardi Justiniani epistolae* (Venice, 1492?). The letter begins "Navigationem hanc tibi" and was written March 3, 1434

[7] *Epistolario*, II, p. 133, l. 6: "mansuetudo"; p. 378, l. 76: "humanitate ac moderatione." In the Greek letter, both adjective πρᾶος and adverb πράως are used.

[8] Epistolario, I, p. XI.

[9] Remigio Sabbadini, *Guarino Veronese e il suo epistolario*, Salerno, 1885, p. 61. *Epistolario*, III, pp. 49–50. For the outbreak of the plague in 1416 *v.* Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, in *Rerum Italicae Scriptores* (ed. Muratori), Milan, 1733, XXII, 901A, 910D,

[10] *Epistolario*, III, pp. 51, 82.

[11] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 123-4; III, pp. 56-7.

[12] *Ibid.*, I, p. 124, ll. 31–2 -

Translation of the Greek Letter

Guarino of Verona sends greetings to Leonardo, learned and best of all men. If you are well, it is well. And I am also well. If I did not know you as indulgent and charitable, I would fear your abusing and reproaching me, which I know that I deserve from you, having delayed so long in writing to you. In this time you should have received countless letters from me, which would have filled up our absence and would have provided the accustomed conversation and sweetest intimacy. I, being naturally slow, have acted according to my nature, but you, being naturally gentle, will act according to yours and will forgive me, although I am willing to pay the penalty due.

Just now the handsome Maffei has asked for the *Republic* of Plato on your behalf, but though I examined all the books here, I do not find it. Therefore I have come to realize that I left it behind in Venice, for I have not brought all my books with me from there. But I do not quite know to whom I might write about it, since I left my home empty. Now I am discontented; now I am vexed; now I take it ill that I have not brought it hither, because I cannot do a favour for my dearest and much beloved Leonardo. So then, bear gently my inability for the moment.

May you long prosper, best of men. Give my regards to Marco, your brother, a very prudent and fine man. Barbaro, who is so dear to you, sends you many greetings.

From Padua, the first of August.

II

THE LAST WILL OF A VENETIAN PATRICIAN (1489)

On March 10, 1489, Bernardo Giustiniani, Venetian patrician, statesman, and man of letters, died at the age of eighty-one. Five days earlier, "sound in mind although weighed down by bodily infirmity," he had made his last will and testament. Disposing of his earthly goods, according to conscience and custom, he bequeathed at the same time to the historian a document of considerable interest. A man of wealth and prominence, belonging to one of the oldest Venetian families, famous, after his death, as the first able historian of his city's past, his final words, couched in the legal formulae and careful script of the notary, outline the possessions and preoccupations of an unusual human being.[1]

Yet Bernardo Giustiniani's will reveals more than the material, religious, and intellectual concerns of his life. It suggests much about the Venetian world he inhabited. His chosen executors included men of importance. His religious bequests are a partial guide to the monasteries and churches of fifteenth-century Venice. The division of his real estate outlines the property holdings and the industrial enterprise of a rich Venetian concerned for his family's future. Particularly interesting are the provisions he made for the manuscript of his *History of Venice*, his selection of scholars who were to edit it and supervise its publication. It was upon this work, appearing three years after his death, that his later reputation would rest, long after the ducats had been dissipated and the palazzi converted into civic offices and museums and the will itself folded, filed, executed and forgotten.

The will exists in two copies, not identical but alike in their principal dispositions. One is presently in the Archivio di Stato, part of the original notary's collection of wills, written on paper;[2] the other is among the "manuscripts of diverse provenance" in the Biblioteca

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[1] For Bernardo Giustiniani's life, see Patricia H. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani : a Venetian of the Quattrocento* (Rome, 1969).

[2] Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Notarile, Testamenti, b. 1203, n. 33.

Museo Correr, written on a large sheet of parchment.[3] Both are dated March 5. The notary, Nicolò Rosso, parish priest of the church of San Gemignano, is the same, as are the two witnesses, but whereas the two witnesses signed both copies, the notary signed only the Correr.[4] This and other dissimilarities argue that the Correr copy was the later, more elegant and refined copy, presented to the family, whereas the Archivio copy was only a notebook draft, preserved among the notary's own papers and, upon his death, given, as was customary, to the appropriate officials. What was inserted in the Archivio copy is fully entered into the lines of the parchment; what was cancelled in the Archivio copy does not appear in the Correr manuscript. Abbreviations of *et* in the first have been written out in the second. A passage added at the end in the Correr version affirms and increases the executors' powers of agency. And there are words written large in the Correr manuscript to indicate the various sections of the will : the first marking religious bequests, specific minor legacies to servants, friends, unwed granddaughters, and the payment or forgiveness of debts owed and outstanding; the next indicating the major division of property between son and grandchildren; a third preceding real estate arrangements; a fourth introducing the testator's literary bequest; a fifth accounting for what he might have neglected to mention. There are, in the margin of this same Correr copy, faint markings of A, B, and C, to distinguish certain sections, and there are lines drawn under the date, indiction, name and titles of the testator and his father, his parish and further on, half-way through the will, certain properties bequeathed to his son. It seems likely that the Correr parchment was that son's own copy in which he marked and from which he must have made his claims.[5]

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[3] Biblioteca Museo Correr, MS. P. D. c. 751/83. The text of this will is published below.

[4] On Nicolò Rosso and the notarial office in Venice, see Andrea da Mosto, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia* (Rome, 1937), I, 226 and 232. The Church of San Gemignano as it existed in Bernardo's time is described by Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia citta nobilissima et singolare* (Venice, 1581), ff. 42-44^{v}.

[5] Venetian testamentary practice at the time of Bernardo's death is clarified by a directive of the Maggior Consiglio dated December 2, 1474 (see Antonio Pinelli, *Parti Veneziani*, ff. 544-545^{v}, an eighteenth-century collection of official documents in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana). Here three copies are mentioned. The first, which was the draft read aloud to the testator and accepted and signed by the witnesses, remained in the notary's possession as the "prothocolo"; a second and third (*cedulae*) were copied forthwith, signed by the witnesses, and one of these copies was sealed and deposited with

This same son, Lorenzo, the only survivor of his father's three sons, was the principal heir and among the most important executors of his father's estate. Lorenzo shared his legal task with his sister and brother-in-law, Orsa and Andrea Dandolo; his own wife Eleanora (originally of the Contarini family); his four nephews and Bernardo's grandsons by the deceased Marco : Luigi, Pietro, Leonardo, and Nicolò Giustiniani; and Bernardo's two brothers-in-law, Constantino and Francesco Priuli. Such family participation was normal. More selective were the two men named as executors who did not belong by blood or marriage to the Giustiniani. One was Ser Antonio Errizo (Ençio in the text), formerly a "gastaldo" or appellate judge of civil sentences attached to the Procurators *de citra* and thus a man experienced in the administration of legacies and judgments arising from disputes between heirs.[6] The other was Domenico Morosini, first named among the executors and himself a major figure in the political and cultural affairs of Venice.

Born in 1417 and ten years Bernardo's junior, Domenico Morosini led a life equally long and active.[7] He served in various governmental positions which must, at times, have coincided with those of Bernardo. Certainly he shared a similar interest in the cultural progress of the

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the Cancelleria Inferiore, the other remaining with the notary, "acciò che con il prothocolo, et con l'una, et l'altra cedula l'autentico, che poi diè trar fuora, et roborare, se possa sempre conferire." The Archivio copy appears to be the drafted version, "il prothocolo." The Correr copy, to which was added then the final standard section giving larger powers of agency to the executors, because of its full complement of signatures, its marginal markings, its eventual arrival among the Correr collections, and because of its elegance, would appear to be a fourth copy belonging to the family. This would mean that the second and third copies, the Chancery copy, sealed as neither of the two extant copies are, and the extra notarial copy have disappeared. For additional information on Venetian testamentary law, see G. Pedrinelli, *Il notaio istruito nel suo ministero* (Venice, 1768).

[6] For this office, see da Mosto, I, 102-103, and G. Rezasco, *Dizionario del linguaggio italiano storico ed amministrativo* (Florence, 1881), 170-171.

[7] On the life of Domenico Morosini, see Claudio Finzi's edition of and introduction to the *De bene instituta re publica* (Milan, 1969), 1-56. It appears that by the time Bernardo's *History* was published in 1492, there was a family connection. Lorenzo's daughter Elisabetta had married a Morosini and Brognoli in his letter of dedication to Lorenzo refers to Domenico Morosini as "affine tuo." For the marriage see P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane* (Milan, 1819-1902), "Giustiniani," Tavola X, and for the dedicatory letter see note 20. Morosini's material worth was noted by Marino Sanudo and provides some indication, lacking to us in Bernardo's case, of the wealth of a rich Venetian : "Era gran richo, lassò facultà per ducati 80 milia, contadi 20 milia e più." *I Diarii* (Venice, 1879-1903), VIII, 27.

city. We know that in 1487, Morosini as ducal councillor was instrumental in more than doubling the salary of Giovanni Calfurnio, professor of rhetoric in Padua, a man whom Bernardo was to propose, only two years later, as one of his literary executors. Morosini appears to have inspired a work *De verbo civiltate* dedicated to him by Matteo Colacio in 1486 and he himself, probably in the last years of the Quattrocento, wrote a treatise *De bene instituta re publica* which remained unfinished at the time of his death. Although Bernardo's correspondence contains no reference to Morosini, the families were close enough for Morosini to undertake a written description of the Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani's miracles which would serve later in the process of sanctification of Bernardo's uncle.[8] Bernardo esteemed him sufficiently to constitute him along with his son Lorenzo and son-in-law Andrea Dandolo "the greater part" of his executors, and he gave him the power of final decision in the emendation of his *History of Venice.* A man of stature, his authority must have helped to validate Bernardo's every intention for the disposing of his last remains and the distribution of his wordly goods.

Bernardo's first concern in his will was his place of burial. He chose not the church on the Lido where his father lay, but the Patriarchal Church of San Pietro di Castello where his holy uncle had been buried thirty years before. He arranged for a marble tomb and composed its inscription : "Bernardus Iustinianus Leonardi procuratoris filius Beati Laurentii patriarche nepos miles orator et procurator"; and he left instructions and funds for a more suitable and ornate tomb for his uncle than that which had previously existed. At the same time, he contributed to the endowment of a benefice, established by his uncle's will but still inoperative because of the failure of the Venetian Camera degli Imprestiti regularly to meet its obligations : "And because the Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani, my uncle, established with his ducats a *mansionaria* in the cathedral church at the altar of San Michele for masses to be celebrated in perpetuity, as may be found in his will, and because due to the failure of the Camera the money was not wholly forthcoming, I therefore will and ordain that what is lacking should be supplied to the sum of thirty ducats every year." This money was to come from the profits of Bernardo's soap workshop or from his own income from investments in the Monte Vecchio.[9]

[8] The *Miracula B. Laurentii Iustiniani Venetiarum patriarchae* are discussed by Finzi, 7, and E. A. Cicogna, *Delle inscrizioni veneziane,* II (Venice, 1827), 96.

[9] The income from the soap workshop is called "refusuris saponorum." J. F.

What was this soap workshop which is mentioned twice in Bernardo's will but nowhere else in his writings? Later in the will he refers to it as an *apotheca saponarie* and *fabrica*, attached to his house in San Fantin. He must have owned one of the many small domestic soap workshops which, by the fifteenth century, provided a major product for Venice's export trade and which, only a few months after Bernardo's death, were to be protected by a statute forbidding production outside the city in the Terra Ferma.[10] The industry depended on the arrival of soda, in the form of ashes from Egypt and Syria obtained by burning plants rich in alkaline substance, and oil from Apulia, and it flourished until the seventeenth century, when the difficulty of obtaining these necessary ingredients by sea encouraged the rise of competition elsewhere.[11] But at the time of Bernardo's death, revenue from this source was still certain enough to provide prayers for his uncle "in perpetuity" and on behalf of Bernardo's own soul, *pro anima mea.*

The benefice established for his uncle was followed, in the will, by a long list of bequests *pro anima mea.* There were thirty-five in all, sometimes in the form of a forgiveness of debt, sometimes with words specifying the relationship of a particular church or *scuola* to Bernardo and his family. The largest bequest went to the Monastery of Santa Croce "de scopulo" on the Giudecca and consisted of 1,000 ducats in shares of the Monte Nuovo to be given within one month of Bernardo's death.[12] It was to this monastery that three of Bernardo's daughters had gone as nuns, bringing with them already a considerable

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Niermeyer defines "refusio" as a restitution or refund (*Media Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*) and Rezasco defines "refusura" as a "pagamento d'Imposta anticipato." A *mansionaria* was an endowment which supported a chapelry.

[10] "Per la parte 1489, 9 ottobre ... fu vietato la fabbrica dei savoni fuori della Dominante, stante la floridezza nella quale all'hora si atrovava." The law is quoted by Domenico Sella, *Commerci e industrie a Venezia nel secolo XVII* (Venice, 1961), 132. See also Gino Luzzatto, *Storia economica di Venezia dall'XI al XVI secolo* (Venice, 1961), 187-88, 197, and F. Lane, *Venice and History* (Baltimore, 1966), 261.

[11] Sella, 80. On Venetian soapmaking, see F. Lane, *Venice : A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973), 160.

[12] This forced loan for the funded public debt had been established in April of 1482 at a time when the Monte Vecchio was many years in arrears with its interest payments. See G. Luzzatto, *Il debito pubblico della Repubblica di Venezia dagli ultimi decenni del XII secolo alla fine del XV* (Milan, 1963), 229-65; Finzi, 40, n. 122. Gino Luzzatto in *Studi di storia economica Veneziana* (Padua, 1954), 169-70, has provided figures for similar bequests of shares in the public debt made by Girolamo Querini in 1457.