Brief Summary of

Capital City and Subject Province - Financial and Military Relations between Venice and Padua in the Later Fifteenth Century.

D.Phil. thesis, Modern History, Oxford University, Trinity Term 1976, by
M.W.S.KNAPTON of St. John's College.

Between the conquest of Padua in 1405 and its temporary rebellion in 1509, Venice built the strongest territorial state in Italy, expanding its apparatus of government to incorporate originally heterogeneous lands into an administrative whole. Military defeat in 1509 allowed Padua's secession, an anachronistic return to separate identity motivated by its political class's resentment at subjection to Venice: denied representation in mainstream public life, they enjoyed illusory local administrative autonomy.

In military terms Padua's passage under Venetian rule was marked by the adaptation of the terraferma provinces' systems of defence to their new territorial configuration, achieved firstly by the creation of a permanent, professional army. Its units had no particular territorial affiliation; their recruitment, conditions of service and dislocation were decided by central authority. The province of Padua, strategically placed in the terraferma, served to accomodate companies in transit and long-term billetting, and to supply conscript auxiliary forces. Local fortifications were of secondary importance, and in consequence poorly maintained.

The army was the main recipient of terraferma taxation, which was dogged by organizational difficulties, in the assignment of income to spending, and in co-ordination between capital and provinces, with a frequent excess of expenditure over effective revenue. Gross imbalance in the distribution of taxation, with delay and abuse in its collection, characterized Padua's fiscal system. Growing intervention by central government, and the diminution of Paduans' residual fiscal competence, were the constant elements in Venice's largely unsuccessful remedial action. Tax therefore became a point of conflict: Venice grew impatient with Paduan inefficiency and illwill, the Paduan political class showed anger at encroachment by Venetian authority, and fear for the loss of the city's fiscal privilege.

Abstract of

Capital City and Subject Province - Financial and Military Relations between Venice and Padua in the Later Fifteenth Century.

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By M.W.S.KNAPTON, St. John's College.

The conquest of Padua, Vicenza and Verona in 1405 was the crucial stage in the maritime republic of Venice's progressive involvement in the diplomacy and warfare of the north-east Italian mainland. It heralded the intensification of Venice's landward economic interests, and set its patrician ruling caste over the government of what became the strongest Italian territorial state of the Renaissance period.

Padua, university city and centre of a fertile agricultural area, had passed in the fourteenth century from communal government under the domination of the Carraresi, whom Venice decisively defeated in 1405. The declared intentions of the new regime were respect for custom and conservatism, which signified favouring the consolidation of local political dominance by those social elements influential under the Carraresi, increasingly rentier and noble in character. But they were denied participation in the mainstream life of the Venetian state, and left with limited areas of administrative autonomy within the province.

The formal act and terms of Padua's submission were the beginning of the gradual extension and penetration of Venetian government in the province. This signified greater control and exploitation of its economic resources, and common subjection with all the mainland territories to the directives of central government, which maintained in each the forms but not the substance of separate administration and identity.

Two areas in which the vision and mechanism of Venetian government were radically altered by the acquisition of the terraferma were the organization of landward defence, and the incorporation of provincial public incomes and expenditure into overall financial policy.

The territorial gains of 1405 and their further expansion required the adaptation of the single provinces' defensive systems to their new geographical configuration. Padua, centre of the terraferma holding, was not likely to be involved in hostilities; indeed, between the Peace of Lodi and 1509, warfare came no closer than the adjacent Polesine, scene of the War of Ferrara, (1482-84). Few fortresses were guarded, their maintenance was neglected, garrison standards of manning were low; only the city itself was a partial exception to these trends, which proved extremely damaging to Venice after defeat in 1509.

Neglect of Padua's stable defences derived in part from its central position, but also from the priority given in defence planning and spending to the army. Without strong natural barriers at its borders or inside them, Venice relied for the terraferma's defence on the mobile protection afforded by a permanent army, developed during the Visconti Wars and maintained at reduced but steady strength in peace-time. Built around heavy cavalry companies, it was controlled by an organizational structure spread throughout the terraferma, involving professional military administrators as well as the city Rettori.

Though troop movements in the Padovano were more frequent in time of war, there were companies constantly present, billetted on the villages and supplied by them with fodder and other dues in kind, (taxe di cavalli). The numbers present reflected the province's fiscal capacity, and the main administrative consequences of their presence were fiscal, in the organization of billetting and dues, which were tending to develop into monetary equivalents. The Signoria attempted throughout to maintain peaceful relations between the soldiery and the rural population.

The latter were also called on for various forms of auxiliary service to Venetian forces, mainly but not exclusively in war-time - for militia, pioneers, the army's supply column, and even galley-rowers at sea. Despite Venetian administrative concern, the efficiency of these different support services tended to be poor, an unavoidable consequence of their obligatory and temporary nature.

The resulting fiscal load on the Padovano was therefore heavy, whereas citizens - privileged by exemption from these obligations - could satisfy military yearnings by voluntary service in the permanent Venetian companies, as many did, for Venice encouraged terraferma subjects to serve.

The organization of its provincial income and expenditure was one of Venice's main preoccupations in the later fifteenth century. Terraferma revenues, far more than those of the mar provinces, provided an extremely important fiscal contribution, drawing mainly on indirect taxation, (dazi), with direct taxation a secondary matter in terms of yield but politically a far more sensitive issue. Overall financial planning in later fifteenth century Venice was approximate at best, with its tendency towards deficit countered by recourse to public or private borrowing in the capital, which enabled the imposition of further direct taxation on the provinces to be avoided. The trend over the half century before 1509 was for expenditure to rise, especially after the beginning of the Italian Wars.

Fiscal competence in Padua belonged mainly to the city's Venetian Camera Fiscale, handling office for the province's revenues; it had complete control over indirect taxation, while the Commune - though virtually bereft of incomes of its own - organized the assessment and collection of direct taxation, (the estimo, and the dadia delle lanze), paying the latter to the Camera. The Camera's Venetian staff worked under the direction of the city's Rettori, in execution of decisions made by the Senate, and under the scrutiny of the Collegio and various financial magistracies in the capital, in particular the Provveditori sopra le Camere.

The principal function of provincial revenues was to meet the cost of the mainland state: administration, public works, but above all defence - and therefore the army. Army pay at this time was seldom fully or punctually effected; Venice was by no means the worst of the Italian states in this respect, no doubt partly because of the insistence with which the provincial Camere were goaded from the capital, Padua's in particular because of the importance it had as paymaster of the Republic's generals.

In normal conditions revenues were distributed directly to the state's creditors by the Camere collecting them, and this was the case in the 1460s, during the early stages of the Turkish War of 1463-79. But growing financial pressure after 1470 strained the Camere's ability to meet their commitments, so that revenues were anticipated by borrowing in Venice, and first

gradually, then systematically, drafted to the capital for distribution. Stringency led to expedients, such as neglect of the provinces' administrative expenditure, but the practice proved counter-productive.

With war ended, in 1479 provincial incomes returned to local distribution. The previous decade had been thick with orders regulating the Camere's procedure of military pay, but they enjoyed dubious success. The 1480s saw growing intervention by Venice in the working of the Camere, particularly through the visits of touring officials. The War of Ferrara, in which revenues were again pooled in Venice, left the Paduan Camera in particular in a weakened state, and after a major reform in 1488 the Senate experimented with permanent peacetime channelling of revenues through the capital.

The scheme was abandoned in 1490, since the provinces' despatch of revenues had been meagre, and their pooling in Venice had resulted in disorder. The Senate therefore instituted the limitation, tying set sums of provincial incomes on a long-term basis to specific creditors, with priority to the army; it was thus recognizing the greater stimulus to turnover given by local distribution and creditors' pressure. The element of flexibility necessary in planning expenditure, especially on defence, was becoming more and more the responsibility of the Council of Ten, who after experimentation in the 1470s and 1480s now emerged as an important agent in public finance, complementing the Senate's overall planning, and intervening to hasten or reinforce moneys' flow with reserve funds at their disposal.

Greater co-ordination at the centre did not solve problems of local administration: heavy demands on the Paduan Camera meant abuses in dealings between tax-collectors, Camera officials and military creditors, with money changing hands outside the Camera, payments commuted, dealing in titles to payment, accounts poorly kept.

The pressure on public spending created by the Italian Wars exacerbated these problems, especially in the years between 1498 and 1502, with Venice desperate for money to finance warfare in both Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean. A series of inspections of the Paduan Camera brough the dismissal and prosecution of many of its staff, but no improvement in yields. Demands on the Camera continued to rise in the years before 1509, while its administration limped, despite closer observation from Venice: the limitations to efficiency set by poor control of local expenditure and marginal incomes, by the dubious competence and honesty of officials, and the insufficient accuracy and regularity of accounting, were perennial problems.

These weaknesses were not peculiar to the provincial Camere, or to the fifteenth century in particular. They had characterized Venetian public finance before the acquisition of the terraferma state, reflecting the unplanned development, duplication and uncertainty of functions of the Venetian structure of government. The main weakness of finahcial co-ordination between province and capital in the later fifteenth century may be blamed, in fact, on the lack of a single executive magistracy with sufficient authority and specialization of functions to act as effective link. The sixteenth and later centuries, as far as may be judged, reveal a similar pattern of limitations in the efficiency of provincial financial organization.

At a different level to the Republic's overall conduct of financial policy, but nonetheless closely linked to it, were the local administrative aspects of taxes' distribution, assessment

and collection: this was the level at which the relationship between Venice and its subject provinces was expressed. The political and social assumptions of Venice's treatment of its subjects were not wholly conducive to fiscal equity or efficiency: the city dominated the countryside administratively and economically, also leaving it by far the greater burden of taxes in relation to wealth. Control of city politics by an oligarchical Council, representing citizens of means with an indifferent liking for taxation, had adverse consequences on the fair distribution and efficient collection of the dadia. It was an indication of the urgency of Venetian fiscal needs to what extent these concessions towards Padua's political class were allowed to impede yields.

Indirect taxation, source of the majority of the Camera's revenues, was relatively free from political tensions. Mostly levied in or around the city, its returns reflected Padua's position as centre of economic activity and consumption in the province, though an increasingly important part of the Padovano's produce now went to Venice. With the rates of taxation stable through the fifteenth century, the Camera farmed out the various dazi on one- or two-year contracts; the principal administrative problem was the persistent element of late payment by dazieri. There was no comprehensive re-organization of dazi by Venice, though certain dazi terms were altered to favour Venice's trading position or goods; the wine dazio attracted considerable administrative attention, owing to its influence on the capital's wine tax and supply.

Direct taxation, (the dadia delle lanze, and in the Padovano a host of other taxes), was distributed on the basis of the estimo, compiled by the city for both Padua and the Padovano. In the latter case it specified the proportional fiscal obligation of the single rural communities, whose own annual estimi subdivided the resulting burden. General estimo revisions were few, and slow to complete. Widespread evasion and exemptions confused fair distribution within the Padovano and among citizens, while the city, clergy and Padovano engaged in intermittent disputes over their respective shares of the dadia. The city and clergy emerged victorious from these quarrels, succeeding in maintaining the Padovano's tax at a far higher rate, with the disproportion constantly worsening.

The municipal finances in Paduans' hands were paltry, barely sufficient for minimal administrative expenses, and occasionally boosted by temporary dadia increases to meet extra expenditure. The Padovano communes paid a while series of extra taxes, for military dues, corvees, (now occasionally on an interprovincial basis), and their own considerable administrative costs - besides the element of personal service which these extra obligations required.

The province's clergy, with its own estimo, paid a portion of dadie as well as decime. Clerical tax collection suffered from the uneven distribution of the sums due and the inefficiency of levying methods, despite the passage of control into lay hands. Venetians with wealth in the province paid some dadie to Padua, and some decime to Venice; but many possessed exempt property, or practised evasion - a constant grievance of the Paduan Council, inclined to blame the Signoria for more partiality towards Venetians than in fact it showed.

The collection of dadie by the Council, and the incidence of extraordinary taxation, were the matters in which the animosity of the Council and the urgency of the Signoria on fiscal issues met and clashed. Dadie collection was poorly administered. It

was hindered not only by recalcitrance, evasion and the over-taxing of the Padovano, but by inefficient and exploitative mechanisms of forced levying, whose abuses were proof against reform, and helped reduce parts of the Padovano to fiscal incapacity. The Council and Signoria quarrelled over the imposition of extraordinary taxation for the Turkish War in the 1470s, and then over the conditions and efficiency of ordinary direct tax collection in the 1480s, as investigation revealed arrears and deficits. The Council encountered increasing difficulty in finding collectors able to satisfy the standards set for receipts, or in a position to modify their application, and after worsening difficulties in the 1490s Venice intervened at the turn of the century to dismiss and indict the current collector. Extra taxation imposed at this time worsened relations still further. Dadie collection continued to be a vexed question until the abrupt smothering of the Council's opposition in 1506, when the Senate threatened to remove it from the Council's competence if the set conditions were not met. As a consequence the city rate of the dadia was considerably increased over the next three years.

Exasperation over fiscal issues, and over the general undermining of the province's administrative autonomy and separate identity by its absorption into the Venetian state, was the main motivation of the secession attempted by Padua's political class in the aftermath of Venetian defeat in 1509. After its failure, the city's continuation under Venetian rule was characterized by the same tendencies in policy of government and administrative practice as during the half century considered in this study. Militarily and financially, Padua belonged to and served a larger unit without a say in the major decisions concerning itself, though the gestures of appeasement towards its political class were maintained, in particular in their and the city's fiscal privilege.

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CAPITAL CITY AND SUBJECT PROVINCE - FINANCIAL AND MILITARY RELATIONS BETWEEN VENICE AND PADUA IN THE LATER FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

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Thesis prepared under the supervision of Dr. P.J. Jones, of Brasenose College, and submitted to the Faculty of Modern History, University of Oxford, in Trinity Term 1978, for examination in the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND INDICATIONS CONCERNING THE TEXT

The following abbreviations have been used:

Atti e Memorie (R.) Accad. S.L. ed A. in Padova - for (Reale) Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti...
A.S.I. - for Archivio Storico Italiano
A.S.P. - for Archivio di Stato, Padova
A.S.V. - for Archivio di Stato, Venezia
A.V., A.V-T., N.A.V. - for Archivio Veneto, Archivio Veneto-Tridentino, Nuovo Archivio Veneto
B.M.C.P. - for Bolletino del Museo Civico, Padova
D.B.I. - for Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, (Rome 1960 -)
Misc./Mon. (R.) D.V.S.P. - for Miscellanea/Monumenti di Storia Veneta, (Reale) Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria
Atti e Memorie (R.) I.V.S.L.A. - for (Reale) Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti
Ms. B.M./Brit./B.P./Quirini Stampalia - to refer to manuscripts housed in, respectively, the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice; the British Library, London; the Biblioteca Civica, Padua; the Quirini Stampalia Library, Venice.
R.I.S. - for Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, (2nd edition unless otherwise specified)
R.S.I. - for Rivista Storica Italiana

All footnotes have been grouped at the end of chapters; any inconvenience that this may cause to readers is regretted.

The two units of currency commonly referred to are the Ducat, which was divided into twentyfour grossi (each of these worth thirtytwo piccoli); and the Lira di piccoli, which divided into twenty soldi, (each of these worth twelve piccoli). The Lira di grossi, subdivided into the same units as the Lira di Piccoli but worth sixtytwo times as much, need not concern us; nor need the specifications, names and dates of issue of the coins in circulation. Lire di piccoli and ducats were freely mingled in both payments and accounts of public moneys, with occasional reference also to florins, (not of Venetian minting), which were usually worth marginally less than ducats. During our period one ducat was equivalent to six lire and four soldi of Lire di piccoli. (For this information, and an account of Venetian minting in the later fifteenth century, see N.PAPADOPOLI Le Monete di Venezia, Venice 1893, pp. 8 ff.)

The only units of measure referred to are the Campo Padovano, a unit of surface area corresponding to 3,862 square metres, and the staio padovano or bushel, (twelve of which made up a moggio), worth one third of a Venetian staio and equivalent to 0.0289 of a cubic metre - cfr. L.STEER Land Ownership and Rural Conditions in the Padovano during the Later Middle Ages, (Oxford D. Phil. thesis 1967, unpublished, pp. 491 ff.).

PREFACE

To acknowledge the assistance received in the preparation of a thesis may seem tantamount to advancing inflated claims about its importance. But whatever the failings of the finished work, (sole responsibility of its author), it would be at the very least ungracious and disloyal towards those who have helped me if the value of their aid was not recorded.

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Michael Knapton
St. John's College, Oxford
August, 1978

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION.

The century of Padua's greatest power in Northern Italy was the thirteenth, when it arguably dominated the Veneto, under first the signorial regime of Ezzelino da Romano, Imperial Vicar of Frederick II, and then the Commune restored at his fall in 1256. The arrival in Italy of the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg, in 1310, was the external circumstance which initiated the rapid weakening of the city's influence, and so too of its internal political stability, paving the way for the Signory of the Da Carrara family. First invited in 1318, and permanent after 1328, their regime marked the gradual decline of Communal political forms and transformation of Communal society. The successive Carrarese Signori of the fourteenth century competed among the aggressively contending territorial powers of the Po valley, till in 1405 Venice conquered and annexed Padua, Vicenza and Verona, so absorbing the full westward extent of former Carrarese influence to institute a regime destined to continue for four centuries, as long as the Serenissima itself.[1]

In conquering Padua, Venice had decided to remove once and for all the possibility of a hostile presence immediately west of its then slender mainland territory. The much discussed economic interpretation of this move - the transfer of Venetian investment from commerce to land, and the development of terraferma trading and food supply to compensate for losses observed or feared in foreign and especially eastern markets - is insufficient and unconvincing. The trends in question were part of a long and gradual process, begun before 1405 and by no means complete two centuries later, whose acceleration was a feature more of the sixteenth than the fifteenth century. The possession of the terraferma state was of course essential to these changes, but neither the data of economic activity nor the initial directives of Venetian government of the provinces support the idea that the motivation of conquest was influenced by desire to hasten them.

The political strategy, of conquest to prevent the domination of the Po valley by a hostile power, was a further and

more drastic move in the Republic's gradual involvement in the alliances and territorial ambitions of the mainland cities. Earlier diplomatic and military action had failed to safeguard communications along the Veneto rivers for Venetian traffic. With Padua in danger of suffocation, as a buffer zone between the pressures exerted by Venice to the east and the Scaligeri and Visconti to the west, Francesco I and Francesco II da Carrara had attempted to free themselves from dependence by the creation of a territorial state, extending westwards towards Verona and eastwards towards Friuli. Venice's narrow escape in the War of Chioggia emphasized the danger of Carrarese ambitions, but the advance of Giangaleazzo Visconti caused the temporary eclipse of their regime, between 1388 and 1390, throwing a much weakened Francesco II briefly into alliance with the Republic. In the vacuum of power at Giangaleazzo's death, renewed Carrarese aggression demanded decisive action.

The process of Venetian political involvement in the mainland, already marked in the fourteenth century by the occupation of Treviso in 1339, was further extended in the second quarter of the fifteenth by repeated wars against Milan, until in 1453 the Peace of Lodi settled Venice's western borders in Brescia, Bergamo and Crema - firmly in Lombardy. To the north and east, the Republic's borders then ran along or near the line of the Alps, enclosing Feltre, Belluno and the Patriarchate of Aquileia. There were greater obstacles to territorial absorption to the south: the princely states of Mantua and Ferrara were solidly established, while Papal claims to temporal jurisdiction in central Italy were an influential dissuasion against annexations. Venice's major preoccupation in the first half of the century was not with its southern neighbours, and the gains accumulated elsewhere influenced the climate of diplomatic relations after Lodi, when distrust of the Republic's ambitions was widespread. Nonetheless, it acquired holdings to the south: Ravenna in 1441, Cervia in 1463, Rovigo and the Polesine in 1482, and then Rimini and Faenza at the fall of the Borgia state in 1503.

These gains from the Papacy belonged to a new era of diplomacy and warfare, the Italian Wars, in which the participation of the European powers quite transformed the scale and consequences of relations and rivalries between the major Italian states. As the strongest Italian power, Venice was able at first to gain: not only Rimini and Faenza, but also Cremona and the Ghiaradadda from the territory of Milan, the Puglian ports from the Kingdom of Naples, cities in Friuli from the Emperor Maximilian. But in 1509, terminal point of this study, defeat by the Italian and European allies of the League of Cambrai in the Battle of Agnadello threatened the Republic's possession of the whole terraferma empire. Though soon to be recovered by the Signoria, the mainland cities - Padua among them - were for a brief period independent again; their control by Venice, for many years unquestioned, seemed to be lost.

Padua's temporary secession from Venice in 1509 provides a perspective for the research presented below, which endeavours to analyze certain administrative aspects of Venetian rule and their political and social content in the second half of the fifteenth century; the stability and duration of the Venetian regime were then no longer in question, and the characteristics of government of the terraferma state were emerging or already apparent. The triumphant progress of the Republic's fifteenth century conquests served to emphasize the contrast between the old Padua, seat of an independent princely state, and Venetian Padua, one among several subject provinces ruled by the Signoria.

The chosen limits of the present study, of theme and chronological span, were imposed by the abundance of the material for consideration and the corresponding scarcity of preceding historiography. It is perhaps trite, but true, to emphasize how historians' interest has been slow to turn from the grand and spectacular themes - international diplomacy and commerce, and the states and societies which were their protagonists - to more diverse and often humbler questions. Yet a subordinate state

or society is no less valid as a historical subject; indeed study of the relations between it and its dominating force adds to our knowledge of both - and attracted the curiosity of Machiavelli, who remarked '... di tutte le servitù dure quella è durissima che ti sottomette a una republica: l'una perché la è più durabile... l'altra perché il fine della republica è enervare ed indebolire, per accrescere il corpo suo, tutti gli altri corpi. Il che non fa uno principe... (who) il più delle volte ama le città sue suggette equalmente...'.[2] Set against the traditional view of Venice as a wise, restrained and peaceful ruler, respectful and deferential towards local custom and privilege, this opinion invites evaluation; yet the genre, study of the policies of a conqueror, and their reverberations in both conquering and dominated societies, is a relatively unexplored one in the context of Veneto history.

A considerable problem, in fact, in the preparation of this study was posed by the need to balance and tie two separate cities, two centres of government, two social structures, two sources of evidence. The difficulty has not been completely resolved; the product is history of both Padua and Venice, where the analysis sometimes separates the two, sometimes joins them. This alternation of focus inclines to detract from the clarity and unity of the discussion; and while defects of this nature are obviously not only the fault of the material, it is fair to say that shifting lines of argument represent the situation of change, with separateness and assimilation both apparent in relations between Padua and Venice. Another methodological problem is posed by the relevance of much of the Venetian evidence for the whole of the terraferma state, not merely Padua; much has therefore been stated about Venetian directives and policies which is equally applicable to other provinces, so detracting from the concentration of discussion on Padua - another sign of the extent of its absorption into a larger body.

While the accompanying bibliography contains a full list of studies consulted, it is important to emphasize the shortage

of published analysis directly bearing on the subject chosen. Useful for its rounded vision of the city, but written about an earlier period, is Hyde's Padua in the Age of Dante. Studies of the city in the first century of Venetian rule are few, the standard being set by the lengthy contributions of Pino Branca (Il Comune di Padova sotto la Dominante nel Secolo XV), and Bonardi (I Padovani Ribelli alla Repubblica di Venezia). Histories of Venice largely fail to consider the terraferma in its own right, and specialist studies on the various aspects of Venetian administration, especially those regarding the mainland, are generally lacking. As far as the two research chapters of this study are concerned, the Venetian army is only now being rescued from scholars' neglect, while for the working of Venetian state finances at this time there is very little beyond the fragmentary documentation and commentary of the first volume of Bilanci Generali, published in the last century. The most interesting extended work of a general character concerning Venetian rule of the terraferma is Ventura's Nobiltà e Popolo nella Società Veneta, radical and perceptive in its judgements, though necessarily prepared from a rather summary appraisal of the evidence; much of the analysis presented in this study could be said to be an expansion of themes opened up in his book.

In contrast to the scarcity of secondary works, documentary sources are abundant, despite certain gaps and difficulties of access. Detailed references to the abundant material in the state archives of Padua and Venice appear in the general bibliography, and notes accompanying the text, and it is of relevance here to mark the limits and omissions of the present study. All the major series covering public administration in the Paduan state archive were consulted, but little account was taken of the extensive material in the notarial and religious houses' and institutions' records, or in the Estimi, while the disordered incidence of documents in the Territorio series prevented full use of its resources. Similar coverage of the series of the councils of state and principal magistracies was attempted in

the Venetian state archive, though it contains little in the way of administrative correspondence and reports exchanged between the capital and the terraferma - pace the unearthing of unindexed material. The tax declarations recorded for the Venetian decima survive from 1513 onwards; they were not consulted, and both they and their Paduan counterpart (the Estimi) require the work of a team and modern technical methods for their data to yield more solid information than single examples or partial surveys can give.

Very little of the relevant archive material is published, cause of the often lengthy footnotes that follow, but the other primary sources, especially diaries, are of easier access. Contemporary Paduans' diaries, histories and chronicles are not generally in print, but they were of little use for this study,[3] whereas the published diaries of the Venetians Sanudo and Priuli are the most valuable among a number of contemporary records, covering the end of our chosen period. The series of Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti now appearing in print constitutes a precious codex of information relating mainly to centuries later than the fifteenth, though still important for the early government of the mainland.

The abundance of source material, and the scarcity of published studies, leave the way open for a great deal of research on the inter-relation of Padua and Venice - economic, juridical, political, social, cultural; this study concentrates on military organization and tax, chosen as two of the major areas in which Venetian administration had to develop most, to deal with problems of government of a type and scale that were the consequence of the terraferma state's creation. The emphasis is laid on institutions' functioning and effect, more than on their juridical conception, in an approach intended to complement the precise but sometimes abstract tone of constitutional history. The broader context of the research presented has been partly given by the chronology of diplomacy with which this chapter begins, and is completed in the pages that follow by a brief

survey of the province of Padua's geographical and economic characteristics and a summary glance at politics and society, in the first century of Venetian rule.

Padua's position in the Po valley is thirtyfive kilometres west of Vénice, at a similar distance from its other immediate neighbours - Treviso to the northeast, Vicenza to the west, and Rovigo near the Po to the south. In Venetian times these were the cities whose jurisdiction bordered Padua's, along with Verona (west of Vicenza, but with territory meeting the Padovano on the Adige), Mestre, the dogado (Venice's urban jurisdiction reached to the edge of the lagoon) and Bassano (a small hill town to the north). The territorio Padovano[4] in the fifteenth century corresponded roughly in area and shape to the modern province; the city lay approximately at the centre, within a day's ride of most localities, nearer to the north-eastern border with the Trevigiano and further from the southwestern reaches beyond the Colli Euganei. Venetian noble Podestà, answerable both to Venice and to the Podestà and Captain of Padua, discharged restricted routine functions of administration and justice in Camposampiero, Castelbaldo, Cittadella, Este, Monselicé, Montagnana and Piove di Sacco; and Paduan Vicars, with more limited competence, had charge of the distretti of Anguillara, Arquà, Conselve, Mirano, Oriago and Teolo. The overall extent of the province was somewhat greater than today's 2,140 square kilometres (555,035 campi padovani in the old reckoning): according to Beltrami it measured 2,253.92 square kilometres, (or 583,529 campi), though a variety of estimates around the middle of the sixteenth century put the total as high as 800,000 campi, or 3,090 square kilometres.[5]

The land of the Padovano is almost uniformly flat, the exception being the low but steep Euganean hills, of volcanic origin, which lie southwest of Padua. With so much low-lying land the watercourses are many, vital for drainage and - in Venetian times - for communications. The main watercourses were

then four: the Muson, running from Camposampiero along the border with the Trevigiano, southwestwards towards the Venetian lagoon; the Brenta, entering the province from Bassano and curving northeast of the city to flow through the distretto of Piove di Sacco, and so to the lagoon; the Bacchiglione, running from Vicenza to Padua and then southeast towards Chioggia; and the Adige, southern boundary of the province (and till 1482 of the terraferma state), descending from Verona.[6] Canals linked the Bacchiglione and Brenta to each other, and with the city, feeding a network of urban waterways; particularly important for communications were others running from Padua to the towns at the southern end of the Euganei (Este, Monselice, Battaglia), and east via Strà to the Venetian lagoon at Lizzafusina (the canal 'del Piovego'). River traffic was most intense on the Adige, on the southern edge of the province, navigable well beyond the Padovano, as far as Verona. The network of roads, besides carrying internal traffic, included a section of the main land route from Venice towards Milan, running through the city and on to Vicenza.

The countryside is for the most part alluvial plain, fertile, and criss-crossed by drains flowing towards the major watercourses; marshland was common in the Renaissance period, especially along the Adige and in the areas adjoining the lagoon, some of it kept flooded for its yield of fish. The hill-land of the Euganei produced the best wine, though grapes were commonly grown in the plain too. Wine was second in importance to the province's major yield, cereals, (in particular wheat), with Venice drawing heavily on both commodities. Cereal (and other) prices, apart from temporary seasonal fluctuations, appear to have risen little through the fifteenth century, though they moved sharply in the sixteenth, as demographic increase provoked inflation and the extension of cultivation. The Padovano's grazing land served the needs of local livestock as well as transient flocks of sheep, whose pattern of transhumance brought

them south to winter, and leave their wool on sale in Padua. A considerable proportion of the land was uncultivated or woodland, though how much in relation to the whole can only be assessed very approximately in view of the uncertainty over the province's overall extent.[7]

Population levels of the fifteenth century were below those of the fourteenth. In 1397 the city had counted between 30,000 and 35,000, back at its pre-Black Death level, (35,000 in 1320); but the final wars waged by the Carraresi, accompanied by disease and perhaps some return to the countryside, were the cause of a considerable fall - to 20,000 or fewer according to data for 1411, 1430 and 1435. The middle and later decades of the century appear to have been of gradual and partial recovery; though there was no expansion of the city walls, evidence of building activity in the suburbs corroborates an estimate of about 27,000 for around 1509. More rapid growth then followed, with estimates between 1548 and 1558 ranging from 34,075 to more than 38,000. Scarcer data for the territorio suggest a similar pattern of movement - 130,000 or more in 1397, (doubled since the 63,300 or so of 1281), recovering losses slowly through the fifteenth century, and more rapidly in the sixteenth, to reach about 120,000 by the estimates of 1548-58. Slow demographic increase, or rather recovery, was the general trend in fifteenth century Italy, and if the population of the territorio behaved in roughly similar fashion to that of Padua, we may guess at a population total in the whole province of the order of 120,000 at the turn of the century, between a quarter and a fifth in the city, with three quarters to four fifths in the territorio.[8] The trends in cultivation would appear to have been similar: the Carraresi wars had caused a good deal of formerly tilled land to revert to fallow, but there is scattered evidence of bonifica in the fifteenth century; with cultivation so heavily dependent on the availability of labour, it is reasonable to infer simultaneous, modest demographic and economic growth.[9]

The economic life of the province centred round the city, with the Padovano towns unimportant by comparison. The economic subordination of the territorio was cause and consequence of the city's political and social dominance. In the period of the communes, statutes had marked the progressive extension of Padua's jurisdiction over the Padovano, favoured the flow of produce towards the city, and privileged the economic interests and legal standing of the citizens and their community in their relations with the inhabitants of the countryside. The territorial state of the Carraresi, growing out of the Comune, confirmed the city's position as the centre of wealth, and the point of distribution and consumption of the province's economic product.[10]

The majority of Padua's richer inhabitants were rentier families, living principally off the agriculture of their estates, while the main element of commerce was the conversion of Paduan wool into cloth, and itssasale.[11] Other citizens were engaged in the activities which accompanied the higher living standard of a city, in the trade and artisan guilds, and in the business of letters and learning - notaries, doctors, lawyers and teachers in the university, (an institution of great economic as well as cultural importance).[12] The poorer city-dwellers provided the workforce for the cloth industry, and labour for the processing and distributing of the various commodities serving the city's consumer needs.[13]

Under Venetian rule in the fifteenth century, the economic self-sufficiency of the Republic's new provinces, most of them formerly independent territorial units, was largely preserved, together with the weighting of economic, political and social life around the cities. Yet economic life and traffic did not remain parochial; the terraferma's economic activity, Padua's in particular, was subject to the growing interventions of both individual Venetians and the state. Though covering a variety of commercial and entrpreneurial ventures, the main interest of private individuals (and of institutions) was in the purchase of land, sought for its agricultural produce, and often to gain possession of a country house. The precise timing and overall extent of thesebpur-

chases are the subject of speculation, but the fifteenth century (in a less spectacular fashion than the sixteenth) was a period of intense Venetian property-buying in the province, with the consequence of boosting the passage of produce towards the capital. This channelling of food was part of the state's policy, already facilitaded by its sale of extensive estates to Venetians, and its concern with the provision of food and other raw materials went beyond encouraging private action to take the form of interventions to control the flow and consumption of basic commodities, in particular grain and timber. Without promoting general economic exchange between the different provinces, the gradual result of Venetian state control and private investment was to tie each province's economy to the capital's, in a series of individual relationships, which in Padua's case developed early and strongly.[13]

Padua's attraction and importance for Venice were economic, but a combination of other qualities too. It was not itself a city of merchants, nor was it on Venice's major trade routes with the rest of Italy and Europe, (which passed inland south or east of the city, along the Po, and the Adige or northwards to the Alpine passes).[14] But it had agricultural wealth, and was also the first stage on the busy road towards Milan. Its university life, devotion to Paduan saints (especially St. Antony), the practice of 'villeggiatura' and the thermal springs of the Euganei were all attractions to add to its strategic importance, as centre and pivot of mainland state. It was the first city of the terraferma, as well as cross-roads and temporary residence for many Venetians and others besides.[15]

To pass from surveying the resources and amenities of the province under Venetian rule, to ouline the characteristics of fifteenth century Paduan politics and society, it is necessary to return to the moment of conquest.[16] Venice's title to Padua was essentially 'iure iusti belli'; the rival claims of the Carraresi were eliminated by the death or exile and persecution of the survivors, xhile effective Imperial rights over the

'regnum italicum' had faded after the death of Frederick II.[17] The principal means of legitimizing conquest was therefore the Bolla d'Oro, instrument of Padua's submission to the Signoria and vehicle of the citizens' petitions concerning their future.[18] These petitions were formulated at a time when the character of Venetian government, and indeed the whole of the city's future, could hardly have been foreseen; they mingled issues of immediate importance, such as the title to ownership of former Carrarese property,[19] with references to cardinal points of the city's life - the wool guild, university, law code, magistrates' jurisdiction and structure of courts.[20] The provision concerning embassies from Padua to Venice touched a theme later far more significant than the rights of Venetian citizenship 'de intus' which the Signoria conceded to Paduan citizens on this occasion.[21]

Satisfaction of the Paduans' requests on all but a few matters gained Venetian rule some measure of respectability abroad, and the acceptance of the new regime within the city. The Paduans who negotiated the Bolla d'Oro were the advance-guard of the political class of the Venetian period, to be formed in the city Council from the same families that had prospered under the Carraresi.[22] The re-creation of the city Council was necessary after the decline of the Commune's deliberative functions and executive responsibility through the fourteenth century, with the muting of sectional ambitions and rivalries between the different collectivities of the Communal period, both class- and faction-based. As a result, the core of the city's leading figures in 1405 was essentially noble, its families and material resources freshened by the absorption of merchant stock in the Carrarese period, its standing sustained by economic weight and involvement in signorial government - whereas the decline of the old collectivities and institutional framework had meant the eclipse of the guilds.[23]

Though the dedizione of 1405 differed from preceding acts of submission by the Commune to the Carraresi in its permanence, the powers which passed to Venice were those formerly in the

'arbitrium' of the Signore, already separated from the Commune's functions: control of the major courts, important administrative decisions and supervision of their execution; conduct of diplomacy and command of armed forces; and the control of the public purse. After 1405 the Venetian Councils of state took over long-term policy debate and decision in all these areas, while the executive side was principally the responsibility of the city's Venetian Podestà and Captain with their subordinate judges and knights, the Venetian Camera Fiscale, and the province's castellans and minor Podestà.[24]

The Venetian elements of government were flanked by administrative and executive organs of the Paduan Commune - judges, notaries and minor officials - which functioned independently of the city Council. The Council in fact filled no strictly essential practical purpose till 1430, when it obtained the transfer of powers from the Rettori (Podestà and Captain) to elect its own members as well as various administrative officials.[25] Its main function was to provide an arena for political debate and ambition, in which the intense competition for election contrasted with the real insignificance of office, while political decisions of importance were taken elsewhere, so that the Council's major preoccupation was to influence or convince authority in Venice. Politics therefore fell into a rhythm of frequently inquorate routine Council meetings, and ferocious electoral rivalry and malpractice.[26]

Consistent with the effective distribution of power, the form and practice of government moved away from the statutes. Revised in 1420, as they had been in 1285 and 1362, they were then never to be re-codified through the whole Venetian period. Where before they had been a living corpus of laws, with regulations for administrative practice, their function began to be filled by a new and separate accumulation of decisions and rulings emitted by Venetian councils of state, courts, magistracies and officials, often aimed - as Venice's political philosophy wished - at preserving custom, but establishing a new administ-

rative codex in the very act of doing so. Consultation of the Paduan statutes was certainly frequent through the fifteenth century, with piecemeal revision planned more than undertaken;[27] but fifteenth century manuscript copies of the statutes added jumbled insertions and postscripts of Venetian material, as did the partial printed editions of 1482, 1528 and 1556. And a manuscript reference volume compiled by the Paduan chancellery in 1494, dealing with administrative questions in which the city Council had some influence or interest, hedged the city statutes and the parti of the Council around with Venetian laws, lettere ducali and magistrates' rulings.[28] For men of the law, as so many leading Paduan citizens were, Venetian claims to stand by custom must have seemed erroneous, and perhaps by the end of the century in bad faith; they could observe the emergence - often from unsanctioned administrative iniatives by Venetian executive officials - of a new codex governing important aspects of public life, in which the statutes and the division of power they represented did not belong.

Venetian government, in appearance respectful of existing institutions and jurisdictions, and initially present in the province through a limited number of magistrates and officials, became a process of undermining, absorption and penetration.[29] It was insufficient consolation for the Paduan political class to have its hegemony within the city supported, when Padua's administrative autonomy was increasingly compromised, while the Venetian patriciate rigidly excluded any association with mainstream government of the terraferma nobility, viewing the provinces as 'lo stato nostro'.[30] Despite its elaboration of policies and legislation of common application throughout the mainland, Venice made no attempt to weld the provinces into any form of politically active unit. Federation between them was excluded, with the pattern of political - as of economic - linkage being the single relationship between the Signoria and each city. The individual character of this relationship was apparent in the Paduan Council's recourse to the Bolla d'Oro in attempting to

influence decision-making in Venice. This privilege, together with the statutes which it guaranteed, symbolized the city's rights, and was brandished verbally (and occasionally literally) as one of the few means in the Paduans' possession of applying political pressure.[31]

Left at least with the residual political powers, in a province whose function and identity were becoming increasingly Venetian, the Paduan political class were for the most part wise enough to avoid involvement in plots to overthrow the Venetian regime, which with one exception were hatched in the earlier part of the century.[32] They began a process of social consolidation and definition, the circle of political power narrowing to fewer and more select families, with economic pursuits shrinking away from commerce.[33] With political participation in the wider life of the state denied to them as a group, (and open to few favoured individuals, who might serve in other provinces as Rettori's officials), they expressed their collective identity - or such of it as remained - in other forms: pride and involvement in the university, for example, but particularly in the elaboration of an ideology of nobility, used as a social arm against rivals or inferiors in Padua as well as against Venetians, and in pride in the city's glorious or mythical past, source of both individual genealogical ramifications, and titles and attributes applied to the city itself - it was a città regia, founded by refugees from Troy.[34]

The process of conversion of Padua, from small signorial state to Venetian province, prized for its wheat, its country houses, its university, its prestigious governorships, was accompanied and assisted by the penetration of Venetian government. These trends, with their consequences for the city's political class, were solidly established by the second half of the fifteenth century. The crisis of 1509 interrupted them at a crucial moment, coming unexpectedly to reveal the strength of the undercurrents of discontent in Padua and other cities too. It is in the context of the trends of change and their part in

preparing the crisis that we are now going to analyze our chosen aspects of the working of Venetian government in the province of Padua.

1. For Padua in the 13th and 14th centuries, see J.K.HYDE Padua in the Age of Dante, Manchester 1966, and B.KOHL 'Government and Society in Renaissance Padua', Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, vol. 2 no. 2, Fall 1972. For Venetian diplomacy of the 14th-early 15th centuries, and the creation of the terraferma state, see R.CESSI Storia della Repubblica di Venezia, Milan 1968, vol. I pp. 296, 333ff., 341-49, 372 ff., 409 ff., vol. II pp. 32-71; D.CHAMBERS The Imperial Age of Venice 1380-1580, London 1970, esp. pp. 54-71; F.LANE Venice A Maritime Republic, Baltimore/London 1973, pp. 189 ff., 200, 226-29, 234, 242; G.LUZZATTO Storia Economica di Venezia dal XI al XVI Secolo, Venice 1961, esp. pp. 158-165; N.RUBINSTEIN 'Italian Reactions to Terraferma Expansion in the Fifteenth Century', in ed. J.HALE Renaissance Venice, London 1973.
2. Quoted from Discorsi, II, 2, by A.VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo nella Società Veneta del '400 e '500, Bari 1964, p. 170 and n. 7.
3. The most important contemporary works concerning the city and its history in the 14th and early 15th centuries are those of Da Nono (early 14th), the Gatari (later 14th) and Savonarola (early 15th); the events of 1509 were subsequently the occasion of various contemporary accounts of events (mostly brief), as well as inspiring the more interesting sections in the histories of Gian Francesco Buzzacarini and Gian Domenico Spazzarini. Cfr. G.FABRIS 'La Cronaca di Giovanni da Nono', B.M.C.P. n.s. VIII, IX 1932, 1933; G. e B.GATARI Cronaca Carrarese, R.I.S. t. XVII parte I, ed. A.MEDIN, G.TOLOMEI, Città di Castello 1909; M.SAVONAROLA Libellus de Magnificis Ornamentis Regie Civitatis Padue, R.I.S. t. XXIV parte XV, ed. A.SEGARIZZI Città di Castello 1902; A.BONARDI 'Gian Francesco Buzzacarini e la Sua Storia', B.M.C.P. II, 1899; F.FASULO 'Gian Domenico Spazzarini 1429-1519, Cancelliere e Storico Padovano', A.V. 5th series vol. C 1973; for further indications and bibliography see VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo p. 24 n. 42, p. 168 n. 2, p. 169 n. 5; also Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma, IV, Padova, p. XLIII, and the collected studies in G.FABRIS Cronache e Cronisti Padovani, Cittadella (Padua) 1977.
4. For the sake of clarity, the following terms are used throughout with these meanings: 'province' to refer to the city and the full extent of land under its jurisdiction; 'Padovano', or 'territorio' to mean all of the province except the city; 'distretto', 'distretti' for the single administrative units into which the Padovano was divided; and campagna to signify the immediate extramural zone surrounding the city.
5. Cfr. discussion below, pp. 210-11 and nn. 582-84; also D.BELTRAMI Saggio di Storia dell'Agricoltura nella Repubblica di Venezia durante l'Età Moderna, Venice/Rome 1955, p. 15; and K.BÖLOCH Bevölkerungsgeschichte der Republik Venedig (Jarbüchen für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, 1899), p. 39 - the latter suggesting a total of 2,621 sq. km., or 678,564 campi. Summarily and prosaically presented, most of the information in these introductory pages derives from STEER Land Ownership and Rural Conditions, (cit. above p. xiii), pp. 1 ff. The most useful general collection of data concerning the territorio remains A.GLORIA Il Territorio Padovano Illustrato, Padua 1862. Detailed information concerning the city and Padovano may be found in the works of Da Nono, the Gatari and Savonarola, (cfr. n. 1 above), in the 16th century reports of returning Venetian governors and of Domenico Dall'Abaco, and the works of Scardeone, Portenari and Salomonio. See Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti, IV, esp. pp. XXII-XXIII, 19-20 (1549), 37-38 (1554), 51-52 (1558), 67 (1571), 73 (1577), 78 (1588); D.DALL'ABACO Stato di Padova e Suo Territorio nel 1552-3, ed. E. CICOGNA, Venice 1850; B.SCARDEONE De Antiquitate Urbis Patavii, Basle 1560; A.PORTENARI Della Felicità di Padova, Padua 1623; J.SALOMONII

5. (cont.) Agri Patavini Inscriptiones Sacrae et Prophanae, Padua 1696, and IDEM Urbis Patavinae Inscriptiones Sacrae et Prophanae, Padua 1701. See also, in manuscript, A.CITTADELLA Descrittione di Padova e Suo Territorio... 1605, (Ms. B.P. 324).

6. See C.VACANI Memoria della Laguna Veneta e dei Fiumi nelle Attigue Provincie, Florence 1867; the bibliography is prolific, and will be cited as specific references require, (though Vacani's subvey is reasonably comprehensive, despite its date). Cfr. in general F.MARZOLO and A.GHETTI Fiumi, Lagune e Bonifiche Venete. Guida Bibliografica, Padua 1949; also the comment on watercourses and roads in Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti, IV, pp. XLI-XLII, and the wealth of detail in the individual reports. See too discussion below, pp.197-99 and nn. 508-524.

7. Cfr. n. 5 for bibliography and further references; also P.JONES 'Per la Storia Agraria Italiana nel Medioevo: Lineamenti e Problemi', R.S.I. LXXVI 1964, esp. p. 338. There are no published price series for Padua in the 15th century. For a resume of cereal price trends, cfr. R.ROMANO 'La Storia Economica dal Secolo XIV al Settecento' in (Einaudi) Storia d'Italia, vol. II parte 2ª, (Turin 1974) p. 1829; partial local evidence fits the general pattern, cfr. figures quoted in B.CECCHETTI 'La Vita dei Veneziani nel 1300: parte II, il Vitto', A.V. t. 30 1885, esp. pp. 324-25, and IDEM 'Saggio sui Prezzi delle Vettovaglie e di altre Merci in Venezia, secoli XII-XIX', Atti e Memorie I.V.S.L.A. s. IV t. III, 1873-74.

8. For population figures see K.BELOCH op. cit. (above n. 5), esp. p. 17, and IDEM Bevölkerungsgeschichte Italiens, Berlin 1961, pp. 65-80; G.LUZZATTO 'La Popolazione del Territorio Padovano nel 1281', N.A.V. n.s. III 1902; HYDE Padua in the Age of Dante pp. 34-35; Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti, IV, (pp. cit. in n. 5 above); STEER Landownership cit., pp. 5-8 - she obtains the 1509 population figure for the city from the known number of urban dwellings, and comparison with data for both urban dwellings and population in 1548 and 1554; for the city walls, and building around them, cfr. below pp. 30-31 and n. 22, p and n. 29. Information on the rural habitat is too scarce to aid calculation of overall demographic trends; the number of villages is often reckoned at 400, (see e.g. Relazioni cit. p. 22), though Steer (op. cit. p. 8) suggests a lower figure of 334, derived from the 15th century estimo records. Information on migration into the city, and into or out of the province as a whole, is fragmentary. For population trends in Italy as a whole, see ROMANO op. cit. pp. 1820-21. For the nearby city of Verona, see A.TAGLIAFERRI L'Economia Veronese secondo gli Estimi dal 1409 al 1635, Milan 1969, pp. 41 ff., esp. pp. 44, 50; D.HERLIHY 'The Population of Verona in the First Century of Venetian Rule', in ed. J.HALE Renaissance Venice, London 1973, esp. p. 96, pp. 102 ff: between 14,000 and 15,000 in 1409 and 1425, the city's population rose to nearly 21,000 in 1456, and 42,000 in 1502 (largely owing to a drastic increase in the size of households, if Herlihy's sample is truly representative) - apparently a much faster increase than Padua's, from similar beginnings in the early decades of the century.

9. On general agricultural trends in the 15th century, see C.M.CIPOLLA 'Revisions in Economic History: the Trends in Italian Economic History in the Later Middle Ages', Economic History Review, series II vol. II no. 2 1949; for the local situation, of recession and gradual recovery of cultivation in the Padovano, cfr. STEER op. cit. pp. 204 ff. Case-studies of monastic houses support this view, cfr. A.STELLA 'La Proprietà Ecclesiastica nella Repubblica di Venezia', Nuova Rivista Storica, 12 1958; see too Venice's preoccupation over the preservation of woodland against cutting and clearance, referred to below, p. 127 and n. 237.

10. The economic role of the city, and the predominance of agriculture in the province's economy, are reflected in the relative yields of indirect tax, see below pp. 158 and nn. 335 ff. For the distribution

10. (cont). of wealth see discussion below in Chapter III Part III, esp. the introduction and Section (2). For Ventura's economic characterization of the leading citizens of the 15th century, cfr. below p.173 and n. 411 - inevitably brief when compared to the thorough analysis of Veronese tax-payers in TAGLIAFERRI L'Economia Veronese cit., esp. chapters 4-6.

11. For the Paduan wool and cloth industry, see M.BORGHERINI L'Arte della Lana in Padova durante il Governo della Repubblica di Venezia 1405-1797, (Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie, Miscellanea di Studi e Memorie X, 1964); L.RIZZOLI 'L'Università dell'Arte della Lana a Padova', B.M.C.P. 1927 (nn. 3-4), 1928 (nn. 1-2); KOHL 'Government and Society' cit. pp. 212-13; PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune di Padova sotto la Dominante nel Secolo XV', Atti e Memorie R.IV.S.L.A., XCIII pp. 755-62. Pino Branca's study is contained in three vols. of this series: XCIII (1933-34), XCVI (1936-37) and XCVII (1937-38); subsequent footnoting will merely state the volume number and page.

12. For the history of the Paduan guilds, see M.ROBERTI Le Corporazioni Padovane d'Arti e Mestieri, Venice 1902, (sparse on the Venetian period). For the professions, see A.GLORIA 'Antichi Statuti del Collegio Padovano dei Dottori Giuristi', Atti e Memorie R.I.V.S.L.A. series 6 t. 7, 1888-89; I.SEMEIA La Fraglia dei Notai a Padova dalle Origini al Secolo XV, unpublished thesis, Padua University, Facoltà di Magistero a.a. 1967-68. Among the enormous masses of works on the university, see first the publications of the university's own Istituto per la Storia dell'Università di Padova, classed as Contributi, Fonti and Quaderni. Published yearly, the Quaderni contain a progressive bibliography, as well as an important survey of the link between the university and city politics and society: G.DE SANDRE 'Dottori, Università, Comune a Padova nel 400', (Quaderni per la Storia dell'U. di Padova, I 1968, Padua) . Fuller material on the same theme is indicated in L.SBRIZIOLO 'Tesi di Laurea sulla Storia dell'Università di Padova (1949-50 — 1969-70)', Quaderni cit. 6, 1974. A summary of recent writing is given in L.SBRIZIOLO 'Per la Storia delle Università d'Italia - Rassegna', Lettere Italiane a. xxv n. 3, 1973.

13. See PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' cit. XCVII pp. 98-100, conclusions on the impact of Venetian economic management; also discussion and bibliography cited in ch. III below, pp158-9 and nn. 335-340, pp164-6 and nn. 367-77, pp.210-2 and nn. 582-591.

14. See HYDE Padua in the Age of Dante pp. 37-38; LANE Venice cit. pp. 225-27.

15. The city was a regular staging post for Venetian and foreign ambassadors, and received the visits of foreign notables - see e.g. entries in Cronaca di Anonimo Veronese 1446-1488, (ed.G.SORANZO, Mon.D.V.S.P.series III vol. IV, Venice 1915): pp. 128, 278, 283 n. 1, 285, 300, 310, 364, 459; also in M.SANUTO (hereafter SANUDO) Diarii, ed R.FULIN et.al., Venice 1879-1902, vol. I col. 964, II 416, 810-11, 1274, 1351, III 313, 335, 1102, 1305, IV 424, V 149, VII 80, 605. Sanudo himself was among the many Venetians who visited the province for business or pleasure, or as a refuge from the capital - cfr. DIARII II 773, III 31, V 57, 62, 65. In 1468 and 1471 the Senate had proposed to hold a prestigious diplomatic conference in Padua, (to bring Emperor and Pope together), recommending the city because of the '... capacitate civitatis et numero magnificorum domorum et copia victualium', cfr. A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 23 c. 155r 28 Dec. 1468, reg. 25 c. 74v-75r 22 Oct. 1471. The events of 1509 evoked much comment on the city's importance to Venice, but it was the official view long before then: see Idem reg. 32 c. 165v 26 Aug. 1485, Padua is described as '... principalior civitatum quas habemus'; and it was standard practice for legislation or letters due to be circulated from Venice to the provinces to be addressed

15. (cont.) to Padua in the specimen copy. For a general account of Padua's churches, see ed. C.BELLINATI, L.PUPPI Padova Basiliche e Chiese (Vicenza 1975), companion volume to the rather impressionistic Padova Ritratto di Una Citta, Vicenza 1973, (introd. S.BETTINI, text by G.LORENZONI, L.PUPPI). For the thermal springs, apart from references in SANUDO Diarii,-(e.g. II 324, V 27, VII 472), see the contemporary account given by M.SAVONAROLA Liber de Balneis et Termis Naturalibus..., (Bologna 1493). For 15th century Veneto villas, see M.KUBELIK Zur typologisches Entwicklung der Quattrocento, Villa im Veneto, (in the course of publication at Aachen, and not accessible for the preparation of this study).

16. For what follows, see KOHL 'Government and Society' cit.; VENTURA Nobilta e Popolo pp. 52-92, 'L'Ordinamento Municipale di Padova e la Formazione del Ceto Dirigente'; PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' cit. XCIII pp. 329 ff.; G.COZZI 'Ambiente Veneziano, Ambiente Veneto', pp. 93-146 of L'Uomo e il Suo Ambiente, Florence 1973 (Quaderni di S.Giorgio, 34); G.ORLANDINI 'Lineamenti per la Storia dell'Amministrazione della Repubblica Veneta', pp. 241-249 of Ad Alessandro Luzio Gli Archivi di Stato Italiani: Miscellanea di Studi Storici, vol. II, (Florence 1933).

17. Venice felt intense pride in independence of both Emperor and Pope, symbolized by the status accorded to the Doge in the 1177 meeting between Barbarossa and Alexander III, (cfr. CHAMBERS The Imperial Age cit.pp. 12-30). The Signoria did receive investiture with the terraferma cities in 1437 from the Emperor Sigismund, long Venice's enemy, but it was never renewed, see S.ROMANIN Storia Documentata di Venezia, Venice 1853-61, vol. IV pp. 185-86. It was left to the Emperor Maximilian to assert Imperial claims in the Italian Wars, when the success of his allies in the League of Cambrai forced the Signoria to consider them seriously - cfr. the bibliography in n. 1 above, and also A.BONARDI 'Venezia, Città Libera dell'Impero', Atti e Memorie R.Accad.S.L. ed A. in Padova, 31, 1915, and IDEM 'Venezia e la Lega di Cambrai', N.A.V. n.s. t. VII 1904. For the Carraresi after 1405, see E.PIVA Venezia, Scaligeri e Carraresi. Storia di una Persecuzione Politica del XV Secolo, Rovigo 1899.

18. The main document bears the date 30 Jan. 1406, and is printed in A.GLORIA La Bolla d'Oro nella Dedizione della Città di Padova, Padua 1848. VENTURA Nobilta e Popolo p. 42 n. 5 cites the case of Verona as a point of comparison, listing bibliography.

19. GLORIA op. cit. pp. 16-17, 22-23, 25-30, 39-40.

20. GLORIA op. cit. pp. 17-18, 19, 30-31.

21. GLORIA op. cit. pp. 23-24, 24-25.

22. See VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo pp. 64-66.

23. VENTURA op. cit. pp. 5-26, 33-37, 66-79; KOHL 'Government and Society' pp. 209-210; HYDE Padua in the Age of Dante p. 49.

24. KOHL op. cit. pp. 215-17.

25. VENTURA op. cit. ppp 59-61. It appointed its own deputati ad utilia and ad ecclesias, (a steering committee with rotating duties which assisted the Rettori and conducted Council meetings); also the Commune's Chancellor, financial officers (and later the direct tax collectors), Vicars for the Padovano; officials to oversee public order and fair trading (the Cavalieri del Comune), the forced levying of debts, the annual survey of the province's corn, and later the Monte di Pietà, as well as a number of more occasional appointments, over e.g. the Estimo or the secular affairs of religious institutions. And there were short-term, frequent appointments of ambassadors to Venice. See the regg. of A.S.P. Atti...

26. VENTURA op. cit. pp. 84-88.

27. A specially appointed notary had charge of a copy in the Palazzo della Ragione (law courts), and in 1469 it was re-copied and rebound because made illegible by use and age, (see A.S.P. Cassa Citta vol. 189, entry dated 16 May 1469; also A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 42

27. (cont.) 31 Dec. 1492, c. 54v-56r 1 Mar. 1493, a dispute over the notary's activity). The regg. of A.S.P. Atti contain occasional references to the election of members of a reform committee, the first and last in our period being reg. V c. 188v 4 Jan. 1474, reg. IX c. 99r-104v (office lists for 1503); most of the references subsequent to the first mention or imply the lack of progress made, and one of its few achievments seems to have been to regulate review of the conduct in office of citizen Vicars in the Padovano - see Atti reg. V c. 259r 14 Apr. 1475.

28. See the original copy of the 1420 statutes, Ms. B.P. 1236, e.g. cc. 42, 306r, 341r, 374v; another, later, 15th century copy is Ms. B.P. 166, see cc. 202v-215r, and a list of lettere ducali at cc. 404r-441v (indexed at cc. 442r-450v); and another 15th century copy, Ms. B.M. Lat. V 35 (2186), cc. 18r, 18v, 26r, 50r, 67v, 70v-88v. For the early printed additions, see a reference in VENTURA, op. cit. p. 61 n. 34 to the 1528 edition, and copies in the Paduan civic library of the 1482 and 1556 editions, (catalogued as Mss. B.P. 1367 and 1059 respectively, with a copy of the former in the Marciana, Ms. Lat. V 36 (2420)); see esp. cc. 147r ff., 163r ff., manuscript additions to the Paduan copy of the 1482 edition. The chancellery reference volume of 1494, the Liber Partium or Tabularum, is to be found in the A.S.V., as Atti vol. 40.

29. See COZZI 'Ambiente Veneziano' cit., esp. p. 95; VENTURA op. cit. pp. 39-40, (though he over-modifies his views a propos of finance, see p. 406 and n. 58, cfr. discussion in ch. III below, esp. sections (1),(4),(5) of part III).

30. VENTURA op. cit. pp. 39-52, also COZZI op. cit. p. 106 - the indications of Venetian attitudes given by Sanudo's report of his 1483 tour of the terraferma.

31. See VENTURA op. cit. pp. 41 ff., discussion of Venice's respect for the subject cities' privilegia, its limits testified by legislation of 1444 specifying on what authority contrary decisions could be taken by the Venetian councils of state. Responsibility for their observance was confided to the Avogadori di Comun or Capi of the Council of Ten - see G.COZZI 'Authority and the Law in Renaissance Venice', in ed. J.HALE Renaissance Venice London 1973, pp. 303-05, a law of 18 Sept. 1468 excluded the Ten from competence, but another of 15 May 1486 returned the matter to them. Many commissions to Paduan representatives in Venice specified appearing before the Avogadori or Capi; less common were the instructions given in a commission to fight the encroachments of the capital's appeal courts, (A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 20r 13 Mar. 1492), ordering reference to the Golden Bull '.. quod vobis consignavimus munitum bulla aurea ut eo uti possitis in testimonium'.

32. For conspiracies up to 1439, see VENTURA op. cit. p. 54 and n. 19, with its references. An absurd and anachronistic echo of them came in 1489, when Niccolo de Lazara , in charge of a labour force working on the new course of the Brenta, proposed calling in some Carrarese descendant; see M.SANUTO Vitae Ducum Venetorum (or Vita dei Dogi), Milan 1733 (R.I.S. 1st ed., ed. L.MURATORI, t. XXII parte 4), p. 1245, and A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 24 cc. 98r-106r, entries between 21 Feb. and 23 Mar. 1489.

33. See VENTURA op. cit. pp. 61-64, 77-84, 88-92: the numbers of individuals present in the Council, and of families represented, was already restricted between 1430 and 1446; electoral reform and an increase in numbers imposed by Venice proved only a temporary delay in the emergence of strong oligarchical trends.

34. For the university, cfr. DE SANDRE 'Dottori, Universita, Comune' cit., and in general VENTURA op. cit. ch. 5 'La Coscienza Nobiliare nell'Eta della Decadenza'. For the importance of Paduans' social prejudices against Venetians, as evident in 1509, see e.g. G.PRIULI

34. (cont.) I Diarii (R.I.S. t. XXIV parte III, voll. 1,2,4, ed. A.SEGRE and R.CESSI, Citta di Castello/Bologna 1912-41), vol. IV p. 91, quoted in A.BONARDI I Padovani Ribelli alla Repubblica di Venezia, (Misc. R.D.V.S.P., series II, VIII, Venice 1902), pp. 383-84. The 15th was the most popular century of Giovanni da Nono, with his mixture of history, myth and acid social comment - cfr. FABRIS 'La Cronaca di Giovanni da Nono' cit. p. 4. For the legend of Padua's foundation by Antenor, and rule by a line of Trojan kings, see E.GORRA Testi Inediti di Storia Troiana, preceduti da uno Studio sulle Legende Troiane in Italia, Torino 1887, pp. 70 ff. For 'citta regia' see G.GENNARI Sopra il Titolo di Citta Regia dato a Padova - Discorso, Padua 1795, and in general S.OZOEZE COLLODO 'Attila e le Origini di Venezia nella Cultura Veneta Tardo-Medioevale', Atti e Memorie I.V.S.L.A. t. CXXXI a. 1972-73. The family of the diarist Sanudo reckoned Janus king of Padua among its ancestors - cfr. G.COZZI 'Marin Sanudo il Giovane: dalla Cronaca alla Storia', in ed. A.PERTUSI La Storiografia Veneziana fino al Secolo XVI, Florence 1970, p. 334.

CHAPTER TWO

MILITARY SECURITY AND ORGANIZATION - FORTRESSES AND THE VENETIAN ARMY.

In the later fourteenth century, the maritime republic of Venice was already heavily involved in military action on the Italian mainland, and events at the turn of the century put this commitment to landward defence beyond all doubt. The acquisition of the terraferma state and its further expansion in the face of Viscónti pressure required the development of an enduring system of defence, which relied primarily on the services of a permanent, professional army. Besides being the army's principal raison d'être, the mainland provinces played an important, if unspectacular, part in its financing, support logistics and recruitment. Moreover, their city walls, castles and strategic strongpoints were manned as a secondary security measure.

The aim of this chapter is to review the place of Padua and its territorio in the Venetian military and defensive system of the later fifteenth century, concentrating more on its administrative aspects than on Venetian foreign policy and the army's campaigning. Since the whole topic of state finance, including the army's pay, is dealt with in a separate chapter, this present discussion of Paduan military matters may be divided into two sections, the first dealing with the province's stable defences, the second with its relationship to the Venetian army.[1]

Fortifications, their maintenance and manning.

For much of the half century before Agnadello, there was little warfare in Italy: the thirty years of Visconti Wars preceding the Peace of Lodi were followed by four predominantly peaceful decades. The Venetian Signoria's major military undertakings were in the Eastern Mediterranean, with hostilities against the Turks between 1463

and 1479. The resumption of these hostilities in 1499 took place, however, against a changed background of Italian politics: major conflict in the peninsula had begun on a European scale with the journey of Charles VIII in 1494. The shifting diplomacy and campaigning of the Italian Wars at first brought Venice territorial gain, while preserving the peace of her dominions. Only in 1509 did military action penetrate deep into the terraferma, when the memory of invading Visconti armies was more than sixty years old.

Padua, situated at the centre of this mainland state, was almost entirely isolated from direct contact with Venice's neighbours and potential enemies. The alarms of war during a predominantly peaceful period had therefore been slight, nothing more than occasional fright at critical points of distant warfare - Turkish raids in Friuli in the 1470s,[2] or the nervous aftermath of naval defeat and westward aggression in 1499.[3] The exception to this general tranquillity, and the nearest military action of the period, was the War of Ferrara, in which the Venetian attack was originally launched from Paduan territory in 1482. Though its rapid southward advance soon removed the immediate proximity of conflict, there was considerable initial damage to the southern Padovano as a result of enemy action, and the province remained the principal point of marshalling and transit of Venetian troops for the duration of the war.[4]

Throughout the period, it is clear that owing to Padua's safe central position security measures were kept to a minimum. The allocation of serving infantry units to guard duties after the War of Ferrara excluded the province, covering only the fringes of Venetian territory; and garrison cuts of 1501 and 1502 in the Veronese and Padovano reflected the Senate's belief that lands '... de qua dal adese (were) fora de ogni suspecto et confine'.[5] The Adige was not so much a natural obstacle or

line of defence, as a convenient way to distinguish between the central terraferma homeland and other more advanced holdings. The military function of the Padovano and the Eastern Veronese was to serve as an area of co-ordination, despatch and transit for men and materials engaged in vigilance or attack in the further provinces. Troops were stationed in the Padovano as part of the Signoria's peacetime disposal of forces, but the threat of action and necessity of vigilance hung much more strongly over the provinces towards the Milanese border, like Brescia.[6]

The Padovano's geographical isolation from danger or tension was compromised by two factors, neither of crucial importance to Venice's overall security, but significant enough to require our attention. One was the proximity of the D'Este state of Ferrara, Venice's opponent between 1482 and 1484, a long-established neighbour, but by no means a certain friend. Until Venetian conquest of the Polesine and Rovigo in 1482, the Padovano bordered on D'Este lands. Major events within the D'Este state, capable of influencing relations with Venice, were sometimes cause or consequence of happenings in the Padovano: tension in 1470-71 over Borso D'Este's succession by Ercole,[7] an abortive coup against the latter in 1476,[8] and incidents before the outbreak of war in 1482.[9] Venice's gains by the Peace of Bagnolo moved the frontier further south, and Venetian peace of mind was strengthened by Ercole's cession to the Pisani of the camerlengaria of Este, a parcel of assorted lands and rights in the southern Padovano, whose passage to Venetian noble hands was welcomed by the Ten.[10]

The easing of this first factor of Venetian security interest in the province coincided with the creation of

the second: the walled town of Cittadella, twentyseven kilometres north of Padua, was given as a fief to the Venetian general Roberto Da Sanseverino, in December 1483.[11] Cittadella had been built as a northern outpost of Paduan defence in communal days, straddling the main road between Vicenza and Treviso, facing Bassano and the hills to the north. It remained strategically important in the Venetian state, and was a focal point for the quartering of troops.

It was no innovation for Venice to enfeoff its senior condottieri as part of an extended reward system,[12] but the conduct of Sanseverino and his sons, and of Pandolfo Malatesta, their successor in the fief, was the cause of some Venetian apprehension. Sanseverino left Venetian service, nursing independent political ambitions till his recall and death in 1487.[13] His sons' resumption of close contacts with Milan (whence he had come) finally induced the Signoria to deprive them of the fief in 1499, when they supported the exiled Lodovico Sforza, victim of the Franco-Venetian alliance.[14]

Cittadella passed in 1503 to Pandolfo Malatesta, former lord of Rimini and victim of Cesare Borgia's conquests, who sold his Romagna rights to Venice, receiving enfeoffment with Cittadella in exchange.[15] Malatesta embarrassed Venice by open friendship with the Bentivolio, expelled from Bologna by Pope Julius II, and in 1509 he sided with Venice's enemies after the defeat of Agnadello.[16] The balance of gain or loss to Venice from these two enfeoffments has of course to be measured in a broad diplomatic context, but both were of dubious value to local security.

This brief parenthesis on Cittadella has introduced the question of defended strongpoints. A phase of

major re-fortification throughout the terraferma was prompted by the War of the League of Cambrai, but the preceding fifty years reveal little Venetian attention to construction projects, with Gradisca - fortified against Turkish raiding in Friuli - one of few exceptions. So the province of Padua's fortifications were not substantially altered or renewed during the later fifteenth century, and security measures were more routine than rigorous.

Apart from Cittadella's temporary cession as a fief, all the more important population centres were entrusted to the care of Venetian podestà. They had general responsibility for security, but there were in addition noble castellans, elected to charge of fortresses in or near certain of the Padovano towns: Castelbaldo, Este, Ponte della Torre (near Este), the Rocca superiore at Monselice, Camposampiero, Limena and Strà.[17] Littered round the Padovano were many other towers and fortifications, intact or derelict, erected at various moments to defend public or private interests.[18] A few of those in public hands were manned by Venetian appointed guards, but others were leased to Venetian nobles for civilian use by the office of the Rason Vecchie.[19] At the end of the fifteenth century the growing needs of state finance, backed by continuing confidence in Venice's security, brought a gradual revision and extension of these leases,[20] though the Ten rather ineffectually expressed their fears for future military contingencies.[21]

If we turn from the territorio to the city of Padua, we find that it was guarded by its castle and citadel, at the southwest corner of the walls, and by guards at the various city gates. The outer city walls of the fifteenth century followed the lines of the old

murus spaldi, built in 1270, along and between the various cuts of the Bacchiglione flowing through the city. These walls were strengthened for the siege in 1509, and then rebuilt in the aftermath of the Italian Wars in a more orderly and extended circuit.[22] During our period, the castle and the gate below it, the Saracinesca, (controlling the road to the Euganei), were in the charge of Venetian nobles. Non-patrician constables or captains were appointed to other gates - the citadel, S.Giovanni delle Navi, Savonarola, Codalunga, Porciglia, S.Sofia, Ognissanti, Portello, Pontecorvo and S.Croce.[23]

The structural maintenance of the province's defences was the immediate competence of the Paduan Camera de Lavorieri, under the orders of the city Captain, with major expenditure authorized from Venice by the Senate or Ten. As much evidence as can be found for the upkeep of fortifications in the territorio suggests poor standards, as for example at Este. With the War of Ferrara then in progress to the south, Sanudo in 1483 found the castle and its houses in bad condition; repairs were ordered in 1486 when the Capi of the Ten heard that the houses were uninhabitable, and the castle gate unable to be shut.[24] The town's defensibility was also compromised by houses built around and into the walls.[25]

Neglect of fortifications was all the easier for the lack of regular inspections from Venice: provincial castles figure occasionally among the too many items on the commissions of army inspectors.[26] Expenditure on repairs proves some degree of maintenance, but if deterioration had to advance as far as it did at Este, remedial action was hardly systematic, and prevention discounted by poor surveillance and considerations of cost.

The Paduan city defences were better maintained

than the castles of the Padovano. The Venetian Captains of the major terraferma cities had specific responsibility for their walls, gates, munitions and garrisons;[27] reports by the Paduan Rettori combined with interventions by the Senate and Ten to preserve the basic structure of the defences intact,[28] though considerable action was taken in 1509 to prepare the city to withstand siege, including the razing of houses built round the walls.[29]

Padua's castle was the subject of quite frequent administrative interventions by the Ten, owing to its use as a Venetian state prison,[30] whose inmates included the mistress of the last Lusignan king of Cyprus and her children. Their detention there served to remove from Cyprus a possible alternative focus of loyalty to Jacques II's widow, Caterina Corner; Venice obtained direct possession of the island from her in 1489.[31] The Ten maintained direct control over their guards, and also established rights of supervision over the ordinary garrison of fifty, in a rather uncertain division of authority with the Paduan Captain.[32]

Considerations of authority introduce us to the more general problem of standards of manning in the provinces' defences, which were insufficient for any serious military eventuality. One factor of undoubted importance for this problem was the poor standing of terraferma castellanies among the offices to which Venetian nobles were elected. Appointment involved three or more years' absence from Venice, with the neglect of personal affairs and political opportunities that this implied, in exchange for a poor salary without utilità. Refusal of the office was not uncommon by those elected,[33] and it would be wrong to expect special military competence or enthusiasm from those who served.[34] Another admission of the

castellanies' modest importance was their use in grants of favour by the Signoria to the fatherless families of poor but meritorious noble naval casualties.[35]

Many of the rank and file of garrisons and guards were also recruited with noticably less concern for military standards than in the filling of the regular army companies. Some were army veterans allocated to less strenuous duties: the army inspectors were instructed to remove from the ranks and assign to guard duties '... homeni d'arme inuteli et impotenti... inhabili ad portar arme ne faticha, che fusseno veterani et emeriti per la longa servitù'.[36] Though laudable in other respects, this policy was detrimental to Padua's security, and the Council of Ten's intermittent attempts to keep the castle garrison in the city (largest in the province) nearer the standards of an active company are sharply contradicted by evidence of the age and poor military aptitude of many serving there.[37]

Apart from aging soldiers, other Venetian benemeriti were also employed in terraferma guard duties. There were the former defenders and inhabitants of lost mar lands: the gradual implementation of a provision of 1479, to allocate vacant posts to members of the Scutari garrison, brought several to Padua.[38] And renegade Turks were also rewarded with appointments in the province.[39]

The relative frequency of these and other nominations through favour, some of questionable military value, is characteristic of the mingling in Venetian state service of patronage interests with real or alleged merits towards the Republic. Interventions from the capital to effect appointments of this sort put the provincial governors on uncertain ground over their rights to discipline and regulate, a difficulty exacerbated in Padua by the Ten's special concern with the castle. It was not common at this time that they should intervene in the control of the terraferma defences with such frequency or concern for details,[40] but in Padua the military authority of the city's Captain had to be exercised with due deference to their wishes

and measures regarding the garrison and city guards - a small but perfect example of Venice's capillary penetration of provincial affairs. There may have been overall gain to security from the Ten's vigilance, but the loss of local autonomy did not necessarily imply efficiency. In 1506 the Paduan Captain wrote angrily in answer to letters received from the Capi of the Ten, who had awarded an expectancy on a castle garrison job to a man previously dismissed as unsuitable. He questioned the merits towards Venice of the individual concerned, who had boasted to the Captain that he had 'uno M^co zentilhomo di quello ex^mo conseio (dei Dieci) che farà che lui obtenirà el suo intento anchor Io non vogli'.[41]

Not surprisingly, in view of their provenance, the conduct in office of the commanders and soldiers of the province's guard force was prone to serious defects, of which perhaps the most important was absenteeism. Official permissions for absence were sometimes given to nobles serving in the terraferma, though the trend of the later fifteenth century was to grant fewer where military competence was involved.[42] Non-noble holders of humbler positions in the provincial defences might also receive leave of absence, especially if further service to the state was involved.[43] But looking beyond recorded authorizations, we can only guess as to the extent of unofficial absence, as suggested by preventive and remedial action. The theme occurs in the indictment of the Paduan Castellan dismissed in 1478, in reformed rules of 1486 for the city's garrison,[44] and in two laws of 1506 and 1507 concerned with the guarding of the terraferma cities. Issued on the eve of Agnadello, these laws lament the poor control of the city Captains over their guard forces, and the frequency of guard service through substitutes.[45] This last evil of course received encouragement from the state's appointment of

benemeriti, and especially their widows and orphans; the problem of control testifies again to weaknesses in the demarcation and collaboration between central and provincial authority. The opposite vice to absenteeism derived from prolonged service without transfer, when ease and lethargy sapped discipline.[46]

The demeanour of castellans was of course a contributory cause to poor disciplinary standards. The understandably lax habits of peacetime extended on occasion to allowing the easy access of outsiders to Padua's castle, for social and also for trading purposes,[47] and it was not unknown for castellans to fleece garrison soldiers in selling them victuals.[48] These attempts at illicit gains, like the gate guards' interest in tax on goods entering the city,[49] are no surprise in the general context of administrative history. They are, indeed, all the more natural in a Venetian setting where functionaries expected to gain through utilità, and where the payment of salaries to minor officials, noble and otherwise, was often partial or late. The latter fact may be explained by the perennial deficit of Venetian state finance at this time, which implied that its weakest creditors had greatest difficulty in obtaining their due. In compensation, guard forces' pay was largely protected from tax on public office, and had at least a recognized claim to priority in the distribution of revenues.[50]

A final consideration on the state of readiness of the Paduan permanent defences regards their munitions, of both arms and provisions. The former consisted principally of artillery pieces kept in the city castle, the latter of wheat and some millet stored in Padua and a few of the other centres. The Senate set norms on their maintenance, demanding reports on their conservation and

attempting to institute a central inventory in Venice;[51] there is however a growing interest expressed by the Ten in the later fifteenth century, (coinciding with their other gradual acquisitions of competence),[52] in the form of legislation over munitions, and claims to exercise supervision and control.[53]

Local responsibility for munitions in Padua belonged to an official in the castle, but his activity appears to have been mainly custodial,[54] since it was the Arsenal in Venice that supplied Venetian forces with gunpowder and artillery, and on occasion with arms for the provincial levies.[55]

The extreme scarsity of surviving administrative correspondence about munitions limits our knowledge of their maintenance largely to existing legislation, which demonstrates at least a concern for efficiency. But it is clear that interventions by the Ten, or perhaps by Venetian touring officials,[56] were a rather haphazard and occasional check on the observance of standards set, which - as far as we may judge from the legislative material itself, and from a few reports[57] - was fallible even within the modest limits of peacetime preparedness.

From this brief assembly of evidence on the guarding of the Padovano, we are obliged to draw mainly negative conclusions. To the small number of positions occupied, their insufficient material upkeep, and their minimum establishment of personnel, we must add doubts on the suitability and adherence to duty of some of the guard force. The central position of Padua with respect to Venice's frontiers has already been illustrated, and for this same reason we may conjecture that neglect in the Padovano was not duplicated in full in the fortifications of the Bresciano and Patriarchate. With long periods of

peace, and other priorities in war, this picture of the Padovano's defences is no surprise.

But this destiny was not shared by the army: neither the long duration of peace, nor questions of location, seriously weakened the army's state of readiness. The sharp contrast between run-down defences and a relatively well maintained army illustrates the strategic priorities of the whole Venetian terraferma defence system, which in turn guided public spending: available resources were stretched to pay the army as fully and regularly as possible, leaving little for the mainland fortifications and garrisons. The much greater importance assigned to the army derived from the difficulties of territorial defence of the terraferma, especially its western approaches in Lombardy: there were not natural barriers significant enough to build into a strong, static defensive line. The protection of the terraferma therefore depended mainly on the mobile deployment of troops, and though the Padovano was partly protected to the south by the Adige and its surrounding marshland,[58] in the event of the Venetian army's falling back on the province it was more likely to occupy and defend the city than fight over the territorio - as 1509 demonstrated, when the Republic held the city against siege.[59]

Except during major campaigns, there were always cavalry and perhaps infantry of the regular companies stationed in the province, who could be mobilized in case of alarm.[60] But in time of war the bulk of these troops was withdrawn, with defence of the province dependent on the absent army. The danger of the province's dependence for security on distant armies and frontiers became apparent in 1509, when Venetian forces gave battle to an aggressor, and lost. The army's failure to re-group cost Venice the terraferma, temporarily, because the static defences were not even minimally independent of the forces in the field. Padua had perhaps gained more than any terraferma city from the Ten's vigilance over fortresses, and was in a sound enough structural state to be defended - as it was that autumn. It was

a strategically essential position to hold, but in May 1509 Venice lost its own confidence, and therefore Padua's too.

The Venetian army and the province of Padua.

It is necessary to preface the specifically Paduan focus of this section with a sketch of the structures and organization of the Venetian army. Such an exercise serves also to carry our discussion beyond the initial prejudices created by repeated criticisms of Italian armies in the Renaissance period, supposedly formed of venal, unreliable and politically ambitious mercenaries. In Venice's case, a moment's examination of her relations with her generals and lesser captains belies the myth: the Signoria preserved the balance of control in dealings with its generals, able to dismiss them if necessary, (Varano in 1487, Francesco Gonzaga in 1498), but often served long and well by them, (Colleone, Pitigliano, D'Alviano). In dealings with the army companies and captains, Venice worked through permanent, elaborate organizational structures, achieving continuity of service with regular re-hiring as the basis of a minimum standing strength. If we add that many Venetian subjects were present in the companies, that captains' sons not uncommonly succeeded to their fathers' commands, the problems of loyalty normally associated with the hire of mercenary companies appear greatly diminished. Indeed, given the pejorative use of the term 'mercenary', it would be better to speak of a professional, standing army.

The development to permanence of the Venetian army in the first half of the fifteenth century reflects both political caution and Venice's gradual realization of the superior qualities, fighting and organizational, of a stable force. The Peace of Lodi, therefore, did not result in the

dismantling of the army; the difference between war-time and peacetime was visible not so much in the dismissal of commanders and their entire companies as in the reduction of the companies' overall standing strength. (Thanks to this system, a nucleus of ten thousand men was rapidly doubled for the War of Ferrara, through the expansion of existing units).[61]

The most important part of the Venetian army, as in other Italian forces of the time, was its heavy cavalry; it was the first priority of military expenditure and organization, comprising companies of varying size formed of 'lances', a b unit of three rising to four horses.[62] In support there were also light cavalry, at first stradiots, recruited from Venetian and other Eastern Mediterranean lands for the 1463-1479 war against the Turks and subsequently in service in Italy too; by the end of the century there were also Italian light horse companies in Venetian hire.[63] Infantry companies were an important and regular part of the Eastern fighting, but Venetian infantry in Italy was slower to develop a large-scale regular strength, and the army in war-time depended heavily on levies.

Relations with the companies were governed by contracts with the captains, who were responsible for individual signings, though soldiers could be dismissed or the company's overall strength diminished as a result of inspections. Contracts, generally for two years with the option of a third, were usually renewed.[64] The long continuity of service by many of the companies and many in them was deliberately sought by Venice, with added encouragements such as [illegible] provision for the wives and families of constables and captains on active service, and for old soldiers.[65]

In war-time, responsibility for command was shared

between a condottiere commander, named Captain-General or Governor-General, and Venetian noble Provveditori, representing and reporting to the Collegio, the Senate (or its elected committee) and the Ten.[66] But campaign service occupied only a small part of the army companies' time, and a major strength of the Venetian army - apart from regular contracts and prospects of pay - was its peacetime system of organization and discipline. Under the direction of the Collegio, (in particular the Savi di Terraferma), routine administration was largely in the hands of the Collateral-General and Vice-Collaterals, who were divided between a central banca and the individual cities.[67] The troops stationed in the terraferma provinces came under the general authority of the Venetian city Captains, who dealt with the everyday routine of army pay, supervised the activities of the local Vice-Collateral, and exercised legal juridiction over the soldiers quartered in the province.[68]

In addition to this general charge, Captains of the major cities like Padua were often commissioned to inspect the army companies, either assembled in general parades, or individually in their quarters. If the likelihood of a campaign or general re-organization indicated the first alternative, the eastern Veronese and southwestern Padovano (in particular Montagnana) were favoured localities for parades.[69] Venice might name and send special inspectors for these major parades, but routine inspections on a smaller scale were far more frequent, handled by the banca and local city governors.[70]

The banca provided the army with a core of permanent, professional administrators, whose activity maintained standards of manning and equipping, and served to link the companies - dispersed among the provinces - to the directives of central authority. Its established authority and

and procedures were especially valuable in the immediate preparations for war, when efficiency was at a premium - in 1509 the Collateral-General inspected and reported on the companies, distributing the money necessary for equipping.[71] The army's pay was not the banca's primary concern, but equipping involved resources of money and military supplies, and if pay was in arrears, mobilization required the distribution of funds.[72]

If we want to assign an individual role to the province of Padua, in the overall functioning of the army's organization, it is as a point of co-ordination and linkage. This was especially true during the War of Ferrara, when its relative proximity to the fighting also made it a casualty and convalescent centre, accomodating among others the Venetian commander, Sanseverino.[73] In the preparations for more distant fighting of spring 1509, Padua was a transit point for the front, but also a centre of organization - Pitigliano, D'Alviano and the Collateral conferred there in February, and Soncino Benzone (a condottiere restored to favour) formed his company there.[74]

But we must distinguish between city and territorio: a certain amount of administrative work was conducted from Padua, but it saw little or nothing of troops. The burden of their presence fell entirely on the Padovano; there they were inspected and equipped, there they transited or were billetted. Companies travelling through the province were escorted by officials of the city commune, authorized to procure them services due from the distrettuali;[75] they enjoyed exemption for their persons and possessions from transit dazi, (and on all military supplies they purchased).[76]

The intensity of troop movement and transit in the province was not necessarily connected with campaigning

in Italy - troops were assembled and shipped to the Morea in 1463,[77] and in the following winter the Padovano was host to something of a general military re-organization.[78] And of course there might be tension, and precautionary movements, without open hostilities.[79] But the higher incidence of military activity in the territorio generally signified Venetian preparations for war: the defence of Friuli against the Turks in the 1470s,[80] the War of the Pazzi Conspiracy,[81] the nearby War of Ferrara,[82] fighting in the Trentino in 1487.[83] At the turn of the century the Italian Wars intensified activity, especially between 1498 and 1501, with action in Pisa and Eastern Tuscany,[84] then westward aggression coinciding with fear of Turkish attack in Friuli;[85] and the Agnadello campaign caused an unprecedented bustle of preparation and movement.[86]

The movement of troops was an intermittent operation involving cost and some degree of damage for the territorio, but the system of billetting represented a constant demand on its resources. With the evolution of permanent hirings, custom and the companies' contracts came to sanction a number of services due - quarters, stabling, fodder, bedding and firewood; the only form of re-imbursement to the villages was rent for requisitioned premises, leaving the rest as a tax in kind on the Venetian provinces.[87] These dues - which came to be known as taxe di cavalli - allowed billetting to become relatively long-term, without the necessity of frequent moves, and the Signoria also attempted to ensure adequate facility for the purchase of food.[88] Even with the army on active duty, the Signoria favoured the establishment of markets behind the lines as well as direct requisitioning, for which compensation could be had, if effected in home territory. In the War of

Ferrara dazio-free transit was permitted to those going to sell to the Po fleet and army, whose consumption of grain caused severe problems for Padua's supply at a time of high prices.[89] The Signoria's policy over the whole question of supplying attempted to reconcile the army's material needs with the contentment of those subjects called upon to provide; as a result, heavy demands were spread as fairly as possible, and compensation given where due.

In the peace-time quartering of soldiers, their distribution betweeh the provinces followed criteria of fair fiscal sharing, as well as the administrative convenience of lodging them where possible within reasonable distance of the Camera Fiscale due to pay them. Since Paduan revenues contributed a major portion of the military budget, the permanent presence of troops in the province was doubly assured. Their exact numbers are not easily ascertainable: there is virtually no information recording the presence of light cavalry or infantry, (except for the garrison units), and their long-term quartering in the province is to be doubted except perhaps in the years before Agnadello. The major burden for the distrettuali would in any case have been constituted by the cavalry lances, and their entitlement to tasse di Cavalli. There are figures of 1,389 horses in 1485, an exceptionally high total reduced in 1486 to 660; 964 in 1490; 1,156 in 1500; 1,047 in 1501; 715 in 1506, and 684 in 1517 (with peace restored).[90] Apart from the temporary imbalance after the War of Ferrara, partly due to the quartering of Sanseverino's men around his fief, the numbers in the Padovano reflected the army's overall strength, and the ebb and flow of war and peace; the province's share appears more or less constant in relation to the total, testimony of the Signoria's preoccupation with fair distribution. Indeed, by the time of the divisions of 1513 and 1517, arithmetical computation was employed to determine shares, with Padua (second to Brescia) assessed for twelve parts of totals of eightyfive and eightyeight parts, respectively.[91]

Troops quartered in the Padovano tended to be concentrated in certain areas of the province, to minimize unnecessary movement, and for greater logistical convenience and economy.[92] The part of the Padovano most frequented was the distretto of Montagnana, scene of occasional major inspections, with its neighbouring distretti of Este and Monselice; also much used was Cittadella, in the north of the province, with nearby Camposampiero.

Since questions of strategic importance, accessibility and resources of fodder and grazing rendered the distribution of billetting uneven within the Padovano, fiscal adjustment among the villages was necessary to compensate. And what we find during the second half of the fifteenth century is a gradual overall trend to commute material obligations into tax. Rulings accumulated by the middle of the century to regulate the services due,[93] and reckoning in cash equivalent was common by that time.[94]

The Senate had to intervene in 1468 to prevent inflated money equivalents bargained between soldiers and peasants, demanding that areas unsuitable for quartering make due payment to the city Rettori, who would pay the soldiers or their hosts.[95] By the 1480s a common cash equivalent of one third of a ducat per horse per month had emerged,[96] and Padua had to protest to secure the right to offer services rather than money to the Marquis of Mantua,[97] also seeking renewed protection against extortionate contracts between soldiers and peasants.[98]

In 1500 and 1501 the allocation of horses among the Padovano distretti was calculated to the exactitude of fractions, just as taxes and corvées were divided. That tasse di cavalli were simply another money tax is confirmed by the appointment in March 1501 of an exactor to levy from villages and pay the soldiers - but the Senate abolished

all such appointments four months later, reluctant to acknowledge the final commuting of service into tax.[99] It finally recognized this development in a law of 1517, giving legislative sahction to what had long been current, and fixing the 'rate of exchange'.[100]

Delayed recognition of the commuting of dues into tax may owe something to Venetian nicety of feeling, in wishing to disguise the real weight of taxation on the peasantry, but there must have been administrative considerations too. A money tax was perhaps more equable for the distrettuali, but it removed one of the practical means of controlling soldiers' whereabouts: money in lieu of services meant freedom to wander from allocated quarters, with obvious consequent risks to military discipline and readiness. There were of course standing orders against troops' absence from their billets,[101] but Paduan complaint and Venetian remedial action demonstrate the endemic nature of the problem.[102] An associated difficulty was the cavalry's maintenance of horses, liable to fall below stipulated numbers, especially in the long-term quartering of peacetime; and the commuting of fodder and bedding dues into money can only have worsened the problem. Venice's deterrent was the system of inspections, with fierce threats against attempts to deceive the inspectors;[103] for a while the Signoria also sold returning terraferma governors' horses to the companies, but the scheme was discarded in 1491 as impractical,[104] and the companies' main source of supply remained private dealing, in which Padua appears to have been something of a centre.[105]

If the evolution of taxe di cavalli produced disciplinary difficulties, there nonetheless remained adequate means of supervision and organization of the army. And, apart from the spread of bargaining between troops and peasants, the monetary conversion of taxe gained impetus

through acceptance into Venetian administrative practice - and malpractice. Officials found the system apt for abuse, through the inclusion among taxe's recipients of others than soldiers; like other abuses feasible within the army's administration, it appears to have been contained, but not eliminated.[106]

But the state itself was responsible for assignment of taxe to non-military beneficiaries. When the Senate took the matter in hand in 1502, to lighten the 'carico quasi insupportabile a li poveri contadini', it was no longer a question of abusive perquisites, but of grants by the Signoria and Collegio, which were to be trimmed to the value of one third of a ducat per month for each 'cavallo morto' assigned.[107] In fact by the turn of the century taxe were a regular administrative occurrence in the pay of a miscellany of persons not in the army comp-anies. A reform of the Verona fiscal camera in 1501 found taxe given as if they were an ordinary form of pension or salary, but mistakenly paid from public revenues: the raison d'être of taxe as a general-purpose reward was that 'la signoria non le de pagar ma el contado'.[108]

In other words, shortage of public funds was remedied by resort to taxe.[109] And the pity of 1502 for 'li poveri contadini' was a rhetorical phrase which did not prevent the exploitation of taxe di cavalli as a fiscal expedient. Official misuse perhaps learned from abuse, creating a money tax in lieu of dues in kind, broadening the ranks of its recipients, and increasing its fiscal weight. The delayed legislative sanction of the Senate for the transformation of taxe is but one example of Venetian administrative practice paving the way for the legislator.

This emergence of a standard fiscalization of taxe di cavalli was in large part due to Venetian concern to

eliminate exploitative agreements, for fear of alienating the distrettuali. Padua and its citizens, on the other hand, showed only intermittent interest in the whole question of soldiers' presence in the territorio. Citizens' country houses were exempt from billetting, and property on the city estimo from the extra taxes levied in the villages for the various military dues, as part of the fiscal privilege distinguishing the city from the territorio.[110] The Paduan Council's interventions over billetting were largely confined to protest against its adverse economic effects, where the city's and citizens' wealth was at stake,[111] and especially if its own political grievances could be given an airing.[112] Padua's administrative part in the quartering and passage of troops in the territorio was relatively marginal. The Quaderniere del Comune distributed taxe among the distretti of the Padovano, resisting attempts by the Venetian Captains' chancellors to seize the responsibility, and make it an overtly rewarding one.[113] Communal officials in general sought to avoid the task of escorting troops on the move, who were liable to receive a poor welcome; the job of escort carried no pay, and was never assigned to a special official, though it most often seems to have come the way of serving or elected Cavalieri del Comune and Cavalieri alle Biade.[114]

Relations between soldiers and peasantry therefore depended for their harmony on the restraint exercised by Venetian military discipline and organization. Disputes between the two communities did flare up, over taxe or other issues,[115] and the soldiers might use violence amongst themselves.[116] But the orientation of Venetian measures was to prevent clashes; the damage likely to ensue from troop movements was recognized,[117] and the efforts to avoid friction included not only citizen escorts for soldiers on the road but also the setting of limits to the number of major inspections with their consequent displacements, the establishment of quartering on as stable and fairly regulated a basis as possible, and the subjection of troops to the discipline and jurisdiction of the local city Captains.

Any judgement on the efficiency and equity of the Venetian cavalry support system must necessarily be relative, in the absence of detailed comparative material.[118] Militarily, the system worked: troops on the move or in quarters were supplied with basic requisites to maintain their state of readiness. The commuting of taxe into money contributed to perpetuate old problems of organization and discipline, rather than raising new ones, and may in the end have been fairer to the peasantry. Administrative practice and the condottieri's terms of hiring set limits to effective central control, within which Venice managed to maintain a standing army,[119] apparently without incurring anything worse than resigned acceptance on the part of the rural population.

Turning our attention from the professional army companies to temporary forces conscripted or recruited by Venice, we find a less prestigious but highly important complement to the troops in permanent hire. Venice called on the terraferma provinces' resources of men and material for the bulk of the army's infantry, all its pioneers and their equipment, for carts and horses to meet supply and transport needs, and on occasion for boats, boatmen and rowers. The burden of providing these services fell exclusively on the distrettuali, just as the cavalry companies' quartering was entirely their affair, without any contribution from the citizens.

If we confine our attention to the fifty years preceding Agnadello, we find that Padovano infantry levies (provisionati, cerne or cernide[120]) were little called upon in the first twenty years after the end of the Visconti Wars.[121] The inherent organizational weaknesses of the militia system were liable to multiply when the calls to arms were infrequent and irregular, with the consequence that recourse to levies in response to Turkish raiding in Friuli in 1477-78 exposed grave defects of training, discipline and financing, not only in the Padovano force, but in all the contingents sent. Conscription orders of March 1477 allocated a share of two thousand men to the

Padovano, some of whom may have been among the cernide working on river defences in Friuli later that year.[122] Revised Venetian instructions of the following winter aimed to improve their training and organization, with an exceptional financial contribution grudgingly given by the Paduan Commune, and in 1478 Padovano provisionati di S.Marco were sent to Friuli, with others held in readiness.[123] But a September parade in the combat zone mustered only 101 of the 800 sent: desertion had come as the natural consequence of lack of pay and food, plague, quarrels over lodgings, and general lack of discipline.[124]

Clearly, the system's functioning fell far below the expectation of planning in Venice, in spite of the extra efforts made. Attempts at major organizational change were not apparent, however, till the opening decades of the Italian Wars, although levies were in action again before then.[125] In the meantime the growing importance of infantry as a tactical arm did not escape the attention of the Ten, whose interest in military affairs led them to launch a scheme in 1490 to train selected terraferma subjects in the use of side-arms, and so provide Venice with resources of native schioppettieri.[126] Distrettuali were culled from the villages, rewarded with exemption from corvées, and supplied with arms and ammunition at their villages' expense, to be trained by special instructors.[127] A number of marksmen trained in this way were incorporated among the provisionati.[128]

The scale and tactics of fighting during the Italian Wars confimed Venice's need for more professional and regular infantry, and the organizational directives of 1499 - when Paduan levies served in both Lombardy and Friuli - allowed the villages to commute their obligations. They were to provide pay of two ducats a month for each soldier (Venice paid another, making three) and leave the recruiting and organization of the force to the city Captain and Vice-Collateral, who in the case of Padua resorted to the Signoria for help in the arming of

provisionati.[129] So the organization of levies admitted the principle of separate fund-raising and recruitment, and subsequent successful experiment with Veronese levies, raised and drilled in 1507 under a new professional structure of training and command, convinced Venice to extend the system to all the terraferma provinces.[130] It was yet to be applied, however, when levies were called out for the Agnadello army, in which the Padovano contingent met with heavy fighting.[131]

Peasant pioneers, or guastatori, together with carts and horses, provided a labour force at the service of the army's field engineering needs, and of terraferma military construction projects. Raised from the villages in the same manner as the provisionati, the Padovano guastatori of the 1470s and 1480s were most often sent to Friuli, where they worked on defences - like the fortification of Gradisca - against Turkish threats of invasion. The expense and trouble of their transfer (worsened by the depredations of officialdom) caused the Signoria in 1481 to commute the personal element of service to a tax of two ducats a man a month (the pay due from the villages to those serving), presumably with a view to using local labour in Friuli.[132] But there is no sign that this set a precedent for commuting the personal service attached to the obligation, and great recourse was had to labour battalions in the War of Ferrara, first in the construction of bridges in 1482, through the Adige marshes and across the Po,[133] and then in support of the Venetian siege positions round Ferrara.[134]

At the very end of the century, Padovano guastatori served in central Italy, at Bibbiena in 1498 and Faenza in 1503, though the distances involved in service at Bibbiena (similar to those encountered earlier in Friuli) caused all

but total desertion by both provisionati and guastatori, so repeating the pattern of events in Friuli of twenty years earlier. The Provveditore in Campo, his spirits dampened by incessant rain, questioned the sense of sending terraferma subjects so far, instead of using the same funds to hire local forces.[135]

Manifest organizational difficulties, at their worst in the failures of 1478 and 1498, and the general stimulus of changing tactical priorities, spurred Venice to seek greater permanence and professionalism in her auxiliary forces, through schemes like the schioppettieri and the 1507 reform of the provisionati. But there remained a major obstacle to their methodical improvement: the irregularity of their service and financing. The military quota of Venetian public spending included only very limited sums assigned to infantry in permanent hire, so obliging the retention of conscription and forced contribution by the terraferma villages to meet a substantial part of the army's needs. Little prospect of permanence was offered when reward for service consisted of temporary exemption from corvées, and pay levied as an extra tax from villages reluctant to contribute. Individuals and perhaps whole villages therefore skirted the obligation of service in person by hiring substitutes;[136] without regular funding from ordinary public expenditure, the militia's passage to selective recruiting, with the improvement in standard that this implied, was difficult to achieve. But despite these limitations, the military worth of Venetian provisionati by the time of Agnadello was far from negligible: the system was made to work as best it could.

Though army service weighed more heavily on the terraferma, exploiting its manpower and sometimes resources of food and draught animals;[137] Venice occasionally called on her mainland subjects for naval service too, in an extended sense of the term. It embraced hostilities and patrolling on the inland waterways, (particularly important during phases of the Visconti Wars);[138] and proved necessary in the War of Ferrara, when patrolling and a good deal of the army's supplying were conducted by

river. The diarist Malipiero records that in May 1482 'per haver homeni da remo è stà mandà in Trevisana, Padoana, et Visentina, a comandar homeni pratichi a navegar per le acque de i fiumi'.[139] Not only boatmen, but also their boats were pressed into service, for bridge-building on the Po.[140]

A departure from these precedents was the proposal made in 1500 to solve the Mediterranean war fleet's manning problems by recruiting two thousand peasants, (three hundred from the Padovano), to be paid for six months of their service by the villages. The experiment attracted recruits but failed in practice, for many of the landsmen fell sick or died at sea, so that the scheme was abandoned.[141] It anticipates later recourse to peasant rowers, among other expedients adopted, as manning problems worsened through the sixteenth century.[142]

As a conclusion on these support aspects of the Venetian army, it is important to emphasize their fiscal character, and their underlying discrimination: the state's demands fell entirely on the distrettuali, both for services due to the permanent professional companies and for the financing and recruiting of militia and auxiliary forces. A 1447 declaration of the Padovano villages' fiscal obligations listed, among other items, two extra dadie, one 'peditum equorum et vastatorum qui mittuntur in campo et similiter conducentium equos' and one 'plaustrorum servientium in campo', as well as the 'onus equorum pro eis pascendis et alodiandis', with the cost of each item computed in ready money.[143] A ruling of 1457, aimed to avoid delay and litigation between the Padovano administrative districts, ordered them to respond immediately to any demand for guastatori, militia, carts and drivers, settling resulting fiscal inequalities afterwards.[144]

Regulations such as these and evidence of their functioning make it clear that the various military obligations were exacted by administrative methods of sufficient strength and permanence to allow the villages little chance to avoid them; and preconceptions of the comparative status of city and territorio, maintained by Padua and supported by Venice, precluded participation by the city.

A quantitative evaluation of these extra fiscal burdens, though highly desirable, poses problems: not only is detailed local evidence lacking, but the expenses obviously varied from one year or period of years to another. As an indication, the share of a single commune on the Brescian shore of Lake Garda, Polpenazze, was little short of fiftythree thousand lire for the eight years from 1509 to 1517 - about six thousand six hundred lire per annum, a huge sum for a commune no bigger than many in the Padovano.[145] These are figures for years of continuous warfare; hypothetical figures for peacetime, using the money equivalents current around 1500 of the services due, suggest seventeen thousand three hundred and sixty lire of taxe di cavalli for seven hundred cavalry horses over a twelve month period, with further expenditure in any given year highly probable on at least one of schioppettieri, galliotti or guastatori working on construction projects - say seven thousand four hundred and forty lire for six months' service by one hundred guastatori. The resulting total is twentyfour thousand eight hundred lire.

In campaign years the taxe di cavalli might fall with soldiers' absence from lodgings, but savings would be neutralized by the accomodation of troops in transit, and the service of five hundred provisionati for six months would add thirtyseven thousand two hundred lire - not to mention guastatori, carts and horses etc; it is

obvious that the total in a war-time year could easily reach - and exceed - the fiftyone thousand three hundred lire which the Padovano already paid as its share of the dadia delle lanze, falling to a possible peace-time level of perhaps one half of that sum.[146]

Da Porto explained the paying of the peasant levies in the spring of 1509: '... li fanno dai territori pagare da mese in mese... Ma io penso, che ciò sia piuttosto un dar modo a quelli che loro stan sopra di rubare i territori, che altro.'[147] But it was part of a much wider system of 'robbery', which was indispensable to the working of the whole Venetian army.

A final matter to consider in the Venetian army's relationship with the province is the extent to which the professional companies offered Paduans opportunities of a military career. In contrast with the fleet, commanded and officered by Venetian patricians, service in the army companies was quite unconnected with patricians' careers in public office. Anyway divorced from Venice's predominantly maritime tradition, military employment was generally given to non-Venetians on grounds of political security, though this was not an inflexible rule.[148] Nor were the Collaterale and his banca Venetian, for experiment confirmed the need to employ professional military administrators,[149] and patricians' only involvement with the army's organization was as Provveditori, advising and instructing the commanders.

Despite Da Porto's assertion to the contrary,[150] the Signoria made considerable use of terraferma subjects in army hirings; the fifteenth century witnesses a double process, in which Venice favoured the settlement in Venetian service and terraferma society of professional commanders, and encouraged the nobility to take service in the army.[151] It would be mistaken to suppose that the absence

of a ruling prince and his court rendered Venice unattractive as an employer, or insensible to the social connotations of skill with arms, which is the tone of Da Porto's criticism.[152] The prestige attaching to service in the household companies of the important Venetian captains was a recognized attraction; a Paduan gentleman in D'Alviano's entourage distinguished himself at Agnadello.[153] The later fifteenth century was a period when jousting and the idea of chivalry thrived in the terraferma, with Venetian encouragement,[154] testifying to the taste for splendour and spectacle, but also an incentive to skill with arms. Venice itself was the scene of a number of major tournaments,[155] while palii for skill with the bow, the crossbow and later the schioppetto were regularly held on the Lido, with the specific intention of attracting competitors from the terraferma.[156]

Given this attitude on Venice's part, the abundant presence of terraferma subjects in army service is only logical. There is some difficulty in establishing precise figures, since army lists are few and scattered, and very little information may be had to identify the rank and file of the companies.

Looking specifically for Paduan names, we find captains of note in the earlier rather than the later fifteenth century - Paolo Lion and Lodovico Buzzacarin, former Carrarese captains,[157] and the Marquises of Este Taddeo and Bertoldo.[158] In the half-century before Agnadello names from other cities appear more frequently than those of Paduans, but at least two families of political ranking had lasting connections with the army, the Beraldo and Capodivacca. Andulfo Beraldo commanded Padovano provisionati in the 1470s;[159] one son, Alessandro, rose from cavalryman to company commander, with fifty horse at Fornovo in 1495, where he died.[160] Another son, Francesco, served in

Venice's subsequent campaigns, with a company numbering one hundred and sixty horse by 1508, when he entered Venice triumphantly in the following of D'Alviano and the Provveditore Zorzi Corner, victors in Friuli.[161] Bartolomeo Capodivacca began like Andulfo Beraldo, in charge of Padovano levies, but rendered more important service to Venice during the War of Ferrara, during which he died; his family was amply rewarded, and then his son Baldassare met his end in Venetian service in 1487.[162] In 1508 Baldassare's brother Antonio obtained the key post of Collateral-General of the army, profiting from his family's merits towards the Signoria, from his wealth and political standing, and perhaps from acquaintance with Pitigliano, Venice's general, main recipient of the Paduan dadie which Capodivacca had contracted to levy.[163]

It appears that his election resulted mainly from contacts and bribes in the Senate,[164] and while promotion by these methods, used on this scale, was not within the reach of many terraferma subjects, it gives an indication of what may really have motivated Da Porto's denunciation of Venice as a poor military employer. Army posts might seem denied to him and others, but appointment to command and high position was in fact related to factors of acquaintance and favour involving both Venetians and terraferma subjects in a patronage system.[165]

Many of course had neither the ambition nor the ability to command cavalry companies; such information as may be found indicates a significant number of ordinary Paduan cavalrymen, especially in companies long quartered in the province like those of the Sanseverino,[166] and Bernardino Fortebraccio.[167] There also appears to be some connection between the areas used for billetting and incidence of recruitment, for the southwest Padovano furnished quite a number of cavalrymen,[168] and infantry leaders

too. In fact constables from the province in Venetian service at the end of fifteenth century included Bortolo, Schiavo and Battista di Domenico da Montagna,[169] as well as Sebastian da Monselice, who served successively in Tuscany, Modon and Faenza between I498 and I507.[170] Camillo Malfatti, son of a Paduan notary, is another whose name often recurs at this time, serving mainly in Friuli.[171]

Concluding comments on the province's role in Venetian military organization inevitably return to themes already stated, and in particular to the province's transformation from centre of the Carrarese signorial dominion to a more impersonal subjection in the much larger Venetian state. A telling aspect of this changed relationship, worth mentioning in passing, was the Republic's use of the province's economic resources in a wider military connection: the careful conservation of timber and the special custody of the wood of Carpaneda (at the northern end of the Euganean hills),[172] growing of hemp for the Tana (the Arsenal's rope factory),[173] the manufacture of gunpowder and the institution by the Ten of an artillery school in Padua,[174] and the provision of a miscellany of supplies for the Arsenal - stone, gun-carriages, ships' biscuit.[175]

The province's military role was as part of a larger unit: there could be no significant degree of autonomy in the deployment of its military resources. With the exception of the city's defences, the province's fortifications suffered decay and neglect, since strategic planning and defence spending concentrated on the mobile protection offered by the army, and - where concerned with the stable defences - naturally looked first to the safety of the outer provinces of the mainland state. As far as the army was concerned, it was the direction given by central policy-making and authority which co-ordinated the work of local administration, in the supervision of the cavalry companies, and in the various demands made on the Padovano's resources of men and material. The Paduan body politic,

as a corporate entity, was therefore little more than a spectator of Venetian military organization and warfare, though the Signoria attempted to involve terraferma subjects through the publication and celebration, where apt, of important news.[176]

Had it not been for the temporary collapse of Venetian arms and morale in 1509, the undercurrent of grumbling by the Paduan political class would probably never have taken more substantial form. But when Venice was briefly dispossessed of the province, the circumstance which allowed it owed a great deal to the cumulative effect of years of concentration on the army in its wide-ranging tactical role, to the neglect of local systems of defence.

1. The Venetian army and its organization have been far less studied than the navy and maritime warfare. After P.PIERI La Crisi Militare Italiana del Rinascimento (Naples 1934), more recent and specialized work has been done by M.MALLETT, ('Venice and its Condottieri' in ed. J.HALE Renaissance Venice, London 1973; Mercenaries and their Masters, London 1974). Detailed studies of the Venetian army of the 15th and 16th centuries are in preparation by Dr. Mallett and Prof. Hale; I am indebted to the former for advice and help.
2. Turkish forces reached Gorizia in 1469, and penetrated the Patriarchate in 1472, and 1477-78, see M.SANUDO Vitae Ducum cit. pp. 1197, 1205-06. For comment on resulting fears, see P.PRETO Venezia e i Turchi (Florence 1975) pp. 20, 32-34, 275.
3. August 1499 was the month of Lodovico Sforza's fall in Milan, and of Antonio Grimani's defeat at Zonchio. On 20 Oct. 1499 PRIULI (Diarii II p. 216) and SANUDO (Diarii III 31) report general commotion for fear of Turkish or German attack, Sanudo claiming to have seen 20,000 people 'su la piazza' in Padua.
4. The fullest account of this war is E.PIVA La Guerra di Ferrara del 1482, (Padua 1893-4, 2 voll.). Early Ferrarese raiding breached the Adige banks, see M.SANUDO Commentarii della Guerra di Ferrara (ed. L. Manin, Venice 1829), pp. 13-14. For the poor condition of the flooded areas during the episcopal visitation of 1489, see P.GIOS L'Attivita Pastorale del Vescovo Pietro Barozzi a Padova (1487 - 1507), (Padua 1977), p. 137; for tax exemptions and repair works resulting cfr. below pp. 198, 226-27.
5. For the 1484 dispositions, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 9 c. 104r 4 Sept. 1484; for 1501-02, see Idem reg. 14 c. 70r-72r, c. 96v-101r.
6. For the difference between the nearer and further provinces, the homeland and the further holdings, see G.COZZI 'Ambiente Veneziano, Ambiente Veneto' cit. p. 95: the river Mincio, flowing from lake Garda down to Mantua, divided central and western provinces, though the Veronese was not always bracketed with the Marca Trevigiana.
7. Resulting in strengthened security measures by the Ten: cfr. A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 17 c. 140v, 145v, 146r, 156r, 173v - May-July 1470. Tension was high in the summer of 1471 with the visit to Mantua of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, hostile to Ercole, see Cronaca di Anonimo Veronese cit. p. 285, A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 25 c. 47v and 74v-75r - 8 July and 22 Oct. 1471; see too A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 153v (Feb. 1477), removal from the Monselice garrison of troops added at Borso d'Este's death.
8. Led by Niccolo di Leonello d'Este, including Paduan and Veronese supporters: see W.GUNDERSHEIMER Ferrara, the Style of a Renaissance Despotism (Princeton 1973), pp. 180 ff.
9. See PIVA La Guerra cit. The approach of hostilities gave temporary importance to the Paduan citizen Vicar of Anguillara and his marshy domain on the Adige, see SANUDO Commentarii cit. p. 25, A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 20 cc. 159v-60v April 1482.
10. See A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 22 c. 227r-28r Jan. and Feb. 1486. The Signoria had confiscated the Camerlengaria at the outbreak of war, and sold it to the Pisani. Terms of peace specified its return, but one of the tasks of post-war Venetian diplomacy was to ensure the Pisani's continued possession, see A.S.V. Collegio Lettere Secrete reg. 5 (1484-85) c. 37v-38r, letter of 12 Nov. 1484 to the Vicedominus at Ferrara. The effects of war spending no doubt influenced the duke's decision to sell.
11. See A.S.V. Senato Segreta reg. 31 c. 167r 17 Dec. 1483.
12. See MALLETT 'Venice and its Condottieri', esp. pp. 127-130.
13. Sanseverino had hoped to win lands for himself in the War of Ferrara. He played an important part in the peace-making and then, while his sons attempted to establish themselves in Imola, he first plotted unsuccessfully against Lodovico Sforza, then took Papal service against Charles of Calabria, his opponet of the War of Ferrara. See

13. (cont.) PIVA La Guerra di Ferrara, II pp. 23-24; SANUDO Vitae Ducum pp. 1214-15, 1220-21; D.MALIPIERO Annali Veneti dal 1457 al 1500 (ed. F.Longo, A.S.I. t. VII parti I-II, 1843-44), pp. 298-99, 390; Cronaca di Anonimo Veronese pp. 415-16; A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 22 c. 196v-97r 17 July 1485; SANUDO op. cit. pp. 1238, 1242.

14. They abandoned Venetian for Milanese service in 1483, see A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 31 c. 33r 25 June 1483. After their succession to Cittadella they were subject to Venetian surveillance, see A.S.V. Collegio Lettere Secrete filza 1, cc. 327, 329, 340. Fracasso was suspected of involvement in the Paduan conspiracy of 1489, (above p and n. 32). For mounting suspicion, and the steps taken for their removal, see SANUDO Diarii II 365, III 39, 44, 58; PRIULI Diarii p. 7; A,S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 28 cc. 81, 86v 99v-100r (Oct. 1499-Jan. 1500).

15. See SANUDO Diarii V 319, 330; and in general G.BERCHET I Malatesta a Venezia, Venice 1862.

16. See G.A.ZANON Saggi Storici su Cittadella nel Secolo XVI°, (Casteggio 1905), p. 29; SANUDO Diarii VII 251, 455, 491 and IX 10. Malatesta's behaviour in 1509 was influenced by concern to safeguard his tenure of Cittadella against the Sanseverino, who attempted to recover it.

17. See the appointments recorded in A.S.V. Segretario alle Voci, serie mista, regg. 6 and 8. Limena and Stra are points of confluence on the Brenta, respectively 8 km. north and 8 km. east of Padua; of minor importance, they were sometimes confided to non-noble castellans - for Limena see A,S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 97v-98r March 1461, for Stra see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 26 c. 71v Sept. 1493.

18. A list is printed in Famiglie di Padova, Cenni Storici sulle, (Padua 1842), pp. LXXVII-LXXXIV.

19. E.g. the castle of Bovolenta, see Itinerario di Marin Sanuto per la Terraferma Veneziana nell'Anno 1483, (ed. R.BROWN, Padua 1843), pp. 31-32. The tenure of Bovolenta castle by the Lippomano is also attested in A.S.V. Ufficiali alle Rason Vecchie reg. 52 c. 178v 27 Apr. 1481; this register is rich in information concerning the Ufficiali's custody and leasing of public property, though economy of space permits no further exemplification.

20. Cfr. n. 19 above, also A.S.V. Capi dei Dieci Notatorio reg. 2 c. 34r-35r 30 Nov. 1491, reference to leasing at Camposampiero in Sept. 1491 by an official of the Rason Vecchie of property at Rustega; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg, 13 c. 145r 4 Sept. 1500; Idem reg. 14 c. 96v-101r 24 Aug. 1502; SANUDO Diarii IV 305 26 Sept. 1502; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 133r 19 Jan. 1503; SANUDO Diarii V 185, 194 Oct. 1503.

21. The Ten's greater caution did not prevent economies in fortifications' manning, or their leasing, though the latter practice appears to have been concentrated in the inner terraferma; SANUDO De Magistratibus Urbis (in Cronachetta, ed. R.Fulin, Venice 1880) p. 131 mentions Mestre, Treviso and Padua. The Ten's directives on the conditions and reissue of leases came after those of the Senate - see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 4r 1 Mar. 1490, reg. 12 c. 134r 26 Mar. 1496; A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 27 c. 139r 31 May 1497.

22. See HYDE Padua in the Age of Dante p. 33; D.TORRESINI Padova 1509-1969. Gli Effetti della Prassi Urbanistica Borghese, (Padua 1975), pp. 44-46, 48.

23. See A.SIMIONI Storia di Padova dalle Origini alla Fine del Secolo XVIII, Padua 1968, p. 874; 'Frammento Inedito dell'Itinerario in Terraferma di Marin Sanudo' (ed. R.FULIN, A.V. t. XXII 1881), p. 11; Relazione del Podestà Agostino da Mula (Padua 1874), p. 18; A.S.V. Segretario alle Voci, serie mista, regg. 6-8 passim. Gates in the old walls were apparently shut at night, but not guarded: see an intervention by the Ten over the gate of S.Lorenzo, A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 9r 27 June 1486.

24. See 'Frammento Inedito' cit. p. 19; A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 18v 27 Sept. 1486. For the Camera dei Lavorieri see below p. 179 and n. 437, p. 194 and n. 498.

25. See A.S.V. Capi dei Dieci Notatorio reg. 2 c. 191v-92r 26 July 1499.
26. See e.g. A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 42 c. 145 2 May 1485.
27. See the commission to Pietro Balbi, Captain of Padua in 1507, (ms. Brit. Bibl. Eg. 752), as well as frequent mention in governors' relazioni, (see Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti cit.).
28. The Ten initiated repairs to Padua's walls in 1461, with responsibility later passing to the Senate, see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 16 c. 77v 7 Oct. 1461, c. 160v 24 June 1464; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 19v 17 Sept. 1462, c. 37r 18 Apr. 1463. cfr. n. 59 below.
29. For demolitions in 1509, see Lettere Storiche di Luigi da Porto Vicentino (ed. B.BRESSAN Florence 1857), p. 110; SANUDO Diarii IX 25, 36 ff., and PRIULI Diarii IV 204, 208-09, 221. Not all building near the defences was illicit, or due to bureaucratic oversight: see e.g. A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 22 c. 203v 17 Aug. 1485, permission given by the Ten to Marco Barbarigo (months away from becoming Doge) to strengthen the enclosing walls of his orchard where they met the city walls.
30. Its inmates' political status may have been passed off publicly as insanity, or else it may have housed the demented as well as high security prisoners. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 74v-75r 18 Jan. 1490, reference to 'fatuos qui istic in castello reperiuntur'; Lettere Storiche di Luigi da Porto, p. 40 - in the castle '... usano i venetiani tener sequestrati molti pazzi e quelli massimamente che parlano contro il governo loro...'
31. Marieta and her children were sent to Venice in 1476, and to Padua in 1478; she died there, and her sons were freed in the Paduan secession of 1509. See M.BRION Caterina Cornaro Regina di Cipro (Milan 1938), esp. pp. 118-19; A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 19 c. 119v 15 July 1478; BONARDI 'I Padovani Ribelli' cit. pp. 377-78. Cfr. in general the account of Venice's relations with Cyprus at this time in MALIPIERO Annali Veneti cit, II, parte terza.
32. For disciplinary action by the Ten see e.g. A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 22 c. 211 27 Sept. 1485. Venetian committees appointed to review the cost of the castle's upkeep required their permission to intervene, see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 25 c. 40r 25 Mar. 1491, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 96v-101r (Aug. 1502).
33. See e.g. the Este castellany, refused in 1486, 1492, twice in 1495, 1498 and twice in 1501 - A.S.V. Segretario alle Voci serie mista, regg. 6, 8 passim.
34. No full-scale analysis of the various paths followed in the Venetian nobles' cursus honorum has yet been published; the status of castellanies was low, for unambitious nobles seeking a modest but steady income - cfr. comment in J.LAW The Commune of Verona under Venetian Rule from 1405 to 1455, (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1974, unpublished, pp. 179-80).
35. The Este castellany is again an example, granted for the livelihood of Francesco da Mosto's son and widow: A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 75r 17 Mar. 1502.
36. See A.S.V. Collegio Segreta Commissioni reg. 1500-1513, c. 17r 15 Mar. 1502; c. 47v-48v 23 Sept. 1505.
37. For interventions by the Ten, see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 18 c. 231v-32r 31 Oct. 1476, reg. 24 c. 109v 31 Mar. 1489. But see, in contrast, the evidence of a 1478 inspection, (A.S.V. Senato, Provveditori da terra e da mar, reg. 24 - registro di Lorenzo Loredan, Provveditore Generale in Terraferma, 1477-78, c. 57v-58r 5 Feb. 1478). Loredan stated '... per quanto a mi, li haverebe cassi tutti', noting the presence of eight men at least 64 years old, including one 'paralitico et impotente'.
38. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 49r 5 June 1479, c. 70v 30 Oct. 1479, c. 188r 14 Feb. 1483; A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 42v 3 July 1488; A.S.V. Serenissima Signoria Lettere Terra, filza 1, letter dated 13 Nov. 1488; A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 24 c. 109r 31 Mar. 1489. There

38. (cont.) were others from the fall of Scutari who came to the province - a gentleman of the city was Castellan of Montagnana S.Zeno, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c, 19r Jan./Feb. 1487, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 73v-74r 10 Nov. 1494.

39. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 42v 3 July 1478; A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 25 c. 195v 27 Feb. 1493, reg. 26 c. 33v 27 Mar. 1493, reg. 28 c. 193v 26 Feb. 1501; A.S.V. Dieci Lettere di Rettori b. 80, letters dated 26 Oct. 1500, 13 Apr. 1505; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 15 c. 34v-35r 27 June 1504.

40. See SANUDO Diarii II 360, 23 Jan. 1498, a vacancy in Padua castle is noted as being the Capi of the Ten's to fill. Other castles taken under the Ten's special protection were those of the newly conquered Cremonese in 1499, see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 28 c. 96v 30 Dec. 1499.

41. See A.S.V. Dieci Lettere di Rettori b. 80 letter dated 30 Mar. 1506. In 1478 Loredan had noted (above n. 37) that very many of the Paduan garrison possessed lettere ducali in their favour; the castellan at that time, dismissed probably as a result of Loredan's report (cfr. n. 44), had even appointed his three-year old son and a servant aged 12 or 13 to the garrison.

42. In 1471 the Senate renounced claims to competence in the matter, and in 1476 the Ten assumed sole right to authorize castellans' absence, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 132v 21 May 1471, A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 18 c. 209v 18 May 1476, reg. 19 c. 54r 11 June 1477. Subsequent permissions are recorded in the regg. of the Maggior Consiglio and Dieci Miste.

43. See e.g. the career of Battista da Brescia, constable of the Paduan gate of S.Sofia, who travelled as servant of the ambassador Domenico Zorzi in 1474, and was used by the Ten in confidential work, including contacts with Mantua. In 1488 he was rewarded with an expectancy on a job in the Venice flour Fondaco. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 165r 16 July 1474, A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg, 24 c. 47r 30 July 1488.

44. See A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 19 c. 90v 7 Feb. 1478, reg. 23 c. 83v-84r 11 Oct. 1486.

45. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 15 c. 129r 6 Aug. 1506, c. 194v 6 Oct. 1507; cfr. Priuli's comment (Diarii II p. 421) that Venetians sent their servants to serve in their stead.

46. See a report on the Paduan castle in 1485, A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 22 c. 215-216r 5 Oct. 1485. For similar faults, and propsed remedies, see C.CIPOLLA 'Note di Storia Veronese - la Relazione di Giorgio Sommariva sullo Stato di Verona e del Veronese', N.A.V., t. VI 1893.

47. See A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 25 c. 92v Dec. 1491, the Padua wine dazio contractor undertook to supply the castle, to prevent losses to the fisc from trading taking place there. Cfr. above nn. 41, 44, the misdemeanours of the Padua castellan dismissed in 1478.

48. See legislation by the Ten, A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 16 c, 119v 13 Jan. 1463, reg. 17 c, 61r 1 Apr. 1467; cfr. accusations against the Padua castellan by the garrison, Idem reg. 16 c. 221v-22r 5,11 Dec. 1465.

49. For complaint and action against marauding gate-captains, see A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 168v 8 Oct. 1465, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 208v-209r 24 Oct. 1465.

50. Cfr. discussion in Ch. III below, esp. pp and nn. 45-48. The Paduan

51. garrison suffered from delays and arrears of pay, which standing administrative orders perhaps prevented from worsening, but did not cure. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 73v 19 Nov. 1489; A.S.V. Dieci Lettere di Rettori b. 80, letter dated 15 Dec. 1507.

*52. Over the castle of Padua, over the inspection and maintenance of fortifications, over the attention to duty of castellans - cfr. above pp. 29 ff.

53. For the discovery of neglect in Padua, see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 17 c. 170r 14 June 1471; they assumed sole right to authorize perish-

* 51. Cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 157v, 7 Feb. 1472 (for yearly reports to the Arsenal), c. 158v 24 Feb. 1472 (the sale and renewal of provisions); idem reg. 10 c. 148r 16 June 1489. (for inventories to be registered in the Arsenal).

53. (cont.) able munitions' sale or renewal, also ordering castellans to report on their upkeep to the local city Rettori when leaving office, see Idem reg. 18 c. 210 18 May 1476. Further provisions of 1487, specifying control over artillery, were renewed when discovery of neglect prompted a general re-issue of regulations in 1500 - Idem reg. 28 c. 112v-13r 28 Feb. 1500, (cfr. PRIULI Diarii I p. 282). In 1505 the Ten sold off stocks and requisitioned fresh grain for the Padovano castles, see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 30 c. 214v-15r, c. 217r Nov. 1505.

54. See A.S.V. Collegio Notatorio reg. 11, entry dated 21 Aug. 1470; A.S.P. Ducali reg. G c. 24v-25r 3 Dec. 1505; Relazione...Agostino da Mula cit. p. 18.

55. See MALLETT Mercenaries and their Masters pp. 140-41; for the arming of Padovano levies, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 8v 5 May 1478. Though in 1470 the reverse had happened, when the Ten borrowed cannon from Padua to hasten the arming of the war fleet, see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 17 cc. 143v, 144v, 145v.

56. Cfr. above p. 30 and n. 26; munitions checking figures in at least three later 15th century commissions, two to Provveditori sopra le Camere in 1464 and 1500, while one in 1491 was specifically for an artillery check. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 99v 22 Nov. 1464, A.S.V. Collegio Secreta Commissioni reg. 1482-95 c. 159 31 Aug. 1491, and reg. 1500-13 c. 3r-4v 21 Apr. 1500; cfr. below p. 107 n. 121, p. 124 n 219

57. Castelbaldo, Camposampiero and Montagnana all kept grain provisions, see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 20 c. 105r 11 July 1481. For reports, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 88r (Castelbaldo 1490); A.S.V. Dieci Lettere di Rettori b. 112, letter dated 17 Feb. 1503 (Camposampiero). See above n. 44, the Paduan Castellan dismissed in 1478 was accused of selling the castle's munitions. See Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti, VI, p. 1: a report dated 19 Sept. 1500 by the returning Rettore of Rovigo described munitions in the Polesine as 'mal governade'.

58. But there was no suggestion of elaborating these natural obstacles into a properly conceived serraglio; the former serraglio of Arin, which ran east of Padua, was no longer maintained as such in the 15th century, cfr, the documents in Ms. B.M. It. VII 2397 (10134).

59. The eventuality does appear to have been considered in Padua's case, if this is the correct interpretation of work ordered in 1471 to expand the troop-holding capacity of the citadel - see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 135v 26 June 1471. On preparations for siege in 1509, when the city housed a large defending force, cfr. above n. 29.

60. See above p. 27 and nn. 7-8.

61. See MALLETT Mercenaries and their Masters p. 119.

62. In 1490 four was established as the requirement, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 22v-23r 10 Sept. 1490.

63. MALLETT op. cit. p. 152.

64. MALLETT op. cit. p. 82.

65. MALLETT op. cit. pp. 91, 138; cfr. above p. 32 and n. 36.

66. MALLETT op. cit. pp. 88-89.

67. MALLETT op. cit. p. 126.

68. Cfr. above p. 31 and n. 27. There is no collected documentary material for the activity of the Paduan Vice-Collateral in the later 15th century; the first records preserved in the A.S.P. date from 1647.

69. Major parades brought troops together from several provinces; the Padovano detachments might gather on home territory at Montagnana, (see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 28 9 Oct. 1490; SANUDO Diarii I 868 22 Sept. 1497), or in the Vicentino, (see A.S.V. Senato Segreta reg. 18 c. 145v 25 May 1502), or the Veronese, (see A.S.V. Collegio Segreta Commissioni reg. 1500-1513 c, 47v-48v 23 Sept. 1505). On all these four occasions the Captain of Padua was one of the inspectors.

70. See e.g. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 41 c. 129r 1 Aug. 1508, ordering

70. (cont.) simultaneous local inspections in each province. For the regularity of these inspections, see e.g. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 171r 27 July 1472, reg. 7 c. 100v 30 Dec. 1475, specifying four and three, respectively, every year.

71. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 16 c. 107r 8 Mar. 1509; SANUDO Diarii VII 763 27 Feb. 1509. Banca war-time expenses were more than double those of peace-time, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 9 c. 108v 16 Sept. 1484.

72. In the decade before Agnadello, the Senate's directives not infrequently linked the timing of pay and inspections - see e.g. A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 39 c. 83 1 Mar. 1503, reg. 41 c. 18 and 19v - 16 and 19 Mar. 1507.

73. See PIVA La Guerra di Ferrara I pp. 112 ff.; SANUDO Commentarii pp. 34, 39, 45, 50. For the burden on Padua's hospital of S.Francesco see A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 316r 18 July 1482, c. 397v-98r 6 Feb. 1484.

74. See SANUDO Diarii VII 749, 751; VIII 63, 69, 99.

75. See e.g. A.S.V. Serenissima Signoria Lettere Terra filza 1, letter dated 6 Oct. 1488: for nightly accomodation and transport for the infantry company of Jacomo Albanense, returning to its Polesine lodgings.

76. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 20r 19 Jan. 1487; A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori vol. I, letter dated 6 Nov. 1501.

77. See A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 16 c. 160r 20 June 1464, (a law-case arising from the previous year's passage of troops).

78. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 209r-211r 28 Mar. 1464: reference to the Collateral's activity in the province.

79. E.g. temporary strengthening of security precautions and manpower in the Adige area in the autumn of 1492 - see letters in A.S.V. Collegio Lettere Secrete reg. 6, c. 111v 13 Sept. 1492 and ff., A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 34 c. 146r, 147v 15 and 25 Oct. 1492. Cfr. below p.136 and n. 271.

80. See A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 75v 20 June 1471; A.S.V. SenatoTerra reg. 6 c. 196r Jan. 1473.

81. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 48v, 49r, 51r July-Sept. 1479.

82. The build-up of forces in the Padovano was especially intense in the preparatory stages; see A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 43v 28 Mar. 1482, troops concentrated round Cittadella, reg. D c. 16r 14 July 1486, the effects of troops' presence in the eastern Padovano. The dispersal of soldiers after the signing of peace was slow, and many remained in the province through the winter of 1484-85, see A.S.V. Collegio Lettere Secrete reg. 5, esp, cc. 91v-93r, re-distribution of troops in April 1485.

83. For the detailed history of the war, see G.ONESTINGHEL 'La Guerra tra Sigismondo Conte del Tirolo e la Repubblica di Venezia', in Tridentum nn. 8-9, 1905-06, pp. 63-65, 231-238 - which I was not able to consult. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 25v 27 Apr. and 1 May 1487; A.S.V. Collegio Segreta Commissioni/reg. 1482-95 c. 100v 25 Apr. 1487; A.S.P. Atti vol. 41, sub voce Cavalieri alle Biave, Guglielmo de' Cortosii chosen 22 Nov. 1487 'ad equitandum pro gentibus armigeris'.

84. See SANUDO Diarii I 932, 941 Apr. 1498; A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 37 c. 49r 11 Aug. 1498.

85. See SANUDO Diarii II 394, 400 Feb. 1499, and II 1187 1 Sept. 1499; A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 37 c. 122v-23r 3 Aug. 1499, reg. 38 c. 140r 7 May 1501.

86. See above p.40 and n. 74. No account is taken here of military events following May 1509, which centred very heavily on the Padovano.

87. See MALLETT Mercenaries and their Masters p. 88.

88. It was promised in the companies' contracts, see MALLETT op. cit. p. 86.

89. See in general MALLETT op. cit. p. 139. For the War of Ferrara see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 148v 2 May 1482, c. 152v 19 May 1482, reg. 9 c. 10 23 June 1483; SANUDO Commentarii pp. 72, 103-04; A.S.P.

89. (cont.) Atti reg. VI c. 396r 13 Jan. 1484. For the Italian wars, see A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 41 c. 96v 4 Apr. 1508, dazio-free transit allowed for victuals from the Padovano for the army in Friuli,

90. For 1485, cfr. n. 82 above - re-distribution in April left the Padovano with 1,089 horse of Sanseverino's, and 300 of the Colleoneschi; see also A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 7 26 May 1486, reg. Verde c. 75 6 Apr. 1490; A,S.P. Territorio vol. 281, divisions of 1500, 1501 by the Quaderniere del Comune and ducale of 7 Apr. 1506, vol. 16 division by the Collegio of 18 July 1517. For the interpretation of these figures, though, cfr. below nn. 106, 109.

91. For 1517, see n. 90 above; for 1513 see A.S.P. Territorio vol. 281 c. 135.

92. For the official view, here couched as persuasion, see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 16 c. 197v 27 Mar. 1465: the Ten refused transfers requested by Colleone, remarking of troops established in the Bresciano that '... fecit suum domicilium ibi, et ita bene aptaverunt suam formam vivendi ut cum parva expensa eas nutrimus'. Further indication of the soldiers' permanence of quartering are their borrowing and buying habits - see A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 3r 1 Nov. 1484, (sequestration of property for debt), and A.CISCATO Storia di Este (Este 1899), p. 66, (pawning military equipment with Jews).

93. See A.S.P. Territorio vol. 281, ducale of 18 May 1442 to Vicenza, vol. 21 order dated 12 Jan. 1469 from the Captain of Padua to the Podestà of Este.

94. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 20v-22r 20 May 1447: the 'onus equorum, pro eis pascendis et alodiandis' cost up to L. 5 per month per horse.

95. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 28v-29r 5 July 1468.

96. See P.SAVIOLO Compendio delle Origini et Relazione delli Estimi della Citta di Padova, Padua 1667, p. 19; A.S.V. Collegio Lettere Secrete reg. 5 c. 91v-93r 8 Apr. 1485; A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 32 c. 145r 2 May 1485.

97. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 73r 13 Aug. 1489.

98. See Idem c. 73 6 Apr. 1490.

99. Cfr. above p.42 and n. 90; SAVIOLO op. cit. p. 19, referring to a ducale of 20 Mar. 1501; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 29v 23 July 1501.

100. At L. 4 10 s. a month - see SAVIOLO op. cit. p. 19, and Bilanci Generali della Repubblica di Venezia, vol. I t. I, Venice 1912, p. CLXXVIII, referring to a law of 27 Jan. 1517. 1517 appears to have been the moment when military dues acquired more stable denomination, with some division between billetting (tassa di genti d'arme) and hay, straw etc. due to the soldiers (ordini di banca, or alloggi di cavalleria). Though both were certainly due before then, administrative vocabulary was less discriminating or precise, and seems to have lumped them together. Cfr. Bilanci cit., p. cit., PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 1314 ff., and P.PRETO 'Il Regime Fiscale e le Dogane in Epoca Veneta' in Una Citta e il Suo Fiume - Verona e l'Adige, (Verona 1977), p. 658 and n. 89.

101. See e.g. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 4 c. 174v-75r 27,29 June 1461.

102. In 1485 the Collegio (cfr. the reference in n. 96) ordered that troops stay in their billets, instead - as was their wont - of transferring to inns. In 1490 Padua sent the Signoria a list of 42 absent recipients of taxe, who were recalled to their quarters, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 73 6 Apr. 1490. The matter was the subject of legislation, see e.g. A,S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 119v 3 Aug. 1492. Foreigners in the Sanseverino companies were admonished against wandering, (see A.S.V. Serenissima Signoria Lettere Terra filza 1, letter dated 28 Sept. 1488), while some Venetian subjects kept their horses at their homes, (see A.S.V. Collegio Lettere Secrete filza 1, c. 29 ff. letter dated 12 Oct. 1489, listing among others 'Fr. Buzacharino cavali 9 in caxa soa in padoana). Cfr. C.FERRARI 'Com'

102. (cont.) Era Amministrato Un Comune del Veronese al Principio del Secolo XVI', Atti Accademia Veronese, serie IV vol. III, 1902-03, pp. 235 ff., Tregnago in the Veronese paid money to four, later six, horsemen awarded billets there in the first decade of the 16th century, with payment taking place at a Verona inn...

103. See e.g. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 118v 22 Feb. 1481; reg. 13 c. 14v 26 Aug. 1497. The Signoria made attempts to enforce rules limiting the concession of dues to horses actually possessed, see A.S.V. Collegio Lettere Secrete reg. 5 c. 3v-4r 1 Sept. 1484, c. 24, 19 Oct. 1484: co-ordination of a secret check on the companies' horses.

104. First proposed in 1464, the scheme was introduced in 1471. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 105v 31 Dec. 1464, reg. 6 c. 143 16 Sept. 1471, reg. 11 c. 61v 20 Apr. 1491.

105. The many travellers passing through the city, both official and private, constituted a regular demand; frequent official traffic (of ambassadors etc.) resulted in the Rettori's maintaining a large stables, which was subject to periodic calls for economy - see A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 3r 15 Apr. 1486, c. 4v 27 Apr. 1486, c. 13v 18 Sept. 1486; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 96v 4 Aug. 1502. For the Venetian army's supplies, see MALLETT Mercenaries and their Masters pp. 140-41. For Padua's specificrrole, see a hint in SANUDO Diarii IV 818: a proposal from antwerp to the Collegio in 1503 to buy cavalry horses stated the price they would fetch in Padua.

106. A ducale sent to Padua in 1486 repeated a 1476 law banning army administrators from receiving pay or billetting dues for soldiers enlisted in the companies in their names - see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 143r 3 Dec. 1476, A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 7v 2 June 1486. Cfr. Idem reg. Verde c, 74r 5 Oct. 1489: a ducale ordering the removal from Padovano taxe of many not 'armigeri et militantes'. But in 1500 the Paduan Quaderniere del Comune, who distributed troops' billetting, received taxe for three horses in his own name, apparently an abuse of his position, (see A,S.P. Territorio vol. 281); and in 1501 the Paduan Vice-Collateral was dismissed for the unauthorized signing of forty extra horsemen into a company, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 46v-47r 12 Nov. 1501, and SANUDO Diarii IV 474.

107. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 119v 10 Nov. 1502.

108. See Idem reg. 70r-72r. For the shortage of public funds which stimulated this development, cfr. below pp. 139 ff. -

109. See e.g. the pensions paid to the son of Rodolfo Gonzaga (killed in Venetian service at Fornovo in 1495), and to the infantry commander Carazzolo's family after his death: A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 142v 14 Mar. 1503 (converting Gonzaga's pension from public funds, so as to lighten the load on the Camera Fiscale), reg. 16 c. 80v 23 Dec. 1508.

110. For citizens' houses exemption, see PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 1314; it was the case throughout the terraferma, according to A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 148v Oct. (though written Sept.) 1472.

111. See e.g. protest against the strain of taxe in 1476, (a time of hostility to extra tax, cfr. below), and 1487: A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 65v 29 Oct. 1476 and c. 67r-68r 3 Nov. 1486; Idem reg. 7 c. 143r 28 Dec. 1487, and A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 3 c. 81r 28 Feb. 1488.

112. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 230v-31v and 233r 13 and 30 July 1489, c. 260r-261r 23 Jan. 1490; and cfr. above p. 43 and nn. 97-98. Action by the Council over taxe was linked to its complaints over the loss of Cittadella's fiscal contribution to the province, through its possession by the Sanseverino (who were on less than cordial terms with the Council), and over the generally erosive effect on fiscal capacity of Venetian-owned property, seldom assessed for tax with the villages and so exempt from these dues. Cfr. below pp. 206 ff. -

113. Cfr. above p.45 and n. 106 for the Quaderniere's conduct in 1500. Standing Venetian orders (see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 40r 17 May 1474) forbade charging in the distribution of billets, and Paduan protest in 1489 obtained confirmation of this principle, and of the Commune's competence - see A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 217v-218 21 Feb. and 4 Mar. 1489, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 68v-69v 22 Mar. 1489.

114. See e.g. A.S.V. Senato, Provveditori da terra e da mar, reg. 24 c. 111v-112v 29 Apr. 1478: cavalry moving through the Padovano was not properly escorted. The letter adds '...Et per tutti li territorii esta zercatto de cazarli, senza haver rispetto, alle cavalcatte longe loro,..' In 1471 the duty of escorting fell on the Deputati ad Utilia, but they immediately passed it to the imbussolati (elected and awaiting their turn of service) for the Commune's other major offices, see A.S.P. atti reg. V c. 75v 20 June 1471, c. 76v-77r 29 July 1471. For the role of the Cavalieri alle Biade and del Comune, see Idem reg. VI c. 401v 3 June 1484, reg. VIII c. 41v 30 Dec. 1492, and above n. 83. The threatening tone of an order from the Rettori in 1508 confirms the signs of reluctance in the Council records, see A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 5 c. 44r 5 Mar. 1508.

115. See e.g. disputes over hay-cutting, and the ownership of manure from military stabling: Ms. B.M. It. VII 2397 (10134), order of 21 July 1445 by the Padua Captain, and A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 16 c. 137v 7 Oct. 1463. For bloodshed in the Padovano, in 1440-41 and 1469, in which soldiers were blamed for incidents with the peasants, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 85v-86r, c. 90-91. Individual peasants who took service with soldiers were inclined to lawlessness, see Idem reg. Verde c. 39v 20 May 1473.

116. For murders among soldiers at Montagnana, see e.g. A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 205v 29 Feb. 1480.

117. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 31v-32r 5 July 1468, for an example. The alarms of 1499 (above p.26 and n. 3) were touched off by Spanish troops at Campodampiero who '.. feno certo rumor per alozar'.

118. Complaints and accusations of troops' destructiveness and violence may be found inside and outside Venetian lands: see e.g. W.BARBIANI La Dominazione Veneta a Ravenna (Ravenna 1927) pp. 62-64, L.MARTINES Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence (Princeton 1968) pp. 242 - Florentine troops at Pisa, G.L.BASINI L'Uomo e il Pane - Risorse, Consumi e Carenze Alimentari della Popolazione Modenese nel Cinque e Seicento, (Milan 1970) pp. 14-15. But without more detailed indications it is difficult to evaluate the exact truth of the commonplace. The vigour of the rural population's expressed opinions in Friuli appears the exception, if only by its coherence: in 1508 the Parlamento protested at the weight of troops' presence, as well as of military obligations and corvees in general, (see P.S.LEICHT 'Un Movimento Agrario nel Cinquecento', in Scritti Vari di Storia del Diritto Italiano, I, Milan 1943, p. 82).

119. The army inspectors of 1505 made the radical recommendation of lodging all the troops in peacetime in one or two provinces, and of paying the soldiers individually instead of through their commanders, with a view to greater efficiency and control. But the Senate 'comenzò a far remor', and the matter was not further discussed - see SANUDO Diarii VII 248 25 Oct. 1505.

120. Conscripted infantry had precedents from Carrarese times, and one of Venice's first acts as ruler was to survey the province's resources of men and beasts, see PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 356. For Venetian terminology to designate levies, see MALLETT Mercenaries and their Masters pp. 113-14.

121. There was service at Trieste in 1463, and an alert for the 1471 Estense succession in Ferrara, (cfr. above p.27 and n. 7): A.S.V.

121. (cont.) Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 55r 2 Oct. 1463, A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 16 c. 140r 2 Nov. 1463; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 135r 22 June 1471, A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 25 c. 43r 28 June 1471.

122. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 158v 28 Mar. 1477, c. 188r 17 Nov. 1477.

123. A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 27v 22 Dec. 1477, c. 27 26 Jan. 1478; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 195v 22 Jan. and c. 196r 27 Jan. 1478, Idem reg. 8 c. 5v 1 Apr. 1478, c. 14r 1 July 1478.

124. A graphic account of events in Friuli at this time is provided by the letters of Lorenzo Loredan, Provveditore Generale, see A.S.V. Senato, Provveditori da terra e da mar reg. 24, esp cc. 154v, 158v, 159r, 159, 159v-160r, 160, 161r-62r, 162v - letters dated from 24 Sept. to 8 Oct. 1478. For the parade, see the copy of his report in A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 39v 27 Sept. 1478.

125. For action in the War of Ferrara, see SANUDO Commentarii p. 99, an alert in the autumn of 1483.

126. For the Ten's military interests, cfr. above p. 35 and nn. 32-53.

127. See G.CELLI 'Le Ordinanze Militari della Repubblica Veneta nel Secolo XVI', Nuova Antologia vol. LIII Sept. 1894; and A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 24 cc. 208, 222r, 226v, 230v, 236 - 20 Aug., 25 Sept., 20 Oct., 24 Nov., 29 Dec. 1490, also reg. 25 c. 51v 18 May 1491, c. 99v 4 Jan. 1492, reg. 26 c. 49r 17 July 1493, and A.S.V. Capi dei Dieci Notatorio reg. 2 entry dated 30 Apr. 1492.

128. See FERRARI 'Com'era amministrato un Comune' cit. (henceforth 'Un Comune'), pp. 232-33, Tregnago paid for three schioppettieri, who trained with the provisionati. See e.g. A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 41 c. 72r 14 Jan. 1508, an order to the Paduan Rettori for 500 'boni et electi' provisionati, to include the maximum possible number of '...schiopetieri boni et sufficienti'. The scheme continued at least till Agnadello in 1509, its cost divided among the villages on the basis of their fiscal assessments, with its administration offering opportunities for abuse (cfr. the references in n. 127).

129. See SANUDO Diarii II 1134, III 7; A.S.P. Territorio vol. 281, ducale dated 4 Sept. 1499; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 91v-92r 24 Aug. 1499.

130. See Idem reg. 15 c. 176v 10 June 1507; cfr. CELLI op. cit. See the Senate's order of 15 Jan. 1508 (n. 128 above), and A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 16 c. 38v-39r 1 Aug. 1508.

131. See PIERI La Crisi Militare p. 391.

132. See A.S.P. Territorio vol. 302, ducali of 2, 6, 18 July 1474 and 2 Aug. 1481. For guastatori at Gradisca, see e.g. A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 28 c. 154v 15 Feb. 1479, and A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 67v 16 Sept. 1480 (a receipt of pay, levied from Padovano distrettuali).

133. See PIVA La Guerra di Ferrara, I p. 43, SANUDO Commentarii pp. 11-12.

134. See A.S.V. Collegio Segreta Commissioni reg. 1482-95, c. 38v-39r 6 June 1483, c. 39 7 June 1483, c. 47 31 Aug. 1483, c, 64r 22 May 1484.

135. See SANUDO Diarii V 281 (Faenza), II 196, 202-03, 316 (Bibbiena).

136. For provisionati's exemptions see e.g. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 43r 20 Mar. 1479. See too sequestration orders against Vicentino peasants, obtained by rural communes' authorities, for moneys due to provisionati and galliotti, in Ms. Quirini Stampalia IV 635, c. 9r March 1502. For service by substitutes, see evidence for the Trevigiano levies at Agnadello, in A.SANTALENA Veneti ed Imperiali - Treviso al Tempo della Lega di Cambray, (Venice 1896), pp. 20-21; the Padovano provisionati lists of 1478 show that many men of other villages, even of other provinces, served in the names of the various Padovano communes - see A.S.V. Senato, Provveditori da Terra e da Mar, reg. 24 cc. 154v, 161r-62r.

137. Horses and carts were part of the services due to the army, but requisitioning might complement the standing obligations - horses for the artillery train (see SANUDO Diarii II 420 Feb. 1499, A.S.V.

137. (cont.) Senato Terra reg. 16 c. 115v-16r 16 Apr. 1509), or corn to feed the army's animals (see A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 80v 13 June 1463; reg. E c. 25r 26 Apr. 1487, c. 34r 8 Aug. 1487, c. 37r 30 Nov. 1487, c. 53v 4 Aug. 1488). Regulations foresaw the requisitioning of victuals to refurbish munitions, and supply corvee workforces, with due provision for reimbursement and also opportunity for abuse - see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 110 27 Apr. 1476.

138. Not only on rivers, but also Lake Garda - cfr. LANE Venice p. 230.

139. Cfr. in general bibliography in n. 4 above, also MALIPIERO Annali I p. 253.

140. See compensation awarded afterwards, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 176r 9 Nov. 1482.

141. The matter is dealt with in F.LANE 'Naval Action and Fleet Organization, 1499-1502' in ed. J.HALE Renaissance Venice, London 1973, p. 163. For the galliotti's pay, similar to the schioppettieri's, cfr. n. 136 above, and A.S.P. Territorio vol. 49, ducale of 7 Dec. 1502.

142. See LANE 'Naval Action' cit. pp. 160 ff., and A.TENENTI Cristoforo Canal, la Marone Venitienne avant Lepante, Paris 1962, pp. 64 ff.

143. Cfr, n. 94 above.

144. See A.S.P. territorio vol. 224, ruling by the Paduan Captain dated 18 Feb. 1457, confirmed by a ducale of 6 Apr. 1457.

145. G.MARCHESINI 'La Lega di Cambray e le Spese di Guerra di Un Comune nella Riviera Benacense', A.V. t. X parte I, 1875, pp. 147-48.

146. This estimate is hypothetical; the accounts of Tregnago (see C.FERRARI 'Un Comune' pp. 231 ff., 276-77) do not give direct grounds for comparison, but are in accordance with this order of magnitude. For an estimate of 50 years later, see Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti, IV, pp. 21-22: in a year of peace the Podesta reckoned L. 25,000 of 'tanse di cavalli', L. 6,000 for 'arcobusieri e galioti', with corvées of a military character - the 'fabriche' of Legnago and Padua - accounting for another L. 6,600; the total, L. 37,600, is about three quarters of the Padovano's annual dadie contribution. Cfr. below pp. 152 ff. -

147. See Lettere Storiche di Luigi da Porto p. 32.

148. See MALLETT Mercenaries and their Masters pp. 216 ff.

149. Idem p. 126.

150. See Lettere Storiche cit. pp. 40-43, substantially repeated by PIERI La Crisi Militare pp. 219-20, and VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo p. 342.

151. Cfr. n. 147.

152. Republics were not subject to the changes wrought by successions, or the altered humour of princes; and Venice's extended reward system included the trappings of honour and the substance of wealth, with grants of lands, feudal titles and for some admission to the patrician caste. See MALLETT Mercenaries cit. pp. 92-93, and 'Venice and its Condottieri', passim.

153. See MALLETT Mercenaries and their Masters p. 107. During the War of Ferrara, the Senate forbade nobles to seek to influence the hirings of Roberto Da Sanseverino and the Duke of Lorraine - strong evidence of patronage at work; see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 144r 1 Apr. 1482, c. 200v 21 Apr. 1483. For Agnadello see Lettere Storiche cit. p. 53: the Paduan was Pietro Testa; Baldassare Scipione, whom Da Porto refers to as Paduan, was in fact Veronese, (cfr. SANUDO Diarii IX 241).

154. See e.g. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 44r 31 Dec. 1490, instructions on the use of public funds for prizes.

155. Most noteworthy in the later 15th century was the tournament of 1485, held to celebrate the Peace of Bagnolo, and attended by the Doge, the Duke of Ferrara and the Venetian commanders. Sanseverino's sons were among the prizewinners. See G.TASSINI Feste, Spettacoli, Divertimenti e Piaceri degli Antichi Veneziani, (Venice 1961), pp. 31-32.

156. The palii were the overall responsibility of the Ten, (cfr. the regg. of A.S.V. Dieci Miste for awards of prize money). They reviewed the competition rules in 1490, instituting a third palio; the schioppetto competition was started in 1506, (see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 24 c. 185r 14 Apr. 1490, c. 203v 4 Aug. 1490, reg. 31 c. 100r 18 Aug. 1506). The August 1505 palio was delayed by plague in the Padovano, obstructing competitors' access to Venice - proof of its wide appeal, (see J.ASTEGIANO 'L'Artigleria all'Assedio di Padova nel 1509', B.M.C.P. XI-XII, 1908-09, p. 123).

157. See A.SEGARIZZI Antonio Baratella (Misc.D.V.S.P. III, 10 - 1916), passim; Idem, Contributo alla Storia delle Congiure Padovane', N.A.V. n.s. t. XXXI parte I, 1916.

158. See SANUDO Vitae Ducum pp. 1172-73, 1179; cfr. A.CISCATO Storia di Este cit. pp. 217 ff.

159. See A.S.P. Cassa Citta vol. 189, payment dated 6 July 1471; A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 113v 18 July 1478.

160. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 10 c. 62v 11 Sept. 1487, reg. 12 c. 90v, 91r 27,29 Apr. 1495; A.S.V. Serenissima Signoria Lettere Terra filza 1, letters dated 5 Oct, and 28 Nov. 1488, filza II, letters dated 20 Mar. 1492.

161. See SANUDO Diarii I 195, 1025; II 83-85, 1147, 1176, 1299; IV 323; VI 103; VII 305, 314-15, 319-20, 574, 577, 579, 705; VIII 217. Also A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 51v-52r 6 Dec. 1501, reg. 16 c. 78v-80v 23 Dec. 1508; and LEONARDO e GREGORIO AMASEO e GIO. ANTONIO AZIO, Diarii Udinesi dall'anno 1508 al 1541, ed. A.CERUTI, Mon. D.V.S.P. III, 2 (Venice 1884-85), pp. 18, 56.

162. He played some part in negotiations for Rovigo's surrender to Venice, see PIVA La Guerra di Ferrara I p. 282, SCARDEONE De Antiquitate cit. p. 316; and A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 20 c. 188, 204r 30 July and 17 Sept. 1482, reg. 22 c. 109 21 Oct. 1484, reg. 23 c. 161v 19 Sept. 1487.

163. For evidence of early contact between them, see R.PREDELLI I Libri Commemoriali della Repubblica di Venezia. Regesti VI (Mon.R.D.V.S.P. I, 10, Venice 1901), p. 36: Capodivacca witnessed the renewal of Pitigliano's contract, 26 Oct. 1498. For his role in tax collection, cfr. below pp. 232 . See in general the entry in D.B.I. vol. 17, pp. 641-43.

164. See SCARDEONE De Antiquitate p. 313, and SANUDO Diarii VII 679-80, 683-84.

165. Cfr. above p. 54 and n. 153. See e.g. the command given to Count Francesco da San Bonifacio in 1509, ascribed by Da Porto to his Venetian marriage, but just as likely to derive from connection through marriage with Antonio de' Pii da Carpi, a senior Venetian captain and like Francesco member of an old noble family; Francesco served under Antonio in 1509. See PORTENARI Della Felicita cit. p. 183; BONARDI 'I Padovani Ribelli' p. 376. The families and individuals most involved in military affairs in Italy had something of the character of a professional cadre; there are glimpses of it in Padua, whose Vice-Collateral Odasii was related to Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino's secretary, (both were of a family from Martinengo, cfr. B.CESTARO 'Rimatori Padovani del Secolo XV', Ateneo Veneto XXVII 1914, vol. II p. 6). Guidobaldo's return to Urbino at the collapse of Borgia power there was assisted by Beraldo Beraldo, of the Paduan military family mentioned above, (see SANUDO Diarii V 260, 3 Nov. 1503).

166. Cfr. the Oct. 1489 report cited in n. 102 above, and Paduan names again among the 'Roberteschi' at the moment of their dispersal, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 42v-43v 14 Dec. 1490.

167. See Idem reg. 11 c. 45 31 Dec. 1490, reg. 16 c. 138v-39r 27 July 1509; A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 31 c. 138r 9 Dec. 1507.

168. E.g. an innkeeper at Frassine (4 km. north of Montagnana) had three

168. (Cont.) sons serving in the cavalry - see A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale reg. I, examination of witnesses dated 5 Sept. 1492.

169. SANUDO Diarii II 1168; V 561; VII 322.

170 See many references in SANUDO Diarii, beginning with II 193; PETRI DELPHINI Annalium Venetorum Pars Quarta, ed. R.CESSI, P.SAMBIN, (Venice 1943), p. 134-35; SCARDEONE De Antiquitate p. 352; A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 32 c. 257v 3 Feb. 1507.

171. SANUDO Diarii VII 309, 338 and VIII 54; AMASEO Diarii Udinesi pp. 102, 111, 117, 122; SCARDEONE op. cit. p. 308; BONARDI 'I Padovani Ribelli' p. 365.

172. For general policy over timber, cfr. below n. 337 . The Arsenal had protected woods in Istria (Val di Montona) and the Trevigiano (Montello), guarded by ditches and custodians, see LANE Venice cit. p. 384. The Carpaneda wood was, according to Gloria (Territorio Padovano II p. 85), of 333 campi padovani, with access by water to the Bacchiglione - though an agreed settlement of ownership between the Signoria and the Paduan Lodovico da Rio in 1470, allowing half to each, suggests that then the Signoria's part was 267 campi. It is not clear how the Signoria became owner - perhaps through the transfer of rights from a village; as early as 1457 there had been a corvee of wood transport from the Vicariate of Teolo, presumably meaning Carpaneda. (See A.S.P. Ducali reg. A c. 56v 28 Jan. 1470; A.S.P. Territorio, documents of 18 Feb. 1457, 5 Mar. 1466 quoted in a 16th century dispute). In 1486 it passed under the protection of the Council of Ten, who stopped cutting, ordered the construction of a ditch against intruders, and changed the wood's custodian; it later continued in the Arsenal's charge. See A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 23 c. 70, 76v 9 Aug. and 20 Oct. 1486; reg. 24 c. 25v-26r 30 Dec. 1488, c. 176r 10 Mar. 1490; reg. 30 c. 148v, 162r, 169 20 Nov. 1504, 12 Feb. and 12 Mar. 1505; A.S.V. Dieci Lettere di Rettori, b. 80 letter dated 30 July 1506; A.S.P. Territorio vol. 271, ducale of 18 June 1506; see Ms. B.P. 530 XV, a 17th century custodian's report on the state of the wood, and Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti, IV, pp. 467, 472, 500 (18th century Rettori's reports). The little attention it has attracted may be due to the restrictions imposed on cutting at the beginning of its custody by the Ten; cfr. the few permissions granted, A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 28 c. 241r 27 Oct. 1501, reg. 29 c. 241r 6 July 1503.

173. See in general F.LANE 'The Rope Factory and Hemp Trade of Venice in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', Journal of Economic and Business History suppl. vol. IV no. 4 Aug. 1932. The scheme of growing hemp was operated in the Trevigiano and round Montagnana, to counter Venice's dependence on the Bolognese market and its prices after the loss of Black Sea supplies, due to Turkish conquest. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 95r laws of 23 Nov. 1476, 6 Apr. 1495, reg. 14 c. 133r 19 Jan. 1503, and reg. 16 c. 88v-89r Jan. 1509, a proposal to extend the scheme to Venice's new Romagna holdings; also A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 29 c. 142r 6 July 1502 (wood for soaking ponds at Montagnana), reg. 32 c. 189v 19 Aug. 1507 (the Ten anticipated the Senate in assigning funds for its purchase, fearful of its surreptitious export - cfr. Senato Terra reg. 15 c. 187v 20 Sept. 1507).

174. For gunpowder, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 65r 22 Nov. 1488, c. 74r 18 Nov. 1489; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 96v 25 Jan. 1492, reg. 12 c. 58r 9 June 1494; A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 28v, c. 28 11 June 1494 and 18 Feb. 1495. For the artillery school, see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 32 c. 126 30 Oct. 1506, c. 165v-66r 28 Apr. 1507, A.S.V. Capi dei Dieci Notatorio reg. 3 c. 7r 9 Nov. 1506; for its later existence, see Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti IV, pp. 4, 16, 47 etc.

175. For stone from the Euganean quarry of the monastery of S.Maria di Lispida, used in the Arsenal, see A.S.V. Dieci Lettere di Rettori

175. (cont.) b. 80 letters dated 4 and 17 June 1506, and ff. Gun-carriages were made at Padua in 1496, oakum stored there in 1498, and ship's biscuit baked there in 1499 and 1500 (as it had been for the army during the War of Ferrara) - see SANUDO Diarii I 146, II 224, 785, 935, 1185; PRIULI Diarii II p. 14; A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 62v 23 June 1500 (and Idem reg. E c. 79v 20 July 1490, referring to supplies in the War of Ferrara).

176. E.g. the death of the Sultan in 1481, the declaration and victories of the War of Ferrara, and the Peace of Bagnolo - celebrated with bonfires in the squares of Padua. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 37v 29 May 1481, c. 43v 2 May 1482, c. 44r 11 May 1482, c. 54r-55r 14 Dec. 1485 (over fire-damage caused in 1484); SANUDO Commentarii cit. pp. 139-40.

CHAPTER THREE

PUBLIC FINANCE : THE PADUAN EXCHEQUER IN THE VENETIAN FISCAL SYSTEM, AND THE DISTRIBUTION, ASSESSMENT AND EXACTION OF TAXATION.

Consideration of Padua's contribution to Venetian public finance in the later fifteenth century is no easy task, since there are few established studies from which to shape an analysis. Paduan history is somewhat better served by published documentation and comment on this theme than Venetian;[1] indeed, thereis no work of major importance dedicated to the Republic's financial system in the Renaissance period, with the exception of the partial information and analysis in Besta's Bilanci Generali, published in 1912.[2] Here, as in other specialized areas, Venetian historiography lags behind scholarly interest in Florence.[3] Yet it is superfluous to state the urgent need for a study of public revenues and spending in Renaissance Venice: it would offer precious insights into the Republic's defence and foreign policy, elucidate important aspects of economic history, and contribute solid evidence with which to characterize the articulation and dynamism of the whole Venetian state structure. In particular, it would throw light on an essential and hitherto obscure aspect of the relationship between Dominante and terraferma - Venetian fiscal policy towards its possessions.[4]

In the later fifteenth century, finance is the theme of terraferma government most commonly recurring in the provisions of the councils of state, and in administrative correspondence between the capital and the provinces. But great caution is necessary in interpreting this evidence: it would be mistaken to adduce it as post factum proof of intended fiscal exploitation at the moment of the mainland conquests, for the impact and development of Venetian fiscal organization and demands were gradual, as the Republic took stock of its changed situation. Cessi explains Venice's progressive insistence and reliance on the terraferma's tax contribution in terms of fiscal sharing and

levelling:'... se non si può parlare di meditato proposito di perequazione questo nacque spontaneo, almeno entro certi limiti, per ineluttabile necessità economica...'.[5]

In the course of the fifteenth century the planning and handling structures of Venetian public finance grew in scale and importance, reacting to the expansion of resources and spending, and to the need to co-ordinate central decisions with the receipt and disbursement of the provincial exchequers. New institutions arose; responsibilities were created, assigned, contested; administrative methods and standards emerged. The stimulus to these developments was not only the physical growth of the Venetian state, but also the rhythm of war and peace. Warfare was together a test, a threat and a spur to the structures and resilience of public finance , with far-reaching consequences for every aspect of the life of the state. Indeed, according to Becker, '... public finance and the conduct of war were the primary socio-economic factors that promoted many of the startling political changes in Renaissance statal structures. The system of immunities, privileges and liberties in medieval Italian communes could not endure this protracted budgetary pressure.'[6]

Yet despite the tensions and changes provoked by warfare, the organization of Venetian public spending retained a decidely medieval aspect, evident in the interlaced and overlapping competence of authorities in Venice and their uncertain conduct of state finance, but also visible in the fiscal ordering of the terraferma. Though Becker's statement summarizes trends undeniably manifest in the political evolution of the north-east Italian cities, it requires some qualification as a description of the fiscal regime inherited and elaborated by the Signoria in the mainland. Transformation from medieval practice was gradual and remained incomplete. Venetian rule sanctioned certain existing privi-

leges, and created others, especially in favour of its own citizens. An essential part of the Signoria's policy of respect for the established forms and vested interests of terraferma politics was its tolerance of principles and practices not necessarily consistent with an efficient and just fiscal system. The sharing of tax between the cities and the countryside therefore remained heavily weighted to the advantage of the former, and sensitivity on fiscal issues - though intermittently menaced by the pressure of warfare - was appeased at the cost of efficiency by the role assigned to the subject cities in the assessment and exaction, but not the spending, of tax.

The orientation of this chapter around one province's fiscal organization and contribution within Venetian public finance is a deliberately limiting choice. But without abandoning its local character, such a survey must necessarily incorporate elements of a more global vision, of the overall direction of Venetian public finance, and of the delicate political aspects of Venice's fiscal policy towards the provinces, to name but two elements. Much of what is said in fact concerns the whole terraferma, and not simply Padua; this is due not only to Venetian standardization of the main elements of the provinces' fiscal organization, but also to the need to offer basic information on many of the questions under consideration.[7]

Discussion will naturally concentrate on the later fifteenth century, in accordance with the chronological limits chosen for this study, and there will be no more than brief reference to the early years of the Venetian fiscal regime in Padua, (already dealt with in considerable detail by Pino Branca). The first task is to review the outlines of Venetian fiscal history between the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, (the entity, provenance and destination of public revenues, against a background of long-term

trends). The second is to analyze certain aspects of the organization and administration of Venetian state finance as exemplified in the vicissitudes of the Paduan exchequer. And the third is to review the distribution, assessment and exaction of tax, questions which focus strongly on the political relations linking Venice and Padua, and defining the city's position in the province.

I : VENETIAN FISCAL HISTORY - THE GENERAL CONTEXT.

The most obvious point of departure for a sketch of Venetian revenues and spending is statistical information, but it is a disappointing one, for simple lack of knowledge. The available figures for the fifteenth century are few, and to be treated with caution. More specifically, there is nothing for the half-century before 1509 which can be called an official summary. The surviving public records of legislation and administration offer no more than fragmentary information, and the figures gathered in Bilanci Generali derive from Sanudo's Vite dei Dogi and various manuscript sources. The estimates of public revenues and spending that we possess - for 1464, 1469, 1490 and 1500 - are remarkably uniform, and perhaps not fully independent of one another,[8] so that Lane's simplified version of the 1500 summary gives us (with slight corrections) an overall picture valid for the fifty years before Agnadello, within the limits of present knowledge.[9]

It emerges from the resulting tables (see page 77) that terraferma taxation, even after defraying local expenses of government, made the largest single contribution to Venetian public revenue; the mar exchequers, in contrast, consumed all their income in local expenditure. At first sight, however, the D. 600,000 or more gross revenues from the city make the terraferma's contribution seem inordinately low, with regard

TABLE I. Venetian Public Income in the Later Fifteenth Century.

Venice:	indirect tax (dazi)	Ducats	230.000
	direct tax		155.000
	rents in Venice, and misc.		130.000
	Salt Office revenues		95.000
Terraferma:	exchequers' gross revenues		330.000
Mar:	exchequers' gross revenues		200.000
		Total Ducats	1.140.000

TABLE II. Venetian Public Expenditure in the Later Fifteenth Century.

Administrative costs:			
	salaries in Venice	Ducats	30.000
	Salt Office		55.000
	terraferma salaries and expenses		90.000
	mar salaries and expenses		200.000
Diplomacy, Defence and the Public Debt:[10]			765.000
		Total Ducats	1.140.000

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to its area, resources and population. But the figures require some adjustment: the incomes attributed to the mainland should include its share of the salt dazio, as well as a part of the decime (direct tax) levied on the clergy of both capital and provinces, (listed en bloc at D. 18.000 with the direct tax paid in Venice). Secondly, recognition must also be given to the fiscal weight of the considerable contributions of the terraferma countryside, originally in services or kind but increasingly in money, to the maintenance and logistical support of the regular army companies, and to the manning and paying of auxiliary military forces.[11] And thirdly

it has to be borne in mind that a good part of the Venetian *dazi* derived from Venice's importance as centre of consumption and distribution of the *terraferma*'s economic product.[12] Finally, if we consider that Venice was in every sense a far wealthier city than any in the mainland, then we must question Cessi's assertion that the distribution of tax between *Dominante* and *terraferma* weighed disproportionately on the former.[13]

In comparing fiscal innovations in Venice and its mainland provinces during the fifteenth century, it is interesting to observe that the single most important alteration in Venice, the institution of a regular and irredeemable direct levy in the shape of the *decima*, followed well after the standardization of direct taxation in the *terraferma*.[14] The *decima* laws of 1463 postdated by half a century the introduction in the mainland of the *dadia delle lanze* or *colta ducale*, which gradually acquired permanent status - the *dadia* in Padua settled at a fixed annual total of L 136.800.[15]

Yet the major source of public revenue, in both capital and provinces, was not direct but indirect taxation, consisting of the *dazi*,[16] and the profits of the state's salt monopoly (much increased following the *terraferma* conquests).[17] This indirect tax concentrated on basic commodities, especially consumer goods, operating a modest but steady levy on their transit, sale and processing, managing to reconcile fiscal needs with the buoyancy of commerce and popular content.[18] Like other Italian Renaissance states, Venice employed direct taxation in an important but secondary role. Though universally applied, it depended for the greater part of its yields on the wealth of a minority. In the *terraferma* cities the major contributors to direct taxation were largely to be found among the political groupings represented in the city councils, so that the *dadia delle lanze* and all questions concerning direct tax assumed a political importance in Padua

apparently disproportionate to their comparative weight.

The spending of terraferma revenues was decided in Venice, as part of the republic's overall financial strategy, though it would be incorrect to speak too precisely of a Venetian budget in the later fifteenth century. Ever since the Senate had replaced the Quarantia as the seat of major decision in government, it had controlled finance. Its frequent decisions on public spending established the overall direction and continuity of policy, and progress towards the more regular allocation of revenues to expenditure, especially at the end of the fifteenth century, testifies to the development of forecasting, attempted through calculations of considerable complexity and detail. But the Senate's authority over public spending was not sole or absolute. Apart from the extensive powers exercised by executive bodies, the influence of the Council of Ten also began to be felt. Nor was the Senate's authority applied in regular, general revisions and re-assignments of expenditure; indeed, it generally erred on the side of optimism in estimating the effective yield of terraferma taxation.

With forecasting insufficiently precise or organic, credit mechanisms played a vital part in Venetian state finance. The public debt, together with the forced loans levied in Venice which went to feed it, were the pivotal points of the republic's defence spending in the century before the institution of the decima: the War of Chioggia, and the Visconti Wars of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, pushed interest repayments to peak values of twenty per cent of public spending.[19] The decima's introduction in 1463 followed the major fall in value of monte stock, whose financial buoyancy had till then convinced the Senate of the continuing viability of the forced loan system.[20]

But forced loans survived; and the issue, quotation, trading and redemption of monte stock remained of central

importance in public finance. Despite the decima's introduction, and opportune variations in the frequency of its imposition, public spending suffered in periods of pressure from the inadequacy or slow turnover of regular incomes. A favourite remedy for their shortfall, and a necessary alternative to the repeated levying of irredeemable direct tax, was inflation of the public debt. Just as Florence continued to depend on the monte after the introduction of the catasto in 1427,[21] Venice returned to the use of forced loans only eight years after 1463, with the first loan decima in 1471, and the subsequent creation in 1482 of the monte novo.[22]

Equally important were the short term loans supplied by the Venetian banks, to cover temporary gaps between revenue and spending, and in particular to anticipate the arrival or assignment of public funds.[23] Their services were frequently called upon through the later fifteenth century, as the Republic struggled to organize and exploit existing sources of revenue, experimenting in critical periods of expenditure with additional fiscal demands.

These seldom took the form of extra taxation imposed on the terraferma, since acceptance of the Venetian fiscal regime (and all other aspects of government) was cultivated by a policy of stability and respect for established forms. But the Signoria was twice forced to resort to additional taxation of the mainland in the fifty years before Agnadello: during the Turkish fighting of the 1470s, and in the years of simultaneous commitment to arms in Italy and the East at the turn of the century. These instances of extraordinary taxation were of considerable importance for the tension they brought to relations between Venice and Padua, with the latter fearing the imposition of another standing tax.

In fact the sussidio, a new direct tax on the mainland, was introduced in 1529, reappearing thereafter at frequent intervals.[24] The crisis of Agnadello and the subsequent

course of diplomacy and warfare dictated the growth of Venetian public spending through the sixteenth century, after the drastic measures adopted to finance recovery from defeat by the forces of Cambrai.[25]

The Republic's foreign policy had conditioned state finance through the fifteenth century too, imposing a crucial change of scale and perspective as a consequence of the terraferma conquests, which furnished expanded fiscal resources but also the enduring and substantial obligation to landward defence. The evolution to permanence of the mainland army, fostered by the Visconti Wars, created a new and heavy demand on public revenues which the Signoria intended the terraferma to meet. A second phase of change, towards still higher defence spending, began in 1494 with the outbreak of the Italian Wars, and covers the last fifteen years embraced by this study.

The gradual loss in strength of Venetian naval power through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was due to a multitude of causes, but one among them was finance. The acquisition of the terraferma state created the situation in which heavy wartime expenditure on one or both of army and navy set the two sectors of defence in more or less apparent competition with one another for funds. Public revenues' extension by borrowing and extraordinary tax had practical limits of tolerance and profitability, in terms of financial yield, political acceptability and economic consequences; and in peacetime defence costs had to be kept within the narrower confines of ordinary income and spending. The sharing of revenues between army and navy, in peace as well as in war, had far-reaching political consequences, since effective fighting strength conditioned foreign policy as much as vice-versa. Financial priorities shaped and reflected the balance of Venice's political vision, between the mainland and the sea, between Italy and the East.[26]

These are themes whose scale far exceeds the limits of the present study, but they constitute the background of Venetian policy-making within which the demands to be made on provincial fiscal resources were decided. A different, but equally important, perspective in which to consider Padua's fiscal history is the division of financial powers between the Venetian Signoria and the Commune of Padua. It is an aspect which will be examined more closely in the third section of this chapter, but discussion of the activity of the Paduan Camera Fiscale, or Exchequer, in its functions of receipt, distribution and spending of revenues requires a very brief premiss on the organization and sharing of responsibility for exaction.

In conquering Padua, the Signoria had inherited the Carrarese fiscal system, promising the Paduans to maintain indirect tax as it had been under the da Carrara, but reserving the right to regulate direct tax and the organization of the salt gabelle in keeping with its overall policy towards the terraferma.[27] Though authority to impose tax and decide its expenditure was removed to Venice, organization round the provincial unit was maintained for the purposes of assessment, exaction and receipt by the fisc, as it was throughout the mainland. The initiative and activity of the Commune of Padua were restricted but not completely eliminated; the Commune's own revenues and spending dwindled to insignificance, but it had the competence to exact direct taxation from the province (the dadia), and conduct the estimo on which it was assessed. The dazi, the major source of revenue, were given out to contract by the Venetian city Governors, in the name of the Signoria; contractors dealt directly with the Venetian Camera Fiscale in Padua, without any question of the Commune's involvement. In the course of the century, however, this division of powers was subject to gradual alteration, as the Camera's activity was extended from the receipt and disburse-

ment of taxes raised to the surveillance and a growing part in the organization of exaction, with the use of its authority and officials to support, and if necessary to pressurize and even supplant, the dazi contractors and the Commune's dadia exactor.

II : THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC REVENUES - THE PADUAN EXCHEQUER IN THE VENETIAN FISCAL SYSTEM:

Since our perspective of the workings of the Venetian fiscal system is primarily that of the Paduan Camera Fiscale, we must begin by constructing a more detailed picture of its activities. Statistics of the funds it handled, their provenance and destination, must necessarily be presented in approximate guise, for lack of detailed accounts or even a summary of receipts and payments before the year 1533.[28] The tables presented below are based on the fifteenth century estimates of Venetian revenue and spending, on archival data furnished in the discussion which follows, and on comparison with the 1533 summary, (whose figures are reproduced in brackets beside those for the later fifteenth century). The figures offered are indicative rather than precise, and aim to give an overall picture for the half century before 1509. Table III contains the incomes normally recognized as belonging to the Camera and assigned to its principal spending, listed in Table IV; Table V deals with revenues collected in Padua but - with the exception of fines - despatched to Venice and accounted with the Venetian city incomes.[29]

TABLE III. Estimated Regular Incomes of the Paduan Exchequer in the Later Fifteenth Century.[30]

Item	Ducats p.a.	%age of Total
1) Dadia delle lanze (see pp. 182 ff. 213 ff.)	20,580 /15 /15 (20,580 /15 /15)	31 - 34 (28.4)
2) Dazi (see pp. 158 ff.)	c. 40 - 45,000 (51,841 /7 -)	67 - 69 (71.5)
3) Rents (see p. 192)	Insignificant (42 /6 -)	------ (0.1)
TOTAL: later fifteenth century (1533	c. D. 60 - 65,000 D. 72,464 /4 /15)	

TABLE IV. Estimated Regular Expenditure of the Paduan Exchequer in the Later Fifteenth Century.

Item	Ducats p.a.	%age of Total
1) 'Ordinary' and local expenses[31] a) Salaries, basic expenses of local administration, guard force. (see pp. 100-1, 135-6)	c. 7,500 - 11,750 (6,886 /23 /13)	11 - 20 (9.4)
b) University teachers' pay. (see pp. 100, 139)	c. 6,000 (6,451 /15 -)	9 - 10 (8.8)
2) Provisioni - assorted stipends and pensions. (see pp. 136, 139)	c. 5,500 (5,237 /18 -)	8 - 9 (7.2)
3) Army pay (see p. 96 n. 54, pp. 116-7)	from c. 24,000 to 48,000 (18,000)	40 - 73 (24.7)
4) Payments to Venetian magistracies, funds, esp. the Arsenal. (see pp. 116-17)	from 0 - c. 15,000 (30,291)	0 - 25 (41.6)
5) In 1533 only: rebuilding city walls.	(6,033 /21 -)	(8.3)
TOTAL: later fifteenth century (1533	c. D. 60 - 65,000 D. 72,901 /5 /13)	

TABLE V. 'Venetian' and Irregular Incomes of the Paduan Exchequer. 32

Item	Ducats p.a.
1) Decime (direct tax) on the clergy (see pp. 201-6)	about 3,500
2) Percentage tax on the salary and gains of local Venetian officials (see pp. 132-3)	about 3,400
3) Proceeds of the Paduan salt dazio (below pp. 160-1)	about 3,000
4) Court fines (below pp. 137-8)	unknown
5) Miscellaneous marginal incomes due to offices in Venice (below pp. 133-5)	unknown

Despite the approximations in these Tables, they serve to introduce in schematic form the basic statistical data available for discussion of the Camera's activity. A second, brief premiss to this discussion is also necessary, namely a quick institutional profile of the Camera, as well as of the financial magistracies principally concerned in dealings with it, whence to formulate some preliminary observations and questions on relations between the financial authorities in the capital and the province.

In charge of the Paduan Camera Fiscale there were two Venetian noble Camerlenghi, serving overlapping sixteen month terms of duty. They supervised the receipt, accounting and despatch or disbursement of revenues, as well as directing the Camera's growing surveillance and pressure on exaction. Their subordinates were Venetian citizen personnel of permanent appointment: the scontro, who duplicated the accounts kept by the Camerlenghi; the quaderniere; a notary; one or more scribes (whose number varied with the

presence of official and unofficial coadjutors or substitutes); a scribe in charge of fines; an official to assay coins; and massari.[33] With the gradual passage of certain functions of tax collection towards closer Venetian control, the Camera also came to number among its personnel exactors of the direct tax due from churchmen and Venetians.[34]

The city Governors wielded general authority over the Camera, more specifically but not exclusively the Captain.[35] Instructions concerning the Camera's activities were sent in ducali addressed to the Governors, and at moments of urgency their competence of supervision and delegation became direct and detailed involvement, even requiring the use of their own money.[36] The Governors' authority or presence was required for a number of the Camera's functions, including for example the assignment of dazi contracts, which they put up to public auction, and the judgement of legal proceedings in the Camera when it acted as a tax court,[37] (though it also had regular legal business as a party at law).[38]

Orders to Padua governing expenditure by the Camera were the expression of policy decisions taken in Venice by the councils of state, (the Senate and to some extent the Ten). The supervision and execution of their decisions at a day to day level were exercised principally through instructions from the Signoria and Collegio, with occasional interventions by the Capi of the Ten. The executive organs most involved in controlling the Camera's activity were therefore not specialized financial magistracies, but the same institutions that between them handled the vast majority of the varied governmental business which was the subject of letters and orders exchanged between capital and provinces. The importance in the Camera's affairs of the Venetian financial magistracies was limited, and in practice largely proportional to the funds due to be despatched to them, (which might range from a fraction to the near entirety of all the Camera's

various incomes, according to whether the state's creditors were being paid by distribution of revenues at their point of collection, or through the capital).[39]

The offices principally concerned with the receipt of public incomes from the terraferma were the Camera del Comune, the Governatori alle Entrade, the Savi alle Cazude and the Provveditori sopra le Camere, together with the Salt Office and the Arsenal. An exhaustive list would also include the Corn Office, the Rason Vecchie, the panels of Savi in charge of the Decime and Dazi, the Provveditori sopra la Camera degli Imprestiti - and others besides. Those most involved in dealings with the Camera were the first four, joined at the turn of the century by a newcomer, the Camera of the Council of Ten.[40]

The Camera del Comune was an old-established office, concerned with the receipt and distribution of revenues, and the institution most approximating to a central treasury.[41] It was the recipient of large sums from Padua during the 1470s, (systematically so between 1477 and 1479), during the War of Ferrara, and between 1488 and 1490, but thereafter only in periods of emergency. It exercised no specific authority over the terraferma Camere, and the despatch of moneys due to it was solicited by ducali from the Signoria, whereas the other three financial offices most involved in receipt of revenues from Padua often pressed their demands directly, issuing instructions and rulings on administrative matters, and collaborating with the Signoria in its surveillance of provincial finance rather than dependent on it. In contrast with the other three, which issued receipts autonomously, the arrival of moneys at the Camera del Comune was acknowledged by a receipt with a covering ducale, or (during the War of Ferrara) counter-signed by the Provveditori sopra le Camere.[42] When the channelling of mainland incomes through Venice was ordinary peacetime policy between 1488 and 1490,

the Senate ordered a Savio di Terraferma to countersign receipts of revenues from the provinces;[43] but reversion to the local distribution of revenues diminished the Camera del Comune's importance for the provinces, and ended the practice.

The Governatori alle Entrade's functions were primarily to do with Venice itself - the organization and exaction of the decime, the contracting of the city dazi and their protection. The office was created in 1428, and its growing importance and volume of business were marked by the addition of a fourth Governatore to the original three in 1474. Their interest in the terraferma Camere derived from their administration of the tax on Venetians serving in public office, due also from the provincial Reggimenti, from their supervision of the clergy's decime, and from the occasional extension to their mainland property of the exaction of Venetians' decime.

Their competence over the clergy's decime was shared with the Savii or Ufficiali alle Cazude, an office first created in 1435, and in existence - between lapses - through most of the period of this study. Their function was to deal with debts overdue to the fisc, in particular the decime of both lay Venetians and the clergy. They were frequently the recipients of the decime levied by the Paduan Camera, (more rarely sent to the Governatori or the Camera del Comune), and the authority most involved in soliciting and guiding their exaction.

The office of the Provveditori sopra le Camere di Terraferma was created in 1405 for the specific purpose of supervision of the newly conquered provinces' revenues, and in 1449 took over from the Rason Nuove responsibility for the Camere's accounts. It was the authority with the most explicit mandate to check and regulate the functioning of provincial financial institutions, but these powers were

shared with other magistracies, not necessarily frequent or regular in their interventions, whose presence tended to confuse and weaken the precise attribution of competence, (for example the Avogadori di Comun, plenipotentiary enforcers of Venetian law and procedure).[44] It is perhaps no surprise, then, that the exercise of the Provveditori's surveillance is not frequently apparent from the surviving evidence, which testifies to occasional reforming orders and interventions, but indicates the Signoria and Collegio as more frequently concerned with the Camera's administration, (though seldom radical in the vision or scope of their measures). The majority of the Provveditori's contacts with the Camera resulted rather from their supervision of army pay: they acted as handling office for moneys due to companies stationed in the stato da mar, and were charged with the registration of pay given to forces serving in the mainland. They also engaged in exaction, pressing the state's claims against debtors (often recalcitrant Venetians, or elusive dazio contractors) passed to them by the provincial Camere.

Mention has been purposely omitted from these introductory notes of a very important manifestation of executive authority, namely the variously constituted inspectors and exactors periodically despatched to the provinces. But general comment on their role is best deferred till some instances of their activity have been considered, for the forces at work in Venetian public finance were more complicated and less coherently co-ordinated than tidy constitutional summaries suggest. Indeed, the biggest asset of the extended fiscal system created by the terraferma conquests was also the greatest potential obstacle to its efficiency: its size. Size aggravated the problems of demarcation and co-ordination already characteristic of Venetian institutions: the balance between central control and local autonomy, the linkage between decisions and their executions, the

methods and efficacy of surveillance of the Camere - all much dependent on the orderly division and assignment of attributions between different authorities in Venice. Problems, in other words, of a structural nature: of the feasibility of clear planning and efficient execution in the midst of constitutional proliferation, with the handicap of communications and operations stretched over considerable geographical distances.

The main growth in public revenues in the fifteenth century naturally came in the years immediately following conquest of the mainland, but the elaboration of the fiscal system followed a more gradual path through the century. It was repeatedly the subject of alterations and revisions, particularly so in the last thirty years, when strong external pressures on public finance coincided with the gradual acquisition of powers over revenues and spending by the Council of Ten. In the adoption of successive planning procedures and administrative norms, with their repetitions and contradictions, it is possible to detect only a very slow and irregular evolution of structures and standards towards greater effectiveness and co-ordination.

This was due in no small measure to the lack of a sense of proportion frequently characterizing administrative norms or their revision, and to the inbuilt - though individually exercised - tendency of organs in Venice to centralize powers and deepen their capillary penetration of provincial affairs. The results, conceived of as furthering the pursuit of efficiency, were often to circumscribe the provincial Camere's activity minutely in the execution of certain tasks, while neglecting to regulate other matters of fundamental importance - the distribution of military pay was governed by a host of procedural rulings, which often could not be observed because of a persistent shortfall between income and assigned expenditure.

The limited period of this study does not allow us to establish long-term trends with any certainty, but it is clear that in the decades after the Peace of Lodi there were two basic problems of policy concerning the direction of the Camere's funds. One was the need to establish firmer programming and priorities of expenditure, since the pressure of spending and the insufficient co-ordination of moneys' allocation combined to set budgeted outgoings at a higher rate than effective income. The second concerned the direction of public finance in time of warfare, when the greater urgency and scale of spending dislocated the normal assignment of revenues and the mechanisms of their distribution. The two problems were complementary, the first requiring more authoritative control of spending and more rigid allocation of income to expenditure, the second demanding sufficient operative flexibility to permit the rapid reshuffling of incomes and their channels of distribution.

These problems of planning demanded a functional division of competence between the organs involved, but the viability of planning - once it was co-ordinated centrally - remained dependent on the degree to which it could be effected, and in turn on the extent to which it took a realistic view of resources and their management. Despite the scarcity of tabulated data, it emerges from the records of public administration that throughout the period covered by this study the effective level of Padua's, and the whole terraferma's revenues tended to fall below that of the expenditure assigned to them. Quite simply, there was often a deficit. The consequent shortfall and delays in payment were generally within limits of tolerance with public finance on a peacetime footing, but heavier demands on the Camere in time of war risked provoking the general dislocation of their functioning.

The history of the Paduan Exchequer in the fifty years

before Agnadello is essentially the chronicle of Venice's attempts to pay the army fully from terraferma revenues alone. The mainland Camere's most important expenditure was army pay, because the principle round which Venetian financial planning was built, more coherently as time went by, was that the mainland should be financially self-sufficient. It should pay the salaries and expenses necessary to local government, organize its own public works (which exploited the corvées imposed on the peasantry, and therefore made virtually no demand on public funds), and above all bear the costs of the terraferma's defence: partly through heavy unpaid services demanded of the rural population, and partly by paying the army from its tax yield.

It would, of course, be incorrect to suppose that public spending was divided into completely separate territorial compartments: the terraferma alone could not pay the army at war, nor was the army its sole responsibility. Warfare in Italy required the draughting of other revenues to mobilize and pay the army at campaign strength, and war in the Eastern Mediterranean subjected the destination and rhythm of the Paduan Camera's payments to alteration. Venice's eastern and western empires were not financially independent of one another. In terms of local resources, the stable mar incomes were much poorer than those of the terraferma, and many of the regular expenses of defence in the Eastern Mediterranean fell on Venice and the mainland. The fleet, principal offensive and defensive arm in the East, used the mar holdings as naval stations, but was equipped and paid from Venice. The terraferma's contribution was of a lesser order, but the army units serving in the stato da mar were generally associated for assignment of pay with the companies serving in the mainland, and the Paduan Camera was responsible for the pay of a number of the infantry companies garrisoning the mar cities during the hostilities of the 1470s, and

after the signing of peace in 1479.

An overall impression of the terraferma Camere's ability to effect their programmed payments may be gained from the rhythm with which pay was given to the army, always their principal creditor. The story is consistently one of arrears, (just as it was for the garrisons and guards of the mainland towns),[45] most noticeable during and after periods of warfare. Eight or more bollette (pay slips, usually monthly)[46] had accumulated in March 1474; in July 1486 the army was being paid at the rate of four bollette a year, instead of the eight previously paid, (itself a compromise). By September 1489 the rate had only risen to five. In July 1502 the troops defending the stato da mar and Friuli were owed seven or eight consecutive bollette; and in December 1508, months before Agnadello, the fifth army bòlletta of the current year was ordered paid.[47]

One should beware of exaggerating the deleterious effects on the army of arrears, for contemporary standards of pay and administration put the forces in Venetian hire in circumstances of relative favour. Efficient organization, frequently given long-term condotte and a generous extended rewards system compensated the failings in pay to make the Republic a successful military employer; finance was not the strong point of Italian army organization in general, and the Venetian army was in relative terms a model of efficiency.[48]

But the army's financing could hardly be called secure, and the tone with which the Signoria and Senate spoke of and dealt with the terraferma Camere was often one of irritation or complaint, in which the Paduan Exchequer tended to receive pride of place. No conclusive evidence has emerged to suggest that its efficiency fell far below that of others; if the records speak more of Padua it was firstly because interventions by Venetian government in the

terraferma always began and often ended there, by reason of its proximity, and secondly because the Paduan Camera was nearly always chosen to pay the Republic's generals, for the same reason of proximity to the capital, and because of its wealth.[49] The major part of Padua's revenues was therefore often assigned to one man: Bartolomeo Colleone, then Roberto Malatesta, Roberto Da Sanseverino, Giulio Cesare Varano lord of Camerino, Gian Francesco Gonzaga Marquis of Mantua, and Niccolo Orsini Count of Pitigliano.[50]

With this concentration of the Camera's moneys, and also its failings, on so important an individual, it drew exceptional administrative attention. This in turn was the cause of attrition and controversy between the Signoria and the Padua City Council over the Commune's discharging of its obligations in the exaction of tax, with grave repercussions on the Paduan political classes attitude to the Venetian fiscal regime.[51]

With difficulties continually apparent in the Camere's fulfilment of their assigned tasks, the organization of provincial finance was necessarily a recurrent administrative theme. The causal chain determining its failings, most manifest in the army's pay, was long and complicated, though perhaps the most important problem to be resolved in the handling of the Camere's resources, and one that was much in evidence in the 1470s and 1480s, was the need for more systematic long-term allocation of terraferma revenues to expenditure, so contrived as to be compatible with the general wartime redirection of public finance.

But the elaboration of a coherent policy of allocation required the satisfaction of certain conditions: one the clarification of constitutional attributions , to reserve the authorization of spending firmly within the hands of the councils of state, (without duplication amongst them of one another's functions), and confide its control to coherently

empowered executive organs; and the second, the technical ability of legislative and executive bodies - through possession of sufficient data and effective instruments of control - to translate planning into reality.

To assess the capacities o f Venetian government in this regard, it is necessary to determine to what extent the expenditure of the Paduan Camera was assigned by organic planning, and on what knowledge of the Camera's resources demands from Venice were based. But the degree of realism of these demands did not depend only on appraisal of the techniques of budgeting. It had perforce to follow the fluctuating rhythm of the Republic's defence spending, which sought to adapt generally inflexible provincial incomes to changing needs, with recourse to extraordinary taxation onlybas a last resort.

Periods of greater financial urgency were therefore the stimulus for intervention to strengthen the Camere's yields from their existing sources of revenue. One line of analysis to develop concerns the form of these interventions, the conception of administrative problems behind them, and their degree of success. But in assessing the Camere's performance of their duties, it is also necessary to consider to what extent exaggerated demands damaged their standards of efficiency; administrative failings were not simply a cause of insufficient yields, but also a consequence of budgetary imbalance.

To follow and develop these themes, and the questions arising from them, a roughly chronological analysis is necessary to allow their proper inter-relation. The discussion that follows has therefore been separated into three chronological phases, dividing the history of Venetian public finance in the half century before Agnadello as follows: the Turkish War of 1463-1479; the decade of experiment and innovation in the Camere's organization between 1479 and 1490, (including the

War of Ferrara); and the twenty years of the Camere's functioning with the programme of military spending known as the limitation, introduced in 1490 and interrupted by the upheavals of 1509. Where the treatment of particular questions has required it, the chronological ordering of the material has been only approximate, and in each section certain matters are dealt with more organically than strict limits of dating would suggest, without - it is hoped - obscuring the overall development of the analysis.

II - (1): 1463 - 1479 - The Progressive Impact of War in the East. 52

With the termination of thirty years of hostilities in Italy by the Peace of Lodi, the Venetian army's standing strength was reduced, but the commanders retained in the Republic's service included Bartolomeo Colleone, who was presented with the Captain-General's baton.[53] Colleone was the Paduan Camera's main payee through the 1460s, seldom paid fully or punctually; the resulting exchanges of letters were part of the routine of a decade that showed few obvious signs of the urgency of war.[54] But the death of Skanderbeg in 1468, defender of Venice's Albanian flank, heralded renewed Turkish attack on the stato da mar, resulting in the loss of Negroponte in 1470. Over the following years public spending felt the weight of escalating military commitment, following the rhythm of Turkish attacks - which reached Friuli in 1472 - and Venetian defence and counter-attack; the provincial financial system came under increasing pressure.

The beginning of the war had coincided with the imposition of the decima in Venice,[55] and a rise in the percentage rate of tax on public office,[56] so swelling public incomes. There had been no extra fiscal levy on the terraferma in this period, except for the Signoria's attempts to extend the tax

on office to the public officials named by the mainland cities. (This was at best a minor addition to revenue, and in fact only a source of mutual irritation in relations between Venice and the terraferma).[57] But the turn taken by events in 1470 demanded that new revenues be found with urgency. In Venice the tax on office was set still higher,[58] and the first loan decima came in 1471,[59] while the frequency of imposition of ordinary decime rose. The terraferma's contribution was through a series of extraordinary taxes. In 1470 Padua had found six thousand staia of wheat and extra army pay for the defence of Negroponte; in 1472 and 1475 two-year subsidies (each totalling about D. 34,000 for the province) were imposed; and in 1478 the city contributed to pay the provisionati (infantry levies) defending Friuli.[60] The clergy of Venice and the mainland were taxed by an additional, Papal decima in 1476.[61]

The growing cost of Eastern warfare disturbed the usual pattern of the provincial Camere's activity. Major warfare in any theatre generally involved the Signoria in borrowing to anticipate and round out tax yields; the repayment of loans and the re-assignment of revenues according to the priorities of war spending tended to render the local distribution of terraferma incomes impractical, and result in their transfer from local disbursement to channelling through the capital. With the relatively restricted scale of fighting in the 1460s, this major re-routing of public funds had not proved necessary, and the first disruption of routine came in 1470, when the Senate laid the additional obligation on the Camere of sending the first tenth of their monthly takings to the Governatori alle Entrade, for the war.[62]

Subsequently unable to meet all their obligations, the Camere fell far behind in their payments to the army, which in Padua's case were then largely due to infantry companies serving in the defence of the stato da mar. With

complaints from the companies of late and partial payment, sometimes offered in goods instead of ready money, the Senate began to resort to borrowing in Venice to anticipate the Camere's revenues,[63] and it proved necessary to block all other payments by them in March 1473, to ensure that the army was paid.[64]

The 1473 blocking order was voted by the Senate after consideration and refusal of another, more radical measure, to sweep away the existing network of the Camere's local distribution of revenues by draughting them to Venice.[65] The proposal signified lack of confidence in the co-ordination between Venice and the provinces, and was tantamount to declaring a state of emergency. But once the central pooling of provincial revenues began, control of finance became even more complicated, and the Senate decided it was preferable to maintain local distribution and the standing allocation of funds to creditors in operation, despite the difficulties apparent.

The later progress of the war was such, however, that though the plan had been rejected, its central proposal was gradually - if less systematically - effected, with the piecemeal ordering of revenues to Venice. June 1474 saw the suspension of all Camere payments to feed available moneys to the capital,[66] and in November the Senate demanded D. 25,000 from them for the Eastern war, ordering provincial incomes to Venice till March 1475.[67] Between 1475 and 1476 the pressure on the Camere was temporarily relaxed. Turkish attacks concentrated on the Genoese Crimean holding of Caffa, while the slow flow to Venice of the subsidies imposed contributed to finance the Senate's additional expenditure.[68] But renewed recourse to heavy borrowing from the banks resulted in the anticipation and disruption of the Camere's regular payments,[69] and there followed the Turkish raiding in Friuli of 1477-78, which became the scene of further

Venetian defensive commitments. At the same time forces were despatched to Tuscany in the aftermath of the Pazzi Conspiracy.[70] The Camere's payments became extremely irregular, to both the mainland army[71] and the stato da mar's defenders.[72] The Senate intervened in the winter of 1477 to block payments by the Camere, and in February 1478 put into effect the proposal of five years earlier, channelling all terraferma revenues via the Camera del Comune in Venice to finance the fleet and army. The incomes available from Padua after deduction of local expenses were assessed at 5,200 florins a month, to be sent to Venice with full urgency and priority.[73]

Loaded with a deficit of outgoings over income, therefore alternating the priority given to different areas of expenditure, and unable to achieve a consistent, specific allocation of revenues to spending, the Senate had given up trying to co-ordinate the distribution of moneys to creditors in the terraferma. Its choice was to pool the mainland revenues, and assign their expenditure as immediate necessity might dictate, or pledge them to secure borrowing from private credit. This re-organization was undertaken on a short-term basis, for the duration of the emergency, and after the cessation of hostilities in 1479 the Camere revenues were returned to local distribution to the army, (with sharp recommendations concerning the priority and methods of payment).[74]

Though the immediate pressure of warfare ceased, many problems remained. At the root of them all, in Padua and throughout the terraferma, was the gap between income and expenditure, main cause not only of delays but also of abuses in the handing of pay to the military. In May 1473 the Senate had even put the problem in terms of cutting the cost of the mainland army to meet the Camere's resources.[75] But the army was too important a commitment to permit major economies in its financing, expecially with the Patriarchate open to

Turkish attack. It was therefore through the blocks and suspensions practised in the Camere's payments that it had hoped to accomodate heavier defence spending, by reducing and delaying their non-military expenditure. But experience quickly showed that a good deal of secondary expenditure had to be recognized as essential,[76] amidst uncertainty and confusion over the range of application of the orders suspending payments or draughting moneys to Venice. The provisioni (regular payments usually unconnected with local administration or the army companies) were blocked for a whole year in 1475.[77] But the Camere proved unable to resist their various creditors' claims with the firmness which the Senate wished. This was particularly evident in 1478-79, causing shortcomings in the despatch of the assigned monthly totals to Venice, and in July and August 1479 the Senate intervened to assert its authority, invalidating orders by the Rettori, the Signoria and even the Collegio in contravention of the block and priority imposed.[78]

A number of orders permitting exceptions had been issued by the Senate itself,[79] and the outcome was that orders given in this and subsequent periods of financial stringency established certain local expenditure as 'ordinary', subject at most to reduction in times of emergency. The items classified as 'ordinary' consisted mainly of salaries, due to the guards and garrisons of the terraferma cities and their fortifications, to the Rettori, Camerlenghi and their officials, and in Padua's case to the university teachers,[80] paid from local revenues.[81]

It was obvious that local spending could not be simply cast aside in periods of difficulty. Arbitrary suspensions and alternations of payments to creditors were an expedient, which had to be limited in its application, and it was important to seek other, more radical remedies for the shortfall between incomings and outgoings. In the years following the war, greater emphasis was laid on the punctual and complete

payment to the provincial exchequers of the revenues due to them,[82] and on their internal standards of administration and efficiency, through the attention of the Senate and the zeal of executive authority. There was therefore something of a change in the overall accent of remedial measures applied to the Camere, for apart from the switching and suspension of payments operated in the 1470s, the Senate had devoted considerable attention to regulating the passage of moneys out of the Camere to the army, attention which was now extended from the final stages of their transactions to more critical consideration of their receipt and administration of funds.

The importance attributed to correcting the procedure of military pay (which remained a constant theme of administrative revisions) sprang from the assumption whereby slipshod practice and abuses in its functioning were more cause than effect of the Camere's difficulties; the obstacle posed to efficiency by over-optimistic budgeting was less apparent. The symptoms inviting correction were plentiful, particularly when there were the additional logistical difficulties of paying companies stationed in the Eastern Mediterranean, which was Padua's main task through the 1470s.

The intermediaries involved in paying these companies were the Provveditori sopra le Camere and the companies' chancellors: moneys passed from the Camere via the former to the latter, with the chancellors forbidden to take direct receipt of them from the Camere.[83] But the provinces' often meagre despatch of funds to the Provveditori encouraged them to solicit payment in the terraferma cities, where they also acquired supplies for their companies. These purchases easily became part and parcel of the companies' pay arrangements, so allowing the Camere or even the local tax contractors to pay them in kind. The companies risked getting the worst of deals of this sort,[84] and besides insisting on payment in money the Senate passed legislation attacking extortionate hire purchase

agreements with the companies,[85] and specifically banning all manner of officials in the terraferma reggimenti from having any part in supplying goods to them.[86]

The extent of the chancellors' importance may be gauged from the role in the 1470s of Antonio Muriani of Padua, sometime functionary of the Camera.[87] He was chancellor of the company of Carlotto Corso, to whom he sent in Zara '... pani de più colori e calze berette e telle e altre robe tolte a credenza a padoa...'; he was also chancellor to Rimondo da Maderna, Nani d'Itri, Jacomo da Terzago and Salpo da Bari, all paid from Padua;[88] and he appears to have been involved in equipping companies paid from other Camere too.[89] With the slow arrival of pay, and the deduction of considerable proportions of it for goods supplied, his position - and presumably that of the other chancellors - became tantamount to general financier. In 1470, according to Malipiero, he even put about false news of events at Negroponte to ensure payment due from Padua to Thomaso Schiavo, a constable whom he represented.[90] And in 1476 he was reimbursed for moneys advanced to Carlotto Corso to finance his return journey from service in Sibenik.[91] That he remained in extremely close contact with the Paduan Camera is also evident, for in November 1480 he carried to the Provveditori sopra le Camere in Venice moneys due to one of the companies he served, a duty usually reserved to the Camera's or Rettori's staff.[92]

The same shortage of moneys which made the services of chancellors so important for the mar companies inevitably encouraged abusive practice by all the intermediaries involved in army pay - chancellors, Camera staff and tax contractors. The companies occasionally complained of unfair treatment by the Camere due to pay them,[93] but the more enterprising entered into pecuniary agreements with Camera employees so as to obtain favourable treatment.[94]

Problems of pay were of course the concern of all the army companies, not merely the mar forces, and the regulation of procedures in the Camere aimed to co-ordinate and discipline their dealings with the mainland cavalry companies too. The distance between capital and provinces was a source of accounting muddles which - if favourable to their interests - the companies were happy to exploit. The Senate's answer, in legislation of 1476, was to order the registration with the Provveditori sopra le Camere of all army bollette given to be paid,[95] and the obligatory authorization by ducale of prestanze (advances on pay).[96] Other measures had been formulated, with the same intention of reinforcing co-ordination and central control: the Provveditori were to sign bollette before they could be cashed, and moneys paid from the Camere to the army were to be accounted monthly to Venice.[97]

Remedial action aimed not only to impose equity and regularity on army pay, but also to protect the Camere's control of public moneys. In returning provincial revenues to local distribution in 1479, the Senate again insisted on observance of punctuality and correct procedure, demanding full payment of the army in ready money, with the presence in the Camere of the city Captains to supervise the operation.[98] There were two abuses of particular gravity: illicit trafficking in titles to payment by the Camere, and direct dealings between tax contractors and creditors. The first took the form of trade in bollette, purchased by third parties with greater patience, or more influence in the Camere, who gave the army companies perhaps half their due.[99] Direct contact between tax contractors and creditors easily resulted in agreements damaging to both the fisc and the companies, (partial payment or discount for goods supplied), and bypassed the Camera's supervision.[100] It was partly a consequence of the advance allocation of specific revenues by the Camere

to specific creditors, a practice which the Signoria opposed,[101] but direct dealing between taxes' administrators and the Camere's creditors continued through the 1470s, and was destined to spread rather than diminish.[102]

II - (2): 1479 - 1490. The Recurrence of War, and Venice's Re-organization of Provincial Finance.

In the decade following the Turkish War, the administrative attention predominantly dedicated in the 1470s to military pay was transformed into more extensive investigation and intervention in the cycle of the Camere's activity. It was also a decade of continuing alarms for Venetian public finance, so that interventions in the Camere took place in a climate of insecurity, and were more frequent than consistent in conception and method.

The respite afforded by peace in the East was of brief duration, for in 1482 the Republic was again at war. The War of Ferrara began with Venetian occupation of the Polesine, and was followed by nearly two years of indecisive campaigning; the Signoria's armies were unable to force the capture of Ferrara, whose duke enjoyed universal diplomatic support in Italy, and the military backing in particular of Naples.[103] Financial resources were again exploited to the limit, and new revenues had to be found. In Venice the Monte Novo was instituted for the loan decime raised,[104] and the tax on public office was set at a flat half of office-holders' existing level of gains,[105] while the level of the city dazi was raised by one third.[106] In Padua, on the other hand, there was no demand for extra taxation during the war, and the city succeeded in avoiding liability to pay the province's militia levies. It was the Padovano that bore the heavy burden of duties and expenses in support of the Venetian armies, also suffering considerable material damage from the war.[107] The organization of public spending was again converted to the

central pooling and assignment of provincial revenues.[108]

The strain imposed by warfare combined with local problems of exaction and administration, and general organizational difficulties in the post-war co-ordination of the Camere's activities, to reduce the Paduan Camera to a state of poor efficiency in the mid 1480s. After the brief hostilities in the Trentino of 1487,[109] the Senate reached the end of its patience; ignoring normal administrative channels it sent two Avogadori di Comun as plenipotentiary touring magistrates to undertake a thorough reform of the Camere, beginning in Padua.[110] Their intervention and the Senate's subsequent re-organization, besides tightening up local administrative procedures, proposed to remedy the double problem of central planning and efficiency of execution by routing terraferma revenues permanently through the capital, in peace as well as in war.[111] Tried in practice, the scheme created more problems than it resolved, and in 1490 the Senate ordered a return to the local distribution of terraferma incomes, tying them closely to specific items of expenditure, with first priority to the army. This was the limitation of provincial revenues, which bound D. 3,000 a month of the Paduan Camera's takings to the army's pay.[112]

The limitation ended a period of cumulative and often confusing central interference in the affairs of the Paduan Camera. The Senate's decision of 1490 re-established the recognition of a basic minimum of locally delegated powers, and attempted to rationalize the sharing of competence among the Venetian councils and magistracies over the allocation and supervision of the provincial exchequers' incomes.

A first point to elaborate is the form taken by the interventions of Venetian executive authority in the Camere's affairs. Precise indications of the frequency and nature of contacts between the Paduan Exchequer and Venetian financial officials cannot be offered, for records of visits

of exaction, inspection or reform are scattered, and no more fully preserved than administrative correspondence.[113] The direct intervention in the Camere of Venetian officials was an important complement to the legislation and letters of instructions issued from Venice. It served as an independent check on information passed back to the capital, and as a more forceful means of imparting orders and supervising their execution. The Signoria and Collegio (sometimes acting on instructions from the councils of state) delegated powers of intervention to specially commissioned emissaries of varying importance; this was common practice among the financial magistracies too, who often sent their own functionaries to the provinces. Venetian officials were therefore frequently in Padua on financial business, with duties covering any or all of five main areas of activity: collection of moneys due from the Camera to Venice, assistance to the flow of its current receipts, exaction of arrears due to the fisc, general investigation, and the issue of ordinances disciplining the administration of public moneys.

A good many visits were simply concerned with moneys due to be despatched to Venice: the Governatori alle Entrade very frequently sent representatives to Padua,[114] as did the Savi alle Cazude[115] and the Venetian Salt Office.[116] But these three offices, principal recipients of Padua's 'Venetian' incomes,[117] might be assisted in their own fields of competence by extraordinary officials, especially in the exaction of tax from the clergy,[118] and emissaries of other magistracies appeared when 'Venetian' incomes and their arrears, or extraordinary tax, were allocated to them.[119]

If we look beyond the interventions of the Governatori, Savi alle Cazude and Salt Office, it is clear - despite the deficiencies of the source material - that in the late 1470s and 1480s the presence and power in Padua of extraordinary fiscal officials was on the increase. Some worked in close

collaboration with parent offices in Venice, the Collegio, and the councils of state, contributing to extend the supervision exercised by the capital over the provinces, in a process parallel to the Camera's own gradual subtraction of initiative from the Commune in the exaction of direct tax. But the unstable rhythm and varying scope of their activity tended to make them institutional anomalies, and deprive this liason of lasting value. They intervened temporarily in the problems of communications and execution of policy that affected the permanent structures, but their departure often left them unresolved. Though emanations of central authority, they seldom contributed organically to spread its effective control over the provinces.[120]

The rhythm of special officials' activity gathered pace gradually during the sixteen years of warfare that ended in 1479, attaining greater momentum as Venice felt the growing pressure of spending, and introduced variations in the channelling of revenues.[121] After the extra obligations laid on the Camere in 1470, the Senate sent the exactors Lorenzo Mocenigo and Tommaso Malipiero in 1471;[122] and in 1475 with half the Camere's revenues due for despatch to Venice, the Collegio sent the secretary Clemente Thedaldini to explain and effect the innovation.[123] In the following years, with Paduan tax exaction encountering growing difficulties, and frequent intervention from Venice over the clergy's decime,[124] the Senate several times proposed sending generally empowered officials to exact, though the war had ended, (and the Camere's revenues returned to local distribution), before the Paduan Camera registered an intervention of major importance.[125]

Taddeo Contarini arrived in Padua in the autumn of 1479, commissioned to exact from old dadia debtors,[126] and to gather both current clergy decime and their arrears.[127] His presence lasted into the winter of 1480,[128] with an accountant

and other officials,[129] so that his authority and scope of activity were virtually those of a third, semi-autonomous Camerlengo. He was followed in 1481 by the Provveditore sopra le Camere Marco Zorzi, who dealt within similar broad confines with the dadia and clergy decime.[130]

The outbreak of the War of Ferrara served as a further encouragement to the despatch of special officials. The Provveditore sopra le Camere Andrea Dandolo was commissioned in September 1482, though we lack evidence of his presence in Padua.[131] In 1483 came Francesco Badoer, charged with a variety of tasks, but principally active in the exaction of clergy decime.[132]

The presence of these officials over long periods, with all-embracing commissions, directed towards them responsibility for what were properly the Camera's autonomous functions of receipt of revenues and pressure on its debtors. Dissatisfied with the insufficiency and delays in yields, the Senate and Collegio sought to compensate by superimposing plenipotentiary emissaries; but they were extraneous to the ordinary routine of the Camera's functioning, which their temporary presence was more likely to harm than to help in its reversion to autonomous activity. Few of the special officials mentioned so far had attempted administrative reform of the Camera, despite the fact that many of them were Provveditori sopra le Camere - the terms of their commissions and the results of their intervention testify to the priority given to the immediate problem of money raising.[133]

An attempt at more radical intervention came in 1484, when Taddeo Contarini, returning to the city, collaborated with the Senate in formulating reforms for the Camera's administration and procedure. Somewhat typically of the confusion of initiatives, (not the least of the problems to be solved), he had originally been sent by the Ten to seek

grain hoarded in the province, and was then authorized to reform the Camera Fiscale.[134] To all appearances little was gained, partly because disorder in financial planning in the capital maintained the conditions of instability in the Camera's operations. Within a year further direct intervention was being threatened,[135] and materialized in the form of visits by first the Avogadore di Comun Antonio Grimani and then the Provveditore sopra le Camere Gerolamo Bon in 1485.[136] Continuing failure to meet its obligations brought the Camera other visitors between 1486 and 1488,[137] until the Senate finally decided on the all-embracing reform of Camera procedures confided to the Avogadori Baldassar Trevisan and Gerolamo Zorzi.[138]

Theirs was the most important attempt at reform of the Camera's administration in the fifty years of this study, and the last major intervention for ten years, till war and financial crisis between 1498 and 1502 provoked a further series of extraordinary measures. Two years after their visit, the establishment of the limitation offered a partial solution to the problems in the planning of public spending. It was also the expression of a firm preference for the allocation of specific terraferma revenues to specific creditors, to be paid directly in the provinces. It therefore represented at least a partial reversal of the tendency displayed by central authority in the preceding years, to remedy what it considered the malfunctioning of the provincial exchequers by diminishing their responsibility, relying more and more on officials despatched from the capital to solicit their receipts, and finally draughting their revenues to Venice for distribution. But the two years' central channelling of revenues preceding the limitation had not achieved its avowed aim, to protect moneys due to the army against other creditors' claims, for funds were more easily diverted in their central pooling in Venice. The Camere had also failed to send their assessed monthly totals to Venice, (Padua's

was L. 18,000, about D. 2,900), lacking the direct stimulus of creditors' solicitations.[139]

Besides disillusion with the working of a highly centralized financial handling system, did the limitation also imply greater confidence in the Camere's administrative standards and efficiency? The first question poses a second: what was the current state of their administrative difficulties, and what progress had been made towards their solution?

We have observed that many of the salient problems were concerned with army pay, and the procedure of moneys' passage out of the Camere: late and partial payment (or disadvantageous substitution of money by goods), the dangers of abuse arising from creditors' relations with the Camere's staff and sources of revenue, traffic in bollette... The remedies proposed in the 1470s had attempted to strengthen the co-ordinating role in army pay of the Provveditori sopra le Camere, the magistracy with most explicit competence to check on the Camere's activity.[140] But the effect of these remedies must be doubted, owing to their re-issue in reform orders of the years between 1479 and 1490; this implies that they served at best to contain problems and abuses, without achieving radical improvement.

The fundamental obstacle remained: whether by fault of exaggerated or unco-ordinated demands on its means, or because of its own vastage and losses in exaction and handling, the Paduan Camera could not meet its assigned payments fully or punctually. In January 1481 the chancellors of the mar companies complained that Padua needed the stimulus of letters from the Provveditori, or even ducali, to pay bollette (evidence again of the importance of the chancellors' solicitations). The authority of the Provveditori was therefore reinforced by a procedural ruling that it should be they who sent the Camere bollette due for payment, with covering letters.[141] The result was the despatch of a string of bollette two years and more in arrears;[142] and after the War of Ferrara the situation deter-

iorated further.

The problems of administrative practice appear the same in the 1480s as in the preceding decade, malfunctioning and abuse if anything on the increase. The Venetian officials in Padua were admonished by the Avogadori in 1488 against any form of representing or trading with the army companies, against countenancing dealing in military bollette, and against unauthorized concession of prestanze.[143] The Avogadori repeated the Senate's insistence that the Camere pay ready money to the army, in the face of their growing habit of simply assigning condottieri individuals with debts to discharge to the fisc.[144] But the Senate itself, ordinarily opposed to the practice's application to military pay, was obliged to resort to it on occasion;[145] and the passage of pay in coin from the Camere to the Provveditori, for despatch to the mar companies, did not achieve a regular rhythm.[146] Indeed, the evidence suggests that the Provveditori's authority in co-ordinating the timing, even distribution and accounting of army pay by the Camere fell far short of the powers progressively attributed to them by legislation.[147]

Quite apart from their effect on the army, shortcuts and failings in administrative practice threatened to confuse and deny the Camera's principal raison d'être, control of the receipt and disbursement of public funds. Deficit or arrears of revenues could be temporarily remedied by the Camera's borrowing - the Signoria sometimes ordered it.[148] But an inevitable alternative was the assignment to creditors of moneys due from specific debtors of the fisc, with instructions to obtain satisfaction from them.[148] The consequence, potentially extremely damaging, was that varying portions of the Paduan incomes simply bypassed the Camera. The assignment of debtors - usually tax contractors or exactors behind with their payments - was sufficiently commonly authorized by the Signoria to add to the standard formulae used in

correspondence from the capital, where we find orders to pay in debtors '... bonis et exigibilibus iuxta consuetum.'[149] As a consequence of this practice accounting muddles developed; direct dealings between tax collectors and state creditors, though potentially profitable to the former, risked passing unrecorded in the Camera's books, or straying beyond the limits of authorized payments.[150] Some direct dealing was perhaps justifiable - for example between the dazieri of the Padovano districts and the local Venetian Podestà, due to receive their salary from the Camera.[151] But the practice's extension discouraged the Venetian Camerlenghi from proper conduct of their duties of exaction, so contributing to worsen the difficulties which had caused recourse to the expedient.[152]

While failings of this sort may be directly related to the shortcomings of exaction, they also show the internal organization and accounting of the Camera in a poor light. Whatever the weaknesses of exaction, and their independence of the Camera's control, an element of inefficiency and indifference to administrative norms on the part of its personnel contributed to worsen the situation, and this became more readily apparent during the 1480s with the extension of Venetian interference in its affairs.

The standing regulations governing the Camera's activity were formed by an accumulation of laws issued by the councils of state, and rulings by the Signoria, Provveditori sopra le Camere, city Rettori and touring inspectors.[153] Their observance must have depended largely on the degree of vigilance exercised by the current Rettori, for routine supervision from Venice, except when temporarily reinforced by special officials, could only take note of the despatch of moneys due from the Camera, and scrutinize the periodic rendering of accounts. Correspondence was on the whole a weak source of information on the Camere's working standards

(and an uncertain instrument for their correction). Authority in Venice was better informed on the Camere's results than their methods, and for knowledge of them both depended to a considerable extent on the reports or complaints of third parties, (most commonly the Camera's creditors).

Weaknesses in the compilation and checking of the Camere's accounts were partly responsible for this situation. In theory the Venetian administrative system worked to a routine of monthly and yearly accounting, in particular the former. Monthly accounting, with the settling up of payments and registers by the fifth day of the succeeding month, and monthly alternation in duty of the noble officials in charge of receipts, were demanded from all the Signoria's offices in 1489,[154] in a law repeating and summarizing administrative practice long since codified but imperfectly observed.[155] Another principle, confirmed by further legislation during this period, required officials (Rettori and Camerlenghi where the provinces were concerned) to settle up their accounts before leaving office and hand over all moneys due, to the satisfaction of their superiors or successors.[156]

Observation of these norms by the terraferma Camere appears to have been incomplete. The Paduan Camerlenghi did alternate monthly in handling receipts (though the free Camerlengo might be assigned to special duties),[157] but the closure and writing-up of accounts, and the separation of each month's moneys were not correctly conducted. The working of the Paduan Camera in the 1460s and 1470s was punctuated by sporadic but apparently unsuccessful criticism of the negligence of the Camere's accounting to Venice, due in Padua's case to a dispute among the officials concerned as to which of them was obliged to copy and send the accounts.[158]

With the end of the central pooling in Venice of mainland revenues in 1479, the Senate re-iterated the standing rules for the provinces' accounting to the Provveditori

sopra le Camere;[159] in 1481 provision was made to deal with the accounts due from Padua for the years 1468-79,[160] though the dispute among the Camera officials was still alive in 1484,[161] when the reforms promoted by Contarini and the Senate attacked the '.. pocha diligentia..' of the scribes, especially in the composition of accounts.[162]

With Venetian vigilance and intervention intensified after the War of Ferrara, what slack accounting had served to conceal now gradually became apparent: with revenues insufficient or delayed, the Camerlenghi were juggling or altering the monthly accounts to suit their needs.[163] In 1487 the Signoria issued threats of punitive intervention, and summoned one of the Camerlenghi to Venice to obtain a truthful account of the Camera's working;[164] the result was the general reform of 1488.

The answer, then, to the question posed above on the Camere's efficiency and standards of administration is that authority in Venice can only have accumulated unfavourable impressions over the years up to 1488. If the establishment of the limitation in 1490 expressed any confidence in the functioning of provincial institutions, it could only be based on the slender justification of the 1488 reforms; but rather than confidence in the Camere, the Senate's decision of 1490 signified disappointment after two years' operation in peacetime of a centralized financial handling system.

The limitation's objectives were not confined, however, to solving problems of bureaucratic efficiency. Deeper issues had emerged, of overall financial strategy, and responsibility for its formulation: whose was the competence to authorize public expenditure and assign funds? How could or should it be shared? How far should terraferma revenues be assigned to expenditure other than the army? By 1490 these were matters requiring clarification, insofar as interventions by the Council of Ten had placed them in a position not only to execute but also to alter substantially the financial planning

conducted by the Senate.

The Council of Ten in the later Quattrocento, two and a half centuries after its birth, was well on the way to reaching the position of immense importance in government which the creation of the permanent Zonta in the early sixteenth century helped to establish. Published analysis of its activity in finance deals only with later events, in particular the constitutional crisis of 1582-83, and refers primarily to its control of the Mint;[165] but just as the permanent Zonta of the sixteenth century grew out of its many temporary but important predecessors of the fifteenth, the powers in public finance of the Ten grew from small beginnings, following an identifiable dynamic, but consolidated more by the impetus of events than by manoeuvres in execution of preconceived planning.[166]

The Maggior Consiglio law of 1468 which attempted to regulate the Ten's area of competence made no mention of public finance.[167] But by that date they already discharged apparently restricted and anomalous functions connected with finance, like protection of the pay due to Venice's general Bartolomeo Colleone,[168] which were to develop towards more systematic and far-reaching surveillance of funds destined to defance spending during the 1470s, and in particular of the 'deposits' of revenues set aside for this purpose.[169] By the end of hostilities in 1479, with terraferma revenues pooled in the capital, the Ten as much as the Senate were assigning and anticipating funds, obtaining credit on the guarantee of future salt incomes, and various revenues assigned to a special deposit in the Procuratie.[170]

The Ten's activity through the war years, in which they progressed from enforcement of the Senate's and Signoria's provisions towards independent decisions, should not be considered unwarranted meddling or coldly conceived concentration of power. Venetian public finance, with the weakness of its articulation, urgently needed an authoritative

instrument to impose discipline and co-ordination on its constituent parts, and to maintain the confidence of bankers and the flow of moneys towards urgent military expenditure. The principal method on which the Ten settled to achieve these aims was the custody and manipulation of reserve funds, which they spent at need or pledged to secure loans, drawing on other incomes to feed or replace their reserves.

The problem created, where terraferma revenues were concerned, was the definition of the Ten's area of intervention in peace-time: with expenditure conducted directly by the Camere, and the long-term assignment of their revenues to army pay and local expenses, additional demands by the Ten threatened to disrupt the pattern of their allocation. They were by no means insensitive to the danger of overlapping competence: in September 1479 they placed an obligation for D. 10,000 to renew the Procuratie deposit on all the terraferma Camere's moneys, after they had paid off the Venetian banks, but in November they switched the assignment to the salt revenues, to free the Camere '... ita ut remaneant in arbitrio nostri dominii, ut antea consuevere'.[171] And until the War of Ferrara brought a return to the pooling of terraferma revenues, the limits set by this declaration of principle appear to have been observed.[172]

It was after the War of Ferrara, with terraferma and in particular Paduan incomes faltering, and with the state relying heavily on credit from the banks, that the Ten's interventions in the Paduan Camera's affairs multiplied in number and weight. This was an immediate consequence of the share they had taken of its revenues during the war, and now took the form of orders deciding the priority with which the various obligations should be discharged, as well as assigning further major payments to it.[173]

In October 1485 the Ten obliged Padua to pay off moneys spent on the fleet, so disrupting its payments to Venice's retiring general Sanseverino and his successor Giulio

Cesare da Varano, which were partially anticipated with bankers' loans raised in Venice (to be made good by Padua).[174] In 1486-87 the Camera failed to satisfy either the required despatch of moneys to Venice or the programme of payments to the generals;[175] so that the state borrowed to meet their pay and issued revised instructions to the Camera - which served only to confuse further the irregular rhythm and varying priority of its expenditure.[176] Despite the evident confusion, the Ten also added various minor payments to its obligations.[177] The Trentino War of 1487, occasion of spirited appeals from the Signoria to the Camera, provided another cause of disruption to its shaken routine.[178]

The return to a centralized system of revenues' distribution in 1488 followed four years of grave disorder in the Paduan Camera's functioning. Many of the financial decisions, and the instructions enforcing them, had come in these years from the Ten, or were related to their interventions. Was their budgeting of terraferma incomes' spending to blame, and if so how? The pressure they exerted on the Camere was more consequence than cause, due to overall fluctuations in revenue and spending.[179] It is also clear, given the cumulative development of the Camere's administrative failings, that their contribution was at most to worsen difficulties already well rooted. The errors which may be attributed to their collaboration in financial planning, at least in the consequences visible in Padua, were the too frequent alterations of priority and destination of its payments, and in a broader context the determination to make substantial demands on mainland revenues with which to finance the fleet, when the Camere's most important task, the pay of the army, was not being satisfactorily discharged. It was primarily to regularize the army's pay and protect its priority that the Senate draughted the Camere moneys to Venice in 1488, and the same motivation lay behind the limitation two years later.[180]

The limitation's introduction posed important questions for the following years: with the Camere again entrusted with the local distribution of revenues, what efficiency could be expected of them, what were the results of disturbance, interference and reform in the 1480s? And secondly, with this binding of the main terraferma revenues to army pay by the Senate's authority, how - if at all - would the Council of Ten intervene in future in the affairs of the Camere?

II - (3) : 1490 - 1509. The Limitation, and the Repercussions of Growing Military Involvement.

The years following the institution of the limitation were those of the approach and early campaigning of the Italian Wars. The Paduan Camera's dealings with its military creditors (principally the Marquis of Mantua) suffered only minor interruptions of routine, for the army's mobilization and active service in the Fornovo campaign of 1495.[181] No extraordinary taxation was imposed on the provinces at this time, for extra revenues were raised in the capital.[182]

But the withdrawal from the peninsula of Charles VIII of France could not restore peace. The tensions and antagonisms between the Italian states had become open conflicts; the precedent was set for foreign intervention, and Venice could not avoid a major role in the game of alliances and ambitions. Naples, then Pisa and Tuscany were theatres of war in which the Republic intervened to further its interests. Then in 1499 heavy Turkish attacks on the mar holdings and Friuli coincided with the Franco-Venetian alliance for the dismemberment of the Sforza state of Milan. Venice was at war on two fronts, and the Republic's whole financial system was strained to the point of breaking by the simultaneous military commitment entailed.[183]

During this period of hostilties, in contrast with the 1470s and the War of Ferrara, the ordinary terraferma revenues continued, as far as possible, to be distributed

by the Camere to their military payees: recourse to their central channelling, with anticipation from other funds or bankers' credit, was practised only as a last resort.[184] Stricter adherence to local distribution, and firmer insistence that the Camere discharge their obligations without falling back on the capital, may be read as the signs of more orderly and decisive programming. But they were also a consequence of plain necessity: war in the East represented the more pressing need, drawing all available funds in Venice as well as part of the mainland incomes, at a time when credit had become extremely scarse in the capital. The Soranzo bank had been liquidated in 1491, two other important banks - the Garzoni and the Lippomano - failed in 1499, and the only major survivor, the Pisani bank, was saved in the same year by the Signoria's intervention, and ceased operations between 1500 and 1504.[185]

The banks' difficulties arose primarily from the general shortage of liquid capital, due to the effects of war on commerce and the state's heavy demands in taxation. The same factors had an adverse effect on the decime yields[186] and the trading value of monte stock, which had accumulated in the absence of redemption by the state. Though extraordinary taxation in Venice at the turn of the century continued to be tied to repayment by the monte, it proved necessary to exploit other sources of extra revenue. Forced loans were therefore accompanied by a one third rise in the city dazi rates;[187] the tax on office returned to a 'net half';[188] and the tansa - a new tax cum loan - was introduced, levying from D. 1 to D. 50 per household in Venice as tax, with from D. 50 to D. 300 as loan.[189]

With this weight of taxation on the city, extra demands were made on the terraferma too: a subsidy in 1499, and in 1500 an attempt to increase the dazi by one third, as in Venice. The hostile reception of the latter proposal led to its replacement by a special tax on land-owning, the campatico,

on which the Senate insisted in the face of clamorous opposition.[190] Taxation on the clergy of Venice and the mainland was boosted by a Papal decima, conceded in 1500, and in 1501 - again with the Pope's consent - a Jubilee was proclaimed to raise money for the war against the Turks.[191]

Both during and after this period of emergency, the limitation of the terraferma Camere's ordinary revenues remained in force. In response to the greater pressure of military budgeting, in a prolonged period of political unrest now on a European scale, the Senate reacted by reinforcing the system laid down in 1490. In March 1494 it had rejected a parte to increase spending on the army, and strengthen its state of readiness, a proposal which specifically demanded the scrupulous guarding of the Camere's incomes against all but a minimum of non-military expenditure. But in November of the same year, with Charles VIII threatening Florence, what was essentially the same law was passed.[192] So higher regular military spending brought greater simplicity and clarity of planning to the allocation of the main terraferma revenues, and the dominant control of the Senate over them, setting a programme of expenditure and the pattern for its continuation, lasting through to 1509 and after. With hostilities against the Turks at an end in 1502, Padua's assigned yearly total for military pay rose to D. 38,800, after economies made in the Camera's local expenses, (the 'chassation et scansation').[193] In 1503 it was set at D. 40,336, and in 1508 at D. 42,586.[194]

The parti of 1490 and 1494 left the Camere's normal revenues assigned to two main areas of expenditure: the army, and local expenses (with which we may group provisioni).[195] The answer, therefore, to the constitutional question of the respective roles of Senate and Ten in the Camere's affairs, was the establishment of comprehensive control by the former over the allocation of their regular incomes. There seems to be little justification for interpreting the Senate's decisions

on this issue in a polemical key, (a reading of events more suited to the changed circumstances of the later sixteenth century). There is no appearance of constitutional controversy, and the prime objective was of a practical order: to impose co-ordinated planning on the Camere, with a stricter and more stable allocation of revenue to spending. This was espécially important for the terraferma incomes because their control at a distance from the capital, no easy task to start with, required their programme of spending to be as clear and unvaried as possible. So one council instead of two, the council traditionally invested with the planning and regulation of public finance, established more rigid and lasting programming, aimed to guarantee the financing of the army.

The Ten's principal motivation in disposing of terraferma incomes in the 1480s had been to protect the Republic's defence budget, and after the Senate's institution of the limitation had brought a greater degree of order to military spending, they showed no inclination to dispute its terms. Nor had they any cause to, since the political composition and functions in government of Senate and Ten were essentially complementary, and not in mutual opposition; and on a practical level, the Council of Ten in the 1490s drew on sufficiently ample and varied resources to be able to practise its accumulation of reserve funds and custody of urgent spending without interfering with the Senate's programme for the Camere. To take an example, in February 1494 they imposed their authority on the exaction of tax on public office, and assigned themselves the disposal of D. 30,000 p.a. of its takings.[196]

It is not our intention or competence to discuss the full importance of the Ten's financial activity, but their decisions and orders reached everywhere in Venetian public spending by the end of our period. Their own Camera became an important financial office in its own right.[197] Their expenditure covered not only naval and military matters,[198] but

many other fields - for example they organized the redemption of monte stock in and after 1503,[199] bought grain to supply Venice,[200] and intervened in public works, contributing for example to finance the important project begun in the Padovano in 1488 to divert the river Brenta.[201] Their receipts or pre-emptive rights might cover the 'Venetian' incomes and extraordinary tax due from the provinces,[202] as well as the major taxes of the capital,[203] and a variety of marginal or miscellaneous public funds.[204]

The constitutional division that emerged between Ten and Senate, though not necessarily a stable one, was that the Senate (with the Maggior Consiglio in the background) debated and decided the Republic's overall financial strategy, and authorized the imposition of tax. It also continued to take the majority of the short-term decisions about the administration and expenditure of public moneys. The Ten, by establishing permanent control of certain regular incomes, and the option to intervene in the assignment of others, were in a position to guide revenues towards important areas of expenditure, in particular defence and the public debt.[205] They could cover the gaps and delays arising when expenditure or income differed in practice from their projected dimensions and schedules, or when the particular urgency of expenditure required the anticipation of the incomes assigned to it or the underwriting of credit. Their authority also played an important part in reinforcing the instructions for the execution of financial policy in the provinces, which they kept under surveillance, with the result that the names of the Capi of the Ten appear in the more pressing orders sent to the Camere.[206]

These signs of progress towards the more effective co-ordination of the Republic's finances contrast with the continuing discrepancy between the Camere's effective revenues and assigned expenditure. In the 1490s Padua fell far behind in its payments to the Marquis of Mantua,[207] and the Signoria

ran through its repertoire of immediate remedies: sending touring officials to solicit the Camera's receipts (with particular urgency in the campaign year of 1495),[208] advising the Camerlenghi to borrow,[209] and falling back on credit in Venice.[210]

Many of the problems in Padua's case, as the reforming ordinances of 1484 and 1488 had indicated, lay in the processes of exaction, and the Camera's relations with dazieri and dadia exactors.[211] With Pitigliano (Venice's general in succession to the Marquis of Mantua) the Camera's principal creditor between 1497 and 1509,[212] its shortcomings in payments continued to receive the maximum of administrative attention. As a consequence the organization of dadia exaction was a point of steady attrition between the Paduan Council and the Signoria, especially after 1498, through Venetian insistence on full and punctual payments by the Commune's exactor, threatening to deprive it of the right to administer the tax.[213]

Abrupt deterioration of relations over the dadia began as the Republic struggled to face the financial emergency of the turn of the century. The Camera's long-standing tolerance of imperfect conduct of exaction, (criticized in the past but allowed to continue), was brushed aside by plenipotentiary touring inspectors who indicted and unseated not only the Paduan exactors but also a number of the Camera's Venetian officials. The investigations conducted for the Senate in January 1498 by the Avogador di Comun Andrea Zanchani, besides incriminating the dadia exactor Fabiano de' Fabiani, revived an accusation of the touring Avogadori of 1488 against a protegé of the Doge, Domenego de Martin, (supervisor of the Paduan Camera de' Lavorieri, responsible for public works); it was now extended to include his brother and the Camera scribe Piero de' Santi. The two brothers were convicted, Domenego (significantly tried before the Senate) on charges of malversation and extorsion, which earned him

a sentence of exile.[214] In 1499 the Provveditore sopra le Camere Gerolamo Cappello visited Padua, and three convictions resulted: of the noble Giorgio Corner fu Marco, Camerlengo between 1495 and 1497, for defrauding the Paduan dadia exactors indicted by Zanchani of L. 4,243 10s;[215] of the Camera's exactor Renier Venier, for theft of L. 6,000;[216] and of the scribe Andrea Usnago for mishandling L. 10,024.[217]

Whatever the significance of these two inspections in revealing and reforming the Camera's administrative failings, an important immediate effect was that the special officials who followed them to Padua received or amassed for themselves similarly peripatetic powers of interference. The season was highly favourable, with the great strain of the war effort on public finance, and Cappello was followed within a year by another Senate emissary, the Provveditore sopra le Camere Giovanni Battista Bonzi, commissioned to enforce the regulations of 1479 and 1490 concerning army pay,[218] and to exact, investigate and arrest.[219] He stayed two and a half months before departing for Vicenza, and was soon followed by two other visitors, so that the situation of the 1480s repeated itself. Extraordinary officials again tended to duplicate the Camera's primary function of gathering revenues, through a temporary assignment of special powers and personnel, so reinforcing receipts but offering no cure for the institutional weaknesses within the local structure which necessitated their presence. This tendency was particularly evident in the work of Francesco de Legge, one of a number of exactors sent from Venice to the terraferma to collect the campatico in 1501 and 1503,[220] who also became involved in levying tax from the clergy and from various long-standing debtors of the fisc.[221]

By this time the urgency of crisis was waning. Venice's Romagna manoeuvres in 1503 at the death of Pope Alexander VI were a limited military commitment compared to the Turkish War, which was at an end. Extraordinary taxation in the terra-

ferma ceased, and with the gradual recovery from emergency of public finance, the rhythm of direct intervention in the provinces by special officials relaxed.[222] The re-organization of the limitation in September 1502 followed a tour of inspection of the provinces to reduce local spending.[223] Left with the directives provided by the touring officials, in particular Bonzi and Giovanni Trevisan (another Provveditore sopra le Camere sent to Padua in 1502),[224] the Paduan Camera returned to a more tranquil existence after the state of exhaustion provoked by war and the crisis in its own organization.[225]

Such improvements as may have derived from the purge and reform effected did not succeed in making revenues and spending meet. Padua fell steadily behind in its payments to Pitigliano in the years following 1502,[226] and in October 1505 the Captain of the city reported bluntly to the Senate that the Camera's income fell steadily short of outgoings by D. 300 a month.[227] In July of the same year the Senate and Ten had collaborated to add a monthly D. 200 to Padua's spending,[228] which the Camerlenghi simply deducted from Pitigliano's salary.[229] In both 1505 and 1506 the Senate had to resort to expedients to facilitate the paying of the army, suspending the Camere's payments on their other expenditure,[230] and these signs of strain were followed by others.[231]

This constant recurrence of a deficit throws doubt on the usefulness of the limitation: did it serve only to clarify the planning of the Camere's defence spending, and fail to bring budgeted and effective expenditure onto the same, real level? If it failed, to what extent did the fault lie in the functioning of local institutions (in the exaction and administration of incomes), and how much in the degree of realism of the Senate's demands? To conclude this discussion of the Paduan Camera's activity, it is necessary to relate its continuing difficulty in meeting its obligations to their growing weight, as well as to the strengths and failings of

its organization.

The first of these two factors cannot be denied its due importance, ifvthe order of the logical steps establishing the limitation is borne in mind: it aimed to adapt the province's fiscal resources to the needs of defence spending, and it was the cost of the army that determined the sums assigned to the Camere. With the defence budget growing by irregular stages through the fifteen years between 1494 and 1509, without the addition of further permanent sources of provincial revenue, the Senate's demands on the Camere reached the point of requiring them to maintain the army at virtually war-time strength. The prospect of lasting peace became too uncertain to permit severe reduction in numbers between campaigns, and the annual pay bill rose, to total D. 235,134 in December 1508. By then, even in the Senate's optimistic reckoning, it exceeded the Camere's available resources by D. 23,584, despite further draconian and arbitrary reduction of all their other spending.[232] Agnadello in 1509, with its long aftermath of struggle for the possession of the mainland provinces, interrupted the spiralling pressure of military budgeting on the terraferma Camere, transferring much of their expenditure to other sources of revenue.

It is therefore on the performance of two decades that we must assessthe Paduan Camera reformed in the 1480s, setting administrative practice and efficiency in the context of the gradual escalation of military spending. The problems of exaction are analyzed in a later section, and for present purposes it is sufficient to note that in the first decade of the sixteenth century existing difficulties were subject to aggravation by the effects of grain shortage and disease, (1505 in particular was a year of famine and severe plague).[233] The Camera's receipts, particularly of direct tax, therefore continued subject to loss and delay.

As far as administrative standards are concerned, it is immediately apparent from the evidence of the crisis years

at the turn of the century that many of the failings criticized in the 1480s were still current, and effective control from Venice still weak. The measures adopted in 1473, for the registration in Venice by the Provveditori sopra le Camere of moneys paid by the Camere to the army, had to be revived from partial neglect in 1501.[234] In the same year the Senate angrily attacked trading in military bollette, which continued unabated with the connivance of the Camere scribes, (it had been among the accusations directed at Andrea Usnago in 1499).[235] Public moneys had continued to change hands outside the Paduan Camera and beyond its control - dazieri effected direct payments to military creditors.[236] Indeed, owing to the Camera's inability to extract money from tax collectors, Pitigliano was officially paid from 1498 onwards with D. 2,000 a month in ready money, and the balance of his salary from Padua in debtors of the fisc, from whom a local representative of his was empowered to levy.[237]

If these were the conditions in which the Camera operated in the 1490s, did the upheavals between 1498 and 1502 serve to correct administrative practices and improve efficiency? What, first of all, was the effect of the prosecutions of 1498 and 1499?

A suitable term to describe their immediate impact might be 'sensational', in view of the stir they created in the charged public climate of patriotic struggle. But a deeper evaluation of their significance is difficult to achieve, for their discovery and denunciation allow more than one interpretation, (like the exposure of tax evasion): should it be considered a step forward for administrative standards, and proof of the functioning of systems of central surveillance - or rather the tip of the iceberg, indicative of past and continuing practice, favoured by prevalent attitudes to the holding of public office?

The two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive; the constant centralizing trend of Venetian administration of the

provinces lends weight to the first, but especially in the context of recent historical writing's de-mythicization of Venetians' attitude to public office, it seems legitimate to give some credit to the latter interpretation (and so to the bitter moralism of the diarist Priuli), by admitting the same vices in Venetian administration as could be found in that of other states.[238]

The prosecutions of 1498-99 must therefore be set in the context of institutional characteristics and political attitudes: the irregular exercise and scattered competence of auditing, especially among the citizen functionaries, when so many magistracies and courts kept their own cassa; the dependence of gains not only on a fixed salary but also on a commission from moneys handled or work done (utilità) often greater than the salary, easy to abuse, and virtually impossible to audit. Office tax, levied on both salary and utilità, was unwillingly paid[239] further evidence to confirm the vision of office as patrimony, as a form of gains, a conception already manifest in the wide diffusion of broglio (election-rigging). Appointments to office and its tenure in the citizen bureaucracy had their own specific character: the importance of favour and clientage (often presented as the reward of patriotic service) in appointments, which encouraged nepotism and clique entrenchment; pluralism of tenure, with absenteeism and substitution - all factors more or less damaging to efficiency, competence and correctness of conduct.

The disciplinary action undertaken in Padua at the turn of the century was something of an isolated phenomenon. It needed the tension created by the Republic's over-stretched foreign policy, (and in 1499 the bitterness of defeat by the Turks), for official disapproval to overcome the inertia of tacit toleration or resignation protecting extended gains, as well as the obstacles to investigation posed by the confused accounting and competence of the Republic's financial offices. The periodic attempts to redress the Camere's procedure, as well as re-organizations of army pay, had not

spared general accusations of malpractice,[240] but there is scarse evidence of prosecutions of Paduan officials in the preceding forty years of this study.[241]

The fury of denunciation was in fact short-lived. Occasional prosecutions between 1500 and 1509 demonstrate continuing, intermittent attention in Venice to the correction of malpractice. We find suspicions of a noble Camerlengo,[242] recovery of moneys misappropriated by the clergy exactor,[243] prosecution of the Camera's fines' scribe.[244] But the psychological moment for general recrimination and accusation had passed, as it had for the other Camere.[245] Despite the initial sensation, authority in Venice may also have realized that public officials' dishonesty was but one aspect of the Camere's problems, and perhaps not a very major one.

Whatever the influence of deliberate malpractice, venal motivation and illicit profit were evils which could never be eradicated without at the same time recognizing and remedying the delays and deficits on the exaction side of the Camere's accounts, or at least allowing for them in budgeting. But with the ebbing of the crisis of the Turkish War, the exaction work of the touring officials tailed off, and the function they discharged lapsed, so accentuating the danger that moneys due to the Camera which were not paid on schedule would become distant and eventually irretrievable arrears. For all the anomalies of their position, special officials' exaction concentrated on outstanding debts which the Camerlenghi could not or would not liquidate, and which constantly accumulated, since threatening legislation and the efforts of the Camera's personnel did not suffice to make tax collectors and debtors pay on time.

Relatively little was gained, therefore, in 1502, because the re-organization and re-allocation of revenues following the 'chassation et scansation' were more nominal than real. The D. 4,260 p.a. saved in Padua's spending were gains on paper, made by dismissals and pay cuts. The dismissed were for

the most part guards in the Padovano castles, some of which were now left undefended to be leased privately by the Rason Vecchie.[246] Pay cuts were inflicted on officials' salaries and the various provisioni, in Padua and throughout the terraferma, which were set at a frequency of eight instead of ten or twelve payments a year; and the same reduction was applied to the army, with the exception of its commanders and the central banca.[247] Especially where army pay was concerned, these revised rates offered the opportunity of squaring accounts with reality, rather than saving moneys actually spent: the revenues made available could have been assigned to fill out the Camera's meagre payments on its existing obligations.[248] But the logic of military budgeting induced the Senate to believe, or at least to demand, that the standing obligations should be honoured, as wellas others assigned with the savings made.

So the chassation et scansation offered no cure for the Camera's deficit, with the consequence that the failings in its administrative practice were bound to survive and flourish. It continued to effect part of its major payments in debtors, certainly no help to the clarity of its accounting, and hardly a satisfactory solution for its creditors. Pitigliano's secretary requested the Signoria in 1504, a propos of his master's pay from Padua, to '... farli satisfare... et per l'amor de Dio non li dare piui exactori perché li tornano in preiudicio et damno grande suo et de la compagnia'.[249]

Though unsatisfactory to creditors and damaging to the state's control of public moneys, the practice of payment with debtors was sanctioned by legislation regulating its procedure throughout Venetian public finance. Its open acceptance by the state corroborates other evidence of creditors' difficulties and consequent manoeuvres in obtaining payment, (symptoms at the very least of poor financial planning, and in the long term of an overall deficit).[250] Its acceptance was also an admission of the failings of exaction: with forced levying costly, inefficient and complicated by the observance

of legal procedures and cautions, it was often left to the state's creditors to try their luck, whether in direct action against debtors assigned, or in pressure on the Camere to raise moneys allocated to them.

The limitation, as we have already suggested, by returning the Camere's revenues to local distribution to their assigned recipients, was a clear admission of the importance of creditors' pressure on the source of income in obtaining eventual payment. Despite the abuses and wastage it might involve, the advantage in yield made it preferable to sole reliance on the power of authority in Venice to solicit the Camere's receipts and channel them through the capital to their destinations, a practice which the Signoria had apparently learned to try to avoid by the end of the fifteenth century.

Considered as a gauge of the effective control of central authority over the Camere, this situation reveals weakness rather than strength. Yet it contrasts with the constant tendency of legislation and intervention from the capital to seek to regulate and interfere in the Camere's affairs. The years at the turns of the fifteenth century saw a concentrated succession of attempts by Venice to discipline and exploit provincial revenues, not only through the intermittent activity of special exactors but also by less obtrusive means, intensifying the surveillance and regulation of relatively minor aspects of the Camere's activity, or matters hitherto untractable. What we have seen of the Camera's results in the last decade before Agnadello indicates the continuity of its troubles, and excludes any major or at least beneficial extension of the Signoria's effective power to regulate the Camere, whatever the centralizing tendency of Venetian government and the urgency of the time. As a consequence, the details of financial planning for the provinces, though undergoing progressive elaboration, remained fragile and unrealistic on a practical level.

This contradiction between intention and effect, between planning and its execution, has been evident in much of our discussion so far, but the final pages of this section are

intended to demonstrate that the same contrast may be found throughout the Camera's functioning, not only in the administration of its major revenues and its relations with its military creditors, but also in the handling of its secondary incomes and spending. The chronological limits of discussion have therefore been expanded to resume and integrate material predating the years 1490-1509, though these remain our broad focus of interest. After brief consideration of the Camera's 'Venetian' incomes, and a summary examination of its marginal revenues, we will review the question of its local and non-military expenditure, and - by way of conclusion on the administrative relations between capital and Camera - examine the degree of effective control represented by Padua's accounting to Venice.

As we might expect from the problems manifest in the despatch of the Camera's main incomes to Venice, in the phases of central pooling of terraferma revenues, its transmission of its 'Venetian' incomes to the capital (an unvarying obligation) was subject to perennial difficulties. For the salt dazio we possess little information, but in the exaction and despatch of clergy decime arrears were endemic, and always high in the priority of special officials' tasks in the province.[251]

The third 'Venetian' income, the tax on public office, was a constant source of complaint and accusation directed from Venice towards the Camere. It was anyway unpopular, and subject to evasion and arrears, because with its differentiated rates it taxed every type of Venetian public office, noble and citizen, temporary and long-term, subtracting precious gains from both salary and utilità.[252] The terraferma Camere in particular were frequently behind in their payments: the Camera staff failed to deduct at source the contributions of local Venetian officials, the Camerlenghi muddled office tax due to the Governatori with other funds, and if revenues were scarce it was the last obligation to be satisfied. Laws for the full assessment and exaction of the tax from the terraferma

reggimenti, and angry letters from Venice to Padua, recur through the first three decades of our period.[253] Revised legislation by the Senate in 1491 to strengthen payment, especially in the provinces, was followed in 1494 by the Ten's take-over of most of the tax's proceeds, and the extension of their supervision to its exaction.[254] The extra weight of their authority was felt in the gravity of threats to the Camere, but payment from the provinces appears to have remained undatisfactory, despite closer surveillance.[255]

It is possible to detect a similar trend towards closer attention from Venice, though again with limited success, in the vaguely circumscribed area of the miscellaneous and expedient incomes which the Signoria created or hunted out in the Camere, in its attempts to fill gaps in the defence budget. Among the many items classifiable under this denomination,[256] potentially the most important in terms of yield was the collection of old debts to the fisc. It was an activity that waxed and waned, but failed to achieve a steady rhythm, which - absurd though it may seem - was the response necessary to the almost constant creation of arrears, due either from taxes' administrators or their individual contributors.[257] The recuperation of outstanding debts naturally received particular stimulus in periods of financial stringency, marked by more frequent legislation and intervention through routine administrative channels, as well as the despatch to the provinces of special touring officials.[258]

Apart from intensifying attention to arrears, the Signoria reacted to pressure on the fisc by creating specific marginal incomes, administered by the Camere but kept separate in budgeting terms from their ordinary revenues, and despatched to Venice. The method used (which lay behind the creation of tax on public office) was the addition of a small percentage or fixed payment to existing forms of tax, or the deduction of something similar from moneys owed by the state. One example of this was a two per cent levy on all moneys paid out of the terraferma and mar Camere, originally con-

ceived as a form of income tax to complement the Venetian decima, like the tax on Monte interest payments.[259] The longest lasting expedient of this type was the addition of small obligations to the totals stipulated in the terraferma dazi contracts, first used in our period during the later stages of the Turkish Wars of the 1470s, and left in operation thereafter. The proceeds were allocated to the Arsenal, so as to extract a minor contribution from provincial incomes without disturbing their principal commitment to the army.[260]

Another source of terraferma income awarded to the Arsenal was the extension to the subject cities' offices of the tax on public office, in effect restricted to little more than the territorial vicariates in their charge, and so called the vicariates' tax.[261] It was sufficiently meagre in its yields, not least because contested by the terraferma, to merit classing as marginal, and it always received separate administrative treatment.[262]

To judge by later evidence, neither of these payments to the Arsenal was regularly effected. Local opposition to the second may have contributed to cause this, but in the atmosphere of the Camere's approximate and hustled satisfaction of their major obligations, it is improbable that petty, anomalous payments received much of their attention. As with office tax, the period after 1490, with the Camere's main incomes subject to the stricter requirements of the limitation, brought stronger administrative interest to bear on them. Indeed, with talk in 1490 and 1491 of redemption of Monte stock, various minor revenues were assigned, including another small levy of the order of two per cent on the dazi of Venice and the terraferma;[263] in 1492 there followed assignments to the same purpose of regulat terraferma revenues, which were abolished by the 1494 re-confirmation of the limitation, leaving the fringe payments due from Padua in force.[264]

In a significant development towards the turn of the century, the Ten began to devote close attention to the exploit-

ation of marginal revenues; not disdaining to deal with petty matters, they manipulated arrears and other minor or anomalous terraferma incomes to finance projects in their care, while respecting the claims of the limitation. Apart from the examples already quoted of their activity in this field,[265] they also attempted - though with limited success, it seems - to solicit payment of the 1491 percentage levy on the terraferma dazi, which was incorporated in the general redemption of monte stock in 1503,[266] (while the 1477 levy on the dazi and the vicariates' tax remained obliged to the Arsenal).[267]

These were relatively minor matters beside the larger sums and greater variety of items constituting the Camera's regular local and non-military spending. Especially in the twenty years before 1509, the Signoria's adaptation of existing provincial revenues to a swelling military budget demanded greater stringency in other expenditure. But the Camera's secondary spending seems on the whole to have resisted the growing pressure of the limitation: there was more talk of its reduction than methodical attempts to review it thoroughly. The reasons are not hard to find: touring officials came with other priorities, since the exaction of tax arrears was a more urgent and immediate problem, also offering the attraction of pecuniary gain by commission. The irregular despatch of the Camera's accounts to Venice and their uncertain dependability constituted a sizeable initial obstacle to investigation, while the labyrinth of competence in the authorization of salaries, pensions and expenses was a further impediment.

An important and relatively stable part of this local spending was made up of the salaries and payments which had gained the protective classification of 'ordinary', as a consequence of the switching and suspension of the Camere's payments in the 1470s.[268] But even they, despite the originally restricted number of items given this labelling - indeed, rather because of the protection it offered, were not immune to inflation.[269] Padua's 'ordinary' pay bill was also swollen

by the Signoria's habit of assigning officials unconnected with the province for pay by the Paduan Camera. These were generally castellans and guards serving in the Polesine, Friuli and the stato da mar, areas poor in local resources.[270]

Another important section of the Camera's non-military expenditure was constituted by the numerous provisioni, for the most part pensions and salaries paid to the state's benemeriti and their families or descendants, though some were paid as retainer fees to soldiers not enrolled in the army companies.[271] Provisioni were created and assigned individually by the councils of state, and without the evidence of the Camera's accounts their precise entity is impossible to determine. Many of them acquired the protection of 'ordinary' status, in particular those awarded by the Ten, or given to women, children or the impoverished.[272]

But the aspects of local spending most in need of order and reduction were more varied, and less well defined: they were the expenses, allowances, bonuses and commissions which rounded out salaries, paid for the execution of particular duties, for travelling, for housing, as rewards; there was the expenditure of official entertainment and public celebration, of construction work and maintenance of buildings, bridges, roads and rivers.[273]

It was particularly evident from these miscellaneous items, but also from the whole area of local spending, that the relationship between institutions in Venice and the provinces over the authorization and control of secondary expenditure could assume a character of antithesis, even though the terraferma reggimenti's delegated functions were primarily to obey and execute decisions made in the capital. A counterweight was thus created to the apparently strong centralizing dynamic of Venetian administration, and the question of local expenditure serves well to demonstrate the difference between legislation's and interventions proposed accumulation of powers,

and their actual effects. Interventions from Venice were in fact a necessary check on the absorption of competence on a practical level by local officials, encountering for example the Rettori's extension of their authority over questions of spending properly the competence of the councils of state.[274] But provincial officials were copied in this habit by the Signoria, and in general by executive authority in Venice, perhaps tending simply to contest and expand the limits of their powers, but also acting justifiably, insofar as the councils' reservation of the authorization of payments served not only to check swollen and muddled budgeting, but also to brake the necessary functioning of government, since such minor matters could not be sure to obtain their attention.[275]

In view of these contradictory elements, and of the partial nature of the documentation available, it is not possible to trace a precise pattern of interventions from Venice in the regulation of local spending, though there is an obvious correlation - as in collection of arrears, and pressure on marginal sources of income - with the rhythm of the Republic's financial needs, and the intervention of special officials in the Camere's affairs. As the Turkish War of 1463-1479 made progressively greater demands on public finance, the Senate had first talked of trimming local expenses,[276] then imposed the de facto discrimination between 'ordinary' and less important secondary payments.[277] It was left to the touring officials of the 1480s, and principally the Avogadori in 1488, to single out the superfluous items of Padua's local expenditure.[278]

Many of the items which drew the Avogadori's attention were financed with the proceeds of court fines, an important but haphazardly administered form of revenue, not reckoned among the Camera's regular incomes in the assignment of major spending, and variable in both their yield and the purposes to which they were applied. Some fines originated as penalties for late payment to the fisc, and fines' exaction followed a

similarly uneven path to that of tax arrears. With a view to more effective and systematic exaction, responsibility for fines was confided to a specially appointed scribe in 1475,[279] but exaction of the moneys and their spending proved difficult to regulate. Malpractice was strongly favoured by the problems of exaction, since a heavy commission was due to the officials involved, which the Camerlenghi and perhaps also the Rettori abused,[280] and their subordinates egregiously so.[281]

One of the main areas of fines' expenditure was in fact on rewards given to officials: taglie, (sums due for the apprehension of criminals, specified either by the law code or in individual declarations of outlawry; and, more modestly, the commission due for effecting quite petty arrests, including for example for debt. There are no accounts of expenditure on which to draw for examples,[282] but occasional letters and the measures to reform the Camera give clear indications of abuse: rewards claimed before trial of the arrested, or without regard to the verdict; or the payment from the Camera's main revenues of the commission due for arresting proven but insolvent debtors, then released with a pardon or terms to pay - an opportunity for fruitful connivance between arrester and arrested.[283]

The other principal use for fine moneys was to finance construction operations: on the lagoon's river mouths, on the meeting of watercourses at Strà, on the new bed of the Brenta, and on maintenance of the city's walls.[284] The city's public buildings, both Communal and Venetian, as well as its roads, were at first repaired from the proceeds of the dazio dei carri e boccadego, a regular source of Camera income,[285] but later came to depend on the availability of fine money, as the priority of military spending grew more absolute.[286] The results of construction projects' dependence on this relatively unstable source of revenue, (probably unwillingly conceded by Rettori whose share of fines was thus taken from them), were their uncertain progress to completion.[287]

The introduction of the limitation and the greater urgency of defence spending implied, indeed practically required more rigid control of all these categories of secondary spending. In the years immediately following 1490 there was much talk of action to this effect, since the Camere immediately met with difficulty in paying the sums assigned to the army. But we lack evidence to suggest a major intervention of this kind in Padua,[288] though greater discipline over secondary spending was again implicit in the 1494 confirmation of the limitation, with its restricted categories of authorized expenditure.[289]

With or without a general revision, the Camera's secondary spending felt the pressure exerted by the military budget. In 1495 the Padua university teachers salaries had to be tied more firmly to different and more dependable incomes, after their repeated protests at lack of pay.[290] Even the Ten's protegés among the provisionati had difficulty in obtaining payment,[291] and the shortage of public moneys for secondary spending is also evident from the Signoria's use of alternative forms of reward. As well as provisioni from public moneys, we find the provinces used to provide employment for benemeriti, with their nomination as permanent officials of the dazi,[292] and the system of military taxe levied on the peasants extended to various beneficiaries not part of the army companies.[293] At the same time the granting of provisioni was restricted.[294]

The upheavals provoked by special officials' arrests in Padua at the turn of the century, and their activity in exaction, did not extend to a general review of local spending, and the economies of 1502 - the chassation et scansation - were the product of a late and quite unsensational phase of the central intervention of those years.[295] After the disruptive effects of warfare and administrative purges, the decisions of 1502 were necessary to re-affirm the priorities of the limitation - army pay first of all, and a minimum of other, local

spending by the Camere. They also had the rare merit of ordering specific savings after a detailed survey of expenditure, such as the Avogadori had conducted in Padua in 1488. But the result was to thin 'ordinary' spending, omitting to deal with the less easily accessible area of officials' allowances and expenses. And it is legitimate to suppose that the deficit in the Camera's overall spending, before but especially after 1502, invalidated efforts to establish limits to authorized local spending; in a situation of competition for available funds between military and local spending, the officials who were the administrators and often the beneficiaries of the latter were naturally predisposed to co-operate unwillingly with the Senate's programming. Budgeting by central authority easily lent itself to interpretation as arbitrary, as for example in 1508, when the Senate's desire to finance the army exclusively with Camere moneys resulted in the decreeing of further reductions in local spending, not prepared - it seems - by any systematic survey of how this was to be achieved.[296]

Though pressure to reduce the Camere's local spending certainly grew in the years before Agnadello, it does not seem justifiable to view them as a period of co-ordinated accumulation of more precise knowledge and control of provincial finance on the part of authority in Venice. The note of approximation and expediency in the Senate's demands on the Camere was due in part to the unavoidable necessity of adapting resources to fluctuations in defence spending. But it is nonetheless difficult to reconcile with the knowledge the Senate might be supposed to possess of their functioning, given the various forms of surveillance to which they were subject: the mass of correspondence passing between terraferma reggimenti and the Signoria and Collegio, as well as the Ten and executive financial magistracies; the information to be had from touring officials; the regular contact between the Camere and the magistracies in receipt of their 'Venetian' revenues; and of course the compilation and despatch of the Camere's accounts.

But none of these channels of communication with the capital appears to have created more than approximate or dispersed knowledge of events in the provinces, or if successful in passing information failed to inspire effective remedial intervention by legislative and executive bodies acting in concert. Part of the fault obviously lay in the multiplicity and division of competence among the organs which had dealings with the Camere; but what may be observed of the most important instrument of communication, the presentation of provincial accounts, throws some doubt on the efficacy of the systems of surveillance themselves.

The provincial accounts were an indispensable point of departure for proper acquaintance with the Camere's activity, never more so than in the twenty years before Agnadello, when the limitation's expressed preference for revenues' local distribution necessarily made them the main instrument of routine supervision.[297] Without the evidence of the accounts themselves, we may only infer from other sources (indicative of the attention paid to them, but also of the variety of organs concerned) that some, if not all, were despatched on schedule.[298] But since the Paduan Camera's receipts and payments did not always observe their scheduled dates and totals, either before or after the prosecutions of 1498-99, it seems very likely that an element of falsehood was introduced into the accounts. This inference is supported by occasional Venetian accusation,[299] and the false accounting of the Zacho dadia exaction of 1503-04, with its suspicious clustering of payments, flatly contradicted by the receipts of Pitigliano's representative.[300] A general re-iteration of the provinces' accounting rules in 1506 included threats against faking the closure of accounts, and by its tone suggests that delayed receipts and complicity in their concealment were widespread.[301]

II - (4) : Concluding Comments.

The material presented in these pages does not lend itself easily to trenchant conclusions; administrative history is by its nature a continuing and often confused stream of events, more often repetitive or contradictory than amenable to neat judgements, or divisible into clear-cut phases of development with consistent articulation and dynamics. Yet certain inferences emerge from the vicissitudes of the Paduan Camera over the half century before Agnadello, concerning the organization and functioning of both the single institution and the whole Venetian fiscal system, which may be expressed in general terms.

In the first place it is opportune to remark on the relevance for the period here considered of the perceptions of Cessi and Stella, in particular the former, in their studies of Venetian state finance in the thirteenth and fourteenth, and later sixteenth centuries respectively[302] - a fact which confirms the repetitive nature of the problems and weaknesses of the Republic's financial system, as well as the perennial inadequacy of the solutions attempted.

From Cessi's account it is possible to deduce that state finance had failed to find a satisfactory organizational structure in the period preceding the acquisition of the mainland provinces, before confronting the considerable complications resulting from its possession. In a few incisive pages of general introduction,[303] he refers to the '... perenne precarietà delle finanze dello stato', remarking that attempts at financial planning or economies in spending generally met with little success, and that the organization of public moneys '... assai raramente trovò una stabile ed organica soluzione', in surprising contrast with the Republic's great economic wealth and political power. He identifies the problems of Venetian public finance as '... l'imprecisione delle attribuzioni, l'imperfezione degli organi, il disordine dei sistemi di con-

trollo...' - factors which favoured abuse and wastage, and prevented clear overall vision. Fragmentary or arbitrary division of competence between jostling legislative and executive organs obstructed the way to rationalization.

The tone of Stella's analysis is remarkably similar. By the time of the political crisis of 1582 the powers of the Ten, in finance and in other fields, had grown well beyond their later fifteenth century phase to become the focus of constitutional controversy, but '... imprecisione.. imperfezione... disordine' still characterized much of the central organization of finance. The long period of pressure on state finance initiated by Agnadello was characterized by innovations and expedients in the expansion of revenues, but not by substantial organizational reform.

Summary evidence from the provinces confirms the impression of continuity. Scattered remarks in the first recorded relazioni of terraferma city governors in the sixteenth century reveal public finance little altered from the pre-Cambrai system and its failings: revenues tightly tied to a programme of spending devised from on high in Venice, a sometimes considerable margin of deficit between income and assigned expenditure, and the irregularity of administrative standards, despite closer surveillance from Venice.[304]

During the fifty years of this study, the organization and efficiency of the Paduan Camera attained no major improvement, but remained functional within sometimes minimal limits. This qualified failure, in its various aspects, and the evidence of similarly characterized problems in preceding and subsequent periods, attest fundamental weaknesses in Venice's handling of public finance.

It can be claimed that the Senate's institution of the limitation in 1490 , together with its subsequent renewals and the direction taken by the Ten's interventions in finance, brought more certain attribution of authority in planning, and a stable programme and priorities to the spending of terraferma

incomes. But the detailed elaboration of demands on the provinces' fiscal resources continued to take more account of the cost of the army than of the Camere's means, neither flexible nor wholly under the control of central government. The gap between assigned military spending and the funds available for it was confirmed by the advent of the Italian Wars, as the Senate persisted in seeking to finance the army from the mainland alone, without adding to the Camere's staple sources of revenue.

With military spending liable to fluctuations, tending always to rise, the result was to expose provincial finance to the disruptive effects of budgetary imbalance, already evident as a result of warfare in the 1470s, and in the 1480s of some degree of contraction in public incomes. Shortage of funds in these two decades had necessitated first the suspension and rotation of payments due, then variations in the channelling of provincial revenues, harmful to the stability necessary for the Camere's optimum functioning, which also required the direct stimulus of its creditors' pressure.

The oscillation of the Paduan Camera's effective budget between approximate balance and clear deficit was both symptom and cause of its limited efficiency. The formal causes of its uncertain solvency were the delays and deficiencies of exaction, and poor administrative practice within the Camera, interacting with the gradual escalation of the Senate's demands. But in a more general reading, it was a result of the failure to develop the proper co-ordination of provincial fiscal structures and their efficiency of operation within a comprehensive overall scheme of financial organization.

The reason for this lay in the nature, and failings, of the Venetian state structure, in the polyvalency of powers and plurality of its central organs, in their unmapped and often overlapping attribution of competence, in the casual evolution of institutions and their spheres of influence. The financial system lacked the necessary co-ordination between

legislative and executive authority, as it did a balanced and clear division of work between them; it could therefore not achieve the clarity of vision and the constancy of policy and resolve with which to organize and exploit provincial finance to its full potential. Though continually increasing in intensity, direction of the Camera's affairs from Venice was often the product of single initiatives, approximate in its appreciation of problems, and inconsistent or irregular in its application.

It is therefore no surprise that remedial action tended to attack the symptoms rather than the roots of malfunctioning: investigation demonstrated the damaging effects of poor administrative practice, and dishonesty. It was undeniably an area of weakness: homogeneous administrative standards and punctilious practice were a distant goal. But it is to be doubted whether the causal link between the Camera's uncertain solvency and the failings of administrative practice was properly appreciated; nor was there any question of switching the financing of administration from marginal profits and bonuses, intended to stimulate zeal and preserve intact the sums raised as tax, though the cost in peculation certainly exceeded any hypothetical level of salaries.

As far as defence spending was concerned, the main progress discernible in the half century of this study was not in the quantity or timing of the Camere's payments to the army, but in the authoritative central direction of resources undertaken by the Ten, with their accumulation and deployment of reserve funds. These, together with the Venetian banks' credit, provided a necessary margin of flexibility, to complement the rigid programming of the Camere's expenditure established by the limitation. The strategy of defence spending had to be adapted, at least in part, to the Camere's limits.

While the role assumed by the Ten was an undoubted constitutional innovation, bringing much needed foresight and co-ordination to the deployment of funds, no such evolution

took place to strengthen and unite the links of information and command between capital and provinces. The dubious realism of budgeting by the Senate, and the irregular rhythm and approach of its attention to the Camere's affairs, are largely attributable to the lack of a single executive authority with the power to intervene comprehensively in the provincial Exchequers' affairs, with the full support of the legislature for its recommendations and frequent consultative contact with the Collegio. No single financial magistracy connected with the terraferma achieved a position of outstanding importance, though the Provveditori sopra le Camere had considerable prestige in career terms, and on a practical level were responsible for some of the Senate's iniatives concerning the Camere and army pay.[305] But it continued to be the Collegio which acted most commonly as the instrument of instruction, solicitation or inquiry addressed to the Camere. Contrary to practice in certain other fields, there is no indication that any of the financial magistracies dealing with the Camere were habitually called to consult together with the Collegio, while the very broad field of surveillance confided within the Collegio to the Savio Cassier certainly did not permit specialized attention to the terraferma Camere.[306]

Administrative links with the Camere might have gained cohesion and strength if the activity of touring officials had taken more permanent constitutional form, or developed more specifically under the aegis of one of the existing financial offices. But in spite of the frequency and importance of their activity in the Camere, their constitutional position remained irregular, and the effects of their action were seldom of long duration. Their work was also prone to defects: the cost of their intervention;[307] their motivation by profit;[308] and the insidious effects of their presence on the permanent structures of administration;[309] with the mingling in their commissions of more functions than was wise or practicable.[310] These failings did not pass unnoticed, and there are signs that

their activity might meet with hostility in the provinces, and indifference or criticism in the capital.[311] Denied permanent institutional status, irregularly resurrected in its imperfect state with varying attributions of competence, the financial inspectorate for the Camere lodged insecurely between specifically financial magistracies, (in particular the Provveditori sopra le Camere, often despatched as inspectors), and the vaster but less specific tutelage of the public interest entrusted to the Avogadori.

Cessi's 'imprecision of attributions, imperfection of organs and disorder of systems of supervision' were probably at their most evident in relations between Venice and the Camere; they obstructed the solution of problems in the Paduan Exchequer's functioning, so that it responded weakly to the pressure of an escalating military budget, and proved resistant to attempts at reform. Control at a distance had its limits, and functioned within a series of conditions which decisions in Venice had in practice to respect: first the necessity for stability in the destination, priority and point of distribution of the Camera's payments; second the correlation between yields and the pressure which creditors exerted on the Camera, a circumstance favourable to abuse in its administrative practice, but more efficient than the central draughting of revenues; and third a constant factor of loss between the gross potential revenues of the Camera and the sums reaching first priority public expenditure, which was swallowed by costs of administration, or - in the case of marginal revenues - perhaps never levied. Reform was more often suggested than executed, and in practice the only way to obtain a significant increase in incomes was to create additional sources of revenue, a step Venice was unwilling to take. If full fiscal exploitation of the mainland appears slow to develop, it was due in no small measure to the organizational weaknesses of the Republic's financial system, perhaps more of a brake than political caution or scruple over the demands to be imposed on the terraferma.

III : THE DISTRIBUTION, ASSESSMENT AND EXACTION OF TAXATION

The preceding pages have served to present the Paduan Camera Fiscale in the guise of a Venetian institution, its activity perhaps poorly co-ordinated with the capital, but part of the political and administrative structure and traditions of the Venetian state, and reflecting - albeit confusedly - the directives of the Republic's councils and magistracies, and the fluctuations and pressures of foreign relations and economic activity. But the mainland Exchequers were also the meeting point between these major determining influences of public finance, and the political, social and economic environment of the terraferma provinces - and little has so far been stated about the specifically Paduan context.

Yet it was in this local environment, its balance of forces radically altered by the province's passage from Carrarese to Venetian rule, and through the forms, sharing, assessment and exaction of tax, that the division of powers instituted by the Venetian regime received practical effect in Padua. The 'startling political changes' wrought in the state by public finance[312] were naturally more visible in the capital, through the focussing in Venice of the powers of political decision, of the organs of government and their evolution, of control and initiative in economic activity; they were less apparent in their distant and dispersed reverberations through the mainland provinces. But it was precisely in the application, elaboration and gradual transformation of the political settlement between the Signoria and the mainland cities that the tensions of Venetian public finance were manifest in the terraferma in the fifteenth century. The preceding centuries' evolution of social groupings, of political and economic balance, had found expression in fiscal terms; the future of these relationships, and the degree of autonomous fiscal organization to emerge from the Signoria's initial

promises, depended on the direction taken by Venetian administration of public revenues.

It proved well within the limits of feasibility that the Republic's initial and repeatedly declared policy towards the provinces and their political classes of conservatism and respect for established custom, could be undermined in practice by the gradual capillary penetration of administration from the capital, or more overtly revieved as a result of declared dissatisfaction with the provinces' discharge of their autonomous fiscal functions. Neither the responsibility for assessment and exaction of direct tax, nor the overall division of taxes to favour city over countryside, could be considered immutable if inefficiency in the first, or economic depletion resulting from the second, threatened to pose a lasting hindrance to Venice's exploitation of its fiscal resources.

Another point of major importance in fiscal relations between Venice and Padua was the way in which the tax systems of capital and province were integrated - in the areas of competence and control of the indirect tax networks of the one and the other, in the relative position of Paduans and Venetians with respect to taxes levied in the province. Here, questions of parity or favour between the Republic's citizens and its mainland subjects arose; and there were economic choices in the patterns of movement established for foodstuffs and manufactured produce within the Venetian state, through the relative favour accorded to this producer or conveyor, or that centre of consumption or distribution - matters, again, with considerable influence on the political and economic balance within the province, as well as between province and capital.

The preceding sections' analysis, with its passing references to the problems of exaction, and its tabulation of tax revenues, introduced the division of competence between Venetian and Paduan authority over taxation, and set a rough calendar of events. To resume, it should first be

remembered that the greater part of the Paduan Camera's regular incomes (nearly seventy per cent) derived from indirect taxation; over this the Commune had no competence, since its collection was given out to contract by the city's Venetian authorities. A high proportion of the dazi were levied in or near the city, since it was the city that consumed, processed and distributed economic products with much greater relative intensity than the territorio, though totalling perhaps twenty five per cent of the entire population of the province.[313]

Direct taxation - the dadia delle lanze - made a lesser contribution to the fisc. Its assessment was based on an intermittently reneved estimo, which served to divide among the contributors the sums fixed by a standing division of the tax between city, territorio and clergy. Assessment and administration of the clergy's share remained separate, but it was the city Council that was responsible for the preparation of estimi and the exaction of dadie from Padua and the Padovano. While dazi contractors were by no means exemplary in the regularity of their payments to the Camera, the responsibility was their own, whereas arrears in dadie exaction were the liability - through the Commune's exactor - of the city Council; pressure from Venice was therefore a ready cause of attrition. Further occasion for deterioration of relations, even confrontation, was provided by Venice's attempts to impose increased or extraordinary taxation, since the Council feared the institution of new standing taxes, and made much of the existing fiscal load - its members belonged to the wealthy minority with sizeable estimo assessments, usually based on landed wealth whose produce also ran the gamut of the city dazi.

The overall demands on Venetian fiscal resources rose in periods of pressure, and in the long term were inclined to grow permanently greater. Guided by the general principle of conservatism, and no doubt discouraged by the reaction to extraordinary taxation, the Signoria preferred in the later

fifteenth century to seek improved efficiency and yields in existing forms of revenue, especially in the punctuality of exaction; in the friction which developed as a result, Padua's autonomous organization of the dadie was explicitly put in question. With Venice's current military commander in chief regularly among the Camera's payees, and Padua anyway subject to more intense administrative surveillance by reason of its proximity to the capital, circumstances combined to favour confrontation.

Frequent Venetian intervention in the Camera was the sign of dissatisfaction with exaction, when it stood between the demands of central authority and the inefficiency through loss and delay of local mechanisms of collection. Articulation was then revealed as weak, between capital and provinces, between Venetian and Paduan institutions; conditions of urgency in Venice were not necessarily reflected in the speed and completeness of exaction. The presence of special Venetian officials was a palliative in administrative terms, since no clear trend of improvement may be detected in the ordinary standards of the Camera's receipts.

The intensity of Venetian intervention was therefore also a rough barometer of relations between the Signoria and the Paduan Council over tax. Repeated interference in the 1480s, and experiment in the methods and organization of provincial fiscal organization, coincided with a period of deteriorating relations over a variety of fiscal issues. Despite Venetian pressure, and administrative steps towards reform, the effective yield of direct tax through the 1490s remained unsatisfactory. Venetian impatience finally took drastic form at the turn of the century, under the stimulus of grave financial crisis, and from then right through to 1509 relations between the Signoria and Padua over tax alternated through phases of greater and lesser mutual discontent, (fed by the incidence of extraordinary taxation at the time of the Turkish War).

The observations in Section II merely noted the frequent failures of exaction, in punctuality and completeness, as a problem which evaded solution by authority in Venice, and was compounded by the faulty administration of officials in the Paduan Camera. The next step in analysis is to ascertain the causes of failure, and an immediate answer lies in examination of the mechanisms of exaction. This, by and large, was the level at which Venetian investigation and attempts at regulation or reform were conducted, without resulting in any significant improvement in results, though they favoured the passage of functions in exaction to permanent officials of Venetian appointment in Padua, as well as the extraordinary intervention of touring officials.

But these were in a sense formal aspects of the problem. The underlying causes, where direct tax was concerned, were simply that those who could afford to pay taxes often did so with reluctance - mainly the richer citizens of Padua; and those who were assessed most heavily in proportion to their means - mainly the inhabitants of the territorio - were sometimes scarcely able to pay; and the attitude of both to taxation was infected by the bitter contrasts of long standing between city and territorio, in which the latter struggled (with poor success) to repudiate the economic, juridical, administrative and fiscal domination of the former. The recalcitrance or evasion of the wealthy, faced with fiscal obligations, was closely connected with the distribution of tax: wealthy citizens' propensity for evasion in declaration or reluctance in payment, and their determination to heap the maximim of fiscal obligations on the territorio, were aspects of one and the same attitude.

That there was fiscal imbalance between city and territorio cannot be doubted, despite Padua's apparently ample share of taxation. It was visible in the distribution of the dadie, which the Padovano paid at a higher percentage of taxed wealth than the city;[14] it was strikingly evident in the weight

of the military obligations laid exclusively on the territorio;[315] and it was equally clear from the system of corvées to which the Padovano's inhabitants were subject, requiring them to maintain the province's roads and waterways without any contribution from the city. The relative concentration of the dazi in or around the city was a sign of its greater economic wealth. The paucity of activities or products taxable by the dazi applied in the city was compensated by the imposition on the territorio of a dazio on carts and milling, in effect a direct tax with a stable total nearly as great as its share of the dadie, based on property - the possession of carts - and head count - the milling element, more often called boccadego, was levied at a fixed monthly rate per person;[316] Furthermore, while the city's administrative expenses could for the most part be found from marginal profits on the levying of the dadie at their ordinary rate, the villages had to look elsewhere to finance their internal administration, to meet the expenses of officials despatched from the city, and to pay for representation before the organs of government and courts of Padua and Venice.

The Table on page 154, though in many respects incomplete, sets out summary information of the relative contributions of Padua, the Padovano and their clergy to various forms of taxation. It is based on the Paduan Camera's accounts of 1533 for information on the dazi;[317] and on the Relazione of the of the Paduan Podestà of 1549 - which may be considered an impartial source - for information concerning the extra obligations on the territorio.[318] It offers no data on Venetians' share of tax, impossible to separate clearly from the various categories listed, and in any case requiring integration with information from the Venetian decime records - an enormous task which the present study has excluded.[319]

The resulting totals show the Padovano marginally more heavily taxed than the city, a difference which is reversed if the clergy and city are grouped as one. So, rather than

TABLE VI. The Approximate Division of Taxation in the Province of Padua in the Early Sixteenth Century.

1) Indirect Taxation: a) ordinary dazi
b) dazio dei carri e boccadego[320]
c) salt dazio[321]

City (ducats p.a.)	Padovano	Clergy	Total
a) 32,593/12	12,796/4	(not separable)	45,389/16
b) ---	6,451/15	---	6,451/15
c) 1,100	1,800	100	3,000

2) Direct Taxation due to the Venetian Camera Fiscale:
a) dadia delle lanze[322]
b) clergy decime[323]
c) vicariates' tax[324]

City (ducats p.a.)	Padovano	Clergy	Total
a) 8,858/20/29	8,274/ 4/20	3,447/13/30	20,580/15/15
b) ---	---	about 3,500	3,500
c) uncertain, but minimal	---	---	---

3) Direct Taxation not due to the Venetian Camera Fiscale:[325]
a) military obligations
b) corvées
c) expenses of administration

City (ducats p.a.)	Padovano	Clergy	Total
a) ---	5,000	---	5,000
b) ---	3,483/20/29	---	3,483/20/29
c) 300	7,211/14/23	---	7,511/14/23

OVERALL TOTALS

City (ducats p.a.)	Padovano	Clergy	Sum total
42,852/8/29	45,017/11/8	7,047/13/30	94,917/10/3

punishing the city, the distribution of the fiscal burden appears reasonably favourable to it, if we make even minimal allowance for its greater wealth. But compensation has to be made for facts concealed by the figures. The dazi levied in the territorio were not limited to the sums raised by the concession of dazi rights in the various distretti - criterion of division used in the Table - but necessarily included a contribution to certain 'city' dazi, for example the wine tax (valued in 1533 at D. 6,225 /19) whose jurisdiction extended to all the province's hostelries, or the cloth stamp tax (worth D. 967 /18 in 1533) some of which was passed on to

buyers in the territorio. Allowance has to be made, in other words, for an unknown proportion of the taxes on manufacture or transit concerning merchandise or produce used or carried outside the city, when - irrespective of whether the carrier or manufacturer was Paduan - the dazio was passed on to the buyer in the price. Under the third heading, the Padovano figures require expansion, since they take no account of the considerable personal element of corvées and military dues, (nor do they reflect the intermittent inflation of the military element in periods of warfare or alarm). The relation between the shares of city and territorio was therefore, in various ways, more favourable to the city than the Table suggests.

Fifteenth century evidence is unfortunately scarce, but administrative references confirm the substantial truth of the 1549 account of the territorio's taxes - a 1447 ruling by the city's deputati ad utilia lists them in detail.[326] For the accounts of a rural commune, it is necessary to consult those of Tregnago, in the Veronese. Records for the first decade of the sixteenth century show ordinary dadie flanked by the cost of corvées in the Veronese, as well as work on the new bed of the river Brenta in the Padovano; there are the salaries of militia and pioneers, and taxe di cavalli; and representation in Verona, with legal expenses and the redemption of property seized for tax debt, swallowed as much as a quarter of the total spent.[327]

What is more difficult is to relate the data of fiscal obligations to population and wealth. Evidence will be offered to suggest a gross disproportion in the distribution of wealth between city and territorio, so that a division apparently favourable to the latter in sole terms of population is in fact little short of crushing in its weight on the Padovano. Padua's success in retaining control or influence over the sharing, assessment and exaction of direct tax was therefore one of the instruments of fiscal tyranny. It was part of

an economic pattern of dominance fundamental to the 'territorial state' of Renaissance Italy, whereby ownership of land and the bulk of the profits from its cultivation belonged to city dwellers, and often the tillers of the land were bound by debts to its owners; gradually peasant owners were dispossessed by the passage of property to citizens (replacing the passage to the city of rich distrettuali seeking citizenship), while by the communal property of rural towns and villages suffered diminution through alienation or absorption, so that the peasants' subsistence became a serious administrative problem.[328]

Writing over a century ago, the dominant figure of modern Paduan historiography, Andrea Gloria, reproached Venice for '... l'erroneo principio di voler favorire i cittadini in confronto dei villici.'[329] But the political, social and economic dominance of the city - and within the city of its landowning nobility - depended on fiscal privilege, and the need for its defence was keenly appreciated. The Council expressed it in the solemnest terms of its vocabulary in 1482, indignant at the suggestion that the city contribute with the territorio to pay the province's militia '... quod offendere videtur honorem huius civitatis ipsam equando districtualibus.'[330]

It need hardly be stated that the various aspects of fiscal relations between city and territorio were a recurrent theme of dispute in later fifteenth century Padua. The outcome of the arguments has been anticipated by the sixteenth century evidence cited, but Padua's advantage over the territorio during the period of this study was never so secure as to exclude the protests and demands for change of its inhabitants, and their invocation of Venetian authority - an arbiter potentially dangerous to the city.

The survival of several pages of polemic on taxation, addressed to the Signoria to defend Verona against the com-

-plaints of its territorio in 1475,[331] affords clear evidence of a parallel situation in one of Padua's neighbouring provinces, and provides a forceful though one-sided view of the various points in contention. It emphasizes the concentration of dazi around the city, and their consequences on prices of food and other basic necessities. Less convincingly, it attributes to the peasants two thirds share of the crops they grew for citizen landowners, paints wealth in their numbers and individual fortunes, imagines their habitat as a source of virtually free sustenance and their communal property enough to meet most or all of their fiscal obligations. Rich country-dwellers' passage to the city is minimized - perhaps truthfully, but supposed imbalance between city and territorio in tax shares is met with the answer that more property passed from citizens to peasants than vice-versa. But estimi transfers are implicitly admitted and defended by the assertion that citizens' expenses of transport and dazio in transferring their crops to the city made rural taxation rates prohibitive and unjust for them. Two requests are refuted as revolutionary, even the work of disloyal agitators: a general estimo to revise the tax shares of city and territorio, and the restriction to the city of the 1475 subsidy[332] in view of the territorio's contribution through military obligations to the defence of Friuli.

The themes of this controversy were perennial ones, not amenable to resolution, their details perhaps important only in an immediate context - but the points at dispute, and the fervour of argument (both amply echoed in Padua), serve to identify the dominant tensions in the political life of the provinces, and leave no doubt over the tone of relations between city and countryside.

To focus on this aspect, in introducing the division, assessment and exaction of tax, is to emphasize its very great importance. Other issues and other tensions will naturally emerge as discussion develops: the status and contribution of Venetian taxpayers, and the relationship between the Venetian

and Paduan fiscal systems, are two matters already mentioned. And others will arise: the administrative difficulties of organizing estimi; titles to exemption; fiscal evasion; arrears and forced exaction; the areas and forms of Venetian interference.

Since the preceding section has set an outline chronology of events, discussion in this section is articulated around themes: first indirect taxation; then the division and assessment of the dadie; the autonomous expenditure of the Paduan commune, and the various aspects of the rural communes' spending and further fiscal obligations; direct tax paid by Venetians and clergy; and the exaction of direct tax from city and Padovano.

III - (1) : Indirect Taxation.

Indirect taxation was the most important source of public income in both Venice and the provinces, as it was in Florence too.[333] Saving future providential discoveries, the dearth of administrative documents concerning the fiscal regime of Padua in the Carrarese period prevents a detailed comparison of the fifteenth century dazi with their predecessors. But the explicitly conservative character of the Venetian regime over the forms and rates of indirect taxation diminishes the importance of this loss.[334]

The dazi's yield was dependent on the economic function of the city in the province - some 70% of the revenues of ordinary dazi came from taxes levied exclusively in Padua, or at least concentrated there.[335] Given the strongly agricultural character of the province's economy, and the minor contributions of manufacture and commerce, Padua's principal dazi were levied on the sale, processing and transit of foodstuffs. The general dazio on mercanzia is the exception, beside those on wine, milling, meat and traffic at the city gates, (and the profits of the salt monopoly).[336] Transit was generally

limited to movement within the province, since the roads and rivers of the Padovano were of limited importance in Venice's network of trade-routes with Europe and the rest of Italy. The autonomous past of each of the Venetian provinces had created patterns of economic distribution protected by statutes and tariffs, unfavourable to the export of basic commodities, and Venice preserved these areas of self-sufficiency, together with the local names and characteristics of indirect taxation. The exception made to legislation restricting the flow of basic commodities was for the city of Venice itself, which gradually became for the whole terraferma state what each of the cities was in its own province, central clearing house and important centre of consumption.[337]

As a consequence the economic product of the terraferma was not only the source of indirect taxation levied in the mainland cities, but also an important element in the Venetian city dazi. Economic involvement in the terraferma, already long established, was stimulated towards faster growth of investment and traffic by the fact of conquest, visible in the dazi taxing the economic links between capital and provinces. The passage of goods from or through the terraferma state for shipment from Venice increased;[338] while terraferma agriculture contributed a major portion of the D. 100,000 or so p.a. of the city's wine and meat dazi, approximately forty per cent of the total dazio revenue, at the end of the fifteenth century.[339] In contrast with the drastic fall in Florence's indirect tax yields at the end of the fifteenth century, the dazi returns of Venice and the terraferma, dependent on quite different economic circumstances, weathered successive crises in the life of the state to form the basis of the Republic's sixteenth century expansion of revenue.[340]

The dazi rates in fifteenth century Padua appear to have remained stable the city milling tax was levied at two soldi per staio of wheat, for example - and slight variat-

ions in yield reflected the value at auction of the taxes, given out to contract at prices which depended on the competition among entrepreneurs, and in general on current economic circumstances. The city dazi were auctioned individually, while those in the Padovano were divided into territorial parcels, corresponding to the administrative distretti.[341] In contrast with Florence, the farming of taxes was preferred to their direct administration by the state; it was only in later centuries that failing entrepreneurial initiative and difficulties of organisation forced the Camere to assume complete responsibility.[342]

The dazi were leased for periods of one or two years, with a view to freshening competition among contractors, (though if Padua resembled Venice the number of entrepreneurs was probably limited.[343]) Caution was exercised in the acceptance of contractors: personal means and dependable guarantors were necessary conditions, and authority in Venice demanded to be informed of the prices, contractors and sureties of auctioned dazi, sometimes intervening in the interests of financial profit or security to alter the contracts settled by the Rettori, or to check their guarantees.[344]

Two dazi differed from the others, in the independence of their organisation and in their assessment and collection, in which they resembled direct taxes. The first was the state salt monopoly, responsibility of the Provveditori al Sal, who toured the terraferma everyyear to auction the provinces' salt dazi, paid to exaction offices in each province.[345] Salt was supplied from the state salt pans, at a price varying from province to province - probably in response to different costs of transport;[346] the declaration of mouths and payment for salt were obligatory.[347] Since salt revenues were one of the standbys of defence spending, or the undervriting of loans,[348] the dazieri were subject to particularly inpatient demands if they fell behind with their payments,[349] and the control of contracting came under the supervision of the Council of Ten.[350] The

Paduan city Council was no more than spectator.[351]

The second dazio substantially different from the others was the Padovano's dazio dei carri e boccadego. It was also to be found in the neighbouring province of Rovigo, where it had been part of the fiscal system of the d'Este state of Ferrara; but no other Venetian province had anything equivalent. It was, to quote Tagliaferri, '... un doppio testatico che... tartassa i contadini padovani'.[352] To all intents and purposes a direct tax, it inflicted a hypothetical milling tax on the territorio, (a scarce consumer of wheat, due to citizen landowners), and was divided among the distretti in fixed shares sanctioned by the Paduan Rettori.[353] It was not auctioned, but levied at a stable total of L. 40,000 p.a. by citizen exactors chosen by representatives of the distretti; this concession, reneved every two years, had been made by the Signoria in 1443 when the territorio had protested at the damage and extorsion wrought by contractors who took the tax at auction.[354] A condition of this grant was that the distretti gave sureties for the tax's payment, and some played a part in its exaction, though the main responsibility appears to have been the principal citizen exactor's.[355] With all the other characteristics of a direct tax, the dazio dei carri e boccadego also accumulated arrears, especially because levied from contributors with little means or will to pay.[356]

Although friction over the shortcomings of direct tax exaction had all the importance of a political issue, since the Paduan Commune's powers of fiscal autonomy were at stake, failings in the collection of indirect tax were also a recurrent administrative theme. The occasions for delay should have been less than in direct tax exaction: dadie exactors tended to complete their cycle of levying and payment years in arrears, whereas many of the dazi were by their very nature immediate payments (for example on goods entering the city), and the dazieri were in any case forbidden to demand retrospective payment.[357] Unexpected adverse conditions could be responsible for

difficulties, (and were the usual form of excuse); but the risk was the contractor's.[358]

In theory, at least, contractors defaulting in the payments stipulated by their capitula were subject to the confiscation and sale of their assets, and the same fate was reserved for their guarantors. But the indications are that this was seldom resorted to - dazieri might formally request terms for payment from authority in Venice, or more simply proceed on the basis of understanding reached with the Camerlenghi or their officials. The consequences, as we saw in Section II, were direct dealings between dazieri and creditors of the state, usually soldiers, which were damaging both to the creditors and to the Camera's control over public moneys.[359] Instructions sent from Venice in a ducale of 1475 showed that the Signoria had no illusions over the causes of late and partial payment, which arose '... per incuriam et per inadvertentiam vel forte verius per modicam fidem et caritatem ergo nos illorum (the dazieri) qui nullo precedente merito suo sed ex propria nostra benignitate a nobis facultatem et vivendi modum honorificum habent'. The Rettori were instructed to check sureties personally, and levy without scruple: '... non habeatis plus fidei scribis istius camere quam ipsi per suam improbitatem vel ignorantiam siverper utraque mereantur.... neminem cognoscetis amicum vel benivolum'.[360]

But the problems remained unresolved, despite frequent orders and administrative interventions over the following years.[361] The reforms of 1484 and 1488 included attempts to catch up with old dazio debts, and to tighten the system of sureties.[362] But despite touring officials' continuing attention to the Camera's dealings with dazieri, the recuperation of arrears, and the growth of central surveillance,[363] in 1505 the Senate lamented the debts of the Paduan contractors and their guarantors, accumulated '... per esser sta ascosi et occultadi i lor beni et crediti', and offered a reward to anyone revealing their hidden assets.[364]

The form taken by the interventions of central authority was not necesssarily favourable to efficient exaction from *dazieri* in debt - the participation of the *Provveditori sopra le Camere* was a mixed blessing.[365] Contractors and their guarantors were often protected by legal ties on their property, or could contest the precedence or sharing of punitive exaction against the various persons liable. Multiple legal pretexts were matched by the variety and uncertain limits of competent jurisdictions; the appeal courts were ever ready. An extreme case was the 1471 Paduan wine *dazio*: in 1481 the *Rettori* were instructed to realize the L. 23,877 owing. But the sale, part of whose proceeds went to the contractor (Jacomin Negro) to cover dowry rights, was revoked by the Senate in 1492, initiating legal hearings and appeals; the Negro blocked further action by lodging an appeal, never followed up, till in 1503 Francesco de Legge intervened. He found that the only assets not bound by *fideicommissio* were one hundred and sixty *campi* of land, already sold at an artificially low price so as to meet only a dowry payment due from them. His revocation and repetition of the sale provoked a further appeal by the Negro heirs...[366]

An example like this must necessarily give only an impression, and not a statistical evaluation of the fisc's ability to extract its due. But it demonstrates how and why the system could fail - and for an approximate idea of the frequency of failure, we have the evidence of Section II above, of the *Camera*'s continual shortfall, as well as the Senate's admission of 1505.

But Venetian intervention in the provincial *dazi* was not confined to supervision of their contracting and exaction. The terms of the *dazi* themselves were subject to revision, in spasmodic administrative re-organization, and in co-ordination with the economic policy pursued by the Republic. Though information may be scarce, and Venetian action less than systematic,

a recent authoritative (but unfootnoted) statement on this poiht oversimplifies:'Venezia lascia alle città di terraferma... perfino le loro precauzioni doganali di un tempo, in qualche caso ostili alla stessa signoria, come ad esempio a Padova.'[367] This was true up to a point - Venetian policy was to maintain provincial economic autonomy in its pre-conquest units; but it also aimed to guarantee the flow of foodstuffs necessary to supply the capital, to give terraferma outlets to the relatively restricted products of Venice and the lagoon, and to strengthen both the dazi and the trading position of the capital by concentrating the commercial exchange of the mainland state there.

Dazi conditions were not the only force influencing the movement of products. The flow of grain towards Venice in the fifteenth century depended on the private initiative of Venetian commodity dealers, and on the transfer of crops from Venetians' estates. Legislation assisted, by obliging Venetians with mainland estates to bring their grain to the city, and banning all wholesale commerce in the terraferma, unless for shipment to the capital. Timber and firewood were also controlled by legislation rather than dazi, the former protected against wastage, the latter - insufficient, or at least not accessible in the Padovano - regulated by orders from the capital disciplining felling on Venice's Alpine borders.[368]

The Paduan dazi, and the province's protection of its manufacturing, were manipulated, but within the limits and according to the criteria outlined above. The punitive dazio of Carrarese times on the export of wine from Padua to Venice was trimmed, while Venetian cloth and fish from the lagoon enjoyed right of access;[369] the iron trade between Friuli and Padua and Vicenza was re-routed through the capital.[370] Certain commodities bound for Venice - but a minority - enjoyed preferential treatment, through exemption from transit dazi: meat

(on the hoof) imported into Venetian lands west of the river Mincio, game and poultry from the provinces of Padua and Treviso, grapes from the Euganean hills in the Padovano.[371]

How much of the other produce leaving the Padovano for Venice paid its share of *dazio* is hard to say - partly for lack of further information about the *dazi* themselves, partly because of tax exemptions and privileges, partly because current practice does not seem always to have echoed the legislator's intention, and partly because of the unknown extent of contraband. The high 1533 figure for the Piove *dazio*, which included Oriago and so covered the main crossing points between the eastern Padovano and the Dogado, is evidence of payment, though there are no figures for the volume of traffic to which to relate it.[372] Many Venetian landowners in the *terraferma* enjoyed tax privileges dating back to pre-conquest treaties between the *Signoria* and previous regimes, and further exemptions accompanied the disposal of extensive Carrarese estates immediately following the change of regime - but no quantitative evaluation of their weight has been attempted.[373]

Contradictions in contemporary practice are apparent from a 1486 declaration by the Paduan Captain, ordering that the employees and produce of Niccolo de Ca da Pesaro's estate should pay no *dazi* in travelling to Venice, since it was the state's intention that '... nemo nobilis et civis venetus qui suos redditus hinc... aduchi seu asportari fecerit, ad solutionem alicuius datii teneatur'.[374] This ruling (unsupported by any further justification or special privilege) contrasts with action from Venice to ensure the payment of tax: in 1467 the *Signoria* cancelled authorization of *dazio*-free passage of Venetians' produce from Piove, because it had caused a L. 5,000 drop in the tax's value at contract.[375] In 1486 the Senate proceeded to prune and withdraw tax exemptions, asserting the sole right of the councils of state to concede them, and in 1489 the Collegio (at the request of the Paduan *dazieri*) ruled that Venetians transferring their revenues to Venice should pay unless in possession of 'privilegia et vetustissimas consuetudines diu

observatas.'[376] Improperly obtained dazio exemptions remained a recurrent theme of administrative attention: in touring officials' commissions, in repeated action by the Senate in 1498, in two interventions by the Ten - to obtain information on those claiming Paduan dazi exemptions in 1500, and in 1504 through legislation specifically invalidating exemptions not obtained through the councils of state for the dazio-free transit to the capital of terraferma estates' revenues.[377] The significance of this evidence must be that less dazi were paid than should have been, through an extension of privilege which the Signoria intended to restrict, in the interests of its dazi returns, but found difficulty in controlling.

The terms of transit to the dogado of Venetians' produce were by no means the only point of intervention in the organisation of the provincial dazi: the Paduan wine dazio affords clear evidence of more radical and thorough interference, through substantial revision of its organization in the last decade of our period, after cumulative but un-coordinated alterations over the preceding century.

The retail of wine was conducted by authorized taverns, some the property of private interests, some in public ownership, with the dazieri entitled to nominate or at the very least to vet their tenants.[378] The dazio due was often a fixed sum stipulated in advance, and the naming of these sums, as well as of the right to administer hostelries, were the subject of special concessions by the Signoria. Privileged rights accompanied the sale of hostelries between Padua and Venice, and in the immediate hinterland of the dogado - for example at Stra, Mira and Mirano, and at Abano (important thermal station by the Euganean hills).[379] Petitioners requested the Signoria for the ownership or custody and exercise of hostelries: those at the shrines of Monteortone (near Abano) and Tresto (in the southwest Padovano) were granted to the religious of their churches free of tax.[380] The Pisani, major landowners along the Adige, obtained the right to name the landlord at Tirandrio

(on their estates), while an innkeeper at Frassine obtained repeated orders from the Signoria regulating his conditions of tenure, in the face of threats by the dazieri to oust him.[381]

There was, as we have observed, more coherent and concentrated attention to dazi conditions and privileges towards the turn of the century, and in 1506 the Senate legislated the final phases of a sifting and withdrawal of special conditions among the Padovano hostelries. Here, as on other occasions, legislative authority was catching up with interventions operated by executive authorities, and stimulated by petitioners. The revision of terms in 1506 was not a denial of the principle of intervention, but an assertion of the senate's rather than others' authority to do so.[382] It followed, in fact, three years after a general reform of the Paduan wine dazio's capitula, promoted by the Paduan Rettori but legislated by the Senate, with a view to recovering losses in the tax's contract value.[383]

The new regulations dealt at length with internal matters: the licence for retail, the restriction to hostelries of the right to provide meals or facilities for gaming, tax evasion by prostitutes, but also with wholesale trading and traffic - the bollette issued to wine travelling by boat, and the activities of the guild of portadori di vin, involved in many of the dazi transactions. The conditions of other dazi were revised from time to time, but what made the Paduan wine dazio important - it was exceptional for administrative matters to pass in such detailed fashion through the hands of the Senate - was its relationship with the Venetian dazi.

The 1503 capitula, like the revision of privileges of three years later, followed a gradual process of intervention in the organization of the Paduan tax. Its yields depended to a considerable extent on communications with Venice;[384] and Venetians shipping wine wholesale to the capital sent not only the product of their own estates, but also wine bought from peasants who came offering it '... da cortivo a cortivo'.[385]

While legitimate exemption may have accounted for the tax-free passage of some wine, a great deal more came in to the capital as contraband, passing through what is now Marghera, then an area renowned for criminality and smuggling. The protection of the dazi brought forms of preventive action which intruded physically onto Paduan territory: the pallate on the waterways linking the Padovano and the dogado were reinforced by armed patrols operating in the jurisdictions of the dogado, Mestre, the Trevisano and Padovano.[386] Furthermore, the movement of wine in the Padovano and Trevisano was restricted by rules aimed to hinder smuggling towards Venice.[387]

Though interference in the Paduan wine tax's organization was spasmodic, and part of no general revision or co-ordination of terraferma dazio administration, it serves to exemplify the gradual penetration by forces of government in the capital of areas of provincial fiscal administration over which they had no initial mandate. Though scarce evidence imposes caution on generalizations, the wine tax appears to have undergone this process in more pronounced fashion than the other dazi. But a a general tendency towards interference is suggested by the interventions in Padua of officials of the Venetian dazi. Towards the end of the century one was in action at the Portello, city gate and canal port for Padua's communications with Venice, usurping authority by the expansion of originally minor functions. Padua's reaction was sharp protest, repeated in 1498 and 1502 when officials from Venice pryed in goods on sale in the city. The orders obtained from Venice were in the tone of sharp reproof, but the incidents were clearly resented by a city Council sensitive to interference or (in common parlance) 'the thin end of the wedge'.[388]

In defending the autonomy of the Paduan dazi, the Council was not acting in defence of powers of its own - the organization of indirect tax was exclusively in the hands of the city's Venetian authorities; but the principle at stake was the ind-

ependence of Padua as an administrative unit, and the autonomy of its institutions. A final aspect of dazi organization in fact evidences creeping Venetian interference, through the nomination of dazio officials from the capital.

The extension of public patronage to terraferma jobs brought Venetian benemeriti (or influential petitioners) not only to minor guard duties in Padua;[389] but also to positions as permanent officials of the dazi. While successive dazieri did not necessarily nominate fresh officials, they possessed a certain margin of discretionary powers in their choice of collaborators.[390] The concession of grazie or ducali influencing conditions of wine retail was paralleled by the nomination of officials by favour to other dazi, apparently spasmodic until about 1490; despite preceding grants, the Signoria in 1489 referred to the Rettori of Padua a petition to keep the accounts of traffic at the Portello gate, asking them to advise and persuade the dazieri, without whose consent '... non est nostrum constituere.'[391] But four further appointments followed between 1490 and 1492, (two in favour of great-nephews of Clemente Thedaldini, the secretary often sent to Padua on fiscal business);[392] and protests from the dazieri before the Avogadori di Comun and Signoria resulted in a ruling from the latter that the dazieri's power of acceptance or veto was annulled where the appointment was by grazia of a council of state.[393] The principle did not pass undisputed in Padua, but the Avogadori intervened in favour of nominees by grazia;[394] how many they were is uncertain, but once again the impetus of executive authority had created precedents for intervention, to be regulated and absorbed by the capital's elective organs.

III - 2 : The Estimo and the Sharing of Direct Taxation

Assessment of wealth was the criterion adopted for the distribution of the dadie delle lanze, the clergy's decime, and a substantial proportion of the extra fiscal burden laid

on the territorio. In the vocabulary of the time, all taxation other than dazi divided into reele and personale: the former signified division according to means, the latter personal service due from males of the requisite age. Onera was the term generally applied to taxes due in money, factiones to those involving service - corvées and military obligations; but corvées, often requiring both labour and material resources or funds, were mostly divided by a mixture of per capita sharing and wealth assessment, in which the latter grew in importance in proportion to the distance and duration of the task to be performed.[395]

The consent of the city's Venetian governors was required for the levying of any direct tax, while the details of the organisation of the various regular onera and factiones were regulated by standing administrative norms, codified in the city statutes and elaborated by fifteenth century rulings of authorities in Padua and Venice. In practice a certain margin of decision and responsibility remained in the hands of city and village executive officials, especially the latter in view of their heavier and more varied obligations.[396] The statutes and early decisions by the new Venetian regime regulated the division of the various taxes, and established the fundamental separation into three groupings of the provinces's tax-payers - city, territorio and clergy, a division maintained both in the sharing of the dadia delle lanze and in the separate bodies of the estimo. Only the territorio was subject to factiones, so that the city and the clergy paid exclusively 'real' obligations.

The Paduan estimi of the fifteenth century, compiled by the city for both Padua and the Padovano, followed Carrarese precedents of the previous century, incorporated and revised in the statutory code of 1420.[397] The city estimo was confided to the charge of a committee of nine citizens, drawn from three different levels of wealth, to whom all were obliged to declare their landed property, real estate, tenures and leases, investments in professions and trades, and all other assets and incomes. To the total wealth resulting (capitalized and divided by a thousand) they added

a maximum of L 1 for the person of the declarer. The work of the stimadori was completed by a second committee, of revisori or correttori, and registers compiled from the polizze presented, (incorporating adjustments by the committees), were drawn up by city quarter and centenario. The operation was initially intended to be completed every three years.[398]

The general estimo, or fuoghi, of the Padovano was conducted by touring groups sent from the city, working in a process which duplicated that of the city estimo. Their assessments were used to construct totals for the individual towns and villages, and for the administrative distretti of the territorio; these were expressed in terms of fuoghi, (not hearths but a conventional unit of capital value), on the basis of which the various fiscal obligations were distributed.[399] Independently of the general estimi conducted by the city, the individual Padovano communes carried out their own estimi, in theory annually, on the basis of which the various taxes were distributed among their inhabitants and tax-payers.[400]

Revisions of the city estimo and the fuoghi were by no means as frequent or regular as the statutes proposed and fair fiscal division required; the intervals between them stretched by the later fifteenth century to ten years or more, a tendency destined to become even more pronounced in later centuries.[401] A new city estimo was undertaken in 1463, seven years after its predecessor, (implying that the 1453 revision was concluded in 1456), and was terminated in 1466. Another ordered in 1469 was started in 1471, and finished in 1473. A third was proposed in 1479, and carried out in 1482-83; a fourth proposed in 1486 was ordered in 1487, begun in 1491, and ended in 1493. The fifth revision of our period was ordered in 1501 and started in 1502; it lost momentum during a quarrel with the territorio over the division of the dadie, and was begun afresh in 1506, extending into and probably beyond December 1507.[402]

A revision of the fuoghi was ordered in December 1465, begun in December 1467, but held up for two years by a dispute

between city and territorio; a new panel of stimadori was elected in 1470, and their work followed by that of the correttori lasted until mid-1474. Requests came from the Padovano for another revision in 1485 and 1486, carried out between 1487 and 1489. In 1499 a third reform was ordered, though it began in 1501; a second start was necessary in 1502, though the work was apparently not concluded, since it was begun again in 1506, lasting into 1508.[403]

The slow compilation and infrequent renewal of the estimi were due to various causes. The interruptions to the first and the last revisions of the fuoghi considered in this study were symptomatic of one of the main underlying problems: in 1468 the territorio had made an attempt to involve representatives of the distretti in the formation of the general estimo, through declarations independently presented in Padua to offset the tendency for omission or fraud by the touring citizen stimadori, (on their own and others' behalf). The attempt failed, since Venice ordered adherence to custom, and the territorio's ambitions were reduced to requesting a change of method - for one committee to tour the whole Padovano, instead of different groups in different areas, so as to obtain more even assessment; this claim was accepted in principle by the Paduan Council in 1491, and incorporated in the orders of 1501, as well as in an agreement between city and territorio of 1504, when the territorio took advantage of friction between the Signoria and the city Council to press claims concerning the distribution of the dadia and the process of its exaction.[404]

The city's control over the revision of the estimi favoured maintenance of the status quo in tax division; infrequent revisions, and the avoidance of any joint survey likely to reveal disparity, allowed its fiscal privilege to survive, and indeed to grow, given the movement of wealth from territorio to city.[405] In this and subsequent periods, the initiative or executive stimulus for the renewal of estimi often derived from the city's Rettori or authority in Venice.[406]

Padua's reluctance may also be ascribed to the difficulty and weight of the work involved: delayed declarations, revisions and complaints extended the span of duty and the patience of those responsible for compilation[407] But the time and willingness to work of the estimo committees also depended on the prestige and gains attached to the appointment. By 1493 the stimadori could excuse their poor progress '.. respectu rerum publicarum que tardaverunt officium suum'.[408] By then neither estimo was confided to individuals chosen from the three different grades of wealth, but had become an electoral post disputed by the leading figures of the city Council, men with too little time to dedicate to so demanding a task, and no doubt content to retain the office over long periods.[409]

The restriction of control over tax assessment to a narrow group created friction within the city, over instances or allegations of preferential or punitive treatment of individuals and social groupings. Evidence of discontent on this score among merchants and artisans is strong in the sixteenth century, but the issue was already a sensitive one in the later fifteenth, as the Council itself admitted in discussing its disposal of individual dadie exemptions.[410]

Given these circumstances, as well as the general polarization of wealth among the city's inhabitants[411] and its unequal distribution between city and territorio,[412] it is no surprise that proposals for the more rigorous checking of estimo declarations should meet with uncertain enthusiasm in the Council - and no doubt among the stimadori. This was evident in the dispute of 1468-69 with the distretti, and again in the successful reversal of a proposal of 1503 that '.. fieri debeat perticatio camporum de villa in villam'.[413] Feelings were then particularly fraught, since the city's non-cooperation with the campatico imposed in 1501 had resulted in direct Venetian intervention to assess and exact the tax, without reference to the Council - unprecedented interference in the sharing and levying of direct tax. Measures passed in the Council at this time concerning the current estimo's compilation must therefore be interpreted as a defensive reaction, promoted with a view to maintaining the Council's initiative and auto-

The efficiency and justice of taxes' distribution and exaction were in fact considerably hindered by two related problems: evasion in declaration and the possession or claiming of exemption, (the latter already encountered in the operation of the dazi).[414] Evasion in declaration, by its very nature, cannot be measured with accuracy; but there is evidence to suggest its frequency, as well as the methods used. These ranged from simple non-declaration of taxable assets, to understatement of their quantity and worth, to the false attribution of exempt status. The task was facilitated by the keeping of three different sets of tax records: for property paying with the city, paying with the Padovano, and paying decime in Venice. Transfer by purchase or inheritance to different ownership, or the transfer of property from the territorio to the city estimo, provided the occasion for assets to pass off the tax lists. The estimo committees were empowered to evaluate and alter the declarations presented to them, or to assess on their own authority where no polizza was presented, and they enjoyed a reward for the detection of fraud. But the technical difficulties were immense, especially since preservation of the Council's sole authority in compiling the estimi required the exclusion of active collaboration by the distretti. And, as we have seen, the Council's keenness to improve the accuracy of the estimi lacked conviction, while the inclination towards connivance in concealment or undervaluation on the part of the stimadori can only have been strengthened by the office's transformation into an appanage of the most influential citizens. Quite apart from these considerations, the political climate of relations with Venice and disputes with the clergy and the Padovano tended to set the Council in opposition to more or less explicit demands for more scrupulous conduct (from the Signoria and the territorio), and to throw the weight of accusation of evasion and insufficient valuation in the division of direct tax onto the wealth of Venetians and churchmen.[415]

Evidence of evasion is offered by legislation - in the

statute book,[416] and in the provisions for the city estimo of 1463, when declaration of arable land as uncultivated was common enough for the Council to authorize the stimadori to reckon uncultivated as arable unless the declarer produced evidence to the contrary.[417] Individual cases may be found among the city's leading families - the Calza, the Soncini, the Dotto, and the Abriani.[418] The Abriani fraud is an interesting demonstration of the wavering commitment of the city authorities to rectify evasion, and of the scope for resistance of wealthy and determined defaulters. Twenty years lapsed between the discovery of property concealed, estimated to be worth L. 25,000, and the initiation of legal proceedings by the Commune in 1492. Defeated in Padua, the Abriani outmanoeuvred the Commune in the appeal courts; though their estimo rating was doubled in 1500, in 1509 they were fined for forcibly preventing the measuring of their property...

Evasion and inequality of fiscal sharing were also manifest in various forms in the territorio. Though representatives of the distretti met and collaborated over certain aspects of fiscal relations with the city, there was no stably constituted political body to voice their interests till 1537; both then and previously the strongest voices from the Padovano were those of its townships, and their wealthier inhabitants. Plenty of scope remained for the pursuit of petty advantage and rivalry in the distribution of fiscal obligations, and particularism was as much a characteristic of the Padovano communes' behaviour as joint opposition to the city.[419]

The subdivision of fiscal obligations was an important factor in determining the well-being of a village. The revision of the fuoghi was itself no guarantee of even distribution, and the long delays between one renewal and another imposed unvarying quotas on communities whose fiscal potential fluctuated with the differing success of harvests, transfers of property, and possible migrations of population. Quarrelling between villages or distretti over the sharing of tax was by no means

uncommon;[420] in 1477, (when tax arrears were running high), the city Council obtained orders by the Signoria to annul new divisions made among the Padovano villages, since they confused past and future fiscal liability, and served to multiply the onus of local administration and the complexity of control by the city.[421]

A further problem of fiscal division was the sharing of tax among the villages' inhabitants, land-owners and cultivators. By no means all the property or inhabitants of a village contributed equally: quite apart from legitimate exemptions, property on the tax lists of the city contributed nothing, while property belonging to local tax-lists met 'real' but not 'personal' obligations if its owner dwelt in Padua or another village. A constant problem was posed by the spurious transfer of ownership, or the migration of tenants, so that land was owned and worked in a village by those disclaiming liability for its taxes because resident elsewhere - or liable for 'real' but not 'personal' taxes. A final category of partially exempt was constituted by gastaldi, the paid servants or overseers of landowners - or those who claimed such status.

Though the statutes provided juridical guidance, confirmed by further rulings of the mid-fifteenth century, evasion by 'sylvan citizens', absentee owners and tillers, and false gastaldi, vexed the Padovano throughout our period; the phenomenon of citizens claiming or acquiring tax-paying rights with the city, whilst living and working as cultivators of the land, is already known.[422] The possession or cultivation of land by distrettuali disclaiming liability for tax because resident elsewhere was the subject of repeated complaints in the city Council, whose interventions revealed the grave effects on individual villages' tax-paying ability.[423] Together with the problem of gastaldi's status, it was part of terms agreed between city and territorio in 1502, when the Council moderated preceding declarations from various sources in favour of gastaldi's privileges, admitting the fiscal damage caused by false claims.[424]

Evasion and uneven distribution of tax were inextricably tied up with exemptions, whose variety, confusion and illicit extension rendered them virtually inaccessible to systematic contemporary investigation, (as well as to modern quantitative assessment). Privileges and exemptions varied from short-term to perpetual, from partial to total, from rights invested in persons or institutions to rights accompanying possession of property. writing of the situation of the seventeenth century, Saviolo estimated that eighty thousand campi and other income and wealth, totalling a quarter of the province's fruitful assets, enjoyed long-term exempt status. No evidence exists to check his accuracy, but most of the categories listed in his estimate were in existence in our period, to be swollen in quantity by the rebels' property sold after 1509, and probably by sixteenth century attention to real or supposed rights, encouraged by the expansion of cultivation.[425] Of far lesser fiscal weight, but greater immediate political importance, were the short-term exemptions given to individuals or communities usually numbered among the payers of tax; here the issues were the authority and criteria with which exemptions were conceded, and the attribution to other contributors of the share of the exempt.

Exemptions accompanying the title to property were often in the possession of Venetians, since many came by property and privileges in the dispersal of the Carrarese family estates. And many more, as we shall see, by claiming possession of property in the province since 1446 or before, were liable to pay direct tax on it in the capital - if they declared it - but not with the province. The dissatisfaction of the Paduan political class focussed in particular on Venetians' rights or claims to exemption by purchase, not only out of an understandably polemical slant to their thinking but also because many Venetians undoubtedly did evade tax, and because through the century the investigation of former Carrarese property continued to vex many Paduan

landowners. Venetian investigation of the ownership - and therefore the tax status - of property which might by some title belong to the state, acquired particular insistence towards the turn of the century, as growing administrative interference from the capital served increasingly stringent financial needs.[426]

Though there was no single disposal of exempt property during the fifteenth century to match the scale of the Carrarese inheritance (which Saviolo estimated worth as much as a quarter of the Padovano),[427] there were several subsequent sales of note, the most important being the property in the southwest Padovano of the Marquises of Este, after the extinction of the line in 1463.[428] By an agreement made with the Paduan Commune in 1446, the bulk of these estates paid only L. 150 a year in dadie; their dispersal through sale in Venice allowed the confusion and proliferation of claims to exemption - Saviolo suggests that 10,000 campi achieved privileged status in this way.[429] At the turn of the century the city Council took steps to identify the lands of the Marquises' patrimony, with a view to exposing false claims to exemption and levying the dadio due by the 1448 agreement.[430] Though this iniative appears to have achieved little, its significance is that it set out to perform in reverse, with respect to the mainly Venetian purchasers of the Marquises' property, Venice's investigation of titles to property suspected to have belonged to the Carraresi, often in Paduan hands.

Though the Paduan nobles may have resented the apparent concentration of exempt property in Venetian hands, as part of the general thesis of Venetians' insufficient contribution to the provinces taxes, the polemical slant to controversies over privileged property expressed hostility not to the juridical concept of privilege but to its distribution. Both the Signoria and the city Council accepted the principle of privilege; both agreed that all property should as a necessary minimum pay dadie,[431] but only in emergency was it suggested that exempt lands contribute to other taxes, and administrative attention to

exemptions never went further than attempts to check their legitimacy.[432] Quite apart from inflation through fraudulent claims, the overall extent of privileged property was in fact spasmodically increased by the addition of estates confiscated from rebels and sold by the fisc.[433]

Though less important in the weight of their impact on fiscal distribution, exemptions from direct taxation invested in persons or institutions were relatively frequent. Institutions like the luoghi pii (religious foundations and hospitals) were more usually shown fiscal favour through dazi exemptions, but personally linked privilege vis-à-vis the dadie or rural taxation (the former only very rarely) was awarded to outstanding benemeriti, and served as a means of reward or incentive for a variety of individuals and their occupations benefitting the public interest. Benemeriti were often rewarded for 'reasons of state' - those who gave proof of loyalty in defeating the 1435 Carrarese plot and their descendents, and the principal denouncer of the 1469 conspiracy; more peaceful services (illustrious professional standing, and the preparation of a map for the Comune of Padua) earned the painter Francesco Squarcione exemption in 1465.[434]

Other occupations and individuals favoured with exemption were for the most part involved in some form of service to the state, and their privileges were an alternative form of reward to the direct spending of public money. The list is long: regular army companies, provisionati, schioppettieri and peasant galliotti;[435] Padua's comandadori, benevolli and chancellery notaries;[436] boatmen, carpenters, masons, wine-porters and the university bidelli.[437] Ten-year tax exemptions were given to immigrants,[438] while exceptionally large families were also favoured[439] - the conservation and increase of the population were of recognized importance for both economic and fiscal reasons.

These long-term, standing exemptions might provide the occasion for dispute between the Signoria and the city Council,

with the latter inclined to contest the privileged status of masons and carpenters.[440] But the permanent categories of exempt property and professions, and the substantial loss they represented to the province's fiscal resources, were by and large taken for granted, and contemporary controversy arose principally over the concession of short-term exemptions to individuals or rural communities. These were generally sought as a form of relief for material misfortune, and their creation required adjustment of the usual pattern of taxes' distribution.

The Paduan Council's attitude towards concessions of this type in favour of Padovano villages was one of hostility, on the formal grounds that the granting of exemptions to some contributors merely overloaded others. This position of principle was strongly motivated by self-protection, on the issue of tax division between city and *territorio*: Venice would admit no reduction of the overall sum due from the province in *dadie*, the Council would consider no redress of the balance in sharing between city and Padovano, and few villages could manage to pay others' portion in addition to their own. As a result of Paduan insistence on this point, the *Signoria* agreed in 1477 to give no further exemptions to stricken Padovano villages - suffering from storm, hail, flooding, plague or other forms of damage - but only stays of execution and terms for payment; the issue surfaced again in the 1480s as a point of dispute between Padua and Venice over the terms of tax relief in the southwest Padovano after flooding caused by enemy action in the War of Ferrara.[441]

Not only expediency, but jealousy too may have shaped the Council's attitude , in resentment of the *Signoria*'s assertion of competence over petitions for tax relief from the Padovano, whose effect was to alter the terms of distribution laid down in the revision of the *fuoghi* conducted by the Council's officers. It was notably less grudging in considering petitions for tax relief, *estimo* revision or exemption when its authority over the city *estimo* was invoked by city dwellers - a function which

it and its officers continued to discharge, with Venetian vigilance no more than occasional.[442] Its indulgence was strongly tempered by the need for all taxable wealth to contribute in due measure to the city's share of dadie, but it was less damaging in the city with its large body of taxpayers to redistribute the contribution of temporarily exempt citizens, than in the Padovano with its small units, high quotas and rigid division.

It was not uncommon for prominent citizens in financial difficulties, for example as a result of storm damage to their fields, to obtain the Council's favour and so maintain their station in society. The contrast in the degree of ease with which city-dwellers, especially the wealthier, and Padovano villages or peasants could obtain exemption or re-assessment is not simply a consequence of the mechanism of taxes' distribution, but also an expression of social attitudes - poverty and indebtedness were relatively normal conditions of life for the territorio and its inhabitants, whereas adept manoeuvring in the Council could invoke public compassion for a citizen faced with misfortune.[443] Influence in the Council played its part in the voting of estimo revision or exemption, as may be inferred from consideration of a two-year span midway between two city estimi. From Christmas 1476 to Christmas 1478 eight petitions obtained the Council's approval, two of them favouring leading noble families:[444] the Vitaliani obtained two years' dadie exemption following storm damage to their corn and vines, and the Malfatti received remission and suspension of their dadie obligations for the duration of their law-suit against the Marcello, (a Venetian noble family whom they fought for decades over property rights and village boundaries in the northeast Padovano, with the Council heavily partisan in their favour).[445] Among the exemptions or estimo revisions decided by the Council or the deputati ad utilia (frequently authorized to deal with petitions, and inclined to do so without the Council's specific

approval),[446] there was by the end of our period a steady trickle of grants to prominent citizens claiming material misfortunes. Although a 1493 parte in the Council proposed to end the practice because it aroused the discontent of the '... plebis et populi... pauperum et miserabilium personarum que postea pro ipsis sic exemptis coguntur contribuere...', only four months later the Council ignored this decision in granting five years' dadie exemption to Giovanni de Lazara after fire and flood had damaged his property.[447]

With unfairness a common cry in all disputes over taxes' sharing, accusations and allegations require cautious evaluation. But just as it is apparent from this scrutiny of the extent and mechanisms of evasion and exemption with what success the interests of individuals and groups over-rode fair distribution within the city and amongst the villages, clear evidence of grave fiscal inequality also emerges from the disputes over the division of the dadie between the three bodies of the province's tax-payers - city, clergy and territorio. It was on this division, fundamental for the overall sharing of the fiscal burden, that much of the inequality and injustice we have reviewed was built, and it was the central point of the perennial battles fought by the three 'bodies' to preserve or alter the balance of taxes' distribution. It is perhaps surprising, therefore, to record that the division of the dadie remained effectively unaltered through the fifteenth and much of the sixteenth century. Three eighths, or L. 51,300, of the L. 136,800 total were the territorio's, with the remainder divided between city and clergy, L. 64,125 (or 46.8%) to the former and L. 21,375 (or 15.6%) to the latter. It is a tribute to the entrenched interests of city and clergy that their portions were only increased in 1585.[448]

The 1420 statutes had made no provision for the separate estimo organization and dadie payment of the clergy, and these dated from 1424, ordered as the solution to quarrels which had

arisen in the recent city estimo's compilation over their assessment and contribution, in which the Commune had proposed taxing clergymen on their cloth, as a gainful profession.[449] Antagonism and the close pursuit of sectional advantage kept the issue smouldering. The clergy as a whole claimed to be losing tax-paying wealth, and a ducale of 10 March 1450 answered their complaint at the alienation of ecclesiastical property by ruling that transactions between clergy and laymen - in either direction - should respect the original estimo listing of the property concerned.[450] This was to avoid re-opening the question of dadie shares, towards which all argument over the transfer of wealth from one estimo list to another eventually led, provoking demands for the redress of the totals assigned to the different 'bodies'.

Though the Paduan clergy appear to have contemplated an attempt to lower their share at the city's expense in 1469,[451] their main problem was essentially another, the passage of benefices into Venetian hands and away from Paduan tax-paying. In October 1467 the Signoria ordered Venetians holding Paduan benefices, if they were on the tax lists of neither capital nor province, to pay dadie with the latter.[452] But this proved no solution, and in 1488 the Avogadori di Comun's reform of the Paduan Camera brought attention in Venice and Padua to bear on the problem: more than fifty of the province's major benefices, including Padua's bishopric and canonries, paid two decime a year in Venice, leaving the other benefices to pay both decime and the clergy's share of the dadie - the latter with arrears of L. 100,000, growing by L. 6,000 p.a. The Senate upheld the Avogadori's decision to reconstitute the clergy estimo and include these benefices.

The Paduan city Council had favoured the return of this wealth to provincial tax-paying, hoping to pass some of the city's dadie share onto a strengthened clergy estimo, and Commune and clergy agreed to a later adjustment of the dadie's division if the new estimo should justify it.[453] It was sufficiently complete for its use to be ordered in 1491, but the adjustment of

dadie shares became the subject of an intermittent wrangle, in which the Council claimed a reduction of the city's share to compensate for an alleged L. 4,000 increase in the clergy's overall rating. The general crisis of the dadie administration in 1505 added urgency to the settlement of an undoubtedly wearisome dispute, which the Senate therefore delegated to a special committee, with the Collegio busy on more pressing matters. After delayed and dilatory hearings the committee's proposed solution, in February 1508, was a fresh division of the dadie between all three bodies. Nothing could have been better calculated to infuriate the Paduans, whose battle with the clergy had been in the nature of in-fighting between the two privileged sections of the province's tax-payers.[454] They had not been alone in reckoning the clergy under-taxed in proportion to their wealth[455] - but now the claims of the territorio had found dangerous support in the capital, threatening the fiscal privilege of both city and clergy.

Hesitancy on the territorio's part, together with the weight of bureaucratic inertia and the city's position of strength, had hindered the advancement of claims for a reduction of the Padovano's dadie share; the crisis in exaction at the turn of the century served to gain more radical proposals a hearing in Venice, though the demands then pressed followed an accumulation of precedent. Against the constant tendency for property to move from the Padovano to the city estimo, more through citizens' purchases than migration from the countryside, fleeing rural taxes (corvées and military dues), there stood a Senate law of 1425 whereby citizens' acquisitions of property on the territorio tax lists should continue to pay there.[456]

But the law by itself offered scant protection, and initiatives from the Padovano to take a hand in the valuation of its fiscal resources or their contribution met with poor success at the beginning of our period. A demand for participation in the fuoghi's compilation was thrown out;[457] while proceedings in Venice initiated by some distretti in 1474 and 1481 to obtain

adjustments of the overall estimo division came to naught.[458] The city, on the other hand, pursuing its grievances against Venetian and ecclesiastical accumulation of property, reserved for itself the L. 9,200 p.a. with which the Signoria had in 1446 compensated the province for property lost to the estimo through Venetian purchase. The dadie accounts for 1486-93, though clearly indicating Venetian property on both city and territorio lists, as evidence that Venetian gains had also been at the expense of the Padovano's fiscal resources, show the city's share as L. 54,925, with the territorio's unaltered at L. 51,300.[459]

But it was in the more tense atmosphere of fiscal organization in the 1480s that favourable signs appeared. When the Padovano was agitating for a long-overdue reform of the fuoghi, authority in Venice detected an apparent '...inequalitatem' in fiscal sharing which the city was at pains to explain;[460] in 1488, a year after this incident, the city saw fit to commit itself on paper to terms sought by the territorio to regulate the transfer of property. Confirmed in 1489 by the Signoria, these provisions admitted estimo transfer only in the case of distrettuali formally created citizens, demanded compensation in the dadie shares for such cases in future as well as for six recent examples, and invalidated all other transfers made since 1425, even if authorized by the Signoria, Rettori or Paduan deputati.[461]

However, from the territorio's point of view, this agreement was stronger in promises than results. Property transfers from the Padovano to the city estimo continued, especially on the pretext of rights which the agreement had taken too little account of: these were the rights of certain of the city's privileged professions - masons, carpenters, wine-porters and commandadori - to move their rural property onto the urban tax lists.[462] Transfers, if officially sanctioned, required the re-distribution of dadie shares among the villages and distretti, which resented not only the transfers but any redistribution undertaken without their knowledge.[463] The whole issue was in fact again before the Council

in 1499, its urgency aggravated by Venetian fiscal pressure, investigation of the dadie's administration, and the Padovano's obvious difficulty in meeting its share of the tax. In 1501 the Council offered further promises: as by the terms of 1489, the standing estimo lists were to remain valid, with transfer orders frozen, pending a new estimo to incorporate legitimate transfers, and settlement of another question (the tax liability of Venetians' houses of habitation in the province).[464]

In the general atmosphere of reform in fiscal organization, and dissatisfaction in Venice with Paduan efficiency, the matter of the estimo had also come to the attention of the Provveditori sópra le Camere, who wished to open a general inquiry in Venice, citing the Council as interested party rather than seat of authority. Faced with further delay, and a grave threat to its competence on fiscal matters as well as to the city's tax dominance of the territorio, the Council reacted as Verona had in 1475 to the distrettuali's proposal of a general revision of estimo shares, by calling the initiative '... provocare multitudinem ad contentionem'.[465] It apparently succeeded in avoiding the further involvement of the Provveditori, since in 1502 the Senate ratified terms agreed between city and territorio on a variety of fiscal issues, which embodied the proposals of 1501 and the pact of 1489, ordering the return to its point of provenance of property transferred between the tax lists since 1489, and the preparation of new estimi.[466]

The question of the re-distribution of dadie shares was thus deferred, and the city set to work to obtain the most advantageous terms possible. Its representatives in Venice, as well as the deputati ad utilia in Padua, were repeatedly empowered to conclude an agreement with the territorio, and the paths tried included arbitration by the influential former Captain of the city, Marcantonio Morosini. The city bargained hard: an agreement draughted in 1503, apparently never effective, would have left the Padovano with the same dadie quota as before, less only the property of new citizens, with some provision for

rebate for property incorrectly transferred to the city lists over the last thirty years; in all other respects the terms of 1489 were to be binding. When settlement was reached in November of the following year, it represented a victory for the city; the territorio's claimed L. 4,000 reduction in its dadie share was reduced to L. 2,600, it renounced any share in the L. 9,200 credited annually to the city for property passed off the provincial tax lists into Venetian hands, and any re-adjustment in its favour if the city succeeded in forcing up the clergy's dadie portion. The guarantees in its favour were much as before, though now only new citizens' property could be transferred from Padovano to city estimo; all other acquisitions by citizens were to remain on the territorio lists if they originally belonged there.[467]

Given the harshness of these terms, the Padovano no doubt welcomed the suggestion of the Senate's committee in 1508, to review the division of the dadie.[468] But the crisis of war overtook the Venetian state; affairs of greater urgency pushed aside questions of this nature, whose complexity and polemical character anyway made authority in the capital reluctant to deal with them, or - as ducali constantly emphasized - to innovate anything contrary to established custom. Inertia, vested interest and Venetian concern for the contentment of the subject cities' political classes were on the Council's side, and remained so after the upheavals of the League of Cambrai. The terms agreed in the pre-war years adjusting the dadie totals apparently lapsed, and for effective redress of the imbalance the Padovano had to wait until 1585. A re-settlement in 1554 merely switched L. 1,035 from city to clergy. But in 1560 an estimo was conducted without the heavy per capita valuation which for lack of property constituted a major element in the territorio's taxable wealth. Finally, twenty five years later the dadie were re-assigned: of the L. 136,800 total 47.3% was the city's, 20.8% the clergy's, 13% the Padovano's, with 18.9% discounted for property passed off the tax

lists to Venetians or otherwise exempt. These percentages compare with previous shares of city 40.1% (enjoying all the discount of 6.7% allowed in 1446 for Venetians' property), clergy 15.6% and territorio 37.5%. A refund due from city and clergy to the Padovano, backdated to 1548, was calculated at L. 576,675.[469]

It may be doubted whether partial redress at that late stage served to relieve the countryside, which anyway remained burdened with all its further 'real' and 'personal' obligations; the political and economic connotations, the whole social structure built around this pattern of fiscal distribution, were too deeply established. During the sixteenth century the territorio had complained of the further passage of tax-paying wealth away from fiscal contribution to the countryside, through the acquisitions of Venetians and Paduan citizens.[470] The redistribution of 1585 vindicated their claims; and Ventura suggests that the imbalance was greater than this re-settlement admits, calculating from the wealth declared in the estimo of 1544-48 that a fair division would have given the city 59.5%, the clergy 31.5% and the Padovano 9% of the dadie total.[471]

Already in the fifteenth century the distrettuali had to find more per Lira of declared wealth than the citizens in order to pay their dadie, proof enough of imbalance, though the changing proportions of the distribution of wealth between the 'bodies' of the estimo are necessarily difficult to trace with precision. Of course not all capital wealth belonged to Paduans, Venetians and churchmen, but as the Paduan Council admitted in 1502, the territorio's failure to meet its dadie obligations was '... quia solas personas habent districtuales et non bona'.[472] While the city paid dadie at rates varying between L 6 and L 7 18 soldi per Lira of estimo every year - 0.6% and 0.79% of declared capital wealth, the territorio paid more; if in 1432 its wealth was computed as four hundred and eight fuoghi, each representing L. 10,000, a year's dadie represent 1.26% of declared capital wealth. But in 1442 the fuoghi were three hundred, and in 1502 two hundred and sixty eight and seven eighths, which would make

a year's dadie correspond to 1.71% and 1.91%, respectively of declared capital wealth.[473] The fuoco and the computations for which it was used are perhaps too approximate to justify this arithmetic, which suggests that the territorio paid dadie at from one and three quarters to two and a half times the rate of the city. Yet single examples fall within this order of magnitude.

A distrettuale who moved from Campsampiero to Padua, becoming a citizen and so transferring his property to the city estimo in 1488, had declared assets of seventy four and a half campi, worth L. 2,504 (or a quarter of a fuoco). He had formerly paid dadie of L. 5 14 soldi every two months, about 1.33% p.a. of his declared capital wealth, whereas in Padua in 1488 the dadie were levied at L. 1 4 soldi per Lira of estimo every two months, totalling 0.72% p.a. of capital wealth.[474] A higher rate is suggested for Monselice in 1500, when the dadie exactors were ordered not to exceed L. 87 10 soldi per fuoco in levying from the Commune of Monselice - an annual rate of 1.65% of capital wealth, if we accept the fuoco as corresponding to L. 10,000.[475]

With variations as to effective tax rate among the distretti and villages of the Padovano, neither of these figures is of a conclusive, generally applicable nature; but their overall accuracy must be recognized, and some hypothesis may also be offered on the flight of wealth from the countryside. Over a period of gradually growing population, the territorio's tax-paying resources - to judge by the number of fuoghi and the relation between rate of tax and capital wealth - appear to have fallen by as much as a quarter, or even a third. The fifteenth century was one of relative impoverishment for the inhabitants of the Padovano, unless in the course of it - but there is no reason to suppose this - they grew vastly more successful in the practice of evasion and concealment of their assets from the city's stimadori.

In what proportion the city and clergy, or Venetian

nobles and citizens, accumulated wealth while the territorio lost it, and whether the province's overall taxable wealth rose, fell or remained stationary, are extremely important further questions to pose, which Ventura's calculations for the estimo of 1544-48 and the dadie re-allocation of 1585 can only answer in part. Another hypothesis to be tested concerns the relation between income and tax. If income stands in a relation of 1 : 10 to capital wealth - though despite the estimo's capitalization of incomes, among virtually propertyless peasants a lower ratio might be nearer the truth - the Padovano's annual tax total of around D. 45,000, roughly five times its share of the dadie[476] and therefore corresponding to at least 6% of its declareed capital wealth, might absorb 60% or more of its inhabitants' annual incomes...

However, the caution necessary in dealing with statistical data has to be multiplied where tax declarations are concerned, given the circumstances in which information was assembled, and a large discrepancy between declared and actual wealth should be supposed until the contrary is proved. Only lengthy work on the fifteenth century estimo declarations - and conceivably not even that - can fully elaborate and substantiate discussion of these questions. What does emerge beyond any reasonable doubt is that the statistics of Table VI above, on the distribution of tax between city, clergy and countryside, do indeed require interpretation in the light of a massive discrepancy of wealth separating the first two from the third. The Padovano, with three quarters to four fifths of the province's population and roughly a quarter of its declared taxable wealth,[477] paid at least half of all its taxes. If we exclude the dazi, but recognize the salt tax and dazio dei carri e boccadego as forms of direct taxation, as well as corvées and military dues, then the Padovano's share of direct taxation may be reckoned as approximately two thirds. With respect to its wealth, the territorio paid twice as much tax overall as the city, six times as much in direct taxation alone; though orders of magnitude rather than precise multiples, these figures

carry a clear message.

III - (3) : The Limits of Financial Autonomy and Further Fiscal Responsibility of the City and Rural Communes.

Not all the province's fiscal obligations were the concern of its Venetian Camera Fiscale, not all took the form of taxes paid in coin. The dadia delle lanze was only part of the sums levied in direct tax, and for the Padovano - with its various 'onera' and 'factiones', 'real' and 'personal' - it was by no means the greater part.[478]

The city's privileged exclusion from contribution to corvées and military obligations left it with modest administrative expenses to meet - officials' salaries, the cost of representing the city's interest before Venetian authority, the protection of public health in times of epidemic, and various occasional items. Unlike in Estense Ferrara, where the Commune's responsibilities included paying the university teachers, the Signoria kept complete control of Padua University's funding.[479] The restricted nature of the Paduan Commune's expenditure was a direct consequence of the scarcity of its incomes, as the returning Podestà of 1549 observed:'... E' molto povera, et per dir meglio mendica la communità di Padua; non ha altro del suo, che una sola casetta, la qual credo gli paghi 14 ducati di fitto; tutte le spese de' ambassadori, ministri et altre cose necessarie che convengono far si pagano sopra la daia...'[480]

So the city's position of fiscal privilege over the territorio gave a form of security, but in the absence of communal property to administer it had very limited public funds at its disposal; the Commune's role in the edllection of direct tax on Venice's behalf brought only modest gains to the city's Cassa, whatever the private profit of the individuals involved. This relative poverty of the Commune appears to have been the pattern in other major urban centres of the terraferma too; as Ventura observes, institutions of public interest - the monti di pietà and luoghi pii-afforded greater scope for the city nobilities'

ambitions to control public moneys.[481]

The Paduan Commune's income from public property in the years before Agnadello, though not literally from '... una sola casetta', seems to have amounted to little more.[482] Whatever the former extent, and causes of erosion of communal property, it was an area of jurisdiction over which Venetian government gradually asserted its competence, through protective legislation, through occasional sales, and through a growing network of leases which were nearly all - where the province of Padua was concerned - conducted in the capital by offices such as the Rason Vechie rather than by the local Camera Fiscale.[483] Another former source of income was no longer at the city's disposal except by special concession, while its collection and expenditure were in any case administered by the Camera Fiscale; where the proceeds of court fines had formerly belonged to the Commune, (and sometimes in part to the accuser and judges of a convicted criminal), the Signoria now profitted in the Communes stead.[484]

The city's major and only dependable source of revenue was therefore the dadia delle lanze, which offered the Commune a certain margin of income for its own expenses, beyond what was due to the Camera Fiscale. The recognized form of reward for the collector appointed by the Commune was a five per cent commission on taxes paid late, and L. 1,000 p.a. from this source were due to the city - evidence of the frequency of delayed payment.[485] As well as these L. 1,000, the city also disposed of the margin of yield over due resulting from the dadie imposed on the urban estimo's taxpayers; the rate of exaction was variable according to need, since the Council might authorize temporary increases, but the base rate - stable through most of our period at L. 7 4 soldi p.a. per L. 1,000 of assessed capital wealth - was intended to provide for the city's ordinary administrative needs as well as satisfying the Signoria.[486]

Though it is tempting to seek for sectional interest and private advantage in the records of municipal finance and its

uses, any demonstration of this tendency is merely confirmation of a broader pattern of power-sharing and attitudes to public office in the terraferma. There is no denying Ventura's general thesis that the city councils and therefore their spending represented the interests of an influential but narrow selection of citizens, while the conduct of their nominees to financial posts was by no means irreproachable.[487] But it would be incorrect to dismiss the considerable expense of Padua's representation before the Signoria as evidence of pandering to leading citizens' litigiousness or thirst for public employment, when for example the Council's efforts to guarantee the city's supplies of grain or firewood were clearly more than the greedy or disappointed lobbying of urban rentiers. Similarly, the temporary increases in Padua's dadie rate approved by Council and Rettori often served to finance the plague hospital and emergency services during periods of epidemic.[488]

These temporary increases were few, with the contribution available from collection of the ordinary dadie not always sufficient even for petty expenses, and recourse to private borrowing was sometimes necessary.[489] Yet the Council was reluctant to impose extra dadie beyond the base rate necessary to satisfy the Venetian Camera Fiscale. The increases voted added only a few soldi for a matter of months, to meet specific needs which the Council wanted to believe exceptional, though they often differed only in scale and not in character from normal expenditure, especially when representation of the city's interests before higher authority was at stake.[490] Indeed, by the end of our period certain of the supplementary dadie imposed raised revenue for virtually run of the mill expenditure.[491]

This tendency may be explained by what appears to have been a considerable increase in the Commune's spending over the half century considered in this study. Ambiguous registration hinders clear reading of the accounts of expenditure, but - within the limits of approximation - the totals for 1469, 1488 and 1505 show a steady progression from L. 1,500 to L. 3,000, to L. 5,000.[492]

These figures are significant as an indication of a long-term trend, since there were considerable fluctuations from one year to another according to the incidence of plague, or costly battles of prestige as much as practical advantage fought against neighbouring provinces over boundaries and watercourses.

The city was never generous with salaries or pensions. Poor or meritorious petitioners of the Council were rewarded more readily with grants of public office or tax exemption than money.[493] Public officials' gain derived largely from charges levied in the execution of their duties, though salaries were paid to the deputati ad utilia and their notary, the chancellor, and the massaro of the public grain fondaco, among others. The increase apparent in the Commune's spending was due in part to the rebuilding of the Council's loggia or meeting chamber, financed by extra dadie after 1495,[494] but largely to the swelling costs of representation before the Signoria in Venice, (symptomatic of trends in the shifting balance of effective power in government between capital and province), which more than tripled between 1469 and 1505.[495]

The loggia was the Commune's only independent construction project, and the city was almost completely dependent for the maintenance of its public buildings and places on the Signoria, a fact which was in all probability resented at a time when noble Paduans' pride in their own and their city's identity was tending to seek material, external forms of expression. An absurd demonstration of dependence is provided by the Council's petition to the Signoria in 1487 for funds with which to build a public lavatory outside the courts, duly approved by the Senate.[496]

Whatever the importance in urban organization of the city centenari, or neighbourhoods, no sign has suggested that they deployed funds of any substance, for construction work or any other purpose.[497] The Camera dei Lavorieri appears to have been an extension of Venetian authority in the city, answerable to and financed by the Rettori and Camera Fiscale.[498] If we exclude

the Monte di Pietà and luoghi pii from our reckoning, Paduans' role in administering their city's public finances was minimal. Their power of the purse was all but denied, and this, rather than the unsurprisingly lax administrative standards governing the conduct of the Commune's financial officers, was the crucial point for contemporaries - at least those whose opinion counted.[499]

Among these officers, the dadie exactor appointed by the Council and approved by the Signoria was vastly more important than the Massaro and Quaderniere responsible for the day-to-day administration of the Commune's moneys.[500] Though his office was created later than theirs, he was in the vital position of dealing with the Venetian Camera Fiscale; he became answerable to Venice rather than to the Commune, for the goodwill of the Signoria towards the city as well as Padua's financial wellbeing depended largely on the success of his appointed task.[501] Since his activity financed the little independent expenditure left to the Commune, including the increasingly vital funding of representation in the capital, any threat to the division of powers which his position represented, in the case of Venetian dissatisfaction with the efficiency of dadie collection, was a threat to Padua's vestigial financial autonomy - a point to remember when we consider relations between the Signoria and city Council on the issue of dadie collection.[502]

As we have observed, the territorio's fiscal burden was vastly greater, with its various real and personal obligations; while they undoubtedly gave it a higher fiscal turn-over than the city, very little of it could be said to be in any significant way under the villages' control. The city councillors, believing themselves and the city at large to be abundantly taxed, were at least able to limit the Commune's spending, and with it direct tax over and above the dadia delle lanze, to a few hundred ducats a year. But the Padovano's towns and villages had no choice except to pay their share of the dadia delle lanze and at least twice as much again in military dues, corvées and costs of government;

whose imposition and even distribution they were virtually unable to influence.[503]

More specialized research may reveal what the urban sources consulted for this study largely omit, by providing case-histories of individual Padovano communes' finances during this period. For present purposes, we may draw on the summarized quantitative data reported in Table VI (p.154), amplified by indications in Paduan and Venetian legislation and administrative practice, and the evidence of local examples in support of trends observed in other, comparable situations. We have established that the territorio communes' faculty of compiling their own estimi was by no means a guarantee of fair fiscal sharing within the rural communities, with exemption and evasion combining as sources of damage, while villages and distretti were as likely to contest one another's portions of tax before city authorities as to protest in concert against their overall burden.[504]

A question that cannot be answered with precision is to what extent income from communal property contributed to alleviate fiscal demands on the rural communes. Verona's allegations of 1475, that communal property in the Veronese could suffice to discharge all fiscal demands, are the product of rhetoric.[505] The open plain-land of the Padovano favoured access and interference from the city, and therefore facilitated economic (and political) dominance of the villages by urban landowners. Not only Venetian legislation on communal property but also local examples support the view that citizens' accumulation of rural estates was often at the expense of the villages' common lands, a process favoured if fiscal pressure - certainly present in the Padovano - or severe contracts of tenure required villagers and villages to borrow from citizens.[506]

Unless and until the contrary is demonstrated, it is reasonable to suppose that taxation in money and personal services were the principal resources with which the Padovano met its further fiscal obligations. The various military taxes and dues

have already been amply discussed, and it only remains to emphasize the very narrow limits of administrative autonomy left to the villages in their execution. City authorities allocated troops to billets, while the conversion of services to money equivalent favoured the emergence first of special collectors and then of legislated rules and rates. The various forms of conscript duty were decreed from on high, and the villages required to contribute men and money.[507]

As to corvées, Berengo's judgement of the eighteenth century Venetian state is no less applicable to our period: '... quella delle fazioni era senza dubbio la imposta piu iniqua del sistema tributario veneto, perché cadeva con tutto il suo peso sui comuni rurali - ch'erano di gran lunga più poveri di quelli urbani - senza alcun corrispettivo, e senza che spesso i lavori compiuti riuscissero di alcun giovamento ai contadini.'[508] For lack of frequent recorded travellers' observations at this time, there is little easily accessible independent information from which to check the execution of the many statutory provisions concerning roads, bridges, watercourses and their banks;[509] routine vigilance within the distretti was the task of the local Podestà and Vicars.[510]

However, the stimulus and in certain cases the effective command and responsibility for maintenance work not infrequently came to depend on the Venetian Governors of Padua; more rarely authority in the capital was involved. The statutes could not envisage every contingency, and their provisions anyway required interpretation and enforcement according to circumstances. The Commune of Padua also exercised some authority over the execution of corvées, but in practice this appears to have amounted to the formulation of requests for Venetian decision on specific issues, and the appointment of citizens to supervise major works.[511]

Reluctant performance of corvées and disputes over their sharing were not uncommon, with the city's privileged position occasionally but fruitlessly contested. Citizens were arguably the main beneficiaries of maintenance work on roads and rivers

through the province, and they also contributed remarkably little to the upkeep of their own urban canals and streets.[512] Quarrels and resulting inaction produced adverse effects on these urban waterways' maintenance, on upkeep of the Battaglia canal, and on repairs necessary in the southwest of the province to river banks breached in the War of Ferrara - to name some of the more important examples recorded.[513] Public and private interest might mingle, or clash - through the inclusion of private landowners' schemes among public tasks, or sabotage of work on watercourses feared dangerous to particular areas or estates;[514] and major remedial work might prove necessary as a result of individuals' activities in draining or watering their lands, and facilitating or obstructing the flow of watercourses - the case of the Rotta Sabadina work on the Adige.[515]

These were perennial problems, no doubt common to public works' organization everywhere, but certain aspects of the province's corvées in the fifteenth century reflect changing circumstances due to the Venetian conquest. The capital now stood behind Padua as a point of reference for disputes within the province, and where before the cities of the <u>terraferma</u> had quarrelled or reluctantly consulted with one another over the control of rivers, the <u>Signoria</u> was now arbiter of contending interests, advancing its own, but also seeking to conciliate the needs and well-being of the different provinces - in the case of the Rotta Sabadina at the turn of the fifteenth century, Padua and the Polesine.[516]

Another consequence of the creation of the <u>terraferma</u> state was the involvement of its componet provinces in each other's major works, especially when these were planned with Venetian benefit in mind. Corvées within the Padovano were perhaps no heavier than before - though the infrequent incidence of some renders calculation speculative.[517] Such work as was required in other provinces was likely to be more or less military in character, so that the distinction between corvées and the service of <u>guastatori</u> was not a clear one - as in Friuli in 1479.[518]

These occasional extra demands for work at a greater distance perhaps encouraged the replacemeht of personal service by money payment, and the contracting of assigned shares, for which there is already some evidence in the execution of corvées within the province.[519] More important in a political context, they caught the attention of the city Council, whose interest - as with military taxe - was to protect the Padovano's economic resources and workforce against demands likely to damage it, and so too its landowners.[520] This was the case in 1486, when the Council opposed a Venetian demand for the Padovano's carts and men to fortify the south bank of the Adige, justifying its views by referring to the coming harvest; but eleven days later it sought the Signoria's approval in principle for the use of the same resources to transfer building materials to Padua, with which to build a new bell-tower planned for the basilica of St. Antony.[521] The Padovano also provided one sixth of the labour necessary for work on the waterways constituting Venice's fire-wood supply route from the Trevigiano and Friuli, in 1486 and 1488; in 1488 the Council protested again at another demand for work on the Adige defences at the Torre Marchesana, pleading the peasants' prior commitment to work on the land.[522]

But in the same year the Paduans were forced to change their tune, when the Senate decided to solve long-standing problems over the input of fresh water into the lagoon - a matter of no direct concern to the Paduans - by shifting the Brenta from its outflow opposite the capital to a new course whose mouth was opposite Chioggia. The citizens in the Council, their pockets threatened by the requisitioning of land, by the prospect of flooding (correctly foreseen) and by very heavy demands on the rural workforce, hastened to call for the contribution of other provinces, arguing from Padua's participation in recent works like those in Friuli.[523]

The political exchanges over the execution of schemes like this, (which lasted nearly twenty years),[524] or the Rotta

Sabadina dispute on the Adige, reveal the city Council chafing in its subjection to Venetian decisions; they also document the first steps towards a more organic, regional approach to public works, though hampered by the independent attitudes and petty jealousies of the individual provinces. What is also apparent is that the distrettuali could voice their interests only with the greatest difficulty, and little hope of being listened to. Their part in the execution of tasks imposed on them was a passive one, with city officials intervening to administer wherever supervision offered the scope for suitably prestigious or gainful office, and threats issued against failure to comply with the set round of works at a more local level.

This brings us to consider briefly the final aspect of the Padovano's fiscal burden: the money necessary to meet the cost of government. This was formed of a heavy crop of salaries and expenses at the level of both village and distretto, swollen by the need for representation in the city and its courts, with perhaps the cost of recovering property distrained for tax debt, or of meeting citizens' legal claims for damage to their rural property.[525] A large part of the figure allowed in Table VI for expenses of government, (no doubt variable, but confirmed to be of major importance in the comparable cases of Tregnago and Lotta),[526] was due to a special class of fiscal middlemen, handsomely paid to discharge the villages' dues to the fisc, but far from punctilious in doing so.[527] To what extent they existed to fill this function fifty years earlier we cannot be certain; perhaps much less, since the territorio appears then to have been virtually at the direct mercy of the city's collector and fiscal officials with regard to the methods and terms of payment of the dadie and dazio dei carri e boccadego - as we shall see more fully in Section 5.[528] But whether formally in the employ of the Camera Fiscale, the City's collector or the villages, whether citizens or local men with standing and an eye to profit, middlemen always abounded in tax-levying, vastly swelling the sums the Padovano had to pay.[529]

The data on costs of government in Table VI may therefore stand, as at least an approximation, till further evidence is produced. In conclusion, it seems a hollow use of the term 'autonomy' to suggest that the collection and disbursement of sizeable sums for administrative expenses, most of them effectively imposed on the Padovano and serving primarily to maintain a political order which merely used the villages, can be said to reppesent a significant degree of finacial autonomy, any more than the execution of prescribed corvées and military obligations.

III - (4) : Churchmen, Venetians, and Their Payment of Direct Taxation.

Since the payment of direct tax by the clergy was not the Paduan Commune's responsibility, it may be reviewed separately as a brief prelude to discussion of the main task of dadie collection, confided by Venice to the city. A similar distinction is justifiable with regard to the Venetians assessed on the provincial estimi; while never formally constituted into an independent 'body' at this time, as the clergy were, they were in practice a sufficiently separate category to merit individual attention here, together with the general question of Venetians' fiscal contribution or evasion in the province, and the extent of their estates there.

The Paduan clergy paid two forms of direct tax to the state: the dadia delle lanze at L. 21,375 a year, and decime of approximately D. 3,500 (L. 21,700) p.a., occasionally supplemented by specially authorized Papal decime.[530] Their share in the dadia dated from the tax's initial imposition on the province, while decime were a later addition. The question of the clergy's contribution to the decima had been cause of some controversy after its introduction in Venice in 1463; but by the end of the decade Papal consent had been secured for an annual levy on the benefices of capital and terraferma of two decime, with a yield of about D. 18,000 p.a. (so that Padua's share was perhaps one fifth of the total).[531] Although the com-

bined weight of the two taxes was not necessarily excessive in relation to ecclesiastical wealth, the clergy - as we have observed - faced the impatient solicitations for payment of touring financial inspectors sent from Venice in the 1470s and 1480s to remedy the slow yield of routine collection. Then the mission of the Avogadori in 1488 drew attention to the unfair distribution of clerical tax in the province, mainly due to Venetians' possession of virtually all the richest benefices with their consequent withdrawal from contribution to the dadie.[532]

The return of the major benefices to the provincial tax-lists should have rectified the shortfall in payment, for they represented considerable wealth: the bishop of Padua, with revenues of D. 6,000 to 7,000, paid decime of D. 900 a year.[533] But the arrears accumulated were substantial: L. 62,000 of decime in 1483, and L. 96,000 of dadie (L. 100,000 in 1488), and difficulties in payment appear to have continued after 1490.[534] According to Sanudo, in 1498 the Paduan clergy made terms to pay of L. 57,000 of arrears, (he does not specify whether dadie, decime, or both);[535] and clerical tax debt continued to occupy special fiscal officials sent to Padua from the capital, as well as a special collector of arrears.[536]

This lasting record of default was due in part to the relative weakness of forced levying mechanisms: in the absence of willing contribution, enforced collection was complicated by the inalienability of benefices' principal assets, which obliged authority to sequester revenues instead of capital wealth. Other causes were exploitation or inefficiency in lay or external administration of ecclesiastical property, deviating or dissipating incomes;[537] the delaying tactics of incumbents - Venice therefore made successive holders of benefices liable for their predecessors' arrears;[538] and also the power of position - the rich were likely to be the most recalcitrant.[539]

The dadie and decime were the responsibility of separate collectors, both drawn - initially at least - from among the

clergy.[540] But the collection of tax, like the compilation of the clergy's estimi (the same was apparently used for both dadie and decime), was subject to a considerable measure of intervention by secular authority.[541] Poor yields spurred Venice to rapidly extended direct intervention in the procedures of levying, with relatively little opposition. The city Council's attitude towards clerical taxation was generally of indifference or outright hostility, and unless in critical vein for reasons of its own was unlikely to champion any plea that the clergy might have made to protect its fiscal autonomy or protest against heavy taxation.[542] Strongly united opinion on these issues was anyway unlikely among the clergy, given the many Venetians in their midst, and with a number of them paying their decime in Venice rather than in Padua, closer state control and liason between capital and province was necessary to coordinate the organisation and registration of payment.[543]

The hand of the state was particularly evident in the practice of sequestration of benefices' revenues, occasionally used as a means to dadie payment in pre-decime days, but regularly ordered after 1465 to obtain decime from the terraferma clergy.[544] In the months before the harvest incomes were sequestered in the name of the fisc pending payment of taxes due, to be released subsequently by individual orders of 'relaxetur' as the debts were paid, or laymen constituted themselves financial guarantors of payment within a stated term.[545] Most often it was the Savii alle Cazude whose authorization was necessary for this lifting of sequestration orders.[546]

Administrative correspondence of these decades reveals something of a tangle of orders and rulings over decime ratings, exemptions and payments by the Senate, Signoria, Savii alle Cazude, city governors and collectors - everyone barring the Patriarch of Venice, nominally in charge of reviewing many of the matters decided.[547]

The transition to lay collectors was swift. In 1469 the

Senate ordered the Rettori and Camerlenghi of the Venetian cities to take a hand in the collection of decime arrears, offering them as an incentive to action two per cent of the money raised.[548] The use of lay collectors was urged on Rettori during the following year when the Senate, upset at interventions by the prelate named as principal collector by the Pope, declared '... non est sustinendum ut alii plus possint in statu nostro quam nos ipsi'.[549] While the annual visits of officials from the capital added seasonal stimulus to collection, the city Rettori's and Camerlenghi's share in responsibility and reward became standard practice, and in 1478 the Senate legislated to bring decime administration more firmly within the ordinary routine of the Camere Fiscali.[550] Then in 1483 the financial inspector Francesco Badoer was sent on his tour of the provinces with the instructions '... ben vi ricordemo et cussi volemo fazate in tutte le terre nostre ove havete andare che altuto preti non scuodi i denari nostri, ma si secularì'.[551] The result was the appointment in Padua of a permanent lay collector, the Venetian Luca Posca.[552]

His nomination was part of a series of measures intended to instil efficiency into exaction of tax from the clergy, to clear past arrears and guarantee future receipts. Surveillance and intervention from the capital were much in evidence [553] but the accumulated debts tended rather to grow, posing a major problem for the Avogadori in 1488.[554] Posca retained his job as decime collector, following precedent in taking more than his permitted share for his reward (which the Signoria later attempted to recover);[555] and collection appears to have been little more efficient after these administrative changes than before.

It is interesting to observe, as comparison will reveal, that although the collection of clerical decime and dadie came under closer Venetian control than the dadie in the Paduan Commune's charge, it was not, as a result, any better conducted. Yields were compromised by the methods of levying, sunk into a yearly rhythm of sequestrations of limited usefulness. There were recalcitrant or impoverished tax-payers, expense and abuse in

forced levying,[556] the dubious honesty of collectors; the growing involvement of offices in Venice, of touring officials from the capital, and the substantial passage of control over collection to the Camera Fiscale, all maintained the momentum of clerical taxation but could not free it from considerable loss and wastage.[557]

There was one aspect of clerical taxation in which the Paduan Commune took a regular and friendly interest, as part of its patronage of the city's churches and luoghi pii: it pressed deserving claims for tax exemption before the Signoria. While the close binding of the church to secular control in fiscal matters was undeniably motivated by pragmatic, financial needs, the guiding philosophy was - without any contradiction - characterized by pious and benevolent respect for religious institutions recognizably useful to the community through their prayer or works.

In the assigning of favour and exemption, Padua's position was for the most part a secondary one, of advocacy, since concessions concerning decime and dazi were the Signoria's competence. The city's hospitals and obdervant religious houses enjoyed exemption from decime, and dazi privileges were also common.[558] The fortunes of the city's principal hospital, S.Francesco, illustrate the recurrent need for protection of luoghi pii's privileges, as Venice granted, then revieved and revised tax concessions. The hospital's dadie exemption, conceded by the Council in 1482 and periodically renewed, was not in question,[559] but the Senate's decision of 1486 (to annul all dazi exemptions not obtained through the councils of state) initiated a four-year campaign by the city in the hospital's defence, eventually successful in 1490 with the full confirmation of a dazi exemption originally conceded in 1465 by simple lettera ducale.[560] Similar steps were taken to protect the hospital in 1505 when the Provveditori sopra le Camere initiated a general review of decime privileges.[561] Other institutions to benefit from the Council's patronage during our period were the Lazaretto (plague hospital), Ca' di Dio (foundling hospital), new religious foundations at Monteortone (near Abano)

and in the city suburbs at the Bassanello, and the Carmelite church in its re-building programme.[562]

An altogether more inflammable aspect of fiscal policy, more central to relations between the Signoria and the Paduan political class, was the controversy over the relation between Venetians' wealth in the province and the direct taxes they paid. It was in fact a perennially contentious issue, certainly as important to the city Council as its disputes with the clergy and territorio over tax sharing, and complicated by contemporary (and later) speculation about the extent and growth of Venetian landowning and economic activity in the province. It is important to note at the outset that the fiscal privilege gracing much of the property owned by Venetians added heat to Padua's complaints, as well as hindering its computation.[563]

In the early years after the fall of the Carraresi, it was left to Venetians with assets in the province to pay direct tax to either Padua or Venice, and in the estimo of 1424 it was apparent that much of their property was undeclared or under-declared. Padua requested a list of those paying with the capital, intending to tax to the full all other Venetians liable; but in return Venice asked for a list of Venetian tax-payers, including those who had not come forward. So began an intermittent exchange of claims and lists in which the Signoria, intent not so much on obstructing Padua's demands as on retaining the powers of decision and initiative in relations with the subject city's administration, failed to satisfy its requests and quell its suspicions.

In 1430 Venice accepted the principle of adjusting the annual total of dadie due from the province to compensate for the passage of property to Venetians and off the estimi, attempting to ensure that Venetian-owned wealth was taxed in either the capital or the province. Lists of Venetian property were drawn up, first in 1430 and then in 1444, and in July 1446 the Senate ruled that all acquisitions up to that date should pay

in the capital, while property acquired subsequently should be taxed with the province. Assets in the first category were reckoned to be worth L. 84,000 of income a year, and amount to L. 9,200 lost to the dadie - 6.7% of the L. 136,800 total; but Padua was far from satisfied with this settlement, claiming even then that Venetians owned one third of the province's property. There was, however, no revision of this figure till the sixteenth century.[564]

As far as the later fifteenth century is concerned, consultation of Paduan sources alone could not fail to suggest that Venice, as conqueror of the terraferma, was easily tolerant of Venetians' fiscal advantage and outright evasion at the province's expense. But the Paduan Council championed extreme views - no more obviously than in its long, unavailing battle to subject Venetians' houses of habitation in the province to tax, contrary to ordinary practice, to compensate the estimi for land lost as building plots and prevent fraudulent classification of houses leased for profit. There was nothing in these arguments to distinguish Paduans from Venetians, except animosity, though the claim did rest principally on another assertion, that Venetians were not assessed on their persons and should therefore pay on their houses instead, if - as the Council stated in 1488 - they were to be treated '... tamquam cives Padue'. The decisive ruling on the question dated from 1476, but the matter remained in contention till at least the turn of the century.[565]

Stubborness and antagonism served to distort the Council's attitude, and a rather more reasonable view of the situation is suggested by the evidence of Venice's attempts to tax Venetians' terraferma wealth. Quite apart from the consultations with Padua which finally produced the 1446 settlement, the Senate had been generally concerned to tax poorly declared mainland assets;[566] and the laws establishing the new catasto in 1463 covered this aspect quite specifically, even proposing that a committee tour the terraferma to gather information.[567] In 1471 a revision of the catasto declarations of mainland property was ordered, with

threats against concealment, and apparently many declarations resulted; and in 1474 the Senate called on the provinces to list Venetians' assets and send the data to the Governatori alle Entrade, for the prevention of fraud.[568] From at least 1474 the procedures for levying from Venetians late in paying their decime included sequestration of their terraferma revenues.[569] In 1477 and 1478 the Senate authorized measures to detect the '... grandissimi ingani... ne le rendede che fuori sono de questa cita et del destretto, si da terra chome da mar.'[570]

Whereas mention of earlier lists of Venetians' property, especially that of 1430, recurs in subsequent documents, there is no later reference to Paduan lists of the 1470s. Most probably they were never completed, since officialdom was daunted by the magnitude of the task proposed; and the cessation of hostilities in the East must have sapped the strength of purpose accompanying Venice's search for extra revenue in time of emergency. This does not necessarily indicate disguised connivance on the Signoria's part with Venetians' evasion of tax for their mainland wealth; would the labour and cost of such a survey have seemed justified?

The 1480s saw Venetian authority in brisker and less patient mood in its dealings with provincial fiscal organization, both the Camera Fiscale and the Commune's collector.[571] The Paduan Council reacted to criticism and tougher demands imposed on the collector by presenting the special Provveditore visiting the city in 1485 with the documentation of a revised claim for compensation to the dadie for Venetians' property, returning in effect to a claim already advanced in 1447 for L. 21,000.[572] Nothing came of this, and in its ill-humour of 1488 the Council returned to this grievance, talking in terms of L. 20,000 - but the claim went unheeded by Venice.[573] Insofar as the Signoria's conduct over this issue was the product of reasoned policy, rather than of institutional inertia, its view was that the Paduans should fulfill the conditions required of them in the overall collection of dadie, instead of emphasizing what was

a minor problem, and in effect an excuse.

In Venice, the intermittent revision of terraferma property on the decima catasto continued; more precise definition was reached of the tax status of Venetians living permanently outside the city, in an attempt to reduce scope for evasion. But throughout our period the action against evasion enjoyed dubious practical success, for want of a means of systematic checking; the 1499 list of public incomes shows the decima on 'possession de fuora' at a meagre D. 6,000 a year, from all the provinces, and in 1503 the Senate offered what amounted to an amnesty for tax fraud on terraferma revenues, which it reckoned to be the major area of decime evasion.[574]

Some Venetians, meanwhile, did pay dadie with the province of Padua - though here, too, there was a bone of contention, that the Paduan collectors complained of great difficulty in extracting tax from Venetians on the estimi, '... contro i quali lor non hano forzo de conseguir le sue raxon'. In the 1460s the collectors invoked the aid of Venetian authority to force them to pay, and from there the passage to direct intervention by Venetian officials was obvious.[575] In 1470 the Senate ordered the Provveditori sopra le Camere to second the efforts of terraferma Rettori against Venetian dadie debtors; the Paduan Council expressed approval of this transfer of responsibility, and in 1472 requested that the Camera Fiscale automatically credit the collector on presentation of a list of debtors.[576] Venetian intervention became increasingly frequent, in assistance with collection, and in the transfer of debtors from the Commune's responsibility.[577] During or after the War of Ferrara the collection of dadie from Venetians became the permanent activity of a Venetian official, and no longer Padua's liability - an easy step, since their declarations had been separately listed with both estimi (city and Padovano) following a decision in 1469.[578] The official concerned was, for much of our period, also among the staff of the Provveditori sopra le Camere, whose involvement in dadie collection from Venetians continued.[579]

On this issue at least, the Paduan Commune was uncharacteristically glad to relinquish part of its administrative responsibility; but the measure of agreement achieved was exceptional, and concerned only a detail of Venetians' tax-paying. In view of the Paduans' emotive convictions and forthright declarations, there is a much more general question which cannot be avoided, even if no fully satisfactory answer can be offered. It may be assumed, if only from the Senate's criticism of the decima catasto, that Venetians did not pay their full due of tax on property in the province; it was quite possible for Paduans, with no systematic checking of declarations and two separate tax-lists in use, and the additional choice of a third made it all the easier for Venetians. But was their evasion as massive as Paduans claimed ? (Was it any worse than their own ?)

Paduan representatives, before the Signoria in 1501 to object to the imposition of the campatico, complained bitterly that Venetians and clergy each possessed one third of the province's wealth. Referring to beliefs concerning the foundation of Venice, their spokesman '... infine disse, padoani haver dà principio a questa terra, et è povera al presente'.[580] In the dark days of 1509 Priuli, less temperate than Sanudo in his judgements, suggests that Venetians owned two thirds of the province's wealth; none was without lands and a country retreat in the Padovano or Trevisano.[581] In the wealth of speculation over the extent of Venetian land-owning in the province, only by the mid-sixteenth century do we possess concordant contemporary reports (estimates rather than detailed survey results), which suggest that a third of the province was in Venetian hands.[582] But how much of this had been accumulated in the half century since Agnadello ? There can be no doubting that Venetians' purchases of terraferma land grew most impressively in the century after Agnadello, especially in the middle and later decades, and the decima records reflect this trend.[583]

But the accuracy of quantative assessments even well after

Agnadello is relative, especially since no clear figures with corresponding dating can be determined for the cultivated area of the province of Padua - and therefore for its overall economic wealth.[584] In fact the only possible answer to questions concerning Venetians' possessions and their tax liability in the fifteenth century would seem to be a series of caveats. We do not know the extent or ownership of legitimately tax-free assets, much less of property successful in evasion - Saviolo suggests 80,000 *campi* were exempt on one pretext or another, though only very few of them from *dadie* or Venetian direct tax, in theory.[585] Without detailed investigation of the Venetian *decime* records (full of information, but only for the second and subsequent decades of the sixteenth century), the Paduan *dadie* figures are part of an unknown total of tax actually paid on wealth in the province.[586] Not only do we not know the overall total of tax paid, we only have partial information (sound for the city, indicative for the *territorio*) concerning the different ratios relating the various categories of the taxed's payments to their declared assets.[587] A whole series of considerations, therefore, makes the relation between Venetians' due share of tax and their holding in the province's wealth an indirect one, and hedges it round with unknowns.

However, without constructing another elaborate hypothesis it is possible to offer a little more information, with comments on its possible interpretation. The Paduan Council's recorded accounts of *dadie* collection reveal that Venetians' steadily growing share of property on the *estimi* of city and *territorio* meant that by 1493 they were paying about L. 8,800 p.a. in *dadie*; and together with the discount allowed in 1446 by the *Signoria* of L. 9,200, this adds up to at least 13% of the province's taxed wealth in Venetian hands, (if we ignore the niceties of relating the rate of tax paid or discounted to wealth possessed).[588] But the percentages of both tax-liable and actually taxed Paduan wealth in Venetian possession were in all probability

a good deal higher, (with the respective totals of property in both categories also likely to be greater), owing to two factors: one, the possible presence in the Venetian catasto of property not reckoned in the 1446 discount, (whether or not subtracted from the provincial tax-lists); and two, the proportion of property in Venetians' possession that evaded tax altogether, (again - whether or not taxed formerly with the province). As to the second, apart from the Senate's admissions on this score, we possess Saviolo's estimate from the results of the 1518-23 survey, that property worth L. 1,411 of estimo had been omitted from declarations - a sum equivalent at city rates of payment to just over L. 10,000 p.a. of dadie, another 7.3% of the total.[589]

These rather cautious calculations are all that the evidence appears to justify. Supporting evidence for the passage of wealth to Venetian hands in the course of the century may perhaps be found in the movements of the dadie rates of city and territorio. Once the annual total of tax stabilized, the city's rate also remained more or less steady, whereas in the Padovano it rose.[590] If we exclude major changes in the province's overall taxable wealth, and in the rate of deception practised in declaration, it is likely that the Padovano's loss in taxable wealth was the gain of Venetians, or the Church (Venetian and Paduan) - probably both. If transactions left citizens' wealth more or less stable, it would still rise in proportion to the territorio's, while other city-based, privileged tax-payers or -evaders, Venetian and clerical, made the material gains.[591]

It seems fair to state, in conclusion, that the Paduans were justified in their suspicions of Venetian evasion, and in claiming L. 20,000-21,000 instead of L. 9,200 refund to the dadie. The Signoria could well dismiss their complaints, and reprove their self-interested ahd muddling conduct in tax-sharing and collection. But the ambassadors of 1501 were correct in their statement of trends in the movement of wealth, if not necessarily precise in their arithmetic; about 20%, rather than 33%, might have been Venetians' share of tax.

III - (5) : The Collection of Direct Taxation and Relations with the Signoria.

As we have already stated, direct taxation provided the most sensitive issues in fiscal relations between Padua and Venice, despite the greater weight of the *dazi*, because the city's organization of the *dadie* was the only important aspect of fiscal activity remaining under its control, and because Venetian impatience with poor collection threatened to hasten the diminution of this competence. With the power of decision ultimately in the capital, and Venetian government (both inside and outside the province) inclined to invade and absorb the main areas of administrative activity, the Paduan political class - represented by the city Council - feared loss of control: it feared demands for fiscal redistribution from the *territorio* and interference in the conduct of the *estimi*, and resented the modest tax shares of churchmen and Venetians; as the wealthy section of the community it complained of the weight of existing tax, and feared its increase; and it was afraid that the *Signoria*'s anger over *dadie* receipts would lead to the Commune's displacement from responsibility for collection - and so to the undermining of its precarious and petty, but extremely important, independent expenditure. Though the *Signoria*'s policy was one of conservatism, of tolerating a measure of inefficiency as the price of respecting local autonomies and excluding *terraferma* subjects from the mainstream life of the state, moments of critical need in public finance forced these sensibilities into second place. The Visconti Wars had created the permanent Venetian army - and at the height of the taxation necessary to fund it the Paduan Commune had quarrelled sharply with the *Signoria* over tax, most noticably on an issue which in our period too expressed the weight of general grievances: Venetians' contribution to the *dadie*.[592] Warfare in the 1470s and 1480s brought rare (but contested) demands for extra tax, and concerted attempts by Venice to improve the efficiency of *dadie* collection - a problem which

became all the more urgent as the 1490s ushered in the Italian Wars, and the gradual escalation of military spending.

Various weaknesses contributed to cause the poor functioning of Padua's Camera Fiscale: exaggerated budgetary demands, indifferent internal administration, poor effective control from Venice. But delays in dadie collection were a steady cause of late and partial payment, and therefore of administrative abuse, and of risk to the proper maintenance of the army and the state's control over public moneys. The despatch and activity of special Venetian financial officials, most active in the 1480s and at the turn of the century, indicated growing Venetian impatience, and threatened the demarcation establishing the financial competence of the subject city. The importance and proximity to the capital of the Paduan Exchequer, rather than exceptional failings in the province's fiscal organization, appear to have drawn the Signoria's critical attention more closely to Padua's tax collection than to other provinces'.

With direct tax settled at a fixed annual sum of dadie, and entrusted by the Council to regularly appointed collectors for levying and delivery to the Camera Fiscale, it was these collectors who became the focal point of relations between the Signoria and the Commune over direct tax. Answerable to the city (and not the Padovano, passive in this respect as in the compilation of the estimi), they were appointed by election in the Council for two-year terms, with set conditions.[593] Though named by the Council and subject to its auditing, they became in practice more dependent on the Venetian Camera; the Council's patronage might be invoked on their behalf if collection encountered serious difficulties, but on an everyday level it was the element of understanding and dexteritas - an expression frequently on the Council's lips at the turn of the century - in relations between Camera and collectors which formed the working basis of their activity.

The practical scope of the Council's choice in naming

collectors was in fact narrowed by the necessity of choosing a candidate acceptable to Venice - and this was already apparent in the early years of our period. In 1469 the Council voted to replace Ruziero de' Fabiani, already long in his job, by Antonio Roberti, but the Signoria sent ducali ordering the retention of Fabiani, (and his partner Giovanni Pizacomin); protesting at this infringement of its rights, the Council nonetheless re-elected Fabiani, and the Signoria withdrew its ducali.[594] Eight years later, on the other hand, the Ten expressed dissatisfaction with the current collector; perhaps it was only coincidence, but he was not re-elected at the end of his term.[595]

The contrast between these two interventions neatly expresses the alternation of attitudes in Venetian administrative practice, between retention and rewarding of faithful servants, and personnel changes aimed at injecting greater vigour. In this case it is no wonder that the insistence on change came in the late 1470s. While dadie collection in the previous decade had been less than satisfactory,[596] the urgency of escalating defence spending in the 1470s discouraged further toleration of faltering payments.

But a variety of long-standing causes combined to hinder prompt payment of the dadie. The ease of collection was severely compromised at the outset by uneven distribution: overall fiscal imbalance inflicted heavier taxes and a higher dadie rate on the Padovano; privileges invested in property or awarded to its owners protected enormous tracts of land against contribution to all the territorio's supplementary taxes and in some cases - for example many Venetians' early acquisitions - even to the dadia delle lanze. Citizens set an example in evasion matched by many rural inhabitants, successful in avoiding the territorio's taxes, while the infrequent renewals of the fuoghi severely damaged communities with fluctuating resources but unvaried shares of tax. Rivalry and the seeking of individual advantage, as much as cooperation, characterized rural attitudes to the common tax

burden, with some measure of encouragement and protection from big landowners.[597] One way of escape for impoverished communities was to seek temporary exemption from some or all tax; but the Signoria's refusal to diminish the overall dadie totals obliged redistribution to follow exemption, and in the consequent general opposition to exemptions villages had seldom any choice but to seek terms to pay off past as well as present tax debt. Whether or not terms were formally sanctioned, the likely outcome was further decline to the status of what contemporaries called 'impotent communes', hopelessly indebted.[598]

There is one further aspect of tax collection to which we have so far devoted little attention, and that is the procedure of forced levying. With tax reluctantly paid at all levels, and much of the territorio short of the means to pay, it was extremely commonly practised. It should not be imagined that sixteenth and seventeenth century reports, of officials levying as much in expenses as in takings for the fisc, were describing a phenomenon of recent apparition: it is amply documented for the fifteenth century too.[599] The officials concerned were indeed numerous. There was, by the time of the 1420 statutes, a Camera dei Pegni with its Massaro and notary to deal with both public and private debts; its procedure (checked by perennial auditing) was the seizure of property - anything from chattels to land - followed after fifteen days by its sale at auction. The debtor, who could redeem his property during this term, had to meet the expenses of distraint and eventual sale, calculated on a sliding scale according to the distance and work involved.

The appointment of dadie collectors by the Comune led to the emergence of a second Camera dei Pegni. In the 1460s the terms of contract, besides allowing the collector a 5% cut on late payment (effective fifteen days after the end of the current two-month period of collection), gave him his own Massaro with similar rules of conduct to those for the other Camera, which now dealt with private debts only. In 1478 the nomination of the dadie Massaro passed from private agreement between the collector and

deputati ad utilia to join the offices annually elected in the Council, with the two Camere distinguished by the titles Magna (private debt) and Parva (tax debt).[600]

Venetian authority constituted another source of levying orders. The local Camera Fiscale had dealt right from the start with the sale of confiscated property, handling the former Carrara estates; it was often concerned with the extraction of moneys from dazio contractors or dadia collectors, and their guarantors, or enforcing the rights of dazieri, but it also became involved in distraint against individuals owing dadie.[601] It housed the special officials sent by Venice to raise moneys for the Camera's flagging yields or gather arrears, and this too involved forced levying. Venetian authority might also intervene directly from the capital - the Provveditori sopra le Camere or Savi alle Cazude - through distraint of property whose owners owed taxes with either capital or province.[602]

By the end of the century the Paduan institutions had lost ground to their Venetian counterparts, and were subject to admonition and correction of irregularities in their conduct - though there was no risk of their extinction through lack of business. After the Avogadori had rebuked the Camera dei Pegni in 1488, the city Captain proceeded in 1503 to disentangle the two Paduan Camere, whose division between fiscal and private debt had lapsed from observance, with the consequence that they competed for business and the favour of public officials effecting seizures, and applied the briefer procedure of holding and sale proper to distraint for tax debt, to all their operations indiscriminately.[603]

These were the central institutions which issued the orders for distraint and auctioned debtors' assets; but it was the activity of the subordinate officials on whom they relied for the execution of their orders that gave rise to the abuse and exploitation that weighed so heavily on the countryside. Extortion by debt-levying officials and vain attempts to regulate their conduct reveal the system of earnings by commission and expenses at its

very worst.

An ample selection of minor officials more or less concerned with law enforcement contested the right to effect distraint orders. The Commune's commandadori complained in 1470 at their loss of work in this sphere to the Rettori's cavallari, to the Venetian-appointed night guards, the officials of the local Salt Office, of the bishop and the wool guild - and they could also have mentioned the Capitano del Devedo.[604] Public officials, and others too, were eager to profit from the opportunities for gain that distraint offered; successive orders added to the statutory provisions regulating their conduct, but admitted that these '... satellites aluntur ex calamitatibus et sanguine pauperum.'[605]

The Captain of the city in 1469 issued revised rules for the levying of debts due to the Camera Fiscale, which became a point of reference for subsequent rulings. Distraint was to be entrusted to bona fide officials - cavallari, night guards, Capitani del Devedo - with financial guarantees given for their and their subordinates' conduct; levying orders were to be valid for a restricted term, and one journey only; gains were to respect the statutory norms.[606] But only four years later complaints to the Signoria by these bona fide officials again denounced abuses, in much the same terms as in 1470; they claimed that improperly authorized persons were involved - '... dentur extracta debitorum personis extraneis pro benefitiandis eis'.[607]

More than consideration for the indebted, this latter incident was inspired by self-interest - and authority's response also contained a threat and a reminder about abusive gains. Levying from debtors of the fisc increased rather than diminished through the half-century before Agnadello, especially as the Padovano encountered growing difficulties in tax payment; and the deputation of levying rights was even a recognized means of satisfying the state's creditors.[608] With distraint an essential element of tax collection, the Signoria's policy was to regulate its functioning, following criteria which in the province of Padua favoured the passage of responsibility to officials subject to

Venetian authority. The balance in executive competence therefore swung away from the Commune's commandadori, just as the commissioning of distraint for the fisc increasingly came from the Venetian Camera Fiscale, and the dadie collector's business was entrusted more and more to the Rettori's underlings, till in 1509 the Signoria finally insisted that he use only them.[609]

It is to be doubted whether this policy improved either the financial yield of levying or the conduct of officials. The Avogadori in 1488 rebuked the officials of Venetian appointment for breaking the Senate's standing rules, by which expenses were conditional on, and proportional to, the consignment of seized assets; and they also forbade the purchase by officials of levying slips from collectors.[610] There were instances of disciplinary action, but later reforming orders - for example those of the special Provveditore Giovanni Battista Bonzi in 1500 - reveal the persistence of the same abuses;[611] three years after Bonzi the city Captain and Podestà issued a long proclamation - but in 1509 the story was still of seizures sold to meet expenses, without paying off the debt.[612]

A further demonstration of the balance of effective control in forced levying was the Signoria's deliberate over-riding of Paduan statute law in the conditions of sale of property auctioned by the Camera Fiscale. First the rights of relatives and neighbours of the dispossessed were disregarded, then those of the owners of property conceded by livello and seized for sale: Venetian priority was for quick disposal of the assets seized, and untrammelled conditions of purchase for prospective purchasers. Protests by the Council between 1486 and 1488 could not prevent this practice, but served to prevent its further application.[613] Assisted by these forthright conditions of sale, the Camera's auctions appear to have succeeded in attracting buyers, (notably among those involved in fiscal administration),[614] and local prejudice or pressure could be met by the withdrawal of property from sale, to be bought in by the Signoria or transferred for sale to the capital.[615]

The function of all this machinery was to transmit the

pressure necessary to combat delay and deficit in the working of the financial system - and to complete what was effectively a full cycle of shortcomings. The Paduan Camera's creditors pressed its staff to speed receipts, and might replace them in direct dealings with tax contractors and collectors; these last, assisted by the Camera's staff and the whole apparatus of forced levying, pressed their demands on the tax-payers. The inefficiency and accumulated wastage of the fiscal system therefore weighed on the individual contributor - and needless to say it was the Padovano that suffered most.

Venetian attention at this time to the effects of forced levying on the countryside and its economy demonstrates the importance of the problem - but the successive attempts to regulate its impact reveal the persistence of damage rather than its eradication. A Senate law of 2 December 1458 for the protection of draught animals against distraint for public or private debt was expanded in 1461 to include the tools and instruments of agriculture - and both measures were repeated in a ducale of 1467.[616] In 1468 the distretti of Montagnana and Teolo obtained an order protecting their horses against seizure, as draught animals, and it was repeated at Teolo's request in 1475.[617] The very repetition of these orders, and glimpses of occasional seizures referred to in the records, suggest that the rules were at best partially enforced.[618]

The consequences of distraint worried even the city Council, which in 1477 claimed that the peasants slept on straw and ate 'erbe', harassed by officials levying arrears of the dazio dei carri e bowcadego; and in the 1480s it complained at officials' expenses in levying, which amounted to the capital value of the tax to pay off, but did not serve to diminish it.[619] Against the high incidence of distraint,[620] it could prove extremely difficult to find assets to seize. Land in peasant ownership was anyway scarce, and distraint followed by sale may have assisted its diminution; chattels were an alternative of limited value, and as a consequence forced levying tended to resort to wider sharing of

the responsibility for tax debt - a practice apparently acceptable to the Council, which was indifferent to the reduction of the rural population to subsistence level, but worried at the consequences of any further turn of the screw.

In 1464 a distrettuale successfully petitioned the Signoria not to be held liable for his village's debts contracted when he had not been degano, or stood surety for them - conditional freedom, since the office of degano was held in obligatory rotation; but/a ducale of 1470 had allowed collection from any inhabitant, then as the Council pointed out in 1474, seeking its application to the dadie, as well as the dazio dei carri e boccadego.[621] Later documents attest the seeking of special exemption from liability for others' debt - given to Jacomo Trivisan of Murano, who in 1482 brought in new labour to work his lands in the tax-stricken village of Treniguon;[622] in other cases it was given but then withdrawn - though the possible gain in tax returns against the likely effect on the population level and cultivation of the village concerned must have made this a dubious long-term policy.[623] A similar course for levying officials was to impound communal property - but simpler still was to arrest villagers and hold them in gaol till payment was forthcoming. The Council had its doubts over the viability of this practice, since indifferent or impoverished villages might let their men die in prison; but the terms of the sub-contracting of the dazio dei carri e boccadego in 1498 demand punctual payment in graphic terms - in ready money, pledges, or '... cum hominibus idoneis comunium carceratis'.[624]

Insofar as distrettuali were able to react to fiscal demands, they resented them but were in practice unable to resist them. Their principal contact with city government was through the presence of officials who journeyed through the territorio, living off it as by right. Laws and institutions oppressed them, giving little protection or relief except what was necessary for their subsistence. The Signoria made occasional gestures of placation, but was fully committed to a fiscal system essential to its needs; that its more odious aspects could be blamed on

the municipal administration in Padua, as executor, and old enemy of the territorio on fiscal issues, was a political point gained, but a false perspective.[625]

The high percentage of dadie paid late were by no means all those of the territorio.[626] There are many signs, in fact, of the reluctance of wealthy citizens with political standing to pay tax punctually - besides their propensity for evasion in declaration. The man of means was on stronger ground, disposing of legal knowledge and the resources of the courts in a way that distrettuali did not; and compared to the seizure of household goods from peasants, the confiscation and sale of property - houses or land - closely bound by dowry rights or entailment to a family of substance, was a complicated procedure.[627] It was easier to levy from the poor than the rich: the Collegio's private instructions to Clemente Theoldini, touring the provinces in 1492, stated that the collectors '... a districtualibus et pauperibus exigunt, et a civibus potentibus et divitibus exigere non curant'.[628] There was in fact an attempt by the Council, begun in 1499 in the wake of Venice's purge and prosecution of tax officials, to sift through the lists of 'debitori busi', or unleviable debtors, which the dadie collectors presented with their accounts. This labelling, which absolved the collectors of responsibility for levying from the tax-payers named (and inevitably spread their share over the other contributors), was an obvious occasion for fraudulent evasion of payment. The Council's inquiry proved to be a '... cossa laboriosa et quodammodo un chaos' - and seems to have achieved little; the practice remained, to shield later generations of evading rich and stir up occasional controversy.[629]

There were other sanctions against men of position slow to pay their taxes, in both Padua and Venice. In the capital, one of the cardinal points of election procedure was the exclusion from candidature of nobles listed as tax debtors, and a special list was kept for this purpose at the palace; the Paduan statutes banned tax debtors from public office in like fashion.[630] But

neither a sharp reminder from Venice in 1488, demanding the laws' application, nor the pious addition in 1500 of debtors of the Monte di Pietà to the category of the excluded, suggests that the rules were strictly observed.[631] The interpretation applied in practice appears to have been a highly restricted one, whereby candidates were excluded from an election to an office if they had outstanding accounts to settle from a previous tenure.[632] So, despite the existence of an apparatus like the Florentine specchio, many leading citizens were able to remain in public life paying tax reluctantly and late, if at all - and much the same was true in Venice, too.[633]

It is obvious that both the mechanisms themselves of forced levying, and the reluctance to pay tax against which they were - rather selectively - applied, constituted a very powerful braking influence on dadie collection: the Commune's collector was virtually bound not to satisfy the Camera Fiscale. It is also clear that in the intermittent conflict between Council and Signoria over the efficiency of collection, the issues at stake were not only the Commune's right to autonomous administration of the dadie, but the determination of the political class not to be driven by the Signoria to more efficient or honest practice in their own payment of tax, nor to concede ground on the various fiscal issues in contention with or before the Signoria. The conflict over dadie collection was therefore a more general one, indicative of both the worsening humour of Padua's political class and the gradually narrowing limits of Venetian patience.

Signs of strained relations over tax appeared during the 1470s, largely due to the extraordinary taxation imposed by Venice - and the Council's reluctance to pay it. A minor issue already in contention since 1463, but a sure irritant, was the attempted application to offices named by the Commune of the (Venetian) tax on public office's salaries and gains, a tax unwillingly paid by Venetians themselves.[634] After ten years' exchange of petitions, protests and orders between Padua and Venice,

all except the Commune's Chancellor and its Vicars in the Padovano had apparently been cleared of obligation to pay;[635] further protests from the Council finally obtained the Chancellor's exemption in 1488, but continued to fall on deaf ears where the Vicariates were concerned, (though it is to be doubted, from the tone of Venetian demands, whether much was ever paid on this account).[636]

The extraordinary tax of the 1470s began, quietly enough, with the contribution of 6,000 bushels of wheat and pay for one hundred infantrymen, as part of the Signoria's attempt to save Negroponte from Turkish attack.[637] Then in December 1472 there came a two-year subsidy, to total a tenth of incomes and be levied from those with ratings of over ten soldi in the city and territorio's estimi, (the clergy paid extra decime); the Council accepted with apparent goodwill, though a dispute arose with the Padovano over the D. 12,000 advance requested by Venice, and another with the campagna.[638] In January 1475, however, the Council in two successive meetings refused a second subsidy, fearing the institution of a regular tax, and only assented unwillingly in a third meeting, convened unusually in the Podestà's palace, faced with the Signoria's threat to appoint Venetian collectors if it named none of its own.[639] Payment of both subsidies was most reluctant, and the Signoria deputed a ducal secretary to oversee their collection.[640] In 1478 the last demand for extra tax was differently presented, as a levy on landowners to finance the arming and pay of the militia called out to defend Friuli; Padua's acceptance was again reluctant, since this was normally part of the territorio's extra taxes - and in fact it had to fight off claims by the Padovano in 1482 for contributions to militia finance in the War of Ferrara, based on this precedent.[641]

Over the same span of years as these clashes of will on extraordinary taxation, the collection of ordinary direct tax was running into considerable difficulties, principally over the Padovano's share. In 1477 the territorio's arrears of the dazio dei carri e boccadego (to all intents and purposes a direct tax) were running at L.55,000, nearly one and a half times a year's

total; this was a sufficiently grave situation to threaten the desertion of some villages, and Venetian consent was requested to slow the pace of collection.[642] Partial computations some months later revealed that 'impotent' communes of the territorio owed nearly L. 20,000 of dadie arrears - for which they were given a stay of execution till the harvest of 1478.[643] Much of the indebtedness was concentrated in the Vicariates of Teolo and Arquà, in the Euganean Hills, where weather damage or other misfortune during these years had tipped the balance against survival, and prompted many villages to petition for tax relief.[644] The evidence suggests that forced levying was growing harsher;[645] and grave epidemics of plague in 1478 and 1485 occurred before and after the War Of Ferrara, which brought heavy military dues and material damage as its consequences.[646]

Despite these difficulties, it was a time of pressure on the collectors by the Signoria; reaction in Venice to the deficit of public spending apparent in the later stages of the Turkish War was to put pressure on the Camere's sources of income. With the war still in progress the Ten ordered the Paduan collector of dadie to be replaced;[647] a ducale of January 1479 demanded that the collectors of both dadie and dazio dei carri maintain punctilious daily registration of their receipts, weekly payments to the Camera, and present monthly accounts.[648] Special financial officials visiting the Camera included the levying of dadie arrears among their duties, both Contarini in 1479 and Zorzi in 1481.[649] Methodical investigation by Contarini in 1484 revealed dadie arrears totalling over L. 60,000 - L. 10,719 19 s. due from Antonio Pizacomin who had ceased official tenure in 1477, and L. 24,422 4 s. from Giovanni Barisono, who at the end of his tenure in 1481 had owed L 104,000 - virtually a year's dadie.[650]

The reforming ordinances that followed these discoveries aimed to avoid the repetition of arrears' accumulation by increasing the powers in collection of the Camera, which was to take over the levying of unpaid dazio dei carri e boccadego and dadie - so threatening the Commune's source of income from fines

accompanying the latter. The dadie collector was to be changed after every two-year term, and during tenure was to settle up for each two-month period of tax by the eighth day of the following month, paying over L. 8,000 or else incurring a fine.[651]

The Paduan Council was indignant at the proposed changes, and objected that there was much poverty, insufficient means to levy - and dadie were anyway paid during the third month.[652] In mitigation the Collegio ruled that fines be imposed only for witholding moneys levied, and that the collectors and Camera work together against late payers, sharing the gains.[653] But with a shortage of public money and the Paduan Camera under considerable pressure, the sterner measures were partially enforced: the Camerlenghi fined the collectors, and the Provveditore sopra le Camere Gerolamo Bon proceeded to vigorous levying against the former collectors, who had been given terms to pay.[654] The current dadie collector therefore resigned, and after a little difficulty a successor was found in Fabiano de' Fabiani, son of the Ruziero who had enjoyed the Signoria's favour as collector in the 1460s - a sound choice politically, since in 1487 he succeeded in obtaining a ducale recommending his re-election, despite the rule laid down in 1484.[655]

Significantly, the Council found other grounds at this time on which to criticize or oppose the Signoria over fiscal matters: tax-paying by Venetians, the growing weight on the Padovano of corvées and military taxe[656] but there had also been a confrontation over the Signoria's policy in granting exemptions, as a result of the damage caused to the south-west Padovano in the War of Ferrara, with the Paduan Council blaming poor dadie returns on the effects of exemption.

The successful petitioners included influential and rich landowners - the knight Francesco Dotto, various members of the Conti family, Albertin Guidotto (a rich distrettuale), as well as inhabitants of Este, Venetian citizens with property in the area, and the communes of Castelbaldo, Piacenza and Masi.[657] Their grants specified exemption from 'real' and 'personal' fiscal

obligations - therefore from the *dadie*, against the terms of the *Signoria*'s undertakings of 1477 and 1482[658] and so the re-distribution of their tax among other contributors. The immediate reaction in Padua to the Dotto exemption was a Council meeting called by the *deputati ad utilia*, which forbade the family to accept it - they had great wealth in the area, and re-distribution was out of the question.[659] But the anger apparent must surely have had other causes: the Council itself granted *dadie* reductions or exemptions of similar duration to needy (or favoured) citizens, and was indignant because the regulation of the city *estimo* by the Commune had been undermined by this recourse to Venice.[660] In January 1484 the Council demanded that the exemptions be 'real' only if the overall *dadie* total were correspondingly decreased - and the Senate answered with a temporary ruling that all recent grants, including those to the Euganei villages, be considered 'personal' only, also revoking concessions to Paduan citizens with large families, in what was clearly a placatory decision.[661] The final decision on the 'real' exemptions was deferred, but the subsequent noting of sums credited by the *Camera* in the *dadie* collectors' accounts for various of the exempt reveals that the *Signoria*, exceptionally, allowed some diminution of the tax totals, perhaps considering itself responsible for the initial damage in time of warfare.[662]

The Paduan Council's combative mood did not serve to improve the administration of the *dadie*, though it seems to have made the *Signoria* varier in its use of reproof. In 1488 the collector of three years earlier still owed L. 22,000, though levying between 1485 and 1490 apparently raised D. 6,000...[663] Fresh arrears were accumulating, and the *Camera* barely functioning, when the *Avogadori* were sent on tour in 1488; their detailed regulations for the conduct of *Camera* and collectors repeated the essential points of the 1484 reforms.[664] The manifest weaknesses of the Venetian side of provincial fiscal administration, as well as some degree of caution on political grounds, prevented a crisis in relations over the *dadie*: besides the re-issue of

standing regulations, the current collectors of the dadie and dazio dei carri were subjected to admonishment in Venice by the Signoria - but nothing more.[665]

Yet the Padovano's ability to pay tax showed signs of further deterioration in the years that followed. The agreement with the city of 1488-89 came at a time when the Council had to ask for Venetian patience with rural tax receipts and collection of arrears.[666] Corvées were increased by the work on the new Brenta, which was itself a source of damage.[667] The Italian Wars brought a higher frequency of troop movements, and calls on the services of militia and pioneers. Climactic conditions, dearth and plague combined to ill effect.[668] By 1501 the Padovano's dadie had been levied incomplete for a number of years, and the Council asked Venice to decide on the question of 'impotent' villages, overcome by debt;[669] and though it came to terms with the territorio in 1504, offering guarantees against delayed collection,[670] the problem of arrears remained to trouble both the distrettuali and the collectors obliged to pay the Camera.[671]

For this and other reasons, the Camera's performance in the aftermath of the Avogadori's visit had been less than satisfactory.[672] Fabiano de' Fabiani, the favoured candidate of the Signoria, held a virtual monopoly of dadie collection, withdrawing for 1492-93 but returning as the only candidate when Niccolo Vitaliani encountered difficulties.[673] A heated debate over the arrival of a ducale in Fabiani's favour in 1489 saw objections to his permanence in the post over-ruled by the consideration that the Signoria '... potuisset unico verbo hoc (his re-election) fieri facere'.[674] Not only fear of offending Venice, but hope that he could best moderate the stringent schedule of collection and payment demanded in 1484, made Fabiani the Council's choice; but he depended on the flexibility, or laxness, of local Venetian officials, and it was inevitable that in the general purge of 1498, with war spending testing Venice's resources, his head should roll with those of the Camera officials.[675]

Andrea Zanchani alleged against Fabiani that he owed L. 130,000, besides the fines due for late payment by the terms of the 1484 schedule; the Council might claim that this '... mai fo in oservancia' - but temporarily, at least, the tacit acceptance of delayed receipts (convenient to the dilatory paying of wealthy citizens) was suspended; 'dexteritas et humanitas' were discarded.[676] In the autumn of the same year Antonio Roberti, long Fabiani's counterpart in the dazio dei carri e boccadego, faced the same destiny at the hands of the touring Provveditore Gerolamo Cappello.[677]

It proved difficult to replace Fabiani, especially when the man elected in his place retired after a year, unable to pay a regular L. 8,000 a month to the Camera; but eventually a successor was found, and we cannot but suppose that the Signoria's demands were blunted by the embarrassing conviction of a former Camerlengo in 1499, guilty of swindling both Fabiani and Niccolo Vitaliani.[678] It was also important to secure Padua's co-operation in the imposition of extraordinary taxation, which the Signoria's military commitments absolutely required.

In July 1499 the city Council accepted '... libenti et jocundo animo' its D. 10,000 share of a D. 58,000 subsidy levied on the whole terraferma - though in Venice the diarist Priuli doubted the sincerity of its welcome, in Padua and Vicenza especially, a judgement justified by the Council's anger in discovering that the city alone, without the territorio, was to pay.[679] Though the decision stood against protest, collection was extremely slow, despite persuasion from Venice, which had to entrust it to the Rettori and then to a touring Provveditore.[680] Late in 1499 the Signoria came out with another proposal to increase revenue, by auctioning the contract of the dazio dei carri e boccadego, against the terms agreed in 1443; but strong opposition from both the Paduan Council and the distretti of the Padovano induced the Ten to rule in favour of custom.[681]

Events therefore bode ill for further tax demands; but these proved unavoidable, and the Signoria thought to apply a measure already in force in Venice, ordering a one third increase in the

terraferma dazi. Amid the resulting protests, the Senate reluctantly withdrew the increase,[682] and immediately replaced it by the campatico, a once-only tax on the ownership or tenure of land, at the basic rate of five soldi per campo of arable.[683] Reactions were immediately and emphatically unfavourable: the Paduan Council ordered a massive delegation of protest to Venice, which the Senate attempted unsuccessfully to head off, and Paduan representatives pleaded the city's poverty before the Signoria, to be echoed by spokesmen of the other provinces.[684] The Council moderated its briefings, requesting its envoys to press for a reduced rate, but the Senate refused, albeit politely, and Padua formally accepted this decision.[685] Payment of the tax, in Padua and elsewhere, showed the continuing defiance of the subject cities: persuasion failed to obtain significant receipts, and collection, from being the overall responsibility of the local Camere and Rettori, passed into the hands of special Provveditori in December 1501, so fully excluding the Paduan Commune from its customary responsibility for the collection of direct tax, which in this case - not surprisingly - proceeded slowly.[686]

Though the need for extra direct tax receded, pressure on the Paduan Camera's ordinary revenues remained, growing more intense through the last years before Agnadello[687] - and the problems of dadie collection remained, too. The crisis and allegations of 1498 had prompted the Commune to try and bring order to the conduct of collectors, through renewed attention to their accounts, and the investigation of 'debitori busi', as well as an attempt to speed up auditing and the levying of arrears.[688] But the effect was negligible: collectors' dealings were principally with the Camera Fiscale, they were answerable first to Venice, and Venice specified the rules for payment, as well as deciding the permissible margin of inefficiency and shortfall.

Such a margin had been operative again, with the Camera accepting - in lieu of the monthly total of L. 8,000 in ready money - part money and part debtors transferred to its charge, (a further step towards the Camera's take-over of the procedures

collection). But in August 1502 the current collector complained of renewed pressure for a full payment of L. 8,000; a replacement was found with some difficulty, while the Signoria chided Padua's representatives in the capital for the poor level of receipts, and intercession from the city Rettori saved the serving collector from arrest.[689]

The collector finally found for 1503-04 was Piero Zacho, and the contrasting accounts kept by the Camerlenghi and by Pitigliano's representative of his payments reveal a steady and considerable accumulation of arrears - as well as their concealment by the Camerlenghi.[690] By the official records, Zacho paid over L. 4,200 once amonth between March 1503 and February 1505, with only one occurrence of late payment (December 1503's money came two months late, at a time of plague and shortages); but these regular entries, towards the end of every month, are in themselves suspicious, especially since one payment on Zacho's behalf (L. 3,100 in May 1503) was made by the general's representative, the Paduan Roberto Trapolin, to fill Zacho's monthly quota only four days after Trapolin's receipt of L. 4,200 on Pitigliano's behalf. Trapolin's own accounts show how little of the L. 100,800 due from Zacho over the two years was paid punctually: against the cumulative total from the Camerlenghi's records of L. 37,800 by November 1503, Zachó had paid L. 22,500; in May 1504 the gap was L. 23,500, in November 1504 over L. 30,000, and down to L. 28,000 by the end of Zacho's tenure in February 1505. A further year's work, of late collection, had reduced arrears to some L. 16,000 in March 1506.

These payments were presumably those to which Zacho gave first priority, since Pitigliano was the Camera's most important payee - but his secretary's complaint to the Senate was made, not surprisingly, in January 1504;[691] and two months later the Signoria questioned the Paduan Camera's scribes over arrears in Pitigliano's pay, and wrote to the city Captain demanding remedial action.[692] By the end of Zacho's payments in February 1505, he

had - even in the Camerlenghi's optimistic reckoning - paid over some L. 186,000, marginally below the target figure of L. 8,000 a month. Various candidates elected to succeed him refused, including Roberto Trapolin; interim charge of collection had to be given to the Commune's Quaderniere, Alvise de' Fabiani, and the Council pressed for a L. 7,000, then a L. 7,500 monthly total, with the balance to be paid at the end of the term.[693] With the Paduan Camera performing poorly, the Senate in November 1505 considered various solutions to the problem, but finally decided to stand by the L. 8,000 monthly figure, and held to this opinion in August the following year, while the Paduan Council, temporarily deluded over the interpretation of the ruling, again failed repeatedly in its elections of collectors.[694]

Deadlock in this confrontation was broken in September 1506 by a peremptory Venetian order to find a collector or else lose the right to administer collection; the result was the election of the wealthy Antonio Capodivacca, with the condition of an initial loan from the Commune to assist him.[695] Defeat for the Paduan Council was made more bitter by rising tax rates: in 1505 dadie were levied in the city at L. 7 10s. per Lira of estimo (the rate current till then), in 1506 at L. 7 14 s., in 1507 at L. 8 14 s., and in 1508 at L. 9 9 s.[696] This was not connected with extra tax imposed by Venice; significantly, despite the urgency of military activity in 1508 and 1509, no extraordinary taxation was imposed in Padua or the rest of the terraferma. Despite the absence of the Council records for 1507-09, it is possible to discover the cause of the increases; though some must have covered the cost of loans to collectors - the new collector in 1509 required D. 1,000, two and a half times what Capodivacca had sought - part was due to an increase in the base rate, decided in 1506 and perhaps later supplemented, and part due to the payment of arrears to Pitigliano.[697] Coinciding with alarms of a general re-distribution of dadie shares, these considerable extra demands must indeed have been resented.[698]

Confrontation over the problems of direct taxation was therefore at its sharpest on the eve of Venetian crisis in 1509. The problems themselves were perennial ones, manifest before this particular political storm, and destined to continue through all the centuries of Venetian rule of the province. They began with the economic and fiscal oppression of the territorio which privileged and shielded the city; Paduans and Venetians alike considered this the natural order of things. Mass recourse to forced levying was therefore inevitable, so that the unwilling payment of the wealthy was compounded by inefficient and exploitative collection from the poor. Administrative reforms were bound to tackle superficial problems if the principles of privilege, exemption and pursuit of individual interest went unchallenged. Poor administration owed something to dishonesty and lax standards, in Paduans and Venetians alike - though the Signoria attempted to solve administrative difficulties by promoting the passage of powers to Venetian officials, and control to the Councils of state. Though this did not constitute an infringement of the terms of the Bolla d'Oro, which dealt briefly and vaguely with fiscal matters, the trend was resented in Padua. Fears for the loss of autonomy, in the limited areas remaining, were channelled into the controversy over the dadie, and the hostility shown to extra direct taxation, which at the turn of the century appeared to be aimed solely at the city, in the restriction to Padua of the 1499 subsidy, and the formulation of the campatico as a tax on the possession of land.

Coming at a time of poor harvests, doubled direct taxation seemed unbearable - and Padua suspected the Signoria of demanding more from it than from other provinces.[699] Already in 1495 a Ferrarese chronicler - not the most impartial of sources - had reported that '... paduani et veronesi suoi (Venice's) subditi desiderano de guerra, per starli mal voluntiera subditi, et per da loro despicarse per tante gravezze

li danno'.[700] Then the prosecution of Fabiano de' Fabiani in 1498 came as a rude warning. The Council's attitude in his support was less concerned with belief in his honesty, or the technical question of the proper authority to investigate his conduct, than with expressing its accumulated exasperation over Venetian pressure and interference in the organization andcollection of direct taxation. Its first reaction in Fabiani's defence had been to invoke the Bolla d'Oro before the Capi of the Ten, and when they refused to prevent his arrest, it decided to question the value of the privilege itself, and by implication the terms of Venetian rule of the city. Its representatives in the capital were briefed to speak of the '... sinceram et svisceratam fidem huius fidelissimi populi parati subire mille mortes pro illo felicissimo statu et imperio'. They should argue that the Bolla d'Oro was the '... thesaurus immaculate fidei promisse' to Padua, '... quo stante felix et contentus vixit hic populus'. If the Signoria refused to remove Fabiani to the competence of a Paduan court, they were to hand over the document of the Bolla d'Oro and request a '... novum vivendi modum, ut sciamus quonam pacto vivendum et morendum sit, et quibus legibus deinceps hec civitas se possit gubernare'.[701]

The Signoria may have been surprised by the vehemence of Paduan protest, and unwilling to allow relations with the Council to deteriorate, and some compromise resulted: Fabiani does not appear to have been formally condemned in the Venetian criminal courts. But Padua kept the Bolla d'Oro, while demands and threats over the collection of direct taxation intensified. Paduan anger was rhetorical - up to a point; the phrasing of protest against the campatico had a dangerous ring to it, contrasting Venice's supposed foundation by Padua with Padua's present subjection to its former colony in a tone of anger at humiliation.[702]

The common social assumptions of the Venetian patriciate

and Paduan nobility, which countenanced fiscal oppression of the countryside, were of marginal significance beside the raw question of dominion by the one over the other, and the Signoria's power to impose its will on the Council over fiscal issues. The gestures almost customary at the overthrow of a regime therefore had considerably more than ordinary importance in 'republican' or 'Imperial' Padua in 1509: all but one of the dazi were removed, and the dadia delle lanze was abolished, its books consigned to the flames.[703]

I. See P. SAVIOLO Compendio delle Origini et Relazione degli Estimi della Città di Padova, Padua I667; A. GLORIA Dell'Agricoltura nel Padovano Leggi e Cenni Storici, Padua I855, esp. vol. III (containing transcriptions of legislative and administrative documents); A. PINO BRANCA Il Comune cit., vol. XCIII (dealing mainly with the fiscal structure of the earlier I5th century); idem "L'Esecuzione Forzata per Debiti d'Imposta nella Legislazione Finanziaria Padovana" in B.M.C.P. n.s. IX, I933; L. BRIGUGLIO "Estimi Padovani nell'Archivio di Stato di Padova" in Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato, XXI I96I. Of limited use is M. BENETTON Accenni Storici sui Dazi di Consumo Riscossi in Padova nel Dominio della Repubblica Veneta, Treviso I9IO. Valuable documentary information is provided by the summary of the Paduan exchequer's annual accounts included in the Relazione... Agostino da Mula cit. (above n. 59 n. 23) of I533. Useful for comparison with Padua is the material published on Verona, most recently P. PRETO "Il Regime Fiscale e la Dogana in Epoca Veneta in Rapporto all'Adige" in Una Città e il Suo Fiume, Verona I977. Cfr. A.TAGLIAFERRI L'Economia Veronese Secondo gli Estimi dal I409 al I635, Milan I966; C. MONTANARI "Il Censo Stabile delle Provincie ex-Venete" in Atti Accad. Veronese... serie I,29 (I853); G. GIULIARI Documenti dell'Antico Dialetto Veronese I33I-I475, Verona I879 (pp.4-I2: Relazione del Provveditore... Gian Francesco Cipolla...); and LAW The Commune of Verona cit., esp. chs. 7 and 8. Further studies are cited in the notes that follow.

2. The only sizeable contribution of printed source material is Bilanci Generali della Repubblica di Venezia, vol. I t. I, Venice I9I2, with its introduction by F. BESTA. The available studies of finance are of limited scope, or else superficial: see e.g. A.STELLA "Notizie Generali intorno ai Dazi ed alle Gravezze della Terraferma sotto la Repubblica Veneta" in Annali del R. Istituto Tecnico e Nautico di Napoli, Naples I897; ed. T. FATTOROSI, E. CONFORTI Magistrature Contabili e di Controllo della Repubblica di Venezia dalle Origini al I797, Ministero del Tesoro, Rome, I950. The general histories of Venice, in particular the more recent works of CESSI and LANE, offer little more than scattered information and comment. For the terraferma, see the few but pointed pages in VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo, esp. pp. 405-I0. Studies of related disciplines offer partial comment: see e.g. G. LUZZATTO Storia Economica di Venezia dall'XI al XVI Secolo, Venice I96I, and the reference books of Venetian constitutional history, E. BESTA Il Senato Veneziano, esp. p. I57, and G. MARANINI La Costituzione, esp. vol. II pp. I5I ff. There are detailed studies dealing with earlier or later periods than the I5th century, or focussed on single aspects of Venetian public finance: see e.g. R.CESSI (introduction to) "La Regolazione delle Entrate e del

2. (cont.) Spese (sec. XIII-XIV)' in Documenti Finanziari della Rep. di Venezia, serie I, vol. II, parte I (Reale Accademia dei Lincei), Padua I925; F. LANE 'The Funded Debt of the Venetian Republic, I262-I482' in Venice and History - the Collected Papers of Federic C. Lane, Baltimore I966; idem 'Venetian Bankers I496-I533', also in Venice and History; G. LUZZATO 'Il Debito Pubblico nel Sistema Finanziario Veneziano dek Secoli XIII-XV' in Nuova Rivista Storica, I929; idem 'I Prestiti della Repubblica di Venezia' in Documenti Finanziari della Rep. di Venezia, serie III; vol. II (Padua I929); A. STELLA 'La regolazione delle Pubbliche Entrate e la Crisi Politica Veneziana del I582' in Miscellanea in Onore di Roberto Cessi, vol. II (Rome I958).

3. See C. De La RONCIERE 'Indirect Taxes or "Gabelles" at Florence in the Fourteenth Century' in ed. N. RUBINSTEIN Florentine Studies - Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence, London I968; M. BECKER 'The Florentine Territorial State and Civic Humanism in the Early Renaissance' in ed. RUBINSTEIN Op. cit.; A. MOLHO Florentine Public Finances in the Early Renaissance, I400-I433, Cambridge (Mass.) I97I; L. MARKS 'The Financial Oligarchy in Florence under Lorenzo' in ed. E.JACOB Italian Renaissance Studies, London I960; idem 'La Crisi Finanziaria a Firenze dal I494 al I502' in A.S.I. cxli, I954. A survey of more general character is D. HERLIHY 'Direct and Indirect Taxation in Tuscan Urban Finance' in Finances et Comptabilité Urbaines du XIII^{e} au XVI^{e} Siècle, Brussels I964 (Acts of the Colloque International, Blankenberge, 6-9 Sept. I962); and further bibliography may be found in the works quoted here.

4. For limits of space and argument, this study takes no account of Venices's fiscal policy towards the mar holdings, though comparisons would be of obvious value. The theme is little more than hinted at in CESSI's and LANE's outline histories of Venice, though both mention the importance of tax among the causes of Crete's revolt against the Signoria in I364 (LANE Venice pp. I83 ff., CESSI Storia I, pp. 323 ff.). The specialist studies are those of F.THIRIET and D.JAKOBY, for various aspects of the stato da mar's history, but see too P.PRETO Venezia e i Turchi cit.pp. I63 ff., which discusses the passage of Venice's mar subjects to Turkish rule and religion as renegades, and attitudes to Turkish rule, with passing reference to fiscal questions.

* 3. (cont.) The lengthy study of D.HERLIHY and C.KLAPISCH-ZUBER, Les Toscans et leurs familles - Une Etude du Catasto Florentin de 1427, (Paris 1978), appeared too late to be used in the preparation of this study.

5. CESSI Storia II, p. 19.
6. M.BECKER 'Some Common Features of Italian Urban Experience (c. 1200-1500)' in Medievalia et Humanistica n.s. I, 1970, p. 195.
7. The introductory note on sources used (pp. 5 ff.) and Bibliography indicate what documentation is available; though limited, it puts archive-based discussion of finance on a different level of information with respect to most of the bibliography quoted above. Neither the A.S.V. nor the A.S.P. offers collected statistical data on public revenues' receipt and spending at this time, and the material in the A.S.P. concerning the Camera Fiscale is concentrated in the volumes of Ducali, consisting of scattered and inconsistently registered letters and receipts. The main fifteenth century material in the A.S.P. under Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale consists of three volumes of Atti Civili, covering the years 1491-1497, and of limited usefulness. Other documents survive from the mid-sixteenth century, but without a sign of account books. Most of the references that appear in subsequent footnotes concern hitherto unpublished material, and in the interests of brevity recognition of preceding use of archival information had been kept to a minimum.
8. See Bilanci Generali pp. 146-47, 148-150, 163-65, 171-73, (the first and the third from the Vita dei Doge).
9. LANE Venice p. 237. For further discussion of finance in his account, cfr. pp. 323-34, 426; the pages in CESSI Storia, are equally meagre, cfr. vol. II pp. 17 ff.
10. The exact division of spending between these categories obviously varied; partial information on the weight of interest repayments on the public debt is offered by LANE Venice p. 426, showing figures oscillating between D 150.000 and D.230.000 for the half century preceding 1509. For the cost of the army, cfr. the limitation, below pp. 105, 120, 126
11. See above pp. 37 ff.
12. For the organization of the dazi, see below pp. 158 ff.
13. CESSI Storia II p. 19.
14. See Bilanci Generali pp. CXLVII ff., 135 ff.
15. Idem pp. CLXXVII-CLXXVIII; for Padua in particular, see PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 1250 ff.
16. For the Venetian dazi see Bilanci Generali pp. LXXXIII ff., and pp. 181-3 (their values at auction at the end of the fifteenth century). For the terraferma dazi, Idem pp. CLXX ff.; for detailed information on Padua, cfr. Relazione ...Agostino da Mula, whose dazi totals for 1533 more or less match the scattered figures available for the later Quattrocento.
17. See Bilanci Generali pp. LXVIII ff.
18. The main dazi in Padua were those on milling, wine, meat, mercanzia, and traffic at the city gates. In Venice, with no milling tax in the fifteenth century, they were levied principally on wine, 'intrada' and 'insida' (entry and exit of goods from the city), missetaria (contracts), meat and oil. Cfr. sources quoted in n. 16 above.
19. For the development of the public debt, see LANE Venice pp. 150, 184, 196-97, 228-29, 238, 324-26, 426, as well as the detailed studies by LANE and LUZZATTO cited in n. 2 above.
20. See LUZZATTO 'I Prestiti' cit., esp. p. 630.
21. See bibliography in note 3 above; on the catasto in particular see MOLHO Florentine Public Finances esp. pp. 74-86.

22. See Bilanci Generali pp. CXC ff.
23. CESSI Storia II p. 22 notes that Venetian spending after 1447 depended on frequent borrowing from the banks, whose loan services '... si prolungarono per tutto il secolo, quanto durò il faticoso lavoro di assestamento delle finanze avanti la lega di Cambrai...' Of the banks' importance in the later fifteenth century there can be no doubt, but the 'assestamento' of state finance by Cambrai is an unsubstantiated hypothesis, at best relative. For the role of the banks see LANE 'Venetian Bankers' cit.; idem Venice pp. 329-31; CESSI Storia II pp. 22-23. Up to date discussion and further bibliography can be found in R.MUELLER 'Bank Money in Venice to the Mid Fifteenth Century', in La Moneta nell'Economia Europea, Secoli XIII-XVIII (Atti della Settima Settimana di Studio, Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "Francesco Datini", Prato, in the course of pubblication). Mueller offers interesting information on the extent of the bank's services to the state; their priority in repayment was such that the state's private creditors (he quotes a law of 1485) made a practice of transferring their credits to the banks. There is obvious ground for comparison with Florence, where deficit finance set wealthy short-term lenders on terms of preference in repayment over the mass of monte stockholders. In Florence these lenders occupied the key financial posts in government; though this was not the case in Venice, relations between government and bankers were extremely close. (Cfr. the studies by MARKS, above n.3).
24. See Bilanci Generali pp. CLXX, 218; VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo p. 407 and n. 59. The province of Padua's share of the D. 100.000 total was D. 10.300.
25. See LANE Venice pp. 324-26, a brief account of 16th century public finance, and STELLA 'La Regolazione' cit. Revenue doubled between 1500 and 1570, largely through the growth of indirect tax yields, and of the terraferma's contribution; the Rovigo camera fiscale's allocated expenditure rose from D. 4000 in 1500 to D 7800 in 1573, cfr. Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma vol. 6 VI, Rovigo, pp. XXIX-XXXII. For the immediate aftermath of Agnadello, see F.GILBERT 'Venice in the Crisis of the League of Cambrai' in ed. J.HALE Renaissance Venice, (London 1973), esp. pp. 283-85, and G.COZZI 'Authority and the Law in Renaissance Venice' (also in HALE), esp. pp. 331-32. The theme of finance is dealt with more specifically by Prof. R.FINLAY of Hartwick College, Oneonta, N.Y., in his forthcoming book The Patrician Republic: Politics and Constitution in Renaissance Venice, (chapter IV, part 1: War and Finance 1509-1517); I am much obliged to him for use of the manuscript, as well as sound advice.
26. LANE Venice, (pp. 242, 248, 348 ff., 362-64) summarizes discussion of these themes, also reporting debate among contemporary Venetians. The whole question acquired special immediacy in the months following loss of the terraferma in 1509, cfr. GILBERT 'Venice in the Crisis' cit.
27. See A.GLORIA La Bolla d'Oro nella Dedizione della Città di Padova alla Repubblica Veneta (Padua 1848), pp. 15, 32.
28. Cfr. above nn. 1 and 7. Though apparently precise on many points, the figures in the 1533 Relazione show a considerable discrepancy between income and expenditure, due to the absence of approximately half the dadia yield: the

28. (cont.) figure listed is D. 10.355, instead of D. 20,580 /15 / 15, total due from a full year's exaction. (This latter figure corresponds to the dadia total of L 136.800 - above n. 15 - less the L. 9.200 deducted by Venice in 1446 to compensate for Venetians' property which had passed off the provincial tax lists - below pp. 206-7). The cause of this omission is not our concern, and it is sufficient to note for present purposes that substitution of the first figure by the second brings the Camera's incomes little short of equal to its assigned expenditure.

29. Future reference to Paduan revenues should be understood to mean the contents of Table III, while the first three items of Table V together constitute the Camera's 'Venetian' revenues.

30. The 1533 figures included for comparison have been altered as specified above in n. 28.

31. For the term 'ordinary' and the categories of spending it embraced, see below pp. 100, 135ff. In the summaries of Venetian spending (above n. 8) the total of the Camera's local expenditure varies between D. 14,600 and D. 14,000, with the exception of the 1490 figures (D. 24.000), but this sum was probably obtained by subtracting the D. 36,000 due from the Camera for army pay from the D. 60,000 estimated gross revenues, and erroneously assuming the rest to be local expenditure. The actual total under Item 1) as presented in the Table is different from all these figures, and though it may seem unwise to dispute what little evidence there is, it should be borne in mind that authority in Venice had less than perfect knowledge and control of the Camera's local spending (cfr. below pp. 135ff). The two figures presented for Item 1) a) reflect the cut of about D. 4,250 made in 1502 (below pp. 129-30); the dimensions of these economies anyway suggest that D. 14,000 is too modest a total for Items 1)a) and 1)b) over the preceding years, and there appears to have been no significant change in the rates or overall number of salaries between 1502 and 1533. The fragmentary accounts for 1510 support this assertion (cfr. n. 33), so that Item 1)a) as reformed in 1502 should roughly match the 1533 figure, with the addition of perhaps D. 1,000 of salaries paid from the Camera to officials and guards in other provinces, an element absent in 1533, but reckoned among Padua's 'ordinary' expenditure at the end of the fifteenth century. The total of Items 1) -3) before the 1502 economies should therefore be of the order of D. 23,250; added to the D. 36,000 of military pay allocated to the Camera in 1490, with all other obligations removed (cfr. pp. 120), the result is very near the estimated D. 60,000 gross revenues in that year, and within reasonable proximity of the D. 65,500 - D. 65,600 estimates of other years (above n. 8), when Items 3) and 4) of our Table had different values....

32. The first three Items in this Table were regularly despatched to financial offices in Venice, and do not figure in the Camera's expenditure; nor are they mentioned in the 1533 accounts. The fourth occurs in the 1533 summary only as an account of expenditure for which it was used, and the main item - rewards for the capture of outlaws - is left blank, so that only D. 180 /5 /19 of administrative costs are mentioned...

33. Cfr. the lists in A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale vol. 252, (the pay-roll in 1510) and Relazione...Agostino da Mula,

33. and the description of the Rovigo Camera's personnel
(cont.) and activity in Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti, VI, Rovigo p. XVIII.

34. Cfr. below pp. 201 ff.-

35. The Podestà's time was more frequently dedicated to judicial activity, but the Captain also had military responsibilities (above pp. 30-1/39); ducali might refer to the Captain as the Governor '... cui inprimis incumbunt négotia camere...' (A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 58v 22 July 1479) but both were held responsible - '...camere istius nostre primarii estis et eam gubernare habetis...' (A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 6 11 Mar. 1485). One Podestà who wrote to the Collegio protesting that the Camera was the business of Captain and Camerlenghi was sharply contradicted, (A.S.V. Collegio Lettere Segrete reg. 5 c. 83r 9 Mar. 1485).

36. See A.S.V. Collegio Lettere Segrete reg. 5 c. 44r 24 Nov. 1484: to send sums requested '...etiam si ex vostris propriis servire nobis deberetis, sicut vos pluries fecistis..' Cfr. A.S.V. Dieci Lettere Rettori ai Capi, b. 80, 27 Dec. 1502, the Captain reported:'... me habi trasferito in camera...' adding that he would be obliged to '...sovenire cum mei danari... per non lassare questi meschini in disperatione...'; ibidem 28 July 1506 the Captain was busy in the Camera raising money to prevent '... che li officiali non fazino giotonie...'

37. Most of the fifteenth century material in A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale is of a legal nature: citation and examination of parties at law, witnesses, judgements, as well as the registration of financial guarantees offered by the Camera's debtors and public officials involved in levying. Cfr. n. 7 above.

38. Lawyers were regularly employed to defend the Camera's interests in proceedings in Venice. After a phase of temporary, single commissions (A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 162r 25 May 1474, reg. C c. 88r 18 Feb. 1484: to the Camera scribe Bartolomeo Marin, and the university law teacher Giovanni Battista Rosello), the appointment became permanent, (idem reg. E c. 72r 23 Oct. 1489 the dismissal of Francesco Businello; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 51v 23 Apr. 1494 Piero Spinelli's salary set at D. 30, with similar provision for three other Camere; in 1533 - cfr. Relazione... Agostino da Mula - two advocates were on the payroll).

39. Apart from the decisions of Venetian legislation on this matter, referred to in the discussion of systems of payment that recurs in the following pages, evidence of moneys' despatch to Venice is provided by the partially registered receipts in regg. B - G of the series A.S.P. Ducali, whose inclusion deteriorates progressively in regularity, leaving much to be inferred.

40. For the Ten's Camera see pp. 121 . What follows is taken from M.SANUDO De Magistratibus Urbis (with Idem Cronachetta, ed. R. FULIN, Venice 1880), MARANINI La Costituzione, and A.DA MOSTO L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia (Bibliothèque des Annales Institutorum vol. 5, Rome 1937-40).

41. There was no single clearing house for Venetian public incomes, since many offices in the capital collected and disbursed the moneys in their charge without passing them through the Camera del Comune, answerable for them to the checking and auditing authority of various other organs, (cfr. MARANINI op. cit. II, pp. 152-56 for the number

41. and attributes of the financial offices active in the
(cont.) capital at this time).

42. See receipts in regg. B and C of the series A.S.P. Ducali, esp. reg. C c. 87v and ff. for the War of Ferrara.

43. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 10 c. 154v-55r 18 July 1489; cfr. receipts in A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 78r - 83v.

44. Though the various financial magistracies wielded often extensive jurisdiction, it was the Avogadori who handled many legal questions arising from provincial dazi, tax exemptions and immunities, and the general administration of moneys due to the state. Cfr. rulings by the Senate over appeals competence (the Avogadori were also responsible, with the Auditori, for terraferma cases' iter towards the Venetian appeal courts): A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 64r 11 May 1476, reg. D c. 8r 3 Sept. 1476. For evidence of their investigation of the Paduan Camera's affairs, see below pp. 105 ff., 123 -

45. See above pp. 34 -

46. The official frequency of bollette was set at lower levels when moneys were extremely short, as for example during the Italian Wars - below p. 130.

47. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 31r 5 Mar. 1474, reg. 10 c. 21 27 July 1486 and c. 161v-62r 12 Sept. 1489; A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 39 c. 32v 14 July 1502, reg. 41 c. 140 24 Dec. 1508.

48. For discussion of these themes, see MALLETT Mercenaries and their Masters cit., esp. pp. 91 ff.

49. Only Brescia grossed more revenues, with D. 75,000 p.a. to Padua's D. 65,500 - followed by Verona and Treviso each with about D. 50,000, Vicenza with D. 35,500, and so on... (cfr. n. 9 above).

50. In the interests of brevity one reference must suffice for each. For Colleone see A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 77r 7 Dec. 1461; for Malatesta Idem reg. C c. 59r 4 Mar. 1480; for Sanseverino Idem reg. D c. 8r 30 June 1485; for Varano A.S.V. Diedi Misti reg. 22 c. 226r 29 Dec. 1485; for Gonzaga A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 84r 6 Dec. 1490; for Orsini Idem reg. F c. 42v 7 Dec. 1497.

51. This point is developed below, see pp. 213 ff. -

52. No attempt has been made to give a balanced account of warxfare in this and the two succeeding periods considered, nor - for obvious reasons - of sources of revenue and areas of spending not directly concerned with the terraferma Camere. Further data on the financial side (though far from complete, and thinly elaborated on an analytical level) may be found in Bilanci Generali. Much useful financial information, as well as a narrative of Venice's wars in the later fifteenth century, may be found in published form in the contemporary MALIPIERO's Annali, (more concise and approachable than the diarists PRIULI and SANUDO, whose coverage begins in the last decade of the century, and extends well beyond Cambrai). CESSI Storia di Venezia I pp. 403 ff., II pp. 32-71 gives a resumé of diplomacy and warfare over the half century. For the Turkish War of 1463-79, and further bibliography, see PRETO Venezia e i Turchi pp. 25-33.

53. See MALLETT 'Venice and its Condottieri' pp. 121-22, the ceremony of his appointment by the new Doge in 1458; Idem p. 138, considerations on his contract of 1457.

54. Despite the manoeuvring of funds in Venice, no major alteration in the Camere's routine was caused until the Republic was committed to military action in Italy, in the Romagna in 1469, when terraferma revenues were diverted via the capital and anticipated by borrowing, (see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. c. 68r, 68v:18 and 21 Aug. 1469); a resumé of Venice's Romagna policy and protectorates at this time may be found in A.BONARDI 'Venezia e Cesare Borgia', N.A.V., n.s. XX, 1910. For Colleone's pay, see the reference in n. 50 above, and A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 77v 13 July 1462, c.90v 26 Jan. 1465, c. 94r 30 may 1465, c. 95v 14 Dec. 1465, c. 97v 1 June 1466, c. 103v 12 Oct. 1468; also A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 39v 16 Oct. 1468... and A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 33v-34r 9 Feb. 1478 (moneys still owed to his estate after his death). For much of this time he was due for L. 25,000 a month from the Camera, equivalent to D. 48,387 /2 /10 p.a., the largest sum demanded from Padua in military pay throughout our period. The Ten were the source of most of the interventions listed, but despite their solicitations, and direct relations between Colleone's representatives and the Camera's sources of supply (tax exactors), payment was weak.

55. See above n. 14.

56. This tax's origins were in the simple interruption of officials' salary and gains. It appears as the subtraction of a regular percentage in 1434, as 10-15 % deducted from the salary of nobles serving outside the city. It was developed and extended in the years preceding the Peace of Lodi, left in force at a reduced rate after the termination of hostilities, and increased in 1464 to rates of 20, 30 and 40 %, with a four month period of office following a year's service to be without salary. (Cfr. Bilanci Generali pp. CLXVII ff., 104-06; LUZZATTO Storia Economica di Venezia p. 183; A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Regina cc. 55, 82v - parti of 26 Feb. 1464 and 11 Sept. 1468). It was generally named according to the percentage currently in force - e.g. '35 e 50 per cento'.

57. See below pp. 223-24.

58. It was set at 2/3 in 1470, but met with such resistance that the rates were readjusted to 35 and 50 % - see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 112v 5 Dec. 1470, c. 113r 10 Dec. 1470, c. 125v 26 Mar. 1471; A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Regina c. 101r 3 Sept. 1471, c. 107r 21 Dec. 1471, c. 178r 5 Apr. 1478 (referring to previous renewals, ordering another).

59. See above n. 22.

60. The terraferma dazi were also the subject of very minor increases in 1477, cfr. below pp. 134-5; for discussion of the extraordinary direct taxation, see pp. 224-

61. Its yield was slow - arrears were still being collected twelve years later, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 67v-68r 28 Oct. 1488.

62. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 103v 24 Sept. 1470, (effective for one year).

63. For example to pay troops in Friuli in the autumn of 1472, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 183v 27 Oct. 1472.

64. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 3r 15 Mar. 1473.

65. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 2r 1 Mar. 1473.

66. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 164r 16 June 1474.

67. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 57 7 Nov. 1474, c. 62r 22 Dec. 1474. The last payment from Padua in execution of this order appears to have been in August 1475, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 184v 16 Aug. 1475; the Camere paid half their revenues to Venice, and not the entirety, as originally ordered - cfr. below p. 107 -
68. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 77v 5 June 1475, reserving the proceeds for allocation by the Senate. For the speed of exaction, cfr. below p. 224 -
69. See orders by the Senate, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 123v 19 July 1476, c. 147r 16 Jan. 1477, c. 172v 15 July 1477, c. 179r 23 Aug. 1477, c. 191r 18 Dec. 1477, mostly to repay the Soranzo bank.
70. See p. 41 -
71. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 166r 29 May 1477.
72. See e.g. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 155r 4 Mar. 1477.
73. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 191v 29 Dec. 1477, c. 198r 28 Feb. 1477. The instruction was first to send the balance after necessary local spending, then a sum was specified - cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 48r 4 Mar. 1478. Subsequent references are to fl. 5,000, instead of 5,200 - idem c. 38r 7 July 1478.
74. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 69v 22 Oct. 1479; A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 44r 14 Dec. 1479.
75. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 6r 10 May 1473 - a proposal repeated sixteen years later, cfr. idem reg. 10 cl 159v 17 Aug. 1489.
76. See ducali sent to Padua in 1474-75 authorizing pay to the university teachers, mainland army companies, garrisons and guards, and Governors' officials, and similar exceptions authorized in 1478-79. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 164v 30 June 1474, c. 164v-65r 1 July 1474, c. 172v 31 Jan. 1475; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 62r 22 Dec. 1474, c. 66r 13 Feb. 1475, c. 70v 18 Mar. 1475, c. 191v 29 Dec. 1477, c. 194v 24 Jan. 1478, c. 198r 28 Feb. 1478. It was not the first time suspension of payments had been practised - cfr. Bilanci Generali pp. 118-19, a Senate law of 6 Dec. 1453, which also authorized exceptions.
77. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 67v 21 Feb. 1475 (except those of L. 20 a month or less); the same order had been given, though for only two months' duration, in 1468 - idem reg. 6 c. 17v 7 Apr. 1468.
78. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 52v 7 July 1479, c. 57r 30 July 1479, c. 59v 13 Aug. 1479. For examples of unauthorized exceptions, see the period March-May 1478, A.S.P. Ducali reg. C cc. 34v-36r.
79. Cfr. above n. 76, and A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 7r 17 Apr. 1478, c. 13v 1 June 1478, c. 15r 7 July 1478, c. 18v 3 Aug. 1478.
80. For later orders, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 20r 5 Mar. 1487, reg. E c. 37v 12 Jan. 1488; cfr. below pp. 268-9 -
81. See G. DE SANDRE 'Dottori, Università, Comune a Padova nel Quattrocento' in Quaderni per la Storia dell'Università di Padova, I, p. 28 n. 3: in 1459 the Senate assigned their pay to the proceeds of the Paduan dazio della bolla dei panni. In 1461 it added a total of L. 2,000 from the Camere of Verona, Bergamo and Treviso (A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 4 c. 170r 18 Apr. 1461), but in 1480 revoked the orders on Verona and Bergamo, which had proved unreliable, transfering their share of L. 1,500 to the Paduan Camera, (Idem reg. 8 c. 110r 24 Oct. 1480).

82. Cfr. below pp. 225ff.-
83. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 120r 8 Feb. 1471.
84. Cfr. above p. 98 and n. 63, and below n. 85.
85. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 176r 14 Feb. 1467, strengthened in 1478 by a general prohibition on nobles' trading with the military, Idem reg. 8 c. 2v 10 Mar. 1478.
86. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 171v 27 July 1472.
87. He is described as scribe 'super publicis' in A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo cc. 212v-13r, 19 Dec. 1466, and was probably among the personnel of the Venetian-administered Camera de' Lavorieri (Office of Works).
88. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 167r 23 Aug. 1474, c. 179v 7 Apr. 1475, c. 170r 16 Sept. 1474, c. 179v 18 Apr. 1475, and reg. C c. 57v-58r 28 Jan. 1480.
89. A.S.V. Capi dei Dieci Notatorie reg. I c. 45v, letters of February 1485 concerning the supply of goods by Murjani to the constable Albanesoto, paid from Brescia.
90. MALIPIERO Annali I p. 161. He presumably made his peace with the Venetian authorities, since the immediate outcry in 1470 was considerable.
91. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 12v 28 Mar. 1476.
92. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 70r 6 Nov. 1480.
93. For example the Zara lanze spezzate, who complained to the Signoria about the Paduan Camera scribes in 1470 - A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 119v 8 May 1470.
94. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 17v-18r 27 Aug. 1476, action by the Senate to oppose the practice; cfr. A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 19 c. 230v-31r, c. 232v, prosecution and exile in May 1480 of one of the Savii di Terraferma's notaries for collusion with the companies' chancellors.
95. Law of 11 June 1476, sent to Padua in a ducale of 12 June 1476 - A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 14v-15r. The proposal to draught terraferma revenues through Venice in 1473 would have made the Provveditori central paymasters of the mainland army, cfr. above p. 98 and n. 65.
96. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 129v 5 Sept. 1476.
97. These were earlier provisions, which the 1476 legislation was to strengthen, cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 84r 3 Feb. 1470, c. 194v-95r 14 Jan. 1473.
98. Cfr. above p. 99 and n. 74.
99. See the Senate's declared opposition, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 81v 27 July 1475.
100. The practice was attacked in 1467, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 176r 14 Feb. 1467 - but Colleone had resorted to it, with the Signoria appearing to accept it as necessary, (above n. 54).
101. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 147v 8 Aug. 1473
102. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 186v 17 Aug. 1475, and the Senate's recommendations in 1479 (above n. 74). Cfr. below pp. 111-12, 127, 130-1 -
103. Cfr. above p. 26 -
104. Cfr. above p. 8 on. 22.
105. It had continued at the 1470s rate after the Turkish War, cfr. above n. 58, and A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Regina c. 204v 9 Jan. 1480. The new increase, of December 1483, was to last for the duration of hostilities - A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Stella c. 38v 6 Dec. 1483.
106. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 196r 18 Mar. 1483.
107. For the question of the provisionati's pay, cfr. below p. 224 ; for the war in the Padovano, cfr. above p. 26 -

108. The Paduan Camera's assessed total was D. 3,000 a month. Since the Signoria used terraferma incomes to underwrite credit from the banks, Padua continued for some months after peace was made to send large sums to Venice. Cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 173r 11 Oct. 1482, c. 192r 27 Feb. 1483; A.S.P. Ducali reg. D cc. 3v-4v, entries of Nov. and Dec. 1484.

109. Cfr. above p. 41

110. The Senate several times debated the despatch of reforming officials, before deciding on the two Avogadori in March 1488, further strengthening their powers in June. Cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 10 c. 21 27 July 1486, c. 44r 15 Mar. 1487, c. 88 11 Mar. 1488, c. 103v 19 June 1488. The March order suspended payment by the Camere on all except 'ordinary' payments and current army bollette; moneys were then ordered to Venice, to repay financing of the army undertaken with funds in the capital, cfr. Idem c. 94v-95r 19 May 1488, and A.S.V. Collegio Secreta Commissioni, reg. 1482-95, c. 121v-22v 12 Aug. 1488.

111. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 10 c. 107v-08r 24 July 1488, A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 61r 9 Sept. 1488.

112. Cfr. Bilanci Generali pp. 159-162, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 23 11 Sept. 1490. (Moneys due to the mar colmpanies were to pass as before through the office of the Provveditori sopra le Camere).

113. Cfr. the note on sources for the paucity of documents reporting the administrative activity of Venetian magistracies in the 15th century, (p. 7) -

114. The partial evidence available attests their presence in 1464, 1465, 1467, 1471, 1476, 1478, 1480, 1481, 1485, 1487 and 1493 - after which the records are sparse, but there is no reason to suppose any diminution of their activity. Cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 85v-86r 6 July 1464; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 106r 8 Jan. 1465, A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 91v, 92r two ducali of 1 Mar. 1465; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 189v 9 July 1467; Idem reg. 6 c. 142r 10 Sept. 1471, c. 143v 16 Sept. 1471, and A.S.P. Atti V c. 81v 1 Oct. 1471 (the intervention of two noble exactors specially commissioned by the Senate, dealing with clergy moneys and Paduans' office tax, and therefore acting in the Governatori's interests); A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 118v 14 June 1476; A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 35v 18 Apr. 1478; Idem c. 60v 24 Apr. 1480, c. 63r two receipts dated 6 July 1480; A.S.V. Collegio Notatorio reg. 15 , entry dated 27 May 1504 (with reference to a sale conducted at Padua by a Governatori scribe, 5 Aug. 1483, for a Venetian's decime debts); A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 5r 31 Dec. 1484; Idem reg. E c. 35v 20 Sept. 1487, A.S.P. Atti VII c. 100r 5 Sept. 1487; A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 11r 16 Nov. 1493.

115. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 91r 19 June 1470; A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 167v, 168r 14 July and 3 Sept. 1474; and cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 90v 21 Mar. 1480, reference to the Cazude exactors' past annual tours of the Venetian cities; A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 30v 7 Dec. 1495, c. 39v 29 Aug. 1497.

116. Provveditori came annually to the provinces to contract the salt dazio; officials were sometimes sent to speed the exaction of moneys and their despatch to Venice, see e.g. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 142r 10 sept. 1471, A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 121v-22r 11 Sept. 1471. Cfr. below p. 160 -

117. Cfr. above p. 85 Table V.

118. In 1468 - A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 32v 11 Aug. 1468; 1471 - above n. 114; in 1476, 1478 and 1480 it was the secretary Clemente Thedaldini - A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 16v and 17v 22 Aug. and 12 Sept. 1476, c. 37r 25 May 1478, c. 57 21 Jan. 1480; also in 1480 the provisor Taddeo Contarini, idem c. 64v 6 July 1480; in 1481 the Provveditore sopra le Camere Marco Zorzi, idem c. 76v 12 July 1481 and ff.; in 1482 citizen functionaries, though the Senate had planned to send noble exactors - A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 150v 13 May 1482, c. 157v 22 June 1482, c. 173r 11 Oct. 1482; and in 1484 again Thedaldini, Idem reg. 9 c. 54r 10 Feb. 1484, c. 85 21 June 1484, c. 86v 28 June 1484, c. 94v 25 July 1484, and A.S.V. Collegio Secreta Commisioni, reg. 1482-95, c. 67v-68v 30 June 1484.

119. For example the Venetian Corn Office, awarded moneys from the 1472 and 1475 subsidies (cfr. p. 97) and from arrears of clergy decime, sent a scribe to collect in 1476 - A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 17r 22 Aug. 1476.

120. No account is offered here of the activities of the Sindici di Terraferma (touring Venetian appeal judges) whose general briefing to investigate the conduct of officials in office brought them close to the workings of provincial government. There is no indication of their intervention in specifically fiscal matters in Padua at this time, (their normal competence as Auditori Novi - cfr. the rulings of 1476, above n. 44 - excluded it). But the history of their activity - powers, frequency of tours - is largely unknown; cfr. B.DUDAN Sindicato d'Oltremare e di Terraferma, Rome 1935.

121. For the 1460s, cfr. general briefs combining investigation and exaction in the terraferma given to Andrea da Molin in 1464 (Provveditore sopra le Camere, he was also instructed to check munitions, cfr. above p. 35 n. 56) and Daniele Priuli in 1466 (also Provveditore sopra le Camere, cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 155r 29 Apr. 1466); no evidence survives to document their presence in Padua. In 1467 a special noble exactor visited Padua and Vicenza, and was commissioned to continue elsewhere - cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 186r 2 June 1467, reg. 6 c. 7v 17 Nov. 1467.

122. Cfr. above n. 114

123. Cfr. above p. 98 and n. 67; A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 172v 1 Feb. 1475.

124. For exaction problems, cfr. below pp. 224 ff; for the decime cfr. nn. 115, 118.

125. Camere revenues were not reaching Venice with due punctuality and completeness (cfr. p. 100 and n. 78). See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 20v 17 Aug. 1478, a proposal hoping to repeat the success of Malipiero and Mocenigo in 1471; idem c. 52v, 56r, 7 July and 5 Aug. 1479, for the despatch on tour of Provveditori sopra le Camere.

126. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 52r 14 Sept. 1479.

127. Cfr. n. 118 above. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 53v 25 Oct. 1479 and ff., monthly payment to Venetian offices of Paduan moneys - principally decime sent to the Cazude - was regularly carried out by Contarini's scribe Alvise de Moritio, until December 1480.

128. Cfr. n. 127; after considerable activity in the summer and autumn of 1480, the last payment in his name is A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 75r 18 Apr. 1481.

129. Cfr. A.S.V. Collegio Notatorio, reg. 12, entries dated 20 June and 28 Aug. 1480 concerning leave of absence for his retinue from jobs in Venice.

130. Cfr. n. 118 above, and A.S.P. Atti VI c. 253r, 253v-254r 20 and 25 Aug. 1481, A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 11v 17 Dec. 1485. He claimed a larger sum than was due in dadia exaction arrears, owing to confusion over the correspondence between Lire di piccoli and Ducats.

131. A.S.V. Collegio Secreta Commissioni, reg. 1482-95, c. 23v-24r 16 Sept. 1482: to deal with dazieri's (dazio contractors') debts, decime and the administration of the Camere.

132. Idem c. 42v-43r August 1483. Cfr. instructions in A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 9 c. 5v 27 May 1483, and A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 91v 7 July 1483.

133. A number of rules was drawn up in 1476 by the Provveditore sopra le Camere Francesco Barbarigo, though it is not clear on what occasion or where, and I have therefore hesitated to list him among the touring officials; cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 18v-19r. In 1481 Zorzi collaborated with the Rettori in attempting to settle a dispute among the scribes over responsibility for keeping the Camera's accounts; cfr. Idem reg. C c. 75 11 May 1481. The state of the Camera's administration revealed by later reforms is circumstantial evidence to corroborate the absence of other iniatives.

134. See A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 21 c. 187r-88r Jan. 1484, A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 97v-98v 11 Mar. 1484, reg. D c. 1v-2r 13 Aug. 1484. The March document contains reforms promoted by Contarini and approved by the Signoria, while the letter contains a Senate law of 12 Aug., so detailed that it must derive from information supplied by him.

135. A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 4v 5 Dec. 1484.

136. A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 6 11 Mar. 1485, A.S.V. Collegio Lettere Segrete reg. 5 c. 83r 9 Mar. 1485; A.S.V. Collegio Secreta Commissioni reg. 1482-95, c. 79v-80r 28 June 1485, A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 9v-10r 4 Aug., 19 July, 7 Sept. and 9 Oct. 1485. Grimani's intervention was directed principally against unauthorized spending, while Bon concentrated on exaction.

137. The Provveditore sopra le Camere Luca Memmo, then the secretary Clemente Thedeldini in 1486 - A.S.V. Collegio Secreta Commissioni, reg. 1482-95, c. 85 16 Feb. 1486, A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c 2v 11 Apr. 1486, c. 3v 15 Apr. 1486; Idem c. 11v-12r 14 Aug. 1486. In 1488 the secretary Francesco Zenaro - A.S.V. Collegio Secreta Commissioni reg. 1482-95 c. 121v-22v 12 Aug. 1488, A.S.V. Serenissima Signoria Lettere terra, I, letter of 22 Sept. 1488. All were occupied exclusively in soliciting exaction, Zenaro in the immediate aftermath of the Avogadori's intervention in Padua.

138. Cfr. above p. 107 and nn. 110-111.

139. Cfr. criticism of the system's functioning in A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 10 c. 154v-55r, 18 July 1489, as well as in the parte establishing the limitation (above n. 112).

140. Cfr. above pp. 101-4 and nn. 83-102.

141. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 72r 8 Jan. 1481.

142. See e.g. four bollette of the Zara lanze spezzade and the company of Carlotto Corso - A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 72r 24 Jan. 1481; c. 72v 15 Feb. 1481; c. 72r 17 Feb. 1481; c. 76r 5 June 1481.

143. Their provisions fill cc. 40r-43v (3 July 1488) of A.S.P. Ducali reg. E, followed by five pages of standing laws and previous ducali or rulings on administrative questions.

144. Cfr. n. 143 (the Avogadori), n. 74 (the Senate in 1479) and A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 198r 4 Apr. 1483, (which suggests that certain payments continued to be made directly by the Camere, though the majority of their revenues were due to Venice - cfr. p.105 and n. 108).

145. See e.g. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 116v 16 Feb. 1481, the Senate awarded D.100 of ready money or of leviable debtors from the Paduan Camera to a mar constable, as an advance on pay.

146. Cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg.10 c. 68r, 23 Nov. 1487, a repeated demand that these conditions be satisfied.

147. See e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 29v-30r, c. 31: orders during the Trentino campaign of 1487 to obtain moneys from the dazieri or by borrowing. The Avogadori in 1488 (cfr. n. 143)banned the Camerlenghi from taking a percentage gain on moneys loaned to the Camera.

148. Cfr. above pp. 103-4 and nn. 100-102. Minor credits of a non-military nature were often settled in this way - cfr. e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 73r 13 and 16 Mar. 1481, awarding debtors to Jacomo Pollani for goods supplied to the mar companies; reg. E c. 34r 14 Nov. 1488 to pay carpenters and other craftsmen in credit with the Camera.

149. See e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 74r 2 Apr. 1481.

150. See e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 72r 23 Oct. 1489, withdrawing payments made by the daziere Antonio Roberti to a variety of Camera creditors.

151. Though this too created problems - cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. G c. 17 10 Feb. 1505, accounting anomalies resulting from direct payment by dazieri.

152. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 89r 21 Apr. 1483, action by the Sindici di Terraferma to regulate payment of the commission due on exaction from fine debtors; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 198r 4 Apr. 1483 - the Camerlenghi did nothing to prevent the allocation of debtors to the army companies for pay, 'dummodo percipiunt eorum utilitatem, non curant aliud'.

153. Cfr. above n. 143.

154. (Except the Camera degli Imprestiti) - A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Stella c. 105 6 Dec. 1489.

155. Cfr. e.g. A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Regina c. 63v 28 Apr. 1465, Stella c. 31 13 Dec. 1482; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 72r 5 Oct. 1469.

156. A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Stella c. 144 21 Feb. 1496, Deda c. 43r-44r 27 Sept. 1506.

157. Cfr. A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Stella c. 124r 21 Oct. 1492, creation of a second Camerlengo at Verona, to alternate monthly as in Padua. But practice in the individual Camere was not standardised: the second Camerlengo at Brescia was given continuous responsibilities, separated from his colleague's, (Idem c. 134v 16 Mar. 1494).

158. Cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 155 30 Dec. 1473, c. 163v 24 May 1474, c. 182v 18 May 1475, reg. C c. 18v-19r Oct./Nov. 1476, c. 19v 29 Jan. 1477.

159. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 76r 10 Dec. 1479.

160. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 75 11 May 1481, a joint ruling by the Paduan Rettori and the Provveditori.

161. A.S.V. Collegio Notatorio reg. 13, entry dated 2 Nov. 1484. The argument over responsibility for the current

161. (cont.) accounts had by then become the subject of appeal to the Auditori Novi...

162. Cfr. above p. 109 and n. 134.

163. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 4r 28 Nov. 1484, demanding moneys due from the October account; Idem c. 4v 5 Dec. 1484, payments ordered in October were made with November's takings; Idem reg. E c. 16v 21 Dec. 1486, the November account was still open, the Captain was to close it and prevent the paying-off of November's debts with January's money; Idem c. 24v 26 Mar. 1487, an order given on the supposition that the November and December accounts might still be open.

164. A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. c. 27, 27v 10 and 12 June 1487, c. 34v 19 Aug. 1487 - the Camerlengo cast the blame on late payment by dazieri.

165. Bilanci Generali offers some information, but analysis is to be found in STELLA 'La Regolazione' cit., and M.LOWRY 'The Reform of the Council of Ten, 1582-3: an unsettled problem?' in Studi Veneziani XIII, 1971. Valuable comments on the Ten are offered in COZZI 'Authority and the Law' cit; for their involvement in protection and regulation of the coinage, see legislation published in N.PAPADOPOLI Le Monete di Venezia, Venice 1893, and V.PADOVAN 'Dei Magistrati che Ebbero Ingerenza nella Zecca Veneta' in A.V., tt. XIV and XVII, 1877 and 1879.

166. Zonte came into use as co-opted committees dealing with specific questions of importance (including finance) requiring the Ten's attention. The emergence of a permanent Zonta, without restrictions on recurrence of membership or compatibility with other offices, was the institutional form taken by a narrowing of the power circle within the Venetian patriciate. On its creation cfr. MARANINI La Costituzione II, p. 403; he offers comment but no information of substance on the Ten's financial activity - pp. 422-23.

167. The law, dated 18 Sept. 1468, is printed in MARANINI op. cit. II p. 419 n. 1.

168. Cfr. above n. 54; they twice elected one of their number to go to Padua to extract payment due to Colleone, cfr. A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 16 c. 239v 13 Aug. 1466, reg. 17 c. 56r 19 Feb. 1467 (though the second visit perhaps did not take place).

169. See e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 136v, c. 140r, two receipts dated 30 May 1470 issued by the Governatori to the Paduan Camera noting that moneys received have been set aside 'pro deposito' at the orders of the Capi of the Ten, till their expenditure is decided.

170. For borrowing by the Senate, cfr. above n. 69, the pledging of terraferma revenues. A special deposit for the salt revenues had been in existence at least as early as 1461 (Bilanci Generali p. LXX), offering D. 8,000 a month of income to pledge or spend. The moneys reserved for war spending in the 1470s included, among others, the extraordinary tax raised from the terraferma and the Camere's 'Venetian' incomes - cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 172r 15 July 1477, the creation of a deposit. In 1478 the Ten legislated to ensure the use of the Procuratie deposit for the war, forbidding the Signoria and Senate to contemplate other uses for it - A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 19 c. 122v 13 Aug. 1478. A revealing transaction by the Ten in November 1478 (A.S.V. Dieci, Capi, Notatorio

170. (cont.) reg. 1 c. 3r 20 Nov. 1478) shows them relieving the Treviso Camera of an obligation to the Salt Deposit, (for D. 15,000 with which to repay the Pisani bank) and transfering it to two months of the Procuratie 'sanctuario' moneys, due in October and November of 1479. The 'sanctuario' fund was a conglomeration of deposit moneys, containing (among others) salt revenues, one of the current Venetian decime, money from the Cazude office, and incomes from the Treviso Camera. (Idem c. 112v, list dated 1 Dec. 1478).

171. Cfr. above p. 99 and n. 74; A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 19 c. 193v 13 Sept. 1479, c. 202v 29 Nov. 1479.

172. In 1480 they anticipated terraferma revenues with other funds, to prepare army units for the defence of Friuli against threatened Turkish attack, demanding that the Camere reimburse the Camera del Comune; and in 1481 they drew on D. 7,000 of the Camere's 'Venetian' revenues (the clergy decime) to restock the Procuratie deposit after the arming of galleys. Cfr. A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 20 c. 60v 15 Sept. 1480, c. 95r 13 Apr. 1481.

173. Cfr. above n. 108, the ducali of Nov. and Dec. 1484 were issued in connection with the Ten's D. 1,000 share of the Camera's assigned total of D. 3,000 to be sent to Venice.

174. A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 22 cc. 219v-20r, 226r, 226v-227r, 234r: parti with the Zonta of 19 Oct. and 29 Dec. 1485, 3 Jan. and 16 Feb. 1486.

175. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 3r 10 Apr. 1486; c. 5v-6r 6 May 1486 (an order from the Capi of the Ten to send them D. 1,000 of Sanseverino's monthly D. 2,000, letting it appear that routine inefficiency was the responsible for the delay); c. 10v two ducali of 18 July 1486; and c. 10r an order from the Capi of the Ten of the same date - to quote but a few of the letters sent.

176. Varano was [illegible] advanced money by the Ten, the Garzoni and the Lippomano in 1486-87 - A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 15 6 Oct. and 21 Nov. 1486, c. 24v 26 Mar. 1487, c. 25r 19 Apr. 1487, c. 29v 21 June 1487. By the end of 1486 the two main obligations on the Camera were Varano's monthly pay, of D. 2,000, and D. 1,000 a month to the Camera dell'Armamento in Venice to pay the fleet - cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 16v, 17v, 14, and 13 Dec. 1486. For variations in priority, and the Camera's failure to meet these obligations, see occasional entries in A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 11v-29r (including receipts issued by the Provveditori sopra le Camere for the Camera del Comune for the portion due to Venice, cfr. above p. 81 and n. 42); reg. E of the same series is thick with orders on the subject, esp. cc. 3r-25v, covering the period April 1486-April 1487.

177. See e.g. A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 23 c. 69v, 70v 2 Aug. 1486, Padua was to repay three nobles for moneys loaned to a secretary, and then D. 1,200 for the arsenal - the latter finally paid five months later, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 18v-19r 26 Jan. 1487. Cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 19v 10 Feb. 1487 and A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 23 c. 126r 10 Apr. 1487, two orders to run successively, for D. 50 a month of the Camera's takings; little appears to have been paid on them, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 13v 12 Jan. 1487.

178. Cfr. above n. 147, and ducali of July and Aug. 1487 in A.S.P. Ducali reg. E cc. 29v-33v.

179. The figures of Venetian revenues for 1490 indicate a decline of roughly 10 % in indirect tax returns in the capital, compared with those of 1469, and an apparent recovery by 1500, with a similar but smaller loss in direct tax returns. The data for the various terraferma Camere reveal no clear common pattern, but Padua's revenues are listed at D. 5,000 less in 1490 than in the other years, (cfr. discussion in n. 31 above); a reference in A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 37v 12 Jan. 1488 suggests that the Camera's monthly revenues were about D. 5,000, of which 3,000 spent at Venice's orders on defence, so confirming the 1490 estimate. The implications of the overall figures of 1490 as evidence for fluctuations in the Republic's economic conditions are too wide and uncertain a question to develop here, but the hypothesis of a fall in public revenues between 1469 and the turn of the century receives strong support from the strain evident in the 1480s. For the data, (and the caution necessary in approaching them), cfr. above pp. 77 Tables I and II, nn. 8-9, and pp. 84-5 Tables III-V and nn. 28-32.

180. Cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 10 c. 107v-08r 24 July 1488; above n. 112; and see discussion of 17 Aug. 1489, (Idem c. 159v), aiming to match the army pay bill and the Camere's available resources.

181. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 25r 6 June 1495, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 95v-96r 8 June 1495: the Lippomano advanced money to the Marquis, and the Senate added other funds to the terraferma revenues with which to prepare the army.

182. See e.g. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 74 15 Nov. 1494, imposition of two ordinary decime and two loan decime on the Monte Novo; cfr. MALIPIERO Annali I p. 321, PRIULI Diarii I p. 10 on the Senate's decisions concerning finance in November 1494.

183. For a summary of the economic and financial problems of these years, see LUZZATTO Storia Economica di Venezia cit. pp. 238-39.

184. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 13 c. 81v 27 June 1499: three months' suspension of all except 'ordinary' payments, the rest to the Camera del Comune (the usual formula); cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 55r 16 Sept. 1499, receipt from the Camera del Comune. A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 38 c. 48v 12 June 1500, one month's suspension, excepting Pitigliano's salary. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 13 c. 154r 2 Nov. 1500: to send one tenth of the Camere's takings to Venice for the war at sea, while it lasted (the order was suspended in May 1501 and withdrawn in November). Idem c. 178v 20 Feb. 1501: all to Venice for three months - continued till August, and apparently ended by November, cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 78r 5 May 1501, A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 38 c. 145v 25 May 1501 and A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 50v-51v 17 Nov. 1501 (the pages of A.S.P. Ducali reg. F offer virtually no recorded receipts for this period). A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 78r 9 Apr. 1502 - all to Venice for one month.

185. For the history of the banks, see F. FERRARA 'Documenti per Servire alla Storia de' Banchi Veneziani' in A.V. t. I, 1871; more specifically for these years, LANE 'Venetian Bankers' cit., esp. pp. 77-80. Alternative sources of private credit were also scarce in the critical por-

185. (cont.) iod, see e.g. the poor success of the Ten's attempts to raise loans from private individuals in Venice and the terraferma Jews in May 1499 (PRIULI Diarii I pp. 120-21).

186. Levied at a fixed rate, the decime produced variable yields. Cfr. above n. 179, the data lend support to this claim, which the Senate put on record, though apparently exaggerating, claiming a fall from D. 110,000 to as low as D. 60,000 - A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 171r 2 Jan. 1501.

187. As they had been in the War of Ferrara, cfr. p. 104 and n. 106. See Bilanci Generali p. XLIX n. 3, and A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 13 c. 84r 6 July 1499.

188. As in the War of Ferrara, cfr. p. 104 and n. 105. See A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Stella c. 174r 24 June 1500, prolonging the first authorization of 7 July 1499; it was renewed on 2 Jan. 1502 (A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 82 7 Feb. 1502), returning to replace an even more severe measure of 6 Dec. 1500 (A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Stella c. 177v-78r) which removed as tax all salary and half any other gains.

189. Bilanci Generali pp. CLVII, CXC ff.; cfr. PRIULI Diarii I, p. 137, the decima taxed money invested in commerce, while uninvested capital escaped - the tansa was therefore intended to fill the gap. The Senate had already considered the assessment of households in this manner in 1470-71 before deciding to institute loan decime - cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 113v-14r 10 Dec. 1471, c. 117r 7 Jan. 1471, and above n. 82.

190. See below p. 230.

191. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 13 c. 134v 9 June 1500, the decima. For the Jubilee, see PRIULI Diarii II p. 121 13 Apr. 1501. For the rate of money-raising in Padua cfr. Sanudo Diarii IV 2-3 - D. 1,700 on 18 Apr., PRIULI Diarii III p. 139 - D. 4,000 in June 1501, with total proceeds at D. 74,000, rising to a final figure (probably inflated) of D. 150,000. Idem pp. 206-07 May 1503. For the collection and despatch of Jubilee moneys, see A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori, I, letters from Padovano Podestà dated 14 Sept. 1501, and A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 89r 20 July 1502.

192. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 52r 18 Mar. 1494; c. 72v-73r 6 Nov. 1494. Cfr. above n. 182.

193. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 96v-101r 24 Aug. 1502, c. 107v-08r 24 Sept. 1502. The economies supposedly freed a total of D. 4,260, to add to the D. 36,000 already constituting Padua's share of the limitation.

194. A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 95v 12 Mar. 1503; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 16 c. 78v-80v 23 Dec. 1508.

195. The 1484 law specified two minor items which were also authorized: contributions to terraferma fortress building, and part of the salary of the Quarantia Civil Nova, (the new civil appeal court for cases from outside Venice). See A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 92 14 Sept. 1492, the Collegio and Capi of the Ten had awarded D. 100 a month for one year from Padua for building work at Crema (cfr. Idem reg. F c 8v 6 May 1493, c. 17v 8 July 1494). See above p. 49 and n. 132, Padovano questatori worked on the defences of Gradisca in Friuli in the 1470s and 1480s; they were replaced by a permanent workforce financed by small contributions from the Camere, (paid late if at all - cfr.

195. (cont.) A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 14r 23 Sept. 1486, c. 26r 12 May 1487). The limitation set the payments at D. 10 a month from each Camera, though later increases set Padua's total at D. 50, see A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 37 c. 20r 29 Mar. 1498. For the Quarantia, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 109r 26 Mar. 1492: D. 60 a month from terraferma Camere as a provisional arrangement, including D. 30 from Padua.

196. A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 26 c. 94 26 Feb. 1494. The tax was worth a total of D. 40 - 45,000 p.a. - Idem reg. 27 c. 43v 22 Jan. 1496 (and cfr. the sources quoted in n. 8 above).

197. See A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 28 c. 161v 2 Oct. 1500, new rules for its administration, issued in view of its recent enormous increase in turnover.

198. See e.g. A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 26 c. 181r 21 Apr. 1495, the army was prepared for war with D. 8,500 from their Camere, to be repaid from mainland incomes - cfr. above p. 118 and n. 181. (For the extent of the Ten's interest in military affairs, and its contact with Padua, cfr. ch. II above, nn. 30-32, 41, 52-57, 126-28, 156, 172 and corresponding text).

199. The diarists report its progress - see e.g. PRIULI Diarii II pp. 273, 275, 329, 350-51, 421: entries of May 1503, 19 June 1503, December 1503, August 1504 (the selling price of new stock to redeem old was 93 % of par), June 1506 (the current selling price was 101.5).

200. Cfr. L. DAL PANE 'La Politica Annonaria di Venezia' in Giornale degli Economisti e Annali di Economia (1946). It would be arbitrary to quote single extracts from the various archive series covering the Ten in the A.S.V.; the diarists offer information - see e.g. PRIULI Diarii II pp. 348-350, their action in the summer of 1504. Their activity in this field dates back at least to the 1470s.

201. See A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 29 c. 215r 15 Mar. 1503, reference to payments totalling D. 1,800, (work was slow, and proceeded with interruptions due to financial stringency).

202. E.g. the terraferma Camere's portion of the tax on public office in its inflated version of 1499 (cfr. n. 188), see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 28 c. 88r 20 Nov. 1499; the Papal decima of 1500 (cfr. n. 191), see instructions and intervention in its collection, A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 88r 9 June 1502, c. 98v 15 May 1503 and A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 30 c. 89v 14 May 1504, c. 141r 16 Oct. 1504; the revenues of Cittadella, (separated and granted to the Sanseverino), between their departure and the arrival of Pandolfo Malatesta (cfr. p. 28 and nn. 11 ff.), see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 28 c. 142r 17 July 1500, reg. 29 c. 196r 10 Jan. 1503; D. 26 - 30,000 of the campatico (cfr. n. 190), see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 29 c. 90r 19 Feb. 1502.

203. See e.g. A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 29 c. 198 18 Jan. 1503, they renounced claims over the 'not half' (cfr. n. 188) and the one third increase in the dazi, completing instead their pre-emption of decime nos. 72 and 73. (The numbering of decime served to identify funds in their collection and expenditure; the Senate's legislated expenditure was by this time often formulated with the designation of the moneys to be used.

204. They took charge of the very considerable wealth bequeathed to the state by Cardinal Giovanni Battista Zen - see A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 29 c. 143 11 July 1502, c. 182 27 and 29

204. (cont.) Nov. 1502 (the latter to transfer D. 10,000 of it from Padua to Venice. A manoeuvre conducted by the Council in 1506 is instructive as an example: to refund D. 6,500 of naval expenditure met from its own Camera, it assigned the proceeds of Venetians' dadie from Padua (presumably arrears, and then in the hands of the Provveditori sopra le Camere for exaction); moneys from the Paduan dazio exactor Antonio Roberti's debt to the fisc (cfr. below p.229); and the continuation of small monthly sums already due from the mainland Camere since 1505, (A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 31 c. 62r 3 Apr. 1506, c. 67v 13 May 1506). In another intervention of the same year they ordered D. 400 advanced to the Arsenal to be repaid from the terraferma office tax returns, (A.S.V. Dieci miste reg. 31 c. 120v 28 Sept. 1506 - cfr. below p. 134).

205. The Ten's role in the coordination of Venetian public finance, and the timing of its emergence, bear considerable similarity with powers then concentrating in the hands of select committees in Florence, and in particular the Florentine Monte officials. Though not themselves financiers, as the Monte officials had to be, they worked with the co-operation of private credit in Venice, and fulfilled similar functions - manipulating and maintaining confidence in the public debt, influencing the relative priority of expenditure by manoeuvring the funds at their disposal. The common constitutional aspect was in the small size and somewhat informal aggregation of the committees, possible in Venice through the extension of consultation to all or part of the Collegio, or through the constitution of a special Zonta (cfr. n. 166). For the Florentine side of the comparison, see n. 23 above, and - as well as the studies by MARKS - MOLHO Florentine Public Finances cit. pp. 166 ff., 184 ff., on the Ufficiali del Banco in the immediate pre-Medicean period.

206. See the letters concerning finance (unfortunately few of them survive) in regg. F and G of A.S.P. Ducali, and A.S.V. Dieci Lettere di Rettori busta 80 (from 1500 onwards).

207. The letters preserved in regg. E and F of A.S.P. Ducali (between reg. E c. 85r 19 Dec. 1490 and reg. F c. 35r 29 Aug. 1496) are sprinkled with missives of reproof or exhortation concerning the Camera's payments to the Marquis of Mantua, who according to Sanudo's estimate was owed D. 20,000 of back pay from Padua at the moment of his dismissal from Venetian service - SANUDO Diarii I 663-664, June 1497.

208. As early as 1491 the Senate had voted to send an Avogadore to enforce the limitation's rules, which the Camere were breaking, but no action apparently resulted - A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 89r 17 Nov. 1491; cfr. A.S.V. Collegio Secreta Commissioni reg. 1482-95, c. 152v-53v 9 July 1491, a commission to exact to the Provveditore sopra le Camere Matin Gradenigo, though there is no evidence of his presence in Padua. Those whose visits are recorded were the Provveditore sopra le Camere Giovanni Valaresso (exaction from past dazieri, A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 65r 17 Nov. 1490); the secretary Clemente Thodaldini (exaction of old debts, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 130 15 Oct. 1492, A.S.V. Collegio Secreta Commissioni reg. 1482-95, c. 172r-175r 25 Oct. 1492, renewed after he had been to Padua and Vicenza Idem c. 187v-88r 18 June 1494, A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale I, entry dated 4 Feb. 1493, A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 17r 28 June 1494); the citizen exactor

208. (cont.) Renier Venier, twice sent by the Provveditori (A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 17v-18r 7 June 1494, c. 24r 11 May 1495); the Provveditore sopra le Camere Giovanni Battista Bonzi; who was commissioned and toured, in all probability went to Padua, (A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 95v-96r 8 June 1495, c. 139v 18 Apr. 1496).

209. See e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg, F c. 19r 4 Oct. 1494, to pay the Marquis of Mantua.

210. Cfr. above nn. 181, 198.

211. Cfr. below pp. 162, 225 ff. -

212. Cfr. above n. 50, his initial assignment to the Camera was for D. 2,750 a month, soon raised to D. 3,000; the other D. 14,000 were supplied by Brescia in later years, cfr. SANUDO Diarii VIII 705, Dec. 1508.

213. Cfr. below p. 232 -

214. The scandal was great because of the Doge's inolvement; he was alleged to have had Domenego freed after the first indictment of 1488, even to be his father, while the sending of the Avogadore was read as a hostile act by Doge Barbarigo's enemy Paolo Trevisan. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 13 c. 31r 5 Jan. 1498, to send on tour; idem c. 41v-42r 9 Mar. 1498, the conviction (the Avogadori proposed public execution in Padua). Cfr. the pungent comments of MALIPIERO Annali p. 708, and SANUDO Diarii I 853, 866, 903, 907 (reporting his brother's conviction) and 1037 (strange to relate, Domenego escaped from prison). Piero de' Santi apparently survived: he reappeared in Padua with the campatico exactor Francesco de Legge in 1503 (Idem V 615) and later as messo of the Provveditori sopra la Camera degli Imprestiti (A.S.P. Ducali reg. G c. 14v-15r 23 Nov. 1504).

215. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 13 c. 93r 2 Sept. 1499, c. 100 10 Oct. and 10, 12 Nov. 1499; MALIPIERO Annali p. 719 ; PRIULI Diarii I p. 225; but the fullest account is in SANUDO Diarii II 940, 1134 and III 29, 52, 61.

216. SANUDO Diarii II 546 23 Mar. 1499, III 21 6 Oct, 1499. Though referred to as clergy decime exactor, he was firstly exactor of Venetians' dadie (cfr. p. 209), and Sanudo later refers to him as such (Diarii III 353).

217. SANUDO Diarii II 940 20 July 1499, III 65 and 68, 12 and 18 Dec. 1499. His punishment was no stronger than ban from office in the province of Padua - which he broke by becoming Massaro dei Pegni (usually a Paduan's job, cfr. p. 216) in the Venetian reconquest of 1509, see A.S.P. Camera dei Pegni III, ducale of 13 Nov. 1510.

218. Cfr. nn. 74, 112.

219. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 13c. 119v 29 Feb. 1500, A.S.V. Collegio Secreta Commissioni reg. 1500-13, c. 3r-4v 21 Apr. 1500; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 13 c. 134v 9 June 1500, A.S.V. Collegio Notatorio reg. 15 entry dated 23 Oct. 1500. Cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 62r 25 May 1500, and c. 66r-67r 22 July 1500 rules for the conduct of forced levying; SANUDO Diarii III 258, 325, 457 and 1161.

220. Cfr. below p. 230 -

221. For clergy tax, cfr. SANUDO Diarii V 216 26 Oct. 1503; for old dazio debts see A.S.P. Ducali reg. F. c. 92r-8 July 1503, reg. G c. 125v-26v 16 and 25 Apr. 1506, and A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Deda c. 21v 10 Dec. 1503. He also offered reports on the Camera's functioning, cfr. SANUDO Diarii V 615 26 Dec. 1503.

222. The sources record no visit of this kind between Francesco de Legge's departure and Agnadello, though the weakness of the evidence does not allow categorical statements.

223. Above n. 193; the inspector was Vincenzo Valier, who acted in concert with the army's Collateral General, cfr. A.S.V. Collegio Commissioni Secreta, reg. 1500-13, c. 17r 15 Mar. 1502. The August 1502 reductions of personnel and pay affected Padua, Vicenza and the Polesine, after similar treatment of Verona in 1501, and followed by economies in Treviso and the Lombard provinces.

224. For Bonzi cfr. above n. 219; Trevisan's orders are recorded in A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 85 30 Apr. 1502.

225. Cfr. above p. 93 and n. 47 for the general state of the mar companies' pay in 1502; Padua's main responsibility, towards Pitigliano, had been discharged at best in approximate fashion, cfr. e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 63r 10 July 1500 (one of the few ducali concerning finance recorded for this period), or A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 28 c. 94r 14 Dec. 1499 - the Ten advanced D. 2,000 on his due from Padua.

226. In Nov. 1502 the Ten again advanced D. 2,000, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 95r 8 Feb. 1503; for arrears arising from the Zacho dadia exaction of 1503-04, cfr. below p. 231-2.

227. The Senate's reaction was to seek higher yields from the wine dazio - SANUDO Diarii VI 245-46, 20 Oct. 1505, VI 288 23 Jan. 1506.

228. See A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 40 c. 122v 10 July 1505, A.S.P. Ducali reg. G c. 31v 13 July 1505: D. 2,500 at D. 200 a month (part of a total of D. 15,000), approved by the Senate in concordance with a parte of the Ten to draught funds to their Camera. The order was continued, cfr. above n. 204 the manoeuvre of Apr. 1506, and A.S.V. Dieci Lettere di Rettori b. 80, letter dated 17 Dec. 1507 (receipt of D. 200 from the Camera's Dec. moneys).

229. Cfr. A.S.V. Dieci Lettere di Rettori b. 80, letter dated 20 June 1506.

230. In August and September 1505, cfr. the Camerlenghi's report in June 1506 (above n. 229)- this may have been confined to Padua, but in 1506 it was general, see A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 40 c. 184v-85r 27 July 1506, a block till September; the Ten's monthly D. 200 (Above n. 228) was to continue, cfr. A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 31 c. 95r 4 Aug. 1506.

231. See the order in A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 41 c. 19v 19 Mar. 1507 for a temporary suspension of the Camere's non-military expenditure to favour army pay; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 15 c. 210v-11r 28 Feb. 1508, two months' interruption of local distribution of Camere revenues, with funds diverted to the Camera del Comune. (The latter order coincided with the period of hostilities against Maximilian in Friuli). Cfr. above p. 93 and n. 47 for the state of army pay at the end of 1508.

232. The Paduan Camera's share was D. 42,586 (second to Brescia's D. 57,000). Cfr. p. 120 and n. 194, and - for the extra revenues made available - A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 32v c. 104r 14 Dec. 1508, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 16 c. 74v-75v 16 Dec. 1508. The total of D. 235,134 results from adding the Camere's resources of D. 211,550 to the shortfall of D. 23,584 admitted in the parte of 23 Dec; another parte of 16 Dec. gives a slightly higher overall figure, of D. 246,000

233. See the many references in the Venetian diarists - FRIULI Diarii II pp. 348-90 (July 1504 to Oct. 1505), and

(cont.)

233. SANUDO Diarii vol. VI, esp. 165, 171, 185, 207, 211, 214.

234. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 41r-42r 15 Oct. 1501; cfr. above p.103 n. 97.

235. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 41r-42r 15 Oct. 1501; cfr. above p.124 n. 217. MOLHO Florentine Public Finances cit. pp. 136-37 notes the persistence of the same problem in Florence.

236. Cfr. Trevisan's rulings of 1502, (above n. 224).

237. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 49v-50r 28 Oct. 1498, c. 60 1 Oct. 1499.

238. For a more material, and less idealistic, view of Venetians' office-holding, cfr. VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo, esp. pp. 338 ff. 'La Spada e la Toga', and comparative bibliography cited at p. 348 n. 127, p. 361 n. 156. Cfr. IDEM 'L'Agricoltura Veneta nei Secoli XVI e XVII' in Studi Storici a. IX nn. 3-4, 1968, pp. 681-82; also the essays in ed. HALE Renaissance Venice, esp. GILBERT 'Venice in the Crisis' cit. pp. 274, 277-78 (on Venetian self-criticism of conduct in office), COZZI 'Authority and the LAw' cit. pp. 297 ff., PULLAN 'The Occupations and Investments of the Venetian Nobility in the Sixteenth Century' pp. 380, 396. LANE in Venice cit. characterizes the Republic of the fifteenth and succeeding centuries as a state of functionaries (see p.1, and also pp. 258 ff. discussion of 'Practical Politics'). Prof. Finlay's forthcoming book (cfr. n. 25 above) deals in detail with many aspects of the question. Ventura has unfortunately abandoned the study of the Venetian bureaucracy promised in Nobiltà e Popolo (p. 1, p. 361 n. 1). The evidence that can be offered in these pages is limited by obvious considerations of space and relevance, though no aspect of the Camera's functioning reveals its personnel in a specially meritorios light; rather, criticisms abound, (cfr. pp.100-4 and nn. 80-102, pp.110-14 and nn. 140-64, and below pp. 137-8, 140-1 -

239. Cfr. below pp. 132-3 -

240. Cfr. the pages indicated at the end of n. 238.

241. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 101v 22 Jan. 1468, reference to the public sale of property wrongly occupied by Alvise de Fano, scribe or notary of the Camera; cfr. reg. C c. 72v 17 Feb. 1481 - Piero de Manoli, uncle of the Camera scribe Giovanni Pampano, had been convicted of embezzling L. 442 10s.

242. Gerolamo Tiepolo, Camerlengo between 1499 and 1501, had his accounts corrected, without court proceedings, cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. c. 110v 28 Mar. and 4 May 1503, reg. G c. 10v 10 and 28 Nov. 1503.

243. After Luca Posca's death, his son Francesco was imprisoned and obliged to repay the fisc - A.S.P. Ducali reg. G c. 25r 18 Jan. 1506, c. 27v and 28 7 and 9 July 1506.

244. See A.S.V. Collegio Notatorio reg. 15, entry dated 26 Oct. 1506.

245. The Provveditore Cappello had been busy in Vicenza and Verona too, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 13 c. 59v 19 Oct. 1498, and SANUDO Diarii II 197, 13 Dec. 1498. Those convicted of theft of public moneys had their names called out every Lent before the Maggior Consiglio - cfr. SANUDO Diarii III 143, VI 305 and 550, VII 353, the names of Corner, Venier and Martin.

246. Cfr. above nn. 193-94, and for the Padovano castles p. 29 and nn. 20-21.

247. Cfr. above nn. 193-94, and A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 117v 29 Oct. 1502, reg. 15 c. 21v 30 Mar. 1504.

248. Cfr. above p.93 and nn. 45-47.
249. A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 39 c. 164r 23 Jan. 1504; cfr. below p. 231 for dealings between the Zacho dadia exaction of 1503-04 and Pitigliano.
250. See A.S.V Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 201r-02r 21 Apr. 1497 general accounting rules, including for the state's creditors assigned to the terraferma Camere ; more explicitly Idem reg. 15 c. 84v-85r 5 July 1505, setting time limits within which public creditors with assignments of debtors (described as many) could exercise their rights. The awarding of revenues might lead to direct authorization to exact; cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. F cc. 76v and 79v, 12 Aug. and 1 July 1501, the intervention of two nobles, in credit for the construction of ships for the fleet, to solicit their payment due from the proceeds of the Paduan clergy decime. Not all the credit was paid off, resulting in direct authorization in 1505 to choose debtors owing clergy decime and proceed against them in person; Idem reg. G cc. 20v, 20r, 21r, 23r - 18 Apr., 27 May, 9 June and 3 Aug. 1505. For evidence of other aspects of the delays and manoeuvres in payment of public creditors, cfr. e.g. the law of 1485 quoted by Mueller (above n. 23) referring to private individuals' sale of their credit to the banks because they enjoyed priority of payment. The records of the councils of state abound with petitions for anticipated payment, or priority in the redemption of monte stock. The Ten attempted to discipline the use of salt revenues (part of their habitual resources in manipulating reserve funds). Cfr. A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 28 c. 186 30 Jan. 1498, they returned to the Senate the right to award salt moneys to supplicant public creditors, which they had taken over in 1486; but in 1506 (Idem reg. 31 c. 97r 18 Aug. 1506) they placed an absolute ban on any such grants, by Senate or Ten.
251. Cfr. below pp. 201 ff. -
252. Cfr. above n. 58, and pp. 128 nn. 238-39.
253. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 15r 15 Apr. 1463; Idem reg. 7 c. 55v-56r 19 Oct. 1474, c. 183v 24 Sept. 1477; A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 60 ducale of 27 Apr. 1480 containing a Senate order of 11 Dec. 1479, c. 66r ducale of 28 Aug. 1480 containg a Maggior Consiglio law of 17 Aug. 1480; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 9 c. 72r 19 Apr. 1484, c. 135v 19 Apr. 1485; A.S.V. Collegio Lettere Segrete reg. 5 c. 105 2 May 1485 (instructions on the separate accounting of office tax); A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 5r 31 Dec. 1484, reg. E c. 34v 19 Aug. 1487, c. 52 26 July 1488, and c. 87v-88r 5 and 8 June 1491 (accounting confusion with arrears due to the Governatori).
254. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 46v-47v 31 Jan. 1491; cfr. p.121 and n. 196 above. The Governatori took a down to earth approach, paying a special increment of salary to the scribe in the Paduan Camera who kept the accounts of the tax '... et solicitat denarios exactos ad nos (Governatori) mittendos mensualiter.' - cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 50r 14 Nov. 1498 (occasion of the emolument's transfer from the fallen Piero de Santi to 1499's accused, Andrea Usnago...).
255. Silence in the Paduan records between 1494 and 1499 suggests that the menacing tone of the Ten's order in 1494 (or the extra emolument paid by the Governatori) resulted in more punctilious conduct; but the pressure of war, followed by an increase in the tax's rate (above n. 188) undermined the regular despatch of moneys - cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. F

255. (cont.) c. 50v 28 Feb. 1499. The Ten's Camera was the tax's recipient in its inflated form, as it reminded Rettori in a letter denouncing poor receipts - A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 28 c. 88r 20 Nov. 1499; vigilance was increased through the interventions of the Provveditori sopra gli Uffici (cfr. MARANINI La Costituzione II p. 153), cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. F. 75, 11 and 13 Mar. 1501. Part of their work was retrospective, not without reason; in 1501 the Vicenza Camera owed L. 18,571 accumulated over eight years, (A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 29 c. 75r 15 Dec. 1501), and in 1502 the Ten twice wrote in menacing terms to Padua to demand payment of arrears, (A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 87r 31 May 1502, c. 94 13 Nov. 1502). The absence of financial material in reg. G of A.S.P. Ducali prevents us knowing Padua's record on this point in the last years before 1509, but in 1503 the Ten found it necessary to legislate against evasion by those paid from the terraferma Camere... (A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 29 c. 214v 15 Mar. 1503).

256. There is too little surviving trace of many minor items in the Camera's revenues to allow their listing. The question of rents (cfr. p. Table III) is referred to below, p.192 . One relatively important point omitted here is the Signoria's relations with the Paduan (and terraferma) lending Jews, and the taxes they paid, which do not appear to have passsed through the Camera; cfr. Bilanci Generali p. CLXIV.

257. Cfr. discussion of the various taxes' exaction, below pp. 161 ff., 202 ff., 209, 215 ff. -

258. An example of closer routine administrative attention is furnished by the attempts to recover arrears of office tax, (above n. 255). Special officials' interventions were almost invariably mainly concerned with the exaction of arrears - cfr. pp. 106-9 and nn. 113-138, pp. 123-5 and nn. 208-224. Cfr. p. 105 and n. 111, the Senate law of July 1488 instituting the central distribution of provincial incomes ordered the special computation of the Camere's 'old credits (up to 1483), to be exacted to pay off accumulated debts to non-military creditors.

259. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 73r 10 Oct. 1469. It was neglected and later remembered, cfr. Idem reg. 10 c. 54r 18 June 1487, then revoked because conducive to trading in credit rights, reg. 10 c. 181r 5 Nov. 1489 (cfr. n. 250 above). Pressure of need brought its re-institution for Venice and the terraferma, Idem reg. 12 c. 78v 18 Dec. 1494. Other examples of this type, indirectly affecting the terraferma, were the minor levies on Venetians departing from the capital to provincial office, to finance maintenance of the city's canals and streets, (imposed in 1490, cfr. LUZZATTO Storia Economica di Venezia p. 188), and the hospital of S. Antonio (A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Deda c. 16r 12 Mar. 1503).

260. There was precedent for demands of this type, e.g. in 1453 (Bilanci Generali p. XLIX n. 2). See A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 22r 14 Mar. 1477, the Senate assigned the Arsenal a levy of D. 1 per 1,000 on the terraferma dazi, and D.10 a month from each Camera.

261. The original order awarding it to the Arsenal is A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 57v 11 Oct. 1463, later repeated, including through the re-organizations of the 1480s, cfr. Idem reg. 10 c. 41r 1 Mar. 1487, reg. 11 c. 96v 25 Jan. 1492.

262. Cfr. above p. 97 and n. 57, below pp. 223-4

263. Cfr. revenues awarded by the Senate in 1490: A.S.V. Senato

263. (cont.) Terra reg. 10 cc. 191r-194r, a series of parti dated 30 and 31 Jan. 1490, c. 196 5 Feb. 1490, reg. 11 c. 20 27 Aug. 1490. Bilanci Generali p. 166, Maggior Consiglio deliberation of 16 Aug. 1491.

264. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 97v 27 Jan. 1492, the Senate assigned D. 1,200/month of mainland revenues, including D. 250 from Padua; in 1493 the fleet's needs were more pressing, and the sums allocated the year before were directed to the Arsenal for five months, with Padua's total raised to D. 350 a month, (A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 5r 5 Feb. 1493, c. 8 6 May 1493). For the parte of 1494, cfr. p. 120 and nn. 192,195 above. For the continuation of the levies on the dazi, see the terms of the 1496 Paduan fish dazio (in A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale, vol. III).

265. Cfr. above p. 122 and n. 204.

266. It was in arrears in 1500, when the Senate awarded back payments of it to the Arsenal, (A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 13 c. 157v-58r 16 Nov. 1500); in 1502 Giovanni Trevisan (cfr. n. 224) insisted on current payment of the levy, still due to the monte. For the redemption of monte stock, cfr. above n. 199; the Ten had demanded D. 80 a month of Padua's revenues in 1500 for the monte, see A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 28 c. 122v 3 Apr. 1500. Subsequent correspondence reveals the Paduan Camera in considerable arrears: A.S.P. Ducali reg. G c. 14v-15r 23 Nov. 1504 (repeating the parte of 16 June 1503), c. 15v-16r 18 Jan. 1505, c. 25v 31 Jan. 1506. The newly created Paduan silk dazio was assigned to the same purpose, Idem c. 22v-23r 4 July 1505.

267. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 16 c. 77 18 Dec. 1508.

268. See above p. 100 and nn. 76-81, as well as the data and initial comment om secondary expenditure in Table IV (p. 84) and n. 31 above. Cfr. p. and nn. 192, 195 the revised version of the limitation in Nov. 1494 confirmed the protection of 'ordinary' expenditure.

269. See e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 23r 15 Dec. 1494, an order by the Paduan Rettori, issued on their own authority, to consider as 'ordinary' moneys due to smiths, carpenters and masons working for the Camera.

270. For the Polesine, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 20v-21r, 22 Feb. 1487; these expenses were later transferred to the newly created Rovigo Camera (Idem c. 73v 20 Nov. 1489), though Lendinara remained Padua's responsibility (Idem c. 76r 13 Feb. 1490) and Castel Gulielmo was returned to Padua's books by the Ten (A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 26 c. 87r 8 Jan. 1494). For Friuli, see e.g. the noble Castellan of Monfalcone, A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 73r 7 Nov. 1489; for the stato da mar the noble Castellan of Modon, Idem reg. F c. 74v 10 Mar. 1501. Padua also paid Venice's permanent representative in Ferrara (the Vice-dominus): see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 10 c. 191r 12 Jan. 1490, declaring his salary as an ordinary expense of the Paduan Camera - though payment was not punctual, cfr. SANUDO Diarii II 609 12 Apr. 1499. Another extra obligation on the Paduan Camera was the pay of various administrative or consultant personnel connected with the army and the terraferma's defences - e.g. the engineer Dionigi da Vitterbo, cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 162v 19 July 1482, A.S.V. Serenissima Signoria Lettere Terra, filza 1, letters dated 6 Sept. and 9 Nov, 1488; A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 80v-81r 4 Sept. 1490; A.S.V. Collegio Lettere Segrete reg. 6 c. 58v 29 Apr. 1491 (Dionigi had complained of having to sell his bollette at a discount, while the purchaser received immediate and full payment from the Camera...).

271. See e.g. A.S.V. Collegio Lettere Segrete reg. 6 c. 112r 14 Sept. 1492 and ff., undercover security measures on the occasion of a fair in Rovigo, at a time of tension with Ferrara (cfr. above p. 41 and n. 79). Various provisionati of the Camere were ordered to Rovigo, including seven from Padua. See too A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 51v-52r 6 Dec. 1501: Francesco Beraldo, whose company had been sacrificed in army cuts, was awarded D. 8 a month from the Paduan Camera and taxe for 12 horses, (cfr. above p. 55 and n. 161).

272. See above n. 77; see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 10 c. 183v 13 Dec. 1489 - given the shortage of Camere moneys, the bollette of army pay and of provisioni were to be paid at the same (incomplete) rate, unless the provisioni served to support women and children, or renegade Turks. Cfr. n. 184 above, the same L. 20 threshold was set by the Senate's suspension of payments in June 1499, below which provisioni were to be considered 'ordinary'.

273. A passing reference to questions of this sort is to be found at p. 44 n. 105 above, a propos of economies in the Paduan Rettori's stables.

274. See e.g. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 147r 29 Oct. 1471, against Rettori's awards of provisioni and paghe morte, (pensions assigned with the revenue of sinecure or ceased public offices); Idem c. 158v 24 Feb. 1472, the three Savii in Rialto (cfr. MARANINI La Costituzione II p. 154), checking accounts, were instructed to ignore rulings by Rettori on office tax in its swollen version of 1470 (cfr. n. 58 above), as well as on munitions; Idem reg. 8 c. 188r 17 Feb. 1483, a general attack on salary and provisione increases unauthorized by the councils of state.

275. Both the second and third examples quoted in n. 274 specifically referred to the Signoria, and in 1486 (A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 13v 18 Sept. 1486) a series of payments among Padua's local salaries and expenses, which had been authorized by simple ducali, were revoked. These instances must suffice as illustration, but it was a recurrent topic.

276. Cfr. n. 274, and previously A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 59r 30 May 1469, c. 103r 24 Sept. 1470.

277. Cfr. p. 100 and nn. 76-81.

278. The Avogadore Grimani in 1485 (above n. 136) took steps against unauthorized provisioni, and some reductions followed in 1486 (cfr. n. 275); but besides improperly authorized payments or salary increases, the 1488 review dealt with such matters as public officials' travel expenses for the journey to Venice, spending on ambassadors (cfr. p. 44 and n. 105, Padua was a staging post for both Venetian and foreign diplomats), the expenditure of the Camera dei Lavorieri, and housing allowances. Further cuts followed a year later, perhaps on the basis of their information. Cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 40r-43v 3 July 1488, c 73v-74r 19 Nov. 1489.

279. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 187 11 Sept. 1475.

280. The Camerlenghi considered their duty done, and a 25 % commission theirs, once they had awarded fine debtors to the Camera's creditors; and they kept their commission even if the creditors failed to obtain payment, and returned debtors to the Camera's books, so as to be awarded others - also an illegal practice. Cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 89r 21 Apr. 1483, corrective action by the Sindici di Terraferma. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 14v

280. (cont.) 2 July 1478, accusing the terraferma Rettori of failing to register their court fines, so as to have complete freedom in spending them. The Padovano vicars and at least some of the Podestà were under obligation to send moneys from their courts to Padua, but apparently seldom troubled to register the fines or commit them to Paduan authority for exaction - cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 64v 14 Nov. 1488.

281. Cfr. above p.129 and n. 244, in 1506 the Paduan Camera's fines scribe was on trial.

282. For the blank in the 1533 accounts - not a surprising omission - cfr. n. 32 above.

283. See the reform orders of 1484 and 1488 - above nn. 134, 278, as well as intermittent interventions over specific cases in the pages of A.S.V. Dieci Mistè.

284. Cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 19v 17 Sept. 1462, c. 51v 9 Sept. 1463 and c. 52v 24 Sept. 1463 - switching them to the Arsenal for a year; Idem reg. 8 c. 3r 13 Mar. 1478; Idem reg. 10 c. 120v-22v, parti between 12 and 30 Oct. 1488; Idem reg. 5 c. 19v 17 Sept. 1462, c. 37r 26 Apr. 1463 (cfr. p.31 and n. 28).

285. For early fifteenth century examples, see PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 1308-09; cfr. A.S.P. Atti VI c. 246v 16 May 1481 and A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 38r 6 June 1481, moneys from the dazio to repair the city's roads, with reference to precedents of 1410, 1444, 1449.

286. Cfr. below p.194 -

287. A notable example of this was the new course of the river Brenta, begun in 1488 and operative only in 1507 (SANUDO Diarii VII 81, 27 May 1507), while the interruption of the scheme over the intervening years had produced considerable flooding damage. For the Ten's intervention with financial support, cfr. p.122 and n. 201.

288. Cfr. p.105 and n. 112. See A.S.V. Dieci Mistè reg. 25 c. 40r 25 Mar. 1491, the Ten authorized reduction of expenses in Padua's castle (cfr. above p.31 and n. 32). Cfr. above p.134 and n. 264, the Senate's assignment of revenues in Jan. 1492 also mentioned sending two inspectors to trim the Camera's superfluous expenses. This was one of the many tasks confided to the secretary Clemente Thedaldini in Oct. 1492 (above p.123 and n. 208) though he was primarily concerned with tax overdue from the clergy. Cfr. n. 264 above, the ducale of May 1493 invited the Rettori to report on superfluous expenses, which the Collegio would remove, an invitation repeated a year later (A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 17r 7 July 1494).

289. Cfr. p.120 and nn. 192, 195 above.

290. Cfr. above p.100 and n. 81; A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 24v-25r 23 Apr. 1495, c. 24v 10 May 1495, assigning L. 3,500 a month (L. 1,000 from the dadia, L. 2,000 from the dazio dei carri e boccadego, and L. 500 from the clergy dadia).

291. See e.g. pensions given in 1487 to Giorgio Gavriopolo and his son Dmitri, brother and nephew of the Sultan's secretary Suliman Bey, to be paid first from Corfu, then from Padua. As a result of poor payment from Padua, the Ten ordered the moneys sent to their Camera; in 1491 they also complained of delays in payment of the allowance due to the Lusignan prisoners in the castle, and their guards' salaries, to be given priority among the 'ordinary' payments, (cfr. p.31 and nn. 30-31). See A.S.V. Dieci Mistè reg. 23 c. 124v-25r 3 Apr. 1487, reg. 24 c. 204r 12 Aug. 1490, reg. 25 c. 68r 18 Aug. 1491; A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 35r 17 Sept. 1487, c. 61v 2 Sept. 1488.

292. Cfr. below p.169 . For other instances of the use of public employment as a form of reward, see p.32 and nn. 35-39, veteran soldiers given garrison jobs.

293. See p.45 and nn. 107-09; and cfr. n. 271 above, Beraldo's retainer included taxe.

294. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 10 c. 161v-62r 12 Sept. 1489: failings in the Camere's payment of army pay induced the Senate to suspend provisioni granted by Signoria and Senate since 1482; future grants were to be proposed by the whole Collegio, and passed by a three quarters majority of at least 120 senators. Later proposals were generally formulated to request revenues already assigned to provisioni in the past; see e.g. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 54v-55r 23 Mar. 1494 - to add D. 4 a month, freed at the Paduan Camera by the death of Giovanni Turcus (whose provisione had been D. 6 a month), to the pension of Gerolamo Zenoa, rewarded for service as a river boat captain during the War of Ferrara.

295. The Senate had tackled the question half-heartedly in 1501, inviting provincial Rettori to submit lists of spending for reduction, (A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 15v-16r 25 May 1501); this may have proved sufficient stimulus for the Rettori of Verona (Idem c. 31v 4 Aug. 1501, cc. 70r-72r), but the other cities delayed, and cuts in Padua and elsewhere were the result of a special inspection. Cfr. above n. 193, pp.129-30 and nn. 246-47; the inspectors were Vincenzo Valier and the army's Collateral General, (above p.125 and n. 223).

296. Cfr. above p.120 and n. 194, p.126 and n. 232.

297. The limitation in fact insisted on the Camere's strict adherence to separate monthly accounts for the moneys they handled, a point also singled out by the Avogadori in 1488 - cfr. above nn. 278, 112, and earlier discussion of accounting at pp.113-14 and nn. 154-64.

298. The Avogadori's rulings in Padua in 1488 suggest that the habit of accounting regularly had still to be imposed, cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 17r 7 July 1494, against failure to send yearly and monthly accounts. Accounting was connected with monthly settling up of exaction, and public officials' leaving office with their books in order and without owing moneys to the state - subject of legislation again, cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 123v-24v 20 Feb. 1496, and Giovanni Battista Bonzi's rulings in Padua in 1500 (above n. 219). In 1501 the Signoria wrote to demand recent accounts (A.S.P. Ducali reg, F c. 73r 4 Jan. 1501), closely followed by the Provveditori sopra gli Uffici (above n. 255), while the Senate re-issued the rules for accounting of army pay to the Provveditori sopra le Camere, whose covering letter to Padua contained a reminder to send monthly and yearly Camera accounts, as well as information on dazi contracts - cfr. above n. 234, and A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 80r 16 Oct. 1501. The following year the Provveditori wrote to Padua in October to demand the previous months' accounts, since those from Cremona had already arrived - A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori, I, letter dated 15 Oct. 1502; and in 1504 the Senate passed a parte striking off Camere expenses the stationery used by Rettori's chancellors, revealed as exorbitant in the monthly accounts received - A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 15 c. 51r 26 Sept. 1504. During the period of the Provveditore Giovanni Trevisan's activity in 1502, the Avogadori

298. (cont.) had also taken a hand in correction of the Camera's accounts, cfr. A.S.V. Avogadori di Comun b. 3584, letter dated 12 May 1502 to Trevisan concerning the debt of a daziere which Andrea Usnago had handled, (cfr. p.124 and n. 217).

299. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 93v 20 May 1495: Treviso and Padua had neglected the rules enforcing monthly closure and settling up of accounts. Unsuccessful prosecution of former officials of Treviso, Bassano and Oderzo followed (Idem c. 108r and ff.). Cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. G c. 17 10 Feb. 1505, against the Paduan Camerlenghi's muddling and borrowing between different monthly accounts.

300. Cfr. below p. 231 -

301. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 15 c. 137 12 Sept. 1506.

302. See bibliography listed in n. 2 above.

303. CESSI 'La Regolazione delle Entrate' cit. pp. III-VII.

304. For Padua, see 1533 relazione and its accounts, (cited p.59 and n. 23) and Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma : vol. III Treviso p. 10 (1536), p. 11 (1537), p. 17 (1551); vol. IV Padova pp. 11-12 (1547); vol. VI Rovigo pp. XXIX-XXXII (editor's comment), p. 14 (1525).

305. Cfr. MARANINI La Costituzione II pp. 170-71; an example of legislation proposed by them is the parte of 15 Oct. 1501, above p.127 and n. 234.

306. Cfr. MARANINI op. cit. II, esp. 333-38, 349-50.

307. Often working with large parties, they accumulated considerable expenses - see e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 6r 12 May 1486, Gerolamo Bon's party in 1485 (above p.109 and n. 136) had taken D. 200 of moneys destined to the Arsenal. Significantly, in 1490 the Senate decided to solicit the despatch of terraferma moneys awarded to the Monte by confiding the task to officials in the Camere, to be rewarded with a 2 % commission - considered cheaper than sending touring officials to collect, cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 20 27 Aug. 1490, (see above p.134 and n. 263).

308. For the commission awarded, see e.g. the two officials in Padua in 1467: the Governatori's representative (above n. 114) was to receive 1 %, the Senate's exactor (above n. 121) 2½ %. The gains could be considerable - according to MALIPIERO Annali II p. 684, the touring Avogadori of 1488 returned after eight months' tour with D. 2,000 each, probably an exaggeration; but the result was to concentrate special officials' energies on exaction, to the virtual exclusion of more radical intervention.

309. The Camere's functions might be supplanted: see e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 73r 25 July 1476, Clemente Thedaldini (levying clergy and other old dadie debts) was told to send moneys directly to Venice, bypassing the Paduan Camera. above p and nn. 126-29, esp. n. 127, Taddeo Contarini and his entourage more or less took over the exaction of clergy decime in Padua for a year in 1479-80. A Senate law of 1492 aimed to encourage Rettori and Camerlenghi to solicit exaction, by giving them a month's start over touring Provveditori sopra le Camere in the right to exact (and gain commission) from late-paying debtors of the fisc; it also reminded Provveditori to deposit the moneys they raised in the Camere, (cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 109r 26 Mar. 1492).

310. See the commissions recorded in the two registers (1482-95, and 1500-1513) of A.S.V. Collegio Secreta commissioni, in particular Clemente Thedaldini's in 1492 (above n. 208). The officials commissioned to inspect the army companies were often instructed to check the Camere's accounts and trim their expenses, though there is no sign of this having happened in Padua; cfr. (one example among many) A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 32 c. 145r 2 May 1485.

311. See e.g. SANUDO Diarii II 197 (13 Dec. 1498): Cappello (above p.124 nn. 215-17, p.129 and n. 245) made a long report to the Collegio, complaining that he had '... non habuto mai una hora di piacer..'; Sanudo commented that his account was '... molto longo et tedioso..'. Cfr. Idem III 569 (30 July 1500), after Bonzi's visit to Padua in July 1500 (above p.124 and nn. 218-19), the Paduan Rettori wrote to the Collegio to say that (he) '.. è stato lì et è a fato; tamen lhoro sperano di far et scuoder..'. By way of comparison it is interesting to note that relations between the Sindici di Terraferma, touring appeal judges, and authority in both Venice and the cities they visited, were sometimes strained: see e.g. A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Stella c. 100r 14 Apr. 1489, against their reduction of terraferma officials' gains. And in 1504 (SANUDO Diarii V 904-05, 27 Feb. 1504) the Podestà of Montagnana protested at their meddling in local dazi, whereupon the Collegio ordered them to return to Venice, since their tour had already lasted many months.

312. Above p.74 and n. 6.

313. Above p. 10 -

314. Cfr. below pp. 187 ff. -

315. Cfr. above pp. 51 ff. -

316. Cfr. below p. 161 -

317. Cfr. n. 1 above.

318. See Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma, IV, Padova, pp. 21-22.

319. Cfr. below pp. 206 ff. -

320. Given here at its 1533 level, also that of the later fifteenth century; by 1549 it had risen 25 %.

321. Information on the salt dazio yields is scarce, cfr. below p.160, and the division offered here is pure hypothesis.

322. Cfr. below pp. 182 ff. -

323. Cfr. below pp. 201 ff. -

324. Cfr. above p.134 and nn. 261-62, below pp. 223-4

325. For item a), the 1549 relazione lists L. 25,000 of tanse de cavalli, and L. 6,000 of archobusieri e galioti, (cfr. above pp and nn. 145-46). For item b), it lists two corvees of a military character, the fabriche of Legnago and Padua, totalling L. 6,600, and maintenanod of the Adige and Brenta totalling L. 15,000. Item c), apart from L 1,500 expenses for representatives' travelling expenses, is entirely made up of salaries, and consists principally of L. 40,000 due to 'exattori delle communità et communi'. The city's administrative expenses are calculated from a rough average of the margin of surplus in dadie exaction towards the end of the 15th century - cfr. below pp. 192 ff. - Papal and other internal church taxes are not considered here.

326. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 20v-22v 20 May 1417, (referred to in PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 358-59, and above p.43 and n. 94, p.51 and n. 143). It specifies

326. (cont.) three extra dadie:'.. peditum equorum et vastatorum qui mittuntur in campo et similiter conducentium equos'; '.. plaustrorum servientium in campo'; and 'publicorum'. There are also the 'onus equorum, pro eis pascendis et alendis; the repair of bridges outside the village area; the expenses of the village or distretto in sending to Venice or elsewhere 'pro agitandis'; the salaries of administrative officials of the distretto and village; and the expenses of the Paduan rettori or other city officials on tour. The distinction between Venetian and village tax is also clear from rulings on the extent of the tax exemption granted to peasant levies - see e.g. A.S.P. Territorio vol. 63, ducale of 25 Oct. 1501. For full discussion of the military dues, cfr. above pp. 43 ff.

327. See FERRARI 'Un Comune del Veronese' cit., pp. 228, 231-239, 236 ff., 276 ff.

328. Consensus on this thesis is wide, in historians of different schools. See P.JONES in Cambridge Economic History of Europe, I (Cambridge 1966) esp. pp. 427-430; IDEM 'Per la Storia Agraria Italiana nel Medioevo' in R.S.I., 1964, esp. pp. 347-48; M.BERENGO 'Le Città d'Antico Regime' in Quaderni Storici 27 (1971) pp. 690-91. For Tuscany in particular see HERLIHY 'Direct and Indirect Taxation' cit. p. 393, BECKER 'The Florentine Territorial State' cit. pp. 131-132, and MARKS Florentine Public Finances cit. pp. 23 ff. Comparative material, important in its detail, is provided for northern-central Italy by A.SOMBELLI Il Comune Rurale del 'Appennino Emiliano nei Secoli XIV e XV. Bologna 1910, especially pp. 46-49 (the accounts of the rural commune of Lotta in 1463) and pp. 293-99 (taxation). For the Veneto, and firstly Padua, cfr. the following pages, and for the sixteenth century the relazioni of Padua's rettori, which occasionally connect the peasants' poverty with their fiscal obligations - e.g. the returning Podestà of Padua in 1554 (Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti cit. IV p. 44). The difficulties of physically maintaining the rural workforce were more evident in the sixteenth century, but the problem was not new (e.g. in 1504-05, above p. 126 and n. 233); it became a more frequent phenomenon in later decades as Venice drew more forcibly on the provinces' food supplies - see e.g. B.PULLAN Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice (Oxford 1971) pp. 287-88 on the Paduano's desperate condition of famine and debts in 1540, and general discussion of Venice's provisioning policy in VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo cit. pp. 379 ff. For other Venetian provinces, cfr. the Bresciano: disproportion in taxes' distribution is among fiscal themes in C.PASERO 'Dati Statistici e Notizie intorno al Movimento della Popolazione Bresciana durante il Dominio Veneto, 1426 - 1797' in Archivio Storico Lombardo 88, 1961, pp. 76-79; and see above p. 52 and n. 145 MARCHESINI 'La Lega di Cambrey' cit. For the Veronese, see bibliography in n. 1 above, and FERRARI 'Un Comune' cit.: in particular LAW The Commune of Verona cit. ch. 5, esp. pp. 163 ff., and GIULIARI Documenti cit., containing the 1475 Relazione (evaluated by LAW op. cit. p. 165).

329. GLORIA Dell'Agricoltura nel Padovano cit. p. CCCXIX

330. A.S.P. Atti reg. 6 c. 307v-08r 14 May 1489; cfr. above p. 104 and n. 107, and below pp. 184 ff. -

331. Cfr. GIULIARI Documenti cit.

332. Cfr. above p. 97 and n. 60, below p. 224 -

333. Cfr. the indications above, p. 78 and nn. 16-18, and Tables I and III (pp. 77,84). For Florence see MOLHO Florentine Public Finances cit. pp. 45ff. and De La RONCIERE 'Indirect Taxes or "Gabelles"' cit.

334. Cfr. the promises in the Bella d'Oro, above p. 82 and n. 27. The fifth book of the Paduan statutes of 1420 (ms B.P. 1236, c. 347 ff.) is devoted to tax; four long rubrics deal with the villages' estimi and division of tax, and corvées. Two others (preceding the above in order) regulate the liability for tax of the province's inhabitants, and the city estimo. Little transpires about the precise forms and rates of taxation, whereas certain rubrics of book two (covering various points of civil law and procedure) are more explicit - e.g. rubric 28 at c. 178r 'De contrabannis et datiis'; book four, dealing with criminal law, and trades, also offers information. PRETO 'Il Regime Fiscale' cit. p. 636 and nn. 12-13 gives precise documentary evidence of the continuity of the dazi in Verona between fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The A.S.P. houses a collection of documents concerning the dazi, not indexed in the main catalogue, but - apparently - concerning the later centuries of Venetian rule. For discussion of the Paduan dazi in the early fifteenth century, see PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' cit. XCIII pp. 1306 ff.

335. Cfr. Table VI, and comment, above pp. 153 ff. -

336. Cfr. nn. 17-18 above. For the estimated annual total of D. 3,000 for the salt dazio, see below p. 160. The Paduan Camera's 1533 accounts gave the following figures for the other dazi: milling D. 8,983 /21; wine D. 6,225 /19; meat D. 5,919 /08; mercansia D. 4,822 /24; gates D. 4,032 /6; these five total D. 29,983 /20 of the D. 32,593 /12 listed as the city's in Table VI. The others were levied - in order of yield - on fish, cloth, weights and measures, and bollette. This latter was under the administration of a salaried official until 1505, when it was auctioned for greater gain; its revenues were modest (D. 150 in 1533), and were levied from transient foreigners - cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 37r 18 Apr. 1463, A.S.P. Ducali reg. E 72r 23 Oct. 1469 and reg. G c. 19 12 and 21 May 1505. The 1533 list may not be complete, or may conceal the mingling of dazi under a common heading - there is no mention, for example, of the silk dazio instituted thirty years earlier (cfr. n. 266 above).

337. Cfr. p. 122 and n. 200, and references to PULLAN and VENTURA in n. 328 above; also Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti IV, Padova, pp. XXXIII-IV - all concerned with grain. Further discussion of this point, extended to other commodities, follows at pp. 164 ff. Grain and timber were two commodities whose movement was regulated by legislation imposing direct control though a system of quotas and authorizations, which therefore went far beyond the indirect discouragement operated by dazi tariffs. The bases of legislation were already in preparation in the fifteenth century, but its operation became more rigorous in the sixteenth. For details of the supply and regulation of commodities in fifteenth century Padua, cfr. PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' cit., XCVII pp. 72-100, esp. pp. 72-81 (grain) and 87-96 (firewood).

338. See F.MOLMENTI 'Il Contrabbando sotto la Repubblica Veneta' in Atti e Memorie R.I.V.S.L.A., 1922-23, pp. 995-96; in 1414 the Dogana d'Entrata, with warehouses near the Rialto, was created. And of course there is the evidence of Mocenigo's speech in 1423, (see LUZZATTO Storia Economica cit. p. 165)

339. Cfr. p 76 nn. 8-9, and Table I.

340. See BECKER 'The Florentine Territorial State' cit. p. 134, and MARKS 'La Crisi Finanziaria' cit. For Venice, see the figures referred to in n. 16 above, and also p 81 and n. 25.

341. Operating at a distance from the city, and the Camera Fiscale, the dazieri of the distretti were less accessible to its solicitations. Surveillance or the passage of orders might therefore be effected via the local Podesta - see e.g. A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori, I, letter dated April 1502: the Este daziere received an order to send his takings to Padua, relayed from Venice via the Rettori of Padua and the Podesta of Este. The 1533 figures show the Este dazio as the second in order of the Padovano dazi, at D. 1,790 /08, after Piove di Sacco's D. 5,564 /12, with Cittadella, Monselice, Montagnana and Camposampiero all around D. 800-900 each. Piove's importance (43 % of the total, cfr. Table VI) may have been due to concentration of population, and in part to its linen dazio (cfr. below p.169 n.394), but must also reflect the incidence on economic activity of Venetians' property- and house-owning in the area; cfr. n.344, the lease included Conselve, Arquà and Oriago too.

342. Venice's leasing of the dazio delle bollette in Padua in 1505 demonstrates belief in the greater profits to be had from contracting; for later centuries, cfr. Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti, IV Padova, p. XXXVIII and PRETO 'Il Regime Fiscale' cit. pp. 652 ff. Florence had already moved towards direct administration in the 14th century, cfr. De La RONCIERE 'Indirect Taxes and "Gabelles"' cit. pp. 182-85.

343. See PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 1310, early interventions to avoid entrenched interests in the exaction of the salt dazio. In 1485 a number of dazi were reduced from two- to one-year contracts, for the greater gain of the fisc, (A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 10r 9 Oct. 1485). The available data for Padua reveal some recurrence of names, but the information is too fragmentary to draw precise conclusions; Venetian contracts in the early sixteenth century (cfr. Bilanci Generali pp. 181-83) attracted specialist investors. Of thirtysix leases listed between 1506 and 1512, Bernardo de Legge and Jacomo Arian took eight each, as many as three at a time; though avoiding the major dazi, they between them accounted for a quarter of the moneys raised, (D. 369,200 out of more than D. 1,400,000).

344. Auctions were proclaimed throughout the province, (see A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori, I, letter of the Vicar of Arquà dated 15 Oct. 1501), and conducted by the naming of progressively lower sums. If the price went too low the auction might be repeated. (Cfr. A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale III, entry of 6 Mar. 1496, auction of the Lent fish dazio; Idem LXXIX, entries of 3 Nov. 1505 and 20 Oct. 1506, leasing of the Piove dazio). Rettori were encouraged to seek improvements in contract values - see e.g. admonishment by ducale, A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 32r 29 Nov. 1477, and congratulations in 1504 when L. 3,950 were gained (following a similar loss the previous year attributed by Sanudo to the effects of flooding and fear of the plague, SANUDO Diarii V 306 13 Nov. 1503, A.S.P. Ducali reg. G c. 14r 25 Oct. 1504). The obligation to inform the capital of contracts made was a standing obligation, but perhaps incompletely observed - see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5

344. (cont.) c. 13v-14r 28 June 1462 ... and insistence on this point by the Provveditori sopra le Camere in Oct. 1501 (above n. 298). Apart from general advice (not to lease to 'personis debilissimis', A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 173 15 Feb. 1475) intervention might mean refusing guarantors offered (e.g. A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori I, letter of the Provveditori dated 5 Nov. 1502 concerning sureties for the meat dazio). On the other hand, instructions in 1486 to re-lease the gates' and milling dazi (A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 15v 23 Nov. 1486) were prompted by hopes of greater profit, and probably by the appearance in Venice of a contender for the contracts.

345. For the Provveditori, cfr. MARANINI La Costituzione II, p. 153 and n. 6; SANUDO De Magistratibus Urbis p. 122. Cfr. n. 16 above, and PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' on the Paduan salt office, as referred in n. 343 above. The proceeds of the Paduan salt dazio must be inferred from indirect evidence - the sum of the of a contractors' guarantees in 1471 was D. 3,000 (A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 121v-22r 11 Sept. 1471), comparable to the Verona figure of D. 3,000 in 1463 (cfr. PRETO 'Il Regime Fiscale' cit. p. 637 n. 16). Cfr. p.85 and Table V, the salt revenues have been listed with the Camera's; the degree and practical means of supervision by the Rettori appear the same as for other revenues, so that the formal distinction between Camera and salt office probably more evident in dealings with Venetian authority than in day to day exaction.

346. See Bilanci Generali p. LXXI, where differences are attributed to the diversity of custom and price in the provinces before Venetian conquest; but the prices listed (from a 1525 capitulary) were higher further inland. The attitude indicated by Venice's answers in the Bolla d'Oro was apparently favourable to parification, though nothing precise was promised - cfr. p.82 and n.27above.

347. See PINO BRANCA'Il Comune' pp. 1316-17; cfr. e.g. A.S.V. Serenissima Signoria, Lettere Terra I, letter dated 7 Nov. 1488 referring reluctant payers to their allocation in the books of the Paduan salt office, ordering full assistance by the Rettori of city and distretti to investigation of fraud and forced levying.

348. Cfr. above p.115 and n. 170.

349. As in 1471, see n. 116 above; cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 10 c. 83r 28 Feb. 1488, for the recovery of arrears; A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 94r 28 Mar. 1492, the Venetian office demanded money in the possession of the Paduan capitano del dovedo; Idem reg. F c. 23v 29 Apr. 1495, for the hasty levying of arrears, due to the Ten's monthly deposit.

350. They regulated the expense of the yearly tour (A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 26 c. 67v 19 Sept. 1493), converted the contracting to public auction so as to raise revenues, held down despite the growing population of the state by the entrenchment of dazieri (Idem reg. 27 c. 208 19 May 1498 - cfr. a similar criticism by the Senate in 1474, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 48v 28 Aug. 1474). In 1499 they even intervened in support of the current Paduan contractor, then in difficulties. (A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 28 c. 53v 25 May 1499); and in 1506 they assumed the power to name the touring Provveditore (Idem reg. 31 c. 68r, 70v, 13 and 19 May 1506 - for two Provveditori, reduced to one cfr. c. 217r 17 Nov. 1507).

351. Its one intervention at this time was a request for fair practice by the dazieri and the consequent purchase of salt measures - see A.S.P. Atti reg. 5 c. 208r 25 Feb. 1474,

351. (cont.) c. 215r-16r 16 Apr. 1474. A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 12r 4 May 1474. A.S.P. Cassa Citta vol. 189 entry of 25 May 1474.

352. Cfr. above p.153. See Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti IV, Padova, p. XXXVIII, and V, Rovigo, p. XXIX n. 49, and P.SITTA 'Saggio sulle Istituzioni Finanziarie del Ducato Estense nei Secoli XV e XVI' in Atti Deputazione Ferrarese di Storia Patria, III 1891 p. 165. Cfr. Bilanci Generali pp. CLXXX-CLXXXI. Already established in the fourteenth century (cfr. A.S.P. Territorio vol. 215, a statutory ruling of 1339), the boccadego rate in the fifteenth appears to have been one soldo per month per head of rural population - cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 24 4 Aug. 1487.

353. See e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 56v 6 Jan. 1480, the settling of a dispute over shares.

354. The total increased in the sixteenth century, cfr. n. 320 above. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 56r 3 Dec. 1443; the renewals occur regularly in the records, see e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 75v 4 Mar. 1461.

355. See e.g. A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori I, letter dated 12 Dec. 1503 from the Vicar of Oriago, concerning the vicariate's sureties; see A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 97v-98v 11 Mar. 1484 Contarini's orders (above p.109 and n. 134) included reference to pledges due from both the Padovano communes and the citizen exactor. Cfr. A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale vol. LXXIX, acts dated 24 and 30 Apr. 1498: the citizen exactor Niccolo di Antonio Roberti appointed sub-exactors for Conselve, Arqua and Camposampiero, who gave sureties. See A.S.P. Territorio vol. 352, acts of the Cittadella council of forty dated 18 Aug. and 20 Oct. 1500, the commune of Cittadella traditionally organised its own share of the tax.

356. See below pp. 224ff. -

357. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 299 27 Jan. 1482, c. 304r-05r Feb. or March 1482, and reg. VIII c. 121r 20 May 1495: the Paduan Council twice commissioned its representatives in Venice to obtain enforcement of the ruling against demands for payment 'elapso anno'.

358. For examples of unforeseeable losses claimed by dazieri, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 75v-76r 6 Oct. and 13 Nov. 1461 - Adige floods affected the Castelbaldo dazio; Idem c. 96r and 98v-99r, 31 Mar. and 28 July 1466 - hail and plague cited by the Monselice daziere; Idem reg. D c. 5v 19 Dec. 1484 - the effects of the War of Ferrara on Cittadella.

359. Cfr. above, text corresponding to notes 84, 100-02, 144-152, 236-37, 249-250. For the (unresolved) problem of arrears in Florence, see DE LA RONCIERE op. cit. p. 172

360. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 173 15 Feb. 1475.

361. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 17v 13 Sept. 1476; c. 31v-32r 24 Oct. 1477 - concerned with terms given by the Provveditori sopra le Camere to dazieri owing the Camere; c. 34r 27 Mar. 1478. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 64r and 67v, 25 Sept. and 11 Oct. 1479; c. 114v 27 Dec. 1480 - claiming for the Senate a monopoly right to concede terms of payment to the cities' dazieri; reg. 10 c. 94r 2 May 1488 - limiting the application of such grazie, to the sole petitioner and not to partners or guarantors; A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 27v and 29v, 10 and 27 June 1487.

362. Cfr. above p.105 and nn. 110-111, p.109 and n. 134: Contarini's reforms of 11 Mar. 1484; the Avogadori's orders of 3 July 1488 (cfr. n. 143) - for follow-up to their action see A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 50v 10 July 1488; the Senate's parte of 24 July 1488.

363. Cfr. above p123 and n. 208, p. 124 and nn. 218-221. For the gradual growth of central surveillance, cfr. the information from the turn of the century period in n. 344 above. The Provveditori sopra le Camere, authorized by a Senate law of 1479 (A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 60r 23 Aug. 1479), had general competence to exact from Venetians owing the Camere, specifically repeated in 1485 to cover Venetians owing the Camere for dazi underwritten or contracted (Idem reg. 9 c. 145r 11 June 1485). But the results were laborious - see e.g. letters in A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori I, dated 25 Oct. 1502, 17 Jan. ?12 Mar. and 3 Apr. 1503, concerned with the debt of a former daziere with property at Chioggia. The Senate's reservation of the right to make extended terms of payment does not seem to have been effective, (cfr. n. 361), or at least was not able to cut through the legal tangle surrounding exaction of arrears, (cfr. below p. 222).

364. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 15 c. 68v-69r 13 Mar. 1505

365. Cfr. n. 361, the Senate's order of Oct. 1477 was to prevent a general transfer of old debts from the Camere to the Provveditori, excessively lenient in granting terms of payment, and to re-affirm the Senate's competence to authorize terms given, (cfr. n. 361). In a long-standing legal battle over the 1486 wine dazio, contracted to the Venetian noble Jacomo Pollani, the Provveditori protected the heir of the laudator (the Paduan Gerolamo Michiel) but cannot have succeeded in pressing claims against Pollani, since Piero Michiel was still being harassed in 1503 - cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 18v-19r 19 and 24 Jan. 1487; reg. E c. 92v-93r 13 Nov. 1491; A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori I, letters dated 1 and 7 Feb. 1503 from the Provveditori, and 28 Apr., 11 May 1503 from the Auditori Novi (appeal judges). Whatever the justice of the matter, the fisc went unpaid.

366. A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 99r 24 Dec. 1492; reg. F c. 6r-7v 15 Mar. 1493, c. 9v 12 June 1493, c. 10v 5 July 1493, c. 16r 26 Apr. 1494, c. 92r 8 July 1503. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 137v 20 Dec. 1492. A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Deda c. 21v 10 Dec. 1503, (cfr. above p.Rh and nn. 220-21).

367. F.BRAUDEL 'L'Italia fuori d'Italia' p. 2126, in Storia d' Italia II, 2 - Einaudi, Turin 1974.

368. Cfr. above n. 337.

369. For wine and cloth, see PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 1311-12, XCVII p. 81; both wine and cloth remained protected against other competition. For fish, see PINO BRANCA op. cit. XCVII pp. 82-83, and intermittent arguments in the later fifteenth century (see e.g. A.S.V. Ufficiali alle Rason Vecchie 25 [Notatorio 1458-68] c. 75r 14 Apr. 1461; 52 [Catastico Lettere 1474-94] c. 27r 18 May 1475, c. 182r 16 June 1481). The disputes arose when Paduan dazieri refused to collaborate with holders of a Venetian dazio authorising free transit into and out of the province with fish, and also the right to sell in Padua.

370. See P.BRAUNSTEIN 'Le Commerce du Fer a Venise au XV^e Siecle' (Studi Veneziani VIII) p. 278.

371. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 8r 8 May 1462; Idem reg. 9 c. 161r 17 Sept. 1485 (referring to an earlier law); A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 83v 19 Nov. 1490.

372. Above n. 341.

373. Cfr. LUZZATTO Storia Economica di Venezia cit. p. 159, STEER Landowmership and Rural Conditions p. 211, and in general LAZZARINI 'Beni Carraresi' cit.

374. A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 27v 16 Nov. 1486.
375. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 101r 20 Nov. 1467.
376. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 9 c. 170 27 Jan. 1486; A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 77v 23 Dec. 1489 (the legal precedents quoted included the ducale of 1467, and the 1486 law).
377. See e.g. Clemente Thedaldini's commission in 1492 (above n. 208); A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 47r 16 Sept. 1498; Idem c. 67v 24 Oct. 1500, and reg. G c. 11r 17 Sept. 1504, (cfr. too A.S.V. Dieci Lettere ai Capi, 80, letters dated 19 and 23 Sept. 1504). For the problem in Florence. see DE LA RONCIÈRE op. cit. p. 172.
378. See e.g. A.S.P. Atti IV c. 110r-12v 25 Feb. 1464 and A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 209r-211v 28 Mar. 1464: request by Padua and answer from Venice, to ensure the payment of rent to landowners, after criticism of leases by the dazieri to tenants who failed to pay. Houses acquired or built for use as hostelries, and administered by the fisc were probably many: see e.g. at Arlesega and Brentella, both on the road to Vicenza (A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 85v 19 Jan. 1491), and Polverara (Piove di Sacco, cfr. A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale I, entry dated 25 Oct. 1492 recording an inspection of the structure by the supervisor of the Camera de' Lavorieri and a local mason).
379. Cfr. the list of privileges withdrawn in 1506 in SANUDO Diarii VI 288, 23 Jan. 1506, with(it appears) drastic consequences:'... è nota, per questa causa morì sier Marco Barbo, el vechio..'.
380. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 78r-79r 23 Nov. 1461, 3 Feb. and 13 Mar. 1462, and reg. C c. 94r Oct. 1483; Idem reg. B c. 138v-9v 7 July and 17 Oct. 1471, 10 Oct. 1472.
381. For the Pisani, cfr. above p. 27 and n. 10; they later had the hostelry closed because its situation in border lands attracted criminals and outlaws - cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B. c. 180r 16 May 1475, reg. C c. 40r 14 Oct. 1478. For Matteo dell'Arsero (whose inn was near Montagnana) cfr. above p. and n. 168; A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 102v 8 Nov. 1467, c. 126r 4 Aug. 1469, reg. C c. 32v-33r 1 Aug. 1477, c. 96r 23 Jan. 1484, and A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale I, examination of witnesses dated 5 Sept. 1492.
382. Cfr. above nn. 227, 379; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 15 c. 104v-05r 19 Jan. 1506, c. 141r 2 Oct. 1506. Certain privileged hostelries remained, on the roads between Padua and Venice, Vicenza and Monselice, and at the thermal resorts.
383. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 179v-80v 20 Oct. 1503, and SANUDO Diarii V 105 20 Oct. 1503.
384. See the petition of the daziere for 1461-62, ascribing losses to an eighteen month closure of traffic on the canal route to Venice, A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 90v-91r 23 May 1464; Idem reg. G c. 9v 23 Feb. 1504, losses in 1503 ascribed to the cancellation of the Ascension fair in Venice, due to plague.
385. See the information in A.S.V. Collegio Notatorio reg. 16, entry dated 30 Aug. 1510, revising the procedure for the issue of bollette to seller and buyer authorizing the wine's passage to Venice for presentation at the Stimaria; the bollette issued in Vebice, had offered an occasion for officials to cheat Padovano and Trevisano peasants.
386. See R.FULIN 'Frammento Inedito' cit., Sanudo travelled to Padua by boat in 1483, noting the pallata of Moranzano and the hostelries of Oriago (op. cit. p. 7). Cfr. A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 97v 13 Dec. 1494, protest by the Paduan Council at the Mirano and Oriago Vicars' loss of jurisdiction to the pallata officials; see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 30 c. 173r 9 Apr. 1505, the Moranzano pallaterius, answerable

386. (cont.) to the Governatori alle Entrade, was Bernardo Bembo's bastard son Bartolomeo, then about to accompany him on his embassy to Rome. For patrols, see A.GUSSO Mestre sotto il Governo della Serenissima (unpublished, Padua Univ. thesis, Faculty of Magistero, 1970-71)p. 290: in 1458 the Senate ordered patrols with competence including Bottenigo and stretching towards Mirano; cfr. A.S.V. Collegio Notatorio reg. 15, entry dated 20 Jan. 1500, transferring a horseman from duties at Mestre to Treviso, at the Venetian daziere's request, to protect the dazio; cfr. in the same reg. entry dated 26 Apr. 1505, surety given by Bernardin da Thiene '.. designato capitanio di cavalari del datio del vin' in the Padovano.

387. See protests by the Paduan Council against the restrictin imposed - A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 230r and 251r-52r 8 and 15 Jan. 1468; reg. IX c. 59v 9 May 1502, c. 201r 15 May 1506. Instances of armed smuggling recur in reg. 1 of A.S.V. Dieci Criminali (covering the years 1502-11). Confusion was inevitably created by the mingling of different competences, operating from different centres - see e.g. A.S.V. Avogadori di Comun b. 3584, Lettere ai Rettori, letter dated 12 Aug. 1502 concerned with a smuggling accusation against boats loaded with wine at Padua, whose owner claimed to have obtained the necessary bollette. For further discussion of smuggling, see MOLMENTI 'Il Contrabbando sotto la Repubblica Veneta' cit., esp. p. 1009, mentioning measures to protect the Venetian wine dazio of this period.

388. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 76, 82v 17 Jan. and 11 Feb. 1487: a Venetian official examined goods arrived from Venice at the Portello, and their bollette; Venice's reply (A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 52v-53r 12 Mar. 1487) stated that the appointment had been made in 1483 by the Governatori alle Entrade, to issue bollette for small quantities of wine travelling to Venice (so avoiding the conveyor a trip to Venice for authorization). In 1488 the Council took up the matter of tax rates at the Portello (A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 151r 28 Jan. 1488, A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 70r 5 Dec. 1488) where the level of transit charges was in question - indication of the Portello's relative importance for interprovincial traffic. In 1491 (A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 77r 12 Apr. 1491) the same official at the Portello was reprimanded for overstepping his competence. Interference in the city itself resulted in ducali of 12 June 1498 (see A.S.P. Territorio vol. 407) and 16 Mar. 1502 (see A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 58r 5 Mar. 1502, A.S.P. Ducali reg. G c. 8r 16 Mar. 1502 - with specific reference to the ducali of 1491 and 1498).

389. See above pp 32-33 and nn. 35-41.

390. For the wine tax, cfr. above p.166-7 and nn. 378-81. More detailed study of dazio capitula - if they could be found - would permit greater precision on this point. According to Bilanci Generali p. XLIV the state nominated the permanent officials of the Venetian dazi, including those of the pallate on the waterways linking Venice and the mainland.

391. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 28v-29r 25 Aug. 1477 (with the Rettori's recommendation) Antonio Tallamazzo, Paduan, as market-place scribe of the milling dazio; Idem c. 92v 5 Aug. 1483, the Quarantia voted the Paduan Gianantonio Piva, descendant of the Guido who denounced the Carrarese plot of 1435, to the job of measurer in the Paduan salt office; cfr. Idem reg. D c. 10v 19 Oct. 1485, concession of the S.Giovanni gate tax's

391. (cont.) administration in 1485. For the 1489 petition, cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 72v 7 Oct. 1489.

392. For Clemente Thedaldini, cfr. above n. 118, p 107 and n. 123, n. 137, n. 208; he had a house at Noventa Padovana, see R.FULIN 'Frammento Inedito' cit. p. 115. The Thedaldini's order was for the employment of two sons of Antonio, nephew of Clemente and son of another secretary, Davit: see A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 83r 9 Oct. 1490, c. 90r 26 Jan. 1491 (order from the Capi of the Ten), c. 90r 30 May 1491 (containing a Quarantia grazia of 6 Mar. 1491). Francesco served in the wine dazio (A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori I, letter dated 30 Dec. 1503), Daniele at the S.Croce gate (A.S.P. Ducali reg. G c. 42r 31 Dec. 1509), and after Daniele's death Niccolo was scribe of the mercanzia tax (Idem c. 44v 6 Nov. 1512) The other grants were to Bartolomeo Liberti, son of Liberto who died of wounds while serving as Paduan Podestà's judge in 1473-74, to be Portello scribe of the mercanzia tax, (A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 90v, 91v 30 July and 15 Oct. 1491, - the order and its confirmation by the Capi of the Ten); and to Bernardo fu Tommaso, former mercanzia dasiero, Venetian, to be scribe at the Portello, (A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 92v-92r [sic] 27 Sept. 1492), of the gates' dazio.

393. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 90 30 June 1491, c. 92r 27 Oct. 1491, c. 92v 22 Oct. 1492.

394. See A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori I, letters of the Avogadori dated 28 Sept. and 3 Oct. 1502, in favour of Liberti and the Thedaldini, and 30 Dec. 1503 (cfr. n. 392); another dated 14 Oct. 1502, defended the rights of Andrea Filatoi, Venetian, son of a Negroponte casualty and veteran of the War of Ferrara, appointed by Quarantia grazia to the Paduan milling tax as market-place scribe. Grants obviously attracted greater administrative attention if they were contested, and there is no knowing how complete a picture scattered references give. At least one grant - to officials of the Piove linen tax - was made with the full approval of the local dazieri (as well as the Podestà), see A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 41v 1 June and 30 Oct. 1497. For Filatoi, see Idem c. 70r 5 Aug. 1500.

395. Cfr. PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 879-80, 882, 891, 895; see too the list of 'real' obligations as defined by the 1447 ruling repeated in n. 326 above. Further, abundant detail may be had from the Paduan statutes of 1420 - cfr. n. 334 above.

396. PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 894. Section III - 3 below offers further discussion of incomes administered by the villages, and the city too.

397. For the Paduan estimi, see BRIGUGLIO 'Estimi Padovani' cit. in n. 1 above; PINO BRANCA op. cit. XCIII pp. 8881-924, (with detailed discussion of estimi in the first half of the 15th century at pp. 896-924); Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti, IV, Padova, pp. 20-21 (description of method in the 1549 relazione of the Podestà); VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo pp. 406-16. Detailed analysis of the Verona estimi for this period may be found in TAGLIAFERRI L'Economia Veronese secondo gli Estimi (Cfr. n. 1 above), and in D.HERLIHY 'The Population of Verona in the First Century of Venetian Rule', in ed. HALE Renaissance Venice cit., pp. 91-120; no modern study of the Paduan estimo's data, comparable to these on Verona, has been undertaken, nor is it within the scope of the present work. The most detailed internal study therefore remains the virtually contemporary SAVIOLO Compendio delle Origini et Relazione degli Estimi cit. in n. 1 above.

398. See PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 882-86. For the per capita sum, see VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo p. 70 n. 53: the sum was L 1 was for heads of family who were '.. possidente o mercante o...maestro di bottega'; lesser sums, at the discretion of the stimadori, were calculated for those with '.. inviamento de alguna arte over mestieri' (quoted from regulations of 1471). The three estimo grades were: L 3 or less; L 3 - L 10; L 10 or more, (VENTURA op. cit. p. 72). The house of habitation was exempt.

399. The fuoco corresponded to L 10,600 of estimated wealth, (see SAVIOLO Compendio cit. p. 287. For the divisions among the distretti of the fuochi of 1432 and 1442, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. A c. 60v, and PINO BRANCA op. cit. XCIII p. 1281. The vicariate of Mirano, to take an example, was assessed at 18 fuochi in 1432, 16 in 1442; in 1486 its share was 15 and 5/16, after the deduction for exemption of the share of the village of Cazzago, worth 1/8, (see A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 3 c. 49v 3 Oct. 1486).

400. See PINO BRANCA op. cit. XCIII pp. 888, 891-94, and n. 334 above. This was also the practice in the Veronese, cfr. HERLIHY 'The Population of Verona' cit. p. 92, in Tuscany, (HERLIHY 'Direct and Indirect Taxation' cit. p. 395), and in Emilia (SORBELLI Il Comune Rurale cit. pp. 38 ff.). Cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 129v 10 June 1441, and P.PINTON Codice Diplomatico Saccense (Rome 1892) pp. 160-61, documents of 1467: the local estimi were an occasion for the communes of the territorio to exercise their limited autonomy, refusing (in 1441) the interference of the local Venetian Podesta, and preferring local custom to the Paduan statutes (1467). These instances were in the large and independent-minded commune of Piove di Sacco - but smaller centres may have been less free of interference, either from city authorities (see A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 3 c. 12 r and c. 22r: in Jan. 1472 the deputati ad utilia ordered the Vicar of Mirano not to interfere, but in April 1476 themselves intervened to order a repetition of the estimo in Roncaiette [Vicariate of Conselve) or from landed interests.

401. For the estimi of the first half of the 15th century, see PINO BRANCA op. cit. XCIII pp. 896-924, discussion of the revisions of 1422,.1431, 1433, 1437, 1442, 1453. SAVIOLO Compendio cit. pp. 69 ff. and 93 ff. offers dates which do not correspond exactly to data presented below. For the 16th century estimi see VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo cit. pp. 410 ff. For a similar decline in the frequency of the Veronese estimi, cfr. TAGLIAFERRI L'Economia Veronese pp. 18-21; see too R.De ROOVER The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank 1397-1494 (Norton, N.Y. 1966) p. 24 for the declining rate of renewal of the Florentine catasto in the 15th century.

402. See A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 56 14 Mar. 1463, c. 66v 19 Nov. 1463, c. 167v 8 July 1465, c. 184v 28 Feb. 1466; A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 226 31 Oct. and 14 Dec. 1469, A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 18 24 May 1470, c. 54v-55r 9 Jan. 1471, c. 129v-130r 23 Dec. 1472, c. 155v 3 Mar. 1473, c. 158r 6 May 1473, c. 159v 12 May 1473; A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 149v 3 Jan. 1479, c. 285v 23 Dec. 1481, c. 295 2 Jan. 1482, c. 323r 12 Nov. 1482, c. 351v 19 Jan. 1483; A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 46 6 Nov. 1486, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 52v 12 Mar. 1487, A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 84v-85r 27 Mar. 1487, c. 305r, 305v-306r, 307r-08r, 309v 3, 4, 10 and 27 Jan. 1491, Idem reg. VIII c. 16v-17r 10 Feb. 1492, c. 23v 30 May 1492, c. 26v 27 June 1492, c. 29v 8 July 1492, c. 32v 24 July 1492, c. 35r

402. (cont.) 1 and 7 Aug. 1492, c. 39r 16 Nov. 1492, c. 40r 23 Nov. 1492, c. 54r 11 Feb. 1493; A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 123r 20 July 1501, A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 61v and 62v 7 and 8 July 1502, c. 99r-104v (list of offices for 1503), c. 126v 20 Nov. 1503, c. 154v 10 Jan. 1505, c. 167r-172v (list of offices for 1505), c. 185v 27 Nov. 1505, c. 193r 12 Jan. 1506, c. 194r-97v (list of offices for 1506), A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 5 c. 19r 30 Apr. 1507, c. 37r 11 Dec. 1507.

403. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 212r 6 Nov. 1467, c. 214v-215r 17 Mar. 1468 (mentioning a ducale of 29 Dec. 1465), A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 227r 7 Dec. 1467, c. 248v 13 Jan. 1468, Idem reg. V c. 5v 23 Jan. 1470, c. 62r 6 Mar. 1471, c. 129v-30r 23 Dec. 1472, c. 155v 3 Mar. 1473, c. 187v 3 Jan. 1474, c. 207v 25 Feb. 1474, c. 216v-17r 17 Apr. 1474, c. 220r 21 May 1474; A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 429r 31 Jan. 1485, Idem reg. VII c. 45v-46r 6 Nov. 1486, c. 81r 5 Feb. 1487, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 52v 12 Mar. 1487, A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 84v-85r 27 Mar. 1487, c. 96v-97r 29 July 1487, c. 164v May 1488, c. 221v 29 Mar. 1489; A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII, c. 261r 13 Jan. 1499, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 109v 12 Feb. 1499, A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 285r and 294v 12 and 18 Jan. 1500, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 123r 20 July 1501, A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 61v 7 July 1502, c. 62v 8 July 1502, c. 99r-104v (office list for 1503), c. 167r-172v (office list for 1505), c. 193r 12 Jan. 1506, c. 200r 3 Mar. 1506, A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 5 c. 19r 30 Apr. 1507, c. 43r Feb. 1508, c. 48r 27 Mar. 1508.

404. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 214v-15r 17 Mar. 1468, in favour of the territorio's request; for the Council's reaction, see A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 257r-58r 19 Mar. 1468, c. 259v-60r 1 May 1468, c. 332r 27 June 1469, c. 337r-38r 1 Sept. 1469, c. 341r 18 Nov. 1469. Venice's declaration in favour of custom (A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 226 14 Dec. 1469) was followed by the Council's organization of four panels of fuoghi assessors, to divide the Padovano between them, (A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 4v-5r 22 Jan. 1470). For the dispute at the turn of the century, see below pp. 186ff.; cfr. A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 308 10 Jan. 1491, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 123r 20 July 1501, A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 146r-47r 12 Nov. 1504.

405. Cfr. VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo pp. 406 ff., and discussion below.

406. See VENTURA loc. cit., esp. p. 406 n. 58 (1518) and p. 408 n. 61 (1534). For the later 15th century, see e.g. A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 56, reg. V c. 18 and 62r, reg. VI c. 429r. In 1499 the Council requested a revision of the fuoghi because pressed by the Padovano (A.S.P. Atti VIII c. 261r), though Sanudo records the iniative as the city Captain's (SANUDO Diarii II 425); a year passed between the ducale of authorization and the election of stimadori (A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 109v, Atti reg. VIII c. 285r).

407. For example the city estimo conducted in 1463-66 was followed by a series of petitions for alteration addressed to the Council, and in March 1467 a special committee was delegated to deal with poor placed on the estimo in contumacy, (A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 205v 13 Mar. 1467, c. 214v 4 June 1467, c. 215v 16 June 1467, c. 221r 13 July 1467, c. 314 10 Mar. 1469, reg. V c. 24r 29 July 1470).

408. A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 54r 11 Feb. 1493.

409. See the office lists for 1503, 1505 and 1506 referred to in nn. 402-03 above; cfr. VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo p. 408 n. 61.

410. For exemptions, see below p. 182. Preference was obviously not only practised in so overt a form; see VENTURA op. cit. pp. 411 ff. For later quarrels, esp. over the identity of the stimadori, cfr. Idem p. 468 n. 165

411. No research dealing specifically with this subject has been done for Padua. VENTURA op. Cit. pp. 68-77 gives an economic characterization of the Paduan political class in the mid fifteenth century. Cfr. results from other cities: TAGLIAFERRI L'Economia Veronese cit. pp. 33,64 (tabella 17),67 and GIULIARI Documenti dell'Antico Dialetto Veronese cit. p. 10; (for Florence) R.De ROOVER The Rise and Decline cit. p. 29, and G.BRUCKER 'The Florentine Popolo Minuto and its Political Role 1340-1450', pp. 157-58 (in ed. L.MARTINES Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities 1200-1500, Berkeley 1972). The pattern suggested by these studies, quite apart from the continuing polarisation of wealth, is one in which half or more of the city's inhabitants were all but non-participant in direct tax paying, while wealth was concentrated around a few leading families.

412. Cfr. p. 172 and n. 404. The measure was proposed by only one deputato ad utilia (generally they acted together), and was narrowly passed by 59 votes to 55; but the following day Gaspar Orsato's colleagues together raised procedural objections, and nothing more was heard of the matter - though it is significant that it appears to have split the Council, perhaps with a mixture of economic jealousy and factious motivation in play. (Cfr. A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 76r-v, 9 and 10 Jan. 1503).

413. For the campatico see below p. 230. The compilation of information by the Paduan Rettori (see A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori, I, letter dated 9 April 1501 from the Vicar of Oriago concerning the collection of data by the villages) preceded the stricter phrasing of the Council's proposals to avoid fraud in both city estimo and fuoghi, (see A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 123r 20 July 1501, proposing the naming of 4 'inquisitori secreti' to tour the province, and the welcoming of secret denunciations of concealed property). In 1502 (A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 61v 7 July 1502) the Council decided to request the use for the estimo of information collected by the campatico exactor Francesco de Leggé.

414. Cfr. above pp. 165-6 and nn. 372-77.

415. Cfr. below pp. 201 ff. —

416. See PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 886-88.

417. See A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 79r 30 Dec. 1463; that the practice was carried out by the stimadori is less certain, though an example from 1490 demonstrates its occasional application, (see A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 284 17 Dec. 1490, reducing the estimo rating of the Venetian noble Andrea Dandolo for land near Rovolon [Vicariate of Teolo], declared as uncultivated but upvalued).

418. See VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo p. 69 n. 52 for general comment, a further reference to LUZZATTO Storia Economica cit. pp. 180-181, and comparison of notarial documents with the tax declaration in 1464 of Francesca widow of Zambono Calza and her son Bartolomeo. For the Soncini, see A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 8v 1 Mar. 1501: 135 campi at Saccolongo (Vicariate of Teolo) held in livello for D. 65 p.a. by Antonio Capodivacca; the concealment of the land came to light as a result of Capodivacca's 1484 declaration in the revision of the fuoghi. For the Dotto, (one of the dominant families in city politics, wealthy landowners in the southwest Padovano - cfr. below pp. 226-7), see A.S.P. Atti IX c. 205v-06r 26 Sept. 1506, A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 5 c. 4v-5v 5 and 31 Oct. 1506;

418. (cont.) Antonio Dotto, (then deputato ad ecclesias), revealed a fraud perpetrated in the division of his father - Antonio-Francesco's - estate, with the subsequent evasion of L. 1,774 6s of tax. Dotto's voluntary confession probably preceded likely discovery in the revision of the fuoghi, and was so managed as to allow him to calculate what he owed, and with the condition that the Commune assisted him in litigation over property with an unspecified third party, (probably the Pisani, Venetian nobles). For the Abriani, an influential family with wealth round Montagnana and only intermittent interest in Council politics, see A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 3 c. 25 3 Aug. 1472, A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 39v 23 Nov. 1492, c. 117v 16 Mar. 1495, c. 118r-19r, 21 Mar. 1495, c. 172r 7 Dec. 1496, c. 271v 23 Feb. 1499, A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 4 entries dated 14 and 15 May 1499, 22 and 25 June 1499, 1, 11 and 31 July 1499, 23 Dec. 1500, Idem reg. 5 c. 90r 12 and 24 Jan. 1509.

419. See VENTURA op. cit. p. 407 n. 60. The Padovano's situation was quite different to that of Friuli, where the peasants' fiscal interests were represented with considerable force - see P.LEICHT 'La Rappresentanza dei Contadini presso il Veneto Luogotenente della Patria del Friuli' in Studi e Frammenti (Udine 1903), and 'Un Movimento Agrario nel Cinque-Cento' in Scritti Vari di Storia del Diritto Italiano, I (Milan 1943) - but the case of Friuli appears unique, and that of Padua part of a common pattern.

420. Cfr. n. 334 above, book five rubric three of the 1420 city statutes, dealing with the estimi and factiones of the ville, contains a series of rulings (c. 354r ff.) on the single or joint responsibility for tax of various rural centres and neighbourhoods.

421. A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 12v and 14, 27 Mar. and 13 Apr. 1477, A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 24v-25v 8 June 1477; it is not clear in which communes, on what occasion or by what authority the divisions were made - they may have been a consequence of the fuoghi revision of 1470-74.

422. Cfr. the book and rubric cited in n. 420 above for the 1420 statutes; see too the precise ruling of the deputati ad utilia in 1447 on the liability of consortes of the villages; cfr. VENTURA op. cit. p. 410 n. 64, the Senate legislated in 1448 (26 Apr.) against the tax dodging of sylvan citizens, in particular those who took citizenship but remained country dwellers and tillers of the land, whilst avoiding the heavier rural taxes. Themd of Carrarese statutes, the topic was perennially recurrent in the later 15th century, by then become no less a grievance of the territorio than a symptom of aristocratic disdain for arti meccaniche: as much social as economic as an issue. Cfr. PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCVI pp. 744-45, and A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 260r-61r 23 Jan. 1490, c. 274r 14 Aug. 1490; (approved in) A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 41v-42v 10 Dec. 1490. A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 368r-14 Jan. 1501. A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 118r-19r 31 Aug. 1503. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 16 c. 100 12 Feb. 1509 (confirming the Paduan parte of 1501). The substance of the two Paduan parti of 1490 and 1501, and of the draught agreement with the territorio of 1503, was to oblige citizens created by privilege to renounce rural habitation and cultivation. Cfr. discussion in LAW The Commune of Verona pp. 140ff., for Brescia PASERO 'Dati statistici' cit. pp. 76-79, and also W.BONSKY 'Cives Silvestres - Sylvan Citizenship and the Sienese Commune 1287-1335' in Bullettino Senese di St. Patria, III, 24, 1965.

423. The deputati ad utilia ruled in favour of the village of Peraga and against cultivators of its fields dwelling elsewhere in 1479 (A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 100v 13 Jan. 1479), but contrary precedents existed too (see e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. c. 129v 4 Mar. 1471, the reversal by the Venetian appeal court of a ruling by the Paduan Podestà in a similar case). In 1479 the Council attempted to define the responsibility for tax of individuals moving, and of their collectivities, between revisions of the local annual estimi and general reforms of the fuochi; it confirmed that the 'possessores' of land should always pay '..tanquam consortes' where the land was listed for tax (therefore all 'real' obligations, by the terms of 1447) - cfr. A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 163r-64v 10 Sept. 1479, c. 204v-05r 21 Feb. 1480, and A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 59r-60r 21 Mar. 1480 (confirmation by Venice). But further intervention was necessary in 1491, when economic deterioration was evident in the villages within reach of the Paduan campagna (the limited sub-urban rural area, with the privilege of paying the same taxes as citizens), since campagna inhabitants were working their lands without contributing to tax - cfr. A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 311v-13r 12 Mar. 1491, c. 314v 14 Mar. 1491. These orders also embrace the question of agreements over tax payment between villages and their consortes, often concluded to the villages' disadvantage - evident from a 1494 hearing over the tax debts of Legnaro (Pieve di Sacco) and the responsibilities of various local inhabitants, some recently arrived. It was alleged of Bernardo and Piero de Fabri, who claimed the protection of legal agreements on their share of tax, that they '... laborant fere omnes terras illius ville burgi lignari, quorum causa et culpa reliqui homines cogacti sunt absentare se ab illa villa, quia illi de fabris omnia absorbunt ad sui beneficium', (see A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 87r-88r 7 Mar. 1494). Cfr. Idem c. 303 18 Jan. 1501, the Council denounced pacts between the communes and the workers on citizens' estates over the sharing of tax as damaging the fiscal strength of the villages to the point of provoking depopulation, demanding that 'real' and 'personal' taxes be fairly divided; significantly, instead of the usual near unanimity in the Council's voting, the parte passed 75 - 40.

424. Cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 90v-91v 9 June 1502 - clause 4 demands that the statutes be observed, in taxing all living in the campagna, exempt areas or distant villages, in the village where they work; clause 5 annuls all pacts of the type referred to in n. 423; clause 7 demands that gastaldi paid less than a living wage as such, or indulging in other forms of gains, be taxed like all others. In 1497 and 1501 the Council had admitted the harm from exaggerated protection of gastaldi- A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 190v 28 Feb. 1497, c. 310v 15 Jun. 1501, but since Venetians' estates were often referred to (the 1501 parte was exclusively concerned with the loss in fiscal potential of the Vicariate of Mirano, virtually adjoining Mestre) polemic more than conviction was at the root of these declarations. For previous opinions expressed by the Council or its deputati, see A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 168v 8 Oct. 1465, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 223v 6 May 1469 (a ducale issued at the Commune's request), A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 3 c. 21r 27 June 1472, and c. 20r 19 Dec. 1475. Significantly perhaps, the 1475 order was issued in protection of a gastaldo at Lignaro (cfr. above n. 423, the hearing of 1494) at the request of the current Podestà of Padua, whose family he served. Venetian authority, not sur-

424. (cont.) prisingly, seems to have favoured gastaldi - see e.g. A.S.V. Avogadori di Comun b. 3584, letter to the Podesta of Cittadella dated 30 Aug. 1502 in favour of the gastaldo of the noble Andrea Dandolo. Cfr. HERLIHY 'The Population of Verona' cit. pp. 96-97, exemption of landowners' servants from rural taxes, and fraudulent use of the privilege, were an old problem in Verona too.

425. See SAVIOLO Compendio cit. pp. 29-30. Cfr. BONARDI 'I Padovani Ribelli' cit. p. 416, 11,000 campi, houses, mills and other assets were disposed of after 1509. For evidence of renewed 16th century attention to privileges, see the plentiful material on Venetians' property in the Padovano in A.S.P. Territorio voll. 60, 186.

426. For Venetians' direct tax-paying, see below pp 206ff. On the whole question of the dispersal of the da Carrara private patrimony, see LAZZARINI 'Beni Carraresi' cit. The last case he documents (no. 38) is that of the lands conceded by Francesco II da Carrara to his brother Giacopo, centred round Piazzola (on the Brenta north-west of Padua), totalling about 3,000 campi, which in the 15th century were the property of the Contarini da S. Trovaso by inheritance from Jacopo's widow; apart from the two 15th century documents he quotes attesting the privilege of this estate (of 1406 and 1476), others of 1406-07,1453, and 1493-94 may be found in Ms. B.M. It. VII 1843 (8423). For an outline of Venetian policy on public property, and property of uncertain attribution, see G.FERRARI 'La Legislazione Veneta sui Beni Comunali' in N.A.V. n.s. , t. XXXVI (1918) esp. pp. 11-19; the political importance of the issue is quite apparent here, and his evidence is supported by much archive material encountered in the preparation of this study, though it would be out of place to cite it here.

427. SAVIOLO Compendio cit. p. 31.

428. The last Marquis was Bertoldo, like his father a Venetian condottiere, who died in Greece in 1463, (see above p.54 and n. 158). The state's administration of the inheritance took the form of sales, to meet the claims of creditors who included the Council Of Ten, owed D. 552 for arms supplied to Bertoldo (see A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 16 c. 183v 2 Jan. 1465). For the sales, see references in A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 106r 8 Jan. 1465 (when the Senate put the matter under its authority) and reg. 6 c. 72v 8 Oct. 1469 (when the sales were ended) - and others over the intervening years. The Camerlengaria of Este, in the same area, acquired by the Pisani at the time of the War of Ferrara, also enjoyed privileged tax status, cfr. SAVIOLO op. cit. p. 35, and above p 27 and n. 10.

429. SAVIOLO op. cit. pp. 5-6.

430. The investigation was proposed in the spring of 1501, but proceeded slowly; unfavourable circumstances were the very nature of the task, and the fact that the sales had been conducted in Venice, so that the documents were in the possession of the Provveditori sopra le Camere. Among those with spurious claims to privilege were the Beolco (family of the actor-playwright Ruzante), with over 100 campi round Montagnana. Cfr. A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 8r 1 Mar. 1501, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 122r 1 Apr. 1501, A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 145r 20 Oct. 1504, c. 180v-81r 10 June 1505, A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 5 c. 91 and 94v, 23 Jan. and 23 Apr. 1509.

431. The Council sought, and the Signoria gave, a ruling to this effect in 1445; all Venetians' property, however acquired, was also liable, though if Venetian-held before 1446 it could choose to pay Venetian direct tax instead of dadie - See PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 939, 1254. For later confirmation of this, see SAVIOLO Compendio p. 5; the ducale of 16 Feb. 1482 to which he refers was issued following Paduan protest at exemption from dadie claimed from instruments of purchase, rulings of the city Rettori and others, or because waste land had been brough to cultivation - see A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 304r-05r Feb. 1482, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 42r 16 Feb. 1482.

432. A ducale of 28 Mar. 1482 (A.S.P. Territorio vol. 302) ruled that all Padovano tax-payers, exempt or not, contribute to the cost of guastadori and taxe di cavalli, (then particularly heavy with the province serving as marshalling ground for the War of Ferrara armies). In the emergency taxation of 1501, the Senate ruled that the campatico be paid irrespective of privileges and exemptions, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 13 c. 172v 13 Jan. 1501. But exceptions were rare.

433. For the confiscations following 1509, cfr. n. 425 above; considerable estates, notably those of part of the Buzzacarin family and the Scrovegni, were sold after the 1435 plot - see E.PIVA Venezia, Scaligeri e Carraresi. Storia di una Persecuzione Politica del XV Secolo, (Rovigo 1899), and subsequent references, e.g. over the conditions of sale of the decima of Saonara (about 10 km. east-southeast of Padua) in 1461, (A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 4 c. 178r 1 Aug. 1461 - it had been the property of Lodovico Buzzacarin).

434. For the 1435 plot, see PIVA op. cit. pp. 106 ff.For the renewal of these privileges for subsequent generations, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 187v-8r 24 Dec. 1474 - the grandsons of Guido de Piva; Iddm c. 93v 4 Apr. 1435, 14 Feb. 1470, 9 Oct. 1483 - the son and heirs of Aldrigheto de' Cortosii. For Squarcione's career, see V.LAZZARINI and A.MOSCHETTI 'Documenti Relativi alla Pittura Padovana del Secolo XV' in N.A.V. t. XV, 1908; for the exemption see LAZZARINI's note in B.M.C.P. , 12, (1898), and A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 130r 1 Jan. 1465. Annibale Capodilista, knighted by the Signoria in 1489 for his loyalty (see SANUDO Vita dei Dogi, R.I.S. 1st ed., t. XXII part IV, Milan 1733, p. 1245), was rewarded with tax exemption by the city Council of Padua - A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 220r 13 Mar. 1489, (which he chose over the alternative offered, tenure of a Padovano Vicariate).

435. For these lists, cfr. too PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 936 and SAVIOLO Compendio pp. 29-30. There were also more esoteric privileges - like that conceded in the year 806 to the inhabitants of Malamocco, invoked at this time (see A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 62v-63r 3 Oct. 1488, A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 338r 21 Oct. 1488, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 79v 18 Nov. 1491). For the regular army see MALLETT Mercenaries and their Masters cit. p. 86, and e.g. A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 3 c. 37r 5 Dec. 1472, recognition of the exempt status of a soldier serving with Carlo Fortebraccio. For the various levies, exempt from 'personal' obligations, cfr. above 47ff. -

436. See A.S.P. Magistrature e Cariche Diverse, vol. IX, ruling by the Paduan stimadori dated 29 Dec. 1436; the Comandadori's exemption at least dated from the 14th century, cfr. Idem vol. XXIX, rulings dated 12 Feb. 1336, 22 Dec. 1422, 24 July 1436, and A.S.P. Territorio vol. 175, ruling by the Sindaci di Terraferma dated 14 Dec. 1440.

437. For the boatmen, see B.CESSI 'Le Fraglie dei Barcajoli in Padova' in Ateneo Veneto, 1902; for masons and carpenters, see PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 885-86, XCVII p. 86 - their privileges were connected with service to the Paduan Camera dei Lavorieri, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 212v-13r 9 Apr. 1462 and 19 Dec. 1466, (where there is also mention of fire-fighting). For the bidelli see A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 188 April/May 1465. The tax privileges of the city's campagna - to pay only the same taxes as citizens - existed for largely analogous reasons, of importance in the city's economic activity, communications and stfuctural maintenance; there is mention of the extensive use of its carts and oxen in transporting material for the Camera de' Lavorieri in AS.P. Territorio vol. 139, 9 Nov. 1485.

438. See PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 939-40, and grants intermittently recorded in the pages of A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria.

439. See PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 903, and Idem 'Le Famiglie

439. (Cont.) Numerose nella Legislazione Tributaria Padovana del Secolo XV' in Atti e Memorie R. Accad. Scienze Lettere ed Arti in Padova 50, 1934. Any dependent in a household over the number of three, under the age of twenty (or over if female and unmarried), was worth a 5 soldi estimo reduction; and families with twelve dependents could request total tax exemption - there is occasional evidence of successful petitions by citizens of standing, (see A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 53v-54r 16 Mar. 1478, c. 94r 18 Jan. 1482 and 11 Oct. 1483, reg. G c. 5v 9 Aug. 1503, c. 11r 3 Oct. 1504). But in 1481 (A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 248r 3 June 1481, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 79 8 July 1481) the Council obtained Venice's approval to end grants on this principle to peasants, arguing that numbers were wealth, when wealth was largely dependent on the capacity for bodily exertion...

440. See e.g. A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 188 April/May 1466, c. 259v-60r 1 May 1468 - commissions to Venice to oppose the masons' privilege; Idem c. 317v 5 Apr. 1469, the Council refused to grant the exemption due for his profession to a carpenter who had incautiously sought its approval.

442. PINO BRANCA ('Il Comune' XCIII p. 924) quotes a ducale of 1414 concerning omissions by the city authorities, but this did not end or impede the Council's right to alter estimo ratings, or give exemption as a form of reward - see e.g. the privileges of Squarcione and Capodilista, above n. 434.

441. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 57v-58r and 59r-61v, 6 and 16 Aug. 1476; Idem c. 11v 20 Mar. 1477, c. 14 13 Apr. 1477; A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 24v-25v 8 June 1477 (cfr. SAVIOLO Compendio p. 5). For the 1480s, cfr. pp. 226-7.

443. Significantly, the Council sought and obtained an end to grants to exceptionally large peasant families, while prominent citizens in the same circumstances continued to obtain exemption - cfr. note 439 above.

444. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 76v-77r 29 Dec. 1476, c. 85v-86r 10 Jan. 1477 (extended c. 20v 25 July 1477), c. 5v 26 Jan. 1477, c. 20r 25 July 1477, c. 20v 25 July 1477, c. 21r 25 July 1477, c. 102r 3 Jan. 1478, c. 103v 7 Jan. 1478 - for the Vitaliani and Malfatti; for a soldier, absent from the city; in one case for poverty and age; and in four cases for the cessation of artisan or commercial activity.

445. References to the case are innumerable in the Paduan administrative documents, particularly A.S.P. Atti, where the first and last mentions are in reg. V c. 63 (18 Mar. 1471) and reg. IX c. 59v (9 May 1502). The property in question was near the villages of Gazzo and Grantorto, on the border with the Vicentino.

446. In 1488 a Council parte reminded them that individual permission was required in every case, unless death or erroneous duplicate assessment merely necessitated cancellation - see A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 148r 5 Jan. 1488.

447. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 66v 7 Sept. 1493, andc. 79 8 Jan. 1494. For earlier grants, see e.g. Idem reg. VII c. 54v 19 Dec. 1486 - five years' dadie exemption to Dr. Geremias Brazolo after a fire at his country house; c. 73v 5 Jan. 1487, permission to the deputati to lower Peragin Lion's estimo rating after flooding on his lands; c. 314r 12 Mar. 1491, five years' dadie exemption to Francesco Dotto following fire damage.

448. See PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 1251, 1257; VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo p. 409. The main division between territorio and city-clergy was made by the Senate in 1418.

449. PINO BRANCA op. cit. p. 1251. Disputes over tax between Commune and clergy were no novelty - see e.g. GLORIA Dell'Agricoltura nel Padovano cit. pp. LXXX-LXXXIV for episodes in the 13th century.

(cont.)

449. and LAW The Commune of Verona cit. p. 272 for disputes over dadie sharing between commune and clergy in 15th century Verona.

450. See PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 1256. The Paduan clergy's complaints should not be taken as evidence of ecclesiastical impoverishment; Venice's ruling specifically referred to the Church's gains of property, and this was the aspect covered by Senate legislation of 1472 (A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 166r 22 June 1472) which ordered that property accruing to the clergy and religious institutions of the capital from lay hands continue to pay taxes as if in lay ownership. Cfr. below p 184 and n. 455.

451. See A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 316v-17r 5 Apr. 1469.

452. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 100v 27 Oct. 1467.

453. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 49 3 July 1488; A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 279r-80v 21 and 23 Oct. 1490; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 11 c. 37 and 39v-40r, 30 Nov. and 8 Dec. 1490; A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 299r and 309, 22 and 27 Jan. 1491; A.S.V. Collegio Notatorio reg. 14, entry dated 27 Jan. 1491. Cfr. PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 1256, and also P.GIOS L'Attività Pastorale del Vescovo Pietro Barozzi a Padova (1487-1507) (Padua 1977), recording Barozzi's presence in Venice to discuss this issue in Sept.-Oct. 1490 and Jan. 1491 (see pp. 267 and 318 n. 19).

454. For the use of the new estimo, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 89r 11 Aug. 1491. For the pressing of the Council's cause see A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 189v 27 Feb. 1497, c. 305r 11 Jan. 1501; reg. IX c. 64r, 65r , 72v, 105v, 106 - 3 Aug., 14 Oct., 7 Nov. 1502, 29 Jan. and 4 Feb. 1503 (cfr. SANUDO Diarii IV 727, 13 Feb. 1503); Idem c. 114v 19 Apr. 1503, c. 180v-81r 10 June 1505; and A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 15 c. 84v 5 July 1505, A.S.V. Collegio Notatorio reg. 15 entry dated 17 July 1505. For the committee's activity, see A.S.V. Collegio Notatorio reg. 16 entries dated 23 July 1507 and 10 Feb. 1508; A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 5 c. 44v, 48r, 51r 13 and 27 Mar. 1508, 6 May 1508; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 16 c. 61 3 Nov. 1508. In the absence of the Paduan Council registers for these years, Sanudo's reports (SANUDO Diarii VII 124 23 July 1507, VII 660 and 673 - 3 and 27 Nov. 1508) are doubly valuable; they confirm what the long delays anyway reveal, that the controversy bored authority in the capital, and report the Paduans' complaints and their motivation.

455. In protesting their poverty in a plea against the imposition of the campatico the Paduans had (among other claims) asserted that the clergy owned a third of the province's wealth, see SANUDO Diarii III 1381-82 4 Feb. 1501. Two years later the returning campatico exactor Francesco de Legge, less obviously partisan than the Paduans and in a good position to know, reported thus:'... disse havia il padoan per ducati 25 milia tutto, di qual il clero n'a il 3°, e ingana la Signoria per haver compra possession etc., e tamen anno l'extimo vechio', (SANUDO Diari IV 641 22 Jan. 1503). Though no more than approximations, these estimates correspond to others: the 1549 Paduan Podestà reckoned that the Paduan and Venetian clergy between them owned seven twentyfourths of the province's land, (see Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma IV, p. 20), while in 1552-53 Dall'Abaco calculated their share as one third of all cultivated land, (D.DALL'ABACO Stato di Padova e Suo Territorio nel 1552-3, ed. E. Cicogna, Venice 1850). Cipolla's article, (C.M. CIPOLLA 'Une Crise Ignorée. Comment s'est Perdue la Proprieté Ecclesiastique..' in Annales II, 1947) has been amply contradicted for the Padovano by Stella, (A.STELLA 'La Proprietà Ecclesiastica nella Repubblica di Venezia', Nuova Rivista Storica 12, 1958), by Steer, (L. STEER Landownership and Rural Conditions cit. pp. 236, 241-51 and esp. Appendix Va - pp. 483-86 - 'Ecclesiastical Acquisitions 1424-1509'), and now too by Gios (P.GIOS L'Attività Pastorale cit. p. 143 n. 35).

456. For wider discussion of this trend, common in Italy in the later middle ages, see n. 328 above with its selection of bibliographical references. For the 1425 law, see STEER Landownership and Rural Conditions cit.p. 215.

457. Cfr. above p.172 and n. 404.

458. See A.S.P. Atti V c. 227v-8r 23 Nov. 1474, the Signoria summoned Paduan representatives to answer the claims of various distretti that they were over-taxed. But, cfr. A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 3 c. 3v 23 Jan. 1475, the Council of the Vicariate of Conselve decided - against the persuasion of the Podesterie of Este, Monselice and Montagnana - not to oppose the city; and the matter was referred to Padua for settlement, see A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 260 2 June 1475. Cfr. Idem reg. VI c. 254v, 255v, 256v - 24 Sept., 1 and 10 Oct. 1481: protests were again steered towards a settlement.

459. For Venetians' tax, see below pp. 206 ff. For the exaction accounts, see A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 30v-32v 18 July 1492, c. 173r-75v 23 Dec. 1496, c. 193v-95v 18 Mar. 1497, c. 311r 15 Jan. 1501. Quite apart from Venetians' purchases removing wealth from the Padovano estimo - to Venetian tax-paying, or evasion, some of their acquisitions were transferred to the Paduan city estimo: see e.g. A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria c. 14v 17 Apr. 1480, an order to the exactor effecting a ruling by the city Captain, that the property at Campolongo of Gerolamo Donato, worth $^{1}/_{32}$ of a fuoco, be transferred from the villages 'consortes' estimo to the city list. Other, similar orders are to be found in the following pages.

460. For the 1480s situation, see above ff. 104 ff.; for the fuoghi, cfr. p.172 and n. 403. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 82r, 82v, 84r - 9, 11, and 27 Feb. 1487.

461. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 162r-63v 18 Apr. 1488, c. 217v 21 Feb. 1489, c. 226r 9 May 1489; A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 70r-71v 1 Apr. 1489, c. 72r 14 May 1489.

462. Cfr. above p.179 and nn. 436-37. For examples, see A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 3 c. 50v 28 May 1473, property of the commandadore Paolo Zatina fu Bartolomeo; A.S.P. Territorio vol. 186 order of the deputati dated 28 June 1490 for a carpenter's property in the Vicariate of Mirano; Idem vol. 286, a similar order dated 14 Dec. 1490 for another carpenter's property round Villa del Conte; Idem vol. 246 , an order of 12 May 1495 for the property round Borgoricco of Lorenzo Traza, commandadore, with the village's estimo rating consequently reduced by $^{1}/_{64}$ of a fuoco.

463. Cfr. the last example in n. 462. In 1498 the Council had to soothe the territorio, upset because the city exactors had over-ruled declarations on the part of distrettuali alleging certain property of Venetian ownership to be liable for dadie with the Padovano; the claims had been repudiated and the consequently increased tax rate decided, without them being consulted. (A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 248, 13 Feb. 1498).

464. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 275v-76r 28 Apr. 1499; c. 308v-09r 14 Jan. 1501; perhaps too c. 272v, 277 - 4 Apr. and 11 May 1499, (instructions to representatives in Venice, so brief as to be cryptic).

465. Cfr. above p.157 and n. 331. See A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 30r 15 Nov. 1501, c. 56r and 57v, 4 and 28 Feb. 1502.

466. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 90v-91v 9 June 1502; for other issues, see above p 176 and n. 424.

467. See A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 105v, 106, 107v, 108r, 114v, 124r - 29 Jan., 4 and 25 Feb., 4 Mar., 19 Apr., 11 Aug. 1503; Idem c. 139r, 142v-43r, 143v, 145v-47r - 21 Apr., 2 Aug., 30 Sept., 8 and 12 Nov. 1504; A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 118r-19r 31 Aug. 1503; SANUDO Diarii IV 727, 824 - 13 Feb. and 16 Mar. 1503.

468. See p.184 and n. 454 above.
469. See PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 1257, and SAMIOLO Compendio pp. 9-10.
470. See VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo pp. 409-10 and nn. 63-64, quoting in particular a complaint by the Padovano of May 1538.
471. IDEM p. 409.
472. A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 56r 4 Feb. 1502.
473. For the differing rates at which the dadie were levied in the city during the fifteenth century, see PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 1257 n. 1. For the number and distribution of the fuoghi, and their value as a uhit of taxed wealth, see n. 399 above. For the 1502 total, conceivably low through the omission of temporarily exempt villages, see A.S.P. Territorio vol. 225, division dated 22 Sept. 1502.
474. See A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 3 c. 86r-87r 19 Sept. 1488, c. 94r 16 Mar. 1489; A.S.P. Territorio vol. 286, act dated 14 Sept. 1488. The individual concerned was Antonio da Bergamo, or Antonio de Petribelli, described as a merzaro. The number of distrettuali taking citizenship in this manner, and so transferring their property to the urban tax lists, may not easily be ascertained, since the registration of the relevant acts in the main archival administrative series appears casual. As in Verona at this time (cfr. above p.157 and n. 331), controversy probably magnified the scale of the phenomenon, which appears perhaps a dozen times in the records consulted in the course of the present study; cfr. too p.176 and n. 422 above.
475. See A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 4, orders dated 23 May 1500.
476. For this and what follows, see the information contained in Table VI, above p 154 -
477. A rough division of declared taxable wealth, quite apart from the suggestion of Ventura's figures for 1544-48 and the evidence of the 1585 reallocations may be obtained from the totals of tax paid and the relationship they bore to declared wealth; percentages for the latter figure are offered above for the city and territorio, and for the purposes of calculation the city's percentage was applied to the clergy. In the light of the later figures just referred to, this estimate of one quarter for the Padovano may err on the side of generosity; but the draining of fiscal resources was progressive, and we are here trying to assess the situation at the end of the fifteenth century.
478. Cfr. above p.170 and nn. 395-96, and pp.154-5 with Table VI and nn. 325-7.
479. Cfr. SITTA 'Saggio sulle Istituzioni Finanziarie' cit. pp. 109, 212-13; university teachers' pay accounts for nearly half the expenditure of 1492, and officials' salaries for much of the rest, (with the year's total L. 27,503 13 soldi). For Padua university, cfr. above pp.100, 139 and nn. 81, 290.
480. Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terraferma IV, p. 22.
481. See VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo pp. 405 ff., 416 ff. For Rovigo, see Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti VI, pp. XXIX, 10, 31; for Verona, see GIULIARI Documenti ddll'Antico Dialetto cit. p. 4 - in 1475 the city claimed to have only D. 120 p.a. in income from communal property.
482. The 1420 statutes retain a provision of 1287 concerning botteghe leased by the Commune to guilds, (see Ms B.P. 1236 c. 30v, book 1 rubric 14), and in the early decades of Venetian rule the Signoria loaned the Commune funds with which to build shops, (see PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 880); cfr. too A.S.P. Cassa Città vol. 78, instrument of livello dated 31 Oct. 1471, conceding a five-foot strip of space below the loggia to the bakers, adjoining those of other trades, for D. 28 p.a. The information on leases by the Commune contained in Cassa Città voll. 78, 270, 278 is less than complete, so that no accurate total of revenue may be inferred.

483. Cfr. p.84 and Table III, the 1533 figure for rents among the Paduan Camera's incomes; for the leasing of military premises and adjoining land see p above and nn. 19-21. For the general question of communal property see FERRARI's article, (n. 426 above). Part of the Commune's exercise of its rights in licensing the use of public property appears to have been subject to Venetian approval, no doubt on security grounds. On 24 Dec. 1490 the deputati, with the Rettori's consent, authorized Daniele Barbaro di Zacharia to keep firewood on the canal bank below the city's west wall (between Ponte de' Tadi and Ponte S.Leonardo), provided that carts passing and boats unloading were unhindered, (see A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 291r 24 Dec. 1490). But four years earlier motives of gain had put ownership in question, when the Signoria instructed the Camera Fiscale to lease an adjoining canal bank, from Ponte de' Tadi to Ponte S.Giovanni delle Navi, provoking the protests of the city Council, (see A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 14v and 15v 17 and 18 Mar. 1486, c. 43v 13 Oct. 1486, c. 48v 13 Nov. 1486, c. 104v 3 Dec. 1487; A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 59r 15 Dec. 1487). In 1505, with the search for extra revenue in progress (see p 125 and n. 227, pp 135 and nn. 265-67, n. 336), Signoria and Rettori reviewed the viability of building and leasing hydraulic installations at Porciglia, to the northeast of the city walls - see A.S.P. Ducali reg. G c. 19 21 May 1505.

484. Cfr. above pp. 138 and nn. 279-287, and PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 880. Certain of the Council's parti prescribed penalties for their transgressors, e.g. in the appointment of ambassadors and assignment of moneys to congratulate a new Doge - A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 25r-26r 13 May 1462, for Cristoforo Moro. But the surviving documentation of the Commune's spending for this period, in A.S.P. Cassa Città voll. 189-192 (registers of mandati), gives no indication that fine moneys or indeed income from property played any significant part in the city's finances.

485. For details of the exactor's agreement with the Commune as it stood in 1473, see PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' cit. XCIII pp. 1262-65; cfr. too the accounts presented for the years 1486-93, above n. 459. With collection from the clergy excluded from the reckoning, to gather L. 1,000 from a 5% surcharge on city and territorio signifies late collection of L. 20,000 - at least a sixth of the total, and no doubt much more since we have to add the exactor's gains from this source, (never stated in the rendering of accounts to the city Council).

486. The accounts for the four two-year periods between 1486 and 1493 show a surplus beyond the city's share of the dadie delle lanze of (respectively) L. 11,956 12 soldi, L. 5,498 14 soldi 2 d, L. 2,563 16 soldi, and L. 6,457 4 soldi 1 d, including the L. 1,000 p.a. of fines on late payment. The higher figures for 1486-87 are due to a spedial levy imposed in 1486, following severe plague the preceding year. For the dadie rates over the period, see the reference in n. 473 above; the rate rose in 1492, as a new city estimo was being compiled and various extra needs presented themselves. In 1496, and for every year bar one up to the end of 1505, it was at L. 7 10 soldi; it then rose sharply, (see below pp 232).

487. See VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo pp. 347 ff. - discussion of the political ethos of terraferma cities; pp. 419-20 - comments on municipal finance.

488. Dadie supplements in favour of the Lazaretto were imposed in 1465, 1468, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1484, 1486, 1503 and 1505 - see PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 1257 n. 1, E.MORPURGO 'Lo Studio di Padova, le Epidemie ed i Contagi durante il Governo della Repubblica Veneta 1405-1797' (Memorie e Documenti per la Storia della Università di Padova, vol. 1, Padua 1922), pp. 128, 132; the instances they do not

488. (cont.) report are in A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 111r 27 June 1478; reg. VII c. 2v 1 Jan. 1486; reg. IX c. 182 and 183, 23 Aug., 13 Sept. and 14 Oct. 1505.

489. See entries in the city's accounts - e.g. A.S.P. Cassa Città vol. 189, 20 Apr. 1469, returning L. 42 8 soldi advanced by the Massaro; Idem vol. 190, among the entries for 1505, restitution of L. 620 loaned by Alberto Trapolin. The Commune also borrowed from the city's Venetian Rettori, cfr. A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 27 22 June 1486, and c. 81v 9 Feb. 1487, for the repayment of two-year-old debts totalling D. 190.

490. See e.g. in 1465, for a border dispute with Vicenza (PINO BRANCA 'Il Cõmune' XCIII p. 1257 n. 1); in 1495, to lobby in Rome for Paduans' claims to the province's benefices, (A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 126 20 Aug. 1495); in 1497, for a dispute with Verona over waterways, (Idem c. 208r 16 May 1497).

491. Money was necessary in 1493 to conduct negotiations with the Council of Ten over the city's firewood supply, (A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 60v 9 June 1493), and in 1501 for a miscellany of affairs to settle with authority in Venice, again including timber, (Idem reg. IX c. 30r 15 Nov. 1501).

492. Predise calculation from the entries in voll. 189-191 of A.S.P. Cassa Città is thwarted by the indifference with which the bollette and mandati issued by the deputati ad utilia to order payments were addressed to either or both the current massaro and dadie exactor, (and sometimes to past exactors too); the occasional transfer of funds from exactor to massaro also obscures precise computation. The figures given here were obtained from the relevant entries of Cassa Città voll. 189-190.

493. Cfr. above pp179-82 and nn. 434-447, and e.g. A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 303r 30 Dec. 1490: a pension of L. 20 a month awarded to Francesco Dalesmanini (Idem c. 277 12 Oct. 1490) was converted into the grant of a Padovano Vicariate and the office of Cavaliere alle Biade.

494. Originally the building work was to have been paid for by economies in existing expenditure - abolishing the deputati's salary and cutting that of the massaro of the fondaco, pruning display to honour arriving and departing Rettori; by requesting the Rettori's portion of court fines; by awarding the Council's own fines for the refusal of office. A proposal to take funds accumulated in the Lazaretto was rejected. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 65r-66r 29 July 1493, c. 68r 3 Nov. 1493, c. 124r 30 June 1495, c. 167v 1 Sept. 1496. The increased dadie rate of 1 soldo per Lira of estimo passed only at the second attempt in 1495, and an attempt to set it higher failed in 1496 - see Idem c. 121v-2r 20 May 1495, c. 161r 20 May 1496, and reg. IX c. 64v 27 Aug. 1502, c. 180v 13 Dec. 1505, (the yield was L. 200 or so a month). See below *

495. The records in A.S.P. Cassa Città voll. 189-190 suggest totals of L. 461 12 soldi in 1469, L. 1,207 7 soldi in 1488, and over L. 1,600 in 1505, by which time the city regularly leased furnished accomodation in Venice for the comings and goings of its ambassadors.

496. A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 91r, 92, 18 and 23 May 1487; A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 53v 30 May 1487; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 10 c. 92v 14 Apr. 1488.

497. The records consulted for this study give virtually no indication of the centenari's activity, though statutory material of 1339 (quoted by PINO BRANCA, cfr. above n. 396) foresaw and regulated the imposition of taxes in the city neighbourhoods and suburbs.

498. For the activity of the Camera see the 1420 statutes, Ms. B.P. 1236 c. 340, statute of 1420; the 1533 Camera Fiscale payroll included two supervisors and a massaro, (cfr. Relazione... Agostino da Mula); and see above pp123-4 and n. 214, n. 437, n. 378. In 1488 the city

* Cfr. G. CAPPELLETTI Storia di Padova (Padua, 1874) vol. II p. 216, the Loggia was still incomplete in 1509, in 1545 it was finally roofed in Pa[illegible]

498. (cont.) Council passed a parte calling for the return of Paduan citizen supervision of the Camera, also noting its importance as an employer, and the fact that at Vicenza and Verona local citizens were in charge, (see A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 171 28 June 1488, c. 172r 30 June 1488). Their demand coincided with the visiting Avogadori di Comun's investigations and denunciation against the current Venetian supervisor; but his successful resistance and continued tenure must also have scotched the Council's plan. For the situation in Verona, see V.MISTRUMZI 'Giorgio Sommariva Rimatore Veronese del Secolo XV' in A.V-T. vol. 6, 1924, esp. pp. 139 and n. 1, 151, 159, 163: Sommariva served as 'superstes laboreriorum et fortilitiorum et rocharum Verone et districtus', then in a similar post in Gradisca, finally returning to Verona.

499. VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo pp. 421 ff, introduces the question of 'popular' resentment at noble mishandling of public finance, but his argument centres on the wealthier Monti di Pietà and luoghi pii. Auditing of the Commune's Massaro and Quaderniere was rare, their tenure of office lengthened from the statutory single year to much longer terms; their auditing of the dadie exactors - all but colleagues - must have been friendly. Debts to the Commune accumulated, and at the turn of the century a halting attempt was made to recover them, (see A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c, 122v 20 May 1495, c. 219r 29 Dec. 1497; reg. IX c. 79v 21 Jan. 1503, c. 99r-104v (office lists for 1503), c. 120v 22 May 1503; and Atti vol. 41, scrutiny dated 25 Feb. 1504). Cfr. in general PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 1284-1303, with evidence from the first half of the century; and for the second half, scattered lists of office-holders, elections and administrative parti in the regg. of A.S.P. Atti.

500. The offices of Massaro and Quaderniere were created in 1436 and 1444 respectively, the former concerned more with the handling of moneys, the latter with its accounting and administration; the Commune's finances were particularly confused at that time, with heavy tax demands resulting from the Visconti Wars, and consequently frequent borrowing from leading citizens, (see PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 1267 ff., 1286 ff., 1298 ff.). By the end of the century the Quaderniere appears the more important of the two - cfr. A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 298 30 Apr. 1500, revised regulations for his functions, especially keeping the estimo books and recording the expenses of public representation in Venice; see Idem reg. IX c. 70 29 Oct. 1502, the serving Quaderniere was given responsibility over the traffic and accounts in Padua's hired lodgings in the capital; and in 1505 it was the Quaderniere who took over collection of the dadie, when no exactor could be found, (see below p 232).

501. The contracting out of dadie collection was certainly usual by the 1460s, and the terms of appointment more or less stable, with nomination by the city Council; see proposed terms in 1469, (A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 334v-36r 31 Aug. 1469), and those of 1473 preserved as a specimen copy, (PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 1262-65). The exactor required resources of his own in reserve, and acted to a certain extent as credit financier, so that the Commune had to borrow from others only in emergency, e.g. to pay the 1470 subsidy - A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 21 7 July 1470, or for petty cash - see n. 489 above. If the city's expenditure exceeded the surplus yield of dadie collection, the exactor remained the Commune's creditor - see the accounts for 1486-93 (above n. 459), and also argument over Fabiano de' Fabiani's due in A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 5 c. 19r, 32r, entries dated 15 and 18 May, 13 Nov. 1507. The collector's terms allowed the Commune to anticipate its income from him by L. 1,000, to be repaid by his successor; when he could spare no money for Padua's spending, extra tax was the only alternative, as in 1493 (cfr. n. 491) - the Council described him as '... unicum rimedium in similibus'.

502. See below pp. 225 ff , esp. the Council parte of 21 Mar. 1484. (4652) After the dadie crisis of 1505-06 the only way of attracting a collector was for the Council to offer him a loan, an extreme solution for a body accustomed to proclaiming the Commune's and their own poverty, (see p 232)

503. Cfr. in general pp 152-7 and nn. 314-32, pp 170 and n. 395.

504. See p 171 and n. 400, pp 175 and nn. 419 ff.

505. Cfr. p 157 and n. 331.

506. Cfr. the article by FERRARI (n. 426 above); for the connection between indebtedness and the dispersal of communal property, see P.JONES 'Florentine Families and Florentine Diaries in the Fourteenth Century' in Papers of the British School at Rome, N.S. vol. XI 1956, p. 188. A dispute between the humanist and diplomat Bernardo Bembo and the Mussato family of Padua brings to light the division of woodland at Busiago, north of Padua and near the Bembo estates bought in 1406 from the Carrarese inheritance; the Mussato had bought the rights from surrounding communes, and an intervention by Bembo appears ambiguous, protecting public property in his office of Avogadore di Comun, but apparently acting in disappointment at his own family's exclusion from the transactions, (in the 1450s). See LAZZARINI 'Beni Carraresi' cit., document 8; A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 158v-59r 19 Feb. 1496, c. 164v-65r 5 Apr. 1496, c. 166r 4 Aug. 1496, c. 176r and 187v 7 and 18 Jan. 1497; A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 27cc. 56v 28 Mar. 1496, c. 119v 28 Feb. 1497, c. 138r 27 May 1497. Economy of space prevents reference to other examples, this one being included on account of the attention it attracted.

507. Above pp 102-11 and nn. 87-147.

508. M.BERENGO La Società Veneta alla Fine del Settecento. Ricerche Storiché, Florence 1956, pp. 102-03, quoted in PRETO 'Il Regime Fiscale' cit., whose judgement on Verona is concordant, (see pp. 262-63 and nn. 112-13).

509. For the statutory material, cfr. n. 334 above.

510. See the specimen commission to the Vicar of Conselve in A.S.P. Atti vol. 40, cc. 24-33; and correspondence between the Governors of Padua and the territorio Podesta, e.g. A.S.P. Lettere di Rettori vol. 1, letter dated 26 Mar. 1504 from Piove di Sacco.

511. For corvées in general, see the full discussion in PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 359-65, XCVI pp. 762-74. The Council not infrequently asked the Signoria to take steps for repair work in particular localities - the waterways round Solesino (near Este) are an example that occur twice in our period, (see A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 150v 23 Jan. 1488, reg. IX c, 11r 6 Mar. 1501). Work on the important Battaglia canal (at the foot of the Euganei) was in the charge of the citizen Alvise Bertoldo in 1473, (see A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria vol. 192, entry dated 10 Sept. 1473), but the major Brenta workings begun in 1488 (cfr. below p 199) were supervised by a Venetian Provveditore, his expenses paid by the territorio, with the Padovano's workforce under citizen supervisors, salaried at the Padovano's expense, (see A.S.P. Territorio vol. 337 ducale dated 2 Feb. 1489, for the Venetian; Idem vol. 344 14 Feb. 1490, computation for the Paduan[illegible] work.

512. In October 1504 the Council indignantly opposed suggestions from the territorio that it contribute to the work on the Adige at the Rotta Sabadina (below 198); and three months later agreed to contest an appeal by distrettuali against the city Captain's award of expenses to be levied from them, with which to pay the citizen supervisor in charge of the work, (see A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 144r 7 Oct. 1504, c. 173 26 Jan. 1505. For responsibility for maintenance within the city see the statutes, (Ms. B.P. 1236 c. 360 ff. for waterways, c. 364r ff. for roads etc, esp. c. 365v-66r), which give the Paduan campagna (the tax-privileged villages near the

walls) much of the labour, especially in fetching and carrying earth and gravel - cfr. too n. 437 above.

513. The campagna inhabitants attempted to prove the territorio's responsibility for certain of the city canals - see A.S.P. Territorio vol. 316 ducale of 10 Sept. 1467; Idem vol. 139 Captain's ruling of 12 Sept. 1467; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg, 6 c. 2r 21 Sept. 1467; A.S.P. Territorio vol. 316 letters of the Avogadori di Comun of 2 and 27 Oct. 1467, ducali of 6 Oct., 5 and 16 Nov. 1474; Idem vol. 139 Captain's ruling of 9 Oct. 1485, repealed by the Quarantia 15 Dec. 1486; Idem vol. 172 letter of the Avogadori of 20 Dec. 1488 and valuation dated 9 Jan. 1489; Idem vol. 139 documents cited on 9 Mar. 1545... For litigation over the Battaglia canal, see A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 223r, 224r, 225r, 226: 5 and 16 July, 1 and 6 Aug. 1474. For the war-damaged areas, cfr. above p.26 and n. 4, below p.226 and n.657ff,(tax exemptions resulting); special extra taxes imposed were not collected, resulting in further flooding in 1486 and 1488, (see A.S.P. Territorio vol. 405 c. 409ff., letter of the Padua Captain dated 21 Jan. 1489, declaration by the Este Podestà of 19 Mar. 1489).

514. See e.g. A.S.P. Territorio vol. 405 c. 34 10 June 1488: the Padua Captain invoked a law of 19 Jan. 1417 to cancel work on the Brenta planned to benefit 'certain nobles', masked as a corvée. See reports of breaches, of the newly repaired Monselice canal in 1482, and at Battaglia in 1505, (A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 139r 3 Feb. 1482; Idem reg. 15 c. 69v 29 Mar. 1505).

515. A short account of the Rotta Sabadina dispute is in BONARDI 'I Padovani Ribelli' cit. pp. 322-26.

516. For an account of disputes - Padua's were mainly with Vicenza and Verona - see PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCVI pp. 770 ff.

517. The ditching-round of the Arsenal's Carpaneda wood (cfr. p and n. 172) was an occasional duty, see A.S.P. Territorio vol. 225 ducale dated 30 July 1502, as was the carting of oaks to Limena to strengthen the Brenta's banks at its point of division immediately northwest of the city, (see A.S.P. Territorio vol. 97 ducale dated 5 Mar, 1468)...

518. For Paduans' service in Friuli at this time, cfr. above p.48 and nn. 122-23, p 49 and n. 132. In Dec. 1478 the Senate awarded Padua and its territorio a share in fortification works on the river Isonzo, and the city Council reacted by stating its unwillingness if it were a corvée (publicum) since this would contravene all precedent, whereas - by implication - there was no objection to citizens occupying positions of command, (see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 31r 14 Dec. 1478, A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 154v-55r 8 Jan. 1479). Cfr. above n. 325, the military corvées listed in the 1549 Podestà's summary of taxes.

519. Corvées outside the village and those outside its distretto were divided with progressively greater dependence on wealth assessed in the local estimo, and diminishing application of the per capita principle; and those outside the Padovano were levied entirely according to the estimo - a system which must have facilitated the replacement of personal service, (cfr. PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 895). It emerges from a letter of the Venetian court of the Procuratori (A.S.P. Lettere di Rettori vol. I, dated 23 Sept. 1503) that the consortes of Strà, a village on the canal to Venice with presumably many Venetians among its landholders, had contracted their share of work on the canal to an engineer. But contracting of works might also be authority's answer to dilatory or dissentient contributors: see e.g. A.S.P. Territorio vol. 403 c. 91 21 Nov. 1478, the Padua Captain auctioned the joint half-share of the distretti of Camposampiero, Mirano and Oriago of repairs to the Brenta's banks in the distretto of Piove di Sacco. This was also often the practice with distant provinces' contributions due for

work on the Brenta's diversion in 1488 and after, (cfr. nn. 523,620).

520. For taxe, cfr. p. 46 and nn. 111-12.

521. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 27v-28r 22 June 1486, and c. 26r 11 June 1486; cfr. a SARTI 'sul Campanile che doveasi ergere presso il Tempio di S. Antonio in Padova', Rivista Periodica della P. Accad. di Sc. Lett. ed A. in Padova, n. XXXII 1883

522. The Signoria insisted on the urgency of the Friuli work, threatening to contract it out (at the territorio's expense), and delayed the other project till after the harvest - see A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 52r 6 Aug. 1486; A.S.V. Collegio Secreta Commissioni, reg. 1482-1495 c. 22v 11 Aug. 1486; A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 12v 4 Sept. 1486; A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 168 1 June 1488; A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 56r 7 June 1488.

523. Cfr. passing references to this scheme, above p. 122 and n. 201; n. 287; p. 155 and n. 327; n. 511. The fullest studies in print are old, but none the worse for it: see C.VACANI Memoria della Laguna di Venezia e dei Fiumi nelle Attigue Provincie, Florence 1867, pp. 95 ff.; P.PINTON'Idrografia e Toponomastica dell'Antica Saccisica' in Bollettino della Societa Geografica Italiana, 1891 (serie III vol. VII fasc. 8, 11-12); G.PAVANELLO Marco Cornaro. Scritture sulla Laguna 1412-64, Venice 1919, (Vol. I of Antichi Scrittori d'Idraulica Veneta). Much detailed further material may be found in A.S.P. Territorio voll. 30, 337, 405. For the city's first reaction in 1488, see A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 187v-88v 12 Nov. 1488.

524. The Paduan Council's complaints were especially frequent in 1488 and 1489, but criticisms and objections kept returning; on 20 Nov. 1506 (A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 21lv) it voted a comprehensive condemnation of the scheme's practical effects.

525. Cfr. above p. 155 and nn. 326-28. Forced exaction for tax is discussed below, see pp. 216 ff; the question of damna data, and citizens' rights to compensation for damage, is too large and complex a question to deal with here. Suffice it to say that the 1549 Podestà's Relazione includes immediately after the list of the territorio's taxes '... Et oltre queste vi sopragiunge poi spese di pignore e cavallar per condanason de danni dati che passano lire vinticinque mille.' (See Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti IV, p. 22). This figure was not included in the compilation of Table VI.

526. Cfr. nn. 327-28.

527. See n. 325 above; the 1554 Podestà explains, (op. cit. p. 44), that the peasants grow poorer above all '... per mal governo di soi ministri, i quali hanno grandi salarij per pagar le gravezze in Camera et molti de loro togliono li salarij et non pagano le gravezze, questi li chiamano cultori, li quali hanno tanti moza de formento al'anno dalle ville, et sonno salarij excessivi...' See below *

528. Cfr. above p. 161 and nn. 353-56; the 1504 agreement between city and territorio (above p. 187 and n. 467) incorporated rudimentary safeguards against delayed collection, with the re-distribution of the shares of villages found unable to pay, and access allowed to the distretti to a digest of the collector's accounts.

529. Cfr. below pp. 216 ff.

530. For the dadia, and disputes over the clergy's share, see pp. 182-3 and nn. 448-455; for the decime see above pp. 76-8, Table I and discussion of its figures, and Tables V and VI (pp. 85, 154). The estimated annual rate of the decime is calculated from receipts issued to the Paduan Camera Fiscale by Venetian handling offices, recorded in the regg. of A.S.P. Ducali; four partially overlapping one-year periods were studied, chosen for the apparent completeness of their registration, though allowance was made for distortion caused by delayed collection, and possibly by the effecting of certain payments directly to the capital - see below p. 203 , (cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 128v 12 Jan. 1472 - c. 143r 7 Jan. 1473; Idem c. 141r 2 Sept. 1472 - c. 148r 22 Aug. 1473; reg. C c. 62r 22 June 1480 - c. 75r 18 Apr. 1481; Idem c. 65v 23 Aug. 1480 - c. 78r 10 July 1481. For Papal decime see e.g. above p. 97 and n. 61, p. 120 and n. 191.

* Cfr. op. cit. pp. 83-86, detailed explanation and denunciation by the Podestà of 1587.

531. See Bilanci Generali pp. CLIV, 146; also GIOS L'Attività Pastorale cit. p. 65 and n. 28, on the Patriarch Giovanni Barozzi's problems in upholding the Papal position in Venice.

532. See above pp. 106-8 and nn. 115-132, p. 183 and nn. 452-53. GIOS (op. cit. p. 338 n. 4) emphasizes the weight of secular tax on the clergy, citing evidence of Pietro Barozzi's difficulties with his decime payments. If this was so, its effect was selective: consider the wealth amassed by prelates like Cardinal Zen (above n. 204, below n. 539) or - at a humbler level - Alvise Angelieri, who exploited minor benefices to found the fortune of his nephew Alvise Corner, patron of Ruzante (see E. MENEGAZZO 'Ricerche intorno alla vita e all'ambiente del Ruzante e di Alvise Cornaro', in Italia Medioevale e Umanistica VII, 1964). Cfr. n. 455 above, and pp. 188 and nn. 469-471. The widespread practice of clerical absenteeism, with substitution of poorly paid vicars for those with cure of souls, benefices, doubtless created fiscal difficulties - cfr. GIOS op. cit. pp. 151 ff., 247 ff.

533. For his income, see Sanudo's estimates, in 1483 (FULIN 'Frammento Inedito' cit. p. 12) and 1507 (SANUDO Diarii VI 523); for the decime, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 79r, 89v - 7 July 1501, 5 July 1502.

534. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 95v 24 Nov. 1483, c. 96r 17 Dec. 1483, c. 96v 28 Dec. 1483, and above n. 453.

535. SANUDO Diarii II 197 13 Dec. 1498.

536. See above p. 124 and nn. 219-21; and A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 100v 4 May 1503, reg. G c. 18r 19 Aug. 1504, reference to the arrears collector the priest (Giovanni) Antonio Chinchinato.

537. See GIOS op. cit. pp. 181 ff., 209 ff.

538. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 80v 19 Sept. 1481, giving in possession of benefices was to depend on acceptance of such debts. See e.g. Idem reg. D c. 17r 5 July 1486, terms set out for the new incumbent of a church near Marostica to pay off decime arrears.

539. Cfr. n. 453 above, the Senate's decision of 1490 attributed the arrears to reluctant payment by the rich. A letter of instructions from Venice in 1481 (A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 80r 19 Sept. 1481) remarked that the concern of Cardinals and wealthy prelates was with leasing their benefices and pressing claims against their debtors, but not with tax; cfr, Idem c. 17v 12 Sept. 1476, orders to levy decime from Cardinal Zen's lessees, notwithstanding contrary ducali they might have obtained.

540. For decime, see what follows; for dadie cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 137v-38r 4 Sept. 1472 which names Niccolo Archpriest of Montegalda, reg. C c. 36r 11 Apr. 1478.. 'Miser Pre' Andrea', and reg. D c. 1v-2r 13 Aug. 1484 - instructions for the choosing of two new collectors, one for current and one for past tax, with good lay guarantors.

541. The estimo ordered by the Senate in 1477 was in use by 1480 - subject to correction by the Dieci Savi (sopra le Decime) in Venice, cfr. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 170v 30 June 1477, A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 58v 8 Mar. 1480. No trace of the clergy estimi survives among the records consulted for this study; the Estimi collection in the A.S.P. contains material on the city and territorio only, cfr. BRIGUGLIO 'Estimi Padovani' cit.

542. In 1488 the Council supported clergy protest against the levying of Papal decime (cfr. above p and n. 61) together with annates demanded by Pope Innocent VIII, see A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 153r and 154v-55r, 29 and 31 Jan. 1488, c. 171v-72r 28 and 30 June 1488. In 1488-89, in the wake of the Avogadori's visit, the Council protested against the over-vigorous collection of dadie, decime and Papal decime arrears by Bartolomeo de' Rossi; see A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c, 60v 2 Sept. 1488, A.S.V. Serenissima Signoria Lettere

542. (cont.) Terra, I (1488), letters dated 25 Oct. and 15 Nov. 1488, and A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 189r-90v 18 Nov. 1488, c. 234v-36r 1 Aug. 1489, c. 240 19 Sept. 1489, c. 241r 13 Oct. 1489 (answered in A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 71v-73r 13 Aug. 1489). The only other signs of friendly interest were shown in 1493, (see A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 69r 6 Dec. 1493), when the clergy feared the consequences of Alexander VI's investigation of decime paid under his predecessor; the Council was, of course, prepared to champion individual problems with payment or claims to exemption, eschewing the contentious issue of tax-sharing between city and clergy as overall units, cfr. pp. 205-6

543. To avoid confusion the Senate in 1477 ordered benefice-holders to pay decime wherever their benefices were on the tax-lists, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c, 170v 30 June 1477. But Cardinal Foscari, bishop of Padua from 1481-85, paid in Venice, (A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 7v 4 July 1485); his successor Barozzi paid the Governatori in the capital, (Idem reg. F c, 79r and 89v 7 July 1501 and 5 July 1502), as did both Cardinal Michiel commendatory of the city church of S.Sofia, and the monastery of S.Giovanni di Verdara, (Idem reg. F c. 49v and 53v, 3 Nov. 1498 and 8 July 1499; c. 89v 28 June 1502).

544. For its use in dadie collection see e.g. A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 16 c. 132r 29 July 1463. For the decime, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 126v 8 June 1485; sequestration orders and related documents are recorded for over 75% of the years considered in this study, and the process appears to have been virtually automatic.

545. For authorization of the latter practice, see e.g. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 135v 22 June 1471, reg. 7 c. 9v 19 June 1473; and examples in the pages of the regg. of A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale - reg. II entry dated 4 Aug. 1495, the lawyer Bertuccio Bagarotto surety for the monastery of the remitani,

546. See orders from the beginning and end of our period: A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 133r 29 May 1471, A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 33 10 May 1496, c. 62v 25 May 1500, reg. G c. 22 8 July 1505.

547. The Savi took it upon themselves to settle decime ratings, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 78v 19 Aug. 1476, or give temmporary exemptions, see Idem c. 81v 26 Sept. 1481. In 1481 the Signoria issued a reminder that only the Patriarch could change the decime books, Idem c. 81r 17 Sept. 1481, and in 1486 declared null orders by the Savi conceding delays in collection, Idem reg. D c. 17v 19 July 1486. The independent momentum of executive authority defied the Senate's determination to reserve financial minutiae for its own decision, see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 73 10 Oct. 1469, A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 69v 6 Oct. 1489, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 115v 19 Oct. 1495, A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 37r 6 July 1497, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 15 c. 54v 7 Nov. 1504 and c. 106v 23 Jan. 1506. These orders against encroachments by the Signoria, Savi and city Rettori end with the delegation to the Collegio for review of a whole series of annulled exemptions - in effect an admission of its inability to deal with the matters which it reserved so jealously.

548. A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 78r 18 Nov. 1469.

549. Idem c. 97r 16 Aug. 1470.

550. See A.S.P. Ducali reg, C c. 85r 7 June 1482, a ruling by the Provveditori sopra le Camere incorporating Senate laws of November 1469 and May 1472, and a Signoria ruling of 14 July 1474; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 8 c. 30v 3 Dec. 1478.

551. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 90r 22 May 1483.

552. Cfr, the ducale in n. 551, effecting the dismissal of Posca's predecessor; Idem c. 96v 28 Dec. 1483, instructions to Posca, and reg. D c. 1v-2r 13 Aug. 1484, instructions for both Posca and the clergy dadie exactor.

553. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 9 c. 40v 21 Nov. 1483, the Senate had hoped - with the changes wrought by Badoer's tour - to clear arrears by the harvest of 1484. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 17v 19 July 1486,

553. cont.) reg. E c. 14r 20 Sept. 1486, c. 30v-31r and 31v - 24 July and 1 Aug. 1487: collection included a tour of the distretti, with the Signoria demanding money and statements of receipts in a peremptory tone.

554. Cfr. p 102, and the references in n. 532.

555. As insistence from Venice on the set limits turned into demands that he render accounts and refund the state, Posca held his job until at least July 1501 - see A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 48v 13 Oct. 1498; A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori I((1500-1506) letter dated 24 July 1501; A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 80v 16 Nov. 1501, c. 85r-86v 30 Apr. 1502. For later developments, see above p. 129 and n. 243.

556. One of the measures proposed in the 1480s to reform collection from the Paduan clergy was the constitution of a special group of eight bailiffs to levy dadie and decime, so as to end muddle and dishonest practice - A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 1v-2r 13 Aug. 1484, c. 6r 31 Jan. 1485.

557. Venice's defeat in 1509 by the League of Cambrai led directly to a revision of the state's rights over the clergy, forced on the Signoria by Pope Julius II - but the practical effects of change, which supposedly concerned taxation, were never strongly in evidence. Venetian church-state relations do not concern us here, (for indications of matters referred to here, see F.SENECA Venezia e Papa Giulio II (Padua 1962) and A.STELLA Chiesa e Stato nelle Relazioni dei Nunzi Pontifici a Venezia (Città del Vaticano 1964)). It does appear from the reports of returning governors of Padua in the mid-16th century that clerical decime (as well as dadie) remained a steady feature of the Camera's receipts - cfr. Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti, IV pp. 45, 50 (for 1554 and 1557).

558. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 80v 18 Sept. 1481 - a reminder that the decime exemptions in favour of hospitals were to apply only if their revenues were in fact used in care of the needy; after investigation ordered by the Senate in 1468-69 (A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 33v 30 Aug. 1468, c. 59r 27 July 1469), the Collegio declared all hospitals outside Venice exempt as well as certain observant houses, the whole matter being further clarified by the special Provveditore Contarini in 1480, (A.S.P. Territorio vol. 175 order of the Collegio dated 22 Aug. 1469, A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 68v-69r 4 Aug. and 3 Oct. 1480). Of a total of 14 exempt houses, the most important were those of S.Maria di Betlemme, S.Maria di Misericordia, S.Anna, S. Chiara all'Arcella and Beata Elena. Dazi exemptions are not recorded in any single document, but dispersed through the records.

559. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 316r 18 July 1482, reg. VIII c. 100v 10 Jan. 1495, reg. IX c. 189r 3 Jan. 1506.

560. See above pp. 165 and n. 376; A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 95v 10 Apr. 1465; A.S.P. Atti reg. VII cc. 12r, 16, 33v-34v, 44v-45r, 244v-45r, 260r-61r, 274r, 274v; A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 92 15 Dec. 1490.

561. Cfr. n. 547; see A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 178v-79r 23 Apr. 1505. For evidence of other exemptions reviewed at this time, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. G c. 21 5 May 1505, c. 34v 16 July 1507.

562. The tax exemptions obtained on behalf of these institutions were only one aspect of what was often comprehensive Council-patronized assistance in their administration - a fact seldom apparent in ed. C.BELLINATI and L.PUPPI Padova. Basiliche e Chiese (Vicenza 1975, 2 voll.), which does not investigate its subjects on the lines suggested in VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo cit., esp. p. 430. Archival information on these and other examples (the churches of S.Antonio and S.Giustina, to name but two) cannot reasonably be included here, but F.DONDI Dell'OROLOGIO Dissertazione Nona sopra l'Istoria Ecclesiastica Padovana (Padua 1817) covers much of the ground, including the monastery at Monteortone (founded in 1452, see pp. 25 ff.), and the Dominican house at the Bassanello, (begun

(cont.)

562. in 1499, see p. 81).

563. Cfr. above p. 174 and n. 415, pp. 177-8 and n. 426; also PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCVI pp. 739-43.

564. For all the above, see the lengthy analysis in PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 924-935, and XCVI pp. 750-54 (discussion of the two lists, of which the first is by far the more important).

565. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 21v 11 July 1476 and 5 Mar. 1477; A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 358r 4 May 1483; Ducali reg. G c. 39v-41r 7 May 1483, ruling by the Provveditori sopra le Camere, concerned mainly with Venetians' houses round Piove di Sacco, after a hearing in which Piove's representatives sided with the Venetians against Padua; Atti reg. VI c. 398v-99r and 399v, 21 and 27 Mar. 1484; Ducali reg. D c. 3v 10 Nov. 1484; Atti reg. VII c. 189r-190v 18 Nov. 1488, c. 238v-39r 2 Sept. 1489, reg. VIII c. 97v 13 Dec. 1494, c. 111 24 Jan. 1495; Ducali reg. F c. 36r 28 Apr. 1497; Atti reg. VIII c. 208v 22 June 1497, c. 308r-09r 14 Jan. 1501; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 90v-1r 9 June 1502 - it was then one of the issues of the dispute between city and territorio, with opinions differing over the tax status of such possessions built or acquired between one geheral reform of the fuoghi and another, and consequently over the tax rating of the villages concerned, (cfr. p 186 and nn. 464-66).

566. See Bilanci Generali p. 127, a law of 15 Mar. 1454 criticized the under-declaration of terraferma wealth, proposing remedies.

567. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 41, 52r, 54r, 56r, 57v, 58r - 15 June, 17 and 26 Sept., 6, 13 and 19 Oct. 1463.

568. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 124r 13 Mar. 1471, c. 154r 10 Jan. 1472; reg. 7 c. 46r 28 July 1474, c. 87v 15 Sept. 1475, (cfr. PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCVI p. 746).

569. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 51r 3 Sept. 1474, reg. 8 c. 27v 20 Oct. 1478; A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 75v 17 and 21 May 1481; cfr. n. 114 above, reference to a sale in 1481 by an official of the Governatori.

570. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 7 c. 187v 15 Nov. 1477, c. 194r 22 Jan. 1478.

571. Cfr. above, Section II -(2).

572. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 437r 14 July 1485; A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 113 ff. - 11 and 19 Aug. 1485, followed by copies of previous material submitted. Cfr. above p. 109 and n. 136; and PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 934-35 (events in 1447-48).

573. A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 189r-190v 18 Nov. 1488.

574. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 12 c. 78v-79r 18 Dec. 1494, c. 151 27 June 1496, reg. 13 c. 153r 30 Oct. 1500, reg. 14 c. 130r 9 Jan. 1503. A new decima catasto was ordered in 1507 - cfr. Idem reg. 15 c. 195, 198: 26 Oct. and 16 Nov. 1507. For the 1499 figures, see Bilanci Generali pp. 171-73.

575. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 209r-11r 28 Mar. 1464, c. 225v 13 May 1469.

576. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 91r 17 June 1470; see A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 79 2 Aug. 1471 - with the Camera del Comune (but are the Provveditori meant?) levying from dadie debtors, Paduan representatives in the capital were to request that they proceed against Venetians; Idem c. 131r 23 Dec. 1472.

577. Idem c. 178 15 Dec. 1473, c. 179r-82v 22 Dec. 1473 (new terms for the collector, including a clause instructing collection 'indifferenter' from all Venetians, c. 20327 Jan. 1474; reg. VI c. 57v-8r and 59r-61v, 6 and 16 Aug. 1476. Cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 21v 11 July 1476, the Savi alle Cazude were levying in Venice; c. 52r 14 Sept. 1479, c. 60v-61r 15 May 1480 - evidence of dadie work in the Camera by Taddeo Contarini (cfr. above pp. 107-8 and nn. 126-29); see A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 398v-99r and 399v, 21 and 27 Mar. 1484, A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 3r 10 Nov. 1484, reg. Verde c. 50r-51r 18 Mar. 1485.

578. See PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 935, ducale of 14 Dec. 1469.
579. See the ducale of Mar. 1485 (above n. 577) and A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 3 c. 70v 13 Feb. 1486, he was at first Andrea Usnago, a Camera scribe (above p 124 and n. 217); the 1488 dadie accounts and later documents name Renier Venier, see A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 193v-95v 18 Mar. 1497, reg. VII c. 337r 4 Sept. 1491, A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 21 9 Oct., 4 and 12 Nov. 1494 (instructions from the Provveditori to Venier). For other activity by Venier on behalf of the Provveditori, see n. 208 above; and for their continuing involvement in dadie collection see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 15 c. 44r 11 Aug. 1504. For Venier's fall and his replacement, see p. 124 and n. 216 above; A.S.V. Cassa della Bolla Ducale, Grazie vol. 27 (1501-1575), entry dated 15 Nov. 1501; A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori vol. I (1500-06), letters dated 28 and 31 July 1503.
580. SANUDO Diarii III 1381-82 4 Feb. 1501; cfr. n. 455 above.
581. See PRIULI Diarii IV pp. 7-8, 50.
582. Existing studies are largely dependent on Padua's 15th century presentation of lists and claims, Priuli's comments, and figures for the later 16th and early 17th centuries. Apart from PINO BRANCA (see n. 564 above), see VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo pp. 174-76 and nn. 11-12; S.J. WOOLF 'Venice and the Terraferma. Problems of the Change from Commercial to Landed Activities', Bollettino dell'Istituto di storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano IV 1962; D.BELTRAMI La Penetrazione Economica dei Veneziani in Terraferma. Forze di Lavoro e Proprietà Fondiaria nelle Campagne Venete dei Secoli XVII e XVIII Venice-Rome 1961; LAZZARINI 'Beni Carraresi' cit.; BONARDI 'I Ribelli Padovani' cit. pp. 318-19; also STEER Landownership and Rural Conditions cit. pp. 259-262, and as above in n. 455. For the mid-sixteenth century reports, see DALL'ABACO Stato di Padova (cit. n. 455 above): of 800,000 campi total 600,000 were cultivated, 200,000 the property of Venetian laymen and 200,000 of the Paduan and Venetian churches. The returning Podestà of Padua in 1549 remarked that '... comprandosi da venitiani quotidianamente et levandosi li beni dal estimo de' paduani, et ponendoli alle condition venitiani (i.e, that they paid the dadia delle lanze only) restano sempre più aggravati li paduani' (by heavier shares of the other taxes; he meant principally the territorio). He reckoned arable land to be half of the province's 800,000 campi, a quarter belonging to lay Venetians, a twelfth to Venetian churches, (see Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti IV pp. 19-20, 21). His successor in 1554 (Idem p. 38), discarding 200,000 'inutili' from a total of 800,000 campi, gave 200,000 to lay Venetians and 200,000 to the combined Paduan and Venetian churches. For later 16th and early 17th century figures, see WOOLF op. cit. pp. 421-22.
583. See WOOLF op. cit. pp.421-22, quoting BELTRAMI op. cit. pp. 48-51; for the debate on Venetian attitudes to land-purchasing and -possession, and changes in it, see (among others) WOOLF op. cit. pp. 428-429 and A.VENTURA 'Considerazioni sull'Agricoltura Veneta e sulla Accumulazione Originaria del Capitale nei Secoli XVI e XVII', in Studi Storici IX 1968, pp. 675-78; the latter is especially valuable for its discussion of 16th century land-clearing.
584. See WOOLF op. cit. p. 422 n. 22; VENTURA 'Considerazioni' cit. offers interesting but partial statistics of 16th century land-clearing.
585. See above p 177 and n. 425 - though for its dadie status cfr. p. 178 and n. 431, and for personal dadie exemptions see p. 179 and n. 434.
586. The Venetian records are ripe for examination, since they contain under A.S.V. Dieci Savi sopra le Decime a survey carried out in the interval of peace after 1517, entitled Condizione de' nobili e cittadini veneti per beni in Padova e territorio, 1518-1523.
587. See above pp 188-9 and nn. 472-75.
588. For the accounts' location, see n. 459 above; in the first two years they cover Venetians paid an average of L. 6,632 15 s. 3 d. - (1486-87). The total for 1492-93 is L. 8,866 19 s. 1 d., though

588. (cont.) since no accounts for the territorio were included, my total borrows from information on Venetians paying with the Padovano in the previous two years' accounts.

589. See SAVIOLO Compendio cit. p. 10; PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII p. 355 "corrects" Saviolo's figures, without explaining how or why - but his results appear little different, and he repeats Saviolo's figure of just over 45,000 campi which according to the survey had been in Venetian possession since 1446 or before.

590. See above pp. 188-9 and nn. 472-75.

591. On trends in church landowning cfr. pp. 188 and nn. 469-71, p. 184 and nn. 454-55 above.

592. See PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 932-34, 1252-55, 1267 ff., 1281 ff.

593. Cfr. p. 78 and nn. 14-15 above, also (more specifically) PINO BRANCA loc. cit. p. 1257 n. 1, listing direct tax paid through the century; pp. 1266 ff., discussion of the prestito, whose imposition ended with the Peace of Lodi, and early evidence of the farming out of dadie collection; see pp. 1252-55, the annual dadie total of L. 136,800 (worth D. 24,000 at the rate of D.1 = L. 5 14 s., soon to become D. 1 = L. 6 4 s.) became stable in the 1440s. For the dadie collector and the emergence of standard contractual terms, see above p. 195 and nn. 500-01; in 1473 the Council discussed dividing the dadie contract, (see A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 174v, 177r 3 and 13 Dec. 1473), but the nominal responsibility was tied to a single appointment, although the work might be shared. A partnership was elected in 1478, but the immediate retirement of Antonio da Vigonza to become principal guarantor for his partner Giovanni Barisono suggests that the alliance was purely for electoral purposes - cfr. A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 106v 2 Jan., 20 Feb. 1478; the other elections in this period were of single individuals. Extraordinary taxation, e.g. the subsidy of 1472, was confided to separate collectors, though the small, temporary increases in the dadie rate authorized by the city Council were collected with the main dadie, (see A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 128v-29r 22 Dec. 1472, appointment of five collectors).

594. See A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 334v-36r 31 Aug. 1469, c. 339v-40v 24 Oct. 1469; A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 225, 13 Sept., 10 Oct. and 7 Nov. 1469. Fabiani was retained two years later without an open election, Idem reg. V c. 71v 5 June 1471.

595. See A.S.V. Dieci Misti reg. 18 c. 240r 26 Feb. 1477, reg. 19 c. 48r 30 Apr. 1477; for the 1478 election see n. 593 above - there is no mention of the outgoing collector (Antonio Pizacomin) as candidate. He had been elected in Dec. 1473 for 1474-75, and renewed without an open election - see A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 179r-82v 22 Dec. 1473, c. 267r 28 Aug. 1475.

596. Cfr. n. 54 above, dealings between Colleone's representatives and dadie collectors indicate delays in collection,

597. Apart from landowners' protection of their gastaldi, consider the protection that owners of exempt property could offer, or the advantage that citizens touring the province to revise the fuochi could procure. The religious houses were particularly well placed to protect their tenants; many possessed long-standing privileges, and they could lobby to good effect in Venice - see e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 234 24 Mar. 1468, the village of Bagnoli's fuoghi rating was protected against increase, as it had been in 1458 after flood damage, through the influence of its monastery, the principal local landowner and tied to the Venetian monks of S. Spirito, (cfr. A.GLORIA Il Territorio Padovano Illustrato, Padua 1862, III p. 238).

598. Cfr. above Section III (2), esp. pp. 174-6 and nn. 415-424, p. 180 and n. 441. See e.g. A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 3 c. 3r, order of 14 Jan. 1475 effecting a ducale of 14 May 1474: the 1/8 fuogo share of Montecchia, owing to its temporary exemption from dadie, was to be levied from the other villages of the Vicariate of

598. Teolo. SORBELLI 'Il Comune Rurale cit. p. 299 and n. 2 notes the (cont.) incidence of exemptions in the Appennine villages, but does not state whether tax was re-distributed or the total due diminished. Venice followed the same policy towards clerical tax debt, setting terms for payment and only rarely writing off sums due, though it proved necessary with the Paduan-Carmelites even before their church fell down and earned them exemption so as to facilitate rebuilding, (see A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 91v-92r 30 June 1483, c. 100 r 26 May 1484, reg. D c. 8v 16 July 1485, and above p 206 and n. 562; the collapse occurred in early 1491).

599. Cfr. above pp 200 and nn. 525-29; for later Rettori's reports concerning the Padovano, see the summary and comments in Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti IV, pp. XXIV-V. The 15th century situation has been studied in detail in A.PINO BRANCA 'L'Esecuzione Forzata per Debiti d'Imposta nella Legislazione Finanziaria Padovana', in B.M.C.P. n.s. IX 1933, and much of what follows derives from this article.

600. See A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 334v-36v 31 Aug. 1469, clause 12 of the contract proposed for Antonio Roberti; see e.g. Idem reg. V c. 75v 19 June 1471, Antonio Pizacomin (collector from 1474-77) served as Massaro to Ruziero de' Fabiani; Idem reg. VI c. 100r 5 Jan. 1478.

601. See regg. I-III, LXXIX of A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale, passim; e.g. reg. II entry of 8 July 1495 and reg. III entry of 27 Aug. 1496, action by the current collector (Fabiano de' Fabiani) against a certain Bonincontro de' Bravi.

602. See above p 208 and n. 569, p 209 and nn. 576-79.

603. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 40r-43v 3 July 1488, clause 19; Idem reg. F c. 99 24 May 1503. The Captain's orders, reinforcing others emitted by Venetian authority on preceding occasions, seem to be a deliberate assertion of control over the Camere, since the city Council had tackled the problem only four months earlier - see A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 80r 21 Jan. 1503. For the summary procedure allowed in distraint for tax debt, see PINO BRANCA 'L'Esecuzione Forzata' cit. p. 30. One of the Camera dei Pegni's losses to the Venetian Camera Fiscale was responsibility for the (lucrative) sale of the pledges of lending Jews - see A.S.P. Atti Reg. V c. 108r, 111v-13r, 124: 7 and 11 Jan., Aug. 1472; A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 137v 11 July 1472, reg. Verde c. 48v 25 Aug. 1472; and PINO BRANCA op. cit. pp. 27-28, 32-33.

604. See A.S.P. Territorio vol. 175 ducale dated 13 Feb. 1470 - and in general the regg. cited in n. 601 above.

605. See in general PINO BRANCA op. cit. pp. 39-44; for this quote see A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 45v-46r, a Senate law of 19 Jan. 1458 addressed to the whole terraferma.

606. See PINO BRANCA op. cit. pp. 43-44.

607. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 159 ducale of 2 Sept. 1473, and enforcing order by the Rettori and Camerlenghi; the action taken was a ban on levying by any official not on the Vice-Collateral's books for moneys due to the Camera, and repeated insistence on the set rates of payment. Besides his military duties (above p. 39 and nn. 67-68) the Vice-Collateral controlled the pay and expenses of the gate guards, Rettori's officials and various public works, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 40v-41r 3 July 1488, c. 61r 7 Sept. 1488.

608. See above pp 111-2 and nn. 148-152, p 130 and n. 250, p 138 and n. 283.

609. In 1474 the current collector expressed concern at limitations imposed on his choice of officials, see A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 221 25 May 1474; in 1491 (Idem reg. VII c. 336v-37r 4 Sept. 1491), with the air of accepting a fait accompli, the Council insisted that officials of the Rettori levying for the collector be subject to the same financial sageguards as commandadori. Scattered entries

609. (cont.) in the regg. of A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale confirm that this was the trend - e.g. reg. I, entries of 7 Apr. and 13 Aug. 1492: sureties given by a night guard and a former (Venetian) public official, sponsored by the Capitano del Devedo, before engaging in levying. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 131v 8 Feb. 1509; I was not able to check whether this limitation was observed in later years.

610. A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 42 3 July 1488; cfr. n. 605, the law of 1458.

611. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 66r-67r 22 July 1500. For disciplinary action see e.g. A.S.V. Serenissima Signoria Lettere Terra, I (1488) letter dated 18 Nov. 1488 concerning the recovery of dadie levied and witheld by two commandadori.

612. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. G c. 3-5r 21 Sept. 1503, and the ducale of 1509 cited in n. 609 above.

613. See the 1420 statutes, Ms. B.P. 1236 c. 153v-55r (book II rubric 18), statute of 1420; these redemption rights, in theory satisfied by 30 days notice to interested parties of the coming sale, could acquire a longer life-span - see e.g. A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 23v 24 Sept. 1491, the Sindaci di Terraferma annulled a sale of 14 June 1477 after a relative had offered to pay the buyer's price of purchase, expenses and improvements. The Sighoria's ruling on neighbours' and relatives' rights was dated 28 June 1445, (to be followed on 1 Oct. 1450 by another permitting sale of property distrained for tax after only 8 days), see PINO BRANCA 'L'Esecuzione Forzata' cit. in n. 603 above, and IDEM 'Il Comune' XCVI p. 742. For the Council's protests, see A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 23r 4 June 1486, c. 33v-34r 29 July 1486 (the livello question, and the right of the distrained to re-purchase); See A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 20r 5 Mar. 1487, the Signoria ordered '.. nulla habetur ratio coherentium et propinquorum aut aliorum'; A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c.161v 18 Apr. 1488, the Council against summary procedure for property sold by the fisc after seizure from those owing debtors of the fisc - a point which Venice allowed, A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 55v 23 Apr. 1488. Cfr. instructions to Clemente Thedaldini on tour in 1492, (in his commission of 25 Oct., see n. 208 above), '.. in hoc servari non debere statuta'.

614. Cfr. n. 601, Bonincontro de' Bravi had also had property sold in 1474, 1475 and 1477, when buyers included Antonio Pizacomin (former dadie collector), Fabiani, and the Camera Fiscale's notary Bartolomeo Marin - see A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 2 c. 87r ff. 14 June 1479, listing assets to be struck off Bravi's estimo rating.

615. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 17v-18r 7 June 1494, c. 24r 11 May 1495, instructions from the Provveditori sopra le Camere for Renier Venier (cfr. above n. 208); and A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 124v 3 Dec. 1502 (PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 1262-65) cancellation of sale of the 1500 wine daziere's property because below the reserve price set.

616. On this theme see VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo pp. 182-83, citing GLORIA Dell'Agricoltura cit. pp. 268-69, 278, 283-86 as well as the corresponding portrayal in contemporary 'popular' literature. See specifically A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 242r 4 Dec. 1458; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 4 c. 184v 20 Dec. 1461; A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 82 8 Jan. 1467.

617. See GLORIA op. cit. pp. 274-75 (and PINO BRANCA 'L'Esecuzione Forzata' cit. p. 26, which also deals with this question).

618. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 22r 14 Mar. 1487, Luca Posca (above p and n. 552 ff.) had seized livestock of the monastery of S.Giustina; A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale reg. 2 entry dated 10 July 1495, the Jew Salamoncino (lending at Pieve di Sacco) handed over for his debt to the Camera two debtors of his own, from whom two oxen and a cow were taken; A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori I (1500-06), letter of 11 Nov. 1502, the Podestà of Camposampiero took corrective action over a seizure for private debt, made by an authorized official, of oxen, cows and horses.

619. See A.S.P. reg. C c. 24v-25v 8 June 1477; A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 16 5 Apr. 1486, c. 230v-31v and 232v-33r, 13 and 30 July 1489.

620. An indication may be had from the experience of Tregnago in the Veronese: in the brief period studied all the city Vicars sent to the district, with only one exception, resorted to distraint orders against the Commune to obtain their pay; and in 1506-07 nine seizures were made for Tregnago's part in the digging of the new Brenta bed; trips to the city to recover pledges seized were frequent - see FERRARI 'Un Comune' cit. pp. 248-49, 252-53, 254.

621. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 231r 8 May 1464, in favour of Antonio Gatolino of Val Dell'Abbate; A.S.P. Atti V c. 221 25 May 1474, referring to a ducale of 31 Oct. 1470.

622. Tremignon is on the Brenta, northwest of Padua; see A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 46v 15 Sept. 1432. For accumulated tax debts, see the 1477 lists in Idem reg. C c. 26v-27r, 28.

623. See e.g. A.S.P. Territorio vol. 401 c. 50 ducale of 4 Sept. 1506.

624. The seizure of communal property should have been prevented by Venetian protective legislation, (cfr. the study by FERRARI, n. 426 above), but the regg. in Padua and Venice do not support this view. See A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 10 c. 6 10 Apr. 1486, the Senate intervened to block the sale of Monselice's fisheries to pay off a L. 5,000 tax debt, accepting the commune's request for terms to pay; A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori, I (1500-06), letter dated 15 July 1501, the Podesta of Montagnana delayed sale of the commune's mill pending an appeal hearing in Venice. These two examples concern two of the largest communes of the Padovano, protected by partially independent Venetian governors - in 1503 (loc. cit. letter dated 16 Mar. 1503) the Podesta of Montagnana questioned its alleged dadie debt, and forwarded its request for terms to pay. Smaller communes must have been less fortunate. On imprisonment for debt, see A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 257 8 Mar. 1475, reg. VI c. 11v 30 Mar. 1477; and A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria Fiscale vol. LXXIX , act dated 24 Apr. 1498.

625. Though officials made levying their life - in 1537 the Rovigo Governor blamed ineffectual policing on his officials' constant distraint work* - relatively few incidents survive in the records of violence offered to them, (though see e.g. at the turn of the century, A.S.V. Dieci Lettere di Rettori b. 112, letter dated 4 Feb. 1500 from Castelbaldo; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 13 c. 178r 20 Feb. 1501, an incident at S.Elena, near Este). The villagers were perhaps resigned, perhaps hopeful of some form of relief. The Signoria did intervene in 1487 at the request of the Pieve di Sacco distrettuali to transfer Giovanni Rizzo, an official '... qui eos lacerat et devorat ac multas pecunias per manzariam extorquet', (A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 33v 28 July 1487). But - rhetoric notwithstanding - its interests were pursued at the peasants' expense, as the question of military taxe makes extremely clear: cfr. above p 45 and nn. 107-09.

626. See above p 186 and n. 465 - L. 20,000 every year represents an absolute minimum level of dadie paid late.

627. Delaying tactics were similar to those of dazieri with debts to discharge - cfr. above pp 162 and n. 358 ff. Far too lengthy to report here is the plentiful Venetian legislation of this period concerning conditions of sale by the fisc, in which legal forms and claims tended to get cast aside. By 1547 the Paduan Podesta could report with pride '.. se .. vendono ancho li beni conditionatj et fidei commissj, etiam transversali'; but his air of suggesting an exceptional achievment surely betrays that the normal situation was one of self-cancelling manoeuvres by fiscal officials and debtors, pleading, offering, threatening, appealing - and paying money into the Exchequer with difficulty. (Cfr. PRETO 'Il Regime Fiscale' p. 665 and n. 125).

628. Cfr. n. 208 above.

* See Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti, VI (Rovigo) n. 25

629. For collectors' listing of debitori busi on the city lists, see A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 30v-32v 18 July 1492, c. 193v-95v 18 Mar. 1497, c. 209v 16 Aug. 1497; in the accounts for 1486-91 they were worth about L. 1,500 of the city's annual total (nearly 3%). The checking of past accounts dragged on for 10 years: see A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 269v and 270v - 21 and 25 Jan. 1499, c. 274r 16 Apr. 1499, c. 299v 8 and 30 June 1500, reg. IX c. 9v 9 Mar. 1501, c. 144v 7 Oct. 1504, c. 177v 26 Mar. 1505; A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 125 17 Oct. 1507; A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 5 c. 21r 1 July 1507, c. 36r 18 Nov. 1507, c. 47v 20 Mar. 1508, c. 89r 16 Dec. 1508. The practice of listing debitori busi was not only Paduan, see Bilanci Generali pp. XLII-III, and VENTURA Nobilta e Popolo p. 412 ff. (with details of later episodes and general comment on late payment and evasion).

630. See PINO BRANCA 'Il Comune' XCIII pp. 887-88; Ms. B.P. 1236 book 5 rubric 1 'De factionibus imponendis et pena non substinentium', esp. c. 347-48r (statute dated 1269) and cc. ff.

631. See A.S.P Ducali reg. Verde c. 63r 28 Feb. 1488; A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 299r 30 Apr. 1500.

632. A.S.P. Atti vol. 47 repeats the 1488 ducale, and contains lists of names of election candidates for this period (see c. 511 amd ff.). But they are far from complete, and two other examples from the records seem to typify current practice. In 1471 the candidates for election as Massaro of the Camera dei Pegni were given ten days, if elected, to clear any outstanding debts to the Commune, (A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 71r 24 May 1471). As a result of the 1500 law Giangacomo Manzono was excluded in a 15 Jan. 1505 scrutiny for the office of Quaderniere of the Monte; but he had served as its Massaro for a then unaudited term, (A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 278r 12 May 1499, reg. IX c. 174v 8 Feb. 1505), besides previous service in it, (Idem reg. VIII c. 116r 26 Feb. 1495, c. 272r 27 Feb. 1499); this disqualification should have excluded him, but did not, from candidature for the city Council in Jan. 1505. (Candidate in the quarter of Ponte Altinate for two rounds of voting, he was not elected, see A.S.P. Atti vol. 41 c. 53v ff, c. 59r).

633. An unexpected but interesting confirmation of the frequency of tax debt is provided by the letters of two Venetian envoys to Milan, Sebastian Badoer and Benedetto Trevisan, who bought horses from a number of Paduan citizens, all owing dadie against which the horses' prices were discounted - see Ms B.M. It. VII 547 (8529), the first letter, dated 23 Nov. 1494; (cfr. p 44 and n. 105 above). For the situation in Venice, cfr. R.CESSI La Regolazione cit. p. CCLXXIII, referring to the '..metodica inosservanza delle più dure sanzioni' at the time of the War of Chioggia; and for the Cambrai campaign, see GILBERT 'Venice in the Crisis' cit. pp. 287-89, and COZZI 'Authority and the Law' cit. pp. 311-313.

634. Cfr. above p 97 and n. 57, pp. 132-3 and nn. 252-55, pp 134-5 and nn. 261, 262, 267.

635. In 1454 Padua (and Verona) had obtained exemption, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 85r 31 July 1454, and BAW The Commune of Verona cit. p. 299; for subsequent orders etc. see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 5 c. 57r 11 Oct. 1463, c. 172v 11 Nov, 1466 and reg. 6 c. 72r 5 Oct. 1469; A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 85v-86r 6 July 1464, c. 91v 1 Mar. 1465, reg. Rubeo c. 207r 13 Mar. 1465; A.S.P. Atti reg. IV c. 223v-24v 12 and 14 Aug. 1467; A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 122v-23r 24 Aug. 1470; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 6 c. 142r and 143v, 10 and 16 Sept. 1471; A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 55v 21 Jan. 1471, c. 81v 1 Oct. 1471; A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 131v 9 May 1472, c. 132r 9 May 1472, c. 125 11 Oct. 1471, and reg. Rubeo c. 241v 19 Mar. 1473. The Council later repeated its commitment to oppose the tax, see A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 263v 30 June 1475, c. 273r-74r 14 Oct. 1475, and again in 1501, receiving a vaguely phrased answer - Idem reg. VIII c. 313v 17 Jan.

635. (cont.) 1501, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 122r 1 Apr. 1501. The tax was evidently opposed in other cities too - see e.g. A.S.V. Collegio Notatorio reg. 13 entry dated 16 Oct. 1483, Treviso defended its Camera dei Pegni's Massaro against demamds for payment.

636. For the Chancellor, see A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 126r 21 Sept. 1472, c. 399v-400r 20 May 1484, reg. VII c. 99v-100v 5 Sept. 1487, c. 174 18 July 1488 and A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 57, 3 and 30 July 1488. For the Vicariates see A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 248v 9 June 1481, c. 256v 14 Oct. 1481, c. 285r Dec. 1481, c. 299 27 Jan. 1482, c. 304r-05r Feb. 1482, reg. VII c. 98 31 July 1487, reg. VIII c. 265r 30 July 1498, c. 277 11 May 1499.

637. For extra tax at this time, see above p. 97 and n. 60. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 229v 2 July 1470; A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 20r-21r 1 July 1470, c. 21 7 July, c. 22r 7 July, c. 22v 24 July - a procession of intercession was also organized.

638. See A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 127, 128r, 128v - 16, 21 and 22 Dec. 1472; c. 137v-38r, 138r, 141v, 153v - 3,6,7 and 24 Jan. 1473; c. 161r, 162r-63r - 25 and 31 May 1473. A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 239v-40v, c. 240v - 11 and 18 Dec. 1472; c. 241 21 Jan. 1473. The total appears to have been of the order of D. 34,000, spread over two years - almost exactly the same per year as the city's and territorio's shares of the dadie, (worth L. 106,225, or D. 17,133).

639. A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 252r, 254r, 254v-55r - 22, 26 and 30 Jan. 1475. It also caused upset in Verona, cfr. above p 157 and n. 331.

640. See A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 269r 30 Aug. 1475, reg. VI c. 50r 29 Mar. 1476. Payment of the first subsidy lasted till at least 1477 - see A.S.P. Ducali reg. B c. 158v 3 Mar. 1474, c. 174v 28 Feb. 1475, reg. C c. 29r 5 Oct. 1477, (cfr. above p 98 and n. 68).

641. Cfr. above p 48 and n. 123; p 101 and n. 107, p 156 and n. 330; and A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 105 9 Feb. 1478, c. 109 3 Apr. 1478, c. 111v 4 July 1478; c. 307v-08r and 309r 14 and 15 May 1482, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 43r 25 May 1482.

642. A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 11v 20 Mar. 1477, c. 14 13 Apr. 1477; A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 24v-25v 8 June 1477; cfr. above p 161 and nn. 352-56.

643. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 26v-27r 12 Aug. 1477, c. 28 10 Sept. 1477, c. 34v-35r 10 Apr. 1478.

644. Villages in these two Vicariates totalled a quarter of the dadie debts listed in 1477 (n. 643 above), though between them the two distretti contained a tenth of the Padovano's taxed wealth, as measured in the fuochi. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. Rubeo c. 233r 14 Jan. 1468, reg. Verde c. 16r 31 Mar. 1475, reg. C c. 92v 11 July 1483 c. 100r 14 July 1484, reg. E c. 68r 5 July 1483, c. 71 5 June 1483, c. 71v 16 Sept. 1484 - and cfr. n. 598 above.

645. Cfr. above pp 220-1 and nn. 619, 621-24; also p 176 and n. 421, manouevres by the Padovano villages concerned with responsibility for tax.

646. For the plague, see A.CORRADI Annali delle Epidemie Occorse in Italia dalle Prime Memorie fino al 1850 (Bologna 1865-92) vol. 1 pp. 609 ff., 625-26, 627, vol. 7 pp. 194-95, 205 -06 - also reporting food shortages caused by the war. Cfr. above p 96 and n. 4, p 198 and n. 513. See too the petition for tax relief in 1486 of Arzergrande, (2 km. south of Pieve di Sacco), A.S.P. Ducali reg. 16r 14 July 1486: it had owed L. 497 14 s. of dadie in 1477 (above n. 643), and after war damage and loss from the 1485 plague requested terms to pay off 12 years' arrears of dazio dei carri e boccatego, totalling L. 1,200; it asked to pay at L. 25 p.a., but was told to pay at L. 100 - in effect it was to pay at double the rate.

647. Above p 215 n. 595.

648. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 43 23 Jan. 1479.

649. See above p 107 and n. 126, p 108 and n. 130.

650. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 97v-98v 11 Mar. 1484, reg. D c. 3v 10 Nov. 1484; the figure of Barisono's debt on terminating comes from A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 255v-56r 2 Aug. 1498, and may be exaggerated.

P.T.O.

cont.)

650. For Contarini's activity, cfr. above p 109 and n. 134.

651. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 97v-98r 11 Mar. 1484, reg. D c. 1v-2r 13 Aug. 1484. Cfr. above p 192 and n. 485. L. 8,000 a month represented L. 96,000 p.a., little short of the L. 106,225 due for city and territorio after deduction of the L. 9,200 refund; and if this monthly total did not include the sums due from Venetians paying dadie, (levied separately though accounted with the main collector's moneys), it left no margin for arrears at all - cfr. p. 209 and n. 579 above, also p 211 and n. 588.* See below

652. (Cfr. n. 502 above), see A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 398v-99r and 399v: 21 and 27 Mar. 1484; c. 404v-05r, 405v 3 and 4 Sept. 1484. The terms proposed to Antonio Roberti in 1469 (above n. 501) were for payment to be half completed for each two month period by the end of the third month, and full by the end of the fourth...

653. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 2v-3r 23 Sept. 1484.

654. Cfr. above pp 165-6 and nn. 373-78; A.S.P. Atti VI c. 430, c. 430v-431r, c. 432v-33v, 8 and 9 Mar., 19 Apr. 1485; A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 50r-51r 15 Mar. 1485.

655. A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 5r 7 Jan. 1486; c. 10r, 11v and 12r - 4, 12 and 14 Feb. 1486, c. 12v 18 Mar. 1486; A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 55r 10 June 1487; cfr. above p 215 and n. 594.

656. See above p 46 and nn. 111-12; p 199 and n. 519 ff.; pp. 207-8 and nn. 565, 571-73

657. For the Dotto and Guidotto, seven years' real and personal exemption, for losses at Megliadino, Casale, Urbana, Merlara: A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 86r 23 Oct. and 4 Nov. 1482, reg. E c. 67r 13 Feb. 1489. For the Conti, four years' real and personal for damaged property round S.Elena: A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 11v-12r 9 Jan. 1486, c. 12v-13r 19 Oct, 1482, c. 13r 6 Mar. 1486 and 9 Mar., c. 13v-14r (reckoning by the Paduan Commune's Quaderniere), c. 14r 15 Mar. 1486, c. 20v 12 Mar. 1487, c. 20v-21r (further calculations). For the communes - four years' real and personal to the first two, six to Masi, and five years for all to pay off tax debts totalling D. 2,366: A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 89v 22 Feb. 1483. For the men of Este, and the Venetians: four years' real and personal for damage at S. Elena, Solesino and Carmignano - Idem reg, D c.-21 26 Mar. 1483, c. 20v 26 Sept. 1486, c. 24v and 25r 4 and 5 Aug. 1487. This was already a depressed area, in fiscal terms: the 1477 dadie debt lists (above n. 643) show S.Elena, Megliadino, S.Margherita and Saleto owing L. 2,700; cfr. A.S.P. Ducali reg. C c. 87v 25 and 27 Jan. 1483, a reduction in fiscal rating of the benefice of S.Maria at Merlara, because of its poverty.

658. Cfr. above p 180 and n. 441, n. 431.

659. A.S.P. Atti VI c. 321v-22r 6 and 8 Nov. 1482. Cfr. A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 3 c. 32v-34v, c. 43v: on 9 Oct. 1483, after questioning witnesses about the Dotto holdings at Megliadino (about 650 campi, mainly untilled), the Commune came to an agreement with the family to accept their exemption, covering assets totalling L. 45,850 in value, worth about L. 330 of dadie p.a.

660. Cfr. above pp 181-2 and nn. 443-47.

661. A.S.P. Atti reg. VI c. 396 13 Jan. 1484, c. 397v-98r 6 Feb. 1484; A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 9 c. 60r 28 Feb. 1484. For the Euganei, cfr. n. 644 above. There were, however, later grants to citizen heads of numerous families with access to favour in Venice, and the 1503 grant did not mention this law - above n. 439.

662. Cfr. the later documents concerning the Dotto, Conti, Venetians and men of Este in n. 657 above; also the ducale of 16 Sept. 1484 cited in n. 644, which ordered that Abano's exemption be observed as 'real'.

663. For the terms he (Francesco Brazolo) was given to pay, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. D c. 6v-7v 18 Mar. 1485; cfr. A.S.V. Serenissima Signoria Lettere Terra , I (1488) letter of 22 Sept. 1488. For his estimated levying between 1485 and 1490, see n. 650, (the 1498 Council meeting).

* Unlike the dadie, the dazio dei carri bore no penalties for late payment. As a concession to distrettuali arrears were to be dealt with by distraint and sale, cfr. A.S.P. territorio vol 323, Senate law of 11 Apr. 1457 confirming previous rulings.

664. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. E c. 42v 3 July 1488, referring to the Jan. 1479 ducale (above p 225 and n. 648) and the Senate law of 13 Aug. 1484 (above n. 651).

665. Cfr. above pp 110-14 and nn. 140-164. See A.S.V. Serenissima Signoria Lettere Terra, I (1488) letters dated 16 Sept. and 6 Oct. 1488, calling Antonio Roberti and Fabiani; after his failure to capture the dadie post (above p 215 and n. 594) Roberti had taken over the dazio dei carri.

666. Cfr. p 185 and nn. 460-461 above, the agreement specified that a breathing space be rquested. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 187v-88v 12 Nov. 1488; c. 230v-31v, 232v-33r, c. 234v-36r - 13 and 30 July, 1 Aug. 1489; and A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 71v-73r 13 Aug. 1489. Particular mention is made of the hill areas of Teolo, Arqua, as well as of Piove di Sacco - cfr. p 225 and nn. 644,646.

667. Cfr. above p 199 and nn. 523-24; various entries in SANUDO Diarii record the fears and incidence of damage, between 1498 and 1504, viz. I 192; II 502; V 84, 156, 174; VI 110. In October 1502 the village of Corte, east of Piove, obtained a five-year 'personal' tax exemption after years of flooding, which in 1502 had risen to four feet, killing livestock and crops and depositing silt - see A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 110v-11r 8 Oct. 1502. That the various provinces had difficulty in meeting the cost of the Brenta works is evident from Tregnago's experience (above n. 620), and from an entry dated 26 Oct. 1506 in A.S.V. Collegio Notatorio reg. 15, where the debt (for work done with the cost to be recovered) is stated as L. 12,000.

668. Cfr. in general CORRADI Annali delle Epidemie cit. I pp. 634 ff., II pp. 659 ff., VII pp. 234 ff.; also above p 126 and n. 233. A particularly cold winter in 1491-92 killed many vines, see A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 19r, 20 - 9 and 21 Mar. 1492; cfr. too c. 246 29 Jan. 1498, linking the current dadie debt to previous years' hail, poor harvest and drought.

669. A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 308r-09r 14 Jan. 1501; cfr. too c. 75v 5 Jan. 1503, requesting that terms for payment be allowed for tax debt in the Padovano, extending deadlines set by the Signoria.

670. Cfr. p 172 and n. 404, the 1504 conditions specified separate four-month periods of collection, a procedure with time limits for the declaration of impotent communes and the re-distribution of their shares, as well as rights of access to the accounts of collection.

671. Cfr. A.S.P. Atti reg. V c. 155r 12 Jan. 1505; A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 5 c.17r-8r 22 Apr. 1507.

672. Above pp 122-3 and nn. 207-10.

673. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 33r 27 July and c. 38r Oct. 1492, c. 209v-10r 16 Aug. 1497; c. 63v 24 Aug. 1493.

674. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 73 27 Oct. 1489, A.S.P. Atti reg. VII c. 242r-43r 3 Nov. 1489; the same happened in 1495 and 1497, cfr, Idem reg. VIII c. 125v 20 Aug. 1495, c. 218r 28 Dec. 1497.

675. For the events of 1498, cfr. above pp 124 and nn. 214 ff.

676. See SANUDO Diarii I 853 and 866, Jan. and 9 Feb. 1498. For the Council's alarm, and unavailing defence of Fabiqni, see A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 246 29 Jan. 1498; c. 247r, 249v-50r, 250v-51r - 2, 22 and 24 Feb.; 252v, 253r 3 and 17 Apr.; 255r 30 July; 255v-56r 2 Aug.

677. Roberti had been investigated in 1485 and 1488 (A.S.V. Collegio Secreta Commissioni, reg. 1482-95 c. 79v-80r 28 June 1485, c. 121v-22r 12 Aug. 1488) over, respectively, his administration of the Paduan bishopric's incomes for the Signoria during the War of Ferrara, and his dazio arrears. He was in the service of the Marquis of Mantua in a diplomatic capacity (cfr. references in voll. I-III of SANUDO Diarii), besides paying him as one of the dazieri assigned to him; his own fall followed just over a year after Venice's dismissal of the Marquis - cfr. above n. 207. For action against him, see A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 61v 7 Oct. 1499 (referring to a

677. (cont.) sequestration order of Capello's dated 2 Oct. 1498; A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori II, letter dated 5 Apr. 1502 about action by the Provveditori sopra le Camere against his heirs; A.S.V. Dieci Mistę reg. 31 c. 62r 3 Apr. 1506, reference to D. 1,000 owing; A.S.V. Collegio Notatorio reg. 15 entry dated 26 Oct. 1506, about terms of payment.

678. See A.S.P. Atti VIII c. 249r 18 Feb. 1498; c. 269r and 270v 21 and 25 Jan. 1499; the Signoria was satisfied with the collector who served in 1499-1500, but the 1484 rules required his replacement, see Idem c. 300r 28 Aug. 1500. Action was taken to recover the moneys from Corner, cfr. A.S.P. atti reg. IX c. 178v 6 Apr. 1505, A.S.P. Lettere ai Rettori, I (1500-06) letter dated 5 July 1505.

679. See PRIULI Diarii I p. 139 11 July 1499; A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 280v-81r 16 July, referring to a ducale of the 13th, and c. 281 19 July; PRIULI Diarii I p. 146; SANUDO Diarii II 966 26 July, 1061 11 Aug., 1114 22 Aug.; A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 281v-82r 19 Aug. 1499.

680. See A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 38 c. 33r 28 Apr. 1500, SANUDO Diarii III 283 2 May 1500, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 13 c. 134v 9 June 1500; Idem reg. 14 c. 49v 29 Nov. 1501; A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 73v 14 Dec. 1502, c. 144r 7 Oct. 1504. For the overall financial situation, see above pp 119-20 and nn. 185-90.

681. Cfr. p 161 and n. 354 above. Free auction had been threatened in 1495, when the tax's poor returns had caused a mass complaint by the city's university teachers, to whose pay it was allocated - cfr. above p. 139 and n. 290. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 57v 30 Oct. 1499, c. 58v 17 Feb. 1500; A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 285r and 294v 12 and 21 Jan. 1500, c. 295r 5 Mar. 1500; A.S.V. Dieci Mistę reg. 28 c. 173v 9 Dec. 1500.

682. See A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 38 c. 108r 2 and 13 Jan. 1501; cfr. PRIULI Diarii II p. 77, SANUDO Diarii III 1220 26 Dec. 1500.

683. See Bilanci Generali p. CLV, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 13 c. 172v 13 Jan. 1501.

684. See the account of this episode in BONARDI 'I Ribelli Padovani' pp. 317-21, also above p. 210 and n. 580.

685. It would appear to be more than a coincidence that the Council now began its campaign to discover the ownership and tax rights of land formerly belonging to the Marquises of Este, mostly Venetian-held; cfr. above p. 178 and n. 430.

686. Cfr. above p 173 and n. 413. See A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 74v and 75r 2 and 4 Mar. 1501; SANUDO Diarii III 1490, 1498, 1621, 1638 - 4, 6, 29 and 31 Mar. 1501. A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 28 c. 135r 2 Apr. 1501, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 49v 29 Nov. 1501, A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 82v 2 Dec. 1501. A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 38 c. 178v 25 Oct. 1501, A.S.V. Senato Terra reg. 14 c. 55v 19 Dec. 1501. For evidence of collection, see A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 39 c. 14v 11 Mar. 1502, c. 31v-32r 12 July 1502; A.S.P. atti reg. IX c. 73v 14 Dec. 1502; A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 100r, 101r 27 and 28 May 1503, reg. G c. 11v 7 July 1504. see below *

687. Cfr. above p 120 and nn. 193-94, p 126 and n. 232.

688. For debitori busi cfr. above p 222 and n. 629; see too A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 311r 15 Jan. 1501, reg. IX c. 7r 26 Feb. 1501, c. 8r 1 Mar. 1501, c. 66r 14 Oct. 1502.

689. See A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 64v 19 Aug. 1502, c. 66r 14 Oct. 1502, (cfr. BONARDI 'I Padovani Ribelli' cit. p. 321); Idem c. 64v 27 Aug. 1502, SANUDO Diari IV 473 23 Nov. 1502.

690. For his election see A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 75r 2 Jan. 1503. For the Camera's accounting at this time, cfr. above p 114 and n. 297 ff; the fragmentary accounts drawn on for the observations that follow are to be found, among other material, in A.S.P. Camera e Cancelleria fiscale vol. 252; the figures of discrepancy between the two accounts have been rounded off.

691. Cfr. above p 130 and n. 249.

* Cfr. FASULO 'Gian Domenico Spazzarini cit. pp. 135-36, Spazzarini criticized the campatico as a '... legem ... populis admodum molestam', writing in his History.

692. See SANUDO Diarii V 952-53 7 Mar. 1504; the accounting fraud being practised obviously went undiscovered,

693. A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 152r-53v office lists for 1505; c. 153v, 154 and 174r 4, 9 and 29 Jan. 1505; c. 175v, 176v 25 and 26 Mar.; c. 179r, 180 23 Apr. and 27 May, 28 May.

694. See A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 40 c. 146v 18 Nov. 1505, c. 187v-88r 1 Aug. 1506; SANUDO Diarii VI 250, 256 30 Oct. and 18 Nov. 1505; A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 185v 27 Nov. 1505, c. 198r 18 Jan. 1506, c. 202v and 203r 8 and 16 July 1506. Cfr. pp 125 and nn. 227-31.

695. See A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 206v-07r, 208, 208v-09r - 3,6,7 and 8 Oct. 1506, (referring to the ducale of 26 Sept., inspired by Pitigliano's impatience). Open election produced no results, and the choice was made from offers by the serving deputati, Capodivacca's requiring the lowest initial loan. For his career, cfr. above p. 55 and nn. 162-64.

696. See SAVIOLO Compendio p. 50.

697. See A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 180 27 and 28 May 1505, discussion of increased rates, and A.S.V. Senato Secreta reg. 40 c. 187v-88r 1 Aug. 1506 - the imposition of an extra 4 s. In 1507 the Council voted a 13 s. increase, the proceeds of which were handed to Trapolin (still Pitigliano's) representative) in 1508, see A.S.P. Deputati e Cancelleria reg. 5 c. 36 26 Nov. 1507, c. 45v 13 Mar. 1508; cfr. Idem c. 91 23 Jan. 1509 for the new collector's terms.

698. For disputes with territorio and clergy, see above pp 184 and nn. 454-55, pp 186-7 and nn. 465-68.

699. See A.S.P. Atti c. 6 11 Feb. 1501; Verona and Vicenza expressed the same views, cfr. SANUDO Diarii 1382, 1405 4 and 7 Feb. 1501. See above p 210 and n. 580, the Paduans' protest at the campatico emphasized citizens' poverty by noting the arrears of the 1499 subsidy, and the fact that over 100 families owed the Jews or Monte di Pietà. In 1502 the Council asked the Signoria to delay the collection of subsidy and campatico till the next harvest, see A.S.P. Atti reg. IX c. 73v 14 Dec. 1502.

700. Diario Ferrarese, R.I.S. t. 24 parte VII, (ed. G. PARDI), p. 144 entry dated 12 Mar. 1495.

701. See A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 249v-50r 2 Feb. 1498.

702. Cfr. above p 210 -

703. See BONARDI 'I Padovani Ribelli' p. 314. Bonardi chose to emphasize the importance of preceding tension on fiscal issues, as a lead-up to 1509, (Op. cit. pp. 317-21, 321-22, 322-26: extraordinary taxation at the turn of the century, the dadie collection crisis, the Rotta Sabadina); the conclusions offered here cannot therefore claim the merit of novelty...

CHAPTER FOUR - CONCLUDING COMMENTS.

The interruption to Venetian rule of Padua which resulted from the Republic's defeat by the League of Cambrai in 1509 was brief, especially when compared to the seven-year period of alternating or continuously alien mastery which was the fate of cities further west in the terraferma.[1] Padua's experience was different in other respects too: its political class revealed perhaps the most uncompromising hostility to Venetian rule of all the terraferma nobilities, and in the absence of effective claimants to the city when the Venetian Rettori departed they were able to instal a 'republican' regime which was intended to give the city the benefit of Imperial protection, but the free status of an Imperial city.

That these sentiments and actions had room to develop publicly after Venice's defeat was in large measure the Republic's own fault: fear and a near-paralysis of initiative gripped the government and individual Venetians alike after the news of the Battle of Agnadello. Even the most friendly observer in Padua could only have feared for the consequences as rumours flew, and the further cities were lost, while Venetian troops crossed the Padovano in near disorder, heading for the capital, where Padua's Rettori and other Venetians were sending their families and possessions of value.[2] There was little answer to the question a Trevisan asked at the end of June: '... Si li vostri zerchano salvar il suo, che dovemo far nui altri ?'[3] Self-doubt and self-criticism in the capital at this time lamented the failings of Venetian government, and the arrogant manner of individual Venetians in their dealings with terraferma subjects.[4]

In 'republican' Padua there was first tension, then open hostility between the political class and its inferiors. Disillusion with a role of secondary (and ever dwindling) importance in public life, a measure of unease at dependence on Venice for their position, envy and resentment at Venetians' purchase of property and occupation of both the province's major administrative posts and its ecclesiastical benefices at their expense, and general reaction to the failing separate identity of the

city, all now persuaded the great majority of Padua's political class to decide against Venetian rule. Sectional hostility between them and their politically disenfranchised inferiors - the vast mass of the population - inclined the latter to favour Venice; they were anyway more vulnerable to the consequences of interruption of communications with Venice and of the daily rhythm of work and earnings. In the Padovano the peasants at first hoped to free themselves from tyranny, taking ownership of their land and control of their lives; but, disillusioned in this hope, they generally chose loyalty to Venice, more distant and less recognizable than Padua and its officialdom as the force that oppressed them. The loyalty of the peasant bands, (many significantly drawn from the lawless areas round Gambarare and Oriago, on the edge of bordering jurisdictions in marshy land near the lagoon), was surely an expression of hopes of booty, relief at escape from the slavery of the land, and pent-up frustration and repressed violence resulting from their economic and social condition.[5]

The terms by which Padua returned to a peace-time regime of government in 1517 preserved the political and social balance in favour of the Council group of pre-war years. Reoccupation of Padua in 1509 had been followed by repression and reprisal against the protagonists of the 'republican' episode. But Venice's aim was to purge the existing political group, not to broaden it or give formal recognition to the support received by the Signoria from other groupings, as a counter-weight. Though the Council of Ten annulled the first election of the city Council, full of elements hostile to the Signoria, citizens of rank of unequivocal loyalty to Venice were too few to make much difference to the Council's character, then or in subsequent years.

Both before and after the war, Padua's political class had no deeply rooted loyalty to Venice as a ruler, or to the political ideals and standing of the Republic, being excluded from participation and therefore common interests with the dominant force in the state. There might be hatred of Venice, and resent-

ment or envy of Venetians, but the habit of fulfilling a secondary role in public life also induced indifference to strong patriotic sentiment in any form - towards Venice, its enemies, or even Padua. The lesson of 1509 was that the appeal of liberty was anachronistic and insubstantial beside the guarantee of office and the social position it stood for within a restricted political group - which now progressed towards the complete closure of its ranks. The Veronese Luigi da Porto summarized his family's attitude even during the conflict:'... Noi Da Porto, che chi vince siamo pronti ad ubbidire...'[6]

The administrative character of rule by Venice was an essential cause of this transformation of politics and society in Padua, whose élite in the period we have examined was struggling to resist the advance of Venetian government, and with it the province's conversion from autonomous political and economic unit to anonymous absorption in the Venetian mainland state. Venice drew progressively on Padua's resources to serve its own needs, partly through the powers it possessed from the initial political settlement of 1406, but to a very great extent through a more gradual process of adaptation and transformation of the mechanism and direction of government - structural co-ordination, command, changes of personnel, duplication of existing institutions, surveillance and interference from the capital. Among the consequences of Padua's assuming the identity of a Venetian province, more and more directly under Venetian government and harnessed to the needs of the Republic, there were, in military terms, the progressive neglect of the province's fortresses; the introduction of regular billetting of army units; the elaboration of conscript service; and the direction of Paduans' military ambitions towards service in the Republic's permanent, professional companies. In fiscal terms this meant the painful development of structures of command and control between central financial institutions and the Camera Fiscale; signs of re-organization and broader-based planning for the province's dazi and public

works; gradually more severe demands on inefficient and wasteful systems of collection and recalcitrant tax payers; fears and hopes for the redistribution of direct taxation; and the struggle between Signoria and Council over the dadie and extraordinary taxation, symptomatic also of their opposition of interests on other fiscal issues.

Evaluation of the research conducted on these themes in a broader context has been largely left to the reader; the presentation of bulky fresh material has not allowed a great deal of accompanying reflection or lateral connection. There would, for example, be ground for comparison of Padua with other subject cities, and the Venetian with other fiscal regimes: Molho's comments on the organization of Florentine taxes, especially in the contado, suggest many points in common.[7] An immediate connection to explore for the evidence cited here is with rural history; on the general theme, for example, of city and contado there would be discussion to develop on the relative roles of urban and rural magistrates and officials - the Padovano's Podestà, in the context of a running battle of jurisdictions with the city, were inclined to obstruct the activity of tax officials sent from Padua.[8] But enough has certainly been offered to encourage reflection and further research on many issues, if the aims of this study have been in any measure met.

The chronological limits observed in the gathering of evidence do not permit authoritative comment on the later development of military and fiscal organization in the province. Yet the general tone of government after the crisis of Cambrai was one of resumption and continuity, not only in the Signoria's unaltered preference to reserve local politics to the nobility, but also in economic organization, where the relationship between Venice and the provinces grew closer, and the state's control over their resources stronger.[9] Only further research will provide conclusive demonstration, but there is no indication in the studies and sources available for later periods - in

particular the Relazioni of Padua's Rettori - that either the province's military robe and organization, or its fiscal system (with its inefficiency and injustice) departed substantially in their development from the characteristics already apparent in the period examined here.[10]

1. For discussion in this section, see BONARDI 'I Padovani Ribelli' cit., esp. pp. 326-376; VENTURA Nobiltà e Popolo pp. 167-187, 'Nobili, Popolari e Contadini all'indomani di Agnadello', and pp. 244 ff., esp. 244-49, 'La Restaurazione del Ceto Dirigente e i Movimenti Anti-Aristocratici nelle Città di Terraferma'.
2. Most of this is in Bonardi's account, pp. 326-330, though for troop movements see SANUDO Diarii VIII 325, 328, 339.
3. SANUDO Diarii VIII 449, 28 June (commenting on talk of the Corner family's conduct, aimed to keep possession of the fief of Asolo, which had been conceded to Queen Caterina on her departure from Cyprus - cfr. above p. 31 and n. 31).
4. See GILBERT 'Venice in the Crisis' cit.
5. See BONARDI op. cit. p. 373, also LAZZARINI 'Beni Carraresi' cit. pp. 274-79, PRIULI Diarii IV p. 215, SANUDO Diarii IX 45. For the character of the areas in question, cfr. A.S.V. Maggior Consiglio Regina c. 155v 18 Apr. 1475, c. 159r 24 Sept. 1475, and A.S.V. Dieci Miste reg. 22 c. 154r 24 Mar. 1485, c. 161r 20 Apr. 1485, all legislation - as well as the many references to criminals in the regg, of A.S.V. Dieci Miste and Criminali.
6. See VENTURA op. cit. pp. 344-45 and n. 121.
7. See MOLHO Florentine Public Finances cit.: pp. 23-45 reveal increase in the contado's tax rate after the mid 14th century, ill effects of fiscal oppression on prosperity, the passage of wealth to citizens and urban tax lists, abuses in collection by a multitude of officials, terms sought for payment, the contado's dependence on borrowing at interest rates as high as 30 %, accumulation of arrears... even tax revolt (Volterra in 1429); see too pp. 74-81 on the uneven distribution of tax among contributors, (also E.FIUMI 'Fioritura e Decadenza dell'economia Fiorentina', A.S.I. CXVII 1959, parte III: Politica Economica e Classi Sociali, pp. 440-466 on 'la Politica Tributaria', esp. pp. 459-460 on continuing evasion in direct taxation's assessment, easiest for commercial capital..); also pp. 101-07 on the political sanctions against late payers, disenfranchisement etc., and sales of property; pp. 113-125, 166-175 on problems of central organization, handling and spending. For Pisa's fiscal treatment by Florence, no better and no worse than that of other contado towns, see M.MALLETT 'Pisa and Florence in the Fifteenth Century: Aspects of the Period of the First Florentine Domination', (ed. N.RUBINSTEIN Florentine Studies. Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence, London 1968, pp. 403-441). For the organization of Florentine indirect tax, and similarities with Venice, cfr. DE LA RONCIERE 'Indirect Taxes or Gabelles' cit. , and the other studies listed in n. 3 to Chapter III above.
8. See ducali ordering them not to interfere: A.S.P. Territorio vol. 407 11 Sept. 1446, A.S.P. Ducali reg. F c. 46r 16 June 1498 and reg, Verde c. 129, 131r - 5,6 and 17 Aug. 1508, 8 Feb. 1509. The Podestà of Camposampiero, with the encouragement of its townspeople, was particularly persistent: see A.S.P. Atti reg. VIII c. 210v 26 Aug. 1497, A.S.P. Ducali reg. Verde c. 106v-07v . Many other references attest the trend, as well as Venice's opposition to it.*
9. This is the trend observed in WOOLF 'Venice and the Terraferma' cit,, pp. 429-430.
10. Cfr. above p 143 and n. 304. See too A.VENTURA 'Il Problema Storico dei Bilanci Generali della Repubblica Veneta', in Bilanci Generali della Repubblica di Venezia, IV (1756-1783), Padua 1972, as well as STELLA 'La Regolazione' cit. Many indications may be had from Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti, IV; they are too many to list, but can be traced via the index according to subject matter. See too the long perspectives in PRETO 'Il Regime Fiscale' cit.

* Cfr. Ch. III n. 624.