



University of Kentucky
UKnowledge

Theses and Dissertations--History

History

2013

SACRED, SUSPECT, FORBIDDEN: THE USE OF SPACE IN EARLY MODERN VENICE

Julie D. Fox

University of Kentucky, msmedieval20@gmail.com

[Right click to open a feedback form in a new tab to let us know how this document benefits you.](#)

Recommended Citation

Fox, Julie D., "SACRED, SUSPECT, FORBIDDEN: THE USE OF SPACE IN EARLY MODERN VENICE" (2013).
Theses and Dissertations--History. 11.
https://uknowledge.uky.edu/history_etds/11

This Doctoral Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the History at UKnowledge. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations--History by an authorized administrator of UKnowledge. For more information, please contact UKnowledge@lsv.uky.edu.

STUDENT AGREEMENT:

I represent that my thesis or dissertation and abstract are my original work. Proper attribution has been given to all outside sources. I understand that I am solely responsible for obtaining any needed copyright permissions. I have obtained and attached hereto needed written permission statements(s) from the owner(s) of each third-party copyrighted matter to be included in my work, allowing electronic distribution (if such use is not permitted by the fair use doctrine).

I hereby grant to The University of Kentucky and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive and make accessible my work in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known. I agree that the document mentioned above may be made available immediately for worldwide access unless a preapproved embargo applies.

I retain all other ownership rights to the copyright of my work. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of my work. I understand that I am free to register the copyright to my work.

REVIEW, APPROVAL AND ACCEPTANCE

The document mentioned above has been reviewed and accepted by the student's advisor, on behalf of the advisory committee, and by the Director of Graduate Studies (DGS), on behalf of the program; we verify that this is the final, approved version of the student's dissertation including all changes required by the advisory committee. The undersigned agree to abide by the statements above.

Julie D. Fox, Student

Dr. Gretchen Starr-LeBeau, Major Professor

Dr. David Hamilton, Director of Graduate Studies

SACRED, SUSPECT, FORBIDDEN:
THE USE OF SPACE
IN EARLY MODERN VENICE

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Department of History
at the University of Kentucky

By
Julie Fox

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Gretchen Starr-LeBeau, Professor of History

Lexington, Kentucky

2013

Copyright © Julie Fox 2013

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

SACRED, SUSPECT, FORBIDDEN: THE USE OF SPACE IN EARLY MODERN VENICE

This dissertation argues that Venetian space in the sixteenth century was embedded with various boundaries that individuals challenged and that communities and Venetian secular and ecclesiastical authorities reinforced. The development of Venetian urban space played an essential role in the formation of Venetian civic identity, which in turn was predicated upon the myth of Venice. The time period examined includes the re-establishment of the Roman Inquisition, and the early period of the Inquisition in Venice, which were concomitant with a time of religious and social disruption. Documents of the Venetian government and contemporary diarists offer contextual evidence; however, trials before the Holy Office in Venice, particularly cases involving those accused of witchcraft, inform the greatest portion of this study. Drawing on such evidence, this dissertation challenges the argument that “Venetian” society was cohesive and well balanced. By repurposing common and sacred items to invoke supernatural entities and perform heterodox practices, those accused of witchcraft challenged the Venetian secular and ecclesiastical authorities as they created a competing vision regarding the definition of domestic sacred space. Examination of the neighborhood as a social space reveals boundaries, both real and imagined, and the challenges to the boundaries that those living on the margins of society displayed through the creation of their own communities. Finally, inhabitants’ use of public space and their movement throughout these spaces offers evidence of challenges to boundaries as well as the measures authorities took in re-establishing these boundaries. Ultimately, competing desires for belonging and legitimacy, as well as disagreements over physical, ideological, and social boundaries set Venetian inhabitants and authorities in opposition.

KEYWORDS: Civic Space, Inquisition in Venice, Social Boundaries, Cemeteries as Space, Witchcraft in Early Modern Venice

Julie D. Fox
14 November 2013

SACRED, SUSPECT, FORBIDDEN:
THE USE OF SPACE
IN EARLY MODERN VENICE

By

Julie Fox

Dr. Gretchen Starr-LeBeau
Director of Dissertation

Dr. David Hamilton
Director of Graduate Studies

14 November 2013
Date

For my Father

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing a dissertation is a lonely process that requires the assistance of a great number of people. Working on my dissertation from my home in the mountains of Western North Carolina meant that I relied heavily on the Interlibrary Loan Department at East Tennessee State University. Many thanks are in order for Alison DePollo and the ILL staff at ETSU. Alison managed to procure nearly five hundred books for my dissertation over the years, and I am grateful for her patience and persistence. On many occasions my requests, books and articles from foreign libraries on obscure subjects, must have seemed outlandish, yet Alison never failed.

My co-workers and colleagues at ETSU and Mars Hill University demonstrated remarkable kindness and support throughout this arduous journey. On many occasions they were met early in the morning with my somber hello when I tired from staying up late writing, creating, and revising my dissertation. Always I was met with encouraging words and kind smiles of encouragement that often cajoled me into a chuckle.

There were many obstacles while working on this dissertation and just as many people who helped me overcome those obstacles. I would like to thank Dr. Bruno Grazioli of Smith College and Dr. Lucia Antonelli-Carter, Chair of History at Mars Hill University, for taking time out of their busy schedules to assist me with transcriptions and translation questions. Dr. Grazioli worked with me remotely, which was incredibly convenient for me, and I am guessing, a tremendous inconvenience for him, but I remain grateful for his patience with early modern Venetian and me. As my next door neighbor

at MHU, Dr. Antonelli-Carter was interrupted with my translation questions more than she should have been, but she never turned me away. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Jonathan Glixon, Department of Musicology at the University of Kentucky, and a member of my dissertation committee. Dr. Glixon read, corrected, and commented on every translation that I made within this dissertation. I have learned a tremendous amount about early modern Venice from his explanations and stories of the Venetian language. I must add that Dr. Glixon took several hours from his own research in Venice to look at and correct my translations.

Other members of my dissertation committee also deserve acknowledgement because it was their countless comments and question answering that guided me through this process. Dr. Abigail Firey read this dissertation more times than any person should have to. I am indebted to her guiding questions and her encouragement at times when I felt that I had run out of energy. Dr. Firey taught me that doing something well is a much better feeling than just doing something to be finished. And lastly, the Chair of my dissertation committee, Dr. Gretchen Starr-LeBeau, taught me that there is always more to know and that the semi-colon is a tricky, yet very useful punctuation mark. Throughout this process, Dr. Starr-LeBeau always answered my panic-ridden emails, no matter the hour. She has seen me defeated and drained, but she always kept me moving forward and will remain my mentor.

Near to last, special thanks are in order for Ashley DeWitt, Lecturer in the School of Library and Information Science at the University of Kentucky. As my proof-reader,

Ashley has taught me more about the English language than I learned in all of my years as a student. Ashley worked under a strict deadline to get drafts back to me and never failed to surpass my expectations, all the while having to contend with her own work and research. It is with great honor that I am able to call her my friend.

And finally to my family, my greatest blessing, I am grateful that they are still here to see the end of this journey. To “Buddha,” Robert Phillips; thank you for taking me to Italy and for showing me the benefit of paying it forward. To my kittens (Lillie, Tanner, Tucker, and Trevor): God gave me the privilege of being your Aunt, and for that I am forever grateful. Your hugs, kisses, endless questions, and boundless energy reminded me that there would be an end to this process one day and, therefore time for us to play. We have a lot of time to make up! For my mother and father, my thanks and gratitude goes back further than this dissertation. You have given me all the tools necessary to be successful: perseverance, diligence, dedication, and most importantly, the benefit of humility. Thank you for not letting me quit or abandon my obligations when they became difficult. More than once through this dissertation process I wanted to shut down my computer and walk away or go to bed and not tend to my revisions, but it was your voices that I heard telling me that there was work to finish. To my mother, thank you for all of the meals and prayers that you made and sent up on my behalf; without your devotion and vigilance the outcome may have been different. I am glad we will never know. Because of you, I now know what perfect peace feels like; thank you for that. To my father, there is truly not enough space here to thank you for everything you

have done for me to ensure that I made it through my journey. You have fed my horses and taken care of my animals more than you should have had to. Most importantly, Dad, no matter where I went, or why I went there, you were always supportive, even if I failed; thank you for always paying my way home. And last, but not least, to my husband David, thank you for enduring many years as a dissertation widow. At times my requests were absurd and my moods otherworldly, but you stood by me and I am grateful for that. And I must add, you were right; this process did not kill me like I often thought it would in the wee hours of the morning when my paranoia mixed explosively with my fear of failure. Thank you for instilling confidence in me when I had none left; for that, you will always have my love and gratitude.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	iii
Chapter One: Introduction	
Introduction.....	1
Terms and Concepts.....	2
Historical Background of the Sixteenth Century	8
Sources.....	12
Historiography	14
Chapter Outline.....	19
Chapter Two: Venetian Cityspace: Urban Space	
Introduction.....	23
Theories and Place and Space.....	27
Formation of Venetian Civic Identity	32
Historical Evolution of the Venetian Cityscape.....	37
The Challenges and Opportunities of Life on the Lagoon.....	43
Governing Space: Neighborhoods and Parishes	49
Organizing Space: Social and Civic Life in Venetian Urban Space.....	57
Conclusion	65
Chapter Three: Domestic Space in Early Modern Venice	
Introduction.....	68
Theories of Domestic Space	69
Theories of Women, Witchcraft, and Inquisition	74
Inquisitorial Procedures: Witchcraft, Autonomy, and the Foundation of the Inquisition	80
The Devil is in the Kitchen: Transforming Domestic Space into Heretical Space.....	87
Perception of the Home as Space.....	110
Conclusion	122
Chapter Four: Social Space and the Neighborhood	
Introduction.....	125
Neighborhood as Social Space: Foundational Arguments.....	128
The Limits of Social Space: Physical Boundaries	134
Ideological Boundaries and Networks of Belief.....	161
Behavioral Boundaries.....	166
Communication and Communities	170

Conclusion	177
Chapter Five: The Use of Public Space	
Introduction.....	181
Movement through Public Space	190
The Land of the Dead: The Use of the Cemetery	199
Public Space and the Inquisition: From San Marco to Rialto.....	212
Conclusion	224
Chapter Six: Conclusions.....	227
Bibliography	233
Vita	284

Chapter 1

Introduction

In 1974, Henri Lefebvre's *Production of Space* transformed the ways scholars viewed theories of space. Lefebvre wrote:

Consider the case of a city — a space which is fashioned, shaped and invested by social activities during a finite historical period. Is this city a *work* or a *product*? Take Venice, for instance. If we define works as unique, original and primordial, as occupying a space yet associated with a particular time, a time of maturity between rise and decline, then Venice can only be described as a work. It is a space just as highly expressive and significant, just as unique and unified as a painting or a sculpture. But what— and whom — does it express and signify? These questions can give rise to interminable discussion, for here content and meaning have no limits.¹

Lefebvre's provocative description of Venice emphasized the uniqueness of Venetian space but, more than that, his representation of this space as a work of art evokes the true nature of the *Serenissima*. As Lefebvre wrote, Venetian space was “expressive and significant;” but was it as unified in its meaning as a painting or sculpture?² This dissertation examines the uses of space in early modern Venice. By redefining and repurposing ordinary spaces, individuals and groups that operated on the margins of Venetian society, such as witches, Jews, and Greeks, were able to establish and maintain a distinctive social identity within the totalizing and unifying world of the *Serenissima*. Close examination of these three groups and their interactions within Venetian communities and with Venetian secular and ecclesiastical authorities reveals a struggle between those gaining a place within Venetian space and those reasserting the previous

¹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1974; repr., Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 73.

² Ibid.

order within the space. In order to protect their sense of identity, inhabitants and authorities created and imposed boundaries designed to maintain social or ideological distinctions. Boundaries were often contested as a way of creating or maintaining identity.

Using Inquisition records and Venetian governmental documents, this dissertation asserts that Venetian society in the sixteenth century was much more contested than it appeared, especially for outsiders who tried to establish and maintain a particular social status or identity. Inhabitants created and contested Venetian social space through their use of physical spaces such as the home, the neighborhood, and the public space of the urban environment. In particular, contestation is evident in the experiences of marginal populations in Venice, such as witches, Jews, and Greeks. These groups are considered marginal, or the ‘other,’ because they were either non-Venetian or because their cultural practices and backgrounds distinguished them socially from the majority of Venetian inhabitants.

Terms and Concepts

Before the exploration of Venetian space can begin, it is necessary to clarify several terms and concepts that are frequently employed in this dissertation. To begin, the term ‘witchcraft’ merits closer consideration. As Ruth Martin pointed out, finding a single and suitable definition of witchcraft was a difficult task, even for the Inquisition. The most common term for the concept of witchcraft in early modern Venice was *stregoneria*. This dissertation operates under Martin’s claim that the tribunal in Venice applied the term “to virtually any attempt, or suspected attempt, on the part of the practitioner to manipulate

supernatural forces to his or her own ends.”³ For this dissertation, the term ‘witch’ primarily identified women were who had been denounced to the Inquisition for magical practices, such as love magic, fortune telling or divination, healing, bean casting, or in rarer cases, more sinister forms of magic thought to bring harm to others.⁴ Inhabitants also named men as witches, though only in one trial used in this investigation was the accused male.

Two other prominent marginal populations in Venice were Jews and Greeks. Both groups immigrated to the *Serenissima*—from the mainland, from the Empire, and from Iberia in the case of the Jews; and from the Greek islands and mainland in the case of the Greeks. Though the sources of marginalization differed, both these groups faced similar suspicions and similar treatment at the hands of the Venetian authorities. Witches, along with Jews and Greeks, were members of the Venetian working community; the majority worked in some capacity to make a living, and they never fully assimilated into Venetian society.⁵ Each of these groups maintained distinct ideological beliefs from one another,

³ Ruth Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550-1650* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 3.

⁴ Gerhild Scholz Williams, *Defining Dominion: The Discourses of Magic and Witchcraft of Modern France and Germany* (1995; repr., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Lara Apps and Andrew Gow, *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Alison Rowlands, *Witchcraft and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Rolf Schulte, *Man as Witch: Male Witches in Central Europe* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

⁵ For witchcraft in early modern Venice see, Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550-1650*; John Jeffries Martin, *Venice’s Hidden Enemy: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (1993; repr., Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Jonathan Seitz, *Witchcraft and Inquisition in Early Modern Venice* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011). For Jews in early modern Venice see, Brian Pullan, “A Ship with two Rudders: ‘Righetto Marrano’ and the Inquisition in Venice,” *The Historical Journal* 20, no.1 (1977): 22-58; Brian Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670* (1983; London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1997); Gaetano Cozzi, ed., *Gli Ebrei e Venezia, secoli XIV-XVIII*, Atti del Convegno internazionale organizzato dall’Istituto di storia della società e dello stato veneziano della Fondazione Giorgio Cini: Venezia, Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore, 5-10 giugno 1983 (Milano: Edizioni di Comunità, 1987); Benjamin Arbel, *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Robert Davis and Benjamin Ravid, eds. *The Jews of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). For Greeks in

and from the greater Venetian populace. Due to these social differences, these people constituted an 'other' within Venetian society.

The terms 'other,' 'otherness,' or the act of 'othering,' in the broadest sense, refers to those individuals or groups that the majority considers as the minority. The range of difference that constitutes a person or a group as being the 'other' is vast; for the purpose of this dissertation, a distinction of 'otherness' was typically based upon a combination of factors related to social or cultural ideology, ethnicity, and religion. Emmanuel Levinas examined the theory of the 'other' as a philosophical concept.⁶ For Levinas, the other was the being to whom we look in order to learn about ourselves: "the relationship with the other puts me into question, empties me of myself and empties me without end, showing me ever new resources."⁷ Levinas, in general, referred to the 'other' in the singular, using the term to describe the reflection of oneself. As the concept of the 'other' began to emerge as a popular notion, scholars found it to be a useful tool for analysis when applied to social history. Scholars often identify Edward Said as the person responsible for introducing the concept into the study of history. As Said

early modern Venice see, Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010); Robert C. Davis, *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal: Workers and Workplace in the Preindustrial City* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), Kindle edition.

⁶ Emmanuel Levinas, *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Netherlands: M. Nijhoff, 1974; repr., Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2002); Emmanuel Levinas, *Unforeseen History*, trans. Nidra Poller (Saint Clément de rivière: Éditions Fata Morgana, 1994; Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004); Emmanuel Levinas, *Humanism of the Other*, trans. Nidra Poller (Saint Clément de rivière: Éditions Fata Morgana, 1972; Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006). For critiques of Levinas see, Alison Ainley, "Amorous Discourses," in *The Provocation of Levinas: Rethinking the Other*, ed. Robert Bernasconi and David Wood (London: Routledge, 1988); Adriaan Peperzak, *To the Other: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Emmanuel Levinas* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1993).

⁷ Emmanuel Levinas, *Collected Philosophy Papers*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Dordrecht: M. Nijhoff, 1987; Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1998), 94.

described his concept of “orientalism,” he wrote that this view of the ‘other’ was not a “corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather [was] produced and [existed] in an uneven exchange” between various types of power.⁸ These forms of power included relationships centered upon politics, intellectual views, culture, and morality.

In the early modern Venetian context, groups of the ‘other’ included communities of witchcraft practitioners, Jews, and Greeks. Viewed as the ‘other’ within their neighborhoods, public spaces, and the greater society of early modern Venice, these marginalized groups often engaged in the power struggle Said mentioned. Essentially, Venetian authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, Venetian inhabitants, and members of particular communities viewed the members of their society as constituting the ‘us’ in opposition to the ‘them’ group comprised of the so-called outsiders. Paradoxically, once Jews and Greeks established their own communities, they began to view themselves as the ‘us’ in opposition to the mainstream, Venetian ‘them.’⁹

⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 12. Said wrote: “Indeed, my real argument is that Orientalism is—and does not simply represent—a considerable dimension of modern political-intellectual culture, and as such has less to do with the Orient than it does with “our” world.” With this in mind, Said’s argument was much like Levinas’ premise that the concept of the ‘other’ was more about how an individual perceived themselves within the framework of their culture, or environment, than about the environment within which they lived. Said’s concept of the other, was instead about cultural groups, or foreigners, and how they were perceived by western cultures. For a critique of Said’s work see, Daniel Martin Varisco, *Reading Orientalism: Said and the Unsaid* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).

⁹ Ritchie Robertson, “Introduction,” in Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters Between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800*, trans. Ritchie Robertson (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 6. Robertson described the concept of the other as “that of relating to whatever group one’s society defines as other than oneself. Most societies define women as other than men; many define children as other than adult.” The issue of perceptions is also a component of the other. For instance, as Robertson discussed, “Perception, understanding and representation are all obliged to use stereotypes. Stereotypes are not falsehoods, but simplified models which are necessary if we are able to cope with the multiplicity of experience” (ibid., 7). For more on otherness see, Sander Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985); Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986); Partha Mitter, “Can we ever understand alien cultures? Some epistemological concerns relating to the perception

In order to protect Venetian social order from these ‘others,’ in the sixteenth century Venetian inhabitants and secular and ecclesiastical authorities created boundaries in order to protect the existing social structure. Boundary-making also took place among those groups of the ‘other’ in an attempt to preserve their cultural, ethnical, and religious beliefs. Keith Luria used boundaries, “both as an ongoing means of investigating groups with social identities and as a way of pursuing political ends,” to study confessional groups in early modern France.¹⁰ This use of boundary creation and boundary maintenance is also applicable to early modern Venice because the individuals and groups discussed in the following chapters created and crossed boundaries. Shaped around ideas related to religion, ethnicity, ideology, and behavioral practices, these boundaries could take a physical or social form. As Fredrik Barth explained, “If a group maintains its identity when members interact with others, this entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signaling membership and exclusion.”¹¹ Boundary exclusion in early modern Venice often created an imbalance in physical or social spatial equality for the ‘other.’¹²

and understanding of the Other,” *Comparative Criticism* 9 (1987): 3-34; Stuart Schwartz, “Introduction,” in *Implicit Understandings, Reporting and Reflecting on the encounters Between Europeans and Other People in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Stuart Schwartz (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Eva Frojmovic, ed., *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

¹⁰ Keith Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), xxv-xxvi.

¹¹ Fredrik Barth, “Introduction,” in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, ed. Fredrik Barth (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), 15.

¹² For studies on urban spatial inequality see, Pierre Bourdieu, “Social Space and Symbolic Power,” *Sociological Theory* 7 (1989): 14-25; Edward Soja, *Post-Modern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989); Linda Lobao, Gregory Hooks, and Ann Tickamyer, eds. *The Sociology of Spatial Inequality* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007).

The concept of social space appears as a theme throughout this dissertation and therefore is another term that merits special discussion at the outset.¹³ Chapter four provides an in-depth discussion of social space in early modern Venice, but a brief definition is necessary here. Defining social space is difficult due to the many overlapping factors and variables that must be considered. Fran Tonkiss, in a discussion about the relationship between social theory and urban space, concluded that cities could be viewed “as a site of social encounter and social division, as a field of politics and power, as a symbolic and material landscape, as an embodied space, as a realm of everyday experience.”¹⁴ For the purpose of this dissertation, social space encompasses each of the characteristics Tonkiss identified. In early modern Venice, social inequality, the imbalance of power evident between inhabitants and authorities and inhabitants and the ‘other,’ and the overall need for social balance between those considered unequal help to characterize the social space of the city.¹⁵

¹³ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Mark Gottdiener, *The Social Production of Urban Space*, 2nd ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994); Michael Parker Pearson and Colin Richards, eds., *Architecture and Order: Approach to Social Space* (London: Routledge, 1994); Henry Liggett and David Perry, eds., *Spatial Practices: Critical Explorations in Social/Spatial Theory* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995); John Marino, ed., *Early Modern History and the Social Sciences: Testing the Limits of Braudel’s Mediterranean* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University, 2002); Helen Hills, ed. *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003); Thomas Betteridge, ed., *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007); Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin, ed., *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2010); David Warren Sabean and Malina Stefanovska, eds., *Space and Self in Early Modern European Cultures* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Fran Tonkiss, *Space, the City and Social Theory* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2005); C. Scott Dixon, Dagmar Freist and Mark Greengrass, eds. *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009); Vikas Mehta, *The Street: Quintessential Social Public Space* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

¹⁴ Tonkiss, *Space, the City and Social Theory*, 1.

¹⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, “The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups,” *Theory and Society* 14, no. 6 (1985): 724, wrote: “Thus, the social world can be represented as a space (with several dimensions) constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active within the social universe.”

Historical Background of the Sixteenth Century

Due to the onset of the Protestant Reformation and the radical views of religious dissenters like Martin Luther, the sixteenth century remains one of the most controversial and scrutinized periods in European history. These newly conceived approaches of thinking about the relationship between the spiritual and the temporal world caused a shift in the foundation of Catholicism. Afraid that the rapid spread of the ideas of religious dissenters, labeled heretics, would permeate the minds and hearts of impressionable individuals, the religious and the secular authorities scurried to contain the threat. Elizabeth Horodowich wrote that this “heightened interest in spirituality and religious reform also wrought many changes on the lagoon city and brought the Holy Office to Venice.”¹⁶ The changes also affected the social climate and the urban space of Venice.

In the 1540s the pope felt that Venetian authorities did not attend to matters involving heretics, namely Protestants, with sufficient vigor because the officials permitted other religions to exist within the city.¹⁷ Although Venice was a city-state and not a part of the Papal States, the city remained under the watchful eye of the Roman Curia with regard to ecclesiastical matters. Brian Pullan wrote that the “liberty of Venice” and its ability to “shield its subjects from arbitrary oppression, and to offer conditional

¹⁶ Elizabeth Horodowich, *Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 129.

¹⁷ For General History of Europe in the sixteenth century see, Lauro Martines, *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); John Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (New York: Touchstone, 1993); Richard Mackenney, *Sixteenth Century Europe: Expansion and Conflict* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993); Arthur Joseph Slavin, *Politics, Religion and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of DeLamar Jensen* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1994); Christine Shaw, *Italy and the European Powers: The Impact of War, 1500-1530* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Andrea Gamberini, *The Italian Renaissance State* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Michael Mallett and Christine Shaw, *The Italian Wars 1494-1559: War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe* (London: Addison Wesley, 2012).

protection to non-Catholics and peoples outside Christianity” was a primary concern for the papacy.¹⁸ In agreement with Pullan, John Martin argued that, since Venice was the geographical line dividing Rome from the rest of Europe to its north, “the papacy especially worried that this city might serve as the door through which the Reformation would enter Italy.”¹⁹ In response, Venetian secular authorities felt that “Rome seemed to be confusing state policy with religious orthodoxy.”²⁰ John Martin pointed out that the Venetian government was not pleased with Pope Paul III’s reorganization of the Roman Inquisition in 1542. Given that this restructuring placed Venice’s activities “directly

¹⁸ Pullan, “A Ship with two Rudders: ‘Rigetto Marrano’ and the Inquisition in Venice,” 27.

¹⁹ John Martin, “Popular Culture and the Shaping of Popular Heresy in Renaissance Venice,” in *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Stephen Haliczer (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 116.

²⁰ Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 116. The relationship between Venice and the papacy, especially throughout the sixteenth century, and regarding the issue of the Inquisition, was a struggle. For a concise explanation of this struggle see, Rainer Decker, *Witchcraft and the Papacy: An Account Drawing on the Formerly Secret Records of the Roman Inquisition*, trans. H.C. Erik Midelfort (Germany: Verlag, 2003; Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008). Antonio Santosuosso, “Religious Orthodoxy, Dissent and Suppression in Venice in the 1540s,” *Church History* 42, no. 4 (December 1973), 477. Santosuosso wrote that the appointment of Giovanni Della Casa as the nuncio to Venice from 1544-1549 was met with great opposition on the side of Venice in regards to the duties of Della Casa: “The Venetians wanted to limit them to those of a lay ambassador. The curia insisted that he keep the prerogative of a nuncio *a latere*, which meant that he would have jurisdictional authority over a variety of cases involving faith and the behavior of clergymen.” Venice in turn made it very difficult for Della Casa to conduct his duties properly, at least from the point of view of the papacy. Antonio Santosuosso, “Religion More Veneto and the Trial of Pier Paolo Vergerio,” in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform: Papers presented at the conference ‘The Cultural Impact of Italian Reformers*. Faculty of Religious Studies of McGill University, Montreal, September 1977, ed. Joseph C. McLelland (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1978), 45-46. Santosuosso demonstrated the strained relationship between the two governments with the trial of the Bishop of Capodistria, Pier Paolo Vergerio. Vergerio was denounced to the Inquisition in Venice by a Caposistrian friar. The trial of Vergerio went through three stages from 1522-1549 until at last, Paul III deposed him as bishop. This case is particularly interesting in that it spans the time from the operation of the Roman Inquisition within Venice through the institution of the Venetian Inquisition in 1547, but more importantly, throughout the trial, the Venetian government delayed the inquisitorial process by delaying the trial and essentially, helping Vergerio escape. For general histories of the papacy and popes during the medieval and early modern period see, Thomas F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680-825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050-1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Eamon Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Klaus Schatz, *Papal Primacy From its Origins to the Present*, trans. John Otto and Linda Maloney (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1996); Thomas Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition: A Papal Bureaucracy and Its Laws in the Age of Galileo* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

under the authority of the papacy and a College of Inquisitors,” the Venetian ruling class feared that Rome would begin to interfere with their enormous business of trade.²¹

Historians of the Venetian Inquisition allude to the fact that the Inquisition in Venice sprang from the urging of the papacy in response to Venetians’ lenient policies towards non-Christians. As Antonio Santosuosso highlighted, the main point of contention between Rome and Venice during the tumultuous 1540s was not the issue of combating heresy, but “who should have the responsibility and weaponry to enforce it.”²² When the threat of Protestantism became a reality within the city of Venice, the government realized that the cornerstone of its existence was in jeopardy and that the stability and piety of the republic needed to be preserved. In response to this desire to maintain an image that had taken centuries to cultivate, the Venetians took an active step in ensuring their religious and governmental integrity.²³ On 22 April 1547, the Doge of

²¹ Martin, *Venice’s Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City*, 52. For general political histories of Venice during the sixteenth century see, Brian Pullan, *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (York: Methuen, 1968); William Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter Reformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); Frederic C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); Myron Gilmore, “Myth and Reality in Venetian Political Theory,” in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J.R. Hale (New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973); William McNeill, *Venice: The Hinge of Europe, 1081-1797* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974); Robert Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980); Felix Gilbert, *The Pope, his Banker, and Venice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); Elisabeth Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Filippo De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Horodowich, *Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice*; E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects Between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

²² Santosuosso, “Religious Orthodoxy, Dissent and Suppression in Venice in the 1540s,” 476.

²³ Christopher Black, *The Italian Inquisition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Jane Wickersham, *Rituals of Prosecution: The Roman Inquisition and the Prosecution of Philo-Protestants in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2012). For further reading see, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1975; New York: Vintage Books, 1979); John Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

Venice and his six councilors issued a decree that established the Inquisition in the city.²⁴ Although the Venetian government took great measures to ensure harmony within the city, the initiation of the Inquisition became the embodiment of Venetian desire to increase political power, both within and outside of Venice. Within the confines of the city, the Inquisition operated as a machine for social control, to ensure the people did not attempt any subversive behavior occurring beyond the Alps during the sixteenth century. From the perspective of the Venetian government, this new policing body served the city in two ways: first, in helping to settle the citizens and their concern regarding heretical threats; and second, in quelling the fears of the Church in Rome. With the Inquisition established, Venetians could assure themselves and doubtful onlookers that they had taken the necessary measures to restore and protect stability.

Pullan defined the Venetian Inquisition as part of the larger organ comprising the Venetian State: “It was a segment of a ponderous, articulated, inter-diocesan and international machine for the defense of the universal faith, and it was also a magistracy functioning within the limits of a defined territorial state.”²⁵ As the sixteenth century pressed on, however, the focus of the Inquisition shifted from the pursuit of Protestants to “a cornucopia of Venetian offenses.”²⁶ By 1585 the battle with Protestantism slowed, and

²⁴ For a copy of the original decree see, Francesco Albizzi, *Riposta all' historia della sacra Inquisitione composta già dal R.P. Paolo Servita* (Rome: S.I., 1680).

²⁵ Pullan, “A Ship with two Rudders: ‘Righetto Marrano’ and the Inquisition in Venice,” 28.

²⁶ E. William Monter and John Tedeschi, “Toward a Statistical Profile of the Italian Inquisitions, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,” in *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Methods and Sources*, ed. Gustav Henningsen and John Tedeschi (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), 134.

“illicit magic replaced Protestantism as the most common charge” brought before the Holy Office operating in Venice.²⁷

Sources

Inquisitorial documents must be approached with caution. Although trials were recorded with apparent accuracy, it is often difficult to discern if the defendant was coerced or intimidated in some way by the inquisitor.²⁸ As John Tedeschi discussed in his essay on using Inquisitorial documents, several issues scholars have discovered while working with trials deal with the relationship between the inquisitor and the defendant.²⁹ One issue was the difference in language and perhaps educational background between the defendant and the inquisitor, as pointed out by Carlo Ginzburg.³⁰ The trustworthiness of witness testimony is another issue that Inquisitorial historians must contend with. Inquisitors, especially if they were inexperienced, “were prone to twist testimony to fit predetermined mental schema, especially in the case of alleged witchcraft.”³¹ Historians have also suggested that witnesses could learn how to respond appropriately to the inquisitor, perhaps from a jailor or another defendant before the tribunal.³² Yet despite

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Carlo Ginzburg, “The Inquisitor as Anthropologist,” in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

²⁹ John Tedeschi, *The Prosecution of Heresy: Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Italy* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991), 48.

³⁰ Ibid. See, Carlo Ginzburg, “Witchcraft and Popular Piety: Notes on a Modenese Trial of 1519,” in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi (1961; repr., Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

³¹ Tedeschi, *The Prosecution of Heresy*, 48.

³² Ibid., 49. See also, Anne Jacobson Schutte *Aspiring Saints: Pretense of Holiness, Inquisition, and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618-1750* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001);

these concerns, scholars have mostly concluded that Inquisition scribes were largely accurate in recording interrogations.³³ Notwithstanding the difficulties interpreting inquisitorial documents, witness testimony is often rich with descriptions of social discourse among neighbors and the uses of space throughout the city.

Inquisitorial records used for this dissertation derive from the trials of those accused of witchcraft in Venice between the years 1554-1589.³⁴ Witness testimony in witchcraft trials offers a unique dialogue among early modern inhabitants and their neighbors and often contains descriptive testimony of the inside of homes and the social nature of neighborhoods. This dissertation uses trials collected during visits to the *Archivio di Stato* in Venice, and edited collections of trials; all translations offered are my

Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth Century France* (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987).

³³ John Edwards, "Was the Spanish Inquisition Truthful?" review of *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*, by B. Netanyahu and *Conversos, Inquisition and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, by Norman Roth, *The Jewish Quarterly*, LXXXVII, Nos. 3-4 (1997): 351-366; Kim Siebenhüner, "Conversion, Mobility and the Roman Inquisition Around 1600," *Past and Present*, no. 200 (2008): 5-35.

³⁴ The trial dossiers of the Venetian Inquisition are located in the *Archivio di Stato, Venezia*, the State Archives of Venice. For more information on the general state of the archives in Venice see, Andrea da Mosto., ed. *L'Archivio di stato di venezia: indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico*, Bibliothèque des "Annales Institutorum," 5 (Rome: Biblioteca d'arte, 1937-40); Richard Wadleigh, "Archives in Venice," *Archives of American Art Journal* 5, no. 4 (1965): 9-11; Monter and Tedeschi, "Toward a Statistical Profile of the Italian Inquisitions, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," 131. Fortunately, the inquisitorial documents of the Venetian Inquisition did not suffer the fate of the Roman Inquisitorial documents, and they remain largely intact. The preservation of trials in the Venetian *Sant'Uffizio* is one of the reasons the Inquisition in Venice is a popular source of records for scholars of Italian Inquisition history. Tedeschi, *The Prosecution of Heresy: Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Italy*, 23-45. Upon the death of Pope Paul IV in 1559, a group of Romans burned the records in the headquarters of the Inquisition in Rome. Later, when Napoleon began his mission of compiling a "supra-national center of learning in Paris," in 1810, he raided the bountiful archives all over Europe and Italy, including the Vatican (*ibid.*, 23). In the 1813 inventory of foreign materials housed in Paris after Napoleon's raid, the Roman Archives "had been stripped of the contents of the Nunciatures, Dataria, Propaganda Fide, Penitenzieria, the entire series of acts and registers pertaining to the Council of Trent, and, of course, the trials, sentences, decrees, correspondence, dispensations, petitions, and doctrinal pronouncements that made up the archive of the Roman Inquisition" (*ibid.*, 24). Count Giulio Ginnasi sold many of these trial documents to local Parisian delicatessen shops to be used as wrapping paper for fish and other food-stuffs. Marino Marini, the Italian archivist and papal commissioner, sold a total of 2,600 volumes of these Roman Inquisitorial trials for scrap paper in order to finance the shipping of the important documents back to Rome (*ibid.*, 25).

own.³⁵ Names of people and places have been modernized for the purpose of readability, but terms dealing with witchcraft are left in the original dialect.

Other sources used for this dissertation derive from Venetian governmental documents. Records of the Council of Ten and the Senate contain information about the Jewish and Greek communities within Venice during the early modern period.³⁶ The work of Marin Sanudo (1466-1536), the Venetian diarist, often informs descriptions of the events that took place within the public spaces of the city and of the social climate of the latter half of the sixteenth century. This dissertation draws on two of Sanudo's texts: *De origine, situ et magistratibus Urbis Venetae ovvero La Città di Venetia (1493-1530)* and excerpts from *I diarii di Marino Sanudo*.³⁷

Historiography

³⁵ *Streghe e Diavoli nei Processi del S. Uffizio: Venezia 1554-1587*, ed. Marisa Milani (Bassano del Grappa: Ghedina and Tassotti, 1994). See also Marisa Milani, *Piccole Storie di Stregoneria nella Venezia del '500* (Verona: Essedue edizioni, 1989). For more on the language of Venice see, Ronnie Ferguson, *A Linguistic History of Venice* (Florence: Olschki, 2007); Ronnie Ferguson, "Venetian Language," in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. Eric Dursteler (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

³⁶ *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, ed. David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1992; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

³⁷ Marin Sanudo, *De origine, situ et magistratibus Urbis Venetae ovvero La Città di Venetia (1493-1530)*, edizione critica di Angela Caracciolo Aricò (Milano: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1980). This dissertation uses excerpts from Marin Sanudo's diaries contained in *Venice Città Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, eds. Patricia Labalme and Laura While, trans. Linda Carrol (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008). For more information on Sanudo's diaries see, Marin Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, ed. Rinaldo Fulin, et al., 58 vols. (Venice: Fratelli Visentini, 1879-1903). For further reading on Marin Sanudo see, Gaetano Cozzi, "Marino Sanudo il giovane: dalla cronaca alla storia," in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI: aspetti e problemi*, ed. Agostino Pertusi, 333-58 (Florence: Olschki, 1970); Myriam Billanovich, "Michele Ferrarini, Aldo Manuzio, Marin Sanudo," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 22 (1979): 525-29; Aricò Caracciolo, "Marin Sanudo il giovane, precursore di Francesco Sansovino," *Lettere Italiane* 31 (1979): 419-37; Eric Cochrane, "The Transition from Renaissance to Baroque: The Case of Italian Historiography," *History and Theory* 19, no. 1 (1980): 21-38; Robert Finlay, "Politics and History in the Diary of Marino Sanuto," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (1980): 585-598.

The study of Italian Inquisition trials sheds light on many social and cultural aspects throughout the early modern period. Traditionally, inquisitorial documents were studied for the purpose of understanding the Inquisition as an institution.³⁸ Once the operation of the Inquisition was established by scholars, inquisitorial historiography shifted focus to the information witness testimony offered regarding social issues of the early modern period. Concentrating on geographic region or a particular social issue has dominated inquisitorial studies for nearly half a century. Inquisitorial records are a way for scholars to study the lives of under-represented groups, including those groups that were not usually given a voice in early modern society, such as women and foreigners. Themes in inquisitorial studies highlight issues of gender, religion and culture, and social differences, among other things.

Most Italian inquisitorial scholars build upon the work of Carlo Ginzburg. Ginzburg established that close examination of inquisitorial trials offered scholars a new way of learning about popular culture and worldviews in rural areas. In *The Night Battles*, Ginzburg demonstrated how the Inquisition took a popular notion regarding witchcraft and manipulated its meaning in order to maintain control over the people.³⁹ The Inquisition, acting upon the “superstition” that had built up around the issue of witchcraft since the mid-thirteenth century, caused an agrarian ritual to be refashioned as a demonic

³⁸ Henry Charles Lea, *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1888), 1. Writing in the late 1880s, Lea used trial dossiers and archival material to build the foundation for the study of the Inquisition in Europe. Lea’s history covered most every aspect of the Inquisition from judicial matters to the hierarchy of the offices and make-up of the institution of the Inquisition. In volume one, Lea regarded the events of the twelfth century, a time of “spiritual despotism,” as bringing about the Inquisition. Regardless of the religious undertones in Lea’s work, however, his use of archival materials remains as a cornerstone for North American studies on Inquisitorial history.

³⁹ Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1966; repr., Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

rite and fodder for the inquisitors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Friuli region of Italy. In *The Cheese and the Worms*, Ginzburg wrote about popular culture in Friuli by closely examining the trial of Domenico Scandella. Ginzburg claimed that Domenico's beliefs were connected to larger social changes taking place throughout the rest of Europe, such as the use of the printing press and the Protestant Reformation.⁴⁰ The time frame of Domenico's trial culminated in a period characterized by Ginzburg as an "explosive situation," when the clergy were losing their foothold on the business of religion essentially through the availability and access to books.⁴¹ Ginzburg's contribution to inquisitorial studies caused scholars to use inquisitorial documents to look at popular culture and the dissemination of ideas. Scholars such as Paul Grendler focused on inquisitorial records to gain understanding on the impact of printing in Venice and the dissemination of heretical ideologies through books deemed heretical by the Inquisition during the early modern period.⁴²

Inquisitorial scholars then began to look at trials in ways that illuminated the cultural and religious beliefs of groups of people. For instance, John Martin, in "Popular Culture and the Shaping of Popular Heresy in Renaissance Venice," looked at inquisitorial records in order to understand the cultural life of sixteenth century Venetian artisans.⁴³ Once inquisitorial records were recognized for their value in understanding

⁴⁰ Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth Century Miller*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1976; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), xxiv.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Paul Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977).

⁴³ Martin, "Popular Culture and the Shaping of Popular Heresy in Renaissance Venice," in *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 116.

culture, there was a slight shift in the focus from social themes to understanding the relationship between the Inquisition and the people. In his *Venice's Hidden Enemies*, John Martin stated that one of his main goals in writing the book was to make the correlation between religion and social life within Renaissance Venice. Looking at the “dual” identities that heretics took on in an attempt to avoid the Inquisition, living both a religious and a heretical life at the same time, Martin discovered that defendants over time, learned how to manipulate the tribunal.⁴⁴

Other studies focused on the shifts within the inquisitorial documents themselves, such as the shift from prosecuting Protestants to focusing on cases involving popular magic and accusations of witchcraft. Ruth Martin traced witchcraft in Venice from a basic definition to an extended explanation regarding how the tribunal dealt with the various doctrinal and ideological beliefs that were encompassed in the broad definition of the offense.⁴⁵ Ruth Martin's work also brought about issues of gender and the treatment of women before the Inquisition; which caused inquisitorial studies to consider issues of gender more closely.

Anne Jacobson Schutte's research highlighted more than just issues of women before the Inquisition. In *Aspiring Saints*, Schutte determined that the “false saints” tried before the Inquisition did not receive fair trials due to preconceived notions of the judges and inquisitors regarding profane and sacred orthodoxy. Schutte claimed our modern perception of the separation of church and state, “were not part of their mental furniture” and that secular and sacred authorities “shared several assumptions: that Christian truth

⁴⁴ John Martin, *Venice's hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City*, xii.

⁴⁵ Ruth Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550-1650*, 247.

was one and indivisible” and that everyone in a position of authority must work to promote “the will of God.”⁴⁶ The desire of Venetian ecclesiastical and secular authorities to protect the Catholic faith meant that foreigners were often tried before the tribunal for their religious and cultural practices.

Understanding the way that Venetian ecclesiastical and secular authorities contended with outsiders, or foreigners, remains a popular theme in inquisitorial studies.⁴⁷ In *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670*, Brian Pullan demonstrated a keen understanding of the way that Venetian authorities dealt with outsiders. Pullan looked at the relationship between the Jewish population residing in Venice and the policies the tribunal created in order to deal with such economically important people.⁴⁸ Policies of the Venetian Inquisition changed towards the Jewish population in times of necessity due to economic or political impetuses. Another theme that was prevalent throughout Pullan’s study was the dynamic between the Jewish and Catholic populations within Venice. Inquisitorial studies have concentrated less on Greeks brought before the tribunal in Venice, although Ruth Martin touched upon the issue of foreigners in witchcraft trials, stating that thirty-three percent of the women accused of witchcraft “had their origins outside the city of Venice itself;” however, she does not devote a great deal of time in her study to members of Jewish or Greek communities.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Schutte, *Aspiring Saints: Pretense of Holiness, Inquisition, and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618-1750*, 27.

⁴⁷ See Marion Leathers Kuntz, *The Anointment of Dionisio: Prophecy and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

⁴⁸ Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670*.

⁴⁹ Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550-1650*, 231.

The most recent trend in inquisitorial studies highlights the cultural and social relations among Venetian inhabitants as they pertained to certain spaces or areas throughout the city. For instance, Filippo de Vivo looked at the spread of heretical ideas through communication and meetings within early modern pharmacies in Venice,⁵⁰ and Elizabeth Horodowich referenced trials before the tribunal in her study on gossip and balconies in early modern Venice.⁵¹ Although recent studies reference the use of certain spaces for social practices, they often do not incorporate theories of space into their investigations of social and cultural aspects of the early modern city. Therefore, building upon the works of inquisitorial scholars, this dissertation uses witchcraft trials to better understand communities of learning and the dissemination of ideas, as previously mentioned, but also to explore the more underdeveloped areas of space, such as the use of domestic space and the social aspects of the space of the cemetery.

Chapter Outline

Chapter two introduces and contextualizes the argument about the importance of social and physical space through an in-depth analysis of the urban space of early modern Venice. Building upon modern theories of space and place, we can identify early modern Venetian space as constructed by its inhabitants. By creating the space that made up their city, ancient Venetian inhabitants, and early modern inhabitants developed a strong, persistent sense of civic identity. By the sixteenth century, the urban landscape had taken

⁵⁰ Filippo de Vivo, "Pharmacies as Centers of Communications in Early Modern Venice," *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 4 (2007): 505-521.

⁵¹ Elizabeth Horodowich, "The Gossiping Tongue: Oral Networks, Public Life and Political Culture in Early Modern Venice," *Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 1 (2005): 22-45.

shape, but, as demonstrated throughout this dissertation, changes to the urban space often took the form of exclusion, primarily of those groups thought to pose some type of threat to Venetian internal stability. Through careful planning and even propaganda, the Venetian government created a cityscape that remained largely untouched for nearly a thousand years.

Moving from the open space of the urban landscape, chapter three presents an analysis of the more intimate realm of domestic space. Using theories of domestic space offers a suitable definition of the ordinary or more traditional uses of the home in the early modern period. Witness testimony reveals that those accused of witchcraft used their homes for heretical purposes through ritual and repurposing. Witnesses and defendants often described elaborate rituals of magical performances taking place within the confines of the home. Owing to these descriptions, it is possible to gain insight not only into the workings of the home, but also into what officials saw as misuses of domestic space. By taking ordinary spaces and using them for heterodox purposes, such as the practice of witchcraft, people challenged the uneven power between the authorities and themselves and created a small degree of autonomy for themselves.

Leaving the domestic space of the home, chapter four examines the neighborhood as a social space and the limits boundaries imposed on this space. The physical boundaries Venetian secular authorities imposed on communities of foreigners took the form of contained or walled neighborhoods. The segregation of the Jewish community in the Ghetto in 1516 reinforced Jewish identity and solidarity. Identity reinforcement was also present in instances where communities faced ideological differences among their members. Challenges to the community and ideological boundaries came in the form of

witchcraft practices and the redefining of certain spaces within the neighborhood.

Although those accused of witchcraft were not forced to live in certain areas or confined to particular spaces within Venice, their behavior and heterodox practices separated them from the majority of the neighborhood or community. Behavioral boundaries could center upon the individual, group, or communal identity and could even be imposed on members of the community if they crossed a particular boundary. Within the Greek communities of Venice, members reinforced embedded behavioral boundaries of particular neighborhoods. Each of these groups stood apart from the majority of Venetian inhabitants due to religious, ideological, or ethnic differences. By challenging the traditional views of neighborhood space, and the accepted behavioral norm within the community, members of these groups created means of balancing the social inequality that existed.

Social inequality was also apparent in many public spaces throughout Venice in the early modern period. Chapter five discusses the public space and the challenges for the Inquisition due to the amount of movement through such spaces that those accused of witchcraft demonstrated in the early modern period. While the market remained a popular location for the collection of ordinary items for heterodox practices, cemeteries held a more deviant position in early modern witchcraft. Cemeteries were also an issue for Venetian secular and ecclesiastical due to issues of orthodoxy. The Jewish and Greek communities in Venice, as part of their religious and cultural practices, desired space for burial of community members. Although the Venetian secular and ecclesiastical authorities accommodated the requests from these foreign communities for the creation of cemeteries, Jews and Greeks were often met with opposition. Concerns involving

cemeteries did not end with issues over orthodoxy, as demonstrated in cases of witchcraft. Due in part to travel at night and to the fact that there was no way of knowing if inhabitants planned to use an item, such as bones from a cemetery or a simple orange, for magical practices, secular and ecclesiastical authorities struggled to control these public spaces. The solution to controlling the inhabitants of Venice came in the form of the ritualization of public punishment. In order to reaffirm authority, and therefore reinforce social stability, the Inquisition and the secular authorities publicly punished people in Piazza San Marco or made the penitent walk from San Marco to Rialto, arguably the two most public spaces in early modern Venice.

Focusing on the early modern Venetian context, this dissertation demonstrates how inhabitants on the margins of Venetian society challenged the boundaries and uses of various spaces throughout the city. Although they participated in and, in many instances, were essential to the economy of Venice in the sixteenth century, these marginal groups were never truly integrated into Venetian society. The complexity of Venetian urban space in the early modern period was apparent. The bounded social systems that were continually challenged and reaffirmed was perhaps less obvious, but nevertheless present.

Chapter 2

Venetian Cityscape: Urban Space

Introduction

Early modern Venice was a thriving maritime republic, powerful and wealthy from its position upon the sea. The Republic, in the sixteenth century, boasted a large and diverse population of foreign merchants and visitors. The neighborhood parishes and networked canals connected by the many bridges defined clearly the unique urban landscape through which they moved. Crossing the squares and main thoroughfares, an inhabitant could pass throughout the city with relative ease, perhaps often going unnoticed. Within the more confined region of the neighborhood, or local parish, moving undetected was more difficult, given the keen observance of the many inhabitants keeping vigil over the interactions within their narrow streets. These observations raise the greater issue of urban and civic spaces and their relation in early modern Venice to the development of Venetian identity.

In recent decades, historians have shown interest in the ways in which the configuration of urban and civic spaces affects the activities and attitudes of those who live in and move through those spaces. The seminal work in which Mircea Eliade viewed space as either religious or profane, with the sacred emerging from the juxtaposition between the two, served as a building block from which later studies would draw. Eliade wrote that “for religious man, space is not homogeneous,”¹ and through rituals, symbols,

¹ Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion: The Significance of Religious Myth, Symbolism, and Ritual within Life and Culture*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Berlin: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1959; New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1961), 20.

and certain rites, the distinction was made between sacred and profane space.² By the same token, these sacred spaces help the non-religious person to make these same distinctions between boundaries through the observation of certain rules that govern these spaces. Further dissecting the human relationship with spatial orientation, Simon Schama, in his monumental work *Landscape and Memory*, wrote that the landscape tradition is “the product of a shared culture,” which was also “a tradition built from a rich deposit of myths, memories, and obsession.”³ Therefore, embedded in historical meaning and cultural associations, inhabitants’ relationship with the space within which they live exposes both individual and collective identities.

The idea of shared cultural norms and communal identity was also a premise of Edward Muir’s study of Renaissance Venice, which examined public rituals in order to reveal how Venetians interacted socially with their environment. Through rituals performed in civic space, Muir demonstrated that Venetians were able to foster “an intense community life” that revealed “an indigenous civic identity and ideology based upon a broad consensus about social values.”⁴ By means of this performance of public ritual, Venetians were able not only to display their communal and civic pride, but also to show their discontent with certain aspects of Venetian political and social norms. Also writing about the boundaries and the expectations implied within social space, Tim Cresswell argued that “expectations about behavior in place are important components in

² Ibid., 25.

³ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 14.

⁴ Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 5.

the construction, maintenance, and evolution of ideological values.”⁵ Cresswell established two main themes in the use of space: to demonstrate what is believed to be “right, just and appropriate,” and conversely to exhibit “resistance” to or discontent about what is deemed socially acceptable.⁶

To date, however, there has been little investigation of the ways in which civic spaces and civic identities have been inscribed in Inquisition records, or of the ways in which Inquisition records illuminate the operations of civic spaces and civic identities in the early modern period. Scholars have more commonly used Inquisition records to compile descriptions of religious identities among certain groups, such as Anne Schutte’s work on early modern attitudes toward unmarried women tried by the Inquisition for

⁵ Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 7-9. For general studies on space and place see, Albrecht Classen, ed., *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009); Tim Cresswell, “Encountering Geography as Philosophy,” *Geography* 93, no. 3 (2008): 132-139; David Harvey, “Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80, no. 3 (1990): 418-434; Eamonn Canniffe, “City and Scene: The Theatricality of Public Space in the Renaissance,” *Urban Design Studies: Annual of the University of Greenwich Urban Design Unit 7* (2001): 21-34; Graeme Shankland, “Why Trouble with Historic Towns?” in *The Conservation of Cities*, ed. UNESCO, 24-42 (New York and Paris: St. Martin’s Press and UNESCO Press, 1975), 25; Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. For studies of space within Venice see, Iain Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Margaret Morse, “Creating Sacred Space: The Religious Visual Culture of the Renaissance Venetian Casa,” *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 2 (2007): 151-184; Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, The City and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2005); Monika Schmitter, “Virtuous Riches”: The Bricolage of Cittadini Identities in Early Sixteenth Century Venice,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2004): 908-969; Kate Lowe, “Elections of Abbesses and Notions of Identity in Fifteenth-and Sixteenth Century Italy, with Special Reference to Venice,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no.2 (2001): 389-429; Ellen Rosand, “Music in the Myth of Venice,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 30, no. 4, “Studies in the Renaissance Issue,” (Winter 1977): 511-37; Deborah Howard, “Ritual Space in Renaissance Venice,” *Scroope; Cambridge Architecture Journal* 5 (1993/1994): 4-11; Dennis Romano, “Gender and Urban Geography of Renaissance Venice,” *Journal of Social History* 23, no. 2 (1989): 339-353. For general studies of space in Renaissance Italy see, Eamonn Canniffe, *The Politics of the Piazza: The History and Meaning of the Italian Square* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008); Janet Smarr and Daria Valentini, eds., *Italian Women and the City: Essays* (London: Associated University Press, 2003); Elizabeth Cohen and Thomas Cohen, *Daily Life in Renaissance Italy* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001); Charles Burroughs, “Spaces of Arbitration and the Organization of Space in Late Medieval Italian Cities,” in *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); Roger Crum and John Paoletti, “Introduction: Florence-The Dynamics of Space in a Renaissance City,” in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. Roger Crum and John Paoletti (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

feigned sanctity.⁷ Focusing on the social interactions of these women in addition to gender, Monica Chojnacka, in her *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, suggested that the Inquisition was a vehicle for control of Venetians and Italians in general that was brought about by the Counter Reformation. Using tax records, wills, notary records, inquisitorial records, and other documents, Chojnacka's work traced the mobility of the common working woman in Venice and her influence within the community. Regarding the issue of the Inquisition in Venice, Chojnacka believed it was designed to "define unacceptable behavior and to punish it."⁸ By examining the records of the Inquisition and other public documents, Chojnacka felt that the modern historian could gain an understanding of the daily life within the neighborhoods "with all of its alliances and enmities, as described by early modern Venetians themselves."⁹ In recent years, historians such as Filippo de Vivo have used inquisitorial records to discuss forms of communication among ordinary citizens. In his article on pharmacies in early modern Venice, Vivo concluded that pharmacies functioned as "centers of heterodox religious discussions."¹⁰ These studies demonstrated that inquisitorial documents prove useful

⁷ Anne Jacobson Schutte *Aspiring Saints: Pretense of Holiness, Inquisition, and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618-1750* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

⁸ Monica Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 2001), xix.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Filippo de Vivo, "Pharmacies as Centers of Communications in Early Modern Venice," *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 4 (2007): 507. For additional studies on identity in early modern Italy as it pertains to the operation of the Inquisition see, Federico Barbierato, *The Inquisitor in the Hat Shop: Inquisition, Forbidden Books and Unbelief in Early Modern Venice* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012); Alexander Cowan, "Seeing is Believing: Urban Gossip and the Balcony in Early Modern Venice," *Gender and History* 23, no. 3 (2011): 721-738; Elizabeth Horodowich, "The Gossiping Tongue: Oral Networks, Public Life and Political Culture in Early Modern Venice," *Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 1 (2005): 22-45; Anne Jacobson Schutte, "Saints" and "Witches" in Early Modern Italy: Stepsisters or Strangers?" in *Time, Space and Women's Lives in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anne Jacobson Schutte, Thomas Kuehn and Silvana Seidel Menchi (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2001); John Jeffries Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemy: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (1993; repr., Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press,

when attempting to better understand the lives of ordinary people in early modern Venice.

Given the distinctiveness of its urban and civic spaces and of the famously strong but also complex sense of civic identity among its populace, Venice appears to be a prime case study. In this chapter, I will review the formation and development of central features of Venetian urban space and identity, in order to establish a general framework for the investigation I will pursue in selected records of the Venetian Inquisition. Since Venice's maritime topography constrained its urban space, an unusually cohesive civic identity and a sense that any danger or disruption in one area could readily disturb or "infect" the commune as a whole emerged. Because of a long and deeply embedded legacy of cosmopolitanism, connections to the Greek-speaking Byzantine Empire, and origins as a refugee settlement, simple xenophobia did not shape urban hostilities: rather, other factors predicted distinctions in civic identity and allegiance. Despite the overall cohesion of a "Venetian" identity, strong rivalries between particular neighborhoods, which formed the basis for civic identity, existed.¹¹ Given that Inquisition jurisdictions were drawn around parish or neighborhood boundaries, the question of how civic identities were inscribed in the accusations, testimonies, and decisions of the Inquisition is an important one.

I. Theories of Place and Space

2004); Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1966; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

¹¹ For a study on the neighborhood as the basis for civic identity see, Robert C. Davis, *The War of the Fists: Popular Culture and Public Violence in Late Renaissance Venice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Scholars have studied the subject of space for decades, investigating and analyzing the various aspects from geographical to metaphorical space. Most scholars assert that spaces acquire meaning through the personal connections, such as historical or traditional, familial connections that people have with a space. Denis Cosgrove imagined that the connection to a place mattered the most because, “places are physical locations imbued with human meaning...they must possess significance for people.”¹² In addition to space being varied and pervaded with personal connections, as will be demonstrated in the case of Venice, spaces are also distinctive, which implies that they have particular significance. More important in the instance of Venice during the early modern period, however, are the views that space is the particular configuration of elements, and human narration creates space.

These characteristics of space coalesce in Michel Foucault’s work on the subject. Foucault claimed that space was “heterogeneous” and not simply a place that was filled with people and objects.¹³ The space that people live in contains all elements of the human experience, such as life cycles and the passage of time. Foucault believed that “We do not live inside a void that could be colored with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposed on one another.”¹⁴ The delineation of space as predicated by

¹² Denis Cosgrove, “Power and Place in the Venetian Territories,” in *The Power of Place: Bringing together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*, ed. John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 104.

¹³ Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowec, “Of Other Spaces,” *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 23.

¹⁴ Ibid. Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 156-157. Soja further interpreted Foucault’s concept of “external space” as “one filled with quantities and qualities” and therefore it should be considered “internal spaces” instead of spaces experienced externally.

human relationships is an important element to the present study because the trials before the Inquisition in Venice reveal proof of Foucault's postulations about space, as is demonstrated below.

Other themes in scholarship that prove useful to this study are the analysis of the beliefs and ideas that people assign to specific spaces. Vincent Berdoulay believed that in order to properly study the concept of "place," one must "delineate its meaning, to be sensitive to its fundamental arrangement of elements and to be attentive to its autonomous capacity for producing meaning...a geographic account of place is like a whole staging process whereby people, objects, and messages are coordinated. It is like telling a story."¹⁵ In Berdoulay's opinion, the people create the place around them: "a place comes explicitly into being in the discourse of its inhabitants, and particularly in the rhetoric it promotes."¹⁶ In general however, most scholars make the distinction between the term "space" and "place." Examining the human experience with space, Yi-Fu Tuan wrote that people find security in place, whereas space is embedded with ideals of freedom, therefore, "we are attached to the one and long for the other."¹⁷ This argument implied that "place" is where people live, perhaps the confines of the home or the neighborhood, and that the public and civic areas where people are often exposed comprise "space." Regardless of the definition or the theory of space being interpreted,

¹⁵ Vincent Berdoulay, "Place, Meaning, and Discourse in French Language Geography," in *The Power of Place: Bringing together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*, ed. John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 134.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 135.

¹⁷ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 3.

while inhabitants of a place typically assign the meaning and function to the place, other factors are involved.

Edward Muir and Ronald Weissman believed that physical, architectural, and cultural boundaries also defined space and that over time the functionality of space often changes.

In Italian cities, place names flower everywhere, giving urban spaces life, meaning, and emotive identity and remaining for centuries as fossilized remains of past lives while the spaces themselves are refurbished, demolished, enlarged, or abandoned. The courts, houses, squares, walls, suburbs, streets, churches, and monastic enclaves of Italian cities function within a complex of interrelationships, but each also has a certain architectural autonomy, that gift of spatial construction, which allows the function to change independently of pre-existing connections with other spaces. Places, however, with their self-perpetuating names are subject to different variables, those cultural processes that bequeath meaning to human experience. Although there is always a connection between a place and its space, they can often change quite independently of each other.¹⁸

Muir and Weissman claimed that there are two historiographical themes that permeate historians' views of urban geography in the Italian Renaissance: one is an outdated approach and the other is progressive. The older of the two views comes from scholars that adhere to Weber, Marx, and Burckhardt. The premise of this view was that Renaissance capitalism left the traditional medieval kinship ties and loyalty broken once the machine of the city began to revolve around the concept of capital.¹⁹ Once these

¹⁸ Edward Muir and Ronald F.E. Weissman, "Social and Symbolic Places in Renaissance Venice and Florence," in *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*, ed. John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 93.

¹⁹ See for example: Tim Unwin, "A Waste of Space? Towards a Critique of the Social Production of Space..." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 25, no. 1 (2000): 11-29. Unwin claimed that the scholastic tradition in the Science of Geography, when speaking of "space," has relied heavily upon the Marx and the modernist theory of capitalism. Unwin wrote that recent scholarship has taken its views of space that is the result of "diverse postmodern critiques of modernity, and of attempts to understand the fragmented worlds of differences that constitute constructions of postmodernism itself. At times, therefore, the contrasting interests of modernism and postmodernism have coalesced in their pursuit of the meaning of space" (ibid.,12). Unwin also believed that it was difficult for scholars to remove themselves from the concept of space being produced socially because "the meanings that we attribute to space, and, for that matter, time, are intimately tied up with our understandings of the world in which we

relationships were damaged, displaced people, no longer bound to their neighborhoods and their clans, began to migrate towards their urban governments and civic life. The other theme, currently evolving in modern historiography, is “more sensitive to the work of social geographers and anthropologists, and makes ‘place,’ understood as the geographies of sociability and ritual, central to understanding Renaissance cities and Renaissance society.”²⁰ In a city as heterogeneous as Venice, it is necessary to incorporate both of these veins of historiography, for Venice in the early modern period was truly a capitalistic society combined with a unique geographic landscape that emerged to create a metaphorical Utopia. The unique landscape of the city, however, had flaws, many of which stemmed from the environmental issues that plagued the lagoon.

Muir and Weissman postulated that the “peculiar urban and administrative history of Venice, an experience that emphasized co-operative work, centralized planning, regulation of building, systematic reclamation, and the political power of capital accumulation, was largely a product of the city’s special environmental situation.”²¹ Similar to the environmental condition of today, each tide further damaged the sinking and shifting foundations. In the medieval and early modern periods, Venetians constantly battled the issues cities face when situated in water. For instance, access to fresh, clean water and the prevention of cross-contamination with waste were constant concerns. Overpopulation was another great environmental concern for the city due to its definite geographical limitations. As the population of Florence swelled in the Renaissance and

live” (ibid., 13). It seems to me that this is a risk that any scholar, working within any discipline faces, objective reasoning is a difficult practice to the conscious mind.

²⁰ Muir and Weissman, “Social and Symbolic Places in Renaissance Venice and Florence,” 82.

²¹ Ibid., 92.

early modern periods, inhabitants simply expanded the walls in order to make room for the new population. In order to expand physically in Venice, however, land had to be reclaimed, which was costly and difficult to achieve.²² Despite the challenges the lagoon posed, the physical effort and the ingenuity of Venetians prevailed and the urban space assumed a unique and distinctive meaning in sixteenth-century Venice, shaping the identity of the people and the nature of the city.

II. Formation of Venetian Civic Identity

Venetian space in the sixteenth century is best described as the site for the performative creation of identity, due in part to the fact that Venetian space had the capacity to house a mythical and supposedly classical past. In his *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Muir wrote that most Italian cities referred to their mythical, classical history in an attempt to give shape to their Renaissance identity.²³ There were many vehicles, such as music, art,

²² Many geographers and city planners have dealt with the issue of Venice and continue to do so. The welfare of the city remains an urgent concern for those who wish to see the timeless museum of Venice preserved. For reference see, Mario Rinaldo, "Italy: The Other Venice," in *The Conservation of Cities*, ed. UNESCO (New York and Paris: St. Martin's Press and UNESCO Press, 1975).

²³ Research on the myth of Venice is lengthy and may be found in many different fields, such as: musicology, history, art, religion and other social sciences, for instance see, Robert Finlay, "The Immortal Republic: The Myth of Venice during the Italian Wars (1494-1530)," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 4 (1999): 931-944; Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*; Craig Kallendorf, *Virgil and the Myth of Venice: Books and Readers in the Italian Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); Joanne M. Ferraro, *Marriage Wars in Late Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2001); Linda L. Carroll, "Carnival Rites as Vehicles of Protest in Renaissance Venice," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* XVI, no. 4 (1985): 487-502; David Rosand, *Myths of Venice: The Figuration of a State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Millard Meiss, "Sleep in Venice." *Ancient Myths and Renaissance Proclivities*, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 110, no. 5 (October 1966): 348-382; Edward Muir, "Images of Power: Art and Pageantry in Renaissance Venice," *The American Historical Review* 84, no. 1 (February 1979): 16-52; Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, *Venice Triumphant: The Horizons of a Myth* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 2002); Rosand, "Music in the Myth of Venice."

Felix Gilbert, "Biondo, Sabellico, and the beginnings of Venetian official Historiography," in *Florilegium Historiale: Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson*, ed. J.G. Rowe and W.H. Stockdale (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 276. Gilbert claimed that one of the reasons that the myth of Venice was able to endure throughout many centuries was because Venetian writers in the eighteenth century perpetuated the myth heavily with their writing. For reference to these Venetian eighteenth century

architecture, drama, literature, and ritual, in which these myths could be represented. In Venice, these mythic origin stories were often depicted in plays and dramas performed in the public spaces during important festivals, such as Carnival. During these important public events, the entire population, regardless of social or citizenship status, would participate in some manner in the festivities, thereby creating the illusion that everyone in the city was simply Venetian and not classified by their social position. Other performative opportunities in social spaces also contributed to the formation of Venetian identity. Theatre, as Muir determined, also “informed” or perhaps “misinformed” Venetian memory, mingling the present with the past to the point that “the temporal boundary was ruptured.”²⁴ By the sixteenth century, theatre had integrated the sacred and the profane into a “new mode of visual discourse, deliberately encoded to charge the past with a mysterious elusiveness as antiquity became even more a retreat from, as well as a model for, the present.”²⁵ The mythic past that Venice created for itself permitted the Venetian people, at certain moments and on certain days, to interact in public spaces while transcending their static social positions to identify with the city of Venice as Venetians.

The Venetian mythical past and the creation of Venetian space derived meaning from two foreign places, Gaul and Troy, each of which contributed key elements to the

writers see: Giovanni degli Agostini, *Notizie storico-critiche intorno la vita, e le opera degli scrittori Viniziani* (Venezia: Presso Simone Occhi, 1752); Marco Foscarini, *Della letteratura Veneziana libri otto* (Padova: Nella Stamperia del Seminario, 1752); Angelo Maria Querini, *Tiara et purpura Veneta ab anno 1379 ad annum 1759 serenissimae reipublicae Venetae a Civitate Brixiae dicata* (Brescia: Joannes-Maria Rizzardi, 1761).

²⁴ Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 183.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

definition of Venetian identity. The myths that Venetians originated in Gaul and that their ancestors were Trojan were not without precedence or justification. The tradition of Gallic origin was often used to explain Venice's "diplomatic ties" with the Frankish Empire, which accounted for the Venetian ability to negotiate and maintain relationships outside of Italy.²⁶ The Trojan genesis myth allowed the Venetians to see themselves as a people "who had never paid tribute to anyone and who had been willing to abandon even their city in order to preserve their freedom."²⁷ The Trojan origin myth also allowed Venetians to declare that they were of "purest noble blood, untainted by intermarriage with barbarians."²⁸ Practically speaking, it also dealt with the sad reality that Venice, unlike almost every other Italian city, did not have a classical Roman past. From these myths, Venetians developed a strong sense of autonomy. The Venetian tradition of civic independence from imperial or papal dominion played an important role in Venetian resistance to the papacy's introduction of the Inquisition, a point that will be expanded upon later in this dissertation.

These mythic origins possessed power and longevity, in part due to other cities in the Renaissance and early modern periods perpetuating these Venetian myths. Robert Finlay believed that the Venetian myth was "renowned throughout Europe for embodying an ideal amalgam of freedom, justice and stability."²⁹ The Venetian government, one of the biggest proponents of the myth of Venice, required that these myths be taught in the humanistic schools of Venice, mainly through the works of Virgil. This mandate helped

²⁶ Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, 66.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 67.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 68.

²⁹ Finlay, "The Immortal Republic: The Myth of Venice during the Italian Wars (1494-1530)," 931.

to indoctrinate the young Venetians with the concept that the livelihood of their state relied on its strengths as a political and commercial center.³⁰ Embellished and in some instances fabricated, the origin stories became a part of the daily life of the erudite Venetian. Religious traditions that burnished Venetian identity also complemented the myths, which contributed to the disposition of civic space.

The power and persistence of Venetian myths were as much physical as mental, as demonstrated by the visual elements of the city. Venetian inhabitants walking through public spaces were reminded of the grandeur of their city, fixed with symbols from the past. Because of the limited and cramped space in the lagoon, it was difficult if not impossible to escape the power of the presence of St. Mark, whose relics offered Venetian Christians a symbol of divine favor and of a centuries-old religious tradition. One may transfer to Venice Richard Trexler's suggestion about Florence in the Renaissance: "the mature city's sacrality had humble beginnings, and is probably to be located in the private purchase of relics by its merchants and clerics."³¹ The confiscation story of the body of Saint Mark from Alexandria by two merchants from Venice dates back to 828/9.³² Shortly after the body of the Saint arrived in Venice, construction began on San Marco, the central basilica of which was built specifically to enshrine the relics of St. Mark. The conveying and the harboring of the relics of St. Mark by Venice are essential to the foundation story of Venice, and also to the formation of Venetian sacred and profane spaces.

³⁰ Kallendorf, *Virgil and the Myth of Venice*, 12-27.

³¹ Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 1.

³² Deborah Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 17-18. See also Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice*, 13-18.

Considering the relationship between Venice and the sea, the water became an example of one of these sacred spaces that complemented the success of the Republic. That same watery topography also offered a classical divinity as an inspiration. Iconography of the sixteenth century depicted Venice as the “sea-born Venus,” supported by the humanist “rhetorical hyperbole and the Neo-platonic belief that outward beauty was a sign of inward virtue.”³³ This Venetian pride in the physical beauty of their city was a common Renaissance trope due to the importance of a “stunning cityscape” to project images of civic virtues and identity.

The symbols and the surroundings of a city are the conscious choices of its people, regardless of reference to a specific time. Yet, there was more to Venetian life and cityscape than propaganda involving myth. Although Venetians’ portrayal of themselves as heirs of these mythic characteristics was of central importance in external affairs, on the inside, within the core of the city, they defined their space with historical symbolism. For Venice, this spatial definition was especially evident in the Renaissance and early modern periods when inhabitants were still creating the architecture and symbolic markers that they wished to display for insiders and visitors alike. The material elements and ornamentation of the city contributed to an ever-present evocation of Venice’s past. Writing about the fifteenth century, Patricia Fortini Brown, in her book *Venice and Antiquity*, argued that reliquaries, artifacts, priceless art, and dramatic architecture, which amounted to some of the Venetians’ most prized possessions, were only a portion of the formula that comprised the Venetian “sense of the past.”³⁴ As

³³ Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, 15.

³⁴ Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past*, 183. Giovanni Ciappelli, “Commentary,” in *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, ed. Anthony Molho, Kurt Raaflaub and Julia

proprietors of the sea, Venetians collected artifacts from the east and the Mediterranean for centuries and adorned their city with these ancient treasures, lending credence to their claim of a classical, Trojan past. For instance, art and marble brought back from the Fourth Crusade embellished the interior and exterior of the basilica of San Marco.³⁵ Relics and artifacts claimed as spoils of war were important to the Venetian government because they assisted in reinforcing the strength and the power of the Venetian state. Placing these items in public spaces served as a reminder of this power, but they also gave Venice a civic cohesion and therefore acted as symbols of a collective, Venetian identity.

III. Historical Evolution of the Venetian Cityscape

Our understanding of the late medieval and early modern Venetian cityscape is limited. In order to better grasp the configuration of Venetian spaces, it is necessary to investigate their origins. Prior to 1985, “Venice had no urban archaeology.”³⁶ This lack of archaeological excavation is due to the fact that the size of Venice’s modern population

Emlen (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1991), 128. Ciappelli wrote that the claim to the sacred origins of the city was what Venetians of the Middle Ages held onto to when imagining themselves. It was this belief in the sacredness of their city, Ciappelli claimed, that a strong chronicle tradition came about during the Middle Ages. By using the sacred origins as the cornerstone of the myth tradition, Venetians were able to establish two important historical precedents: “the first, a continuity of traditions (oligarchical in nature) and, the second, a deep-seated trust in the political order of the city.”

³⁵ Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, ix-x. As Fenlon pointed out, the most recognizable figures that were looted while on Crusade are the four bronze horses that perch on top of the marble and porphyry columns in the loggia of the basilica. These grand horses were carefully placed by the Republic to boast spoils of war and the success of the Crusade.

³⁶ Albert Ammerman and Charles McClennen, eds., *Venice before San Marco: Recent Studies on the Origins of the City* (Hamilton, NY: Colgate University, 2001), 7. There have been many archeological excavations and research conducted on the island of Torcello. Another reason given for the lack of archaeological evidence for Venice is the depth with which archeological digs must take place, there is simply not that much ground depth in Venice. Since many layers of the earth must be unveiled for a relevant dig, in Venice this can be quite costly since most of this minimum 3 meter earth removal is below sea level and generally underwater.

leaves little space to establish excavation sites. Furthermore, given the city's popularity among tourists, Venice cannot afford to close large sections of space for extended periods of time. Another issue affecting proper excavation is the soil itself. Since Venice is effectively eroding into the sea, disturbing the soil further would negate the possibility of extreme excavation in the future. In the absence of archeological evidence, it is necessary to turn to the earlier medieval history of the city and to its geography to understand the configurations of its urban spaces.

The reality of the origins of Venice is not as illustrious as the early myth purveyors would have people believe. The myth of the city in the lagoon sprang out of the people's desire to live and govern themselves without intervention or domination from an alien culture. In the sixth century, a group of people fleeing Lombard invasions sought refuge in an environment where habitation seemed impossible and certainly undesirable; they built their city in the marshy lagoon. Geographic and environmental factors influenced the layout, but there was no model city upon which theirs was built. Although the origins of Venice did not resemble those of contemporary Italic societies on the *terraferma*, "Venice too became a commune and, during its communal age, grew as much and in a similar manner as its mainland peers."³⁷ Evidently, founding a city out of necessity rather than inheriting one from an ancient lineage allowed for substantial leeway for fabrication and embellishment in terms of the creation of the city.

Through the creation and the admiration for the cityscape created in the marshy lagoon, Venetians perceived their identity as derived from history: "History of course

³⁷ Juergen Schulz, "Urbanism in Medieval Venice," in *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, ed. Anthony Molho, Kurt Raaflaub and Julia Emlen (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1991), 420.

began as a narrative and was formative of collective memory and identity.”³⁸ For Venice, from its nascent stages to its pinnacle, the narrative encompassed many different peoples who introduced experiences from different cultures. The etymology of the name of Venice, *Venetia*, has Roman origins, a point of interest since Venice was never truly a Roman city. Ancient *Venetia* was a Roman province that sat on the edge of the Adriatic Sea, between the Carso and the Dolomite Mountains, whose boundaries are rocky and difficult to traverse.³⁹ The main cities of this Roman province, Padua and Aquileia, viewed the marshy lagoon areas as little more than an abundant supplier of the resources provided by the sea: fish and salt. Yet, in his sixteenth-century guidebook to Venice, Francesco Sansovino, in an attempt to delight the reader, wrote that the place called *Venetia* took its name from the Latin phrase *veni etiam*, which was interpreted by contemporaries as “come again and again, for no matter how many times you come, you will always see new things, and new beauty.”⁴⁰

Although early modern Venice was not able to boast of a Roman past, inhabitants developed a sense of their Venetian past, and therefore their identity, from their connection with survival and persistence against Northern invaders. With the

³⁸ Ron Eyerman, “The Past in the Present: Culture and the Transmission of Memory,” *Acta Sociologica* 47, no. 2 (June 2004): 159.

³⁹ *Venice for Modern Man: Ten Centuries of History Face Modern Town-Planning*, compiled by Giorgio Bellavitis, Ennio Gallo, Jean Le Ling and Giuliano Viti (Italy: Stamperia di Venezia, 1963), 53. An exhibit presented by Italia Nostra, shown for the first time at the Ducal Palace in Venice, 1961, one exhibit displayed the ancient origins of the Lagoon, written by Alessandro Marcello, and claimed that the Lagoon, during the glacial era, drifted out into the Adriatic Sea during this time and then slowly floated back to its current position. The landscape during the last glacial age was an *Artemisia steppe* that was surrounded on all sides by black pine trees. The inhabitants during this ancient time were cave dwellers living in the Berici Mountains.

⁴⁰ “Onde pero fù interpretato da alcuni, che questa voce VENETIA, voglia dire Veni etiam, cioè vieni ancora, & ancora, percioche quante volte verrai, sempre vedrai nuove cose, & nuove bellezze.” Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia: Città Nobilissima et Singolare, libro primo*, con le Aggiunte di Giustiniano Martinioni (1663; repr., Venezia: Filippi Editore, 1998), 5.

fragmentation of the Roman Empire in the early Middle Ages, the *Veneti*, or *Venetici*, fell under the control of the Byzantines.⁴¹ Then, in 568, the Lombards entered Italy after ravaging a portion of Europe. Fleeing from the Lombards, refugees from the Paduan Plain escaped to the lagoon and settled.⁴² Often leaving in the middle of the night to escape to safety, these refugees would leave behind most of their possessions. At times, these displaced peoples also abandoned cultivated fields, vineyards ripe with fruit, and familial estates. These Venetian ancestors settled mostly in Chioggia and Cavarzere, which was to become the southern part of the lagoon. Lombard attacks from the north, however, constantly challenged any preexisting authority and created havoc for the *Veneti*. Even after escaping, the early Venetians spent most of their time evading the Lombards and fighting to survive, leaving very little time to devote to government and state building.

Once settled in the lagoon, life under the control of the Byzantine Empire was more stable and allowed time for the *Veneti* to cultivate their lives in a new area. The

⁴¹ Marcel Brion, *Venice: The Masque of Italy* (London: Elek Books, 1962), 16. Brion believed that the people of Venetia were not natives of northern Italy, but of Asian origin and their legend was associated with the fall of Troy. Donald Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 21. Nicol wrote that the people known as *Veneti*, were neither Roman nor Greek but in fact they were Illyrian. Venice was important to the Byzantine Empire because it served as an “early warning station,” for trouble coming to Byzantium. William Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter Reformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 53-55. Bouwsma wrote that although Venice had become a part of the Byzantine Empire and fell under the auspices of the imperial system, and also spent a small period under the rule of Charlemagne. There are several noteworthy studies on Venice and Byzantium; Debra Pincus, “Venice and the Two Romes: Byzantium and Rome as a Double Heritage in Venetian Cultural Politics,” *Artibus et Historiae* 13, no. 26 (1992): 101-114; Maria Georgopoulou, “Late Medieval Crete and Venice: An Appropriation of Byzantine Heritage,” *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 3 (1995): 479-496.

⁴² Dennis Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 13. Howard, *Architectural History of Venice*, 3. Howard believed that these refugees were mostly the wealthy of the province; therefore, it was appropriate that their land and other tangible possessions would have been confiscated by the intruders. John Julius Norwich, *A History of Venice* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 10. Norwich claimed that the final stronghold of the *Veneti* on the mainland, Oderzo, was captured in 639 AD by the Lombards, meaning that now lagoon settlement began in earnest.

recently established stability, however, proved to be short-lived. In 756 the creation of the Republic of St. Peter stood as a direct challenge to the Byzantine claim in Northern Italy; by 788 *Venetia* was all that remained of the Byzantine Empire in Italy.⁴³ That same year, Frankish power shaped the ecclesiastical configuration of Venice when Pepin's son transferred the Venetian bishops to the See of Aquileia.⁴⁴ Yet, conflicting allegiances produced violence, as when the Doge Maurizio Galbaio "hunted down and murdered" the Patriarch of Grado, who was considered a traitor.⁴⁵ Divisions between the Frankish and Byzantine factions in the island community persisted until "Pepin's intervention changed the course of history for Venice."⁴⁶

By 810, after the Frankish-Byzantine debacle inflicted turmoil and damage the *Rivoalto*, or Rialto, became the new ducal capital. When settlement in this area began, the

⁴³ Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 11-13.

⁴⁴ The See of Aquileia and the island of Torcello shared a tumultuous past and the importance of the island of Torcello must be mentioned due to its ecclesiastical and political position. Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice*, 9. Fenlon wrote that after the schism that occurred in Aquileia in 606, one of the two controlling parts of the original patriarchate remained in Aquileia and the other was transferred to the islands that would later become a part of Venice, which in the seventh century was under "the jurisdiction of Grado." Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice*, 4. Howard wrote that in 638, when the bishop of Altino was forced to flee from the Lombard invasions, he "transferred his seat" to the island of Torcello. The buildings on the site date back to this transfer in the seventh century. Howard stated that "Torcello later became a flourishing center of wool manufacture as well as an important episcopal centre" (ibid., 5). Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 6. Nicol described "an inscription in the church now called Santa Maria Assunta at Torcello" which "records that, in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Heraclius (639), this church of St. Mary the Mother of God was founded on the order of the Exarch Isaac as a memorial of his own achievements and those of his army." Politically, as Nicol wrote, the schism that occurred between Aquileia and Grado "was a reflexion of the territorial schism between the Venetian mainland and the islands, a political division that persisted long after the doctrinal quarrel had been resolved at a synod at Pavia in 695" (ibid., 8).

⁴⁵ Ibid., 13. The coronation of Charlemagne in 800 fueled the Byzantine fire for its western nemesis. The Byzantines were shocked by this move and in 802 Charlemagne and the papacy sent their finest peacemakers to Constantinople to broker peace. The Doges began to create much discord for the Frankish rulers and in the end Pepin attacked Venice from both the mainland and the sea. Pepin was deterred from a Byzantine fleet and he withdrew. Before withdrawing from Venice, however, Pepin created a mandatory tribute to be paid annually by the trouble-making Doges Obelerio and Beato (ibid., 13-16).

⁴⁶ Ibid., 16.

lagoon was already in the form that would shape its future and its present design. In 812, an embassy from Constantinople arrived in Aachen to settle the issue of territorial rights. Ultimately, Venice would remain under the jurisdiction of the Byzantines and would continue to pay tribute to the Franks. Although it seemed that Venice would not benefit from this arrangement, the city essentially remained the property of neither kingdom.⁴⁷ The outcome had positive implications for the small island community because the “treaty of 812 guaranteed their protection against enemies from the mainland, fixed their boundaries with the Kingdom of Italy, and above all recognized the rights of their merchant ships to sail freely about their business.”⁴⁸ It was not until 840 that Venice began to see the possibility of true freedom from outside rule. What stands as the oldest surviving piece of diplomacy for Venice also helped to broker its ultimate independence. Venice and the Franks entered into negotiations, and signed a treaty in 840. As a result, Venice, still under the aegis of the Byzantines, agreed to continue paying tribute to the Franks, and the Venetians retained protection from mainland invasion and the freedom to commence commerce. The Venetian chroniclers date the preeminence of Venice as a *civitas* to the Doge Pietro Tribuno (888-912).⁴⁹

By the end of the thirteenth century, Venice had transformed from a small collection of island communities to a thriving and prosperous “true metropolis”⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ibid., 18-19.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 19. After the treaty of 812, Byzantium did not intervene in Venetian matters again.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 35-36. Nicol believed that this date was not absolutely correct and suggested that the chroniclers record for the Doge was a testament to how much he pushed Venice forward into its independence and grandeur.

⁵⁰ Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice*, 43.

boasting some 120,000 inhabitants.⁵¹ With the burgeoning economy and growing population, “the Venetian government transformed a medieval market, in stages, into the elegant Piazza San Marco and Piazzetta, linking the Grand Canal, the doge’s palace, and the cathedral of San Marco into one majestic public space.”⁵² The medieval Venetians had created a city to suit their political, monetary, religious, and civic needs. The city, with its old buildings and intersecting streets, stood as a “unique open museum” that supplied the memory for the people inhabiting the space.⁵³ To the average early modern Venetian, devoid of a Roman past, being able to identify with the city itself was a more potent claim than a tie to an ancient ancestor.

IV. The Challenges and Opportunities of Life on the Lagoon

However illustrious the origin myths, the reality of Venetian existence in the early modern period, and to a certain extent even in the medieval period, was one of considerable difficulty for inhabitants. Being surrounded by water was simultaneously advantageous and burdensome. For instance, space remained an ever-pressing issue for the city. The vast and powerful nature of the sea often created hardships that were difficult to overcome. Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, in her classic study of Venice “*Sopra le acque salse*,” stated that “urban expansion” caused available space to fragment and the “increased human intervention” created a “fierce struggle” between natural conditions

⁵¹ Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, 31.

⁵² Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000-1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 153. It must be noted that the authors err here in calling San Marco a cathedral, it was a Basilica.

⁵³ Shankland, “Why Trouble with Historic Towns?,” 25.

and humans.⁵⁴ If Crouzet-Pavan was correct that urban expansion, although demanding, was essential to the “creation and the survival of the community,” the Venetian situation presented special challenges.⁵⁵

In a city where space was so limited, Venetians had to take particular care with the arrangement and design of their city. As Marco Folin observed, “The mother church, the temples, the sacred area –is the heart of community identity; the main piazza, the forum, the government buildings –are a reflection of the richness and the quality of the population: in general, it was on these highly symbolic spaces are the concentrated efforts of these aspiring citizens.”⁵⁶ In addition to the consumption of space with buildings for the benefit of humans, the commodity also regularly disappeared into the sea. By the end of the sixteenth century, no more space remained for expansion within the lagoon. This struggle for space and survival in such a confined and predetermined area is one of the characteristics of the city that has called attention to Venice for centuries. Although scholars have devoted much attention to the predicament of finite space within Venice through the centuries, the dialog that emerged between the Venetian inhabitants and space remains underexplored.

⁵⁴ “L’espace offert à la croissance est éclaté, morcelé. Il est modelé par la coexistence de la terre et de l’eau. Du poids des conditions naturelles, des alarmes provoquées par ce site particulier découlent une intervention humaine accrue, une lutte acharnée. L’expansion urbaine, parce qu’elle touche à l’essentiel, à la création et à la survie de la communauté, suscite une théorisation particulière et produit des jugements normatifs.” Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, “*Sopra le Acque Salse*.” *Espaces, pouvoir et société À Venise À la fin du Moyen Âge* (Perugia: École Française de Rome, 1992), 71.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ “La chiesa matrice, i templi, l’area sacra- cuore dell’identità comunitaria; la piazza maggiore, il foro, gli edifici di governo- specchio della ricchezza e della qualità degli abitanti: in genere, era su questi spazi altamente simbolici che si concentravano gli sforzi degli aspiranti “cittadini.” Marco Folin, “Il Principe Architetto e la “Quasi-Città”: Spunti per un’indagine comparativa sulle strategie urbane nei piccolo stati Italiani del Rinascimento,” in *L’Ambizione di essere città: Piccoli, Grandi Centri nell’Italia Rinascimentale*, a curia di Elena Svalduz (Venezia: Istituto Veneto do Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2004), 71.

Melvin Webber believed that “The spatial city, with its high-density concentrations of people and buildings and its clustering of activity places, appears, then, as the derivative of the communication patterns of the individuals and groups that inhabit it.”⁵⁷ Webber’s idea, although intended to describe modern cities, holds true for Venice at all stages of its creation, particularly during the planning phase. Although water continued to be the dominant focus for planners, Venetians made other important decisions that exemplified their relationship with one another and with people outside the city. Connecting neighborhoods to the marketplace and other heavily trafficked spaces within the city, the placement of canals and bridges also stood as a measure of communication among Venetians. The emerging dialog, which was both deliberate and purposeful, created a network for movement throughout the city.

While canals and bridges acted as modes of communication for Venetians, the water served, at times, as a protective partner. Since Venice was constructed upon the sea, the relationship between the inhabitants and their partnership to the water offers a unique view of space.⁵⁸ Rather than viewing this watery environment as a barrier to Venetians, Crouzet-Pavan proposed, “its environment is a positive space, a sort of

⁵⁷ Melvin M. Webber, “Order in Diversity: Community without Propinquity,” in *Cities and Space: The Future use of Urban Land*, ed. Lowdon Wingo (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1963; New York: Earthscan LLC a division of Routledge, 2011), 31.

⁵⁸ Karl Appuhn, “Inventing Nature: Forests, Forestry, and State Power in Renaissance Venice,” *The Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 4 (December 2000): 866. In his article, Appuhn discussed the importance of wood to the Renaissance state. The natural resource, wood, was essential to the building of Venice. The foundation construction of Venice required wood for most of its structures. All of the bridges in the Renaissance were built of wood, although many were later covered with stone or pavement. The foundations for the majority of the buildings were constructed on wood and certainly the rooves of the structures were made of wood. The ships that were being built for the enormous Venetian fleet were built of wood and finally, Venice also exported wood to the Levant and the greater Mediterranean region. For an account of water as space in Venice see Daniel Savoy, *Venice from the Water: Architecture and Myth in an Early Modern City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 111-115.

protective cocoon that sustains and defends its very existence.”⁵⁹ Upon arrival in Venice, the traveler was struck by one obvious omission: walls. Venice was not indicative of a traditionally medieval walled city: “La muraille, le symbole urbain le plus ancien et familier, manqué à Venise.”⁶⁰ Within a walled city, the confinement of an area within the walls represents the first and foremost division of space while the exclusion of whatever lies outside the walls is secondary. In Venice, this demarcation is slightly more ambiguous due to the geographical and topographical appearance of the city. In a traditional city of the medieval and Renaissance periods, the walls served several purposes. Principally, walls were a fortification for the protection of the inhabitants living within their confines. The walls of a city also created specific territory, marking possession and clear boundaries apparent to those on the outside. In Venice, the sea was a natural fortification for the city on the lagoon. Furthermore, the water in the lagoon was quite shallow, meaning that only flat-bottom boats bearing little weight could navigate the waters outside a few deep channels. Known only to locals who traversed the waters frequently, sand banks were scattered throughout the lagoon in no certain pattern. Thus, the depth of and the hidden factors in the murky waters of the lagoon acted as deterrents to the outsider looking to stir up trouble: “Therefore the waters surrounding the City were always carefully supervised, and rightly called ‘the sacred walls of the country’.”⁶¹

Anyone seeking entrance into the lagoon had to use one of five entrances: S. Erasmo,

⁵⁹ Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, “Toward an Ecological Understanding of the Myth of Venice,” in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297-1797*, ed. John Martin and Dennis Romano (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 41.

⁶⁰ Crouzet-Pavan, “*Sopra le Acque Salse*,” 61.

⁶¹ *Italia Nostra Difende Venezia: Venice for Modern Man: Ten Centuries of History Face Modern Town-Planning* (Paris: Italian Ministry of Education, Azienda do Soggiorno of the Municipality of Venice and the Center d’Information et Documentation du Bâtiment, 1962), 57.

Treporti, S Nicolò, Malamocco and Chioggia.⁶² By intentionally limiting access to the city via the natural barrier, the Venetian administration could guard its inhabitants' safety and ease the threat of attack and subjugation from invaders.

Another issue the Venetian governmental officials faced was creating sufficient land for their inhabitants; land reclamation was essential to the survival of the city. Before the influx of refugees, people who survived as fisherman and producers of salt comprised the majority of the population of these small islands.⁶³ The critical stages of planning the city, however, began much earlier, at the time of the first inhabitants of the lagoon. In the sixth century, Venice underwent a building process that required reclamation of the lagoon, which meant that these watery spaces were often filled in and built upon. As the city evolved and building expanded, neighborhoods began to form, and “a multi-centered city composed of distinct island communities” emerged.⁶⁴ With this development came the rise of prominent families and the consequential rise of an oligarcic form of governance.⁶⁵

⁶² Salvatore Ciriaco, *Building on Water: Venice, Holland and the Construction of the European Landscape in Early Modern Times* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 101.

⁶³ Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice*, 2. Ciriaco, *Building on Water*, 6. As stated by Ciriaco, the term land reclamation, *bonifica*, for Venice “covered both the drainage and consolidation of marshy land and the irrigation of dry, gravelly terrain.” Speculation about the ancient geography of the lagoon suggests that the area was not the marshy space that it is today, but instead dry land fit for agriculture. James H.S. McGregor, *Venice from the Ground Up* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 8. McGregor contradicted this belief claiming that “the earth records show that the Lagoon has been where it is, and what it is, for some five thousand years.”

⁶⁴ Muir and Weissman, “Social and Symbolic Places in Renaissance Venice and Florence,” 87.

⁶⁵ Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 9. Ciriaco, *Building on Water*, 19. Ciriaco claimed, “mastery of water”—as either a resource or a threat—is one of the essential premises for the establishment of state institutions, with work on irrigation canals and protective dikes influencing social hierarchies and stimulating economic development.”

The most vigorous process of land reclamation began in the sixteenth century and continued into the early part of the seventeenth century. On the *terraferma* this process took place under the authority of the Department of Uncultivated Natural Resources, *Provveditori dei Beni Inculti*.⁶⁶ Another important governmental organization designed to preserve and maintain the available space in the lagoon was the *Savi alle Acque*.⁶⁷ The *Savi alle Acque* was constituted into in 1501 and “supervised numerous smaller councils.”⁶⁸ According to Elena Svalduz, the rules and regulations involving water issues in Venice are found as far back as the later Middle Ages and represent the regularization of the land and the water in regard to “appropriation of public space, reclaiming muddy land and the new divisions of land.”⁶⁹ Governmental magistracies oversaw the issues of water and land reclamation, but the internal administration of the spaces within the city,

⁶⁶ Ibid., 20-22. Dealing with water was an issue that Venetians have been aware of since they assembled as a distinct group. The problems that Venice faces today in terms of erosion and decay are one that the entire world is attempting to solve. As Ciriaco pointed out, it was prevalent in the literature of the medieval period that the Venetians and its visitors were concerned with the problem of water. For instance, the *Opus ruralium commodorum* of Pietro de Crescenzi (1233-1320), from Bologna, and then Ibn-al-Awwām (1180-1220). For more information on these magistracies in charge of water, see: Piero Bevilacqua, *Venezia e le acque: Una metafora planetaria* (Rome: Donzelli editore, 2000), 96; Denis Cosgrove, “Mapping New Worlds: Culture and Cartography in Sixteenth-Century Venice,” *Imago Mundi* 44 (1992): 70; Manfredo Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance*, trans. Jessica Levine (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1985; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 282. Tafuri defined the *Provveditori dei Beni Inculti* as “The members of a Commission in charge of organizing public and private irrigation and drainage projects.”

⁶⁷ Ibid. Tafuri defined the duties of the “Ministers of the Waterways:” “they were in charge of dealing with all hydraulic problems, specifically policing the use of Venice’s canals and regulating the rivers that flowed into the lagoon.”

⁶⁸ Savoy, *Venice from the Water: Architecture and Myth in an Early Modern City*, 2.

⁶⁹ “Processi di regolarizzazione del margine terra-acqueo “recto tramite”, come recitano i documenti sin dal tardo Medioevo; norme di appropriazione dello spazio pubblico; imbonimenti di terreni melmosi e divisioni di terreni nuovi, strappati alle acque...” Elena Svalduz, “Visti dall’acqua: i disegni del “far la città” e la manutenzione urbana,” in *Fare la città: Salvaguardia e manutenzione urbana a Venezia in età moderna*, ed. Stefano Zaggia (Torino: Bruno Mondadori, 2006), 75. Savoy, *Venice from the Water*, 2. Savoy wrote that the Venetian government began taking initiatives to appoint “councils to oversee the water” as early as 1224. Then in 1282, “several other groups were consolidated into the judicial body of the Giudici del Piovego, which was charged with regulating reclamation efforts and maintaining public rights of way on land and water.” It was the duties of the *Guidici del Piovego* that were handed over to the *Savi alle Acque* in 1501.

particularly the neighborhood parishes, had a more subtle form of governance: wealthy families.

V. Governing Space: Neighborhoods and Parishes

Without a Roman city plan or a Roman tradition to mimic, Venetians were essentially free to create their city from inspiration and not memory, which defied tradition in the European context. Fredric Lane wrote that Venice stood as a model of city planning because “the preservation of neighborhood spirit” continued to grow after the population exploded exponentially.⁷⁰ City planning in Venice was distinctive in comparison to most major cities in Europe and, more specifically, to those in Italy.⁷¹ Most of the major Italian cities could simply design their cities adjacent to the layout of the decaying ancient Roman ruins. In contrast, Venetians had to design their city based on other factors, mainly the environmental and geographical limitations of a lagoon city. With no “Roman grid pattern in their street plans,” the streets of Venice sprang up with a more asymmetric, chaotic arrangement.⁷² Howard suggested that “the dense urban layouts of

⁷⁰ Fredric C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 12.

⁷¹ Webber, “Order in Diversity: Community without Propinquity,” 26-27. Webber believed that the terms for city, both written and perceived, are “imprecise” and widely interpreted. “Sometimes we speak of the city as though it were simply and artifact- an agglomeration of buildings, roads, and interstitial spaces that marks the settlements of large numbers of people. On other occasions we refer not to the physical buildings but to concentrations at higher densities than in “nonurban” places. At other times we refer to the spatial concentration of the places at which human activities are conducted. At still other times we mean a particular set of institutions that mark urban systems of human organization, where we mean to identify the organizational arrangements through which human activities are related to each other-the formal and the informal role allocating systems and the authority systems controlling human behavior. In turn, we sometimes refer to patterns of behavior, and sometimes we mean to distinguish social value systems of those people and groups that are ‘urban’ from those that are ‘nonurban.’ One of the aspects of city planning in Venice that made it so unique among other Italian cities in the early medieval period is the fact that the city began with a group of people from rural areas that had most certainly never seen a city or any urban setting for that matter.

⁷² Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice*, 50.

Islamic cities, familiar to Venetian merchants through their trading activities,” were comparable to the layout of streets in Venice with an organic development that seemed accidental.⁷³ Venetian streets were shaped around houses and canals in a way that gave them no real organization, and as the population rose, so did the number of homes until overcrowding left the streets narrow. Other scholars, such as Romano, believed that the inhabitants of the Venetian streets influenced the character and the identity of the streets: people could easily hang flags and banners from their windows for everyone to see and march through the small streets to champion causes or voice opinions about civic issues, thereby creating *viae sacrae*. On the other hand, these streets potentially served as *viae purgatoriae*, when for instance a criminal or a malcontent was paraded through the street in order that everyone could see the dangers of deviant behavior. This juxtaposition of the residential and civic use of streets gave “urban space special moral force and power.”⁷⁴ Regardless of the specific influence of Venetian street design, by the late medieval period, prominent families served as a source of influence on the internal spatial development of the city.

Two noticeable patterns existed in Venice’s internal spatial development: the construction and use of the *campo* and the courtyard, and the joining together of parishes into *sestieri*. The *campo* was the central, public space that parishes were constructed around that may or may not have had patrician residences around it. Howard described the space of the *campo* as “rectangular or polygonal in shape, with the church on one side

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Romano, “Gender and the Urban Geography of Renaissance Venice,” 339.

and residential developments extending outwards along transverse streets.”⁷⁵ As discussed by Muir and Weissman, courtyards came about through patronage from wealthy families who were generally concerned with the aesthetic and outward appearance of these spaces, giving presumably no thought as to the design of the city *in tota*. The courtyard was a private space within the domain of a family. Although the wealthy residents of a parish encouraged the development of the *campo*, the *campo* quickly evolved into a place that the neighborhood considered central to their locale and would have existed within the poorer parishes also. There could well have been multiple courtyards within a parish, some near the *campo*, others not, in the domains of different families. Wealthy patrons’ creation of these *campi* also gave prestige and a sense of ownership in certain areas to particular families. In the thirteenth century, however, this power-hold shifted and “two parallel developments began to reduce the political significance of *campi* and courtyards as the constituent elements of patrician-dominated neighborhoods.”⁷⁶ The first was the closing of the Great Council in 1297, which meant that the patrician class needed the vote of their patrician friends rather than the support of their loyal neighborhood constituents. The second catalyst to the declining influence of these *campi* was the movement throughout the city of adult members of these large patrician families who chose to leave the compounds that once stood around the *campo* and the courtyard. This movement reduced the control that the family once wielded in the *campo* and, by extension, throughout these neighborhoods.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice*, 51. Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance*, 283. Tafuri wrote that the *campi* were typically unpaved. Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice*, 51. Howard added that “by the time of de’ Barbari’s map most of the *campi* were paved.”

⁷⁶ Muir and Weissman, “Social and Symbolic Places in Renaissance Venice and Florence,” 87.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

As a basic unit in the formation of urban life, neighborhoods in Venice also developed around geographical constraints.⁷⁸ In 1171, the Venetian government drew lines around groups of parishes and declared them *sestieri*.⁷⁹ The parishes remained separate, and for the most part, inhabitants took little notice of the *sestieri*. Although geographical necessity first dictated the placement of the parishes, the design also had social implications.⁸⁰ Six administrative districts, or *sestieri*, were aligned according to the Grand Canal. Whereas the *sestieri* of San Marco, Castello and Cannaregio were located on the eastern side of the Grand Canal, the *sestieri* of San Polo, Santa Croce and Dorsoduro were located on the western side. Romano explained that once these *sestieri* were created, the Venetian government was able to “treat these units as corporate bodies and assign them responsibility for maintenance of public facilities.”⁸¹

⁷⁸ Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, 11. Lane wrote that “The city we call Venice was formed by the coalescence of many smaller communities originating as separate units.” Although these smaller communities were separate, power was quickly centralized. However, the parishes remained as religious and social centers for Venetians.

⁷⁹ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, 19.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 15. Schulz, “Urbanism in Medieval Venice,” 422. Schulz compared these *sestieri* to the *burgi* forming in the Middle Ages that were being established around important civic and religious centers, like monasteries and markets. These *burgi* were formed on the outer edges of the main centers of the city along the outskirts, where access was sometimes easier and certainly less crowded. During the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries when European cities were undergoing massive urban expansion, these *burgi* were being absorbed into the “parent city” and the walls of the cities were usually expanded to encompass these suburban areas. However, since there were no walls surrounding Venice “it is the progressive pushing outward of the lagoon that gives the measure of Venice’s expansion in the High Middle Ages.” Muir and Weissman, “Social and Symbolic Places in Renaissance Venice and Florence,” 89. Muir and Weissman described the *gonfalone* of Florence as neighborhoods where people gathered of the same clan but also with “civic responsibilities, its identification with clan and faction, and its theatrical, public, face-to-face character, stood as a bridge between the particularist forces of the medieval commune and the emerging civic world of the more recognizably modern state. The neighborhood *gonfalon*’s role was ambiguous, at once a nucleus in miniature of the larger republican culture, and, at the same time, a focus for loyalties and the furthering of local interests.” Eventually, as the *gonfaloni* began to operate as a corporation, they began replacing the parishes as the center and as the place of civic order.

⁸¹ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, 18. Romano compared the *sestieri* to the gonfalons of Florence and the *terzi* of Siena, in that they all three contained several parishes (ibid., 19-20).

Before the *sestieri* were formed, Venetians assigned particular meaning to certain spaces, be they sacred or civic. Among the earliest places established were the market at Rialto, the bishopric at San Pietro di Castello, referred to as Olivolo at the time, and the religious and governmental center at San Marco. As the Venetian economy began to grow and more jobs became available for people living in the city, the “specialization” of space became more prominent, sometimes as “a response to natural conditions,” and sometimes as part of a planned design.⁸² The progression of city life and growth in the population meant that the city itself began to evolve into defined space; different zones formed and “began to take on special characteristics and to be differentiated from one another.”⁸³ Certain trades or industries tended to group together in certain zones throughout the city. For example, since the Arsenale was located on the eastern side of Castello, most of the workers and their families in that complex lived nearby and the parish of San Nicolò dei Mendicoli, was home to a large population of fisherman.⁸⁴ By the sixteenth century, space within the city of Venice had taken on its current design and assumed its purpose and meaning for the people.

As early as the ninth and tenth centuries, Venetians had begun to define themselves via space when they used “a physical site or a topographical feature to distinguish themselves from other individuals with similar names. They used terms such as *de rivo* and *de capite*” to indicate their place within the space of the city.⁸⁵ The existence of the local parishes and the administrative units of the *sestieri* in Venice are

⁸² Ibid., 22.

⁸³ Ibid., 21.

⁸⁴ Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, 51-52.

⁸⁵ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, 27.

crucial both to the design of the city and to the associations and communities that subsequently formed around these locales. New parishes were formed throughout the city and one parish was San Marco, located in the *sestiere* of the same name, the center of the city, which was already defined by the ninth century as a community containing a large, diverse population and established local parishes.⁸⁶ The addition of twenty-five new parishes throughout the city in the tenth century further expanded this core. These new parishes formed to east and west of the central waterway, and gave character to the Grand Canal.

In order to further classify the internal space of the city, in the late eleventh century, the religious districts known as parishes were also given a civic identity, the *contrate*. When translated from the Italian, the term *contrata* simply means district.⁸⁷ According to Giuseppe Boerio, in Venetian, however, the term meant “parish.”⁸⁸ Venetians, during this century, began to define themselves via the *contrata* in which their neighborhood was situated. Therefore, as the “basic unit of urban administration,” the *contrata* gave Venetians a new type of space through which to identify themselves.⁸⁹ By the start of the twelfth century Venice had established seventy *contrate*.⁹⁰ These parishes

⁸⁶ Ibid., 14.

⁸⁷ *Oxford-Paravia Il Dizionario* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 1791. This Oxford dictionary defined the term as “land” or “quarter.” *Cassell’s Italian Dictionary*, compiled by Piero Rebora (New York: Wiley Publishing, 2002), 127. Cassell’s defined the term as “district (of a town).”

⁸⁸ Giuseppe Boerio, *Del Dialecto Veneziano* (Venezia: Reale Tipografia di Giovanni Cecchini Editore, 1867), 192. According to Boerio, “Contrata, vale proprio per Strada di luogo abitato. Chiamasi però Contrata in Venezia quanto s'estende sotto una Chiesa stessa parrocchiale: ond' è lo stesso che dire Parrocchia.” For the purpose of this dissertation, I will use the term *contrata*, as it was defined as a parish.

⁸⁹ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, 18.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 14-15. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, 12. Lane claimed that by 1200 the parishes numbered about sixty.

represented both secular and sacred space, especially since they were centered on the parish church.⁹¹ In the early formation of the parishes, as Lane claimed, “Typically each parish was on a separate island,” relatively isolated from each other because of the water.⁹² In order to visit with neighbors, inhabitants had to take a boat or cross a bridge, if available, to the neighboring parish. As the population of the city grew, many of the canals narrowed and bridges were much more common, therefore not as much of a parish divider as the canals once were. The parish was relatively self-contained and as far as everyday life was concerned, at least for common people, each parish provided most of what was necessary. Typically within the *campo* or one of the adjacent streets, each parish had its own suppliers of all the necessities—meat, milk, cheese, bread, vegetables, fish, a tailor, shoemaker, among other things. This meant that an ordinary housewife rarely had to leave the parish.

Each parish was then assigned two officials, known as the *capi di contrate*, who oversaw the administrative tasks of the parish. The extensive duties of these *capi* included mostly maintenance duties throughout the parish, such as keeping the streets and the bridges of the parish maintained, as well as assessing the cost for repairs that the inhabitants of the parish would be responsible for monetarily. Other duties included serving as census taker and grain distributor throughout the parish. As census takers, Romano wrote, these local administrators would sometimes be called upon by the Venetian government to “survey” churches and monasteries to ensure that government

⁹¹ Hohenberg and Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe*, 34.

⁹² Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, 11.

loans had been repaid.⁹³ At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Council of Ten⁹⁴ added to the duties of these *capi* by extending their census taker position to include an evaluation and census of all the foreigners living in the lagoon.⁹⁵ When the Venetian government systematized the *contrate*, it also “superimposed a regularized system of secular administration on the pre-existing ecclesiastically based parochial system.”⁹⁶ Consequently, the religious and secular nature of the state were forever intertwined throughout the design of the internal space of the city.

The sacred nature of Venice was evident at the start of the sixteenth century. Numerous religious edifices scattered throughout the small city, including “70 or so parish churches, 64 monasteries and convents,” clearly indicated the presence of the Catholic Church.⁹⁷ As Katherine Lynch highlighted, the Church or, in the case of Venice, the parish “provided a vision of community that suggested ways that family bonds could

⁹³ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, 18.

⁹⁴ Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty*, 61-62. Bouwsma wrote that the Council of Ten was created in the fourteenth century “to deal with a particular crisis” and was not meant to be a lasting part of the Venetian government. It was “constitutionally irregular,” but sometimes more effective with its decision making due to its small size and the degree to which matters could be kept secret. Robert Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 40. According to Finlay, the Council of Ten was comprised of seventeen members: the ten council members, the doge, and six ducal councilors. Gaetano Cozzi, “Authority and the Law in Renaissance Venice,” in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J.R. Hale (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1973), 294. Cozzi wrote that the *Collegio* often gave urgent duties of state to the Ten instead of Senate since expediency and discretion were often imperative in certain matters. During the sixteenth century, the Council of Ten became very powerful and was often characterized as “the severest and most feared of Venetian constitutional bodies.” Felix Gilbert, *The Pope, his Banker, and Venice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), 5. Gilbert stated that this was due in part to the addition of the *Giunta* to the Council, a distinct and powerful group of senators. Although the Council of Ten was initially responsible for keeping Venice safe internally, during the course of events during the sixteenth century, it began to assume duties in foreign affairs and matters of finance dealing with the State.

⁹⁵ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, 18.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Richard MacKenney, *Tradesmen and Traders: The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe, c. 1250-1650* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 46.

be fitted into a wider array of human relationships among believers.”⁹⁸ Another community that formed within the parish was shaped around occupation. Although the network of streets and canals made up the city as a whole, individual streets also retained unique characteristics, typically based around local shops and trades that dominated the particular space. For instance, if a fishmonger served as the primary shop on a street, then the street would house other people in similar trades and would often be named for that trade. Certainly, other distinct characteristics stood as identifiers for Venetians and their understanding of place and space, as well.

VI. Organizing Space: Social and Civic Life in Venetian Urban Space

The *contrate* were oriented socially as well as geographically. In a place as dense as Venice, the city design of the sixteenth century was loosely based on class, gender, religious affiliation and lastly, civic planning. Typically, one, and in some instances, two powerful families controlled individual parishes, which were organized as a central square with the parish church to one corner of the square. The wealthy family that dominated that particular parish patronized the parish churches.⁹⁹ In terms of the social implications of these small parishes, the powerful families would contend with one another for domination over the dogeship.¹⁰⁰ In addition to social orientation, development based on geographic considerations also influenced the *contrata*. Given that transportation in and around Venice required boats, these parishes also established

⁹⁸ Katherine Lynch, *Individuals, Families and Communities in Europe, 1200-1800: The Urban Foundations of Western Society* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 68.

⁹⁹ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, 15.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. Romano believed that these powerful families mimicked the behavior and political prowess of a feudal estate, although they were physically much smaller.

landings or a boat dock on one side of the square. Wealthy members of the patrician class erected their lavish and extravagant homes along the edges of the square, embellishing the aesthetics of the parish. Shops and businesses lined the other sides of the square, giving these parish communities their form that can still be seen in present day.

Additionally, each of these communities revered their own saints and held their own festivals.¹⁰¹ The *popolani* had active lives within the parishes. For instance, Venetian commoners often acted as the priests in the parish churches. These common parish priests would often function as intermediaries between the internal life of the parish and the outside secular world for the average Venetian.¹⁰²

Despite the relative predictability of the parishes' appearances, scholars have debated the cohesion of Venetian neighborhoods in the early modern period. Contrary to Lane's praise of Venetian neighborhood solidarity, Muir and Weissman claimed that Venetian neighborhoods were not as well organized as they should have been. This weak neighborhood structure was due in part to the fact that "a high level of residential mobility within Venice, evident by the thirteenth century, contributed to the weakness of the parish as the locus for identity formation."¹⁰³ In chapter four, this dissertation will discuss the social space of the neighborhood. Testimonies from the Inquisition in Venice clearly indicate that neighborhood cohesion emerged from socially accepted practices and behaviors. Yet, these records also suggest that neighbors did not necessarily stand by one another in the face of the authority of the Inquisition, which indicated that there were

¹⁰¹ Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, 12.

¹⁰² Muir and Weissman, "Social and Symbolic Places in Renaissance Venice and Florence," 91.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

exclusions within neighborhoods. Regardless of where people moved or how frequently they changed residency, a connection with their old neighborhood remained, as seen in the witness testimony.

While early modern Venetians identified closely with their neighborhood and perhaps even more closely with the specific street on which they lived, an external or public identity developed in the early modern period that gave individuals their sense of being Venetian: “Access to the city’s thoroughfares was essential for establishing a public identity, for it was in these public spaces that honor and shame—the social currency of Italian cities—were evaluated and gauged.”¹⁰⁴ As Venice became more populated and cosmopolitan in the sixteenth century, movement throughout the city became better developed.

The growth and development of the city also brought about change in the urban setting of the island as well. The construction of a vast number of bridges attempted to connect the growing parishes so that the inhabitants did not have to use boats to gain access. The changes affected the shape and the character of the parishes, making them less autonomous and more similar.¹⁰⁵ Bridges played an important role in facilitating movement throughout the city, but they also had social functions. Inhabitants from parishes began to argue over possession of bridges and “fighting on canal bridges” became popular.¹⁰⁶ Geographically and perhaps ideologically, these bridge battles were not widespread, but instead they were limited to a few key bridges that represented

¹⁰⁴ Romano, “Gender and the Urban Geography of Renaissance Venice,” 341.

¹⁰⁵ Romano, *Patricians and Popoloni*, 17.

¹⁰⁶ Davis, *The War of the Fists*, 15. Davis calculated that by the 1570s, there were around 450 bridges in Venice (14).

boundaries between city-wide factions, and not necessarily neighborhood rivalries. Victory gained prestige for the winning faction, but did not lead to any real change in control of territory. During these fights, which eventually came to be called battles, *battaglie*, “mobs of working men, decked out in helmets and shields, pummeled each other with wooden sticks for about two hours in a chaotic brawl.”¹⁰⁷ The battles became so intense that the men eventually began to have bare fisted fights, called *guerre dei pugni*, to fight for control and neighborhood domination.¹⁰⁸ Eventually, fighting became so popular on Sundays and holidays that the patrician class and government officials began betting on the battles and using them to garner political favor in the community. Marin Sanudo wrote that on 31 October 1510, the Council of Ten passed a law that was read aloud from the Pietra del Bando in San Marco. Due to deaths that had occurred during the battles, and obstinate behavior from some of the contestants, the Ten stated that “such battles may no longer be held anywhere in the city, under these penalties: for those above the age of...three yanks of the rope and exile from Venice for...years, and for those below, a fine of forty lire each.”¹⁰⁹ Despite the harsh penalties for bridge fighting, Robert Davis claimed that the battles continued into the early part of the eighteenth century, the last battle being held at San Barnabà on 29 September 1705.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 3.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 4.

¹⁰⁹ *Venice: Città Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, ed. Patricia Labalme and Laura Sanguineti White (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 343.

¹¹⁰ Davis, *The War of the Fists*, 165.

Until the 1850s Venice had only one main bridge crossing the Grand Canal, the Ponte di Rialto.¹¹¹ Because of the traffic, the bridge underwent several structural changes from its original pontoon structure to a wooden structure in the late fourteenth century. In 1450, the Ponte di Rialto collapsed due to pressure from excessive weight and had to be rebuilt entirely, this time with the addition of a drawbridge and several shops. In the sixteenth century, Antonio da Ponte, an architect, rebuilt the bridge in its present stone construction. The importance of the Ponte di Rialto to the Venetians was reflected in the “fact that the State had commissioned designs from architects as renowned as Michelangelo, Sansovino, Palladio and Vignola.”¹¹² Constructions such as the Ponte di Rialto serve as spatial markers for Venetians, but also as examples of civic pride for both the inhabitants and the government.

The public spaces throughout early modern Venice also served as places from which the authorities informed the public and in which social interaction occurred. For example, “When the government wanted information diffused, it ordered public criers to make announcements in the piazzetta at San Marco, at Rialto, and ‘in all the parishes of Venice’.”¹¹³ The social interaction that took place in the urban spaces of Venice also improved capital. As a popular tourist destination and the stopover for people making pilgrimages to the east, Venice welcomed many travelers through its public, urban centers. From the 1380s to the 1530s, Venice dominated other European port cities and

¹¹¹ Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice*, 45. Howard stated that then in the 1850s bridges were constructed in the Accademia and the railway station.

¹¹² Ibid. At the completion of the Ponte di Rialto, the project totaled 250,000 ducats. These first bridges were made of wood and then they would have much later been paved with asphalt. As money allowed some of the bridges were converted into stone or brick, but the majority of them remained wooden.

¹¹³ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, 19.

emerged “with a near monopoly over the transit trade between Europe and the Levant.”¹¹⁴ This intermingling of foreigners with inhabitants only enriched the character of the people of Venice, helping to ensure the diversity and cultural richness of the city.

Within the communal urban space, early modern Venice had two major, public venues: the Piazza San Marco and the Rialto. In Venice, perhaps the most important urban space for Venetians, both socially and politically, was the Piazza San Marco. The Piazza was also the first view of Venice for a visitor coming from the south or the east. Likewise, entering the city from the water into the Piazza San Marco would have certainly made a dramatic impression on the visiting foreigner. Whereas the Piazza San Marco was the center of political and civic activity, the area of the Rialto was the commercial center. These two centers became so important in the planning and formation of the city because they were the least marshy places for building.¹¹⁵ Since water was the only means of transportation to and from the lagoon, placement on the great waterway was not merely by design, but out of necessity.

The Ponte di Rialto was also a place where urban space was used for social occasions and civic interaction. During a famine in 1528, Sanudo recorded that on 6 March 1528, around 200 peasant women with their children lined the sides of the bridge to sell what few possessions they had in an attempt to survive. The Germans living in Venice whose residence and business center was just a few steps away, “out of pity” for

¹¹⁴ Robert C. Davis and Garry Marvin, *Venice: the Tourist Maze: A Cultural Critique of the World's Most Touristed City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 14-18. Davis and Marvin suggested that Venice became experts in exploiting the influx of these Pilgrims passing through their city. Venetians sometimes would see as many as two to three hundred tourists from Germany, Spain, Britain and France, with that total often doubling. For many of these pilgrims and tourists, the greatest attraction was the religious relics and artifacts that were housed within the city.

¹¹⁵ Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice*, 48.

the starving people that lined the bridge, “had large cauldrons of vegetable soup prepared...and they have sent it to be distributed to each of them.”¹¹⁶ Today, the Rialto Bridge is still a place where vendors and merchants sell their imported goods to curious and eager travelers. Just as in the early modern period, beggars and transients line the sides of the sprawling stairs in an attempt to gain the mercy of some passersby.

Additionally, the Grand Canal was also a place of much revelry and pomp. Marin Sanudo recorded information about the patrician class’s events and lavish parties. A patrician wedding, held on 26 June 1514, caused the “entire city” to celebrate the marriage of Beneto Grimani to the daughter of Vettor Pixani. The embellished barges remained in the Grand Canal until the sun came up the next day. Sanudo described the adornments on the barges, which were decorated with wine, rich food, awnings, curtains, and even dancing women. Sanudo sarcastically pointed out that “today’s publicly held festivity led many to say that it would have been better to spend the money on the war; nevertheless, it honored our state, given that the enemy was camped thirty miles away, and yet no one paid any heed, and here there was rejoicing, as if we were not at war, and more money spent than ever.”¹¹⁷ Such revelry and expenditure in the face of a very costly war, the War of the League of Cambrai, was certainly meant to project an image of internal harmony. Venice wanted onlookers and inhabitants to observe that the city was maintaining its political stability and social harmony.

Sanudo also implied that Venetian authorities used public space to display justice. By transforming public space into legal space, the authorities could express their power.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 333.

¹¹⁷ *Venice: Città Excelentissima*, 296-297.

Public punishments were pronounced and carried out in the Piazza San Marco for the public to witness. On 14 September 1520, Sanudo recorded:

I note that today, in Piazza San Marco, justice was to be administered to four people. First, an eye was to be gouged out of someone, and that was done. Then two young thieves were to be hanged for having robbed a woman of about 120 ducats...And something worth noting happened. Once all three had been led out, the first one had his eye gouged out, and the two thieves were waiting in the square at the Foot of the gallows to be hanged. While they were waiting, some of their relatives went to the state attorneys...They told them that in justice these thieves should not die...¹¹⁸

By punishing people in public, Venetian authorities publicized the message that disobedience would not be tolerated. Since maintaining social equilibrium was essential to the myth, maintaining civic order was essential.

Another distinctive characteristic of the Venetian urban space in the early modern period was the location of its political core within this urban center. As urban space became public space, the necessity of policing and issuing boundaries within this space arose. Logically, as the civic areas became defined, they also became governed and policed. For Europeans of the medieval and early modern periods, public ritual was common and often mingled with sacred and civic ritual. Trexler believed that the “premodern urban ritual was an important means of creating, maintaining, and transforming life among populations forced to govern their own relations with foreigners, gods, and each other.”¹¹⁹ In Venice, however, the politicization of urban space was more

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 144. Sanudo continued and said that the thieves should not die because the Giudici di Proprio did not agree unanimously that they should die and in fact, only one of them felt that death was necessary. Sanudo recorded that in cases of differing outcomes, the Proprio goes to the Doge and seeks council. The Doge will then be responsible for making the sentence. In this case, the Doge agreed with the council member that wanted the thieves to die. The family, in desperation made the claim that this rule was only applicable in civil cases and this case was a criminal matter. The case was suspended for further review and the law was amended to read that the Doge does not have precedence in cases of death, but he still overrules in civil cases.

¹¹⁹ Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, xxiii.

articulated than in many of its Renaissance and early modern counterparts. For example, centered mainly upon the ideology of civic renewal, the Venetian secular authorities began to “order the city” and because of this “the Piazza San Marco and the market area around the Rialto bridge came to acquire distinct identities.”¹²⁰ The primary goal of the Venetian government was to convey these two important urban spaces as places of civic government and trade, two important characteristics of the Venetian state in the sixteenth century.

Conclusion

Since Venice’s establishment, the formation and use of space concerned government officials, city planners, and, most of all, individual inhabitants. Space for sixteenth-century Venetians provided a sense of individual and civic identity demonstrated through interactions between people, their neighbors, the government, and the Inquisition. Most modern scholarship on theories of space suggests that space was either created by the interaction of people or by the dialogue between the people and the space, but, in the example of Venice, both forms of creation were present. At the cornerstone of how Venetians related to space on an individual and civic basis was the difficult creation of the city in the early medieval period. On a more primal level Venetian space materialized around environmental and geographical constraints, water being the primary obstacle. The various spaces within Venice proved to be a mixture of human innovation and geographical anomalies that its unique inhabitants ultimately created. The constraints did not adversely affect the configuration of urban space and the early inhabitants made a

¹²⁰ Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice*, 117.

space that, by the sixteenth century, became a thriving sea port serving the world in international trade.¹²¹

The unique historical past of Venice helped to shape the identity for Venetians of the sixteenth century. Space in the early modern period in Venice included the *casa*, local neighborhood parishes (*contrate*), *sestieri*, streets, canals, and bridges, as well as public spaces where inhabitants conducted commerce and business. Particular qualities, whether social, sacred, personal, or legal delineate all of these spaces. The following chapters examine sixteenth century sources to provide evidence that sixteenth century Venetian identity was formed within the construction of the space around the inhabitants and the psychic space those individuals imposed.

Venetian space underwent another important transformation in the sixteenth century due to the reinstatement of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. The presence of the Inquisition within the city influenced the space, the actions of, and the dialogue between people. Certain spaces came to be designated as sacred, suspect, and, in some cases forbidden. Because of the presence of the Inquisition within certain areas, Venetian identity in the sixteenth century adapted to the new entity. By challenging the traditional uses of space throughout the city, inhabitants were able to redefine the meaning of these spaces, which stood as a direct challenge to the authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical. While the Venetian government's and the Holy Inquisition's control and use of space shaped the Venetian sense of civic identity, life in the parish defined the

¹²¹ Paolo Polledri, "Urbanism and Economics: Industrial Activities in Eighteenth-Century Venice," *Journal of Architectural Education* 41, no. 3 (1984) Urban History in the 1980s (1988):16. Polledri wrote that "During the sixteenth century, the urban form of Venice achieved a stability which lasted until the end of the Venetian Republic in 1797."

individual's place within Venetian society. Yet, the uses of domestic space proved the most difficult to control.

Chapter 3

Domestic Space in Early Modern Venice

Introduction

Because of the lack of available sources, modern scholars have struggled to understand the spatial qualities of the homes of the laboring *popolani* of Venice in the early modern period. The frequency with which people changed residences and the variable lengths of their residency only exacerbated the difficulty. Given that the vast majority of people did not own their homes, laborers living in early modern Venice could change neighborhoods or move residences with relative ease. The home in early modern Venice was more than simply a private space where people sought safety from the elements. For the purpose of this chapter, individual trials of those accused of witchcraft will serve as case studies demonstrating the various uses of the early modern home among the laboring *popolani*. New dimensions in the understanding and uses of domestic space in early modern Venice reveal that the definition of domestic space included practices that involved sacred and heretical ritual.

Using witness testimony and an evaluation of the use of domestic space, I will investigate how the defendants and the inquisitors perceived domestic space. Witnesses, when describing a magical performance to the tribunal, often reveal a wealth of information about what went on within the confines of domestic space. What emerges is a competing vision between the defendants and the Inquisition regarding the definition of domestic sacred space. By repurposing common and sacred items through the use of supernatural entities and heterodox practices, the defendants brought before the tribunal also challenged the Venetian secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The defendants'

utilization and the designation of domestic space created suspicion among neighbors and the Inquisition. In order to understand this transformation of domestic space created, it is important to realize the general nature of Venetian domestic space in the sixteenth century.

I. Theories of Domestic Space

Over the past sixty years, the scholarship of domestic space has addressed many topics and themes, with most analyses beginning with a definition of the home. Personal and sentimental meanings are embedded in domestic space. In the late 1950s, Gaston Bachelard described the home as a place where memories were stored, providing scholars with a vivid image of the home and foundation for extensive inquiry to find a suitable definition of the home.¹ For the last several decades, scholars have attempted to distinguish between a house and a home. Chiara Briganti and Kathy Mezai offer a functional summary of domestic space: the “history of the house is the history of the dialectic that emerges between the two imperatives of shelter and identity.”² Traditionally defined, the house is the physical, built structure categorized as “shelter.” As the more complex of the two concepts, the home, although defined in part by its material contents, is made distinguishable from a house because of the complexity of the emotional, or psychic, connections occurring between the space and its inhabitants. Themes that emerge from the scholarship tend to focus on the material contents of the home, the

¹ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jones (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958; New York: The Orion Press, 1958), 8-9.

² Chiara Briganti and Kathy Mezai, eds. *The Domestic Space Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 5.

physical structure of the house, the composition of the household, the personal attachment to the home that people often develop, and issues of social class and gender. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber contended that the home, or *casa*, was both a physical dwelling for people, and a representation of the ancestry of the generations that lived within the home.³ Since most early modern homes contained multi-generational families, each home served as a genealogical map.⁴ Therefore, domestic space is considered to be a *mélange* of house and home and the negotiation that occurs between the space and the inhabitants.⁵

A common point of discussion in recent studies, the stratification of the social classes, framed much of the social and economic structure of the early modern household.⁶ Regardless of class, the primary purposes of the home for all social classes were, and still are, to provide protection from the elements and to serve as a place of refuge and safety from the outside world. More in-depth study of the home, however, has revealed the importance of its function as a place, whether for entertaining guests,

³Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 117.

⁴ Monica Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 1-49.

⁵ Briganti and Mezai, *The Domestic Space Reader*, 5. For a brief discussion on the difficulty of defining the “household” see Sarah Rees Jones, “Preface,” in *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850-c. 1550*, ed. Cordelia Beattie, Anna Maslakovic and Sarah Rees Jones (Belgium: Brepols, 2003), 11.

⁶ Bart Verschaffel, “The Meanings of Domesticity,” *Journal of Architecture* 7, no. 3 (2002): 287-96. For a brief discussion of immunity and the house from the early medieval to the early modern period see, Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 184-212. Patricia Fortini Brown, *Art and Life in Renaissance Venice* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 1997), 117-141. Brown is a renowned art historian specializing in Venice during the Renaissance and in her book offered a vivid pictorial account of the domestic space and the private lives of wealthy Venetians in the Renaissance.

engaging in private religious devotion,⁷ or conducting business. Yet, scholarship has focused predominately on the upper class of early modern Venetian society,⁸ because of the availability of primary sources for this patrician class.⁹ For instance, the lavish artwork that adorned many of the homes of the upper classes provides useful evidentiary material.¹⁰ Wills and other notary documents, which have also survived in abundance, contain information about the contents and the bequests from the homes of the Venetian noble class.¹¹ Using these materials, scholars have examined the significance of artwork, architectural design, and the symbolic meaning of material possessions within the early

⁷ For studies centered on domestic space and devotion see, Diana Webb, "Domestic Space and Devotion in the Middle Ages," in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005); Annabel Ricketts, Claire Gapper and Caroline Knight, "Designing for Protestant Worship: the Private Chapels of the Cecil Family," in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 115. Ricketts and her colleagues wrote about the prevalence of private chapels in England before and after the Protestant Reformation and proclaimed that: "Before the Reformation private chapels were common and might be consecrated, thus permitting the celebration of the sacraments, though it was also possible for Mass to be celebrated in such unconsecrated places by episcopal license. After the Reformation, consecration appears to have ceased, for there are no records of private chapels being consecrated during the Elizabethan period."

⁸ Pompeo Molmenti, *Storia di Venezia nella vita private dalle origini alla caduta della repubblica* (Torino: Roux e Favale, 1880); Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*; James Grubb, *Provincial Families of the Renaissance: Private and Public Life in the Veneto* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Dennis Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft: Domestic Service in Renaissance Venice, 1400-1600* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

⁹ In many instances, scholars have available: formal portraits, legal documents, such as wills, inventories, diaries. For an overview of poor and poverty in early modern Europe in general see, Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 62-71. Jütte, in the designated pages, devoted time to discussing the domestic conditions of those that lived in extreme poverty.

¹⁰ Alison Smith, "Revisiting the Renaissance Household, in Theory and in Practice: Locating Wealthy Women in Sixteenth-Century Verona," in *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible through Art and Patronage*, ed. Katherine McIver (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012).

¹¹ For sources that use wills to understand the domestic space see, Alison Smith, "Gender, Ownership and Domestic Space: Inventories and Family Archives in Renaissance Verona," *Renaissance Studies* 12, no. 3 (1998): 375-391.

modern home.¹² Margaret Morse, in her article on the visual and material culture of the homes of the patrician and artisan classes, postulated that “the kinds of objects and images that Venetians commonly kept in their everyday spaces, and their functions, were often particular to the geographic, economic, and religious climate” during the Renaissance.¹³ Religious objects also had a profound influence on the domestic space of the Venetian home, which was often portrayed as a virtuous and moral place where individuals and families could worship in the Christian tradition within their own private space. Using “pious objects, many of them blessed and sanctioned by the Church,” to decorate their homes served as one means through which Venetians could prove devotion.¹⁴ In opposition to these themes of the use of early modern domestic space, homes of the laboring *popolani* reveal additional dimensions to the use of domestic space in early modern Venice.

As noted in the previous chapter, Venice had a complicated history and geographical layout. The social structure of the early modern Venetian home has proven to be just as complex.¹⁵ In the case of Venice, scholars have quantified the variety of

¹² Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior: 1400-1600* (London: H.N. Abrams, 1991); Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300-1600* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Rhonda Kasl, “Holy Households: Art and Devotion in Renaissance Venice,” in *Giovanni Bellini and the Art of Devotion*, ed. Rhonda Kasl and Keith Christiansen (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 2004); Juliana Schiesari, *Beasts and Beauties: Animals, Gender, and Domestication in the Italian Renaissance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 54-72.

¹³ Margaret Morse, “Creating Sacred Space: The Religious Visual Culture of the Renaissance Venetian Casa,” *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 2 (2007), 152.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 158.

¹⁵ Alexander Cowan, “‘Not Carrying out the Vile and Mechanical Arts’: Touch as a Measure of Social Distinction in Early Modern Venice,” in *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture since 1500*, ed. Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 39. Venetian society was divided up into three social classes. These divisions were characterized by Cowan as “a tripartite division into a ruling class of patricians [*nobeli*], a semi-privileged group of citizens [*cittadini*], and ordinary people without any civic rights [*popolani*].” An explanation of these social classes was given by Jonathan Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities 1260-1806* (New York: Oxford University Press,

living arrangements, such as single-person homes, multi-generational homes, etc.

Importantly, the majority of people residing within Venice at this time rented their homes, therefore; since they did not have a financial commitment greater than a lease, people likely moved from home to home with relative ease, perhaps even changing neighborhoods.¹⁶ While the home was still private to outsiders of a community, it was decidedly less private to members of that community due to the practice of sub-letting.¹⁷ Meeting the rent payment was certainly a concern for the early modern working class

2003), 15. Glixon described these three social classes as such: “At the top were the nobles, or patricians, the oldest families in Venice, and the only ones allowed to participate in the deliberative and judicial bodies of the Venetian government. Next were the *cittadini*, or citizens, the civil servants and professional class, the lawyers, doctors, notaries, and government secretaries.” The third class, the *popolani*, made up the remainder of Venetian inhabitants, “excluding the clergy.” This largest class, the *popolani*, were divided into three categories: “(1) the merchants and tradesmen, members of the various guilds of Venice, constituting a middle class; (2) the simple laborers; and (3) the poor.” Robert Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 45. Finlay wrote that the secretarial order of the *cittadini* “gained full citizenship after twenty-five years’ residence in Venice and by not engaging in manual labor.” The issue of citizenship in Venice was rather complicated. Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State to 1620* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 100-101. Pullan wrote that Venetian citizenship was ratified by the Great Council in 1552 and stood as a precedent, stemming from ancient citizenship laws. Technically speaking, there were two types of government granted citizenship in Venice in the sixteenth century: *de intus* and *de intus et extra*. The privileged citizenship status of *de intus* was open to men who had resided in Venice with their families (*con tutta la sua famiglia*) for approximately fifteen years. During this fifteen year period, the person must have also paid all of their taxes and dues that were owed to the city (*gravezze*). If a single male wished to be considered for citizenship *de intus*, then he could take a Venetian wife and gain citizenship after residing in Venice eight years, after marriage. Ludivine-Julie Olard, “Venice-Babylon: Foreigners and Citizens in the Renaissance Period (14th-16th Centuries),” in *Imagining Frontiers, contesting Identities*, ed. Steven G. Ellis and Lud’ a Klusàková (Pisa: University Press, 2007), 158. Olard differed slightly from Pullan’s definition of the Venetian citizen *de intus et extra* and *de intus*, claiming that the *de intus et extra*, complete citizen, took a foreigner 25 years in residence in Venice. The *de intus* citizen must have proved a ten year residency and not practice any *ars mechanica*. Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 5. De Vivo defined the term *popolani* as “a vague tag, including both tradesmen and traders, artisans and manual labourers, men and women who differed socially as well as economically.” Using the definition of Glixon, this dissertation will refer to the “simple labor” class of the *popolani*.

¹⁶ Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, 6. It was more common for Venetians to rent instead of own their own homes and by “the mid-seventeenth century, only 1,432 out of 25,240 homes were occupied by homeowners; the rest, 94 percent, were rentals. A typical rent for a modest apartment in a working-class neighborhood (such as S. Marta) was 8 ducats a year.”

¹⁷ Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 204. Brown stated that in Renaissance Venice: “Tenants tended to think of the homes as their own property, and sub-letting was a common infraction.”

household; however, renting a room within the home would fill the poorer classes' need of shelter as well.¹⁸ Maintaining the economic structure of the household, therefore, was an essential function of the operation of the home.

Domestic space often provided early modern Venetians with a sense of family, honor, and identity. Recently, scholars have begun looking at the home and the “cultural role” that it played in the formation and perception of “contemporary notions of family, honour and identity.”¹⁹ Sarah Rees Jones claimed that society placed significant demands on the household because the home represented the middle ground between the morality of the individual and the morality of the public.²⁰ In this view, the home acted both as the building block upon which individuals established their mores and also as the place where they were “both sustained and socialized for [their] role in the wider community.”²¹ The importance of the home regarding initial socialization and ideals of morality meant that the Inquisition placed emphasis on inappropriate behavior within this space.

II. Theories of Women, Witchcraft, and Inquisition

Due to the importance of the role of the home and its place in maintaining the moral fabric of the community, the Inquisition expressed great concern in instances when it felt

¹⁸ Ibid., 201. Brown stated that “During the late Medieval and Renaissance period a number of housing projects were also built specifically for rentals, the more modest of them intended to house the working poor or those with some means to pay their own way –artisans, widows, the elderly.”

¹⁹ Marta Ajmar-Wollheim, Flora Dennis and Ann Matchette, “Approaching the Italian Renaissance Interior: Sources, Methodologies, Debates,” in *Approaching the Italian Renaissance Interior: Sources, Methodologies, Debates*, ed. Marta Ajmar-Wollheim, Flora Dennis and Ann Matchette (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 3.

²⁰ Jones, “Preface,” 12.

²¹ Ibid.

that an immoral act or deed had occurred within the privacy of the home. In addition to serving as a place for establishing a cultural identity and for sacred contemplation, the early modern Venetian home could also serve as a place for clandestine activity or participation in popular practices. As a result of the difficulty of ascertaining the occurrence of this type of activity, the tribunal had to rely on the testimony of witnesses who had been inside or had seen suspicious activity near the home of the accused.

Because of the influence of people's actions on the moral fabric of society, ecclesiastical and political authorities began to focus more on social control of the lay population towards the end of the sixteenth century. As a result, as Jonathan Seitz pointed out, authorities paid closer attention to ensuring that people were adhering to "boundaries between sacred and profane" activities and places.²² According to Morse, given that the sustained success of the Venetian Republic relied heavily upon the religiosity of its inhabitants to maintain balance and the myth of pious Venice, the Venetian government, especially suppressing heresy, exercised a degree of control over the home.²³ As an institution also invested in the piety of the population, the Inquisition made rooting out and suppressing heresy a priority. Once suspicious behavior came to the attention of the Inquisition, however, another difficult task arose: determining the nature of the offensive acts committed.

The task of ascertaining heresy on any level was of great concern for the tribunal and superstition and witchcraft were two popular issues deliberated during the sixteenth

²² Jonathan Seitz, *Witchcraft and Inquisition in Early Modern Venice* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 6.

²³ Margaret Morse, "Creating Sacred Space: The Religious Visual Culture of the Renaissance Venetian *casa*," in *Approaching the Italian Renaissance Interior: Sources, Methodologies, Debates*, eds. Marta Ajmar-Wollheim, Flora Dennis and Ann Matchette (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 119.

century.²⁴ Within the operation of the Venetian Inquisition, superstition, which was considered a “less serious sin than heresy,” included; “incantations, charms, or distorted sayings of prayers, which might link with healing practices or divination.”²⁵ In general, the offense of witchcraft was deemed more serious than superstition, although they often shared characteristics. The primary difference centered on the intent of the practitioner. In early modern Europe the common belief was that witches were in league with the Devil, indicating that diabolical deeds were carried out with harmful intent.²⁶ Other aspects of witchcraft included “folklore, sorcery, demonology, heresy, and the use of Christian theology.”²⁷ More specifically, *stregoneria*, the Italian name for witchcraft, “could cover non-diabolic superstition as well as diabolic magic.”²⁸ The theologian and scholar Paolo Sarpi wrote, “Concerning malevolent witchcraft (*stregherie malefice*), the most excellent Great Council ordered that they should be punished by the magistrate because the ecclesiastical penalties are not a sufficient castigation for such a great crime (*scelleratezza*).”²⁹ Determining the degree and the severity of acts of witchcraft proved to

²⁴ For scholarship on superstition see, Stuart Clark, “Protestant Demonology: Sin, Superstition, and Society (c. 1520-c. 1630),” in *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centers and Peripheries*, ed. Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Michael Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe: A Concise History from Antiquity to the Present* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007).

²⁵ Christopher F. Black, *The Italian Inquisition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 234.

²⁶ Brian Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe* (1987, repr., Harlow, UK: Pearson, 2006), 7-8.

²⁷ Black, *The Italian Inquisition*, 235.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 234. The text as it is given by Sarpi reads: “Intorno le strigarie malefiche, l’eccellentissimo Maggior Consiglio ordinò che fossero punite dal magistrato, perché le pene ecclesiastiche non sono sufficiente castigo di così gran scelleratezza,” in Fra Paolo Sarpi, *Scritti Giurisdizionalistici*, ed. Giovanni Gambarin (Bari: Gius, Laterza et Figli, 1958), 169. The original document was first published in 1638. For more information on Paolo Sarpi see, David Wootton, *Paolo Sarpi: Between Renaissance and Enlightenment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

be a difficult task for the inquisitor; the fact that the majority of these exploits took place within the confines of the home only compounded the difficulty of this task.

Since the home was a popular place for the practice of witchcraft in the early modern period and women were critically involved in both witchcraft and the home, women played a significant role for the tribunal, both as witnesses and defendants. The trials examined for this chapter center primarily on people accused of witchcraft, the majority of whom were women. As a frequently discussed theme, the role of gender in theories of domestic space has led scholars to focus on the connections between domestic space, women's social roles,³⁰ and the meaning of the home.³¹ While conducting their

³⁰ It should be noted here that there is a large body of scholarship included in issues of gender that involves nunneries and houses available for displaced women. The systematic book-keeping of the Church and these organizations has enabled scholars to piece together the happenings within these spaces quite clearly. For works on nunneries as domestic and sacred space see, Monica Chojnacka, "Women, Charity and Community in Early Modern Venice: The Casa delle Zitelle," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 68-91; Jutta Gisela Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Kate Lowe, "Elections of Abbesses and Notions of Identity in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Italy, with Special Reference to Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 389-429; Gary M. Radke, "Nuns and Their Art: The Case of San Zaccaria in Renaissance Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (2001): 430-459; Mary Laven, *Virgins of Venice: Broken Vows and Cloistered Lives in the Renaissance Convent* (New York: Penguin, 2004).

³¹ Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2007), 17-18. Flather wrote that women were deemed inferior to males, and therefore "unsuited to activities outside" the home, or in the public sphere. This was an early modern concept that spanned greater Europe and was not just confined to England. This doctrine, according to Flather, was evident in political treaties and other writings of the time which led her to conclude that "Space and gender were intimately linked in early modern theoretical constructions of patriarchal order." Flather stated that there were three major sources that gave credence to this theory: the Bible, medical theories and classical texts. Elizabeth S. Cohen, "No Longer Virgins: Self-Preservation by Young Women in Late Renaissance Rome," in *Refiguring Woman: Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Marilyn Migiel and Juliana Schiesari (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 172. This same tenet applied to early modern Italy where "a woman's social identity was defined largely by her relationship to males as daughter, as sister, as mother, and especially as wife." For other studies on gender and space see, Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Lucienne Roubin, "Male Space and Female Space within Provençal Community," in *Rural Society in France: Selections from the Annales, ; économies, sociétés, civilizations*, ed. Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, trans. Elborg Forster and Patricia Ranum (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977); Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); For an anthropological approach to space and gender see, Henrietta Moore, *Space, Text, and Gender: An Anthropological Study of the Marakwet of Kenya* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1996).

duties in the private space of the home, females could maintain a certain degree of autonomy in a male-dominated society, especially if they were widowed. Klapisch-Zuber explained that the marital status of a female served as an essential component in her identity and relationship with the *casa*.³² Yet, as Carole Collier Frick highlighted, more thorough investigation reveals that previous methods of dividing space along gender lines is no longer the best practice for scholars considering space in Italy during the Renaissance. These issues are especially apparent when considering female laborers of the Renaissance period, because such individuals could not afford to remain enclosed within the home. These women needed to work outside the home in order to support themselves.³³ Monica Chjonacki postulated that single male and female households were common in the early modern period, with women making up the majority.³⁴ At this time, the number of single women, including both widows and unmarried women, residing within the neighborhoods was greater than the number of single men.³⁵ Moreover, while many of these single women served as the head of household, a significant number worked as servants.³⁶ The prevalence of women in domestic space, particularly single women, was a cause for concern for the Inquisition, due mainly to the lack of a male

³² Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, 117.

³³ Carole Collier Frick, "Gendered Space in Renaissance Florence: Theorizing Public and Private in the "Rag Trade," *Fashion Theory* 9, Issue 2 (2005): 128.

³⁴ Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, 4.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

presence.³⁷ Since prevailing beliefs held that women needed male protection, control of domestic space was another important issue for the Inquisition.

The issue of the control of space and the home begs further review and also must coincide with the issue of control of the female body. Summarizing the predominantly male attitude towards women in early modern Italy and the misogynist attitude that prevailed throughout Venice, Christopher Black claimed that men viewed women as inferior to males in every way, including aspects of both physical and mental natures. Therefore, given females' physical and emotional weaknesses, they required male protection from two prominent enemies: other males and their own general vulnerability and weakness as females.³⁸ The beliefs that females required male supervision and that their persons needed protection indicated that homes occupied by women living alone, or rather without a male presence, would have been susceptible to vice and attack. A primary concern of Venetian secular authorities was that the city's inhabitants remain chaste and religiously upright, as the piety of the Venetian body was central to the myth of Venice.³⁹ Therefore, activities within the home, especially those concerning females, were an important issue for both the secular and ecclesiastical authorities.⁴⁰ For the

³⁷ For information on women and protection from males in the early modern period see, Sataya Brata Datta, *Women and Men in Early Modern Venice: Reassessing History* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003); Albrecht Classen, *The Power of a Woman's Voice in Medieval and Early Modern Literatures: New Approaches to German and European Women* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007); Vittoria Colonna, Chiara Matraini, and Lucrezia Marinella, *Who is Mary?: Three Early Modern Women on Ideas of the Virgin Mary*, ed. and trans. Susan Haskins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Mark Albert Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England: Sex, Gender, and Registers of Value* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011); Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, eds., *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011).

³⁸ Christopher Black, *Early Modern Italy: A Social History* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 115.

³⁹ Refer to chapter 2 for a discussion about the myth of Venice.

⁴⁰ For information on women and the Inquisition throughout the early modern period see, Sigrid Brauner, *Fearless Wives and Frightened Shrews: The Construction of the Witch in early modern Germany*, ed. With

Inquisition, the need for piety and religious uprightness in Venice served as the impetus for its patrol of the populace.⁴¹

The majority of trials discussed in this chapter involved women who seemingly lived alone most of the time, without male supervision, whether they were widowed, abandoned, or single. Even though the defendants' marital status was usually known, witness testimony often does not clearly indicate whether or not husbands still resided within the home. As will be demonstrated later in this chapter, the homes and dwellings for single women or women living alone were a source of concern for the Inquisition and the surrounding neighborhood due to the private nature of the home. According to Klapisch-Zuber, "any woman alone was suspect," especially if she were unmarried.⁴² The privacy and the seclusion of the home often made authorities and neighbors anxious, especially in cases where the inhabitant was thought to practice diabolical deeds or to engage in sexually deviant behavior. If the person residing within the home were a female without male supervision, the anxiety often increased.

III. Inquisitorial Procedures: Witchcraft, Autonomy, and the Foundation of the Inquisition

an introduction by Robert Brown (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); Mary Giles, ed., *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Aspiring Saints: Pretense of Holiness, Inquisition, and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618-1750* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Martha Few, *Women Who Live Evil Lives: Gender, Religion and the Politics of Power in Colonial Guatemala* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002).

⁴¹ Seitz, *Witchcraft and Inquisition in Early Modern Venice*, 6. Seitz wrote that the focus of the ecclesiastical authorities shifted after the 1580s from the pursuit of heretics to the "behaviors" of the lay population within the Catholic community. Seitz believed that "this effort was part of the larger trend among early modern authorities (Catholic and Protestant alike) to "discipline" the public, to try to force the broad population to conform to the ideals endorsed by the political and religious leadership."

⁴² Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, 119.

Before in-depth analysis of the trials can begin, one must have an appreciation for the inquisitorial procedures influencing both what was revealed and how it was recorded. The Republic of Venice in the early modern period boasted a long history of autonomy over its dominions and the people residing within them. The fierce protection of Venetian autonomy featured in the operation of the Inquisition as well. The threat of witchcraft was one of the concerns of the Venetian Inquisition in the sixteenth century, and suppressing this threat was a means of maintaining internal harmony. Witchcraft rituals in Venice had been an issue as early as 1232, according to Sarpi. In that year, Duke Jacopo Tiepolo published his statutes outlining the appropriate punishments for misdeeds conducted in the city, although the crime of heresy was not named. Sarpi pointed out that those found practicing with herbs were especially offensive.⁴³ Thus, a certain degree of urgency already existed in cases deemed unorthodox, particularly if they involved diabolical undertakings, even before the establishment of the Inquisition, which occurred on 22 April 1547, as a result of a decree from the Doge of Venice and his six councillors.⁴⁴

The success of the operation of the Inquisition in Venice rested largely on its unique combination of secular and ecclesiastical authorities as members of the tribunal.

E. William Monter and John Tedeschi contended that one of the major differences

⁴³ “Questa inclita città per grazia di Dio si conservò intatta dalla contagione di eresia nelli tempi pecedenti il 1232; della qual cosa è manifesto segno che nella promozione del duce Jacopo Tiepolo, 1229, dove si fa menzione della forma di procedere a pene per castigo di molte sorte de delinquenti, l’eresia non viene nominata; e del 1232, quando lo stesso duce publicò lo statuto dove si ordina il castigo di molti delitti, ed in particolare delli malefizi ed erbarie, dell’eresia non si fa menzione, come senza dubio s’averebbe fatto, se in quei tempi la città avesse sentito quella peste,” Paolo Sarpi, *Scritti Giurisdizionalistici*, 138.

⁴⁴ Cardinal Francesco Albizzi, *Riposta all’ historia della sacra Inquisitione composta già dal R.P. Paolo Servita* (Rome: S.I., 1680). This book contains a copy of the original degree put forth by the Doge and his councillors.

between the Venetian Holy office and other Italian Holy Offices was the requirement that delegates from the lay community of the *Serenissima* be chosen to sit on the tribunal along with the members from the clergy. Known as the *Tre Savii sopra eresia*, this magistracy consisted of three Venetian laymen that the government chose due to their prominence and devotion to the faith. These three laymen along with the papal nuncio, the Venetian patriarch, and the Franciscan or Dominican inquisitor were to work together to combat heresy within the city-state.⁴⁵ Another significant difference was that the inquisitor had to be a citizen of Venice.⁴⁶ Through this requirement, the people of Venice could ensure that their civic duty of moral fortitude be upheld in their traditional manner. This combination of secular and sacred authorities created a great deal of tension between Rome and Venice; however, the two states agreed that heresy posed a significant threat to the fabric of society.⁴⁷ As Edward Peters observed, preserving the state was paramount to the Venetian government, which adhered to the ideology that the religious piety and

⁴⁵ Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 116.

⁴⁶ E. William Monter and John Tedeschi, "Toward a Statistical Profile of the Italian Inquisitions, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," in *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Sources and Methods*, ed. Gustav Henningsen and John Tedeschi (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), 131-132.

⁴⁷ Ruth Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice 1550-1650* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 73. Paolo Sarpi, a friar who served his beloved Church, captured the spirit of the Venetian government and its place within the operation of the Inquisition. Although it is with great caution that scholars approach the work of Sarpi, for the purpose of this study, his bias in favor of Venice demonstrated the beliefs of the Venetian government in matters of the operation of the Inquisition within their city. Since there was an underlying antagonism between the Holy Office and the Venetian government, Sarpi's position on the jurisdiction of the Inquisition in matters of witchcraft demonstrated the division in such cases. Sarpi claimed that both canon law and deliberations of the Senate of Venice did not "permit the Office of the Inquisition to proceed in cases of magicians or diviners if they did not contain manifest heresy." The original text in Sarpi, *Scritti Giurisdizionalistici*, 124-125, read: "XIX.- Per tanto non permetteranno che l'ufficio dell'inquisizione proceda in casi di sortilegi o divinazioni, se non conteniranno eresia manifesta, ordinando così la legge canonica, e per deliberazione del Senato del 1598, 10 ottobre, c. 41, comunicata anco con la Santità del pontefice, e per deliberazione delli 23 genaro c. 42 e per un'altra delli 3 dicembre dell'anno medesimo, c. 44. Ed essendo dubio se il caso contenga eresia o no, sia giudicato al foro ordinario, ché così la legge canonica vuole e li dottori sentono."

orthodoxy of Venetian inhabitants served as a central factor in the success of the Republic.⁴⁸

Ensuring the orthodoxy of Venetian inhabitants was a complicated task that generally required a trial with witnesses. Given the complexity of the procedure for accusing and denouncing a person before the Inquisition, the tribunal had to proceed with careful investigation. The denunciation, usually in the form of a letter brought by a parish priest or sent to the Secret Congregation in Rome,⁴⁹ marked the first stage of the inquisitorial tribunal's proceedings. Following the accusation, the tribunal questioned witnesses who would attest to the character of the accused. As Tedeschi determined, ascertaining the intent of the witness required careful consideration. For example, if a witness was deemed hostile, the tribunal would examine the witness under oath and then determine if the testimony would be admitted.⁵⁰ Witness testimony was an important factor in the Venetian Inquisition, which did not "employ squadrons of 'familiars' to spy on, entrap, and denounce heretics," but instead relied on neighbors and acquaintances for information on people accused of committing heretical acts.⁵¹ After initial questioning of witnesses, the tribunal had to decide whether or not to proceed with the trial.

During the sixteenth century, the Venetian Inquisition followed standardized procedures for the trial. For instance, while notaries recorded the opening, closing, and

⁴⁸ Peters, *Inquisition*, 115.

⁴⁹ John Tedeschi, "The Status of the Defendant before the Roman Inquisition," in *Ketzerverfolgung im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans Rudolf Guggisberg, Bernd Moeller, and Silvana Seidel Menchi (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 126. Cecilia Ferrazzi, *Autobiografia di una Santa Mancata: 1609-1664*, a cura di Anne Jacobson Schutte (Bergamo: Pierluigi Lubrina Editore, 1990), 7. Schutte defined the Congregation of the Holy Office as "a committee of cardinals over which the pope presided."

⁵⁰ Tedeschi, "The Status of the Defendant before the Roman Inquisition," 127.

⁵¹ Schutte, *Aspiring Saints: Pretenses of Holiness, Inquisition and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618-1750*, 37.

procedural statements in Latin, they recorded the questions the inquisitor asked the defendant and the witnesses and the resultant statements in the vernacular.⁵² Once the inquisitor established the validity of the witness' denunciation against a person, the tribunal decided whether or not the accused should be brought to trial in a step known as *processo*. If a trial was to take place, the tribunal arrested the accused and brought him or her before the Holy Office.⁵³ What emerged from this difficult task of ascertaining the offense of the accused and the trustworthy nature of the witness was a unique dialogue between the inquisitor and defendant.

In the next stage, the inquisitor questioned the defendant, an interrogation that reflected the inequality of their positions. Carlo Ginzburg addressed this subject thoroughly in his scholarship pertaining to Italian witchcraft and the tribunals of the Roman Inquisition. Clearly, the inquisitors possessed immense power over the defendants, both inside and outside the courtroom. Ginzburg believed that this imbalance of power "explains why the pressure exerted by the inquisitors on the defendants in order to elicit the truth they were seeking was usually successful."⁵⁴ Despite the power differential and the defendants' usual reiteration of the inquisitor's questions during testimony, both Ginzburg and Anne Jacobson Schutte agreed that scholars can hear the voice of the defendants if they listen carefully.⁵⁵

⁵² Ferrazzi, *Autobiography of an Aspiring Saint*, 21.

⁵³ Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice 1550-1650*, 23.

⁵⁴ Carlo Ginzburg, "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist," in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, by Carlo Ginzburg, trans. John and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 160.

⁵⁵ Ibid. Ginzburg stated that "in some exceptional cases we have a real dialogue: we can hear distinct voices, we can detect a clash between different, even conflicting voices." Schutte, in Ferrazzi, *Autobiography of an Aspiring Saint*, 4. Schutte wrote that these word-for-word recordings made of

A few years before Ginzburg and Schutte published their work, Peter Burke commented on the importance of language and the Inquisition. Burke theorized about languages and anti-languages and the oral tradition that springs forth from the interrogations the Inquisition made in the sixteenth century. Burke believed that court records offer the scholar quite an accurate account of the events that actually took place, especially since the tribunal went to great lengths to ensure that notaries recording the trial transcript included accurate entries of any words, motions, or mannerisms.⁵⁶ Furthermore, as Elizabeth Horodowich revealed, “In a highly verbal culture, Venetians expressed and reinforced both fear of and faith in the word at all levels of society. When we look closely at the practices of talk and listen carefully to the words Venetians uttered, they reveal a wealth of surprising beliefs, concerns, and anxieties that informed this culture.”⁵⁷ Through these carefully recorded words and actions of the witnesses and defendants, the trial records can offer insight on fears about witchcraft and unorthodox practices in the community.

Monter and Tedeschi believed that the list of defendants brought before the Inquisition in Venice prior to 1620 indicates the Venetian Tribunal’s flurry of activity.⁵⁸

testimony by the Inquisition “records a conversation or dialogue, in which we can hear one voice responding to another.”

⁵⁶ Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 79-80.

⁵⁷ Elizabeth Horodowich, *Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 21.

⁵⁸ Monter and Tedeschi, “Toward a Statistical Profile of the Italian Inquisitions,” 133. The 1580s was a particularly active period for the Inquisition in Venice with the sum of defendants totaling over 440. From 1547-1630, the average number of inquisitorial defendants was 33, per annum. This average fell again by more than half during the years 1631-1720, averaging only fifteen inquisitorial defendants per annum. At its decline, the average number of inquisitorial defendants being tried per annum fell to three during the years 1721-1794. After the 1580s, there is an apparent shift in the Inquisitorial documents and the trials that are being held. See also; John Martin, “Popular Culture and the Shaping of Popular Heresy in Renaissance

According to Ruth Martin, this growth in activity was due in part to the desire of the Inquisition to correct the error of those accused of unorthodox behavior. Given the importance of correcting the behavior rather than removing the person from society, “the tribunal insisted on establishing the motive behind each act, which was essential when investigating deliberate heresy as distinct from simple ignorance.”⁵⁹ Ideally, the person who committed the act would see the error of his or her actions and, as a result, be able to repent properly.⁶⁰ The Inquisition’s desire to instruct the defendant was also useful in educating the greater community because the trial could stand as a lesson for those perhaps inadvertently straying from the beliefs of the Church. Once the Holy Office realized that witnesses and defendants were demonstrating their own anxiety about these heretical issues, the court likely used this opportunity to reinforce its beliefs.

Furthermore, according to John Martin, the Venetian Tribunal became a successfully established institution by providing a means for the *popolani* to settle religious disputes with their neighbors and other acquaintances, especially after the more conventional methods of “social control” were no longer as effective.⁶¹ Suggesting that the Inquisition provided a channel through which the Church could exercise control over Venetians and Italians, Chojnacka postulated that the Inquisition “served both to define unacceptable behaviour and to punish it.”⁶² Yet, the testimony presented in front of the

Venice,” in *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe*, ed. and trans. Stephan Haliczer (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 124.

⁵⁹ Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice*, 248.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ John Martin, *Venice’s Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (1993; repr., Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 21.

⁶² Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, xix.

Inquisition in early modern Venice reveals that the people often challenged the notions of acceptable behavior that the Church and the State wanted to impose on its inhabitants. The trials against people accused of witchcraft, as the dialog of the trial dossier reveals, also offer a glimpse of what transpired within the privacy of the space of the home. In these records, this private and secret space of the home comes to life as a busy and active place for the practice of spells and conjurations that quite often caused alarm to the neighborhood. The case studies of the individual homes of those tried for witchcraft provided below reveal a new dimension in the definition of domestic space. The homes of the defendants and sometimes even of their neighbors emerge as a type of space that challenges previous notions of domestic and sacred space.

IV. The Devil is in the Kitchen: Transforming Domestic Space into Heretical Space

Defining domestic space remains a difficult task for scholars because there are many dimensions and unusual circumstances that often interfere with standardizing the term. The Inquisition operating in Venice in the early modern period also faced this problem, especially when a precise definition was needed in cases of witchcraft and superstition. The variety of defendants and circumstances among the trials made developing a narrow definition difficult. However, without witness testimony, ascertaining unorthodox practices in ordinary spaces, such as the home, would have been impossible for the Inquisition during a walk through the home of the accused: many objects and spaces used for heterodox beliefs and practices would have appeared to be so ordinary as to warrant little, if any, suspicion. The same type of difficulty that existed with determining domestic space was also an issue in establishing misuse of sacred space.

Contrary to the distinctive aspects that visibly mark a church as a sacred space, domestic space as a sacred space was more difficult to discern.⁶³ Considering the home as a type of sacred space is not a novel concept. Mircea Eliade saw the home as *imago mundi* as “it is symbolically situated at the center of the world” in the eyes of an individual.⁶⁴ The sacred nature of the home is a personal universe that the inhabitant creates for themselves.⁶⁵ Yet, while churches and other institutions possessed distinctive aspects that visibly marked them as sacred space, homes lacked such visual features, which, in turn, could have impeded individuals’ abilities to identify those spaces as sacred. Being able to identify the sacred nature of Venetian spaces was not the issue for the Inquisition and neighbors *per se*, but rather it was the unorthodox nature of the heresy and therefore the unconventional spatial markers that people were not able to read. The fear derived from the possibility of unidentified markers, which could have been anywhere, indicating a frightening alternative meaning to the Venetian spaces.

When considering sacred space, altars and private chapels tend to come to mind; however, dimensions other than physical structures also give space sacred meaning. Individuals often designate a space as sacred through ritual or specific behavior within the space. Previous scholarship has focused on religious, devotional space in relation to

⁶³ Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, “Defining the Holy: the Delineation of Sacred Space,” in *Defining the Holy, Sacred Space in the Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 6. Hamilton and Spicer wrote that churches and cathedrals are typically the most obvious places to characterize as sacred space because “a church’s external appearance, and its place in the landscape, often helped distinguish it from the surrounding buildings and pointed to its status as a sacred site.”

⁶⁴ Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion: The Significance of Religious Myth, Symbolism, and Ritual within Life and Culture*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Berlin: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1959; New York: Harcourt, 1987), 57.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 56.

the homes of the upper classes.⁶⁶ In the case of early modern Venice, the homes of the laboring *popolani* were also imbued with sacred meaning, and had places reserved for such practices. Jeanne Nuechterlein believed that most late medieval and Renaissance homes and castles possessed some type of space reserved specifically for religious devotion. Though common additions in wealthier homes, these “non-consecrated religious spaces” were “not reserved to the nobility or the extremely wealthy alone.”⁶⁷ One of the essential differences between the religious devotional space of a wealthy and a working person’s home would have been the physical size of the space. According to Nuechterlein, the areas reserved for religious devotion in the homes of working people would have amounted to little more than a corner or a small area in a room. Sometimes, early modern Venetians turned ordinary space, like fireplaces, into makeshift altars. Redefining ordinary domestic space was a common element in witchcraft practices in early modern Venice and the use of ordinary spaces, such as the fireplace, the bathroom, or even the walls of a room, was just one of the aspects that made witness testimony essential for the Inquisition to determine culpability.

Three trials in particular focus on the transformation of ordinary, domestic space into non-traditional sacred spaces through ritual: the trials of Maddalena Bradamonte

⁶⁶ The traditional home of the working class was difficult to standardize, primarily due to occupation and marital status. Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, 1-25. In her chapter on residence, Chojnacka offered brief scenarios regarding the domestic space of the working class. For example, the bride, in a newly married couple, would have been given several items from her parents. Many of the items were “light” and “portable,” as Chojnacka described them, and additionally, bedding and clothing (ibid., 5). Women that worked as servants often lived within the home where they worked. These women, the majority of whom were *nubile*, typically “shared a bed” with other servants and often had very little possessions (ibid., 22). This indicated that, although women could have larger items, and even accumulate larger items within their homes, many of these possessions were not too large, due to the frequency of movement. Therefore, religious devotional items would have typically been small and easy to transport.

⁶⁷ Jeanne Nuechterlein, “The Domesticity of Sacred Space in the Fifteenth-Century Netherlands,” in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 49.

(1584), Lorenza Furlana (1584), and Elizabetta (1587).⁶⁸ Maddalena Bradamonte, bought before the tribunal in 1584 after Valerio Fasennino denounced her, used the fireplace within her home as an essential element in her witchcraft practices, thereby transforming the ordinary space of the fireplace, meant to provide warmth and fire for cooking, as a space for the practice of her witchcraft. In order to do so, Maddalena enacted a ritual that involved candles, another seemingly innocuous element of the home. While explaining Maddalena's wrongdoings to the tribunal, Valerio stated that she bought candles, which were meant both for the person that she intended to bewitch and also for the "*Grande Diavolo*" who would have control over the bewitched person. Valerio also asserted that the fireplace, or the hearth, acted as a makeshift altar for Maddalena during the bewitching process. After using the fireplace to light the candles, Maddalena placed religious images upon the mantle of the fireplace as part of her ritual.⁶⁹ Maddalena's activities were deemed so diabolical that Valerio called her "the most evil and wicked woman who is alive today."⁷⁰ Transforming the fireplace into an altar appeared to be common among those accused of witchcraft in early modern Venice,⁷¹ but other spaces within the home also served as places for ritual.

⁶⁸ In order to keep the names of the accused clear, I will include the date of the trial in parentheses when necessary.

⁶⁹ "Et prima, come compra o fa comprar una certa quantità di candelle in nome di colui che ella intenda stregare et fatturare, et in nome similmente del Grande Diavolo, c'habbi dominio e potestà sopra tal persona...quai candeled havendo accese sotto il suo camino... (88)...detta imagine al camino...(89)." *Streghe e diavoli nei processi del S. Uffizio: Venezia 1554-1587*, ed. Marisa Milani (Bassano del Grappa: Ghedina et Tassotti, 1994), "Maddalena Braddamonte," 88-89. Hereafter the title of the book will be abbreviated as *Streghe e diavoli*.

⁷⁰ "...io Valerio Fasennino bolognese, mosso da zelo di charità, acciò che tanta iniquità non resti senza colpa, comparer riverentemente avanti il suo Santissimo Officio et denonciar una certa Maddalena Braddamonte, sta a S. Paternian per la più iniqua et scelerata donna c'hoggi di viva..." Ibid., 88.

⁷¹ For more on witchcraft and fireplaces see, Owen Davies and William De Blécourt, eds., *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University

In addition to proving that the fireplace was a location for making an altar for ritual, the trial of Lorenza Furlana (1584) also demonstrated that the bathroom could serve as a type of sacred space within the home for the practice of witchcraft. Moreover, Lorenza's trial revealed that using domestic space for the purpose of sacred ritual was not always confined to the home of the practitioner; a person could transform the homes of others for such sacred practice. In 1584, Lorenzo Domenego claimed in a letter of denunciation presented to the Holy Office that Lorenza practiced witchcraft, threw or cast beans, and posed a great threat to the community.⁷² Cecilia, a fellow resident of the neighborhood of San Moisè, in the *sestiere* of San Marco, was well acquainted with the accused, and, when asked about the nature of their relationship, she reported that she had known the defendant for about ten or twelve years.⁷³ Although Cecilia was not able to testify that she knew of Lorenza's bean casting, she offered the tribunal a much more detailed account of Lorenza's practice of witchcraft.⁷⁴ Cecilia recalled a time that Lorenza had visited the home of Paula, whose husband was a cobbler.⁷⁵ Admitting to the

Press, 2004); Charles Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Deana Marie Abbott, *Home, Hearth, and the Devil: Gender and the Early Modern Witch* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2010); Seitz, *Witchcraft and Inquisition in Early Modern Venice*.

⁷² “Comparo davanti a questo Santissimo Tribunal io Lorenzo q. Domenego de Lisandro et per non voler consentir alle cosse che sono contra la divina maiestà et in dispregio delle sue santissime leggi denuncio contra de una Lorenza furlana, la quale non havendo rispetto alla maiestà de Iddio né alle sue santè leggi continuaments butta fave et altre strigarie diaboliche, per le quale li homini cascano nelli errori.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Lorenza Furlana,” 133-34.

⁷³ “Interrogata se lei conosce una Lorenza furlana che sta in contrà de San Moysé et da quanto tempo in qua; respondit: Signor sì che la cognosco da 10 o 12 anni in qua.” *Ibid.*, 134.

⁷⁴ “Interrogata se lei sa cosa alcna dela ditta Lorenza che concerna la nostra santa fede catholica circa el butar fave o altro; respondit: Mi non so né ho inteso a dir che la ditta Lorenza habia butado fave...” *Ibid.*, 134-35.

⁷⁵ “...so ben questo che ‘l puol esser de 3 anni in circa che me inbatî andar a casa de una vesina che sta là in contrà de San Moysé, la qual ha nome Paula mogier de Gasparo zavater come la dise essa...” *Ibid.*, 135.

tribunal that she was an actual witness to Lorenza's practices, Cecilia testified that she saw the accused perform one of her practices within Paula's bathroom. Using the ordinary space of the bathroom and common items, Lorenza managed to create a specific space for the purpose of conducting her ceremony. According to Cecilia, Lorenza's ritual began with her measuring the bathroom "with reverence" with a needle stuck in the center of some type of cover.⁷⁶

After Lorenza finished in the bathroom, she went into the kitchen where, under the hood of the fireplace, she began to conjure demons. After invoking the demons, Lorenza then took a broom and swept the floor in the pattern of a cross. After she was finished making the image of the cross on the floor, she took the broom and placed it in the corner of the kitchen.⁷⁷ Given that Lorenza used innocuous items, such as a broom and the floor, the Inquisition would have had a difficult time determining the use of these items for heterodox practices if it merely saw them in the home. By themselves, the fireplace, the broom, and the floor were non-threatening, but, by repurposing their uses for heretical practices, the defendants caused alarm for the Inquisition. Because the items themselves did not appear to be anything but ordinary, the Inquisition had to rely on witness testimony. Like many of the accused, Lorenza repurposed the bathroom and kitchen to serve as sacred spaces within the home. Using the kitchen as a sacred space was not as farfetched as it seemed, perhaps because the fireplace and the hearth were

⁷⁶ "...et visti questi Lorenza che giera là da essa et spanava con reverentia el destro indrio e inanzi con un aguo ficado in mezzo del coverchio..." Ibid.

⁷⁷ "Et come la hebbe compido de far questo, la tolse una schova et scomenzò a scovar tuti i quatro cantoni in crose, et poi se la strassinò drio et la lasso in un canton de quella cusina." Ibid.

typically located there in an early modern Venetian home.⁷⁸ Thus, the fireplace served as an important element in the practice of conjuration, perhaps due to the chimney, which gave access to the outside.

In addition to the fireplace and the chimney, the walls of the home were also transformed by those accused of witchcraft for heretical use, as demonstrated in the trial of Elisabetta, which began in the summer of 1587.⁷⁹ Her denouncer, Isabella, appeared before the tribunal on 26 June 1587⁸⁰ to confess that she had learned some witchcraft from lady Betta for the purpose of winning the heart and the affections of a young man. The first time, Isabella went to the home of the said Betta with her mother, Agnola, to learn a love spell; the next time, Betta came to Isabella's home and taught her how to cast beans.⁸¹ Betta also taught Isabella a spell that required that the fingers be placed upon a wall while the incantation was recited.⁸² While explaining this particular conjuration,

⁷⁸ For information about witchcraft and kitchens see, Jonathan Barry, Marianne Hester and Gareth Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief* (Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge Press, 1996); Linda Hulst, *The Witch as Muse: Art, Gender, and Power in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Verena Theile and Andrew McCarthy, eds., *Staging the Superstitions of Early Modern Europe* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013).

⁷⁹ Elisabetta was referred to as Betta by witnesses throughout her trial; therefore, I will refer to her as Betta and Elisabetta as the witnesses dictate.

⁸⁰ "Isabella filia quondam Domenici Seghetti de Monteforti, et ad presens habitans Venetiis de contrata Sancti Domenici de Castello in calle del Saracino, spontaneamente venit et comparuit misa a suo confesario pro exoneratione sue conscientie..." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Elisabetta," 217.

⁸¹ "Questo inverno prosimo passato io ho imparato di fare alcune strigarie, quali m'ha insegnato una donna Betta moglie di messer Libero calafao, sta qui in Castello, sta apresso il pistore, dove è una Madonnetta. Essendo io innamorata d'un giovine, una mia vicina chiamata Chiara vedoa mi disse: "Vòdi tu ch'io t'insegni una donna che sa fare molte cose da fare volere bene?" Et io dissi di sì, et lei mi misse per le mani la detta Betta. Et la prima volta io insieme con mia madre chiamata Agnola andassimo a casa della detta Betta. Et andai con quella giovine Chiara a casa di Betta et con mia madre, et mi feci conzare dalla detta Betta un paro di fave, et così io li diedi la prima volta una da venti, et li era presente la Chiara. Le altre volte la detta veniva a casa nostra, et m'insegnò di buttare le fave a me." *Ibid.*, 218.

⁸² "Di più, m'ha insegnato di tore un puoco di sale et spannare il muro. Et diceva: Sì come io spano questo muro così io spanno il cuore et la mente di quel tale perché venga da me. Et questo a nome del Diavolo. Et poi buttava questo sale per la strada o sul camino, et diceva: Tio', che ti pago. Ménamelo qua." *Ibid.*, 219.

called *spannar il muro*, Martin asserted that each of the fingers laid upon the wall was intended to represent a particular devil.⁸³ Another element to this particular conjuration required salt and demonstrated the importance of the saltcellar in the performance of certain sacred rituals. The same ritual that required the placing of hands upon the wall could also be conducted by placing hands upon a chimney. Using ordinary salt to complete her practice, Elisabetta was able to transform ordinary domestic space, and ordinary household items for purposes that suited the needs of the performance.⁸⁴ According to Martin, the practitioner threw the salt into the fireplace in order that the devils could fly away through the chimney to reach the person for whom the conjuration was intended.⁸⁵

While the Inquisition expressed great concern over the use of ordinary spaces and objects for heterodox practices, it found inhabitants' repurposing of religious space and items to be even more problematic. Frequently, people decorated spaces reserved for sacred ritual with items deemed religious. Philip Mattox, in his article on sacral space within palaces in Renaissance Florence, wrote: "Sacral space within the domestic interior could well manifest itself simply as a dedicated devotional area, with candles, holy images, a crucifix, and holy water vessels."⁸⁶ The witness testimonies from the trials of the Holy Office demonstrate that the homes of the laboring *popolani* in early modern

⁸³ Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice 1550-1650*, 103.

⁸⁴ "Et poi buttava questo sale per la strada o sul camino..." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Elisabetta," 219.

⁸⁵ Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice 1550-1650*, 105.

⁸⁶ Phillip Mattox, "Domestic sacral space in the Florentine Renaissance Palace," in *Approaching the Italian Renaissance Interior: Sources, Methodologies, Debates*, eds. Marta Ajmar-Wollheim, Flora Dennis and Ann Matchette (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 41.

Venice often contained items of religious devotion similar to those Mattox described; these spaces and items, however, were not always used for orthodox purposes.

The possession of sacred items by ordinary people was no cause for alarm in early modern Venice. David Gentilcore concluded that the majority of early modern homes “would have contained religious articles,” which were “meant to protect the house and household from harm, deriving their power from interaction with the sacred.”⁸⁷ Since these items were imbued with “sacred power,” Gentilcore noted the Inquisition did not always approve of the uses to which ordinary people put them.⁸⁸ The denunciation of Donna Fior in August of 1554 clearly indicates the inverted use of such sacred items for heretical purposes.⁸⁹ According to the denunciation, Donna Fior made “the profession of conjuration” with “an image of our lady and with a lit candle.”⁹⁰ Images or statues of saints were believed to give “a direct link to the saints themselves” but, as Gentilcore stated, women thought to have been practicing “satanic witchcraft were known to despise them.”⁹¹ Donna Fior appeared to have used the sacred images for more sinister witchcraft; in testimony given on 7 May 1556, the witness claimed that she used her sacred image and the lit candles to perform the spell of “*far martello*,” or to give the

⁸⁷ David Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra D'Otranto* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1992), 100.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁸⁹ “...lei dita Fior fu quarelata dinanzi al tribunal di le vostre signorie di l'ano 1554 del mese di agosto...” “Donna Fior da S. Barnaba,” *Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Santi'Uffizio busta* 12, fasc. 24 folio 2.

⁹⁰ “...lei fa profesion di scongiurar una imagine de una nostra dona co(n) una candela inpizada...” *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch*, 100.

hammer.⁹² The use of sacred images, such as the one of Our Lady that Donna Fior used, demonstrated a challenge, not only to the ecclesiastical authority of the church, but also to the sacred power that the saint in the image held. Defying the ecclesiastical authorities by repurposing images of saints, however, was not the only misuse of sacred items.

As demonstrated, it is evident that a person accused of witchcraft found in possession of sacred items posed a potential threat to orthodoxy. This was especially true if the accused had procured the items in secret, as demonstrated in the trial of nineteen-year-old Giulia. Giulia appeared before the tribunal 24 August 1584. After accusing Giulia of conjuration, neighbors also called into question the young woman's character.⁹³ Giulia resided in the parish of San Maurizio on the street of San Vio in the *sestiere* of San Marco.⁹⁴ At the time that Giulia gave her testimony to the tribunal, she had not been to San Maurizio, where she had lived in the home of Antonio Bono the Greek, for two or three months.⁹⁵ Giulia's defense testimony began with her telling of an altar boy who came to her house one day; she did not know his name, but she thought that he was between twelve and fifteen years of age. The son of a boatman, the young boy resided in

⁹² "...una in magine pintta in chartta et ivi chon una chandelle appiciatta dice moltte parole pianamentte che non se fano et cio fa ad effetto de far marttello..." "Donna Fior da S. Barnaba," ASV SU b. 12, fasc. 24 folio 5.

⁹³"Contra Iuliam habitantem in domo Succursus de contrata Sancti Petri de Castello prope Sanctam Annam et Ioannem Mariam clericum in ecclesia Sancte Marie Iubanico filium Bernardi barcharoli ad trahettum Sancte Marie Iubanico occasione abusus olei sancti." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Giulia," 117.

⁹⁴ "...domina Iulia filia domini Ludovici caratoris de Verona, habitans Venetiis in calle de San Vio in contrata Sancti Mauritii..." Ibid., 118.

⁹⁵ "Padre, son da doi o 3 mesi incirca che essendo io a Santo Mauritio, dove che io habitava in casa del signor Antonio Bono grecco..." Ibid.

the parish of San Moisè.⁹⁶ Given that Giulia did not offer the tribunal the reason for the visit from the altar boy, he may have come to visit Antonio or another person residing within the home. Regardless of the impetus for his arrival, Giulia planned to benefit from his visit. She had asked him for some of the oil from his Confirmation, which was an essential element in a magical practice she was attempting.⁹⁷ Lady Lucia had told Giulia that, taking the blessed oil and anointing herself on the lips and under the eyes would prevent two lovers from leaving one another.⁹⁸ Giulia wanted to conduct the love spell with the oil in order to maintain her love affair with Antonio Bono.

Giulia's use of blessed oil would have certainly constituted an inverted use of sacred items, an action of which the ecclesiastical authorities most certainly did not approve.⁹⁹ Based on Giulia's testimony, it appears that she truly did not understand the gravity of her acts involving the blessed oil, although tone was not expressly conveyed in the recorded account. A later section of the trial transcript revealed that Giulia believed she held supernatural abilities and was capable of finding lost items with the help of a carafe of holy water. Below the carafe, "there was a blessed gold wedding ring."¹⁰⁰ During the ritual, while kneeling and holding a candle, Giulia recited the following

⁹⁶ "...qui in questa città vene un giorno in casa mia un zaghetto, di cui non so il nome ma sta per stanza a San Moisè dalla speciaria della Borsa et officio a Santa Maria Zobenigo, è filio d'un barcharolo, quale è scarmo e barba negra, di iusta statura, et ello può havere da 12 o 15 anni incirca..." Ibid.

⁹⁷ "al quale dimandai un puocco d'olio della Cresma benedetto..." Ibid.

⁹⁸ "...perché m'era stato insegnato che è bono da farsi voler bene, che non si può mai lassare li morose, cioè ungendosi con detto olio le labra della bocca, et le parti di sotto dalli tutti doi li occhi; et questo me lo disse una Madonna Lucia, qual sta a San Mauricio al trageito et è maritata..." Ibid.

⁹⁹ Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch*, 100-101.

¹⁰⁰ "respondit: Io mi raccordo essendo putta pizzenina mi ingenochiai, come mi fu insegnato, per ritrovare una cosa rubata, et vi era una ingestara piena d'acqua santa, et sotto al fondo del'insegstara vi era una vera benedetta d'oro, che fosse d'una donna maridata..." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Giulia" 120.

statement: “White Angel, Holy Angel, for your holiness and my virginity let me see truly and the truth, who owned these things that were found.”¹⁰¹ Again, as demonstrated in other trials, the trial of Giulia reveals the abuse of the holy objects within the confines of the home.

In addition to repurposing religious items, individuals brought before the Inquisition also converted sacred space to suit the needs of their heterodox practices. The trial of Diana Passarina, brought before the Holy Office of Venice in the summer of 1586, reveals that private devotional space within the home was not always used for traditional Christian piety. These types of sacred space could be repurposed for heretical practices. Although Diana used her private devotional space for practices she considered sacred, the Holy Office considered those same practices unorthodox. Accused of “predicting the future”¹⁰² with the assistance of her personal demon, Arcan, Diana challenged the traditional use of private religious devotional space by exploiting a tabernacle for the conjuring of a supernatural entity.¹⁰³ Margarita, the wife of a carder, who lived in the parish of San Tomà, in the *sestiere* of San Polo, denounced Diana to the Holy Office.¹⁰⁴ At the time of her trial, Diana lived in the parish of San Pantalon, in the *sestiere* of Dorsoduro, which was not far on foot.

¹⁰¹ “...et io teneva una candela benedetta ardente in mano, et io stave in zenochion et diceva: Angelo bianco, Angelo santo, per la tua santità et la mia virginità fammi vedere il vero e la verità, chi ha hauto quelle robbe trovate...” Ibid.

¹⁰² Milani, in a note, wrote that “Diana Passarina è una “spiritata” che guarisce dai malefic e predice il future con l’aiuto del diavoleto Arcan...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Diana Passarina,” 191.

¹⁰³ The name of the demon that Diana kept in her cup is spelled several different ways throughout the trial. I will use the spelling “Arcan” for clarity and consistency.

¹⁰⁴ “Comparuit Margarita uxor Antonii verghesini, habitans in calle del Fabro Venetis in parochia Sancti Thomae, coram reverendo patre Inquisitore veneto et deposuit ut infra...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Diana Passarina,” 191.

In her testimony, Margarita admitted to the tribunal that she was not a personal acquaintance or a neighbor of Diana. Yet, Margarita's denunciation of Diana, which was based on hearsay,¹⁰⁵ was sufficiently compelling to warrant the tribunal's pursuit of further witness testimony. Margarita's information regarding Diana originated from Orsa, a close neighbor of the accused,¹⁰⁶ and widow of a pharmacist.¹⁰⁷ Orsa confided in Margarita that Diana was the "greatest witch in Venice" and that she kept a chalice made of crystal, inside of which there was a ring where Diana kept the demon, Arcan, confined.¹⁰⁸ Margarita's testimony also revealed that Diana had a sort of tabernacle inside her home that she used for her conjurations. The tabernacle served as a designated sacred space within which Diana would keep the sacred items she used for conjuration. As was revealed later in the testimony of the said Ursula also revealed that Diana kept the tabernacle lit, indicating that she maintained reverence for its contents.¹⁰⁹ Unlike most early modern representations of such sacred spaces, which exalted a saint or a Christian-based sacred entity, such as the Virgin Mary or Jesus, Diana's astrologically themed¹¹⁰ tabernacle housed the chalice that contained the demon on which Diana called.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ The issue of hearsay will be discussed at length in chapter 4, which deals with the social space of the neighborhood.

¹⁰⁶ "Io intesi sto genaro prossimo passato da donna Orsa...la qual sta alla crusera di San Pantalone, et ch'è la maggior striga che sia in Venetia..." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Diana Passarina," 192.

¹⁰⁷ Orsa's, or Ursula as she is named when she testified herself, testimony began on 19 July 1586. "Domina Ursula filia quondam Laurentii caristiari de Muriano et relicta Ioannis Antonii aromatharii ad insigne Trium Vexilorum..." Ibid., 197.

¹⁰⁸ "...che l'ha un gotto di christallo di montagna et dentro li è un anello con un spirit, che ha nome Arcamh..." Ibid., 192.

¹⁰⁹ "Et posso haver detto in fiaba che la ditta Passarina habia in casa come un tabernaculo, et che dentro vi sono dipinti delle stelle et di pianeti, et che dentro li tiene quel gotto con quel spirito, et sempre li tien una lampada davanti, ma io non ho visto queste cose, né anco la Passarina me l'ha ditto." Ibid., 199.

¹¹⁰ The issue of astrology in the Christian belief system demonstrated a progressive move from one of toleration to one of suspicion. Michael Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe: A Concise History from*

Often, as was the case with the misuse and repurposing of sacred items, those accused of witchcraft conjured devils for the purpose of completing the heretical ritual. As already demonstrated, a common belief held that those accused of witchcraft were in league with the Devil. However, proving the presence of the Devil, or some type of supernatural entity, was difficult since it was nearly impossible to witness the being in the flesh. Although simply conferring with the Devil was unorthodox, using a demonic presence in tandem with sacred items and within spaces intended for sacred use compounded the offense the accused committed. It was a commonly held belief in early modern Europe that witches who intended to do harm received their power from the Devil, whether by choice or by force from Satan himself.¹¹² Robert Roland claimed that the trial of the *benandanti* in front of the Venetian Inquisition led to the western European belief that “the witch’s power to do harm” meant “that by placing herself, even implicitly, in the service of the devil she had renounced allegiance to God and to the Church and had placed herself outside and against Christian society.”¹¹³

Antiquity to the Present (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 98. Bailey believed that the use of astrology for the practice of “astral magic” demonstrated this shift towards condemnation instead of tolerance. Astrology was a popular element in early modern witchcraft and was also often associated with the practice of magic. Rainer Decker, *Witchcraft and the Papacy: An Account Drawing on the Formerly Secret Records of the Roman Inquisition*, trans. H.C. Erik Midelfort (Berlin: Verlag, 2003; Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 14. Decker wrote that astrology “escaped the censure of the popes until well into the sixteenth century.” For further investigation see: Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark, eds., *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe* (London: The Athlone Press, 2002), 150-151; Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2011), 192.

¹¹¹ “Et dice che la detta Passarina ha in casa come un tabernaculo, et dentro li sonno dipinti delle stelle con i pianeti, et dentro gli tene quel gotto con quel spirito, et sempre li tiene una lampada avanti.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Diana Passarina,” 192.

¹¹² Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbors: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft*, 2nd ed. (1996; repr., Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 87.

¹¹³ Robert Rowland, “Fantasticall and Devilishe Persons’: European Witch-beliefs in Comparative Perspective,” in *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*, ed. Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 188-189. For a complete explanation of

As mentioned above, Diana kept her personal demon, Arcan, confined within a chalice she kept in her devotional tabernacle. Margarita, a witness in the trial, described how Diana used her demon for the purpose of communicating with her deceased brother. In one instance, when Diana was performing her conjuration ritual, a knock at the door signaled the arrival of a young man in foreign dress. When Diana opened the door to the young man, he gave her a letter that was apparently from her brother. Margarita testified that “the young man that brought the letter was a devil.”¹¹⁴ Margarita’s testimony indicated that Diana created sacred space within her own home for personal use and not for performing diabolical acts against others, but intention was difficult to discern.¹¹⁵ It is clear, however, that Diana performed rituals that used demonic forces and that she had transformed a traditionally sacred space within her home into a place for the practice of her conjurations. The presence of devils and demons appeared to be common in the trials of those accused of witchcraft. As demonstrated in the trial of Lucia Furlana (1582),

the *benandanti* see: Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1966; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

¹¹⁴ “Et disse anchora che una volta voleva fare vedere un suo fratello, che era partito da là, et così l’andò avanti il tabernacolo et quel gotto, et che poi si voltò, et parlava con quel suo diavolo che era nel gotto, et così senti battera alla porta, et disse all’Orsa che andasse aprire. Lei non voles andare, perché diceva che haveva paura et che l’andasse insieme con lei; così andorno insieme alla porta et l’aperse, et gli era un giovene vestito di velluto, vestito all curta, alla forestiera, et li diede una lettera senza dire altro. Lesse la lettera, et venne suo fratello. Et quel giovene era un diavolo, che portò la lettera. Et la Passarina disse: “Che diavolo è questo?” Così il giovene basò la lettera senza dire altro, et si parti.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Diana Passarina,” 192-93. Orsa, or Ursula’s testimony gave the story of the foreign visitor as follows: “Et disse anchora che una volta voleva fare vedere un suo fratello, che era partito da là, et così l’andò Avanti il tabernacolo et quel gotto, et che poi si voltò, et parlava con quel suo diavolo che era nel gotto, et così sentibattera alla porta, et disse all’Orsa che andasse aprire. Lei non voles andare, perché diceva che haveva paura et che l’andasse insieme con lei; così andorno insieme alla porta et l’aperse, et gli era un giovene vestito di velluto, vestito all curta, alla forestiera, et li diede una lettera senza dire altro. Lesse la lettera, et venne suo fratello. Et quel giovene era un diavolo, che portò la lettera. Et la Passarina disse: “Che diavolo è questo?” Così il giovene basò la lettera senza dire altro, et si parti (ibid).”

¹¹⁵ Foreigners residing in Venice will be treated thoroughly in chapter 4 and the discussion of the social space of the neighborhood.

drawing on and keeping supernatural entities within the confines of domestic sacred space proved that these women were bold in their challenges to orthodoxy. Lucia was anonymously denounced to the Holy Office, in a letter of denunciation presented to the tribunal in June of 1582. Aside from claiming that Lucia lived an inappropriate life free from the fear of Holy Laws, the denunciation also claimed that she could see the future with the help of the devil, Buranello.¹¹⁶ Angelica, another witness in the trial, also testified that Lucia communicated with her spirit Buranello in a deep voice in order to fulfill her visions.¹¹⁷

Several of the trials examined demonstrate the presence of a supernatural entity within domestic space. Accusing Maddalena Braddamonte (1584) of being in league with the Devil, in his denunciation to the tribunal, Valerio stated that Maddalena used her home for the purpose of sacred ritual and summoning the presence of the Devil, and that through her “diabolical commerce” she was a most heretical woman.¹¹⁸ Lorenza Furlana (1584), according to the witness Cecilia, also conjured devils as part of her heretical practices. Although Cecilia testified that she could not hear specifically what Lorenza said in front of the fireplace because she was speaking in such a low voice, she was sure

¹¹⁶ “...di scongiurar diavoli fingendo con sue chimere et pensamenti chiamarne uno per nome Buranello,” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Lucia Furlana,” 46.

¹¹⁷ “...et so che ghe va dela zente a casa sua, di zentilhomeni forestieri, preti et d’ogni sorte, et se dice che homeni vano a dimandar la ventura de litti, de innamoramenti et de simil cose, et chi li dà 4 soldi, chi seu. Et essa Lucia chiama Buranello, suo spirit, et gli dice: “In virtù de Dio dimi sopra la tal cosa,” et così gli viene la golla grossa et parla come Buranello et respinde a quelli che li dimandano. Et io l’ho visto et sentito de lei quando risponde alle persone// alle volte.” *Ibid.*, 51-52.

¹¹⁸ “Ove per non sapper distintamente il procedure suo in tal diabolico negotio, ne dirò in parte tal cose, che anno stupire...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Maddalena Braddamonte,” 88.

that Lorenza had called upon devils and demons as part of her ritual.¹¹⁹ Finally, the trial of Elisabetta (1587) contained elements of the presence of a supernatural entity, specifically devils. Elisabetta taught Isabella a spell that required that the fingers be placed upon a wall while reciting an incantation.¹²⁰ In this conjuration, called *spannar il muro*, each of the fingers represented a devil.¹²¹ In addition to the conjuration that required the use of the wall or sometimes a chimney, Betta threw salt into the fireplace after she had implored the demons with her hand placed upon the wall.¹²²

The only male accused of witchcraft used for this research also exploited supernatural forces. Ruggero (1582) the illuminator was in love with the young Anzola Azzalina, who had managed to earn quite a reputation within the neighborhood of San Moisè in the *sestiere* of San Marco, for her morally lax lifestyle. Ruggero was denounced to the Holy Office in 1582 under suspicion of bewitching Anzola, a young widow, and causing her to fall ill. According to the testimony, Ruggero bewitched Anzola using a book of demonology.¹²³ Paula, a witness in the trial against Ruggero, claimed that Anzola had lived with Ruggero in his house and that they were lovers. After a short period, Anzola left Ruggero's home and went to stay in the home of Pasqualina, where she

¹¹⁹ “Et come lei hebbe compido questo spanar l'andé sotto la nappa del camin della cusina et sentî che la sconzurava i squartai, ma la parlava piana che non possî ben sentir, et diseva diavoli, la sconzurava di demonii.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Lorenza Furlana,” 135.

¹²⁰ “Di più, m'ha insegnato di tore un puoco di sale et spannare il muro. Et diceva: Sì come io spano questo muro così io spanno il cuore et la mente di quel tale perché venga da me. Et questo a nome del Diavolo. Et poi buttava questo sale per la strada o sul camino, et diceva: Tio', che ti pago. Ménamelo qua.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Elisabetta,” 219.

¹²¹ Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice 1550-1650*, 103.

¹²² “Et poi buttava questo sale per la strada o sul camino...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Elisabetta,” 219.

¹²³ “Contra Ruggier miniador, sta a San Moisè in salizà passà quel dale Madonne qual ha fatto inspiritar con un suo libro Anzola Azzalina, qual sta in la ditta corte del Basegò ai Carmini, mogier de Paolo Colona tagiapiera.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Ruggero Miniatore,” 54.

became ill.¹²⁴ In what appears to be an attempt to draw his lost love closer to him, Ruggero performed rituals within the confines of his home in order to scare Anzola into submission. The tribunal then questioned the witness Adriana, who was asked whether or not she knew if Ruggero had a book or any other items in his hands at the time that he conducted this ritual; she responded yes, he had a wooden baton and a book of demonology in his home.¹²⁵ Paula also added that Ruggero had threatened Anzola with his powers of conjuration by asking her if she wanted him to prove his ability by showing her the devils that were in Hell.¹²⁶ Although Ruggero did not actually produce a supernatural entity, his threat was believed to have been powerful enough to scare Anzola into fleeing the home. Ruggero's taunts and possession of a book of demonology and the wand of a necromancer, were menacing both to the person of Anzola and to the orthodoxy of the church. As proven by witness testimony, members of the neighborhood were aware of the reputation of Anzola and the treatment she received at the hands of Ruggero.

As a focal point within the community, the home was under continual scrutiny from both the neighbors and the Inquisition. Witnesses brought before the tribunal often detailed the place of the home within the neighborhood and the reputation of the inhabitant of that space. In the trials discussed in this chapter, defendants used domestic space for purposes and actions that the Inquisition deemed suspect and often heretical,

¹²⁴ "Ei dictum se sa o habia inteso dire che detta Anzola sia stata guasta o herbata o maleficiata, et da chi; respondit: Questa donna stave in casa con questo Ruggier et venne in casa de sua madre donna Pasqualina, che sta in corte dal Bsegò, et stete sana 4 o 5 mesi et poi se butò in malatia..." Ibid., 55.

¹²⁵ "Ei dictum se 'l ditto Ruggier haveva in man libro o altro; Respondit: La me disse che 'l haveva un legno in man alhora, ma che 'l haveva ben un libaro del Demonio in casa." Ibid., 57. Milani stated, in a footnote, that this wooden baton was thought to be the wand or the baton of necromancers.

¹²⁶ "Varda, Anzola, non haver paura, che te faria veder quanti diavoli è in l'Inferno..." Ibid., 55.

but that the inhabitant, or in this case the defendant, always considered sacred. Through heretical ritual, those accused of practicing witchcraft were able to transform ordinary domestic space into heretical space through the practice of witchcraft, superstitious deeds, and other heterodox beliefs.¹²⁷ The gravity of these rituals varied greatly from simple love magic rituals to malicious attempts to harm a person or to cause them to fall ill. In opposition to religious rituals designed to connect a person with God, heterodox rituals and demonic connection allowed those accused of witchcraft to inflict harm and bring about retribution upon a person. Yet, just as a priest would perform rituals on behalf of another person, those accused of witchcraft often conducted their rituals at the request of other people.

The trial of Lucia Furlana (1582) demonstrates one type of future-telling ritual performed on behalf of another person. The ritual that Lucia performed in order to see the future for these people required the invocation of Buranello, her demon. During the ritual, Lucia closed her eyes and, with a swollen throat and in a deep voice, spoke with the demon.¹²⁸ The witness Angelica described the words that Lucia said as she performed her ritual. Although Lucia's voice would change during the ritual, she would call to

¹²⁷ The *Malleus Maleficarum*, published in 1486, served as a textbook on witchcraft from the medieval through the early modern period. The edition that I use for this dissertation is: Christopher Mackay, *The Hammer of Witches: A Complete Translation of the Malleus Maleficarum* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009). The *Malleus Maleficarum* stated that there were "fourteen varieties of superstitious" practices that contain an assortment of offences and deeds (ibid., 242). To name a few: "invocation of demons," "nigromancy," and "divination of dreams" (ibid., 242-247).

¹²⁸ "respondit: Io ho sentito et visto che in casa di questa dona ve vano di huomeni, dele donne, di frati, et ho inteso dire già alcune donne, dele qual non ghe so el nome perché ce ne vano molte, che li dimandavano se li lor homeni gli volevano ben, et essa Lucia rispondeva: "Si, sì, el core piato." Item etiam io era lì vicina alla casa dela dita, et sentiva el tuto. Et doppo' alcune volte detta Lucia si faceva al balcon et diceva// che li huomeni et donne li devano di soldi, et così ho sentito che de li homeni sono andati a veder se le lor donne gli vogliono bene. Subdens: Quando li homeni et donne li vengono a domandar de queste cose, essa Lucia chiude gl'occhii et fa vista che li spiriti ghe vengono suso et fa l'inspirata et parla un puocho barbossa ma non so se veramente sia inspirata." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Lucia Furlana," 48-49.

Buranello “By virtue of God,” and would implore him to tell her all of the things that she wanted to know.¹²⁹ Lucia also engaged in other acts that caused her neighbor, Valeria, concern. Several times, on the Sabbath, Valeria saw Lucia out on her balcony eating pork that she claimed Buranello had given to her.¹³⁰ It appeared that Lucia had frequent contact with Buranello and that he instructed her in her own life as well. Using a demonic entity in any way was against orthodoxy, and therefore a punishable offence; however, Lucia’s use of God and the demon compounded the offence.

The popularity of the generally benign fortune telling and love magic rituals allowed some people to amass quite a following. In many instances, news of a person’s abilities spread throughout the neighborhood, as demonstrated throughout the trial of Giovanna the Astrologer (1554). Giovanna’s reputation in early modern Venice meant that she was a proven healer and fortuneteller. Given the length of her trial, Giovanna’s case proved to be a difficult case for the Inquisition. Pasqualinus, a 30-year-old textile worker and neighbor of the accused, testified in front of the tribunal on 8 May 1564, claiming that he was well aware of Giovanna’s reputation as an “*indivina*.” In his testimony, Pasqualinus also mentioned seeing in her home items, such as a mug of water and a candle, with which she practiced her fortune telling.¹³¹ Another witness, Paul, who

¹²⁹ “In virtù de Dio dimi sopra la tal cosa...” Ibid., 52.

¹³⁰ “Subdens ad interrogationem: Sono 6 o 8 mesi in circa, che non mi ricordo el tempo, che un zorno, che era giorno di venere o di sabbado, che non mi ricordo ben qual giorno el fusse, ma el fu un// de questi giorni, che, facendomi io al suo belcone, che é basso, visti che la manzava. Gli domandai che cosa manzasse et lei mi disse: “Io manzo un pieno fatto con la carne de porcho.” Et io li dissi: “Oh, donna Lucia, che féu che ‘l é venere o sabado?” Et lei me disse: “Se ‘l lasso fino a domenega, el spuzerà o i sorzi el magnerà e Buranello me darà’.” Ibid., 49.

¹³¹ “Interrogatus: Èstu mai stà là, ti? Respondit: Monsignor sì. Interrogatus: Che cosa fala? Respondit: La indivina. Interrogatus: A che modo? Respondit: La varda in un gotto de aqua con una candela... Interrogatus: Vala fuora de casa? Vala in gesia? Respondit: Non el ve so dir.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giovanna the Astrologer,” 25-26.

was also a textile worker living on Balote Street, closely adhered to the testimony of Pasqualinus, adding minute details such as the use of a rosary in Giovanna's divination ritual.¹³² According to the testimony, in order to conduct her ritual for telling the future, Giovanna used a mug of water, a lit candle, and counted the beads on the rosary. Paul, when asked if he had ever been to her house, answered yes and that he had been there to have his fortune told.¹³³ Little was revealed throughout the lengthy trial, however, regarding the actual rituals that Giovanna performed.

Women practicing magic for their neighbors was a common occurrence in early modern Europe, according to Jacqueline Van Gent: "Magic was an important part of daily social interactions between women in early modern Europe" and was particularly useful for issues of health and fertility.¹³⁴ Similar to the mug and candle present in Giovanna's trial, ordinary items featured heavily in other accused individuals' trials as elements necessary for fortune telling or love magic. In the trial of Lorenza (1584), her neighbor Cecilia testified that at times she witnessed Lorenza use a string-like item, perhaps a shoelace, in order to cast love spells for the lady Paula, whose apparent lover, Piero, served as the shoemaker in the *campo* at San Moisè. Cecilia claimed that Paula would often pay Lorenza four *soldi* for her ritual practices that involved Piero.¹³⁵ During the ritual, after measuring a certain amount of the string, Lorenza took it into her hands

¹³² "In un goto de aqua con una candela. et anche la conta una corona." Ibid., 27.

¹³³ "Interrogatus: Èstu mai stà lì da essa, ti? Respondit: Signor sì, qualche volta. Interrogatus: A che far? Respondit: A farne vardar la ventura..." Ibid., 28.

¹³⁴ Jacqueline Van Gent, "Female Magic and Women's Social Relations in Eighteenth-Century Sweden," in *Women, Identities, and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 96.

¹³⁵ "Et questa dona Paula ogni volte che la ditta Lorenza ghe feva ste cose la ghe deva 4 soldi, un da dodese al zorno et fina 3 volte al dì, cioè la matina, a hora de nona et all'avemaria de sera." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Lorenza Furlana," 136.

and then said, “This is him and this is you, go on your way, he will come,” as she cast it onto the ground.¹³⁶ Writing on witchcraft and the Venetian Inquisition, Martin claimed that a woman who wanted her lover to come to her generally performed this type of conjuration but, in the trail of Lorenza, it appears that another person could perform the spell on behalf of someone else.¹³⁷

While many of the accused used their practices for the benefit of themselves or their neighbors, others engaged in heretical practices with intent to cause emotional or physical harm. In the trial of Ruggero (1582), Paula, a witness, explained the bewitching ritual that Ruggero performed to make Anzola ill. Though not present during the ritual, Paula learned the particulars from Anzola. According to Paula, Ruggero had Anzola draw a circle in the middle of the room. Ruggero then coaxed Anzola into entering the circle, telling her not to be afraid. At that point, Ruggero spoke to Anzola and told her that he would show her the number of devils in Hell. Anzola told Paula that she rushed into the arms of Ruggero because she was very afraid.¹³⁸ Another witness, Adriana, gave testimony that she had great fear of the acts Ruggero committed within his home. Speaking about the practice that Ruggero conducted in the presence of the frightened Anzola, Adriana described the performance. After making a circle upon the floor, Ruggero, in a taunting manner, asked Anzola if she thought that he did not have the

¹³⁶ “...un’ altra volta l’ho vista a spanar una posta, et la ha sarò tuta in man, et poi la trete in terra et disse: ‘Questo ‘l è esso, questo ti è ti. El fa la strada, el vegnerà’, parlando de un homo de quella dona Paula, el qual ha nome Piero et ‘l è el calegher che sta sul campo de San Moysé.” *Ibid.*, 135-36.

¹³⁷ Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice 1550-1650*, 103.

¹³⁸ “Mi ghe dissi: “Perché, cara comare”? Essa me respose et disse: “Questo Ruggier el me ha fatto un cerchio in mezo la camera et me disse: Varda, Anzola, non haver paura, che te faria veder quanti diavoli è in l’Inferno,” che essa Anzola ando in mezo del cerchio et che l’ebbe paura et se ghe slanzò in brazo al ditto Ruggier, perché la me disse che la hebbe paura granda.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Ruggero Miniatore,” 55.

courage to conjure the devils in Hell. Following this menacing display, as Adriana described, Anzola was seized with great fear, screamed, and was once again forced into his arms.¹³⁹

Other trials demonstrated acts that were considered disrespectful to the Christian faith, or hateful to God and the saints. According to the witness Valerio, Maddalena (1584) took candles, lit them from the fire within the fireplace, and then said “despicable” words that were offensive to both God and Jesus Christ. In the final and most offensive portion of the ritual, she took an image of Jesus Christ and placed it upside down on the mantle. Then Maddalena, “*in dispreggio di Dio*,” recited a portion of the Sunday prayer to the inverted image of Jesus while she made obscene gestures behind her back.¹⁴⁰ It was not uncommon for those performing witchcraft to “invert Catholic practices” for the purpose of their perverse rituals, Maddalena also used her home to join in league with the Devil.¹⁴¹ Although Valerio’s claim against Maddalena was that she was diabolical and heretical, the Inquisition formally charged her for love magic and bean casting.¹⁴² In the

¹³⁹ “Respondit: Questa puovera dona Anzola steva con questo Ruggier e una sera la hebbe paura, per quanto essa me disse quando era sana, // che una sera questo Ruggier el ghe fese un cerchio in terra et ghe disse: “Credistu che, se vogio, me basta l’animo de far vegner quanti diavoli è in l’inferno qua?” Essa disse: “Non fé, per l’amor de Dio, che non me fé vegnir qualche spasemo!” El ghe fé paura, essa trete un cigo et essa se ghe butò in brazo.” *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁴⁰ “...quai candele havendo accese sotto il suo camino, dove ha habitato et habita, con parole essercrabili offende il Santissimo Nome di Dio et del Salvator nostro Giesù Christo. Oltre di ciò (quel che più aggrava), la scelerata donna bestemmiando piglia una imagine del N.S. Giesù Christo benedetto et con li piedi all’insù et col capo all’ingiù attacca detta imagine al camino, dicendo in dispreggio di Dio una parte dell’oratione dominicale, né contentandosi haver sì fattamente offeso sua divina Maestà, gli fa anco gli figli dietro la schena, mettendo così ogni giorno di nuovo il N. Redentor in croce.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Maddalena Braddamonte,” 88-89.

¹⁴¹ Julio Caro Baroja, “Witchcraft and Catholic Tradition,” in *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*, ed. Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 34.

¹⁴² “...PER HERBARIE STRIGARIE E BUTAR FAVE...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Maddalena Braddamonte,” 115.

trials discussed here, it is apparent that the ambiguity of many of the magical practices of those accused of witchcraft performed made it difficult for the tribunal to uphold charges.

During the early modern period in Venice, those accused of witchcraft often repurposed ordinary objects and spaces for the purpose of conducting their magical practices and rituals. According to Joseph Hermanowicz and Harriet Morgan, “by ritualizing the routine,” and drawing “upon the ordinary” the practitioner meant to reaffirm the purpose of the ritual.¹⁴³ The rituals and actions performed within ordinary domestic space, like the conjuration of demons and rituals for the common good could prove difficult for the Inquisition to ascertain. The same, however, could also be said about rituals performed in ordinary domestic space for the purpose, or intent, to cause harm. Visually, these ordinary objects and spaces would appear benign to the Inquisition, but witness testimony revealed that witches sometimes repurposed these items and these spaces for unorthodox practices.

V. Perception of the Home as Space

Although this repurposing of objects and spaces for the purpose of heterodox practices occurred within the generally private space of the home, the effects had considerable influence over the community as a whole. As Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer stated: “Sacred spaces are interpreted as foci for the religious identities of communities.”¹⁴⁴ In the case of these trials, however, the home, rather than bolstering a mainstream religious identity, supported heterodox beliefs and practices. Witness testimonies in these trials

¹⁴³ Joseph Hermanowicz and Harriet Morgan, “Ritualizing the Routine: Collective Identity Affirmation,” *Sociological Forum* 14, no. 2 (1999): 200.

¹⁴⁴ Hamilton and Spicer, “Defining the Holy: the Delineation of Sacred Space,” 4.

reveal that the community had an acute understanding of the power and danger of these secret spaces. In many instances, the homes of those accused of witchcraft or some other form of heterodoxy served as a focal point within the neighborhood, albeit perhaps as a place from which to stay away.

Regardless of the descriptions and definitions given for the *casa* in the early modern period, closer examination of the trial testimony of the Holy Office in Venice reveals that the *casa* was an extension of the psychic and sacred space for the early modern Venetian. Building on the work of Gaston Bachelard and Martin Heidegger, Henri Lefebvre noted, “The dwelling passes everywhere for a special, still sacred, quasi-religious and in fact almost absolute space.”¹⁴⁵ In terms of the sacred within domestic space, scholars have made a distinction between religiously or spiritually sacred space and sacred in the form of a psychic connection between the space and the inhabitant. Most people, regardless of the era, have a personal and deep-seated connection to their own home that they perceived as “sacred”. Although this chapter claims that the domestic space of those accused of witchcraft served as a type of sacred space, unorthodox practices, rather than more traditional religious modes, sacralized the space. As Eliade wrote, even the “nonreligious man” the one that “rejects the sacrality of the world...never succeeds in completely doing away with religious behavior.”¹⁴⁶ Jeanne Halgren Kilde asserted, “Religious space is powerful space. Within it the awesome power of the divine is often understood to dwell. Proximity to this power is deemed to yield authority and

¹⁴⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1974; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 121.

¹⁴⁶ Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, 23.

spiritual empowerment to individuals.”¹⁴⁷ Kilde also believed that the behavior and the organization of people determine the sacred nature of a space because people regard these sacred spaces differently than mundane spaces, they also sacralize the spaces.¹⁴⁸ In early modern Venice, these individuals accused of witchcraft before the tribunal transformed their homes into a type of sacred space through ritual practice and other means of creating and defining sacrality.

The home was an important component in the overall well-being of society, and, as Sarah Rees Jones stated, this made the household “the foundation stone of a civilized society.”¹⁴⁹ This importance placed upon the home and its place within society is evident in Venice during the sixteenth century. Living in a city as dense as Venice, with its diversity of religions and cultures, often created an atmosphere of suspicion. Given that the Protestant Reformation was widespread by the latter half of the sixteenth century, the infiltration of Protestantism was of grave concern to the Papal Curia and Catholics in Venice. Inhabitants of the city also experienced this suspicion and the anxiety stemming from unknown activities taking place within their neighbors’ homes as evidenced by witness testimony and denunciation. The fright and suspicion of the neighbors of those accused of witchcraft should come as no surprise, especially when demons or the Devil were invoked, given that awareness of the presence of the Devil increased in the latter

¹⁴⁷ Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *Sacred Power, Sacred Space: An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4. Kilde continued with a discussion of “real presence and the metaphorical presence” of this supernatural entity that inhabits religious space by saying that different religions believe differently on the subject. In the case of the witchcraft trials before the Inquisition, it is difficult to say if the practitioners actually believed, literally, or metaphorically in the presence of the demons and spirits that they often conjured. Since spells and incantations were often said aloud in order to bring about the presence of the supernatural entity, I believe that the practitioner did in fact believe that the demon or spirit was truly present.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁴⁹ Jones, *Preface*, 12.

half of the sixteenth century, an increase sometimes attributed to the Protestant Reformation.¹⁵⁰ Because of this awareness and the association of witchcraft with the Devil, general suspicion existed among the people of early modern cities such as Venice. Adding to this sense of unease was the possibility that practitioners could turn domestic space, other than their own, into sacred space. For the early modern Venetian, the ability or perceived ability to turn the homes of others into sacred space for the practice of heterodox ritual, as was the case in the trial of Lorenza Furlana (1584), meant that any home could pose a threat to morality. Another general fear presumed that these heretical beliefs spread from neighbor to neighbor.¹⁵¹ Thus, due to considerable suspicion regarding heretical practices and practitioners residing within the neighborhood, the home often served as a place of suspicion for both neighbors and the Inquisition, as will be demonstrated. In order to ensure the stability of Venice, the authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, had to confront these popular notions and suspicions.

Having a witch living within the neighborhood was a source of concern for inhabitants, as demonstrated through denunciations. When asked at the beginning of the testimony if they had ever been in the home of the accused, neighbors were often very careful to either distance themselves verbally from the accused or deny that they knew the person at all. This type of behavior was indicative of a people being very careful in front of the tribunal. Conversely, some testimony also reveals that people frequently did

¹⁵⁰ Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 112.

¹⁵¹ For more information on the spread of fear and witchcraft see, Hans Eyvind Naess, "Norway: The Criminological Context," in *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centers and Peripheries*, eds. Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen, 367-382 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 372; Gerhild Scholz Williams, *Defining Dominion: The Discourses of Magic and Witchcraft in Early Modern France and Germany* (1995; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); William Naphy and Penny Roberts, eds., *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Jane Davidson, *Early Modern Supernatural: The Dark Side of European Culture, 1400-1700* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2012).

enter the homes of their neighbors for rather mundane reasons. In either case, witnesses often admitted that the activities they had heard about or witnessed themselves contained clandestine elements. Furthermore, when people denounced their neighbors to the tribunal, their accusations were often spectacular in the sense that the denouncer would embellish information about the summoning and assistance of the Devil or sins committed against the church. Generally, people expressed fear if they suspected that their neighbors did not abide by the norms of previous behavior or were irreverent to the Lord. The person denouncing the defendant typically conveyed most clearly the suspicion of the neighbors towards those practicing witchcraft, as was the case in the previously mentioned trial of Maddalena Bradamonte (1584). In his denunciation letter to the tribunal regarding Maddalena, Valerio offered a diatribe against the “perfidies and wickedness” of some of the people residing within Venice.¹⁵² Furthermore, Valerio emphatically claimed that Maddalena was the “*più iniqua et scelerata*” woman because of her diabolical deeds.¹⁵³

Quite often the denunciation claimed that the defendant did not fear the laws of God or the laws of the Church. Such a claim was present in the trial of Lucia Furlana (1582), who was anonymously denounced to the tribunal and accused of living a “wicked and evil life” in which she held no fear of Jesus Christ or the holy laws.¹⁵⁴ Lucia’s questionable behavior, which extended beyond practicing witchcraft and entertaining

¹⁵² “Se mai fu tempo di proveder alle perfidie e sceleratezze d’alcuno...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Maddalena Braddamonte,” 87.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 88.

¹⁵⁴ “...però al grave tribunal di V.S. si querella contra et adverso una Lutia furlana dona di pessima et cattiva vita, la qual nullo havuto timore del Nostro Signor Jesù Christo né delle sante leggi...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Lucia Furlana,” 45.

various people inside her home throughout the day, came to include her poor behavior to others within the neighborhood. The denunciation indicated that she showed no respect for her neighbors or for authority. In addition to the people that she had into her home, Lucia also exposed herself to her enemies or to those in positions of authority when she encountered them.¹⁵⁵ This lurid behavior certainly did not help her case before the tribunal, as it spoke to the general nature of her character and disposition, and hinted at her intentions. As witness testimony reveals, Lucia's behavior appalled many of her neighbors. Due to the nature of the accusations against Lucia, it is clear that the person denouncing her had a great deal of concern about her behavior and the practice of witchcraft.

Beyond her intentional affronts to society, Lucia Furlana, like many of the accused, had another means through which to cause harm to society in general: her reputation. Early modern Venetian neighbors were very aware of the traffic into and out of the homes of their neighbors. Valeria, a neighbor of Lucia in the neighborhood of Santa Maria Formosa in the *sestiere* of Castello, testified first in the trial of Lucia. The first question the tribunal posed to Valeria was if she knew or had heard it said that Lucia practiced witchcraft, used love magic, or had the ability to conjure the Devil.¹⁵⁶ The testimony of Peter, a witness in the case against Lucia, supported earlier statements that many people frequented her home on a regular basis. According to Peter, Lucia performed services for these people who came to have their futures read and for "other

¹⁵⁵ "et essendo stata represa da alquanti vicini, ha hauto tanto aldire che si alzava li drappi dicendo: 'Tuo', ti et li Signori!" Ibid., 46.

¹⁵⁶ "Ei dictum: se le o sa o habia// inteso dire che la detta Lucia furlana di opera a strigarie, herbaria, o sconzurar diavoli et simile cose..." Ibid., 48.

secret things.”¹⁵⁷ The final witness, Angelica, testified that Lucia performed love spells and other types of acts for various people within her home. Lucia’s reputation throughout the neighborhood produced concern among these summoned witnesses for two reasons. Namely, that Lucia may bewitch or harm them in some way, but also that their proximity as neighbors may draw the suspicion of the Inquisition. Lucia’s contact and interactions with many people meant that the Inquisition had reason to worry about her influence upon her neighbors. Since a primary goal of the Inquisition was to prevent the spread of heretical beliefs, Lucia’s behavior was threatening to her neighbors and the Church, as deduced from the trial transcript.

Other accused individuals also possessed a considerable level of popularity within and beyond their neighborhoods. Of these individuals, Giovanna the Astrologer (1554) may have been one of the most well-known practitioners of healing and fortune-telling. Giovanna transformed the space of her home into one of the most popular places for the practice of witchcraft in early modern Venice. She first appeared before the tribunal on 28 July 1554 to appeal to the “*bona gratia*” of the Holy Office.¹⁵⁸ On 5 September 1556, some two years after Giovanna’s personal appeal to the tribunal, Thomaso Jurinovich denounced her.¹⁵⁹ In her mid-to-late fifties, Giovanna was not physically well throughout

¹⁵⁷ “Magister Petrus marangonus cassiarum speculorum filius quondam Ioannis Galassii, habitator Venetiarum in contrata Sancte Marie Formose in domibus de ca’ Trivisano, testit etc., suo iuramento etc...Et ad congruam interrogationem dixit: In casa de custia ci vanno homeni, done et frati et molta gente, et vanno a sapere se // gl’huomeni vogliono bene alle donne et le donne a gl’huomeni, et de le lor litte et altre cose secrete.” Ibid., 50.

¹⁵⁸ *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giovanna the Astrologer,” 19-21. In the case before the Inquisition tribunal in Venice, two years pass between Giovanna’s original appeal for grace from the Tribunal and the first complaint lodged against her. The first “*Querela*” is not brought before the tribunal until 5 September 1556.

¹⁵⁹ “...et denuntiò donna Zuanna cognominata la Medica, sta a San Stefano in calle del Pistrin...” Ibid., 21. Milani indicates that the modern name of the street is “Pestrin” and that it refers to the primary shop on that street that sells dairy products.

her trial before the Holy Office in Venice.¹⁶⁰ However, her age and the length of her trial indicate that she must have had a well-established reputation in early modern Venice as a proven healer and fortuneteller. Pasqualinus, a 30-year-old textile worker and neighbor of the accused, testified in front of the tribunal on 8 May 1564, claiming that he was well aware of Giovanna's reputation as an "*indivina*." When asked if he knew of other people who "hung around" in her house, Pasqualinus named several people, verifying the popularity of Giovanna and the frequency of her practice.¹⁶¹ During his witness testimony, Paul claimed that aside from seeing Giovanna leaving the house sometimes, every two or three months she left in a boat and at other times she left her home with a man named Bortholomeo.¹⁶² The testimony of Marcus Caravella, the rope maker and neighbor to Giovanna, revealed a slightly different story. Marcus testified that there were many people who sought out the services of Giovanna, including priests, monks, and gentlemen, but they had to come to her, because she was too fat to leave her house.¹⁶³ Giovanna, even in her ill health, entertained clients within her home, fostering her

¹⁶⁰ "...io povera dona zota, et mal conditionata..." Milani in a footnote gives the edited transcription as "...donna zoppa e in cattive condizioni di salute..." Ibid., 23. For more information on the elderly in early modern Venice and Giovanna see, Dennis Romano, "Vecchi, Poveri, e Impotenti: The Elderly in Renaissance Venice," in *At the Margins: Minority Groups in Premodern Italy*, ed. Stephen Milner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 253.

¹⁶¹ "Interrogatus: Chi pratica in casa de questa de dona? Respondit: Un Signor Julio Sala bressan, el qual continuamente pratica in casa de questa dona, et anche un vicecapitano di Cai, un Bortolomeo, un certo grasso, che veste alla forestiera, con una barba tonda negra et parte canuda." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Giovanna the Astrologer," 26-27. The witness Paul gives those he had seen in Giovanna's house as "Un signor Julio Sala bressan zentilhomo et un Bortholomeo, me par che el tende ai Signori Cai, vicecapitano del Capitano Grande." Ibid., 28.

¹⁶² "Interrogatus: Sastu che la vada a messa mai questa donna, et fuora de casa? Respondit: La va ben alcun volte fuor de casa, ma ogni do o tre mesi, et la va in barca, et vestida de beretin con el fazzuol...Et quando la va fuora de casa, la va con el ditto messer Bortholomeo..." Ibid., 28-29.

¹⁶³ "Interrogatus: Cognossèu una donna Zuana Milanese? Respondit: Signor sì, la fa struologie che vien tante persone, et preti, et frati, et zentilhomeni a domandarme d'essa... La è grassa, et mai la ho vista andar fuora de casa." Ibid., 29-31.

reputation as a renowned healer throughout early modern Venice. Through witness testimony, it is also clear that the home of Giovanna was a well-known location for most of the people living near her neighborhood.

The concern of inhabitants increased in relation to the frequency of visitors into the homes of those accused or suspected of practicing witchcraft. Such feelings are evident in the trial of Lorenza Furlana (1584) when Lorenzo Domenego, Lorenza's denouncer, expressed his belief that her deeds caused others within the neighborhood to "fall into error."¹⁶⁴ The trial of Lucia Furlana (1582) demonstrates the same anxiety. Valeria, a witness in the trial of Lucia, stressed that she had seen many people come to and from Lucia's home.¹⁶⁵ According to the denunciation, Lucia, in addition to conjuring the devil through which she received her visions, also invited various people into her home to indoctrinate them in the rituals and what they want to know.¹⁶⁶ The individuals coming to and from Lucia's home consisted of a range of people, including "priests, men and women, some married and not married."¹⁶⁷ Lucia's home served as a place for the dissemination of heretical practice and belief.

The trial of Diana Passarina (1586) supports the correlation of the frequency of visitors into the home and concern among neighbors. In Diana's trial Silvester Zenaro

¹⁶⁴ "per le quale li homini cascano nelli errori..." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Lorenza Furlana," 134.

¹⁶⁵ "Io ho sentito et visto che in casa di questa dona ve vano di huomeni, dele donne, di frati, et ho inteso dire già alcune donne, dele qual non ghe so el nome perché ce ne vano molte, che li dimandavano se li lor homeni gli volevano ben..." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Lucia Furlana," 48.

¹⁶⁶ "...dal qual dice saper tutto quello lei vole..." *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁶⁷ "...tirando in casa sua et convenendo in tal sua pessima et diabolicha opinione dil continuo diverse sorte di persone come preti, huomeni et done, sì maridate come non, a' quale fa credere tutto quello lei vole..." *Ibid.*

testified that he had known and lived near Diana for seven years.¹⁶⁸ Silvester stated under oath that a friar frequently visited the home of the said Diana. According to Silvester, friar Paulo of the order of the Frari was in Diana's home "day and night," and he also "eats, drinks and sleeps there."¹⁶⁹ When the inquisitor asked Silvester what the neighbors thought about the interactions between friar Paulo and Diana,¹⁷⁰ he answered that "the neighbors think nothing but bad that this friar goes to that house and is always there, and that this friar is doing a bad thing going to that house."¹⁷¹ Although Silvester's testimony was perhaps more judgmental than accusatory, it was apparent that the neighbors were concerned over Diana's behavior, which was compounded by concern over her practicing witchcraft. The testimony of Angelus corroborated that of Silvester. Angelo told the tribunal that he also saw the friar coming in and out of Diana's home and that he suspected that the friar sometimes stayed overnight.¹⁷² Immediately after testifying about the friar's overnight stays in the home of Diana, both of these witnesses' told the tribunal they had heard that she kept a spirit inside her home.¹⁷³ Initial deduction might lead one to believe that the friar spending the night in the home of Diana signaled misconduct and

¹⁶⁸ "...Silvester Zenaro filius quondam Pasqualini clodiensis butarius, habitator Venetiarum in contrata Sancti Panthaleonis, et eidem delato iuramento etc. Ad interrogationem dixit: 'L'è 7 anni ch'io conosco questa Diana Passarina, che io habito apresso di lei..." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Diana Passarina," 195.

¹⁶⁹ "respondit: So che ghe pratica in casa un fra Paulo del'ordine di Frari, che atende a quella giesiola di // Orbi in cao de piazza, el qual frate ghe pratica in casa de dì et de note, manza, beve et dorme là." Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ "Ei dictum che cosa se rasona per la visinanza de questo frate et de quella dona..." Ibid., 196.

¹⁷¹ "respondit: La vicinanza non fa se non iudicio di mal andando là in casa et stando sempre là questo frate, et che 'l fa mal andar là in casa questo frate." Ibid.

¹⁷² "Et ad interrogationem dixit: Ho visto questo frate andar li la matina et la sera, et la matina uscir a bon'hora de quella casa, et in quanto a mi credo che 'l dorma là la notte." Ibid., 197.

¹⁷³ Silvester testified that he had heard from lady Catharina that Diana kept a spirit inside the wall of her home: "la qual disse che l'haveva inteso che la ditta Diana haveva un spirit constretto in un muro..." Ibid., 196. Angelus testified that he had heard the information from a person that comes into his shop: "Dicens etiam interrogates: Una persona che vene alla mia bottega una sera, che non ve so dir chi 'l fusse, me disse: "Questa vostra Diana ha un spirito a dosso che dise pur la verità." Ibid., 197.

sexual behavior. Yet, the fact that both witnesses testified about the spirit she kept within her home immediately following their revelation of the connection between the friar and Diana, suggests they felt that the friar may have played some role in her witchcraft practices, or could have been a victim. Indeed, in cases such as those of Lucia (1582), Giovanna the Astrologer (1554), Lorenza (1584), and Diana (1586), the frequency of people seen coming and going from their homes greatly distressed the secular and ecclesiastical authorities.

Domestic space as a source of concern for the Inquisition stemmed from the divide between the home as private space, and as semi-public space. In the eyes of the Inquisition, if the space of the home were truly private, then heterodox beliefs would not spread beyond one family. But because the home was both private, and also semi-public, in that, as a member of the community one might be invited into the 'private' space, the power of the tribunal was challenged. Since heterodox beliefs were often disseminated to others from within domestic space, the authority of the Venetian Inquisition and the piety of Venice were being undermined by those accused of practicing witchcraft.

This was especially true for the laboring *popolani* because they were in and out of each other's homes with much more frequency than other classes. Chojnacka described the home of working class women as being "subject to continuous traffic," because they "used their homes as workplaces, to receive clients, to exchange services, and to drop off products, such as wool to be used for knitting. Friends, family, clients, and collaborators regularly entered private residences for social reasons as well, thinning further the boundaries between neighborhood and home."¹⁷⁴ As the location where the laboring

¹⁷⁴ Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, 67.

popolani performed most of their duties and tasks, the home in early modern Venice served many purposes that extended beyond mere shelter, including helping neighbors in need and additional deeds other than heterodox or suspicious behavior. Despite the dangers posed outside the home, domestic space in early modern Venice stood open to others within the community, especially if they were in need, as demonstrated previously in the trial of Giulia (1584). Often, neighbors allowed the less fortunate to perform menial tasks within the home, providing some form of recompense, such as payment, in return for the services. Indeed, performing odd jobs and other services was not an unusual occurrence within Venetian homes of the early modern period. Dennis Romano noted, “the working poor of Renaissance Venice began a life of labor at a very young age,” learning the necessary skills of servitude, typically through observation.¹⁷⁵ Most of these duties, especially for young females, took place within the domestic space of the home.

In the trial of nineteen-year-old Giulia (1584), evidence of this openness and willingness of neighbors to assist one another is apparent. Giulia’s former neighbor, Helisabet, testified that that when Giulia was a young girl she used to come into her home and perform odd jobs, such as helping with the fire or assisting Helisabet by drying her hair.¹⁷⁶ The assistance Giulia provided to her neighbor demonstrates the nature of the services offered within the domestic realm, particularly those the young girls could provide since Giulia, according to Helisabet’s testimony, could have been as young as

¹⁷⁵ Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft: Domestic Service in Renaissance Venice, 1400-1600*, 152.

¹⁷⁶ “Respondit: Signor sì che conosco questa Julia, che soleva star a San Maurizio, che possono esser da 6 o 7 anni in circa che la conosco. Et ad interrogationem dixit: Signor no, io non ho alcun interesse perché, quando la era mia vicina, la era putta et io ghe domandava qualche volta del fuoco et altri servitii. *La veniva alle volte in casa mia a sugarse el cao et anche a lavorar...*” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giulia,” 127.

thirteen or fourteen when she performed those tasks. Critically, young girls, and even perhaps young boys, may have been exposed to heterodox practices in this way as well.

Infecting other people with heretical ideals was a great concern of the Inquisition, and making sure that women accused of witchcraft were not passing on their heretical practices to their own children, and those within the neighborhood, was an important issue that was cause for anxiety among ecclesiastical authorities. Thus, the Inquisition sought to control females because of the possibility that the accused may have dealt with and taught their dark deeds to other females, including, perhaps, a younger generation of Venetian female youth. This cross-generational training had the potential to corrupt the piety of Venice since women, in particular, had more interaction and effect on children. There is juxtaposition throughout the trials between masculine control of society and feminine undermining of that control through direct influence upon the youth. While men created the structures of control in early modern Venice, women could circumvent them for their own purposes. By being in such close contact with children, those with heterodox beliefs and practices could easily undermine the stability of those structures of control, particularly since men in positions of authority did not have much interaction with the women of the laboring *popolani*. Thus male authorities were concerned about the influence of females upon children and their power within the community, or within spaces where such influence could not be seen, which stood in opposition to the general sentiments about female weakness.

Conclusion

In early modern Venice, men and women, particularly of the laboring *popolani*, used their homes for heterodox practices unacceptable to the Inquisition. Used for many tasks other than shelter and privacy, the home in early modern Venice often served as a semi-public space within in the neighborhood, where neighbors and others within the community would come and go, seeking remedies for various maladies, whether medical or emotional. Thus, the home served as a place for practitioners and healers to carry out their skills and serve the neighborhood. In this fashion, the home also served as a place of business for members of the laboring *popolani* in early modern Venice, as many of the accused often took payment for their services. Domestic space, in contrast to being semi-public, was not private where the Inquisition was concerned.

Through ritual practices and the presence of a supernatural entity, women often used hearths and make-shift tabernacles as sacred places for the practice of conjuration and other deeds. Although the rituals and entities were not of a sacred nature according to the Holy Office, individuals gave the space of the home sacred meaning through their unorthodox practices. This potentially heterodox sacrality and the semi-public nature of the space made the home a suspicious space due to the rise of witchcraft and magical practices in the 1580s. The Inquisition struggled to police the inside of the home, as keeping heretical practices under control was essential to maintaining harmony and balance throughout the city. In order to understand what happened inside the homes of those accused, the Inquisition had to rely almost exclusively on the testimony of neighbors and others who had entered or visited the home at some point.

Individual homes made up neighborhoods, which constituted a type of social space within early modern Venice. As Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and her colleagues

demonstrated, “Houses clearly operated on a variety of levels, incorporating the needs of business and hospitality along with accommodation for daily living. In this sense, the house was clearly more accessible, but it also prompts us to consider the interrelationship between interior and exterior spaces, such as *piazza* and *logge*, and more broadly the importance of neighbourhood in defining a sense of home.”¹⁷⁷ For these reasons, individuals often kept a watchful eye upon the business of their neighbors and the events taking place within their homes. The Inquisition was aware that the home was often the place for heterodox practices; therefore, it was important that the tribunal be able to extract the truth of the comings and goings within the home from neighbors. But if domestic space of the home played such a large role in the practice and the dissemination of heretical beliefs, then what were the implications of the interactions throughout the space of the neighborhood in early modern Venice?

Copyright © Julie Fox 2013

¹⁷⁷ Ajmar-Wollheim, Dennis and Matchette, “Approaching the Italian Renaissance Interior,” 3.

Chapter 4

Social Space and the Neighborhood

Introduction

In late November of 1584, the people of Quinta Valle, a community in the *contrata* of San Pietro de Castello, made a plea to the Inquisition to bring to justice the “harpie” Giustina, who was threatening the community with her malicious ways. In their anonymous letter of denunciation to the tribunal, the people of Quinta Valle asked that the Holy Office “liberate” their community because it was a place where “the entire Navy and people of honor” lived.¹ The letter also claimed that one young neighborhood girl, Modesta, “daughter of the deceased Zannetto Mustachi”² had fallen prey to Giustina’s wicked ways. Claiming that Giustina had “put her completely on the wrong path,” the letter stated that she had led Modesta “to believe that using witchcraft and spells” would help her “obtain from her lovers everything that she desired.”³ Due to the perceived injuries Giustina caused to the community of Quinta Valle, the people begged the Holy Office of the Inquisition to bring justice to their neighborhood and “give the appropriate punishment” to the “despicable Giustina.”⁴ The denunciation of Giustina, however, reveals more than just an instance of retribution that involved witchcraft. The letter

¹ “...il che facendo libererà il povero loco de Quinta Valle dalla maledicentia della preditta arpia, essendo che in esso loco ve habita tutta marinerezza et persone di honor, le qual tutte se raccomandano alla giusticia di VV. SS. Ill.me et Rev.me.” *Streghe e diavoli: nei processi del S. Uffizio: Venezia 1554-1587*, ed. Marisa Milani (Bassano del Grappa: Ghedina and Tassoti, 1994), “Giustina,” 142. Hereafter abbreviated as *Streghe e diavoli*.

² “...trovado occasione di una povera giovene, nominada Modesta, fiola del quondam Zannetto Mustachi...” Ibid., 141-142.

³ “...per meterla totalmente sulla malla strada, la indusse a creder che usando strigarie et incantesmi la ottenirebe dalli amanti ogni suo content...” Ibid., 142.

⁴ “...però se suplica Vostre Signorie Ill.me et Rev.me a voler con la loro giusticia proveder, et dar il condegno castigo alla predita Giustina scelerata...” Ibid.

demonstrates that communities sometimes used the Inquisition to enforce social boundaries, or rather acceptable behavioral norms, within the neighborhood.⁵

Witness testimony in the records of the Holy Office often revealed alliances and normative behavior, as prescribed by the inhabitants, within the confines of the early modern Venetian neighborhood. As Monica Chojnacka stated, inquisitorial trials provide insight into the workings of the early modern neighborhood.⁶ In addition to the social behavior the people within neighborhoods exhibited, denunciation and testimony showed that the Inquisition was one of the vehicles used to enforce these boundaries, as established with the trial of Giustina (1584). Beyond providing insight into the social nature of neighborhoods, studies of trials before the tribunal also have brought new dimensions to the study of the social space of the neighborhood.⁷ Since the Holy Office relied almost exclusively on the testimony of neighbors and acquaintances in the trials of those accused of witchcraft, how the witnesses perceived the behavior of their neighbors within a defined space reveals a great deal about how inhabitants understood their own communities and neighborhoods and what they expected from their neighbors.⁸ While

⁵ For reading on communities using legal bodies to enforce boundaries see, Daniel Lord Smail, *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity, and the Legal Culture in Marseille, 1264-1423* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003); Jennifer Kermode and Garthine Walker, eds. *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

⁶ Monica Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), xix.

⁷ For an overview of the social aspects of witches and their neighbors throughout greater Europe see, Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbors: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft*, 2nd ed. (1996; repr., Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

⁸ Ronald Weissman, "Reconstructing Renaissance Sociology: The 'Chicago Style' and the Study of Renaissance Society," in *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. Richard Trexler (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985), 41. According to Weissman, in addition to traditional "Functionalist or Marxist modes of social analysis," the tradition of Symbolic Interactionism, offered a more thorough way to examine social relationships. The interactionist mode holds that "The primary unit of analysis is the social relation linking individuals, for it is individual interaction that mediates or underlies what is perceived as a group action or

traditional geographical boundaries certainly designated neighborhoods, other factors also defined the space of neighborhoods in early modern Venice. Building on scholarship centered upon the concept of community, this chapter seeks to understand better the factors that shaped the space of early modern Venetian neighborhoods through careful examination of trials brought before the Venetian Inquisition.

Neighborhoods, like all spaces, have boundaries that define their exterior and interior limits. The most common types of boundaries that inhabitants confronted include physical, ideological, and behavioral boundaries. Those accused of witchcraft in early modern Venice challenged traditional notions of boundaries within their neighborhoods. The challenge to physical boundaries often involved spatial symbols throughout the neighborhood, such as balconies and churches. Inhabitants also challenged ethnic boundaries, which Venetian secular authorities often designated. By contesting these types of physical boundaries, those accused of witchcraft also challenged the ideological beliefs of the community. Resisting the ideology of the majority of the members within a neighborhood meant that those accused of witchcraft created their own communities of belief. Through their networks of learning and the dissemination of commonly held heterodox beliefs and practices, the accused often disobeyed the accepted social norms within the community. Since these witches interfered with the behavioral boundaries within the neighborhood, neighbors often felt that they had no choice but to seek assistance from the Holy Office. The interaction between the greater community and the alternative community was often displayed in front of the tribunal. Witness testimony

group identity.” The role of perception in this mode demonstrated the importance of how people view themselves and those around them. This mode is also important to the understanding of collective identities.

also reveals information concerning the types of communication, especially hearsay, which early modern neighbors used to discuss these boundaries. Examination of the neighborhood as a social space reveals boundaries, both real and imagined, and the challenges to the boundaries that those living on the social margins displayed. By challenging these boundaries, those accused of witchcraft created their own communities and, therefore, determined their place within the neighborhood.

I. Neighborhood as Social Space: Foundational Arguments

Defining community has inspired great debate among scholars for decades.⁹ The concept of community requires flexibility given that the characteristics and elements can vary easily, but the physical boundaries of neighborhoods seldom change.¹⁰ David Harris Sacks believed that the term community was as problem-laden as the term authority because, semantically, it is simply a collection of people who share interests and activities, but in reality, the term encompasses so much more.¹¹ David Garrioch explored

⁹ For the historiography dealing with the different interpretations of the term community see, Margaret Pelling, "Defensive Tactics: Networking by Female Medical Practitioners in Early Modern London," in *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, ed. Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 38. In this work, Pelling wrote that "the notion of community, widely but variously used in post-war sociology, seems to have been deployed by early modern historians primarily in three contexts: first, the contrast between medieval and Post-Reformation society, which incorporates debate over the shift from communalism to individualism; second, the contrast between rural and urban society in the context of urbanization, and later, industrialization, which tends to share grounds with the first; and third, the notion of a county community, a hierarchically structured grouping which nonetheless possess a geographical integrity and a common cause, or interest, in terms of national politics." For community and heresy see, Brian Stock, "Networks of Faith: Interpersonal Bonds and Recruitment to Cults and Sects," *American Journal of Sociology* 85 (1980): 1376-95.

¹⁰ Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 17-27. In 1509, the population of the city of Venice totaled 115,000, in 1548, it had risen to 150,000 and by 1563 the population had inflated to 170,000.

¹¹ David Harris Sacks, "Celebrating Authority in Bristol, 1575-1640," in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, edited by Susan Zimmerman and Ronald Weissman (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1989), 188. Sacks's comparison to the term authority offers an interesting way to think about community: when

the different types of “social bonds” that generally group people together in order to form a community. Garrioch believed that these social categories included “kinship, work, race or origin, religion, culture,” and “socioeconomic status.”¹² In the context of early modern Venice, communities within neighborhoods demonstrated characteristics of each of these bonds.

Distinguishing between a neighborhood and a community requires further explanation. In the context of the trials used for this research, neighborhoods and communities were interconnected and therefore inseparable. Neighborhoods, or *contrate*, followed the boundaries of the parish, which were typically marked by streets, canals, and bridges. As Nicholas Eckstein wrote in his discussion of Florentine neighborhoods, scholars “that have written the most about neighborhood in premodern Italy in the last generation have resisted offering a strict definition of the term for fear of limiting and oversimplifying their analysis.”¹³ Eckstein’s description of northern Italian neighborhoods offers the best explanation for understanding the interconnectedness of the two terms in the Venetian context: “even the most labyrinthine neighborhoods are artifacts of the human rhythms of generations of local communities.”¹⁴ Within a neighborhood, people may not always socialize with one another; however, through communication, interaction, and shared experiences, communities are formed. From the

defining authority, it is important to determine jurisdiction and the types of issues a particular authority must manage.

¹² David Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris, 1740-1790* (1986; repr., Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3.

¹³ Nicholas Eckstein, “Neighborhood as Microcosm,” in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. Roger Crum and John Paoletti (2006; repr., Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 220.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

communication within these communities, we are able to discover the social nature of the Venetian neighborhood.

The neighborhood as a social space is an enduring research topic for scholars. For instance, Richard Trexler wrote of social space in Florence in the early modern period:

We presume that actions performed in social spaces partly create and change individual and collective identities. Social spaces are, in our opinion, central to the formation, expression, and modification of individual and group identities. Individuals take action in public to make a certain image of them recognizable to others, and in that process they come to recognize their own person in that image.¹⁵

For Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, moving beyond the obvious implications of the physical issues of space highlights a historiographical shift from “the purely architectural utilization of space” towards space and what it “can tell us about the *mentalité* of the people of Reformation Europe.”¹⁶ As a reaction to the more popular themes in scholarship of community that tend to be discussed by scholars today, Raymond Williams argued more than a generation ago that the term community was typically used to conjure pleasant and “warmly persuasive” ideas about relationships, and “what is most important, perhaps, is that unlike all other terms of social organization (*state, nation, society, etc.*) it seems never to be used unfavourably, and never to be given any positive opposing or distinguishing term.”¹⁷ The nature of neighborhoods in early modern Venice, as described in testimony in front of the tribunal, did not fit the warm, fuzzy definition of

¹⁵ Richard Trexler, “Introduction,” in *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. Richard Trexler (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985), 4.

¹⁶ Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, “Introduction: the Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe,” in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3.

¹⁷ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 66.

community prevalent among scholars today, but instead was more predicated upon social struggle.

Neighborhoods typically included their “own church, square, quay, and well, defining an area within which much of the daily life of residents took place.”¹⁸ These numerous neighborhoods, or parishes, made up the greatest proportion of the city space of Venice. In the Venetian context, these parishes were called *contrate*. Natural geography and the name of the local parish church defined these *contrate*. In trials before the Inquisition, *contrata* was more closely linked with the term neighborhood and was an administrative means for identifying a person and their location within the city. The Inquisition commonly used a formula for giving the address of the witness to identify people and to ensure that the records indicated the correct person, but inhabitants also voluntarily identified themselves via the parish in which they resided.¹⁹ Witnesses before the tribunal were identified and recorded in the trial by their name, their *contrata*, and then their spouse or their father.²⁰ Socially, the neighborhood centered upon the interaction of the communities within this space.

Venetian neighborhoods, due in part to their relative isolation from other neighborhoods and, in fact, from the greater space of the city itself, developed

¹⁸ Paul Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000-1994* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 34.

¹⁹ Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 13. Trexler wrote that Florentines “almost always referred to the gonfalon and not the parish,” when identifying themselves because “Their motivations were transparently fiscal and political rather than chthonic in nature: Godparents and marriage stood members of a gonfalon in good stead when the latter met to distribute taxes.”

²⁰ An example of this formula for identification can be seen in the trial of Lorenza Furlana. When the witness was being announced, it was recorded in the trial dossier as “Paula patavina filia quondam Gasparis Laurentii Salvegi et uxor Gasparis zavatarii, habitatrix Venetiarum in contrata Sancti Moysis in calli congominata del Taiapiere in domibus de ca’ Grimanea, et eidem delato iuramento etc.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Lorenza Furlana,” 137.

distinguishable characteristics that allowed each one to establish a unique appeal. Trades characterized typical Venetian neighborhoods, as well as the individuals who inhabited that space; and trades and shops also served as important identifiers of physical space within the neighborhood. Regardless of street names, residents had numerous ties of family and labor that bound them to their neighborhoods. In the trial of Elisabetta (1587), a witness identified the accused to the tribunal as “the wife of a man named Libero,” who was a “caulker in the Arsenal.”²¹ Elisabetta lived in the *contrata* of San Pietro de Castello. This port area was well known as a popular neighborhood for people who worked in the Arsenal. Many seamen lived in Quinta Valle, which was also located on the island of San Pietro de Castello, as recorded in the denunciation letter of Giustina (1584).²² In the trial of Lorenza Furlana (1584), the witness Cecilia described the witness Paula as the widow of “Gasparo the cobbler.”²³ Paula and her husband lived in the *contrata* of San Moisè. In the case of Giovanna the Astrologer (1554), she lived in the *contrata* of San Stefano on the *calle del Pistrin*, which was so called because the primary shop on the street sold dairy.²⁴ Local shops were also used to identify where a person lived, even if the person’s name was unknown. For instance, Giulia (1584), in her own testimony to the tribunal, described a visit from an altar boy to her home one day.

Although she did not know his name, she knew that he stayed in San Moisè at the shop

²¹ “...una dona Beta moglie d’un huomo che se chiama Libero, qual va in Arsenal, calafato in Arsenal...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Elisabetta,” 226.

²² “...essendo che in esso loco ve habita tutta marinerezza...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giustina,” 142.

²³ “...de una vesina che sta là in contrà de San Moysé, la qual ha nome Paula mogier de Gasparo zavater come la dise essa...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Lorenza Furlana,” 135.

²⁴ “...et denuntiò donna Zuanna cognominata la Medica, sta a San Stefano in calle del Pistrin...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giovanna the Astrologer,” 21.

called The Borsa.²⁵ At the beginning of the trial of Ruggero (1582), his address was given as San Moisè, on the street paved with stones, past the shop that sells the images of the Madonna.²⁶

The proximity of the Inquisition to certain neighborhoods also acted as an important defining feature of those neighborhoods' identities. Inside Venice, the tribunal met in a church close to St. Mark's in the winter, and in the summer the meetings were usually held in the *canonica*.²⁷ The *sestiere* of Castello also hosted much inquisitorial activity, particularly in San Domenico, where there were even prison cells.²⁸ In the trial of Giovanna Cargnola (1587), her denouncer, Giacoma, was sworn in and gave her statement at the church of San Domenico in an attempt "to relieve [her] conscience."²⁹ If a trial were deemed to be serious or high profile then it would proceed in the Doge's Palace in San Marco.³⁰ Neighborhoods throughout the *Serenissima*, therefore, lived in close proximity to the Inquisition and its officers and agents.

The presence of the Inquisition within a neighborhood meant that inhabitants felt keenly its physical and ideological presences. Locals were aware when a person within

²⁵ "...di cui non so il nome ma sta per stanza a San Moisè dalla speciaria della Borsa..." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Giulia," 118.

²⁶ "...sta a San Moisè in salizà passà quelle dale Madonne..." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Ruggero," 54.

²⁷ Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478-1843* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 92.

²⁸ Ingrid Rowland, *Giordano Bruno: Philosopher/Heretic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 233. Rowland explained that the "The Inquisition's headquarters as San Domenico di Castello served the workers at the Arsenal," but also, the most "authoritative Dominican community in Venice" came from San Zanipolo. For more on the Dominican order as inquisitors see, Michael Tavuzzi, *Renaissance Inquisitors: Dominican Inquisitors and Inquisitorial Districts in Northern Italy, 1474-1527* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

²⁹ "...quello che ho detto, l'ho detto per scaricar la mia conscientia. Et hoc iuramento confirmavit in ecclesia Sancti Dominici de Castello." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Giovanna Cargnola," 237.

³⁰ Christopher Black, *The Italian Inquisition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 32.

their neighborhood had been denounced to the Holy Office, and, as a result, authorities would ask questions and seek answers from others about the person. The beginning of the questioning phase in a trial marked the establishment of a dialogue between the Inquisition and the residents of the neighborhood. Thus, the neighborhood in general endured a certain amount of scrutiny. Since inhabitants had few ways of knowing what their neighbors might say or reveal to the tribunal, the relationship to the Inquisition likely affected how inhabitants perceived community identity.

The internal or social boundaries of the neighborhood did sometimes shift, thereby indicating changes to the identity of the community. As a result, membership in these communities could also shift. As Garroich stated, membership in a community meant that the person had “familiarity with the others who belong and acceptance of certain norms and behavioral expectations to which all the members generally conform.”³¹ Closer examination of the space of the neighborhood offers a way to consider the role this social space plays in the formation of communities. Understanding how Venetians defined their communities and their members in terms of space will give a better understanding of the conflict that often erupted at the boundaries between these communities.

II. The Limits of Social Space: Physical Boundaries

Community can denote a physical location, but it clearly means more than just a geographical boundary. Margaret Pelling contended that, beyond the geographical and physical boundaries of communities, we must consider the idea that communities may be

³¹ Garroich, *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris, 1740-1790*, 5.

bound mentally.³² In the early modern period, the concept of community was often idealized by philosophers and theologians, and quite often, their rhetoric did not resemble what these communities were really like.³³ Social factors, which were sometimes circumstantial and other times ideological, often defined these “real communities.”³⁴ In addition to ideological constructions, communities may also be shaped around family ties, occupational convenience, and socio-economic status. Phil Withington and Alexandra Shepard claimed that communities were much more complex than the aforementioned functions, but instead it is important to consider the nature of the community “across space as well as the imperatives of proximity and residence within place.”³⁵ This means that in order to properly define a community, all factors, both physical and mental, must often be combined and from this synthesis a collective identity emerges. In early modern Italy, and especially in Venice, sustaining communal identities was difficult and members, or groups, often relied on community symbols or ritual to reaffirm identity. As physical symbols, it is important to remember that while physical

³² Pelling, “Defensive Tactics,” 39.

³³ Karen Spierling and Michael Halvorsen, “Introduction: Definition of Community in Early Modern Europe,” in *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Karen Spierling and Michael Halvorsen (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 21. Katherine Lynch, *Individuals, Families and Communities in Europe, 1200-1800: The Urban Foundations of Western Society* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 144-145. Lynch believed that “although views of the household” are important for historians to study when trying to construct the concept of the urban community, “the activities of city governments and certain religious bodies in this latter period revealed a rising ambition on the part of civic and religious leaders to shape the domestic lives of city dwellers.” Venice was the essential city that exemplified Katherine Lynch’s statement due to the fact that there were a plethora of examples where the government interfered with the lives of the citizens in order to characterize their civic nature. For the most popular and well used account of this civic control by the government to shape the personal identity of the people see, Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981).

³⁴ Spierling and Halvorsen, “Introduction: Definition of Community in Early Modern Europe,” 21.

³⁵ Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington, eds., *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000), 7. The Introduction to this collection of essays provides a thorough examination of the evolution of the concepts and definitions of “community” in historiography.

boundaries are not the only characteristic of a community, they are an important aspect in defining a community.

As an essential element in the definition of neighborhood, physical boundary markers play an important role in the social activity of communities. Interaction in the social spaces of the neighborhood took place in the streets, the squares, and, sometimes, even balconies. Those accused of witchcraft often used these spaces, considered as social spaces, for heretical forms of communication. Serving as the boundary between the domestic space of the home and the social space of the street, balconies offered easy access to the outside, and a semi-private place for practicing magic. Venice, Deborah Howard claimed, had more balconies than other early modern cities due to the poor quality of lighting inside the buildings and the lack of outside space in general.³⁶ Balconies as a social space have recently come to the attention of scholars. Alexander Cowan, in his work on the issue of balconies and gossip in early modern Venice, explored the use of the balcony and its social function. Cowan stated that people of early modern Venice could observe their neighbors from their balconies and people were aware that they were also being observed on their balconies.³⁷ In addition to facilitating neighborhood gossip, balconies in early modern Venice also served as spaces for practicing magic and conjuring demons.

Inquisitorial trials also reveal that the balcony was a place for practitioners to partake in their ritual of witchcraft. During her witness testimony in the trial of Giustina (1584), Modesta described a conjuration Giustina made in which she would go out onto

³⁶ Deborah Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 68.

³⁷ Alexander Cowan, "Seeing is Believing: Urban Gossip and the Balcony in Early Modern Venice," *Gender and History* 23, no. 3 (November 2011): 721.

the balcony and call upon the “*el Diavolo dal Naso Storto*.” In this spell, according to Modesta, calling the Devil was meant for the purpose of breaking the ship that was in the port at that time.³⁸ Using the balcony for magical practices was sure to attract the interest of neighbors. Early modern social convention held that “when a woman did venture out on to her balcony, the assumption was that her behavior might be interpreted negatively.”³⁹ As Cowan stated, particularly about the balconies of the upper classes, the “absence” of a woman from the balcony was considered agreeable since she was not exposing herself to the public.⁴⁰ It appears that in early modern Venetian neighborhoods, especially for women of the laboring *popolani*, being seen on a balcony was a frequent occurrence, but one which was also still a point of suspicion for neighbors. Although Giustina took a risk by performing such acts out in the open, she certainly felt secure enough to communicate with the supernatural in such a way. Given that Giustina lived in a neighborhood of foreigners and laboring *popolani*, her appearance on the balcony was not the concern; her actions on the balcony were what drew the attention and the concern of neighbors. The witness in the trial did notice Giustina’s behavior, and she reported what she had seen to the tribunal, indicating that the behavior was deemed unacceptable within the community. In sort, as a defined boundary, the balcony was an extension of domestic space, but it was also put to use as a social space in the neighborhoods of early modern Venice, making it a space that could hold multiple meanings and be dangerous for supposed witches and for the community as a whole.

³⁸ “...che andesse al balcon et che// chiamasse el Diavolo dal Naso Storto, che rompe la nave che è sul porto.” *Strega e diavoli*, “Giustina,” 152.

³⁹ Cowan, “Seeing is Believing: Urban Gossip and the Balcony in Early Modern Venice,” 727.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Another essential spatial identifier for early modern Venetians was the parish church. Considering community and the collective in terms of space and place in Renaissance Italy, early modern Venetian parishes were a source of identity for inhabitants as well as for the collective because this was one of the primary means of identification in a city as dense as Venice. The importance of the local church to the community must be emphasized because the parish church was perhaps the “single most important element, in the creation of a collective identity.”⁴¹ Indeed, Garrioch believed that the festivals and feast days the parish church practiced often served as ways to maintain community bonds.⁴² Such annual events and rituals provided inhabitants with a sense of community solidarity, at least among parishioners.

Due to prominence in the local organization of space, the parish church was a physical boundary marker of the neighborhood, but it was also a place for social interaction within the community.⁴³ Venetian neighborhoods were centered upon parish churches which meant that the foundation of the neighborhood served as both a sacred and social space.⁴⁴ Through “the administration of the sacraments to the local residents and the commemoration of the souls of the deceased,”⁴⁵ churches bound together the inhabitants of the neighborhood. In addition to the social and religious functions it served

⁴¹ Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris*, 149.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 160.

⁴³ A description, and a translation, of Venetian parishes may be found in an excerpt from the “*Ad Limina* report of the Patriarch Matteo Zane from 20 December 1604,” in *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, ed. David Chambers and Brian Pullan (1992; repr., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 193.

⁴⁴ Coster and Spicer, “Introduction: The Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe,” 12. Sacred space was something that could be both demonstrated privately and publicly. Venice contained visual representations of both uses of sacred space, for instance, private sacred space may be demonstrated through the “family chapel and the mausoleum,” and public sacred space may be visualized in “the graveyard or public shrine.”

⁴⁵ Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice*, 17.

in between, the church also witnessed the beginning and ending stages of life of many inhabitants, making it a central feature of their lives.

The parish church also set aural and temporal boundaries within the early modern Venetian neighborhood by the ringing of bells, which also served as another form of physical organization for inhabitants. Bells not only mark out the limits of the community by the reach of their sounds, but also indicated where people should be and what they should be doing at any given moment of the day, and were a reminder of the religiously ordered year as well. This meant that the regular passing of the day for the typical Venetian revolved around the “needs of the priest.”⁴⁶ The keeping of time within the neighborhood also hinged upon the daily ringing of bells and the recitation of certain ritual prayers, such as the Ave Maria. Festivals, saints, and feast days accompanied by parades or some other type of ritual were another means of keeping time over the longer scale of the year, as well as physically marking out the extent of the parish through the path of the processions. Isabella, a witness in the trial of Elisabetta (1587), testified that Betta had taught her a spell, but that she could only teach her the oration on Christmas Eve.⁴⁷ In another trial, the accused Santa da Buda (1586), when explaining to the tribunal her route when she ran into Maria the Greek, said that she went into the square where the procession for the festival of the Madonna was taking place.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 49. Brown wrote that the mechanical clock was invented sometime in the latter half of the thirteenth century and that by the fourteenth century Venetians were displaying mechanical clocks in public as “civic necessities.”

⁴⁷ “...et dice che questa oratione la non si può insegnare se non la notte di Natale...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Elisabetta,” 220.

⁴⁸ “Et mi giera sentà là in piazza quando passava la procession...” (208). Later in the trial Santa tells the story again and gives said it was “la procession dela Madona...in piazza de San Marco...” (212). *Streghe e diavoli*, “Santa da Buda.”

Another way early modern Venetians kept their place within the space of the neighborhood through time was keeping mass at local parish churches throughout the neighborhood. Often it seems that this was not a confining movement, but rather a personal choice of reverence to a particular saint. For example, the transcript revealed that, at the time of her trial, Santa had been staying in the neighborhood of San Pietro de Castello,⁴⁹ but in her own testimony in front of the tribunal, Santa told the inquisitor that she was observing mass in the parish church of San Biagio when she was approached by the Lady Antonia, a witness in the trial of Santa.⁵⁰ The majority of these factors would indicate that the neighborhood inhabitant was constantly reminded of the sacred nature of each parish and this was a major contributing factor to their collective identity.

The social aspects of community tend to center on collectivity, commonality, and solidarity. The consensus among scholars is that communities comprise the collective identity of a group of people.⁵¹ Although much scholarship has emphasized solidarity, this notion has been challenged. Peter Burke warned, "It cannot be assumed that every group is permeated by solidarity; communities have to be constructed and reconstructed. It cannot be assumed that a community is homogeneous in attitudes or free from conflicts."⁵² During restructuring periods, the collective identity of a group or a

⁴⁹ During the witness testimony of Lady Antonia, she was asked "se lei conosce una Santa schiavona che sta in contrata de San Piero de Castello etc." Ibid., 206.

⁵⁰ "Io era a San Biasio alla messa, nel' uscir fuora dela giesia me fu deta questa cosa." Ibid., 208.

⁵¹ Karen Cerulo, "Identity Construction: New Issues, New Directions," *Annual Review of Sociology* 23 (1997): 386. Cerulo gave a concise definition of collective identity: "Collective identity is a concept grounded in classic sociological constructs," attributing the beginnings of the concept to Durkheim, Marx, Weber, Verstehen and Tonnies, she wrote that, "the notion addresses the 'we-ness' of a group, stressing the similarities or shared attributes around which group members coalesce." See also Marilyn Brewer, "The Many Faces of Social Identity: Implications for Political Psychology," *Political Psychology* 22, no. 1 (2001): 119.

⁵² Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (1992; repr., Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 58.

community can cause ideological boundaries to shift. According to Withington and Shepard, this “expression of collective identity” develops, evolves, and even shifts over time, often causing the communal boundaries to shift.⁵³ Unanimity does not have to exist within collective identities, and dissent among members is often the primary cause for rifts within the collective. The importance of dissent within communities is evident in the Inquisition records.⁵⁴ Furthermore, developing a community identity meant the exclusion of defined ‘others’; in Venice individuals were defined as ‘other’ due to their ethnic and religious differences.

Theories of social identity and self-categorization offer important frameworks for understanding the formation of identity in the context of early modern Venetian communities.⁵⁵ As a type of social space, neighborhoods and their communities offered members a sort of social identity as a part of a particular neighborhood, and also allowed membership into the greater community of the *Serenissima*.⁵⁶ The concept of perception in the formation of this type of identity also played an essential role in a person’s notions about their neighbors, including any perceived threat to one’s identity that people felt

⁵³ Shepard and Withington, eds., *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, 12.

⁵⁴ For more on dissent or deviant behavior as it pertains to collective identity see, Peter Marsh, “An Ethogenic Perspective,” in *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. Richard Trexler (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985), 20.

⁵⁵ For information on Social Identity Theory and Self-Actualization Theory see, Leonie Huddy, “From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory,” *Political Psychology* 22, no. 1 (2001): 127-156; Stephen Reicher, “The Context of Social Identity: Domination, Resistance, and Change,” *Political Psychology* 25, no. 6 (2004): 921-945; Brewer, “The Many Faces of Social Identity: Implications for Political Psychology,” 115. Marilynn Brewer defined social identity, in its most simple explanation, as providing “a link between the psychology of the individual—the representation of self—and the structure and process of social groups within which the self is embedded.”

⁵⁶ Marsh, “An Ethogenic Perspective,” 20. Marsh made a very important distinction between personal identity and social identity that should be noted. Personal identity “is the basis of individuality and human uniqueness” and social identity indicates “the kind of person he appears to be as a result of the kind of role he occupies.”

from their neighbors. Writing about social identity formation and threat perception, David Rousseau and Rocio Garcia-Retamero claimed that the perception of threat to identity “developed to explain prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behavior towards members of the out-group...prejudice is often (but not always) associated with a fear that the out-group has the capability or intention to inflict a negative consequence on the in-group.”⁵⁷ Witness testimony in the trials of witchcraft investigated in this study offers information on individual social identity and perception. The function of perception contributed to how the individual defined their place and the place of their neighbors within the social space of the neighborhood.

The presence of a witch in the neighborhood resulted in a community drawing together in opposition to her. Because of this tightening of community solidarity, those accused of witchcraft became the ‘other’ within the community. Exclusion from the greater community meant that witches were left without the protection of a conventionally acceptable social identity, and therefore were forced to reaffirm their identity within different communities. In a place such as early modern Venice, membership in a community, even in a marginalized community, offered people on the periphery a source of identity. Acting out their identity as witches within the social space of the neighborhood meant that those accused of witchcraft challenged the traditional understandings and uses of those social spaces. Therefore, in reference to Williams’s earlier complaint against the positive use of the term community, those accused of witchcraft tended to induce negative feelings regarding the interactions within social space. In early modern Venice, the importance of protecting the integrity of the

⁵⁷ David Rousseau and Rocio Garcia-Retamero, “Identity, Power, and Threat Perception: A Cross-National Experimental Study,” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51, no. 5 (2007): 747.

community induced members to defend or protect normative beliefs and ideals within their communities quickly and with considerable vehemence.

In early modern Venice, the concept of the ‘other’ applied to both those accused of witchcraft and other minority groups, such as foreigners; thus, the concepts of “inclusion and exclusion” must be considered.⁵⁸ Joseph Wheeler wrote that in Renaissance Venice “there was clearly a core and periphery of ‘belonging’ in every parish.”⁵⁹ Minority communities generally throughout Europe, as Karen Sperling and Michael Halvorson wrote, “defined themselves in their own terms *and* against the terms of the wider community, at the same time they were clearly excluded from the larger community in fundamental ways.”⁶⁰ When a group, or an individual for that matter, no longer was able to identify with the greater community as a way of normalizing their place, they would redefine themselves and, in the process, often exclude themselves from the larger community. Such was the case for those accused of witchcraft in early modern Venice. Considering the issue of culture and identity in early modern Europe, Burke argued that, when the community was “defined by opposition,” the greater community often rejected “the customs of the ‘other.’”⁶¹ The opposition to the greater community caused the creation of crucial boundaries.⁶²

⁵⁸ Sperling and Halvorson, “Introduction: Definitions of Community in Early Modern Europe,” 11.

⁵⁹ Joseph Wheeler, “Neighbourhoods and Local Loyalties in Renaissance Venice,” in *Mediterranean Urban Culture, 1400-1700*, ed. Alexander Cowan (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 31.

⁶⁰ Sperling and Halvorson, “Introduction: Definitions of Community in Early Modern Europe,” 11.

⁶¹ Peter Burke, *The Art of Conversation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 67.

⁶² *Ibid.*

In early modern Venice, as well as greater Europe, members of the established mainstream collective often treated foreigners as the ‘other.’ Joel Harrington, writing about Nuremburg, claimed, “Whether a rural village or a city-state of several thousand inhabitants, it was the local—defined by dialect, customs, dress, and so on—that primarily defined both insiders and outsiders, to the extent that people from only ten miles away might be considered ‘foreigners’ and others of different economic or social status were called ‘compatriots.’”⁶³ According to Edward Muir, “in Italian towns” minorities in the Renaissance, “such as Jews and foreigners, fought or negotiated for their own spatial autonomy and distinctive place in the community.”⁶⁴ In the case of Venice, secular authorities sometimes created communities of foreigners, as will be demonstrated in the creation of the ghetto, but at other times, these communities originated from individuals’ need for familiarity and belonging. In early modern Venice, foreigners often grouped together due to their skills as laborers. Whatever their origins or motivation for their segregation, foreigners and “exotic visitors” played a considerable role in the “city’s social landscape,” as Robert Davis noted.⁶⁵

As outsiders, many foreigners resided in the port areas because of affordable housing and the concentration of industry.⁶⁶ Wheeler referred to the concentration of the poor, and often foreigners, to these areas on the outside of the city center as being subject

⁶³ Joel F. Harrington, “Child Circulation within the Early Modern Urban Community: Rejection and Support of Unwanted Children in Nuremburg,” in *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Karen Spierling and Michael Halvorsen (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 103.

⁶⁴ Edward Muir, “The Idea of Community in Renaissance Italy,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002): 13.

⁶⁵ Robert Davis, *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), Kindle edition.

⁶⁶ Wheeler, “Neighbourhoods and Local Loyalties in Renaissance Venice,” 33-34. Wheeler wrote that there were areas in Venice where the poor were became the majority and the parishes surrounding the Arsenal were among those mentioned, for example San Pietro di Castello.

to “social zoning.”⁶⁷ Often, and particularly in the trials examined for this study, those accused of witchcraft were members of foreign communities. Claiming that the area surrounding the Arsenal was “favored by cunning women, fortune tellers, and folk magicians,” Davis contended that Venetians sought women who were Greek or Slavic to work magic because of the belief that their magic was more powerful, “perhaps due to their cultural links to the Eastern, mystical tradition.”⁶⁸ Thus, inhabitants often perceived the magic of foreign witches in early modern Venice as more desirable than the magic of native Venetian witches. This also meant that people who did not condone magical practices possibly would have felt that foreign practitioners of witchcraft were potentially more threatening than other witches. As Robin Briggs described in his discussion of popular beliefs, witches were thought to possess abilities that allowed external, and often diabolical forces, into the relatively “protected space” of the neighborhood. Because of this, witches were often considered to be “outsiders” within the community, regardless of the amount of time they had lived among their neighbors.⁶⁹ Those accused were often “excluded from normal social relationships” within the community.⁷⁰ This suggests that witches or those thought to be witches would have been on the margins of communal acceptance from the first suspicion; and as witches and foreigners, these women would have been doubly outsiders. Yet, according to Henri Lefebvre, “magic and sorcery, they too have their own spaces, opposed to (but presupposing) religio-political space; also set

⁶⁷ Ibid., 34.

⁶⁸ Davis, *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal*.

⁶⁹ Robin Briggs, *Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social Tensions in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 27.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

apart and reserved, such spaces are cursed rather than blessed and beneficent.”⁷¹ In the trials examined in this chapter, the space used by those accused of witchcraft could also be deemed contaminated, heretical space. In turn, space ecclesiastical authorities would mark such space as forbidden; and neighbors would frown upon it.

Venetian urban space underwent significant demographic change in the sixteenth century. At the beginning of the century, the majority of these changes were political, and were attributed to war, and to dislocation, as demonstrated in chapter one. Because of these changes, Venice saw an increase of foreigners in the city. This meant that new boundaries were created along ethnic lines. Since Venice rested between Europe and the East, it was constantly the port-of-call for Jews, Greeks, and Turks, among other diverse groups.⁷² At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Venice already had a dense population; in 1509, the population of the city of Venice totaled 115,000; in 1548, it had risen to 150,000, and, by 1563, the population had inflated to 170,000.⁷³ Frequent exposure to cultural diversity contributed to the Venetian perception of communal and personal identity. Witness testimony in Inquisition records indicates that people in early modern Venice noticed foreigners within their neighborhoods, indicating that foreigners were not truly integrated into early modern Venetian communities. One example of the

⁷¹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1974; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 35.

⁷² Monique O’Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice’s Maritime State* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 21. O’Connell stated that the opportunity for Venice to expand its empire as a trade magnate came about when Catalans shifted their focus to the west, and the Hungarians were distracted by internal political faction. Within Italy, between Milan and Florence kept them from unifying Mediterranean comers and the papacy had lost much of its force due to the Great Schism. As O’Connell wrote: “In contrast to many other states in the region, the Ottoman empire and the Venetian republic were both well positioned to expand. Both states were internally unified and relatively stable, and both had deeply rooted commercial interests in the region.”

⁷³ Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*, 17 and 27.

marked presence of foreigners within the community is evident in the trial of Giovanna the Astrologer (1554). Pasqualinus, a witness in the trial, testified that a man who frequented the home of the accused wore the clothes of a foreigner.⁷⁴ Another witness, Marco, also testified that he knew of the foreigner, Giulio Sala, who frequently visited the home of Giovanna, but Marco did not mention the foreign dress.⁷⁵ It is evident that early modern Venetians recognized foreigners moving throughout their neighborhood, either by their dress or by their physical features.⁷⁶ This is an indication that there were certain characteristics that people associated with those who belonged within their neighborhoods, which also indicated that exclusions also existed.⁷⁷

The Venetian government also expressed concern about foreigners. Although it was a great paradox that the city needed and often relied on foreigners for economic reasons, foreigners throughout the city were viewed with suspicion by the government. In

⁷⁴ “Interrogatus: Chi pratica in casa de questa dona? Respondit: Un signor Julio bressan, el qual continuamente pratica in casa de questa dona, et anche un vicecapitano di Cai, un Bortolomeo, un certo grasso, che veste alla forestiera, con una barba tonda negra et parte canuda.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giovanna the Astrologer,” 27.

⁷⁵ “Interrogatus: Ghe praticano altre persone in quella casa, come sariano meretrice et simil? Respondit: Ghe praticano d’ogni sorte, e fra i altri un signor Julio Sala forestier...” *Ibid.*, 30.

⁷⁶ Alexander Cowan, “Foreigners and the City: The Case of the Immigrant Merchant,” in *Mediterranean Urban Culture, 1400-1700*, ed. Alexander Cowan (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 45. Cowan, in his discussion on foreigners in port cities such as Venice, wrote that foreigners were generally those that were geographically from different areas and usually, the term was based more “on cultural rather than political criteria.” For further reading on Venetian dress in the early modern period see, Patricia Allerston, “Clothing and early modern Venetian Society,” *Continuity and Change* 15, Issue 3 (2003): 367-390.

⁷⁷ Cowan, “Foreigners and the City: The Case of the Immigrant Merchant,” 57. The presence of foreigners within the city was an economic necessity for the Venetian economy, as was the case for many port cities in the early modern period. Felix Gilbert, *The Pope, his Banker, and Venice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), 18. Gilbert believed that the outbreak of the War of the League of Cambrai in 1509 accounted for an increase in anxiety and tension within the city of Venice. As refugees began to enter the city, Venetian authorities were concerned about the increase in the number of people and the threat they posed. For example, as Gilbert stated: “Thievery, never unknown to Venice, increased with this influx of aliens and outsiders into the crowded space of the island itself. The life of the refugees was grim, and their presence in Venice was felt by the entire city: even without the sudden increase in population, the war had caused goods to be scarce and prices dear.”

1363, Venetian governmental distrust of Germany resulted in the passage of a law stating “no Venetian citizen or subject may go to Germany, or to any part of Germany.”⁷⁸ Later in the fifteenth century, the Venetian Senate decreed that the *Ebrei Tedeschi* were not allowed to “take lodgings in any place outside the exchange house, upon a penalty of 50 ducats, and the same penalty shall fall upon anyone who has lodged or has received into lodgings such a person.”⁷⁹ By the sixteenth century, the economic necessity of the *Tedeschi* within the city was apparent. There was, however, the suspicion that the (potentially Protestant) Germans were committing heretical acts in public. In a letter from the papal nuncio in Venice in 1580, Alberto Bolognetti criticized the Venetian government for being so lenient with the Germans and the things they were doing in public, such as preaching in German at the church of San Bartolomeo. Nuncio Bolognetti was so outraged at the German behavior and the Venetian government’s tolerance that he offered a warning: “the Venetian government ought to realize that to allow so much freedom to Germans in the middle of the city is to nurture a viper in their own bosom.”⁸⁰ Despite this warning, German merchants were allowed to remain in Venice, though still required to live in the *fondaco*, which was a term that “Venetians used to describe foreign merchants’ trading posts in Venice.”⁸¹ Other communities of foreigners confined to particular areas within the city included Jews.

⁷⁸ “German Merchants and the Exchange House, 1475: From regulations approved by a Senate committee on customs duties,” in *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, ed. David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 328.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ “Report of Albert Bolognetti, papal nuncio in Venice 1578-81,” in *Venice: A Documentary History*, 331.

⁸¹ Deborah Howard, “Venice and Islam in the Middle Ages: Some Observations on the Question of Architectural Influence,” *Architectural History* 34 (1991): 68. Howard claimed that the “resemblance between the early Venetian palace and the Arabic trading post, or *funduk*, has become commonplace in the

The Jewish community within the city of Venice in the sixteenth century was an example of a neighborhood the authorities constructed out of an intense social suspicion and fear of the intermingling of religious beliefs.⁸² Cowan wrote that throughout port cities in the early modern period, Venice included, “the only immigrants who could be treated as foreigners without any ambiguity were members of the Jewish community, whose religion and cultural behavior gave them a specific identity in the eyes of the state,

literature on Venetian architecture.” She described the similarities of the Middle Eastern *funduk* and the Venetian *fondaco* as a “two-storey, screen-like façade, perforated with arcades, often with corner towers containing storage and (except in Venice) stabling below, and lodging above.”

⁸² Nicolas Davidson, “The Inquisition and the Italian Jews,” in *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe*, ed. and trans. Stephen Haliczer (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 25. It was generally believed that close and continual contact with Jews would eventually cause Christians to slowly become indoctrinated with their “notion of an alternative system of beliefs, and so begin to nurture doubts about Catholic doctrine.” Robert Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Anthony Oldcorn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 22. Bonfil wrote that the solution to the problem of the Jew, which seemed to answer most questions regarding their non-Christian doctrine, was to convert them to Christianity. The clergy, particularly the Franciscans, were often contemptuous towards the Jews and their practice of Judaism, as well as their practice of money-lending and usury. These Franciscans would preach and indoctrinate their Christian flock from the pulpit, continually perpetuating the anti-Jewish sentiment. Bonfil suggested that even though all Jews did not partake in the practice of usury, “this did not prevent the stereotypes spread by the hostile propaganda of the itinerant friars.” The perfect solution to the problem of the socializing and contact between Jews and the Christians was the institution of the Ghetto. Kenneth Stow, *The Jews in Rome: Volume One, 1536-1551* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), liii. Stowe believed that the “Ghetto’s function was to serve as a holding area in which the Jews were to live until they were converted.” Stow claimed that the implication of the Ghetto was equally as social as it was religious. Jews were not allowed to expel other Jews from the Ghetto, so in order to flee from “a perpetual state of limbo,” Jews had to completely change their identity and convert to Christianity. This social implication came when the Jews were forced to reside inside the Ghetto, no longer being allowed to “live with one foot figuratively in the Christian world and the other in the Jewish.” Jews could continue to practice Judaism but were required to remain within the Ghetto, or they could convert and enter into the Christian society and have the ability to move about freely in society. Due to this forced choice that the Jews had to make regarding their life within the Ghetto and the choice of conversion was a choice that all Jews faced, meaning, according to Stow, that “on a social level, the Ghetto potentially dislocated the Jew as an individual even more than it did the Jews as a community and as a whole.” Davidson, “The Inquisition and the Italian Jews,” 26. Davidson pointed out how truly devastating conversion could be to an individual in the Jewish community: “A convert lost all contact with his Jewish relatives, and with the community and lifestyle in which he had previously lived; Jews viewed converts with hostility, and avoided their company. Conversion therefore required a traumatic change of identity.” Jonathan I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 273.

Church and the local community alike.”⁸³ On 29 March 1516, the Venetian Senate decreed:

to prevent such grave disorders and unseemly occurrences, the following measures shall be adopted, i.e., that all the Jews who are at present living in different parishes within our city, and all others who may come here, until the law is changed as the times may demand and as shall be deemed expedient, shall be obliged to go at once to dwell together in the houses in the court within Geto at San Hieronimo, where there is plenty of room for them to live.⁸⁴

The Jewish Ghetto was a unique case of forced construction within Venice. Also, Jewish communities in many cases had already been formed before being segregated within the Ghetto. However, this segregation often demonstrated a strengthening of their community. Furthermore, in the case of Christians denouncing people who were judaizers or who were thought to be practicing the Jewish faith, the tension seems to have arisen more frequently as the sixteenth century progressed.⁸⁵

Scholars argue that the institution of the Ghetto in Venice was a step forward for early modern Jews. For one, after the institution of the Ghetto, Jews were finally recognized within the internal space of the city. Second, the Ghetto provided Jews with a place where they were safe from the harsh anti-Jewish sentiments outside of their confinement. Benjamin Arbel wrote that the institution of the Venetian Ghetto in 1516 “was a significant turning-point” in the traditional attitude of Venetian leaders who had

⁸³ Cowan, “Foreigners and the City: The Case of the Immigrant Merchant,” 46. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750*, 273. Writing about Jewish discrimination throughout early modern Europe in general, Jonathan Israel believed that this piling together of the Jews in such a close confinement created “a distinctive new Jewish civilization.”

⁸⁴ “The Geto at San Hieronimo’, 1516,” in *Venice: A Documentary History*, 338. “To prevent the Jews from going about all night, provoking the greatest discontent and the deepest displeasure on the part of Jesus Christ” (ibid., 339). Then the Senate decreed that the Ghetto would be walled and that it would be closed in the evening and reopened in the morning.

⁸⁵ Randolph Head, “Religious Boundaries and the Inquisition in Venice: trials of Jews and Judaizers, 1548-1580,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 20, no. 2 (1990): 175-204.

previously refused to recognize the Jewish presence in the city.⁸⁶ The Ghetto, according to Arbel, marked recognition of the Jewish presence in the city because it came at a time of “growing religious fanaticism characterized by anti-Jewish persecutions.”⁸⁷ In a parallel case to Venice, Kenneth Stow claimed that in Rome, “the Ghetto provided Rome’s Jews with a sense of spiritual well-being. The Jews were closed within walls, but these walls, just because they defined a sacred Jewish area and space, allowed a safe opening to the outside.”⁸⁸ This forced enclosure of the Jewish community in Rome, according to Stow, caused a strengthening of Jewish spirituality, shielding it from the outside menace that constantly threatened them.⁸⁹ Benjamin Ravid agreed that the establishment of the Ghetto, from a historical viewpoint, was a critical turning point for Jews residing in the city of Venice in the early modern period.⁹⁰ The Ghetto permitted Jews to live permanently in Venice. In spite of the development of the Livorno at the end of the sixteenth century and the tolerance of Jews in other European countries such as Holland and England in the 1600s, Venice maintained a large Jewish population in the early modern period.⁹¹ Ravid claimed that the Jews themselves, perpetuating the “myth

⁸⁶ Benjamin Arbel, *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 2. David B. Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 62. Ruderman described the segregated neighborhoods of Jewish people within Italian cities as being a safeguard for the papacy and its desire to keep Christians from being contaminated, while at the same time, providing Jewish communities the opportunity to have a “clearly defined place, geographically and politically, within Christian society.”

⁸⁷ Arbel, *Trading Nations*, 3.

⁸⁸ Stowe, *The Jews in Rome: Volume One, 1536-1551*, lvii.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, lv.

⁹⁰ Benjamin Ravid, “Between the Myth of Venice and the Lachrymose Conception of Jewish History: The Case of the Jews of Venice,” in *The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity*, ed. Bernard D. Cooperman and Barbara Garvin (Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 2000), 153.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 154.

of Venice” and the idea that they were treated fairly by early modern Italians, were somewhat complacent with their confinement within the city.⁹² Early modern Jewish intellectuals, like the Dutch Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel, wrote that Venice was a pleasurable city for Jews, perpetuating the belief that they were being treated fairly.⁹³ Out of necessity, and for the preservation of collective identity, the Jewish people prevailed and managed to sustain their collective memory. Other communities of foreigners within Venice during the early modern period, such as the Greeks, also managed to preserve their collective identity even though they were not legally confined to reside in a particular district in the same way.

The relationship between Greeks and Venetians was historically based upon merchant trade and commerce. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the number of Greek foreigners residing in Venice began to increase.⁹⁴ Francisco Apellàiz demonstrated the economic necessity of the Greeks in trade networks, both within Venice and in Venetian Mediterranean endeavors.⁹⁵ But once the Greek communities had been established within Venice, their desire for autonomy grew stronger. Religion was one of the ways in which this desire for identity reaffirmation was demonstrated.

As early as 1470, Venetian authorities and ecclesiastical authorities gave the growing population of Greek inhabitants in the parish the right to use a chapel on the side

⁹² Ibid., 154-156.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ J.C. Bell, “Poverty, Charity and the Greeks,” *Studi Veneziani* 6 (1982): 138.

⁹⁵ Francisco Apellàiz, “Venetian Trading Networks in the Medieval Mediterranean,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 44, no. 2 (2013): 158. Apellàiz used two themes in network theory: degree centrality and betweenness centrality. As Apellàiz described his analysis using these themes he wrote: “Degree centrality derives from the number of ties that bind a particular person to others in a network; betweenness reflects the capacity of a person to connect people or groups of people who would otherwise be isolated from each other in a network” (ibid., 160).

of San Biagio for Greek liturgies. This would prove to be only the first stage of integration for the Greek community in Venetian society. By the mid-1450s, as the number of Greek immigrants swelled to over 4000 within the city itself, The Venetian Patriarch challenged the right to perform Greek liturgies in the Catholic parish of San Biagio. Venice welcomed these Greek immigrants into the city because “these *stradioti* coming from the Aegean islands” were very capable at the occupation of printing.⁹⁶ The island parish of San Pietro di Castello was well known as the neighborhood for Greek immigrants, as was the previously mentioned area of the Arsenal. Ludivine-Julie Olard claimed that the parish was so intensely Greek that it “seemed like another Byzantium to those who arrived there from across the Adriatic Sea.”⁹⁷ As other communities of the Greeks took hold within Venice, the establishment of a collective identity became critical. As an essential element in the Greek collective identity, religion and, by extension, an established place of worship remained a critical concern.

Re-affirming Greek identity was alarming to Venetian authorities, as demonstrated through the concern of the patriarch. In 1504, according to Marin Sanudo, the “the patriarch” came into the Collegio to speak about “certain Greeks who are holding ceremonies at San Biagio, which is against the decisions of the Council held in Florence.”⁹⁸ The patriarch believed that allowing Greeks to practice within the Roman Catholic churches was “an infringement upon his control of the Venetian church and an

⁹⁶ Ludivine-Julie Olard, “Venice-Babylon: Foreigners and Citizens in the Renaissance Period (14th-16th Centuries),” in *Imagining Frontiers, contesting Identities*, ed. Steven G. Ellis and Lud’ a Klusàkovà (Pisa: University Press, 2007), 159.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Venice Città Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, ed. Patricia Labalme and Laura Sanguineti White, trans. Linda Carroll (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 334.

unwarranted permission for heretical practice.”⁹⁹ The Greek community, however, did not give up its desire to have its own church, where Greeks would be free to practice their own rites. On 13 June 1514, the Greek community was given the right to construct its own church.¹⁰⁰ This right, given by Pope Leo X, also gave the Greek Church “jurisdictional immunity from the Venetian authorities.”¹⁰¹ After much resistance from the patriarch, Sanudo wrote on 11 July 1526 that the Greeks had the right to build a church on a piece of property they had purchased “for 3,000 ducats from ser Pietro Contarini.”¹⁰² Establishing a place of worship reaffirmed the place of the Greek community within the greater Venetian community and allowed Greeks to resume a degree of normalcy.

Despite the reaction of the patriarch, Greek refugees living in Venice “were accepted as a foreign community.”¹⁰³ This, however, was not to say that Greeks and Venetians lived without conflict; the relationship was one of “mutual antipathy,” which was characterized by mistrust of one another.¹⁰⁴ Along with the establishment of these Greek churches within the city of Venice came anxiety and a certain degree of

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Olard, “Venice-Babylon: Foreigners and Citizens in the Renaissance Period (14th-16th Centuries),” 159. This second petition for a Greek church that came in 1514 came from the parish of Sant’Antonin.

¹⁰¹ *Venice Città Excelentissima*, 334.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Donald Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (1988; repr., Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 416. The desire of the Greek community to build their own church turned into a power struggle between the patriarch and the papacy, with each one cancelling out the authority of the other. For instance, Sanudo wrote on 18 December 1527 that “Many Greeks, including don Theodoro Paleologo, addressed the Collegio complaining that the patriarch had excommunicated their new church three days ago and does not want them to say the offices, something that was permitted by the pope and the Council of Ten with the Zonata.” *Venice Città Excelentissima*, 335.

¹⁰⁴ Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*, 416.

suspicion.¹⁰⁵ Venetian ecclesiastical authorities grudgingly accepted the presence of religious groups that did not practice in the Catholic tradition and were comprised of foreigners.¹⁰⁶ For Venetian secular authorities, allowing the Greeks to establish their own churches would reinforce community solidarity, which in turn could pose a potential problem if social and civic disruption ever began within the community. Inquisitorial records show that other parishes in the *sestiere* of Castello demonstrate the difficulty foreigners faced integrating into neighborhoods, whether the community was made up of Venetian inhabitants, or foreign immigrants.

The trial of Santa da Buda (1586) demonstrated the lack of integration of foreigners into Venetian social space. Santa, a Slavic slave from the town of Buda,¹⁰⁷ was accused of witchcraft in the summer of 1586.¹⁰⁸ At the time of her trial she lived in the parish of San Pietro di Castello.¹⁰⁹ The first witness called to testify in the trial of Santa was Lady Antonia, whose husband was abusive and often mistreated her. Antonia's husband, Hieronymo, was a boatman who lived in the parish of San Giovanni Novo in

¹⁰⁵ Olard, "Venice-Babylon: Foreigners and Citizens in the Renaissance Period (14th-16th Centuries)," 159.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Franco Mormando, *The Preachers Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 269. See footnote 80 of the text. Mormando wrote that "Slavonia was also the home of many of the slaves employed in Italian households. These resident aliens were easy targets in the popular mind and suspected witches." For information of Venice's relationship with Slovenian people see, Larry Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001); John V.A. Fine, *When Ethnicity did not matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in pre-nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the medieval and early modern periods* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006), 37-41.

¹⁰⁸ In the title naming the trial Santa is referred to as "Sanctam sclabonam de Budua..." and then at the commencement of the trial reading, she is referred to as "...detinuisse Sanctam sclabonam de contrata Sancti Petri de Castello..." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Santa da Buda," 205.

¹⁰⁹ "Die 23 iunii 1586, Contra sclabonam de Budua, Expeditum. Die 3 iulii 1586. Vide eius sententiam obrobriosam et bannitoriam per quinquennium infra Mentium et Quarnerium cum talea L 100...detinuisse Sanctam sclabonam de contrata Sancti Petri de Castello..." Ibid.

the *sestiere* of Castello.¹¹⁰ One night Santa came to the home of Antonia to speak to Hieronymo, presumably about his treatment of his wife.¹¹¹ On another night, Antonia testified, “because my husband treated me badly and one time he came to the house and wanted to kill me with a knife,” Santa urged Antonia not to be alone in her house with her husband.¹¹² Against the urging of Santa, Antonia testified that she told her that she was not going to leave her house. As a solution, Santa told Antonia that she would teach her a “remedy so that [he] would no longer treat [her] badly, and she taught [her] to shave the hair under the arms and from the part below and that [she should] make it into powder and give it to him to eat and drink.”¹¹³ Then Antonia told the tribunal that she told her husband the things that Santa had taught her, which proved to be detrimental because her husband threatened to “teach” her “another lesson,” which presumably meant he would abuse her.¹¹⁴ After she had told her husband about Santa, she told the story to a priest who rented a room in her home. It was the priest who advised Antonia to tell “Hieronimo,” an agent of the Holy Office.¹¹⁵ Apparently, the priest did not make any

¹¹⁰ “23 iunii 1586...[bianco] domina Antonia uxor Hieronymi barcoli...habitarix Venetiarum in contrata Sancti Ioannis Novi...” Ibid., 206. This is San Zaninovo, also known as San Giovanni Novo in Oleo.

¹¹¹ “Respondit: Io cognosco una dona che non ghe so el nome, la quale veniva in casa a mia a parlar a mio marito, per quanto me ha ditto lui, et la notte la menava via.” Ibid.

¹¹² “Et perche esso mio marito me faceva cathiva compagnia et una volta el vene a casa et me volse amazar con una cortella, se trovò questa dona et se introisse et poi me persuase che non me lassasse trovare in casa la sera.” Ibid.

¹¹³ “Et dicendoli io che non voleva partir lei me disse che mi voleva insegnar un remedio che non me haveria fato più cathiva, compagnia, et me insegnò che dovesse tuor i pelli rasi sotto le braze et dele parte de sotto et che ne facesse polvere et ghe ne desse da magnar et beber.” Ibid.

¹¹⁴ “Et io dissi a mio marito questa cosa, el qual me disse: “O poltrona, càvala fuora, vedi che te insegna qualche cosa altra, perche la sa far de queste cose!” Ibid., 206.

¹¹⁵ “Et Io dissi ancho a un prete, al quale io affitto un letto in casa mia, el qual io chiamo Monsignor, che non ghe so el nome, el qual me disse: “Vedì de saperlo et poi dilo a Hieronimo fante del’Officio.” Ibid., 206-207.

mention of Antonia's abusive husband; there is no way of knowing if she told him that her husband had tried to kill her. Although Santa had taught Antonia a spell that went against the orthodoxy of the church, it appears that she had committed another transgression in her attempt to help another person. It is difficult to discern the exact reason for Antonia's confession; for instance, she might have been anxious about magical practices, or she may have even become concerned about the relationship she had with her husband.¹¹⁶

The case of Santa da Buda (1586), as a Slav, also offers an interesting look at the tensions that perhaps existed between people from Slovenia and Greeks. Santa, in her testimony to the tribunal, fabricated a story of a Greek woman in order to divert suspicion away from her and onto a scapegoat. Santa must have been worried that the inquisitor believed that she was actually going to the Lido because she launched into a fabricated tale in an attempt to place the blame on a certain Maria the Greek. In the early sixteenth century, the turmoil over the Greek services at the Church of San Biagio between the patriarch and the papacy would have certainly been well known throughout the island

¹¹⁶ Joanne Ferraro, "The Power to Decide: Battered Wives in Early Modern Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 48 (1995): 494-95. Ferraro believed that "married women called upon established ecclesiastical and Venetian institutions to protect their welfare and interests, employing lawyers or proctors to build the legal framework of their cases." In order to accomplish this, they relied on a variety of kinsmen, servants, and neighbors crossing generational, class, and gender lines, to exert pressure and social control on misbehaving husbands." Ferraro concluded that "the odds were good that women in bad marriages would be allowed to dissolve their nuptial ties." Eric Dursteler, *Renegade Women: Gender, Identity, and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 9. Dursteler, on the other hand, cautions modern scholars that "We should not, however, exaggerate women's ability to flee unwanted marriages; actual cases of annulled or dissolved marriages in Renaissance Venice are statistically insignificant. In a population of about 180,000 at the turn of the century, scholars have found perhaps thirty-five cases of marriages dissolved by ecclesiastical and secular courts annually." Contrary to Ferraro's implication that it was relatively easy for women to get out of a bad marriage, Dursteler contended that although "The *malmaritate* (unhappily married) of early modern Venice had some limited options through both ecclesiastical and secular courts to defend themselves," it did not occur as frequently as once thought. For the majority of women in Venice, "liberating themselves of an unwanted husband through the courts was neither an attractive nor a viable option."

community of San Pietro di Castello. Apparently, tensions still existed as late as the 1580s, as demonstrated in the fictitious account Santa gave to the tribunal. She told an interesting and elaborate story of a mysterious lady, Maria the Greek, which was apparently “invented.”¹¹⁷ Santa testified that as she was leaving the church of San Biagio one day after she had attended mass she went towards Piazza San Marco, and the procession for the Festival of the Madonna passed by her. It was then Santa met Maria, who claimed that she stayed at San Zuane di Furlani.¹¹⁸ Santa continued her story, saying that Maria told her “If I have time, one of these days I am going to the Lido.”¹¹⁹ Maria went on to tell Santa that when she was able to go, then she could to get the things that are needed to help the distressed Antonia.¹²⁰ Santa then said that Maria did go to the Lido on Saturday, after which she met Santa coming out from the church at San Biagio, where she gave her the items that she needed to assist Antonia.¹²¹ Perhaps sensing that the tribunal had grown suspicious of her story about Maria, Santa confirmed that it was true that she had been to mass at San Biagio. Santa also claimed that she had met with the monsignor who stayed in the house of the said Antonia, but it was too late and her story had lost its potency.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Milani, *Streghe e diavoli*, 209, “Santa inventa questa Maria greca.”

¹¹⁸ “Io era a San Biasio alla messa, nel uscir fuera dela giesia me fu deta questa cosa... E mi giera sentà là in piazza quando passava la procession, et la griega giera sentà là appresso de mi, che ha nome Maria et per quanto me disse la steva a San Zuane di Furlani...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Santa da Buda,” 208.

¹¹⁹ “Se mi haverò tempo, un de questi zorni anderò a Lio...” Ibid.

¹²⁰ “...e ghe porter una cosa che zuoverà a questa Antonia grama meschina che pianze.” Ibid., 208-209.

¹²¹ “Et così questa griega è andata sabbado proxime passado a Lio...Et me trovò a San Biasio vegnendo fuera de//giesia et me dete quelle herbe, cioè herba cinque dea et non so che altre herbe...” Ibid., 209.

¹²² “Et ad interrogationem dixit: // È vero che venendo verso San Biasio sabbato su le 23 hore me incontrai con monsignor che sta in casa de la ditta Antonia...” Ibid., 211.

Santa's use of a Greek scapegoat, although fictitious, reveals that there were tensions among foreigners themselves. Foreigners were already thought to be the 'other' because of their geographic origin, or cultural practices. To exacerbate the issue of 'otherness,' many of those accused were single women, either unmarried or widowed, which, as demonstrated in chapter three, meant that they were susceptible to scrutiny from the community already. Assuming that many of these foreign women accused of witchcraft immigrated to Venice alone, as suggested by the lack of information given about family members in the testimony, they would have had no other person to prove their innocence. Other inquisitorial trials reveal that foreigners were often considered valuable to the community because of a particular skill, or perhaps their ability to heal. However, this did not mean that the 'other' was a fully integrated member of the community. The case of Giovanna the Astrologer (1554) shows that foreigners, especially if they were single, had often lived transient lifestyles before they settled in Venice.

Giovanna the Astrologer (1554) was originally from Milan and her trial before the tribunal revealed a great deal about the movement of women in the early modern period. Giovanna was elderly and infirm when she was brought before the Inquisition.¹²³ Yet, before her arrival in Venice, Giovanna had travelled extensively throughout Italy. For instance, when Giulio Sala was called to testify about Lady Giovanna in May of 1564, he reported on several locations throughout Italy where he had known Giovanna.¹²⁴ Since

¹²³ "io povera dona zota, et mal conditionata..." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Giovanna the Astologer," 23. For more on the elderly see, Dennis Romano, "Vecchi, Poveri, e Impotenti: The Elderly in Renaissance Venice," in *At the Margins: Minority Groups in Premodern Italy*, ed. Stephen Milner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 253.

¹²⁴ "Interrogatus: Cognossé, la Signoria Vostra, una donna Zuana Milanese, che sta in calle dalle Balote?" *Streghe e diavoli*, "Giovanna the Astologer," 31.

Giulio was just thirty-six years old at the time when he testified, it appeared that he and Giovanna had been friends since he was a teenager given that testified that he had known Giovanna for about 14 or 15 years “in Piacenza in the house of the Count of Villachiara.¹²⁵ Then he testified that he had also known her in Milan, Brescia, and Venice.¹²⁶ While in Piacenza, as Giulio testified, he had known her ability to foresee the future.¹²⁷ Giovanna, according to Giulio, was a well-known healer and fortuneteller throughout several cities in early modern Italy.

Foreigners in early modern Venice were often accepted into the city for their contribution to the economy. However, being accepted, and becoming fully integrated within a community had clear distinctions. Often, foreigners were tolerated, or treated as just a necessary component in the operation of society. Even within Venetian foreign communities, there existed the concept of the ‘other,’ which did not entail Venetian, but rather foreigner other than their country of origin. The attitudes of Venetian secular and ecclesiastical authorities towards foreigners, and of foreigners towards other groups, suggest that the boundaries that existed between these communities of foreigners and the greater community were somewhat permeable. This meant that segregation had to be monitored, policed, and constructed, because the knowledge of the other groups and anxiety about them suggest contact as well as segregation.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ “Respondit: La conosco credo che ‘l sia da 14 in 15 anni, in Piacenza in casa del conte de Villachiara, che era Governator de Piasenza...” Ibid.

¹²⁶ “L’ho conosciuta in Milan, in Bressa et in questa terra.” Ibid.

¹²⁷ “Questo: li va da essa alcune donne et homeni a domandarli se una nave zonzerà, se un debba vadagnar una lite, se una sua innamorata li vol ben, et lei varda su la man, et alcune volte dice; ‘Tornerà doman’.” Ibid., 32.

¹²⁸ Steven Epstein, *Purity Lost: Transgressing Boundaries in Eastern Mediterranean, 1000-1400* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

III. Ideological Boundaries and Networks of Belief

Common beliefs or cultural practices were an important component of community cohesion in early modern Venice. For the purpose of this section, networks of belief in early modern Venetian witchcraft, at least in terms of the trials used in this study, are networks that shared common popular beliefs in the uses and benefits of magical practices. Through teaching and sharing beliefs, those accused of witchcraft often created networks of belief among their members. David Rosenthal, in a discussion with Edward Muir regarding communities and communal identity, asserted, “networks in general have become interesting, if we’re interested in community.”¹²⁹ Rosenthal claimed that there were two categories in which to consider networks in the early modern period, those “closely linked to spaces,” and these those not linked to just one space, but “cross-urban networks.”¹³⁰

In the early modern period, many networks of belief were initiated in order to preserve religious beliefs. Other associations also caused the formation of networks of belief because, as Dennis Romano stated, “people do not associate with one another in arbitrary ways. Kinship ties, common work experience, shared values, and physical proximity are among the factors that shape and effect their association.”¹³¹ Given this chapter’s concern with the social space of the neighborhood, social network theory can offer critical insight into early modern Venetian networks. Network theory, as Mustafa

¹²⁹ Edward Muir, “‘Why Didn’t the Dog Bark in Buia,’” interview by Rosenthal, David and Nevola, Fabrizio, 2011, 53. <http://earlymoderncommunities.com/home/interviews-2/edward-muir/>.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Dennis Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 12.

Emirbayer and Jeff Goodwin described, was about the “relationship between the individual and society.”¹³² According to Nicholas Christakis and James Fowler, at its most “basic sense,” a social network is made up of two elements: “human beings and the connections between them.”¹³³ Christakis and Fowler also claimed, “social networks obey rules of their own, rules that are distinct from the people who form them.”¹³⁴ In regards to traditional network theory, at least in the context of the network within the greater community, the networks those accused of witchcraft created stood in opposition to the society that Venetian ecclesiastical authorities desired. Since heterodox communities were on the outside of the greater, mainstream community, they created their own communities of belief within the space of the neighborhood. But what were Venetian mainstream communities like? As established earlier in this chapter, the importance of the parish church within the Venetian neighborhoods indicates that the predominant belief, at least among established communities within Venice, was Catholicism, as conducted in the Latin rite. As established in chapter three, women with heterodox beliefs often transformed the space within their homes into places for their magical practices. Trials also suggest that often women accused of witchcraft used the space of the neighborhood to create networks of belief among their neighbors.

¹³² Mustafa Emirbayer and Jeff Goodwin, “Network Analysis, Culture, and the Problem of Agency,” *American Journal of Sociology* 99, no. 6 (1994): 1414. Continuing with their definition of social networks, the authors wrote: “A social network is one of many possible sets of social relations of a specific content—for example, communicative, power, affectual, or exchange relations—that link actors within a larger social structure (or network of networks)” (ibid., 1417).

¹³³ Nicholas Christakis and James Fowler, *Connected: The Surprising Power of our Social Networks and How they Shape our Lives—How your Friends’ Friends’ Friends Affect Everything You Feel, Think, and Do* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2011), 12.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 27.

Networks of belief were prevalent in sixteenth century Italy. The sixteenth century was a time of significant reform, which led many of these networks go “underground” or operate in secret for fear of the wrath of neighbors or the Inquisition. In early modern Venice, especially in the case of witchcraft trials involving women, networks tended to come about from social encounters between individual women, usually within the space of the neighborhood. In an attempt to help their neighbors with whatever dilemma they were experiencing, these women offered to perform their magical remedies or to teach the person the appropriate ritual or practice. These acts of assistance, although heretical according to the church, sometimes set the foundations for networks as women often recommended the accused to their friends for similar assistance. What emerges from these trials is not so much that the accused had wanted to infect the community intentionally, but that they had a strong desire to share their supernatural abilities for the benefit of others around them.

It is well known that inquisitors feared that a heretic and heretical beliefs could spread like a disease, so it was important that a person thought to be practicing witchcraft should be contained and not allowed to taint other people. The popularity of Giovanna the Astrologer (1554) as both a healer and a diviner meant that people frequented her home for her services. Testimony in Giovanna’s trial implied that there was an apparent network of belief at work, but not in the typical sense of teaching her craft to others. The inquisitor was not interested in whether or not she had taught her witchcraft to other people; rather, he wanted to know who had visited her home and used her services. This indicates that these early modern networks of belief could form as a result of clients’ frequent visits to a known witch, which indicated that the visitors believed that the person

possessed certain abilities that worked. Giovanna was thought to have been a healer and an astrologer; her trial, which began in 1554 and concluded in 1568, clearly demonstrated that she had a large network of clients. During her trial, there are several instances when the inquisitor asked the witnesses if they knew of people coming and going from her home. When Bernadino answered this question, he gave two names: Nicolò Pisani and Michiel Ofredo.¹³⁵ When a high rate of visitors was evident, such as in the case of Giovanna the Astrologer, the accused posed a threat by spreading of her beliefs to other people and by the frequency of her heretical activities. Another example comes from the trial of Giovanna Cargnela (1587). The denunciation against Giovanna Cargnela accused her of having “many superstitions” as well as the “desire to teach them to others.”¹³⁶ Later in this trial, Ursia, a neighbor who lived in the court of the Lavadori, also testified that Giovanna had wanted to teach her the conjuration of the five demons with five fingers placed upon a wall, but Ursia did not want Giovanna to teach her these things.¹³⁷ It was common for witnesses to claim that they did not want to learn or be taught the spell of incantation, but this would have been a popular tactic for preserving their own innocence.

A common element in the trials, particularly trials of witchcraft that involve neighbors, was finding the person responsible for teaching the spells and incantations that

¹³⁵ “Interrogatus: Cognosséu de questi che vanno là da essa? Respondit: Messer Nicolò Pisani, non vi so dir chi fusse suo padre né dove el stia, ma el cognosso per vista, et un Michiel Ofredo sollicitador da cause.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giovanna Astrologer,” 37.

¹³⁶ “...Carnera fa molte superstitioni, e che la ghe le ha volute insegnar anco a ella...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giovanna Cargnela,” 235.

¹³⁷ “Io cognosco una donna che si chiama la carniera, che ha nome Giovanna, che sta in corte di Lavadori, et per conto che lei faccia scongiuri non so altro che questo che ve dirò, cioè che detta Carnoera mi volse insegnare di scongiurare cinque demonii con le cinque dita appoggiando la mano nel muro, ma non mi dice//le parole, perché io li dissi che non voleva imparare.” *Ibid.*, 237-238.

were deemed unorthodox. For instance, in the trial of Giulia (1584), a young girl accused of conjuration, there is evidence of a community of learning that developed among those accused of witchcraft. In her own testimony before the tribunal, Giulia based her entire defense on exposing the people that had taught her to do each of the unorthodox things of which she had been accused. When asked if “she had ever done superstitious things with abuse of other sacraments or holy water or blessed wax or other similar things or invocation of demons to find things that had been stolen or other of these designs,” Giulia testified that she had been taught a spell to find things.¹³⁸ She stated that, when she was a little girl, she was taught the spell for finding something that was lost,¹³⁹ and, at another point in her childhood, she had been taught a conjuration that used the stars.¹⁴⁰ At other times Giulia gave the name of the person who had taught her these things. For instance, Lady Isabetta had taught her to make love spells, and two sisters, Perina and Lauretta, had taught her how to perform the diabolical practice called giving the hammer.¹⁴¹ At least four years earlier, Giulia told the inquisitor, she had been taught the spell using three stars by a lady named Nina, who was from the same neighborhood, San Mauricio, where

¹³⁸ “Ei dictum se essa constituta ha mai fatto alcuna cosa superstitiosa con abuso de altri sacramenti o d’acqua benedetta o cera benedetta o simile cosa o invocazione de demonii per fare furti o altri suoi disegni...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giulia,” 120.

¹³⁹ “respondit: Io mi ricordo essendo putta pizzenina mi ingenochiai, come mi fu insegnato, per ritrovare una cosa rubata...” Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ “Padre sì che m’è stato insegnato di fare un scongiuro alle stelle per farsi volere bene in questo modo che la sera...” Ibid., 121.

¹⁴¹ “Fu una donna Isabetta, quale sta a San Vidale, maridata un un Bernardin Turrato, quale a mia requisitione m’insegnò detto scongiuro per farmi volere bene, ma io non so che lei l’habbi mai fatto. Di più m’è anco stato insegnato, credo siano da doi anni incirca, erano due sorelle, una detta Perina e l’altra Lauretta, stave all’hora a San Mauricio, adesso mi pare che stia alle Piere Bianche quella Perina, che, quando si vuole dare Martello alli suoi morose...” Ibid., 122. Matteo Duni, *Under the Devil’s Spell: Witches, Sorcerers, and the Inquisition in Renaissance Italy* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University in Florence, 2007), 53. There are many explanations given for the definition of the spell *dare martello*. Duni defined the spell called “the hammer” as “meant to put a strong love spell on someone.”

the two sisters lived and where Giulia herself had once lived.¹⁴² Since Giulia was just nineteen when her trial began, her learning within this neighborhood network began when she was a very young girl. This implied that there was not a strict age limit placed upon membership into this network of belief and that membership sometimes began at an early age.

IV. Behavioral Boundaries

Through witness testimony, it is apparent that in early modern Venice, members of the community removed a strong-willed individual who was viewed to be uncooperative. The idea of excluding people from a neighborhood because they acted in a manner that went against a social convention within the neighborhood encompassed several aspects for exclusion. For example, exile, which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter five, was a popular punishment for those brought to trial and found guilty by the Inquisition in early modern Venice. The trial against Giovanna Cargnela (1587) gives another dimension to exclusions within the early modern Venetian neighborhood: jealousy. When Giovanna was brought in front of the tribunal to defend herself in light of the accusations of witchcraft made against her, she claimed that the women of the community harbored ill will towards her because she was the woman of her own house.¹⁴³ Giovanna added that these women wanted her to “do things their way,” and she wanted to remain with her

¹⁴² “Di più sono 4 o 6 anni in circa che una donna detta Nina, qual sta a San Mauricio, non so se sia maridata, m’insegnò che la sera a ciel sereno che dovesse salutare così in piedi tre stelle in filia...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giulia,” 124.

¹⁴³ “perché io son donna di casa mia!” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giovanna Cargnela,” 238-239.

husband.¹⁴⁴ Although Giovanna felt she was denounced for her position within her home, it appeared to her neighbors that she was living outside the social custom by claiming to be the lady of the house when she had a husband. Giovanna named one of the women that she believed felt this jealousy towards her as Cathe; as for the others, she said, she did not know their names, “but there are many.”¹⁴⁵ Giovanna had stepped outside the acceptable boundaries of the community and demonstrated her desire to express her individuality, which caused her to become an outsider within her own neighborhood. Community therefore, as Yi-Fu Tuan stated, “deemphasizes the individual” and relies instead of conformity to the group.¹⁴⁶

The maintenance of communal behavioral boundaries in early modern Venice also appeared to be shaped around neighborhood solidarity and loyalty. It is apparent from this instance of hostility that members of neighborhoods in early modern Venice could use the authorities to reprimand people who had attempted to challenge the social norms and power structures of the community. For example, Giustina (1584) used the Inquisition to alter the balance of power within the community when she turned in the men guilty of murdering her husband. These men were members of the neighborhood of Quinta Valle and, more importantly, members of the community of seamen.¹⁴⁷ Had Giulia simply remained silent about her husband’s assailants, her place within the

¹⁴⁴ “Mancano le donne, che mi vogliono male perché io son donna di casa mia! Vorriano che io a lor modo, et io voglio star con mio marito.” Ibid., 238-239.

¹⁴⁵ “Et fra le altre una donna Cathe de Stephano cerer. Non vi saprei nominar altri, ma son molti.” Ibid., 239.

¹⁴⁶ Yi-Fu Tuan, “Community, Society, and the Individual,” *Geographical Review* 92, no. 3 (2002): 311.

¹⁴⁷ *Venice Città Excelentissima*, 321. Sanudo wrote that people that worked in the Arsenal and seamen were considered to be among the third class of people residing within early modern Venice, which were considered to be “the lesser class.”

community would have remained secure. This indicates that some members of communities in early modern Venice could act as the unofficial authority within the neighborhood due to their status.¹⁴⁸

Three months before Giustina (1584) was denounced to the tribunal, her husband, Nadalin, who worked a boatman, was murdered on the doorstep of their home.¹⁴⁹

Giustina identified the murderers to the *Avogaria de Comun* as four seamen from the neighborhood.¹⁵⁰ Shortly after Giustina revealed the assailants to the authorities, the Holy Office received an anonymous letter of denunciation.¹⁵¹ The letter revealed that the inhabitants of the Quinta Valle perceived their community as honorable because it was a neighborhood where many members of the Venetian Navy resided. Since Venice was well known as a sea power and the Quinta Valle is located near the Arsenal, it makes sense that this particular neighborhood would have many seamen as residents.¹⁵² Quinta

¹⁴⁸ Edward Bever, *The Realities of Witchcraft and Popular Magic in Early Modern Europe: Culture, Cognition, and Everyday Life* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 349. Bever wrote that there were four methods that were commonly used in the early modern period in order to repress witchcraft: “the judicial system, the church, the bonds of local community, and the workings of individuals’ psychophysiology.”

¹⁴⁹ Marisa Milani explained the instance of the murder of Nadalin, Giustina’s husband. “Sul finire dell’agosto 1584 Nadalin barcarol fu assassinato a tradimento quasi sulla soglia di casa. La sua vedova, una donna ancora giovane e oberata di figli, individuò subito gli assassini in quattro marinai della vicinanza e li denunciò all’Avogaria de Comun.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giustina,” 141.

¹⁵⁰ Giustina, in her letter to the Holy Office, wrote that she had sent the complaint to the *Avogaria*: “...Di questo assassinamento diedi querela all’ufficio Cl.mo dell’Avogaria...” Ibid., 144.

¹⁵¹ “...il che facendo libererà il povero loco de Quinta Valle dalla maledicentia della preditta arpia, essendo che in esso loco ve habita tutta marinerezza et persone di honor, le qual tutte se raccomandano alla giusticia di VV. SS. Ill.me et Rev.me.” Ibid., 142.

¹⁵² Marina Areli, “From the Myth to the Margins: The Patriarch’s Piazza at San Pietro di Castello in Venice,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (2011): 353-429. This article stressed the importance of this place as the seat of religious and political power before the Rialto and San Marco became so prominent. Perhaps it was also this legacy that caused the people of Quinta Valle to believe and perceive themselves as such an honorable people. Again, here we see the history of a place influencing the collective identity. Make a connection to the chapter of theories of space where I state that the myth of Venice pervaded the psyche of Venetian inhabitants. Marin Sanudo extols the beauty of the Arsenal in his *De Origine, situ et*

Valle is located on the island of San Piero in the *sestiere* of Castello.¹⁵³ It was apparent, however, that the inhabitants took great pride in the fact that their neighborhood had many seamen as members, and they were obviously offended when Giustina named members of the neighborhood as the killers. Since Giustina's husband was a boatman, he was also a member of ship life in the Quinta Valle. The primary issue at hand centered upon retribution. The Inquisition could also be employed if a person were dissatisfied with justice as it operated in a particular case. By turning in the four seamen to the *Avogaria de Comun*, Giustina had broken some sort of unwritten expectation of community solidarity. In turn, the members of the community, clearly angered by what they viewed as a transgression on the part of Giustina, sought retribution through the tribunal of the Holy Office.

There were, however, other factors that affected the structure of the neighborhood that played a critical role in the community of Quinta Valle, namely the ethnic diversity of the community. The complex cultural and religious mix created a unique situation in the Arsenal, where the Greek practices and beliefs were common among the diverse workers of the shipyards. For instance, the modern Marisa Milani noted that two of the men Giustina accused of murdering her husband, Nicoletto Gielenco and Giacomo Mustachì, had names that were Greek in origin.¹⁵⁴ In her own letter to the Holy Office, sent after she had heard about the complaint made against her by the people of Quinta

magistratibus urbis Venetae ovvero la città di Venetia, ed. Angela Caracciolo Aricò (Cisalpino: La Goliardica, 1980), 36-37.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 24. "...si chiama San Piero, vi è in isola...Sono in questo {sestiere} chiesie numero XI parrocchie..."

¹⁵⁴ Marisa Milani, *Streghe e diavoli*, 143.

Valle, Giustina wrote that her husband was from Kotor in Dalmatia.¹⁵⁵ The community that Giustina and her husband lived in was made up of boatmen, seamen, and Greeks, a complex mix where a variety of conventional and unconventional—even heretical—beliefs thrived. Giustina went outside the community for justice and once she had created problems for the community, then her behavior was no longer acceptable.

The nature of ideological boundaries made them difficult to define in early modern Venice. As hinted at in trials before the tribunal, apparently even members of a community often did not clearly understand, or recognize these unstated boundaries. Boundaries based upon belief systems were often centered upon religious and cultural differences among members. The behavioral boundaries of a community were equally as difficult to discern. Sometimes these behavioral boundaries were crossed using witchcraft, and at other times individuals are just being disruptive within the neighborhood. Trials before the tribunal suggest that once these ideological and behavioral boundaries had been crossed, the community often relied on the Inquisition to re-affirm the established belief system in place. But the question remains, if ideological and behavioral boundaries were assumed, or well known to the majority of the community, how were members able to know what the boundaries were?

V. Communication and Communities

Communities could know their boundaries, or who was transgressing those boundaries, without communicating with each other. Paradoxically, once a boundary had been crossed communication was essential for reaffirming boundaries in early modern Venice.

¹⁵⁵ “povera Giustina relicta del q. Nadalin da Cataro...” *Strega e diavoli*, “Giustina,” 143.

This communication could have been verbal or non-verbal and took place between people on a regular basis. Interaction between neighbors and members of communities took place within the space of the neighborhood. These interactions and ways of communicating were often revealed through witness testimony in front of the tribunal. In contrast to the more positive view of communities that scholars highlight, such as solidarity, looking at the more conflicted element of communities through reputation indicates a more negative view of communities.

For Tuan, effectively communicating with one another meant that members of the community were also cooperating.¹⁵⁶ This implies both frequent social interaction and a certain degree of familiarity with members of one's community. Elizabeth Horodowich stated that communities in the early modern period tended to rely on verbal interaction with one another for both "community knowledge" and for determining "honour and reputation."¹⁵⁷ Neighbors in the early modern period, according to Edward Bever, also truly believed that it was their obligation and their right as a member of a community to watch over their fellow neighbors.¹⁵⁸ Through this observation, inhabitants of a neighborhood often talked about what they had seen or heard their neighbors do. Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail discussed this theme as it pertained to the medieval period and concluded, "Public talk is, or creates, the *fama* that is useful in courts."¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Tuan, "Community, Society, and the Individual," 307.

¹⁵⁷ Elizabeth Horodowich, "The Gossiping Tongue: Oral Networks, Public Life and Political Culture in Early Modern Venice," *Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 1 (2005): 23.

¹⁵⁸ Bever, *The Realities of Witchcraft and Popular Magic in Early Modern Europe*, 43.

¹⁵⁹ Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, "Introduction," in *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, eds. Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, 1-12 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 3. There are many definitions and uses for the word *fama*. Fenster and Smail gave a summary of these associated terms when they wrote; "Across its semantic range *fama* intersected with a number of

In early modern Venetian neighborhoods, reputation, or *fama*, could be based on a person's individual perception of the accused individual's behavior and actions, or on what other people had told them of that person. Perception, as discussed earlier, plays an important role in defining the reasons and actions of both individuals and communities. Thus, it is an essential element in identity formation and communication. The reputation, or *fama*, of a person was an important element for the Inquisition to understand, since one of the essential elements in discerning the intent and the culpability of the accused was personal character.¹⁶⁰ Aside from the person denouncing another for practicing witchcraft, witnesses in these trials often claimed that they had heard that the person was a witch. For example, in the trial of Giovanna the Astrologer (1554), Bernadino testified that he had heard others say that she was "*inspirità*."¹⁶¹ The next to testify in the trial, Ioannes, when asked if he knew of Giovanna that lived on Balote street that is called "la Strolega," claimed that he did not know the name of this person but that he had heard

other terms, such as honor, shame, status, and witnessing, and it glossed the essential nexus of performance, talk, reputation, and speech regulation" (ibid., 2).

¹⁶⁰ Henry Ansgar Kelly, "Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy: Misconceptions and Abuses," *Church History* 58, no. 4 (December 1989): 441. Kelly wrote that Innocent III's initiation of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 produced seventy decrees that ranged from Catholic dogma to special dress for Jews and Muslims. It was at this time that inquisitorial procedure was being introduced in the court system. The procedure of Inquisition made way for public "initiation and prosecution" of a person in a court of law. Laura Ikins Stern, "Public Fame in the Fifteenth Century," *The American Journal of Legal History* 44, no. 2 (April 2002): 199-201. Stern said that in the Eighth Constitution of the decrees of Lateran IV, Innocent enacted the use of public fame, which he intended to play an important role in the process of Inquisition, which was replacing ordeal. Public fame was not only an important element in the inquisitorial procedure, whether secular or ecclesiastical; it was also a useful procedure in the *ius commune* judicial system. Although the inquisitorial process changed gradually over time, the use of public fame in the judicial process was, as Stern wrote, "amazingly similar everywhere, usually verbatim. Fame was omnipresent. All witnesses were asked about their knowledge of the crime and then their knowledge of the fame concerning the crime. Fame had its own independent existence as a piece of evidence"(ibid.,198).

¹⁶¹ "Dicens interrogates: Monsignor Reverendissimo, mi ho puocco iuditio de queste cose, ma ha inteso a dir che la è inspirità." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Giovanna the Astrologer," 26.

people say that there was a witch that lived on the street.¹⁶² Thus, *fama* played an important role in the witness testimony before the tribunal in early modern Venice. The term, however, means more than just the reputation of a person; it also includes the talk about such things. Fenster and Smail, in one of their many characterizations of the term, wrote, “personal reputation and the talk about it were probably the most conspicuous sorts of *fama*,” which certainly applied in the case of the trials used for this study.¹⁶³ As discussed in the chapter examining domestic space, the Inquisition had to rely on witness testimony in order to ascertain the use of common items and common spaces for heretical practices. Since just looking at the items did not give any indication of misuse, the witnesses would explain either what they had heard the accused had done or what they claimed to have actually been witness to themselves.

This issue brings about the distinction between *fama*, and hearsay. In the case of trials of witchcraft, the Inquisition had no choice but to rely upon the reputation of the person and the talk in the neighborhood of that person. *Fama*, therefore, would constitute, as Chris Wickham described it, “what everybody knew.”¹⁶⁴ Hearsay, as it applied to the trials used for this study, implied that the person had heard other people talk specifically about the actions and beliefs of a person, instead of speaking of the accused in a general sense. As Thomas Kuehn pointed out in regards to the issue of *fama* and reputation in Renaissance Florence, “There was a gendered dimension to *honor* and *fama* as reputation

¹⁶² “Interrogatus: Cognoscévistu una donna Zuana Milanese, che sta là in calle dalle Balote, quell ache se domanda la Strolega? Respondit: Io non la conosco altramente se non per nome, ma ho ben inteso a dir che là in quella calle ghe sta una strolega, che sta all’incontro dove lavoremo.” Ibid., 38.

¹⁶³ Fenster and Smail, “Introduction,” in *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, 3.

¹⁶⁴ Chris Wickham, “*Fama and the Law in Twelfth-Century Tuscany*,” in *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, 17.

and as status. Much of reputation rested, in fact, on webs of gossip, which could be taken as a largely female occupation.”¹⁶⁵ Given the nature of early modern Venetian neighborhoods, therefore, it was not a far stretch to assume that women were mostly responsible for gossip and hearsay.¹⁶⁶

In general, inhabitants of a neighborhood held the belief that it was their duty to look after their neighbors and the well-being of the neighborhood in general.¹⁶⁷ This close attention to one’s neighbors was accompanied by a high level of gossip. Just as neighbors in early modern Venice were known for gossiping, hearsay in front of the tribunal was also prevalent, especially in trials of witchcraft.¹⁶⁸ In her denunciation made against Giovanna Cargnola (1587), Giacoma based part of her testimony to the tribunal on an instance of hearsay. Giacoma, in her own words, told the tribunal that she had heard of the superstitious deeds of Giovanna from Orsetta, her neighbor.¹⁶⁹ Other people, Giacoma continued with her testimony of hearsay, claimed that Giovanna made the conjuration of the five devils by putting her hand to the wall, dispatching these devils to

¹⁶⁵ Thomas Kuehn, “Fama as a Legal Status in Renaissance Florence,” in *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, 34.

¹⁶⁶ Wheeler, “Neighbourhoods and Local Loyalties in Renaissance Venice,” 35. Wheeler wrote “Few would disagree that many women in Renaissance Venice appear to have been ‘confined in their daily lives in social and spatial networks that were more rigid and restricted’ and were more likely to develop strong friendships in parishes than men. An exception to the last point would be women who were itinerant hawkers and pedlars...”

¹⁶⁷ Bever, *The Realities of Witchcraft and Popular Magic in Early Modern Europe*, 43.

¹⁶⁸ For more information on gossiping and the power of language see, Horodowich, “The Gossiping Tongue,” 22-45; Chris Wickham, “Gossip and Resistance among the Medieval Peasantry,” *Past and Present*, No.160 (1998): 3-24; Burke, *The Art of Conversation*; Elizabeth Cohen, “Camilla the Go-Between: The Politics of Gender in a Roman Household,” *Continuity and Change* 4 (1989): 53-77.

¹⁶⁹ “Una Orsetta, che habita in casa del Loredan nell’istessa corte del Lavadori, me ha detto quindecim giorni fa in circa che...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giovanna Cargnola,” 235.

the heart of those whom she wished to reach.¹⁷⁰ It is, however, perhaps no coincidence that the testimonies based upon hearsay in these trials were typically from women. As Horodowich asserted, gossip for females was a way to protect and maintain “solidarity,” within their circles.¹⁷¹ However, as witness testimony suggests, men were also prone to hearsay and gossip.

Two cases in particular highlight male witnesses giving testimony based on second-hand knowledge. It is a point of interest that both of these men would have been relatively well known throughout the community because of their occupation; one owned a local shop, and the other was a local friar. In the trial dossiers, it is apparent that the Inquisition took great care to assess the testimony of a witness. For instance, in the trial of Diana Passarina (1586), the interrogator asked the witness Angelus if “he knows a Diana Passarina, for how long and in what way does he know her.”¹⁷² After determining if the witness actually knew the accused, whom the witness had known for around twelve to fourteen years,¹⁷³ the interrogator asked Angelus about a particular event mentioned earlier in the trial. After Angelus told the interrogator that he did know about the friar who visited Diana’s house, which he admitted he actually had witnessed himself, he added an interesting sentence to his testimony. Angelus told the tribunal that a person had visited his shop one evening and told him that Diana kept a spirit that allowed her to

¹⁷⁰ “Ma fra le altre dice che la ghe ha ditto che la mette la mano stesa sopra el muro scongiurando cinque diavoli con quelli cinque dita, e che questi diavoli vanno al core di quelli che lei vole, e che quelli non hanno mai bene fin che vivono.” Ibid., 235-236.

¹⁷¹ Horodowich, “The Gossiping Tongue: Oral Networks, Public Life and Political Culture in Early Modern Venice,” 25.

¹⁷² “Interrogato se lui conosce una Diana Passarina, da quanto tempo in qua et che modo la conosce...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Diana Passarina,” 196.

¹⁷³ “...respondit: ‘L’è da 12 o 14 anni in circa che la conosco.’” Ibid.

speak “the truth.”¹⁷⁴ Adding unsolicited information, and especially information based on hearsay, could have meant that the Angelus wished to emphasize Diana’s guilt. It could also indicate, however, that Angelus wished to distance himself even further from Diana, since he was a business owner and did not wish to rouse the suspicion of the Inquisition himself.

The testimony of friar Dominic in the trial of Giovanna Semolina (1584) used hearsay more than once to reinforce the guilt of the accused. When the friar testified in front of the tribunal in June of 1584, the first question the interrogator asked was if he knew Giovanna and how did he know her.¹⁷⁵ In response to this question, friar Dominic said that he had heard from several different women that Giovanna had the ability to divine, or tell fortunes, particularly if an absent husband was “dead or alive.”¹⁷⁶ These women visited the home of Giovanna to seek her assistance as to the health of their absent husbands. According to the friar, there was a “great crowd of women” that sought her assistance in such matters.¹⁷⁷ The friar also admitted that he had visited the home of Giovanna two or three times seeking her assistance because he felt “sick in the head.”¹⁷⁸ Then, in his closing statement to the tribunal, friar Dominic said that he had a “bad

¹⁷⁴ “Dicens etiam interrogates: Una persona che vene alla mia bottega una sera, che non ve so dir chi ‘l fusse, me disse: “Questa vostra Diana ha un spirito a dise pur la verità.” Ibid., 197.

¹⁷⁵ “Interrogatus se ‘l detto testimonio cognosce una detta Gioanna Simolina, et da quanto tempo in qua, et della causa della cognition...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giovanna Semolina,” 67.

¹⁷⁶ “respondit: Padre sì che cognosco la detta dona Joanna Simolina dal contagio prossimo passato in qua; et l’occasione con che la conobbi fu che haveva inteso dire da diverse done che lei faceva l’arte del’indovinare, et particolarmente indovinare come stave il marito di questa et di quella absente, come sta, et se è vivo o morto...” Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ “...et con questo haveva gran concorso di donne, che li andavano a casa a dimandare chi è vivo o morto.” Ibid., 67-68.

¹⁷⁸ “Et son stato da casa sua due o 3 volte, questo fu perché io mi senteva male nella testa...” Ibid., 68.

opinion of her” and that she was in a “bad state” and she was “a witch.” Reiterating his earlier statement, he said that he had heard from many different women that Giovanna Semolina was a diviner.¹⁷⁹ It was not unusual for a friar or a local priest to give testimony based upon something that he had heard from another person, since the nature of his position within the community gave him access to all types of neighborhood information. It is difficult to develop theories surrounding intention, but in both of these instances of hearsay, it appeared that the witness wished to distance himself from the accused.

Gossip, hearsay, and *fama* were all popular means of communication throughout the early modern Venetian neighborhood. Since the local parish provided most of the things inhabitants needed, neighborhood chatter took place within the streets and shops throughout the parish. One neighbor who had perhaps witnessed an event he or she felt was suspicious, would perhaps pass along that information when they visited a shop, or perhaps around the local well as they were drawing water. Then, throughout the course of the day, perhaps another person might convey the story to other members of the community and so on until the *fama* of a person reached enough people to become common knowledge. This way of communicating among members of the community was much more negative than the unspoken communication of communities centered upon ideology, but still an important element of the social space of the neighborhood.

Conclusion

¹⁷⁹ “Interrogatus respondit: Et quanto a quello che cosa creda, et che oppinione habbi di detta Simolina, li dico che ho mala oppinione di lei, et che sia in un male stato et che sia una stregha, per questo suo indivinare et per quello che sentiva dire da diverse done, ma non vi sapria dire da chi in particolare.” Ibid., 69.

Early modern Venetian neighborhoods were social spaces embedded with physical boundaries, behavioral boundaries, and ideological boundaries. Each community of foreigners and witches had different definitions for each of these boundaries. Because of the diverse beliefs and practices of the culturally diverse residents of Venice, communication among members was essential. Since each neighborhood had its own unique (and sometimes conflicting) definition for membership and behavior, boundaries were often crossed unknowingly. It was the uniqueness of these communities, however, that made early modern Venice a good case study for an analysis of space and social practices in neighborhoods.

Neighborhoods in early modern Venice could be segregated by authorities, controlled by dominant ethnic groups, contested by multiethnic groups living in close quarters, or created from a need for a place within the neighborhood. In the case of the Jewish population within sixteenth century Venice, mandatory segregation was imposed by the Venetian secular authorities. Paradoxically, separating the Jewish population from the rest of Venetian society, at least during curfew, helped to reaffirm their religious and social bonds. Solidarity of certain Greek communities, although they were not physically segregated from the rest of Venetian society, often came from enforcing cultural boundaries among its own members. And finally, those accused of witchcraft often created communities centered upon their cultural practices, which in turn, placed them in opposition to the majority of community members. In the communities of Greeks and witches, the Inquisition was often a means of reinforcing acceptable behavior after a boundary had been crossed.

In cases involving witchcraft, it appears that teaching others or passing on spells and incantations was a popular occurrence in early modern Venice. Neighbors taught each other beliefs and practices that the Inquisition deemed unorthodox. Teaching spells and incantations to neighbors was common within the space of the neighborhood. Since it was apparent that those accused of witchcraft were passing along their heterodox practices to others, neighbors and authorities often became suspicious about where the accused had been, or what had they been doing, and with whom. The Inquisition would become involved in witchcraft trials when a member of the greater, and previously established, community would often step forward and denounce the accused of witchcraft.

As revealed through witness testimony before the tribunal, the reputation of those accused of witchcraft was often well known throughout the neighborhood. The cultural practices of those accused of witchcraft crossed the ideological boundaries of the majority members of the community. John Bruhn described humans and their desire to be unique: “One way humans have to emphasize their uniqueness is to exploit the differences between themselves and others in the use of physical space. We construct our space to meet our needs and objectives; our surroundings in turn, affect our behavior.”¹⁸⁰ Reputation, or *fama*, often relied upon the opinion of others as demonstrated through the use of hearsay. This meant that neighbors had to be careful of their behavior, because the word of one person could irreparably damage their reputation, both throughout the neighborhood and to the ecclesiastical authorities as well. Guilt by association was taken seriously by early modern Venetians brought before the tribunal, and often, witnesses

¹⁸⁰ John Bruhn, *The Sociology of Community Connections* (New York: Springer, 2011), 164.

would distance themselves from the accused by telling the inquisitor what they had heard other people say, or the reputation of the person throughout the neighborhood.

The liminal space between private and public space in early modern Venice was the streets, and canals and balconies, but more importantly, the neighborhood divided public space from civic space. In early modern Venice, the neighborhood was where the majority of daily interactions took place for inhabitants of the city. Members of communities protected the space of the neighborhood, and these communities required different levels of adherence from their members. If members of these communities stepped outside of the bounds as set by the majority, then the Inquisition could serve as a means of realigning the member who had crossed a boundary. The space of the neighborhood served as the dividing line between the private space of the home and the public space of the street. Additionally, the space of the neighborhood acted as a buffer for inhabitants between the social space of the local parish, and the greater, more public space of the city.

Chapter 5

The Use of Public Space

Introduction

The relationship of inquisitorial tribunals to public space was clear and was demonstrated in the pronouncements of inquisitors and ritualization of punishments.¹ The majority of public spaces in early modern Venice were carefully designed, protected by the authorities, densely populated, and diverse, creating a cultural mixture of religious backgrounds and social status.² Therefore, public space reflected social boundaries.³ Paradoxically, however, many of these public spaces could be accessed physically with relative ease. For these reasons, Venetian public space was embedded with physical, social, religious, and psychic boundaries that the Venetian secular and ecclesiastical authorities typically determined.⁴ Punishing people publicly served as a means to emphasize these social boundaries. Through inhabitants' use of and their movement throughout public space as evident in trials brought before the Inquisition, we are able to

¹ Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478-1843* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 323. Bethencourt believed that it was difficult to detect the "'interventions' of the Inquisition and its relationship with social space," but possible.

² Steven Mullaney and Angela Vanhaelen, "Introduction: Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe-Performance, Geography, Privacy," in *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Performance, Geography, Privacy*, ed. Angela Vanhaelen and Joseph Ward (New York: Routledge, 2013), 1. A popular theme in modern scholarship regarding urban space is the concept of "making space public." Mullaney and Vanhaelen define this concept as "the processes by which a place or space could be rendered accessible, open or available to a general collective entity called 'the public'."

³ Filippo de Vivo, "Pharmacies as Centres of Communication in Early Modern Venice," *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 4 (2007): 45. De Vivo's study on early modern Venetian pharmacies offered a new way to look at social interaction within Venetian space. He also concluded that: "Thus, as with most public spaces in Venice, pharmacies were defined by neither exclusiveness nor inclusiveness, but by social and –to a lesser extent –gender interaction."

⁴ For more on Venetian authorities and public space see, Monique O'Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 59-61; Guido Ruggiero, "Law and Punishment in Early Renaissance Venice," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 69, no. 2 (1978): 243-256.

envision the challenges to boundaries being made, as well as the measures the authorities took in reestablishing these boundaries.⁵

Public space within a city includes those places that inhabitants and visitors can view, and traverse. According to Henri Lefebvre, by looking at the “spatial practice” of a society, it is possible to understand “that society’s space.”⁶ Spatial practice, as Lefebvre explained, is the relationship between the “daily routine” of the people that inhabit the space, and the “urban reality” of the city, which is represented by the passageways that bring spaces together. In early modern Venice, this urban reality consisted of streets, bridges, canals, and processional routes that linked important public spaces, like the Piazza San Marco and the market at Rialto. Piazza San Marco, described Peter Burke, “was at once the sacred center and the civic center” of Venetian urban reality.⁷ The Piazza underwent significant change in the sixteenth century in order “to create a more appropriate setting for public rituals.”⁸

The evolution of Rialto was more organic than San Marco, thereby making it one of the most diverse public spaces in early modern Venice. As the market place for early modern Venetians, Rialto was one of the most trafficked public spaces in Venice.

Donatella Calabi described the physical space of Rialto as being “composed of various kinds of space that, while often individually small and narrow, interlinked and

⁵ John Najemy, “Florentine Politics and Urban Space,” in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. Roger Crum and John Paoletti (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 19. Much like Venetian public spaces, Najemy wrote that the spaces of Renaissance Florence were places “of political control” and also places for resistance to this control. In essence, Najemy believed that politics and power shaped and molded Florentine urban spaces, but that these urban spaces also shaped Florentine politics and power.

⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1974; Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), 38.

⁷ Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Oxford: Polity Press, a division of Blackwell, 1997), 112.

⁸ *Ibid.*

communicated with one another.”⁹ Other important passageways that were located near Rialto included the Mercerie, which was a traditional processional path that participants would use during festivals and holidays.¹⁰ Paul Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees described the other passageway located near Rialto, the Grand Canal, which they characterized as the “city’s main street.”¹¹ Marin Sanudo, in his description of the fire that occurred in Rialto in 1514, detailed the economic importance of this public space when he claimed that Rialto was “the most important and richest spot in Venice.”¹² The diverse range of people conducting business in Rialto in the early modern period are described by Sanudo when he wrote about people rushing into Rialto to save their businesses: “foreigners rushed there...to loot,” shop owners attempted to save their merchandise, and several “well-regarded patricians were there, busying themselves with emptying the offices and saving the books.”¹³ As a place of business that included offices for the state and as the market place, Rialto served as a microcosm of Venetian society. Together, Piazza San Marco and Rialto represented the social diversity of the city and the civic reality of the urban environment.

An additional space that must be included in a discussion of the urban reality of sixteenth century Venice is the cemetery. Since cemeteries were attached frequently to

⁹ Donatella Calabi, *The Market and the City: Square, Street and Architecture in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Marlene Klein (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 58.

¹⁰ Manfredo Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance*, trans. Jessica Levine (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 25.

¹¹ Paul Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000-1994* (1985; repr., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 66-67.

¹² *Venice: Città Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, ed. Patricia Labalme and Laura Sanguineti White, trans. Linda Carroll (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 344.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 344-45.

parish or monastic churches during this period, they were often in view of the public. By their very nature, cemeteries figured into the public space of the city. As the political, religious, and social climate began to change in the sixteenth century, so too did the nature of Venetian cemeteries. Cemeteries traditionally are categorized as sacred space and are an important type of public space. Cemeteries also played an important role in the spatial context of a small group of Venetian inhabitants; those accused of witchcraft. In addition to being a place from which to collect items for the practice of witchcraft, Venetian cemeteries also demarcated the confessional and social boundaries that were indicative of the changes that took place in the sixteenth century. The advance of the Protestant Reformation and an extended period of war, commonly known as the Italian Wars, caused an increase in the population of Venice, and heightened concern over social issues.¹⁴ The influx of new peoples meant new ideologies, cultures, religions, and new

¹⁴ For studies specific to Venice see, Felix Gilbert, "Venice in the Crisis of the League of Cambrai," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J.R. Hale (London: Faber and Faber, 1973); Michael Mallett and J.R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice c. 1400-1617* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Elisabeth Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Robert Finlay, "The Immortal Republic: The Myth of Venice during the Italian Wars, 1494-1530," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 4 (1999): 931-944; Marion Leathers Kuntz, *The Anointment of Dionisio: Prophecy and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); Elizabeth Horodowich, "Civic Identity and the Control of Blasphemy in Sixteenth Century Venice," *Past and Present*, no.181 (2003): 3-33; Michael Mallett and Christine Shaw, *The Italian Wars, 1494-1559* (Harlow, UK: Pearson, 2012). For studies on Italy and Europe in general see, Dermot Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter Reformation* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1972); Bard Thompson, *Humanists and Reformers: A History of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1996); Massimo Firpo and John Tedeschi, "The Italian Reformation and Juan de Valdes," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 2 (1996): 353-364; Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999); Stephen Bowd, *Reform Before the Reformation: Vincenzo Querini and the Religious Renaissance in Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Madeleine Gray, *The Protestant Reformation: Beliefs and Practices* (Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2003); Mack Holt, "The Social History of the Reformation: Recent Trends and Future Agendas," *Journal of Social History* 37, no.1, Special Issue (2003): 133-144; Emily Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

social issues.¹⁵ Although Venice was traditionally tolerant, authorities were forced to contend with these new issues invading their city; space and the issue of proximity became an issue.

Ali Madanipour wrote that cities are traditionally “structured around a separation of public and private spaces.”¹⁶ Regardless of time or culture, this typical feature of urban planning has persisted. The importance and the distinction between cities throughout time is the way in which these boundaries, or “divisions,” control “movement from one place to another.”¹⁷ In the case of Venice, these divisions, or boundaries, altered as the political and consequently, social stability of the Republic began to shift at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Many factors determined the boundaries between public space and private space in early modern Venice. The most prominent characteristics of those excluded from public space and from movement through these spaces during the sixteenth century included religious affiliation, gender, and social status.

Exclusion based on religion, according to Alexandra Bamji, rested upon the premise that non-Christians, such as Jews, posed a threat to public health, which also included spiritual health.¹⁸ Although the spiritual health of the public was a concern for the secular authorities, the establishment of the Inquisition in Venice in 1547 signaled the

¹⁵ A social issue of particular interest was the resurgence of the plague during the sixteenth century. For further reading see, Douglas Biow, *The Culture of Cleanliness in Renaissance Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Samuel Cohn, *Cultures of Plague: Medical Thinking at the end of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Jane Stevens Crawshaw, *Plague Hospitals for the City in Early Modern Venice* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012).

¹⁶ Ali Madanipour, *Public and Private Spaces of the City* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 1.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Alexandra Bamji, “The Control of Space: Dealing with Diversity in Early Modern Venice,” *Italian Studies* 62, no. 2 (2007): 180.

presence of another authoritative entity working to oversee behavior in public space.¹⁹

For both the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, the movement of the public through the market at Rialto, Piazza San Marco, or even a cemetery posed a potential threat to the internal harmony of the early modern Venetian state and the orthodoxy of the Church. Since harmony and balance were essential to the myth of Venice, controlling the populace remained vital to the stability of the state. Deciding who should be excluded from public spaces was a task generally left to the Venetian secular authorities.

Marin Sanudo provided an example of the exclusion of females from Venetian public space when he wrote about the feast of Corpus Christi in June of 1509. The celebration of the feast took place in Piazza San Marco where the procession began. Just before the celebration, however, the heads of the Council of Ten “ordered that there should be no ladies on the balconies of the Piazza, nor should any children or women be allowed inside the Piazza.”²⁰ Twenty armed men “were posted at the corners of the Piazza, where the entrances are, to watch those entering the Piazza.”²¹ The posting of the armed men would have ensured the exclusion of people who might want to interfere with

¹⁹ Francesco Albizzi, *Risposta all’historia della sacra Inquisitione composta gia dal R.P. Paolo Servita* (Rome: S.I., 1768), 42-43. On 22 April 1547, Doge Francesco Donà of Venice, with the assistance of his six councilors, gave the decree that initiated the Inquisition in Venice. Christopher Black, *The Italian Inquisition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 35. In this decree, the appointment was made of three Venetian noblemen, the *Tre Savii sopra eresia* to sit along with the three ecclesiastical judges; namely the nuncio, the patriarch and the Inquisitor, whose task was to ensure that heresy within the city was discovered, proven, and then properly punished. Albizzi, *Risposta all’historia della sacra Inquisitione*, 42. These three laymen, also known as *assistenti*, were to be chosen by the Doge and the *Collegio*. Rome was not pleased with the addition of laymen to the tribunal. The *Tre Savii sopra eresia* was a magistracy comprised of three Venetian laymen who were chosen due to their prominence and their devotion to the faith. The first three to be chosen in 1547 were Nicolò Tiepolo, Francesco Contarini and Antonio Venier. They were given the task of “diligently inquiring against the heretics that were living in the city,” and urging the nuncio, the Patriarch and the Inquisitor to prosecute and punish heretics whenever it was deemed appropriate.

²⁰ *Venice Città Excelentissima*, 369.

²¹ *Ibid.*

the ceremony, either male or female. The restriction of women from this public space and the opening ceremony for this religious celebration suggests that the presence of females would have been distracting for the male participants. Given that the public space and civic space of Piazza San Marco were primarily male-dominated space, excluding women and children from ceremonies that began in the Piazza likely would have been a typical occurrence.²²

The experience of space for an ordinary inhabitant in early modern Venice varied depending on social status and other social factors. The laboring *popolani* represented the balance between the patricians and the poor both in terms of social status and social movement. Authorities perceived the poor as a threat to public space not only because of sanitation concerns, such as the spread of plague.²³ As a public health threat, especially in times of famine or plague outbreak, the poor were not given the same access to public spaces as other classes.²⁴ Yet, exclusion based on social status was complicated in early modern Venice, because women within the patrician class were not typically seen in

²² For more on the exclusion of women in public space see, Edward Muir, "In Some Neighbors we Trust: On the Exclusion of Women from the Public in Renaissance Italy," in *Florence and Beyond: Culture, Society and Politics in Renaissance Italy: Essays in Honour of John M. Najemy*, ed. David Peterson and Daniel Bornstein (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Elizabeth Horodowich, *Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 45-46. Anne Jacobson Schutte, "Society and the Sexes in the Venetian Republic," *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. Eric Dursteler (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

²³ Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State to 1620*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 296. In the later 1530s on two separate occasions, the *Provveditori alla Sanità* expelled beggars from the city of Venice.

²⁴ Thomas Riis, *Aspects of Poverty in Early Modern Europe* (Sijthoff: Alphen aan den Rijn, 1981); Piero Camporesi, *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989); Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Thomas Max Safley, *The Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003); Thom Nichols, *Others and Outcasts in Early Modern Europe: Picturing the Social Margins* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007); Bert de Munck and Anne Winter, *Gated Communities?: Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012).

public thoroughfares unless they were attending an important ceremonial occasion, for fear that their reputation might be damaged or their person assaulted or offended in some way.²⁵ The laboring *popolani*, however, had more autonomy to experience the city because they moved about the city, typically for work-related purposes. Traces of the daily movement of the Venetian laboring *popolani* are often embedded in witness testimony before the tribunal. The majority of the trials of those accused of witchcraft used for this study included people from the laboring *popolani*. Suspicion among the authorities would have increased because it would have been difficult to discern their movement given their frequency of movement throughout the city for work purposes. Because the experience of social space differed among the classes of early modern Venice, authorities struggled to control public space.

Larry Shiner found that, by looking at the human understanding of space, a different type of space emerged, one that was not wholly sacred or profane, but rather was based on experience. This type of space is termed “lived space,” and knowledge of this type of space comes from “moving about in it.”²⁶ The majority of those accused of

²⁵ Dennis Romano, “Gender and the Urban Geography of Renaissance Venice,” *Journal of Social History* 23, no. 2 (1989): 340-341.

²⁶ Larry Shiner, “Sacred Space, Profane Space, Human Space,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 40, no. 4 (1972): 428. As an example of “lived space,” Shiner wrote that: “Lived space is kinesthetic because it is composed of pathways for movement- the enclosure of the house of factory, the piazza, the street, the gateways, or simply the gaps between trees of a park of the flower beds of a garden.” Marc Boone and Heleni Porfyriou, “Markets, squares, streets: urban space, a tool for cultural exchange,” in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, 1400-1700*, ed. Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 228. In their historiographical background of the theories of urban space, Boone and Porfyriou wrote about the shift from Henri Lefebvre’s Marxist interpretation of urban space to a new way of looking at the subject. The trend in scholarship now tends to focus on three particular areas when studying urban space: spatial practices, representations of space, and representational or lived space. Boone and Porfyriou defined lived space as “the ways people respond, often unconsciously, to space and represent it symbolically.” For more on the theories of the city and space see, Harold Fallding, “Secularization and the Sacred and Profane,” *The Sociological Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (1967): 349-364; Richard Sennett, *The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990); Laurie Nussdorfer, “The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997): 161-186; Lord Daniel Smail,

witchcraft moved about frequently, whether for magical or work-related reasons. Therefore, the movement of those accused of witchcraft of the public spaces of early modern Venice offers a unique view of that space.²⁷ Through testimony in front of the Inquisition, the notion of contested space arose from the movement through space of these early modern inhabitants. Examining how the laboring *popolani* challenged the traditional meaning of these public spaces by redefining their uses offers insight into the meaning of public space in early modern Venice. As will be demonstrated in the trial of Giustina (1584), who was accused of making the spell of the hammer with an orange, a mundane item such as a piece of fruit, obtained from the public market, could be used for unforeseen clandestine activities that were often practiced in private, or out of public view.²⁸ Looking at the exploitation of public space inherent in these activities adds to the understanding of the meaning of public space in sixteenth century Venice.²⁹

Unconventional use of public space, including cemeteries, disturbed the Inquisition as demonstrated in its desire for control and maintenance of the social boundaries within these places. The social boundaries discussed in this chapter and in the context of public space centered upon the theme of exclusion. Those excluded from the

Imaginary Cartographies: Possession and Identity in Late Medieval Marseille (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1999); Peter Arnade, Martha Howell and Walter Simons, "Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 4 (2002): 515-548; Caroline Goodson, Anne Lester, and Carol Symes, ed. *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400-1500: Experiences and Perception of Medieval Urban Space* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010).

²⁷ Elaine Forman Crane, *Witches, Wife Beaters, and Whores: Common Law and Common Folk in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); Jonathan Seitz, *Witchcraft and Inquisition in Early Modern Venice* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 237.

²⁸ "Martelli con naranzi..." *Streghe e diavoli nei processi del S. Uffizio: Venezia 1554-1587*, ed. Marisa Milani (Bassano del Grappa: Ghedini and Tassotti, 1994), "Giustina," 141. Hereafter abbreviated as *Streghe e diavoli*.

²⁹ For a discussion on lived space see, Walter Prigge, "Reading the Urban Revolution: Space and Representation," in *Space, Difference and Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, ed. Kanishka Goonewardena, Stefan Kipfer, Richard Milgrom, and Christian Schmid (New York: Routledge, 2008).

majority of Venetian public space were the laboring *popolani*, particularly women, those accused of witchcraft, and foreigners.

I. Movement through Public Space

Previous historical debate among scholars has resulted in extensive discussion about the mobility of women in early modern Venice. The more common view holds that women in the early modern period did not often leave the space of their neighborhood unless it was necessary. Dennis Romano, in an exploration of gender in early modern Venetian urban space, determined that the urban areas of “San Marco, Rialto, and the city’s streets and canals” were considered male dominated space, while women were more commonly associated with the more private spaces of the home, the local neighborhood and convents.³⁰ Another example of this more traditional view of early modern women and mobility was Marlene Eberhart’s argument that “sociability generally took place at the parish level” and, although inhabitants did on occasion leave their parishes, it was typically to seek “essential services (bakeries for example).”³¹ Women, however, according to Eberhart, “remained mostly within their neighborhoods.”³² The challenge to this notion of confinement and the restricted movement of women, particularly the women among the laboring *popolani* in early modern Venice through urban public space

³⁰ Romano, “Gender and the Urban Geography of Renaissance Venice,” 342. Other scholars have pointed out this argument that Romano made, such as: Paola Malpezzi Price, “*Venetia Figurata* and Women in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Moderata Fonte’s Writings,” in *Italian Women and the City: Essays*, ed. Janet Levarie Smarr and Daria Valentin (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2003), 22.

³¹ Marlene Eberhart, “Sensing Space and Making Publics,” in *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Performance, Geography, Privacy*, ed. Angela Vanhaelen and Joseph Ward (New York: Routledge, 2013), 180.

³² *Ibid.*

came from Monica Chojnacka, who believed that, although women did not have access to urban space like their male counterparts, they did display “surprising mobility.”³³

Women often moved about from their neighborhood to another *contrata*, either for business or for personal visitation, and they would sometimes even venture across the city looking for “clients,” as Chojnacka wrote.³⁴ In the case of inquisitorial trials, Chojnacka demonstrated that women moved about the city to perform their duties as healers, as illustrated in the trial of Camilla Garzolo, a healer who came before the Inquisition in 1590.³⁵ As Riitta Laitinen and Thomas Cohen believed, early modern streets were public spaces that served as a “passageway for the movement” that took place throughout the city.³⁶ The “dynamic” nature of female activity on early modern Venetian streets, as characterized by Alexander Cowan, implied that women moving through the streets were not readily noticed because they often socialized out in the public space of the streets.³⁷

³³ Monica Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University press, 2001), 104. Elizabeth Cohen, “To Pray, to Work, to Hear, to Speak: Women in Roman Streets, c. 1600,” in *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, ed. Riitta Laitinen and Thomas Cohen (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 105. Building upon the work of Chojnacka, Cohen wrote that “As in Venice, the circulation of women in Roman streets, especially on foot, typically involved females of modest means and more or less transgressive livelihoods.” In the case of Rome, Cohen pointed out that the lower the social status of the female, “the more extensive and socially exposed women’s mobility became” (*ibid.*, 114).

³⁴ Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, 104.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 108. For more on witches as healers see, Brian Levack, ed. *New Perspectives on Witchcraft, Magic, and Demonology*, vol. 5, *Witchcraft, Healing, and Popular Diseases* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Jane Davidson, *Early Modern Supernatural: The Dark Side of European Culture, 1400-1700* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2012).

³⁶ Riitta Laitinen and Thomas Cohen, “Cultural History of Early Modern Streets: An Introduction,” in *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, ed. Riitta Laitinen and Thomas Cohen (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 1.

³⁷ Alexander Cowan, “Gossip and Street Culture in Early Modern Venice,” in *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, ed. Riitta Laitinen and Thomas Cohen (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 131. For the gendering of Renaissance and early modern streets see, Elizabeth Cohen, “Honor and Gender in the Streets of Early Modern Rome,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 22, no. 4 (1992): 597-625; Guido

I also reveal that women travelled through the public spaces of early modern Venice to collect items for the practice of witchcraft. Ruth Martin believed that the use of practical items in the practice of witchcraft and magic was a point of concern for the Inquisition, given that the items could be obtained with ease throughout the city.³⁸ Although Martin was speaking of the use of religious devotional items, ordinary items that were also collected for the practice of witchcraft were readily available in the public space of the marketplace or a neighborhood shop; for instance, a bird or other ordinary household items, such as salt, could be used for witchcraft. Witness testimony from trials was the most popular means the Inquisition could use to gather information regarding the movement of the accused throughout the city. Since these women procured these mundane items in public spaces that were so ordinary and the spaces themselves were not heretical, as this thesis demonstrated in chapter three regarding the use of banal items and domestic space, it was necessary that the tribunal be able to trace movements of those who had been accused of witchcraft. The Inquisition wanted to make sure that the accused had not taught or spread their heterodox beliefs in any way.

Birds were apparently used frequently in witchcraft and were an item that could be purchased at the market at Rialto.³⁹ In the trial of Santa da Buda (1586), the witness

Ruggiero, "Mean Streets, Familiar Streets, or the Fat Woodcarver and the Masculine Spaces of Renaissance Florence," in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. by Roger Crum and John Paoletti (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 84. For a study on the regulation of early modern streets and youth culture in France see, Christopher Corley, "On the Threshold: Youth as Arbiters of Urban Space in Early Modern France," *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 1 (2009): 139-156.

³⁸ Ruth Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550-1650* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 126.

³⁹ For the use of birds in early modern witchcraft practices see, Richard Kieckhefer, "Magic and Its Hazards in the Late Medieval West," in *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, ed. Brian Levack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 28. Kieckhefer wrote that those who practiced divination often used birds in their magical practices and although "The flight and calls of birds had no inherent power to predict the future...a demon could use such means to respond to the enquires of a diviner, and because demons had long experience and keen powers of observation they could

Antonia testified that she went with Santa one day to buy some things in the markets at Rialto. Evidently, Santa intended to perform a ritual that required herbs, oil, and a live, male bird, perhaps a rooster. When Santa bought the rooster, Antonia testified that Santa “called the Devil two or three times,” apparently right there in the public space of the market at Rialto.⁴⁰ Sensing that she had perhaps implicated herself to the tribunal, Antonia quickly added to her statement that she only went along to the Rialto with Santa to buy the bird.⁴¹ Emilia Catena (1586) also used oil and a bird, which she boiled alive, in her practice.⁴² Although there was no mention throughout the trial regarding where Emilia purchased the bird for her ritual, the bird was procured from a public space, whether it was the market at Rialto, or a neighborhood shop. The main point to be made here is that these women went to the market place, purchased the items that they needed for their witchcraft rituals, and passed relatively unnoticed. Even in the public space of the street, these women moved with their items from the public space back to the privacy of their homes.

Movement in early modern Venice was limited to foot travel and boat travel.

Since travel by boat was typically costly, the majority of Venetians travelled through the

surmise with fair accuracy what the future might hold.” Another practice that included the observance of birds was “aeromancy (divination by air)” (ibid, 29).

⁴⁰ “...et quando lo comprò, chiamò el diavolo doi o tre volte.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Santa da Buda,” 207.

⁴¹ “Et così tornò questa dona et me disse che voleva far una cosa con un osso de morto da Lio, con terra de morto, con herbe et olio et un ucello vivo...Et io andai con ella solamente a comprar l’ucello et portava queste altre cose in seno. Et l’ucello lo compramo a Rialto, et in Rialto me disse che bisognava che l’ucello fosse vivo et maschino, et quando lo comprò...” Ibid.

⁴² “...et un ucello, che lo pellava vivo et lo metteva in una pignatta et lo faceva bogliere vivo nell’olio.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Emilia Catena,” 157.

city by walking.⁴³ If an inhabitant needed to cross the Grand Canal and they could not afford boat transport, they had to go to the bridge at Rialto to cross.⁴⁴ Chojnacka wrote that “a walk across Venice was not normally arduous,” because most places were within half an hour of one another.⁴⁵

Aside from socializing, the street was a public space that served as an essential element in the performance of witchcraft. In the trial of Elisabetta (1587), for example, the street was necessary for completing an incantation in two instances. Anzola, a witness in the trial against Elisabetta, explained to the inquisitor that Elisabetta had taught her the conjuration of the five devils on the wall.⁴⁶ This particular conjuration for Anzola was performed to secure the love of a man that she desired. As part of the ritual, it was necessary “to throw three grains of salt into the fire and out of the door onto the street” in the direction of the man of whom Anzola wished to gain the affection.⁴⁷ Elisabetta herself testified that a lady named Chiara had taught her a spell which required the use of the street for completion. The spell, according to Elisabetta’s description of the ritual to the inquisitor, required that she throw salt onto the street while reciting the incantation.⁴⁸

⁴³ Deborah Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice* (New Haven: Yale University press, 2002), 51. Howard pointed out that the amount of people travelling on the streets and in the canals was so large, that it was a “perpetual worry” for Venetian authorities, “and was controlled by strict government legislation.” Among these worries were public health, such as sanitation, but also, an increase in crime and the threat it posed to the individual.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 49. Howard wrote that the wealthy families in Venice would have owned a private gondola and probably a *sandolo*, which was a small boat used for transporting goods, at least until the nineteenth century.

⁴⁵ Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, 105.

⁴⁶ “Di più, la mi faceva spanare il muro in questo modo. La mi faceva metter cinque ditta sul muro...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Elisabetta,” 227.

⁴⁷ “...gettar tre grani di sale nel fuoco e fuori della porta della strada...” *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ “...et poi ghe insegnava de butare questo sale per la strada et diceva: Tio’ che te pago. Ménalo qua.” *Ibid.*, 231.

This incantation was given in the “name of the Devil,” suggesting that the Devil could be reached out in the open or rather that he dwelled in the public space of the street.⁴⁹ These two incantations signify different uses for the street for ritual purpose. In the first incantation, Elisabetta used the street as a way to obstruct or cross the path of the man for whom the practice was intended. In the second incantation Elisabetta performed, the street was used in order to conjure the Devil. Using the public space of the street meant that other people would be able to view these practices and perhaps be harmed in some way by these women.⁵⁰

The suspicious nature of these practices, however, was compounded when those accused of witchcraft ventured out in the night in order to perform their magic. The trial of Giovanna Semolina (1584) demonstrated a similar use of the street and the invocation of the Devil. According to Catarina, a witness in the trial of Giovanna, other elements of this ritual required that the person venture out in the night and smear a poultice upon the door of the person they wish to reach. Catarina testified that she had sent for Giovanna one day, seeking her services because her husband was staying with a courtesan named Agnesina.⁵¹ Desperate to have the bond broken between her husband and Agnesina,

⁴⁹ “...et questo a nome del Diavolo...” Ibid.

⁵⁰ For more on the Devil in witchcraft see, Keith Thomas, *Magic and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1971); Joseph Klaits, *Servants of Satan: The Age of the Witch Hunts* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985); Jonathan Barry, Marianne Hester, and Gareth Roberts, eds., *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Gary Jensen, *The Path of the Devil: Early Modern Witch Hunts* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2007).

⁵¹ “Un’altra volta mandai a dimandar la detta Semolina per il detto mio garzon Bartholomeo, e li raccontai un mio affanno che io haveva per la mala, e continua pratticha che teneva mio marito Leonardo muschiero sopra detto d’una cortigiana detta Nisina, qual stave all’hora al ponte della Madalena, e li narraì detta pratticha di mio marito con questa donna, per il che era divenuto fastidioso e colerico con me e con tutti di

Catarina sought the assistance of Giovanna. The first solution Giovanna proposed required that Catarina required that she give her husband water taken from the fonts of thirty three churches and mixed with “the water blessed at Epiphany.”⁵² When the potion did not work, Catarina returned to Giovanna for another solution. The next “composition” that Giovanna made for Caterina contained an ingredient “called stinking Lazaro.” Catarina testified that she did not know of the other ingredients, but the ritual required that she “go at night...to the home of the said Agnesina” and smear the smelly composition on “the door.”⁵³ As Catarina was smearing the door with the composition, she was supposed to recite the words, “Oh Devil, oh Devil.” Along with the implication that the Devil could be conjured in the public space of the street, the movement in the cloak of night would have surely aroused suspicion among people, if she would happened to have been caught in the act. Early modern Europeans, as Craig Koslofsky discussed, often associated night with “evil” and “diabolical temptation.”⁵⁴ Drawing on trials of witchcraft throughout early modern Europe, Koslofsky believed that witness testimony fused “the traditional sense that the Devil might appear at any time with the authorities’

casa, pregandola mi dovesse dar qualche agiuto, acciò che mio marito si levasse questa pratica.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giovanna Semolina,” 78.

⁵² “Et così m’ordinò che io dovesse mandar a casa sua che mi darebbe una ampolina d’acqua di trentettré pilete de chiese mischiata con l’acqua benedetta della Epiphania, et che la dovesse dar per tre mattine sequente continue in vino o in brodo, dove voleva mi.” *Ibid.*, 78-79.

⁵³ “E così ghe la mandai nova, et mi disse che farebbe lei una compositione de non so che mestura, che si chiama lazaro puzolente, et non mi disse che cosa altro li mettesse dentro, e che il detto mio garzon, al qual lei darebbe la pignata da lei accomodata, dovesse andar di notte a che hora io voleva, a casa di detta Agnesina et imbrattargli la porta di sopra e di sotto et in tutte le parti, et dir secondo che egli imbrattava: *O Diavol, o Diavol...*” *Ibid.*, 79. It should be noted that Caterina carried through with the instructions as Giovanna had given them, but that the composition did not work.

⁵⁴ Craig Koslofsky, *Evening’s Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 19.

belief in the ubiquitous power of the Devil.”⁵⁵ Trials before the Inquisition in Venice demonstrated these same types of popular notions regarding the Devil and the night. Therefore, women believed to have been moving about through the night would have aroused suspicion from neighbors and the tribunal.⁵⁶

There were, however, additional dimensions to the night that were popular for the magical practices of witchcraft. As evident in the trials, travel on certain nights or days of the year was also considered to add potency to spells and the materials collected for witchcraft. Ruth Martin pointed out that sometimes these specific days or nights were on days reserved for Christian worship, but on other occasions the days had non-Christian associations.⁵⁷ Carlo Ginzburg also addressed the belief that female witches went about at night, especially on specific religious days. Ginzburg wrote that “the mysterious journeys by women during the nights of the Ember seasons was an ancient motif” that was rooted in popular belief and myth.⁵⁸ It seemed people chose these holy nights because they were thought to hold more power and magic than regular nights during the rest of the year. In the trial of Diana Passarina (1586), witnesses claimed that she went out at night four times a year to collect herbs.⁵⁹ Ursula, a witness in the trial, told the

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁵⁶ For further reading on witchcraft and night see, Wolfgang Behringer, *Shaman of Oberstdorf: Cjonrad Stoeckhlin and the Phantoms of the Night*, trans. H.C. Erik Midelfort (München: R. Piper GmbH and Co., 1994; Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1998); Michael Bailey, *The A to Z of Witchcraft* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press/Rowman and Littlefield Publishing, 2003).

⁵⁷ Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550-1650*, 136.

⁵⁸ Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1966; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 44.

⁵⁹ Michael Ostling, *Between the Devil and the Host: Imagining Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 116. Ostling wrote that in early modern Poland, using herbs could cause suspicion of the practice of witchcraft, or could ward off the effects of witchcraft. Among the factors

tribunal that Diana had told her that these four nights were St. John the Baptist, Epiphany, Ascension, and Corpus Domini.⁶⁰ Margarita also testified that Diana went around four nights a year collecting things from the earth, such as “herbs and different things to make witchcraft.”⁶¹ Margarita, continuing Ursula’s testimony, only remembered three of the nights and named them as: Epiphany, St. John the Baptist, and the Ascension.⁶² Using religious feast days for the practice of witchcraft demonstrated an inversion of religious beliefs, similar to that present in the use of religious items for heretical purposes within domestic space.

Moving about on nights of religious holidays and festivals, however, was also in direct contradiction to the traditional rituals conducted by church authorities. Because these religious nights were chosen for the performance of clandestine activities and rituals, these women had challenged the authority of the church. On occasion, women accused of witchcraft moved around at night, sometimes on specific nights, some holy, other not, that were believed to possess some type of power. As Ginzburg proposed, travelling on holy nights was a challenge to ecclesiastical authority. By using public

that Ostling gave for the use of herbs and the suspicion of witchcraft was the time of day the herbs were gathered and the place the herbs were collected from. For example, gathering herbs from a cemetery gave suspicion of witchcraft. Also, “gathering herbs before dawn was suspicious, especially as this could be combined with the gathering of dew and moisture which characterized maleficent milk-theft.”

⁶⁰ “La detta Diana mi disse che andava la notte de san Zuane con le fade, et che quatro notte dell’anno, cioè da san Zuane Battista, dala Pifania, dala Senza et dal Corpus Domini lei andava a torno a cogliendo dele herbe et dela terra, come lei mi disse.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Diana Passarina,” 198. The days were: John the Baptist, Epiphany, Ascension, and Corpus Christi. For further reading on the superstition associated with these feast days see, Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1250-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Louise Milne, *Carnivals and Dreams: Pieter Bruegel and the History of the Imagination* (London: Mutus Liber, 2007).

⁶¹ “...et che 4 notte dell’anno particolarmente va intorno tutta la notte cogliendo della terra, delle herbe et diverse cose da fare strigarie.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Diana Passarina,” 192.

⁶² “Et queste notte sonno quella dell’Epifania, quella di san Giovanni Battista et la notte dell’Ascensa, l’altra non me l’aricordo.” *Ibid.*

space at night, Diana not only redefined social boundaries about who could use those spaces and for which purposes, she also did so with the intent to further her witchcraft, which was a direct assault on the religious boundaries of the city.⁶³

II. The Land of the Dead: The Use of the Cemetery

In early modern Venice, cemeteries were both sacred and public. Venetians considered cemeteries to be sacred space because they are created upon hallowed ground where people placed their loved ones, and traditionally in early modern cities, cemeteries were on the grounds of a church. Cemeteries represented public space in the sense that, in a city as dense as sixteenth century Venice, they occupied visible, urban space. But perhaps most importantly, cemeteries “democratize immortality.”⁶⁴ Lefebvre described cemeteries as absolute space, “the space of death’s absolute power over the living.”⁶⁵ The mausoleums, tombstones and the grave markers erected in cemeteries, naming the dead, brought about the idea of “haunted places, places peopled by the living dead.”⁶⁶ Cemeteries, therefore, not only linked people to the dead, but also served to link the urban reality to spaces that could be suspicious. Scholarship on necrogeography and the space of cemeteries has moved analysis away from graveyard architecture, to more consideration of the cultural aspects of cemeteries, treating them as “deliberately created

⁶³ For more on Diana, the nocturnal goddess of the night and her association with witchcraft see, Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches’ Sabbath*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1989; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991).

⁶⁴ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 235.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

and highly organized cultural landscapes.”⁶⁷ This idea of a cemetery being a type of cultural space certainly applied to early modern Venice.

As Stephen Bassett wrote, cemeteries were designed to protect the living in two ways; from the biological threats the deceased posed through disease and from “ritual pollution.”⁶⁸ With regards to public health, the burial of the dead within an urban space as dense and water logged as early modern Venice posed many health concerns.⁶⁹ Burial within the city was a common practice until Napoleon’s reign, when the architect Giannantonio Selva created a civic cemetery located on the island of San Michele.⁷⁰

The bodies of the newly deceased were also often thought to possess mystical powers, or rather “some degree of sentience or ‘life force’.”⁷¹ In the Catholic tradition,

⁶⁷ Richard Francaviglia, “The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61, no. 3 (1971): 501.

⁶⁸ Steven Bassett, ed., *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 2. Mario Erasmo, *Death: Antiquity and its Legacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 5-6. Ritual pollution, either religious or environmental, had roots in the ancient Roman and Greek world. This type of pollution, as Erasmo wrote, could affect the afterlife of the deceased, if the body did not receive a proper burial and “pollution could also attach to the sacred places of the gods if contaminated by corpses that were brought into the city.”

⁶⁹ Di Michel Ragon, *Lo Spazio della morte: saggio sull’architettura, la decorazione* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1981), 49. Ragon wrote that the urban space of Venice demonstrated an “obsession with death.”

⁷⁰ For more information on the cemetery of San Michele see, Sonia Sun Yee Mak, *To Dwell in Memory: A New Addition for the San Michele Cemetery in Venice* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 2009); Erasmo, *Death: Antiquity and Its Legacy*, 67. Erasmo, in a discussion on the placement of cemeteries on the periphery of cities, wrote that the sea sometimes stood as the space between the living and the dead, as was the case of the island of San Michele in Venice. Also known as the Island of the Dead, in the nineteenth century, a canal was filled in to enlarge the space of the cemetery. The death procession to the Island of the Dead can still be seen today, as Erasmo wrote: “The cemetery is still in use and special funeral gondolas transport the dead from the mainland to the island in a figurative evocation of the dead crossing the River Styx and the liminality between life and death and the living and the dead.” As a point of popular interest, Erasmo said that San Michele remains a popular place for tourists to visit because it is the resting place for several famous people; Igor Stravinsky and Ezra Pound to name two.

⁷¹ Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, “Introduction: placing the dead in late medieval and early modern Europe,” in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 7. Penny Roberts, “Contesting sacred space: burial disputes in sixteenth-century France,” in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 133. Roberts wrote that it was also a

burial of the dead was a highly ritualized process and cemeteries were thought of as places where the bodies of the dead remained until they could be resurrected.⁷² Because cemeteries were associated with spirits and other supernatural presence in the sixteenth century, they also became places where magical items could be collected, especially the use of the bones of the dead in witchcraft practices.

It was common in the sixteenth century for those accused of witchcraft to use the bones of the dead, both human and animal, in their rituals and conjurations.⁷³ This belief was particularly used to communicate with the dead.⁷⁴ Human bones also played a role in the tradition of necromancy, so that taking these bones from cemeteries was a popular practice in “everyday magic and sorcery.”⁷⁵ Ecclesiastical and secular authorities and the

popular belief that the soul the deceased would remain close to the body for a short period of time after the death, which could also account for the mystical qualities of the dead in the cemetery in the sixteenth century. This view, Roberts said, was not an acceptable practice in Catholic orthodoxy.

⁷² Roberts, “Contesting sacred space: burial disputes in sixteenth-century France,” 133. On the subject of the use of bones and witchcraft, see Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550-1650*, 99. Martin wrote about an instance of necromancy where skulls were used in a spell for invisibility. Fra Marc’Antonio Gandolfo, in the year 1584, on the island of Crete, “acquired three skulls from the cemetery attached to his monastery.” The experiment went as follows: “He had then placed a bean in each mouth and eye socket, covered the skulls in holy ash and arranged for these to be watered daily with holy water by a soldier. The theory behind all this was that these would grow and the beans they produced, when eaten, would give invisibility.” For further reading on the resurrection of the body see, Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); Piero Camporesi, *The Fear of Hell: Images of Damnation and Salvation in Early Modern Europe* (Milan: Garzanti Editore, 1987; University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990); James Collins and Karen Taylor, eds., *Early Modern Europe: Issues and Interpretations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006).

⁷³ Maddalena Braddamonte apparently used the skull of a goat in one of her spells; “...un osso de testa de capretto...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Maddalena Braddamonte,” 108.

⁷⁴ Charles Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft*, (New York: Routledge, 2009), 127.

⁷⁵ Charles Zika, *Exorcising Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 384. Nimrod Zinger, “Who knows what the cause is?”: “Natural” and “Unnatural” causes for illness in the writings of Ba’Aleï Shem, Doctors and patients among German Jews in the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Jewish Body: Corporeality, Society, and Identity in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period*, ed. Giuseppe Veltri and Maria Diemling (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 141. Zinger wrote that human bones were also a part of practical healing in the Jewish tradition in the early modern period.

public in general were concerned about the destruction of these human remains because this sort of destruction “reflects the dismemberment and destruction that witches bring to the body of society and of each of its members.”⁷⁶ Unearthing and stealing the bones of the dead was a breach of not only religious and sacred boundaries, but also of the psychic boundaries that were inherently present in cemeteries. The fact that the dead were buried underground and interred in some type of container denoted that their remains were not meant to be disturbed. As a space, cemeteries in the early modern period were contained within a wall, or some type of fence, much as they are today, so as to denote their presence in public space, the separation from public space, and protection from trespassers.

Inquisitorial records contain instances of witches moving through the cramped space of the city, out in the open view of the public eye, gathering herbs, bones, chickens, and other things necessary for conducting their spells and incantations. Cemeteries however, represented an interesting use of public space by witches because they would go there to gather earth and sometimes bones from the graves there.⁷⁷ For example, when Giustina (1584) was brought before the Inquisition, the testimony of Modesta revealed the secret practice that was used to procure the love of the man that a woman wanted to marry. As part of the ritual that Giustina proscribed, Modesta would need some marrow

⁷⁶ Zika, *Exorcising Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 385. See also Zika, *The Appearance of witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London: Routledge, 2007), 12 and 38. Zika gave visual representations of the use of bones in witchcraft ceremonies as depicted by sixteenth century artists. In addition to the tradition in iconography, bones also meant served as reminders of the necromancy tradition used witchcraft. For more on grave desecration see, Craig Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700*, (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).

⁷⁷ There is little scholarship to reflect the actual usage of bones in witchcraft, but there is an indication in this scholarship that bones were used. For example, Horodowich, *Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice*. Horodowich wrote that sometimes witches would boil bones into what was sort of like a “witches’ stew (*la pignatta*).”

from the bones of the dead. Modesta made it clear to the tribunal that she did not want any part in the witchcraft that Giustina proposed.⁷⁸ Bones and the marrow from bones were apparently used in a practice of love magic, but they were also used for more diabolical practice, as demonstrated in the trial of Emilia Catena (1586).

There were other items gathered from cemeteries that were necessary for witchcraft practices, dirt, or earth from the graves. In the trial against Emilia Catena (1586), a witness by the name of Magdalena testified that the accused Emilia had asked her to go to the cemetery and “gather earth of the dead.”⁷⁹ Magdalena told the tribunal that she did not want to go to the cemetery, but that eventually she did accompany Emilia to the church of the Servi (Santa Maria dei Servi). Magdalena said that “she took some of that earth, or rather some bones. And she bought a small chest and put the earth in with the oil stolen from a church.”⁸⁰ Emilia also asked Magdalena to go to Santi Apostoli to get some oil. These were the ingredients needed so that Emilia could “give the hammer” to a man named Giovanni Grifalcone.⁸¹ Another witness, Stella, testified that Emilia went one time to the cemetery at San Francesco della Vigna “early one morning and took some bones of the dead.”⁸² Stella, the witness, told the tribunal that she did not know

⁷⁸ “Te farò ben sposar! E’torò la miola de morto. Basalo con la miola in boca, che ‘l te sposerà! Mi ghe ho ditto che non voglio far ste cose...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Giustina,” 153.

⁷⁹ “Di più, la ditta Emilia mi volse mandare una volta a pigliare della terra di morti...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Emilia Catena,” 157.

⁸⁰ “...ma io non volsi andar, et finalente io andai in sua compagnia alla chiesa di Servi in quell campo santo quando si va verso Canaregio, et lei tolse di quella terra overo delli ossi. Et comprette un cesendello et li messe dentro quella terra con dell’olio robato in una chiesa, che lei mi voleva mandare a Sant’Apostolo pigliare detto olio, ma io non volsi andare, et lei andò poi da stessa.” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Emilia Catena,” 157-158.

⁸¹ Et questo lo fece per fare Martello a un suo huomo chiamato Giovanni Grifalcone.” *Ibid.*

⁸² “Di più, la detta Emilia andò a San Francesco della Vigna una mattina abonhora et pigliò del’ossa de morti.” *Ibid.*, 161.

what Emilia did with the bones from the cemetery, but that Emilia kept them “in a small room of hers.”⁸³ Emilia used the magical powers of bones for the most heinous of witchcraft practices, to give the hammer, and had crossed the boundary between the sacred space of the cemetery and the ideological boundaries associated with the desecration of the dead.

In addition to serving as a place from which to procure items for witchcraft, cemeteries in early modern Venice also represented the division in ethnic boundaries, and therefore, one of the important social boundaries that defined public space of the city. The social boundaries were imposed by the Venetian authorities in the late medieval and early modern periods. The Greek community initiated a request for an imposed boundary between soldiers and men they perceived as being of lower social standing. For the Jewish community, the boundaries corresponded more to confessional divides, but they must also be treated as ethnic boundaries as well.⁸⁴

In an appeal made to the Council of Ten on 4 October 1511, Greek soldiers asked the Ten for the right to create the Church of San Giorgio dei Greci. The soldiers felt that

⁸³ “Et mi non so che cosa ne feva, ma so che la portava et la teneva in una cameretta sua.” Ibid.

⁸⁴ Sandra Wallman, “Ethnicity and the Boundary Process in Context,” in *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*, ed. John Rex and David Mason (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 230. Wallman, in her discussion on the scholarship of boundaries and ethnic groups, wrote that the foundation of boundary making “can be visible or invisible, symbolic or real” and that typically, they are shaped around “territoriality, history, language, economic considerations, and symbolic identification,” among other things. The social boundaries that the Greek community in Venice desired were centered upon social issues that encompassed ethnicity, but also socio economic factors as well. For more on the Greeks and Venice see, Benjamin Arbel, “Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox in the Early Modern Venetian State,” in *The Three Religions: Interdisciplinary Conference of Tel Aviv University, Venice, October 2000*, ed. Nili Cohen and Andreas Heldrich (Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag GmbH, 2002); Siriol Davies and Jack David, “Greeks, Venice, and the Ottoman Empire,” *Hesperia Supplements*: “Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece,” 40 (2007): 25-31; Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice’s Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (2001; repr., Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Jonathan Harris and Heleni Porfyriou, “The Greek Diaspora: Italian Port Cities and London, c. 1400-1700,” in *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, ed. Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

the chapel of San Biagio was too mixed in Greek and Latin rites and that the space was too small to accommodate all the Greek worshippers. The soldiers expressed that “worse still, there is no place to bury the dead, as in all [other] churches. They mingle our bones with those of galley-men, porters and other low creatures; even this would be more tolerable if the graves were not upon the public way, and those poor bodies and bones were not dug up and thrown into the water within a few days of burial.”⁸⁵ The parish priest of San Biagio, the soldiers explained, threw the bones into the water to make room for more burials because burial of the dead served as source of income for the church. The soldiers expressed the importance of proper burial to the Greek community in their statement to the Ten: “At the Last Judgment the fishes of the sea will be hard put to it to yield up our bones and organs that our bodies may be completely restored.”⁸⁶ The Greek soldier’s plea demonstrated that a space reserved specifically for the dead was of the utmost importance to Venetian inhabitants. Often, as expressed in the statement of the soldiers, the bones and the bodies of the dead were not treated with respect in their interment. For early modern communities, such as the Greek community, having a space exclusively for the burial of their members was essential to their lives after death and also to the lives of those who were still living. Cemeteries in early modern Venice were vital to communal identity because they linked specific communities of the living and the dead. The petition of the Greeks for a separate burial ground indicated their desire to ensure that their deceased members were buried with people of like social and

⁸⁵ “The Church of San Giorgio dei Greci, 1511,” in *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, ed. David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 335.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

occupational status, that the community would have a dedicated member to oversee proper burial, and that respect for the burial of the dead would be guaranteed.

The Jewish community held much the same sentiment, with the exception that their concern centered upon issues of a more religious nature. In early modern Venice, the confessional divide between the church and the Jews of Venice can be seen in the creation of the ghetto, as demonstrated earlier, but was also apparent in the exclusion of Jews from burial within the urban space of the city. As Will Coster and Andrew Spicer wrote, “there is a tension inherent in all religions between the ownership of sacred space by the individual, the institution or the community and the division into the visible and the unseen.”⁸⁷ Jewish cemeteries, therefore, represented Venetian exclusion, even in death, by the Venetian authorities. The issue of exclusion, however, was a solution for the authorities, because allowing the Jews to create a cemetery on the Lido meant that the issue of burial, and the anxiety of contamination that accompanied cross-confessional burial, was resolved. For the Jewish community, however, placing the cemetery away from easy public access did not protect it from being disturbed by those that practiced witchcraft.

In the late medieval and early modern period, Jews were forbidden to bury their dead within the city. Donatella Calabi wrote that one of the benefits to living in Venice in the Ghetto was the right to die there. Minority groups that resided in late medieval and early modern Venice had a right to be buried, which the “Venetian government neither

⁸⁷ Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, “Introduction: The Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe,” in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 12. Coster and Spicer also believe that “sacred space can be seen as situated at the crossroads of the major trends in the study of the Reformation, as a meeting place between popular religion and the attempt to reorder that religion” (ibid., 3).

wished to nor could limit in any way.”⁸⁸ Using valuable urban space was the only option for cemeteries, or burial space, and this was something that the government did not want to give to minorities. The solution was put forth in 1386, when the *Piovego* allowed a Jewish man by the name of Solomon a plot of land on the island of Lido. The plot was twenty-one by nine meters in size and was very close to the Benedictine monastery located there. In 1388, the Jews were allowed to place a fence around their cemetery for protection against vandals and other types of defilement that “so often befell Jewish cemeteries.”⁸⁹ Jewish cemeteries all over Europe during the late medieval period and the early modern era were often extramural and required to be placed on the outside of, or on the edge of the urban areas.⁹⁰ Much like the establishment of the Ghetto, the creation of the Jewish cemetery on the Lido indicated a social, and a religious, segregation on behalf of the Venetian government. Additionally, orthodoxy supported theological rationales for this segregation. Early modern Christian cemeteries were intended only for those destined for purgatory or heaven; since Jews were outside Christianity, they were doomed to

⁸⁸ Donatella Calabi, “The “City of the Jews,” in *The Jews of Early Modern Venice*, ed. Robert C. Davis and Benjamin Ravid (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 48.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Jewish cemeteries were not the only confessional group that was required to bury their dead on the outskirts of town in the sixteenth century. For example see, Vanessa Harding, “Whose body? A study of attitudes towards the dead body in early modern Paris,” in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 174-175. Harding demonstrated that Protestants in sixteenth century Paris were made to use the cemeteries on the periphery of town that were once reserved for those that had died from the plague. For more information on cemeteries see, Julia Barrow, “Urban cemetery location in the high Middle Ages,” in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600*, ed. Steven Bassett (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 94. For more information on Jewish cemeteries in the medieval and early modern period see, Minna Rozen, “A Survey of Jewish Cemeteries in Western Turkey,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* LXXXIII, no. 1-3 (1992): 71-125; Andrea Morpurgo, *Il cimitero ebraico in Italia. Storia e architettura di uno spazio identitario* (Milan: Quodlibet, 2012).

hell.⁹¹ Although segregation had implications for Jews, the ability to bury their dead in a communal space meant that they could preserve an important cultural and religious rite.⁹²

As the Jewish population within the city rose, so did the need for a larger space for burial. In 1578, the Jewish community leased even more land from the Benedictines on the Lido to expand the burial site, called the Cemetery of San Nicolò. The Venetian government retained the right to use the area near the cemetery for civic needs, if it saw the need.⁹³ Marin Sanudo recorded just such a civic event taking place on the space of the Lido when he wrote an account of the feast of the Ascension in May of 1526: “May 10 was the feast of the Ascension. The Most Serene Doge, dressed in gold and with a mantle of white-gold damask and a corno of the same damask of white gold, went with the aforementioned ambassadors in the new Bucintoro to marry the sea and to hear Mass at San Nicolò on the Lido.”⁹⁴ In addition to Venetian civic rituals upon the Lido, sacred rituals also took place in this space. By retaining their right to this area, the Venetian secular authorities secured the boundaries placed upon the Jewish community and enforced their presence and authority. Venetian secular authorities were not always

⁹¹ For further reading on Christian burial see, Richard Rutherford and Tony Barr, *The Death of a Christian: The Order of Christian Funerals* (1980; repr., Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1989); Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (Oxford: Routledge, 1995); Douglas Davies, *Death, Ritual, and Belief: The Rhetoric of Funerary Rites* (1997; repr., New York: Continuum, 2002); James Keenan, *The Works of Mercy: The Heart of Catholicism* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005); Éric Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*, trans. Elizabeth Trapnell Rawlings and Jeanine Routier-Pucci (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); Cynthia Klestinec, *Theaters of Anatomy: Students, Teachers, and Tradition of Dissection in Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

⁹² Roberts, “Contesting sacred space: burial disputes in sixteenth-century France,” 141. Roberts described the condition of Huguenots in sixteenth century France, when they were excluded from communal church graveyards, as one of acceptance. However, their ability to establish their own cemeteries, perhaps “reinforced the sense of solidarity within their own communal group.”

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ *Venice Città Excelentissima*, 83.

unaccommodating to the Jewish population within the city, as demonstrated in the creation of a canal to facilitate Jewish funeral processions to the Lido.

The funeral procession from the Ghetto in Cannaregio to the cemetery in the Lido was difficult and lengthy. The long procession took place on boats and passed along the outside of the *sestiere* of Castello before making its way back through the canal to pass under the bridge near the church of San Pietro. The solution came about in 1668; the creation of the *Canale degli Ebrei*. Despite later problems with the canal in the eighteenth century, the Canal of the Jews “was symbolic and representative of the particular interrelationship that had come to exist between the Jewish community and the city of Venice, at least from the perspective of urban topography: an effective symbol of the spatial isolation that was periodically sought by both sides but was never completely achieved.”⁹⁵ Although the Venetian government allowed Jews to remain within the city, their continued presence was costly for the Jewish community, both culturally and financially. As demonstrated in the creation of the Canal of the Jews and the creation of a cemetery on the Lido, the Venetian government would allow for the Jewish community to make use Venetian space, at a cost, but the Jewish community remained on the periphery of the city.

Several reasons made the Jewish cemetery a sensible choice for procurement of magical items for several reasons. For one, since it was the Jewish cemetery, those who were Christian would not hold the Jewish cemetery as sacred as they would their own. Also, as the Jewish cemetery was located out on the Lido, which was considered a public space, but was not on the main island its remoteness made detection of a person less likely than if the person had used cemeteries on the main island. Proximity to the Lido

⁹⁵Calabi, “The City of the Jews,” 49.

was important in the trial of Santa da Buda (1586), who lived on the island of San Pietro de Castello. Santa could have witnessed funeral processions making their way to the Jewish cemetery on the Lido, but obtaining bones and earth from the cemetery would have been an arduous task because the fence surrounding the cemetery already would have been erected. Nevertheless, her close proximity made the cemetery on the Lido easier to reach than a cemetery inside the city proper.⁹⁶

Santa's offenses recorded that she was accused of having in her possession and using: the five leafed plant, and the bones and the earth of the dead from the Jewish Cemetery on the Lido.⁹⁷ The first witness was Lady Antonia, wife of Hieronymo, a boatman, living in the parish of San Ioannis Novi, in the *sestieri* of Castello.⁹⁸ After Santa left the church of San Biagio one day after she had attended Mass, she went towards the Piazza and the procession for the Festival of the Madonna passed by her. According to the story, Santa then met Maria, who claimed that she stayed at San Zuane di Furlani.⁹⁹ Santa continued her story saying that Maria told her, "If I have time, one of these days I am going to the Lido."¹⁰⁰ Maria told Santa that when she was able to go, she would be

⁹⁶ Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, 114. Foreign women, such as Santa that lived within the city of Venice, as Chojnacka discussed were more mobile throughout the city because they did not have familial ties that bound them to a particular place.

⁹⁷ "...herba cinque dea, osso de morto, terra de morto, tolti in Lio dove se sopelisse I Zudii..." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Santa da Buda," 205. Milani in footnote, n. 4, wrote that the Jewish Cemetery was a common place for witches living in Venice to visit because they held the belief that the bones and the earth of the Jewish dead help greater power than the bones and the earth of Christians; "Il cimitero ebraico del Lido era meta di tutte le fattucchiere veneziane convinte che le ossa degli ebrei e la terra del cimitero avessero propietà maggiori di quelle cristiane."

⁹⁸ "23 iunii 1586...[bianco] domina Antonia uxor Hieronymi barcoli...habitarix Venetiarum in contrata Sancti Ioannis Novi..." Ibid., 206.

⁹⁹ "Io era a San Biasio alla messa, nel uscir fuora dela giesia me fu deta questa cosa... E mi giera sentà là in piazza quando passava la procession, et la griega giera sentà là appresso de mi, che ha nome Maria et per quanto me disse la steva a San Zuane di Furlani..." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Santa da Buda," 208.

¹⁰⁰ "Se mi haverò tempo, un de questi zorni anderò a Lio..." Ibid.

able to get the things that she needed to help the distressed Antonia.¹⁰¹ Santa then said that Maria did go to the Lido on Saturday. She met Santa coming out from the church at San Biagio, and gave her the items that she needed to assist Antonia.¹⁰² Perhaps sensing that the tribunal had grown suspicious of her story about Maria, Santa confirmed that it was true that she had been to Mass at San Biagio but added that she had met with the monsignor who stayed in the house of the said Antonia.¹⁰³ It was not until later in the trial that Santa admitted that she went to the Lido, but she did not reveal the items that she had gone there to acquire.¹⁰⁴ The testimony of Antonia, however, revealed that Santa had told her, “she wanted to make something with a bone of the dead from the Lido” and “with the earth from the dead.”¹⁰⁵ Santa’s abuse and misuse of the cemetery crossed the social boundary, both of the cemetery itself and of the imposed segregation of the Venetian government.

Venetian cemeteries in the early modern period were representative of the divisions in confessional space, and they were also embedded with items that were deemed magical by those that practiced witchcraft. By entering into these sacred places in view of the public, these women were challenging the notion that cemeteries were the resting place of the dead. By entering into the Jewish cemetery, those accused of witchcraft were crossing the boundaries imposed by the Venetian authorities, both

¹⁰¹ “...e ghe porter una cosa che zuoverà a questa Antonia grama meschina che pianze.” Ibid., 208-209.

¹⁰² “Et così questa griega è andata sabbado proxime passado a Lio...Et me trovò a San Biasio vegnendo fuora de//giesia et me dete quelle herbe, cioè herba cinque dea et non so che altre herbe...” Ibid., 209.

¹⁰³ “Et ad interrogationem dixit: // È vero che venendo verso San Biasio sabbato su le 23 hore me incontrai con monsignor che sta in casa de la ditta Antonia...” Ibid., 211.

¹⁰⁴ “...et io li disse che veniva da Lio, et non li mostrai niente che avesse in seno ma aveva ben dele herbete...” Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ “Et così tornò questa dona et me disse che voleva far una cosa con un ossa de morto da Lio, con terra de morto...” Ibid., 207.

ecclesiastical and secular, that had been drawn around social and religious issues.

Disturbing and stealing bones from the dead bodies was an opposition to social boundaries, which may have been set by the communities themselves.

III. Public Space and the Inquisition: From San Marco to Rialto

Public space in Venice underwent a ritualization process in the sixteenth century, due to the increasing political and religious tensions the city experienced. The Inquisition operating in Venice had a strong presence in public space in the latter half of the sixteenth century. As a legal body, the inquisitor's presence in public space comes as no surprise. Through issuing sentences and displaying punishments in public space, the Inquisition established ecclesiastical boundaries for the general public and for the transgressor. Using public space in this way, the Inquisition reestablished orthodoxy and deterred future religious digressions. Ruth Martin believed that the "desire on the part of the Church to purge itself of impurity at every level" was responsible for the rise of the Inquisition's public punishments and pronouncements the goal being to "reach as high a percentage of the population as possible."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550-1650*, 219. Martin wrote that the Roman Inquisition began trying to establish the practice of public punishment in 1560 with Nuncio Facchinetti. It was Bolognetti, however, that achieved a degree of success in 1581 when he advocated, and won, the right that "the abjurations of the treasure-hunters," were to be made "publicly in St. Mark's." Martin also noted that this would never become the standard practice for abjurations. The Roman Inquisitions dealt with punishment differently than the Iberian Inquisition. Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History*, 248. Bethencourt stated that the Iberian Inquisitions displayed those people that were condemned in a much more publicized manner. As "a rite for the public presentation of the penitents and the condemned," an auto-da-fé was an event that only Iberian Inquisitions performed. The goal of public punishment for the Inquisition in Venice was to realign those who had transgressed, and to warn those who may transgress against the Church, or even perhaps disrupt society. The purpose of the auto-da-fé as Bethencourt wrote, was "The desire to create a memory of infamy (and by the same title a memory of success against heresy)," so the concept was not to reform the heretic, but to destroy the heretic (ibid., 289). For more on public punishments see, Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1975; New York: Vintage, 1995).

In Venice, the operation of the Inquisition was designed to protect the devout, but it was also a means of maintaining proper social control within the city while demonstrating the harmony and the balance between the inhabitants and those in positions of power. The civic authorities in Venice managed to manipulate the process of the Inquisition within their city by seizing and maintaining secular positions within the tribunal. The Holy Office, however, was different from the civic and the ecclesiastical courts in that it was allowed jurisdiction “over the population as a whole.”¹⁰⁷ In Venice, the Inquisition, as a configuration of social activity within the public sphere, was easier to witness as it strove to control “the central value system” of the Venetian inhabitants.¹⁰⁸

Since the Inquisition operated as the protector of the Catholic faith and its members, the presence of the Inquisition was surely felt once it began operation within the city. The Inquisition, Guido Ruggiero stated, had an interest in punishing people who misused “the sacred and the spiritual powers of the Church.”¹⁰⁹ The operations of the Inquisition likely did not burden close adherents to the faith, who may have even welcomed its presence within the city. The proper flow of religious ideas throughout the Catholic population was difficult to control and at times impossible to monitor. Given the diversity of Venice in the early modern period, where people from across the world converged and left pieces of their native religions and cultural values, internal and external forces deemed proper control to be of the utmost.

¹⁰⁷ Bethencourt, *The Inquisition*, 323.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Guido Ruggiero, *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage, and Power and the End of the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 17.

Venetians took their proximity to criminals and heretics seriously because the state, in the instance of civil law, was familiar with the concept of guilt by association. For instance, Gaetano Cozzi reported that in August of 1531, the Council of Ten issued a law stating that if a person were found harboring a criminal and “does not send him away instantly, but keeps company with, follows or accompanies him by day or night, armed or unarmed in places forbidden him by his sentence, even if he be connected to him by the closest ties of blood, immediately incurs, and is understood to have incurred, the same penalty of being outlawed as the real transgressor.”¹¹⁰ This also meant that the person harboring the criminal could be put to death just as the convicted criminal. In a relatively short period of time the Council of Ten began receiving complaints that people were abusing this new law to exact revenge on their enemies. As a result, in September of 1532, the Council of Ten amended the law of 1531 to read that if a person were found to be harboring a criminal for more than one day, then their punishment would be a monetary fine and they would be exiled for a period of five years from the place or territory where they were residing.¹¹¹ This shift in the punishment for association from death to monetary penalty indicates that the authorities realized that people could easily implicate a person intentionally, but also that a monetary fine would benefit the authorities. Irrespective of the particular punishment, the point was clear; those who were found to have accompanied a criminal, or given shelter to a criminal, would be punished for associating with that criminal.

¹¹⁰ *Leggi criminali del Serenissimo Domino Veneto in un solo volume raccolte e per pubblico decreto ristampate* (Venice, 1751), 14, quoted in Gaetano Cozzi, “Authority and Law in Renaissance Venice,” in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J.R. Hale (New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973), 295.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

The Inquisition, acting as a public deterrent, also helped to maintain balance within the city. Michel Foucault, in his discussion of eighteenth-century judicial torture wrote “in the actual carrying out of the penalty...the body of the condemned man was once again an essential element in the ceremonial of public punishment.”¹¹² Public punishment was not a new event in sixteenth century Venice. Venetian authorities, whether secular or ecclesiastical, punished people publicly not only for the preservation of the social balance within the city, but also to realign those who had offended the authorities. Ritualizing punishment in this public space would reinforce the power and justice of Venice, which also played an important role in the myth of Venice. It appeared that quite often, people were given similar punishments within this civic space for the purpose of re-establishing authority within these spaces. In early modern Europe, public execution took the form of ceremony; condemned walked in procession to their death place where an anxious crowd greeted them.¹¹³ The Inquisition in Venice, however, did not often employ executions, but did, however, turn rather ordinary punishments into ceremonies through deliberate display in public space. The Inquisition converted the public space of San Marco, and sometimes the Rialto, into legal space in order to uphold the myth of Venice.

Civic and ecclesiastical authorities drew on precedent to defining public space as legal space in Venice. For instance, Marin Sanudo described the Piazzetta at San Marco in his *Laus urbis Venetae* (1493), in quite intimidating terms: “there are two very high columns mounted upon several steps. On the top of one [column] is St. Theodore and on

¹¹² Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 43.

¹¹³ Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe, 1450-1989* (2006; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 232.

the other St. Mark. In the space between them judicial sentences are carried out on all robbers, traitors or others, being burnt, hanged or otherwise according to their crime.”¹¹⁴

Based on the tradition of ancient Roman architecture, the pair of columns in the piazzetta served as “symbol of justice” and a “metaphor for imperial power.”¹¹⁵ The importance of the piazza and piazzetta in late medieval-early modern Italian history was summed up by Stephen J. Milner: “The piazza was such a place of communal imagination through which successive forms of spatial, institutional, social, and linguistic order were articulated and contested.”¹¹⁶

San Marco was a public space where the Venetian government met and where inhabitants would go to attend many of the city’s civic and religious festivals throughout the year.¹¹⁷ And it was in the Piazza San Marco that people entered and exited the city via

¹¹⁴ Marin Sanudo, “Laus urbis Venetae,” in *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, ed. by David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 8-9. Scholarship on the Piazzetta tends to center upon the theatricality of the space and the architecture lining the space. For example see, Eugene J. Johnson, “Jacopo Sansovino, Giacomo Torelli, and the Theatricality of the Piazzetta in Venice,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, No. 4 (December 2000): 436. Johnson suggested that if you look at the piazzetta towards the south, the water served as the backdrop to the stage, framed by the two large columns. Not only was this space used for public performances and theatrical display, but it also served as a place for the noble class of Venetians to act out and display their rituals and deeds, as well as the place for the acting out of daily life for the average Venetian. The surrounding buildings served as the seating and the balconies of these buildings serve as premium seating for those of the upper ranks to be able to enjoy the display from a coveted position.

¹¹⁵ Deborah Howard, “Ritual Space in Renaissance Venice,” *Scroope; Cambridge Architecture Journal* 5 (1993/2994): 8. Howard used as her example for a pair of columns as justice, the Temple and Palace of Solomon. The idea that paired columns can symbolize imperial power is seen in the Roman columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.

¹¹⁶ Stephen J. Milner, “The Florentine Piazza della Signoria as Practiced Place,” in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. by Roger Crum and John Paoletti (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 84.

¹¹⁷ For more on Piazza San Marco see, Iain Fenlon, *The Piazza of San Marco* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Jean Castex, *Architecture of Italy* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2008), 133. Castex pointed out that “Saint Mark’s square is the symbol of Venice. Except from the far end of the Piazzetta di San Marco, a smaller extension of the main square, it presents the paradox that the most important civic space in Venice has no view of the water in a city devoted to distant shipping with the eastern half of the Mediterranean Sea.” For the building program and its purpose for the Ducal Palace see, Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice*, 123-128. As Howard discussed, the Ducal Palace and the

the piazzetta. In the prison cells attached to the Doge's Palace convicts served out their sentences for their transgressions. The Piazza San Marco stood "at the center" of Venetian civic space and stood "as a figure for the city as a whole."¹¹⁸ The religious and the secular came together in the Piazza with the combination of the basilica and the Ducal Palace.¹¹⁹ The piazza in general, to the early modern person and particularly to Venetians, was a point of reference for their own position within the city. By making this space a place for the punishment of offenses against the church and state, Venetian authorities had struck at the center of the city, as well as the attention of inhabitants.

Using civic space to control deviant behavior was common in early modern Venice, and the preservation of social order was essential to maintaining civic harmony in most cities of the time. Just as in the present day, the court house or the place of judicial procedure of the early modern period was typically in the center of the town where civic life abounds, symbolizing justice and hopefully deterring those tempted to act outside the social norm. Once impetus for this often a deliberate placement of authority related to the determent of deviant behavior; when people can see the threat of punishment for their actions, they may be less inclined to commit offensive offenses. Public spaces that served as Venetian identity markers were used by the Inquisition to translate its power and justice to the inhabitants and foreigners visiting the city. Specific places of judicial justice are meant to remind people of the consequences of crimes and

church of San Marco are placed so close to one another to demonstrate the connectedness of political authority and sacred authority within the city of Venice, in the figurehead of the doge.

¹¹⁸ Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, *Venice Triumphant: The Horizons of Myth* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 191.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 192. For more on flogging in as a form of punishment see, Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*, 164-165; Julius Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 96-97.

transgressions committed against the church, but perhaps more importantly against the Republic itself. This open and public display is characterized by Francisco Bethencourt as the “ritual system” of the Inquisition, which was often dramatic and quite elaborate.¹²⁰ Punishment for the sake of reasserting boundaries and making an example of those that had transgressed was essential for the preservation of social order. As demonstrated in the trial of Maddalena Braddamonte (1584), when her sentence was given, the tribunal stated that the punishment was given as an example to others so that they may be deterred “in the future” from “fortune telling, love magic, and of superstitions,” as well as the common “bean casting.”¹²¹ Since each of these things listed were considered popular forms of magic, there was the implication that many people believed in their power, not necessarily that they practiced this magic, but the belief in it was enough to warrant admonition from the tribunal.

Of the several types of punishments that played out in the very civic spaces of San Marco and the Rialto, whipping was a common form of corporeal punishment inflicted on the inhabitants of the city.¹²² Sanudo’s entry on 29 June 1509 described the punishment for disobedient nuns in addition to the severe punishment that nuns received who “leave their convents for any reason,” shall be punished “so as to make them a most

¹²⁰ Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History*, 29.

¹²¹ “...in exemplum aliorum sive aliarum ut detereantur in futurum ab huiusmodi sortilegiis, herbariis et superstitionibus et ut dicitur butar fave...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Maddalena Braddamonte,” 115. Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550-1650*, 103. Martin wrote that the term *herbaria* was used by Venetians to mean “the practice of conjuration towards love magic.” This type of conjurations, Martin continued, had many varying themes and was primarily an offense committed by women.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 220. Martin wrote that whipping was “standard procedure in the 1580s, which meant that the penitent, “with a placard denoting her offence,” was “to be led and whipped from St. Mark’s to Rialto to stand in the pillory for one hour before being sent into Exile.” Whipping as a form of inquisitorial punishment, Martin stated, fell out of prominence in the seventeenth century. When this form of punishment was carried out, it was no longer typically in St. Mark’s and Rialto, but instead in the neighborhood of the penitent.

significant example to others.”¹²³ Perhaps more to the point was the mandate that “the servants, boatmen, and other who, in whatever fashion, transport these nuns away from the convents whether through the city or elsewhere must be imprisoned for six months and shall be imprisoned for six months and shall be whipped from San Marco to Rialto.”¹²⁴ Sanudo also wrote that the same punishment would be given to any of these persons that were found to have brought anyone near the convents. This was an example of the public thoroughfare of early modern Venice being used by the authorities for the purpose of making examples of them to the public.

The same punishments were used for those found to have practiced witchcraft and for those accused of other offences against the Holy See, such as re-baptizing. In the trials of Elisabetta (1587), Santa da Buda (1586), and Emilia Catena (1586), all of whom were found guilty of performing witchcraft, public flogging, or whipping, from San Marco to the Rialto was mandated. In the trial of Elisabetta, her punishment was public and served as a demonstration in the authority of the Inquisition. The route of punishment appeared to almost take the form of a ritual. Elisabetta’s punishment set forth by the Inquisition was as follows:

The Holy Tribunal decided this morning that the above aforementioned Elisabetta, wife of Libero the caulker, be whipped from the Doge’s Palace and through the Merceria as far as the Pietra del Bando at Rialto and thereafter stand in the platform at the foot of the Rialto bridge for an hour with the headdress on [her] head with a page with devils painted on it and the inscription in big letters: Condemned by the Holy Office for love magic, witchcraft, and bean casting, and thereafter to be banished just as she was for five continuous years from the city and duchy of Venice between the Mincio and Quarnaro.¹²⁵

¹²³ *Venice: Città Excelentissima*, 383.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ “Sanctum Tribunal decrevit quod hodierno mane predicta Helisabet uxor Liberi calafati fustigetur a curia palatii Sancti Marci et per Merciarium usque ad petram banni Rivoalti et postea stet in berlina sive palcho ad pedem pontis Rivoalti per horam cum mitria in capite de pagina cum diabolis pictis cum

Elisabetta's punishment was much that Santa da Buda received. Santa's punishment before the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition began 23 June 1586. Santa was found guilty of "*striga et herbera*" for her offenses. In addition to being publicly flogged from San Marco to Rialto, Santa was also made to wear these words publicly as part of her punishment received at her sentencing.¹²⁶

In trial of Giovanna Semolina (1584), banishment for a period of five years between Mincio and Quarnero was imposed as a part of punishment.¹²⁷ According to the inquisitorial records, on "Friday, July 6th, at the third hour, by order of the Holy Office, Giovanna Semolina should be placed in public on a high platform between the two columns in San Marco."¹²⁸ While she stood between the two columns, she wore the headdress on her head that read "Condemned by the Office of the Holy and Just

inscriptionibus litteris grossis PER LA SANTA INQUISITIONE PER HERBARIE STRIGARIE E BUTAR FAVE, et postea banniendam esse prout eam bannivit per quinquennium continuum a civitate et ducatu Venetiarum inter Mentium et Quarnerium..." *Streghe e Diavoli*, "Elisabetta," 234. The sentencing of Elisabetta specified that she was banned from "Mentium to Quarnerium, and if at any time she breaks the ban, and is captured, there is a reward of 100 lire de piccole and she should be locked in the prisons of San Marco for six months and not allowed from confinement unless [she] pays the said 100 lire and thereafter her banishment then starts again, and this [will be enforced] every time she contravenes and is captured." The original text reads: "...et si ullo unquam tempore fregerit bannum et fuerit capta quod dentur de bonis ipsius libre centum parvorum et stare debeat clausa in carceribus Sancti Marci per menses sex et non exeat ex carceribus nisi solutis dictis libris centum et postea ad bannum suum tunc incepturum, et hoc toties quociens contrafecerit et fuerit capta." Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550-1650*, 173. Martin wrote that "the majority of those condemned in the late 1580s to a whipping, public humiliation in the pillory and banishment were condemned for witchcraft which contained a high proportion of divination, as evidenced by the inclusion of 'buttar fave' on the mitre or placard on their person."

¹²⁶ "Die 3 iulii 1586...Sententia contra Sanctam de Budua, Sanctum Tribunal viso processu formato contra Sanctam de Budua et consideratis contentis in eo et quod reperta est in franganti crimine preparato in exemplum aliarum decrevit eam publice fustigandam esse a plathea Sancti Marci usque ad petram banni Rivialti et ibi postmodum ponendam et retinendam per horam in berlina publice cum mitria de pagina in capite et inscriptione litteris grossis PER STRIGA ET HERBERA ..." *Streghe e diavoli*, "Gulia," 214.

¹²⁷ "Sententia condemnatoria et obrobriosa ac bannitoria annorum quinque infra Mentium et Quarnerium." *Streghe e Diavoli*, "Giovanna Semolina," 83.

¹²⁸ "Ioanne Semolinae quod die veneris 6 mensis iulii proxime futuri hora tertiarum debeat per ministros Sancti Officii poni publice inter duas culumnas plathea Sancti Marci in palcho alto..." Ibid.

Inquisition, for love magic, witchcraft, and bean casting.”¹²⁹ The headdress that those found guilty of this form of witchcraft were made to wear typically included their name and paintings of devils.¹³⁰ This type of punishment would likely have required the use of some type of pillory.¹³¹ Giovanna was sentenced to remain in this public state until the “hour nine and a half” on that day; thus, she stood there for six hours before being returned to prison.¹³² Giovanna, like Elisabetta, was also banished from the “distinguished city of Venice and from the district between Mentium and Quarnerii.”¹³³ If Giovanna were found to be in violation of her banishment and captured “she should be whipped from San Marco through the Merceria to the Pietra del Bando,”¹³⁴ and given a monetary fine of three hundred lire should she not remain in exile.¹³⁵ Maddalena

¹²⁹ “...cum inscriptione sive brevi litteris maiusculis cum his verbis scilicet PER L'OFFICIO DELL'INQUISITION SANTA ET IUSTA ET PER HERBARIE STRIGARIE ET BUTAR FAVE...” Ibid.

¹³⁰ “...cum eius nomine et cum mitria et pagina in capite cum diabolis pictis...” Ibid.

¹³¹ Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice 1550-1650*, 217.

¹³² “...debeat permanere ibidem usque ad horam nonae dimidii diei et demum debeat reponi in carceribus...” *Streghe e Diavoli*, “Giovanna Semolina,” 83.

¹³³ “...et ei intimari exilium ab ista inclyta civitate Venetiarum et a districtu Mentii et Quarnerii...” Ibid.

¹³⁴ Fenlon, *Piazza San Marco*, 26. According to Fenlon, the Pietra del Banda was a trophy brought back from a military campaign to Venice and was described as “a squat stump of a porphyry column from which official decrees were read and the heads of traitors displayed.” The stone was thought to have made its way to Venice, from Acre, by Lorenzo Tiepolo in the thirteenth century. The stone, Fenlon wrote, “was a symbol of Genoese authority.” Fabio Barry, “*Disiecta membra*: Ranieri Zeno, the Imitation of Constantinople, the *Spolia* Style, and Justice at San Marco,” in *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, ed. Henry Maguire and Robert Nelson (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010), 44. Barry wrote that a copy of the Pietra del Bando was copied in red granite and placed in the Campo di San Giacomo del Rialto in 1541. This was the Pietra del Bando spoken of in the trial of Elisabetta where traditionally, “new laws were pronounced, but petty criminals named and shamed, as well as made to kiss the statue of a captive under the steps (“Il Gobbo”), after being birched naked all the way from Piazza San Marco first.” Calabi, *The Market and the City: Square, Street and Architecture in Early Modern Europe*, 59.

¹³⁵ “...in casu contra factionis et fuerit capta debeat fustigari per platheam Sancti Marci et totam Mercariam usque ad petram banni Rivoalti et non debeat relaxari ex carceribus nisi solutis libris trecentis parvorum de suis propriis bonis pro mercede et premio capientis...” *Streghe e Diavoli*, “Giovanna Semolina,” 84.

Bradamonte (1584) received the same punishment as Giovanna Semolina, and within a few days of one another.¹³⁶ It seems that that Giovanna Semolina and Maddalena Bradamonte received such hard penalties because “there was some degree of impenitence or reluctance to confess.”¹³⁷ Banishment would send the message that the person posed a threat to the well-being of the city of Venice, and its inhabitants. This would also ensure that the person was not able to contaminate the people anymore.

Other types of punishment demonstrated a form of physical incarceration, such as being sentenced to the galley. As a consequence of his sin against the doctrine of the Christian faith, Giacomo Francoso (1548) was sentenced to serve in the galley.¹³⁸ The sentencing was read aloud over the stairs in San Marco and then in the Rialto so that all

¹³⁶ “...in penam predictam Magdalene Nasine cognominate Braddamonte quod die chrastina hora terciarum debeat per ministros Sancti Offitti poni publice intra duas columnas plathee Sancti Marci in palcho alto cum inscriptione sive brevi litteris maiusculis cum his verbis scilicet {ER L’OFFITIO DELL’INQUISICION SANTA ET IUSTA ET PER HERBARIE STRIGARIE E BUTAR FAVE cum eius nomine et cum mitria ex pagina in capite cum diabolis pictis, et debeat permanere ibidem usque ad horam none dimidii diei et demum debeat reponi in carceribus et ei intimari exilium ab ista inclyta Venetiarum et a district Mentii et Quarnerii per quinquennium continuum, et in casu contraventionis et fuerit capta, quod debeat fustigari per platheam Sancti Marci et totam Merciarum usque ad petram banni Rivoalti et non debeat relaxari ex carceribus nisi libris trecentis paucorum de suis bonis...” *Streghe e diavoli*, “Maddalena Braddamonte,” 115.

¹³⁷ Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice 1550-1650*, 217.

¹³⁸ Christopher Black, *The Italian Inquisition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 91. Black wrote that sentencing a defendant to the galleys was a step down from the death penalty and was like receiving a life in prison sentence, since the idea was that you would die there. The Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition preferred this method of punishment “for ecclesiasts committing serious heresies. The Holy Office operating in Venice was apprehensive about sentencing to the galley and in 1559 the Council of Ten “ruled that those guilty of doctrinal heresy should not be sent to the galleys because they might there seek to spread their ideas.” Since sixteenth century Venice was well known for its seafaring capabilities, it is not surprising that sentencing to the galleys was used as a form of punishment. It does, however seem a harsh punishment for an offender such as Giacomo Francoso. John H. Langbein, in *Torture and the Law of Proof: Europe and England in the Ancien Régime* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 30-33. Langbein wrote that using the galleys as a form of punishment for prisoners arose out of the need for oarsmen during the late medieval and early modern periods because the work on a galley was so strenuous, it was difficult to procure volunteers. Since operating a galley properly took hundreds of oarsmen, there was often a lack of men available to serve. In addition to providing oarsmen, sentencing to the galleys then became the western European alternative to the death penalty. As late as 1762, prisoners from the Austrian Empire were still being sentenced to service in the galley. Galley sentencing throughout Europe as a whole diminished with the eighteenth century as ship technology began to improve.

those passing by could observe this harsh punishment, in order that they might guard themselves from similar error.¹³⁹ As demonstrated by the public reading of Giacomo's sentence given in two of the most trafficked areas in Venice, the Inquisition reminded the inhabitants of their fate should they choose to do something outside the accepted Christian doctrine.

There were however, other types of punishments that were carried out in more secretive manner, for the sake of preserving social harmony. Whenever the tribunal in Venice issued an execution, which was not very often, the act was carried out in secrecy. Without public knowledge, the accused was taken in the middle of the night and drowned and sunken in a sack in the lagoon. The regular method for condemnation of death as practiced by the Roman Inquisition was burning, either after beheading or after strangulation. This method was reserved for those condemned who wished to die as Catholic.¹⁴⁰ In order to issue a sentence of death, The Council of Ten had to lend its approval. The power of the Ten was great and they also had to give approval for the tribunal to issue an arrest of important members of the community being charged before the Inquisition.¹⁴¹ The sentence for ordinary criminals usually entailed that they be hung between the two pillars in the Piazzetta San Marco, often being burned after they were hung there.¹⁴² Although public executions were not the first choice for the Venetian

¹³⁹ "...sopra le schalle de San Marco et de Rialto et cossì dicemo, sententiamo et deffinitivamente pronuntiamo cum ogni miglior modo che havemo potuto et podemo." *Processi del S. Uffizio di Venezia contro ebrei e giudaizzanti*, ed. Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini, Book II (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1980). "Giacomo Francosco," 59.

¹⁴⁰ Bethencourt, *The Inquisition*, 314-315.

¹⁴¹ Black, *The Italian Inquisition*, 35.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 90.

tribunal, when they did impose such a sentence it was often chosen with great care. There was always the risk that the condemned would have the opportunity to express their beliefs and grievances before the gathered crowd. In such instances, if the Inquisition suspected that the condemned might arouse the audience, then suppressing the voice of the condemned would be necessary. For instance, Giordano Bruno was gagged before his death sentence was carried out in Rome in 1600 for fear that he would rouse the crowd with a speech.¹⁴³

This route through this very public space was a deliberate action to realign what was viewed by Venetian authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, as an offence against the state and the faith. The effectiveness of the Inquisition and their use of punishment in public spaces were clear by 1584 because of the increase in denunciations made to the tribunal.¹⁴⁴ By ceremonially displaying these offenders of the city and the faith, the Inquisition used public space to reinforce what had been labeled the myth of Venice.¹⁴⁵

Conclusion

Early modern Venetian public space was diverse and multi-functional. Used for many reasons, both by individuals and by authorities, these public spaces supported movement, business transactions, and social exchange. Rialto and Piazza San Marco were the two most prominent public spaces in the urban landscape, but other public spaces helped

¹⁴³ Ibid., 91.

¹⁴⁴ Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice 1550-1650*, 221.

¹⁴⁵ Iain Fenlon, "Magnificence as Civic Image: Music and Ceremonial Space in Early Modern Venice," in *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, ed. Fiona Kisby (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 44. Fenlon wrote that after the council of Trent, "stability and continuity were achieved by the increased use of the city and its main spaces for the annual cycle of ceremonies and rituals, strengthened by the enhanced conception of Venice not only as the Perfect Republic but also as the City of God."

define the experience of inhabitants. Ritual, as much as control and exclusion, defined Venetian public space in the sixteenth century, as was the case for cemeteries, which also represented a type of public space. Cemeteries were typically in the open and presumably, people visited them often to pay homage to their deceased loved ones. The nature of these cemeteries, however, also demonstrated the Venetian secular authorities' control of space. For instance, the segregation of the Jewish cemetery onto the Lido was a deliberate restriction of space. Although the Jewish cemetery was in a remote area, the Venetian government also reserved the right to still use this space for civic purposes. In spite of, or perhaps because of, these boundaries, inhabitants continued to make use of public spaces to meet their own needs.

Contrary to a prevailing belief that women rarely utilized public spaces in the early modern period, women in early modern Venice used public spaces for purposes other than running errands or work. As demonstrated through trials before the Inquisition, women also used public spaces to practice witchcraft. Challenging the traditional notion that early modern women were relatively confined to space within the urban environment, the trials of those accused of witchcraft demonstrate a high degree of movement throughout the city. Inhabitants participated in traditional forms of communication and knowledge through their daily movement in these public spaces, but sociability was not the only exchange. This was apparent in two particular ways: through the performance of ritual and through the gathering of items in public spaces. These rituals often took place in public spaces, unbeknownst to the authorities. Individuals practicing witchcraft sometimes turned streets and other routes of regular travel into places for heretical practice. Conducting spells outside the doors of those they wished to

bewitch, or reach with their ritual, often occurred in the dark of night. The accused also used streets and the market place to invoke the Devil, which threatened the well-being of the general public, and defied the orthodoxy of the Church. Many of the magical practices took place in public and items used for magic were procured from public space.

Trials before the Inquisition suggest that women often traversed throughout the city, leaving their own parish, and in many cases even the *sestiere*, in an attempt to get the things that were necessary for their rituals and performances. Many of the materials necessary for spells, incantations, and other heterodox practices were often procured from highly visible, public spaces, like the market at Rialto, near the “slums” where the “common whores” lived.¹⁴⁶ Gathering items from cemeteries was a desecration of both public space and sacred space. By venturing into cemeteries, places characterized by secrecy and death, these women breached not only a physical boundary but a symbolic boundary that was implied. By conducting rituals and gathering forbidden and suspicious items in open, public spaces, these women challenged the traditional paradigm of Venetian control of public spaces.

In an effort to quell the negative impact of individuals who did not adhere to orthodoxy, the Inquisition used Venetian public space to reinforce religious and social boundaries. By issuing public pronouncements and punishments in spaces that were used as ceremonial routes of devotion, the Inquisition ritualized public punishment.

Copyright © Julie Fox 2013

¹⁴⁶ Diana Robin, “Courtesans, Celebrity and Print Culture in Renaissance Venice: Tullia d’Aragona, Gaspara Stampa, and Veronica Franco,” in *Italian Women and the City: Essays*, ed. Janet Levarie Smarr and Daria Valentini (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2003), 35.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

Venice had a complicated history and an equally complex geography. Space offered members of the Venetian community in the sixteenth century a sense of identity, as demonstrated through interactions among inhabitants and ecclesiastical and secular authorities. While Venice had a reputation as the *Serenissima*, it was also a community beset with struggles. The reconstitution of the Inquisition in Venice in 1547 was a catalyst for such change. By maintaining a presence throughout the city, secular and ecclesiastical authorities worked to sustain the stability embodied in the myth of Venice. Due to the presence of the Inquisition in particular spaces, the Venetian collective identity was often altered. Additionally, the discourse between inhabitants also changed with the presence of the Inquisition and certain spaces became designated as sacred, suspect, and in some instances forbidden. These endeavors played out in spaces throughout the city and were often most recognizable among communities of foreigners and outsiders. By challenging the traditional uses of the home, the neighborhood, and the public space of the city, inhabitants were able to redefine these spaces and therefore affirm their social identity. As a consequence of the transformation of space and identity, boundaries arose and were often shaped around ideological, physical, and behavioral divides. Ideological divisions within space were evident in witchcraft trials and were demonstrated in the use and misuse of the domestic space of the home.

As a locus of individual identity, the repurposing of domestic space by those accused of witchcraft proved to be a challenge for ecclesiastical authorities and neighbors. Traditional social convention throughout early modern Europe held that

women were vulnerable to avarice and therefore needed male supervision.¹ Since domestic space was traditionally the realm of females, activities within the home concerned the Inquisition, especially if the activities were clandestine. As witchcraft trials suggested, a concern for the Inquisition was that witches were practicing their beliefs within the confines of the home. More problematic however, was the concern that witches were teaching their heterodox beliefs to a younger generation of females. As revealed through witness testimony, neighbors were often aware of clandestine activities taking place within a nearby home, and sometimes were even present when witches performed magic. Since witches were not using their homes to bolster the mainstream religious identity, they were treated with suspicion by neighbors and ecclesiastical authorities.

Perceptions of family, honor, and identity were often expressed in the domestic space of the home in the early modern period. The commonly held notion was that the home was the intermediate space between the morality of the individual and the morality of the public.² Within the home women were often able to assert autonomy; which was rarely tolerated or even possible in public spaces. Witches often transformed the space of

¹ For general histories on women in Venice and Italy see, David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Deanna Shemek, *Ladies Errant: Wayward Women and Social Order in Early Modern Italy* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998); Monica Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Satya Brata Datta, *Women and Men in Early Modern Venice: Reassessing History* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003); Daniela Hacke, *Women, Sex and Marriage in Early Modern Venice* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004); Katharine McIver, ed., *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible through Art and Patronage* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012). For general histories of women in early modern Europe see, Merry Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Susan Amussen and Adele Seeff, eds., *Attending to Early Modern Women*, (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1998); Jane Donawerth and Adele Seeff, eds., *Crossing Boundaries: Attending to Early Modern Women* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2000); Susan Broomhall and Jennifer Spinks, *Early Modern Women in the Low Countries: Feminizing Sources and Interpretations of the Past* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011).

² Helen Hills, ed., *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

the home into heretical space through magical practices and heterodox rituals. For example, the fireplace, typically located within the kitchen of an early modern home, was essential for warmth and cooking food. Witches often used the fireplace for the practice of love spells and conjurations involving love magic. Repurposing domestic space in this way was a means for witches to challenge the ideological boundaries previously established by the community and the authority of the Inquisition, all the while reaffirming their cultural beliefs and identity. The social link between the home and the neighborhood in early modern Venice was multifaceted and not only revealed the neighbors' perception of the space of the home, but also acceptable social behavior within the community.

Venetian neighborhoods were rich in social activities and were often indicative of the social climate of the greater Venetian community. Most all daily activities for the inhabitant would have taken place without leaving the space of the neighborhood. Inhabitants identified with their local parish, and the parish church stood as a symbol of the commonly held religious beliefs of the community, reinforcing the piety of the members of the community. Neighborhoods were social spaces where communities often formed around common cultural and ideological beliefs. Often, the accepted social norms of the greater community were displayed in front of the tribunal, usually in cases where an inhabitant had behaved in a manner unacceptable to the community. Witches, in opposition to the customary behavior throughout Venetian neighborhoods, often created alternative communities as a measure to reinforce their cultural and ideological beliefs, as well as their place within the neighborhood. Through teaching their magical practices to neighbors and practicing witchcraft on balconies, in the streets, and throughout the

neighborhood, witches not only challenged the commonly held beliefs of the neighborhood, but also posed a problem for the Inquisition. Since a primary concern of the Inquisition was the spread of heretical beliefs, creating their own communities for heterodox practice meant that witches were also undermining the authority of the Inquisition.

The presence of the Inquisition within the neighborhood was well-known and often altered the identity of the community. Since neighbors often testified before the tribunal against other neighbors, the integrity of the community in general came into question. Given that people had no way of anticipating what their neighbors might say to the tribunal, people would often distance themselves from the defendant, or other members of the community; which could also cause membership within community to change. Often, as membership in these communities began to shift, inhabitants would differentiate between members and foreigners. Characteristics of foreigners were indicated in witness testimony and witnesses often pointed to the difference in the foreigner person's clothing, or particular facial features, especially if they were male. Early modern Venetian neighborhoods were often a mixture of Venetian-born inhabitants and the occasional foreigner. Venetian communities were not just dominated by Venetians. Communities of foreigners often gathered and grouped themselves in particular areas throughout the city, such as the case of Greek communities within Venice.

Greek communities in Venice often formed around cultural and occupational similarities. Located within the outlying area of Venice, Greek communities tended to form around the Arsenal. As communities serving those who worked in the Arsenal,

housing was inexpensive and the Venetian government could limit foreign communities, including Greeks, to an area outside the main space of the city. Members of the Greek community however, were determined to recreate their identity within Venice. In their attempt to seek recognition for their religious beliefs, the community of Greeks advocated for their right to practice Catholicism in the Greek rite. In their efforts to do so, they clashed with Venetian secular and ecclesiastical authorities, but their persistence paid off. The Greek community also experienced tension among their own members. This type of social conflict often played out in front of the tribunal, and implied that Greek communities were embedded with behavioral boundaries. As demonstrated in the trial of Giustina (1584), communities often held common beliefs that centered upon ideas of loyalty and solidarity. In order to reaffirm the commonly held social and cultural practices of the community, Giustina was denounced as a witch to the tribunal by members of the community. The Greek community used the Inquisition to reinforce the behavioral boundaries of their community. In the formation of collective identities, conflict and tension were often present. Greek communities in Venice were looking for acknowledgement for their cultural identity from authorities and errant community members.

Other types of foreign communities in early modern Venice symbolized a more blatant segregation of people from Venetian social space, such as the case of Jewish communities. The creation of the Ghetto in 1516 demonstrated Venetian governmental control of social space. As the social and religious climate began to change throughout the sixteenth century, the Venetian government made the decision to physically separate the Jewish communities from the greater Venetian community. Paradoxically, the Jewish

community thrived within the walls of the Ghetto, and determined to maintain their religious and cultural identity within a Catholic society, Jews petitioned for the right to bury their dead in their own cemeteries. Although the Jewish community was allowed burial space, Venetian authorities maintained ultimate control of the space by only allowing a lease and reserving the right to hold civic ceremonies near the cemetery. Being able to bury members of the community in the space of Jewish cemeteries according to tradition reaffirmed collective identity and preserved cultural practice.

Ascribing to the belief that Venetian stability came from the harmony and piety of its inhabitants, Venetian secular and ecclesiastical authorities sought to curb any negative influences native inhabitants or foreigners could introduce. The public spaces of early modern Venice, such as the market, the civic center and the cemetery played host to the struggle over power between inhabitants and the city's authorities. Since witches and foreigners had no real social identity within Venice, often they had to establish their own social identity. Witches often challenged the social boundaries of public space by practicing their magic in public and collecting their items for magical practices in public spaces. Communities of Jews and Greeks established their social identity within Venice through the creation of churches and cemeteries. The ecclesiastical and secular authorities, in turn, reaffirmed their identity in these public spaces through ritual punishment and by maintaining control over public spaces. The various strategies used by inhabitants and Venetian authorities in early modern Venice, reveals that spaces were often repurposed, and sometimes constructed for the preservation of social identity.

Bibliography

- Abbott, Deana Marie. *Home, Hearth, and the Devil: Gender and the Early Modern Witch*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2010.
- “*Ad Limina* report of the Patriarch Matteo Zane from 20 December 1604.” In *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan, 193-194. 1992. Reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Ahlgren, Gillian T. *The Inquisition of Francisca: A Sixteenth-Century Visionary on Trial*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Ainley, Alison. "Amorous Discourses." In *The Provocation of Levinas: Rethinking the Other*, edited by Robert Bernasconi and David Wood, 70-82. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Ajmar-Wollheim, Marta and Flora Dennis and Ann Matchette. “Approaching the Italian Renaissance Interior: Sources, Methodologies, Debates.” In *Approaching the Italian Renaissance Interior: Sources, Methodologies, Debates*, edited by Marta Ajmar-Wollheim, Flora Dennis and Ann Matchette, 1-6. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.
- Albizzi, Francesco. *Riposta all’ historia della sacra Inquisitione composta già dal R.P. Paolo Servita*. Rome: S.I., 1680.
- Allerston, Patricia. “Clothing and early modern Venetian Society.” *Continuity and Change* 15, Issue 3 (2003): 367-390.
- Ames, Christine Cadwell. “Does the Inquisition Belong to Religious History?” *The American Historical Review* 110, Issue 1 (February 2005): 11-37.
- Ammerman, Albert and Charles McClennen, eds. *Venice before San Marco: Recent Studies on the Origins of the City*. Hamilton, NY: Colgate University, 2001.
- Amussen, Susan and Adele Seeff, eds. *Attending to Early Modern Women*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1998.
- Ankarloo, Bengt and Stuart Clark, eds. *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe*. London: The Athlone Press, 2002.
- Apellàniz, Francisco. “Venetian Trading Networks in the Medieval Mediterranean.” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 44, no. 2 (2013): 157-179.
- Apps, Lara and Andrew Gow. *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.

- Appuhn, Karl. "Inventing Nature: Forests, Forestry, and State Power in Renaissance Venice." *The Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 4 (December 2000): 861-889.
- Arbel, Benjamin. *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- . "Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox in the Early Modern Venetian State." In *The Three Religions: Interdisciplinary Conference of Tel Aviv University, Venice, October 2000*, edited by Nili Cohen and Andreas Heldrich, 73-86. Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag GmbH, 2002.
- Areli, Marina. "From the Myth to the Margins: The Patriarch's Piazza at San Pietro di Castello in Venice." *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (2011): 353-429.
- Arnade, Peter, Martha Howell and Walter Simons. "Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 4 (2002): 515-548.
- Arnold, John. *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Aubert, Alberto and Paolo Simoncelli. *Profilo di storia moderna: dalla formazione degli stati nazionali alle egemonie internazionali*. Bari: Cacucci, 2003.
- Bachelard, Gaston. *The Poetics of Space*, translated by Maria Jones. New York: The Orion Press, 1964. First published 1958 by Presses Universitaires de France.
- Baigent, Michael and Richard Leigh. *The Inquisition*. London: Viking, 1999.
- Bailey, Michael. *The A to Z of Witchcraft*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press/Rowman and Littlefield Publishing, 2003.
- . *Magic and Superstition in Europe: A Concise History from Antiquity to the Present*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007.
- Bamji, Alexandra. "The Control of Space: Dealing with Diversity in Early Modern Venice." *Italian Studies* 62, no. 2 (2007): 175-188.
- Barbierato, Federico. *The Inquisitor in the Hat Shop: Inquisition, Forbidden Books and Unbelief in Early Modern Venice*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2012.
- Baroja, Julio Caro. "Witchcraft and Catholic Tradition." In *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*, edited by Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen, 19-43. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

- Barrow, Julia. "Urban cemetery location in the high Middle Ages." In *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600*, edited by Steven Bassett, 78-100. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992.
- Barry, Fabio. "*Disiecta membra*: Ranieri Zeno, the Imitation of Constantinople, the *Spolia* Style, and Justice at San Marco." In *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, edited by Henry Maguire and Robert Nelson, 7-62. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010.
- Barry, Jonathan, Marianne Hester and Gareth Roberts, eds. *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief*. Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge Press, 1996.
- Barth, Fredrik. "Introduction." In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, edited by Fredrik Barth, 9-38. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969.
- Barzazi, Antonella. "I consultori 'in iure.'" In *Storia della cultura veneta*. Volume 5, *Il Settecento*, edited by Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi, 177-99. Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1985.
- Bassett, Steven ed. *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992.
- Behringer, Wolfgang. *Shaman of Oberstdorf: Conrad Stoeckhlin and the Phantoms of the Night*. Translated by H.C. Erik Midelfort. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1998. First published 1994 by R. Piper GmbH and Co.
- Bell, J.C. "Poverty, Charity and the Greeks." *Studi Veneziani* 6 (1982): 129-146.
- Bellitto, Christopher M. *The General Councils: A History of the Twenty-One General Councils from Nicaea to Vatican II*. New York: Paulist Press, 2002.
- Benazzi, Natale, Matteo D'Amico and Michèle Jarton. *Le livre noir de l'Inquisition: les grands process*. Paris: Bayard, 2000.
- Berdoulay, Vincent. "Place, Meaning, and Discourse in French Language Geography." In *The Power of Place: Bringing together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*, edited by John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan, 124-139. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Bethencourt, Francisco. *L'Inquisition à l'époque moderne: Espagne, Portugal, Italie XV-XIX siècle*. Paris: Fayard, 1995.
- . *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478-1843*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

- Betteridge, Thomas ed. *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2007.
- Bever, Edward. *The Realities of Witchcraft and Popular Magic in Early Modern Europe: Culture, Cognition, and Everyday Life*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.
- Bevilacqua, Piero. *Venezia e le acque: Una metafora planetaria*. (Rome: Donzelli editore, 2000.
- Billanovich, Myriam. "Michele Ferrarini, Aldo Manuzio, Marin Sanudo." *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 22 (1979): 525-29.
- Biow, Douglas. *The Culture of Cleanliness in Renaissance Italy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Bireley, Robert. *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999.
- Black, Christopher. *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- . *Early Modern Italy: A Social History*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- . *Church, Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- . *The Italian Inquisition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Blötzer, Joseph. "Inquisition." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Volume 8. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910.
- Blouin, Francis X., ed. *Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See: Supplement #1: The Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith*. Ann Arbor: Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, 2003.
- Boerio, Giuseppe. *Del Dialetto Veneziano*. Venice: Reale Tipografia di Giovanni Cecchini, Editore, 1867.
- Bonfil, Robert. *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, translated by Anthony Oldcorn. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Boone, Marc and Heleni Porfyriou. "Markets, squares, streets: urban space, a tool for cultural exchange." In *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, 1400-1700*,

edited by Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen, 227-253. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Borkowski, Andrew and Paul du Plessis. *Textbook on Roman Law*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Bornstein, Daniel and Roberto Rusconi, eds. *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Borromeo, Agostino. *L'inquisizione: atti del Simposio internazionale, Città del Vaticano, 29-31 ottobre 1998*. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 2003.

Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups." *Theory and Society* 14, no. 6 (1985): 723-744.

———. "Social Space and Symbolic Power." *Sociological Theory* 7 (1989): 14-25.

———. *The Field of Cultural Practice*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Bouwsma, William J. *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter Reformation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

———. "Venice and the Political Education of Europe." In *Renaissance Venice*, edited by J. R. Hale, 45-66. London: Faber & Faber, 1973.

Bowd, Stephen. *Reform Before the Reformation: Vincenzo Querini and the Religious Renaissance in Italy*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Boyle, Leonard E. *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of Its Medieval Holdings*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1972.

Brambilla, Elena. "Confessione, casi riservati e giustizia 'spirituale' dal XV secolo al Concilio di Trento: I reati de fede e di morale." In *Fonti ecclesiastiche per la Storia sociale e religiosa d'Europa. XV-XVIII secolo*, edited by Cecilia Nubola And Angelo Turchini, 491-540. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1999.

———. *Alle origini del Sant'Uffizio: penitenza, confessione e giustizia spirituale dal Medioevo al 16. secolo*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000.

———. *La giustizia intollerante: inquisizione e tribunali confessionali in Europa (secoli IV-CVIII)*. Rome: Carocci, 2006.

- Brauner, Sigrid. *Fearless Wives and Frightened Shrews: The Construction of the Witch in early modern Germany*, edited with an introduction by Robert Brown. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995.
- Brewer, Marilynn. "The Many Faces of Social Identity: Implications for Political Psychology." *Political Psychology* 22, no. 1 (2001): 115-125.
- Briganti, Chiara and Kathy Mezai, eds. *The Domestic Space Reader*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Briggs, Robin. *Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social Tensions in Early Modern France*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- . *Witches and Neighbors: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft*. 2nd edition. 1996. Reprint, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.
- Brion, Marcel. *Venice: The Masque of Italy*. London: Elek Books, 1962.
- Broomhall, Susan and Jennifer Spinks. *Early Modern Women in the Low Countries: Feminizing Sources and Interpretations of the Past*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2011.
- and Jacqueline Van Gent, eds. *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2011.
- Brown, Horatio. *Studies in the History of Venice*. 2 Volumes. London: John Murray, 1907.
- Brown, Patricia Fortini. *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
- . *Art and Life in Renaissance Venice*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 1997.
- . *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Brucker, Gene A. "Religious Sensibilities in Early Modern Europe: Examples from the Records of the Holy Penitentiary." *Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques* 15 (1988): 13-25.
- Bruhn, John. *The Sociology of Community Connections*. New York: Springer, 2011.
- Bujanda, Jesús Martínez de, ed. *Le Contrôle des idées à la Renaissance: Actes du colloque de la FISIER tenu à Montréal en Septembre 1995*. Etudes de philologie et d'histoire; 49. Genève: Droz, 1996.
- Burke, Peter. *Venice and Amsterdam. A Study of Seventeenth Century Elites*. London:

- Temple Smith, 1974.
- . *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- . *The Art of Conversation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- . *History and Social Theory*. 1992. Reprint, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- . *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Burlington: Ashgate, 1994.
- . *Varieties of Cultural History*. Oxford: Polity Press/Blackwell, 1997.
- Burroughs, Charles. "Spaces of Arbitration and the Organization of Space in Late Medieval Italian Cities." In *Medieval Practices of Space*, edited by Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobińska, 64-100. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Cairns, Christopher. *Domenico Bollani, Bishop of Brescia: Devotion to Church and State in the Republic of Venice in the Sixteenth Century*. Nieuwekoop: De Graaf, 1976.
- . *Pietro Aretino and the Republic of Venice: Researches on Aretino and his Circle in Venice 1527-1556*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1985.
- Calabi, Donatella. "The 'City of the Jews.'" In *The Jews of Early Modern Venice*, edited by Robert C. Davis and Benjamin Ravid, 31-49. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- . *The Market and the City: Square, Street and Architecture in Early Modern Europe*, translated by Marlene Klein. Burlington: Ashgate, 2004.
- Caldwell, Christine. "Dominican Inquisitors as 'Doctors of Souls': The Spiritual Discipline of Inquisition, 1231-1331." *Heresis*, no. 40 (2004): 23-40.
- Cameron, Euan. *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1250-1750*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Campagnola, Stanislao da. "Un crocifisso di legno contro Paolo III Farnese durante la Guerra del sale del 1540." *Laurentianum* 34 (1993): 49-66.

- Camporesi, Piero. *The Fear of Hell: Images of Damnation and Salvation in Early Modern Europe*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990. First published 1987 by Garazant Editore.
- . *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989.
- Canniffe, Eamonn. "City and Scene: The Theatricality of Public Space in the Renaissance." In *Urban Design Studies: Annual of the University of Greenwich Urban Design Unit 7* (2001): 21-34.
- . *The Politics of the Piazza: The History and Meaning of the Italian Square*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
- Canosa, Romano. *Storia dell'Inquisizione in Italia: dalla metà del Cinquecento alla fine del Settecento*. Volume II: Venezia. Roma: Sapere, 1997.
- Caponetto, Salvatore. *The Protestant Reformation in Sixteenth Century Italy*, translated by Anne C. Tedeschi and John Tedeschi. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1999.
- Caracciolo, Aricò. "Marin Sanudo il giovane, precursore di Francesco Sansovino." *Lettere Italiane* 31 (1979): 419-37.
- Carroll, Linda L. "Carnival Rites as Vehicles of Protest in Renaissance Venice." *The Sixteenth Century Journal XVI*, no. 4 (1985): 487-502.
- Cassell's Italian Dictionary*. Compiled by Piero Rebora. New York: Wiley Publishing, 2002.
- Castex, Jean. *Architecture of Italy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2008.
- Cecchetti, B. *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Corte di Roma nei rapporti della religione*. 2 Volumes. Venice: Naratovich, 1874.
- Certeau, Michel de. *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.
- Cerulo, Karen. "Identity Construction: New Issues, New Directions." *Annual Review of Sociology* 23 (1997): 385-409.
- Cesareo, Francesco. "The Episcopacy in Sixteenth-Century Italy." In *Early Modern Catholicism*, edited by Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel, 67-83. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- Chemnitz, Martin and Fred Kramer. *Examination of the Council of Trent*. St. Louis, MO:

Concordia Publishing House, 1971.

Chojnacka, Monica. "Women, Charity and Community in Early Modern Venice: The Casa delle Zitelle." *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (1998): 68-91.

———. *Working Women in Early Modern Venice*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Chojnacki, Stanley. "In Search of the Venetian Patriciate: Families and Factions in the Fourteenth Century." In *Renaissance Venice*, edited by J.R. Hale, 47-90. London: Faber and Faber, 1973.

———. "Political Adulthood in Fifteenth-Century Venice." *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 791-810.

Christakis, Nicholas and James Fowler. *Connected: The Surprising Power of our Social Networks and How they Shape our Lives—How your Friends' Friends' Friends Affect Everything You Feel, Think, and Do*. New York: Back Bay Books, 2011.

Ciappelli, Giovanni. "Commentary." In *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, edited by Anthony Molho, Kurt Raaflaub and Julia Emlen, 121-131. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1991.

Ciriacono, Salvatore. *Building on Water: Venice, Holland and the Construction of the European Landscape in Early Modern Times*, translated by Jeremy Scott. New York: Berghahn Books, 2006.

Clark, Stuart. "Protestant Demonology: Sin, Superstition, and Society (c. 1520-c. 1630)." In *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centers and Peripheries*, edited by Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen, 45-81. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

———. *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Classen, Albrecht. *The Power of a Woman's Voice in Medieval and Early Modern Literatures: New Approaches to German and European Women*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007.

———, ed. *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.

Cochrane, Eric. "The Transition from Renaissance to Baroque: The Case of Italian Historiography." *History and Theory* 19, no. 1 (1980): 21-38.

- Cohen, Elizabeth. "Camilla the Go-Between: The Politics of Gender in a Roman Household." *Continuity and Change* 4 (1989): 53-77.
- . "No Longer Virgins: Self-Preservation by Young Women in Late Renaissance Rome." In *Refiguring Woman: Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance*, edited by Marilyn Migiel and Juliana Schiesari, 169-191. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- . "Honor and Gender in the Streets of Early Modern Rome." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 22, no. 4 (1992): 597-625.
- . "To Pray, to Work, to Hear, to Speak: Women in Roman Streets, c. 1600." In *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, edited by Riitta Laitinen and Thomas Cohen, 95-117. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- and Thomas Cohen, *Daily Life in Renaissance Italy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001.
- Cohen, Mark R., ed. *The Autobiography of a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Rabbi: Leon Modena's 'Life of Judah'*, translated by Mark Cohen. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Cohen, Thomas V. and Elizabeth S. Cohen. *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome: Trials Before the Papal Magistrates*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- Cohn, Samuel. *Cultures of Plague: Medical Thinking at the end of the Renaissance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Collins, James and Karen Taylor, eds. *Early Modern Europe: Issues and Interpretations*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
- Collins, Roger. *Keepers of the Keys of Heaven: A History of the Papacy*. New York: Basic Books, 2009.
- Colonna, Vittoria, Chiara Matraini, and Lucrezia Marinella. *Who is Mary?: Three Early Modern Women on Ideas of the Virgin Mary*, edited and translated by Susan Haskins. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Corley, Christopher. "On the Threshold: Youth as Arbiters of Urban Space in Early Modern France." *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 1 (2009): 139-156.
- Cosgrove, Denis. "Power and Place in the Venetian Territories." In *The Power of Place: Bringing together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*, edited by John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan, 104-123. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

- . “Mapping New Worlds: Culture and Cartography in Sixteenth-Century Venice.” *Imago Mundi* 44 (1992): 65-89.
- Coster, Will and Andrew Spicer. “Introduction: the Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe.” In *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, 1-16. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Cowan, Alexander. “Foreigners and the City: The Case of the Immigrant Merchant.” In *Mediterranean Urban Culture, 1400-1700*, edited by Alexander Cowan, 45-55. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000.
- . “‘Not Carrying out the Vile and Mechanical Arts’: Touch as a Measure of Social Distinction in Early Modern Venice.” In *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture Since 1500*, edited by Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward, 39-59. Burlington: Ashgate, 2006.
- . “Gossip and Street Culture in Early Modern Venice.” In *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, edited by Riitta Laitinen and Thomas Cohen, 119-139. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- . “Seeing is Believing: Urban Gossip and the Balcony in Early Modern Venice.” *Gender and History* 23, no. 3 (2011): 721-738.
- Cox, Virginia. *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue and Its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Cozzi, Gaetano. “Marino Sanudo il giovane: dalla cronaca alla storia.” In *La storiografia veneziano fino al secolo XVI: aspetti e problemi*, edited by Agostino Pertusi, 333-58. Florence: Olschki, 1970.
- . “Authority and the Law in Renaissance Venice.” In *Renaissance Venice*, edited by J. R. Hale, 293-345. London: Faber & Faber, 1973.
- . *Repubblica di Venezia e stati italiani: politica e giustizia dal secolo XVI al secolo XVIII*. Turin: Einaudi, 1982.
- . “Venezia, una repubblica di principi?” *Studi Veneziani*, XI (1986): 139-157.
- , ed. *Gli Ebrei e Venezia, secoli XIV-XVIII*, Atti del Convegno internazionale organizzato dall’Istituto di storia della società e dello stato veneziano della Fondazione Giorgio Cini: Venezia, Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore, 5-10 giugno 1983. Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1987.

- . "I rapporti tra stato e chiesa." In *La chiesa di Venezia tra riforma protestante e riforma cattolica*, edited by Giuseppe Gullino, 11-36. Venice: Edizioni Studium Cattolico Veneziano, 1990.
- Crane, Elaine Forman. *Witches, Wife Beaters, and Whores: Common Law and Common Folk in Early America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.
- Crawshaw, Jane Stevens. *Plague Hospitals for the City in Early Modern Venice*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2012.
- Crescenzi, V. *Esse de Maiori Consilio. Legittimità civile e legittimazione politica nella Repubblica di Venezia, secc. XIII-XVI*. Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1996.
- Cresswell, Tim. *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- . "Encountering Geography as Philosophy." *Geography* 93, no. 3 (2008): 132-139.
- Crouzet-Pavan, Elisabeth. "*Sopra le Acque Salse:*" *Espaces, pouvoir et société À Venise À la fin du Moyen Âge*. Perugia: École Française de Rome, 1992.
- . "Toward an Ecological Understanding of the Myth of Venice." In *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297-1797*," edited by John Martin and Dennis Romano, 39-64. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- . *Venice Triumphant: The Horizons of a Myth*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 2002.
- Crum, Roger and John Paoletti. "Introduction: Florence-The Dynamics of Space in a Renaissance City." In *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, edited by Roger Crum and John Paoletti, 1-16. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Da Mosto, Andrea ed. *L'Archivio di stato di venezia: indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico*, Bibliothèque des "Annales Institutorum," 5. Rome: Biblioteca d'arte, 1937-40.
- Daly, Lowrie J. "Microfilmed Materials from the Archive of the Sacred Congregation 'De Propaganda Fide.'" *Manuscripta* 10 (1966): 139-44.
- Datta, Satya Brata. *Women and Men in Early Modern Venice: Reassessing History*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2003.

- Davidson, Jane. *Early Modern Supernatural: The Dark Side of European Culture, 1400-1700*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2012.
- Davidson, Nicholas. "Il Sant'Uffizio e la tutela del culto a Venezia nel '500." *Studi Veneziani*, n.s., 6 (1982): 87-101.
- . "The Clergy of Venice in the Sixteenth Century." *Bulletin of the Society of Renaissance Studies* 2 (October 1984): 19-31.
- . "The Inquisition and the Italian Jews." In *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe*, edited and translated by Stephen Haliczer, 19-46. London: Croom Helm, 1987.
- . "Rome and the Venetian Inquisition in the Sixteenth Century." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39 (1988): 16-36.
- Davies, Douglas. *Death, Ritual, and Belief: The Rhetoric of Funerary Rites*. 1997. Reprint, New York: Continuum, 2002.
- Davies, Owen and William De Blécourt, eds. *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- Davies, Siriol and Jack David. "Greeks, Venice, and the Ottoman Empire." *Hesperia Supplements: "Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece,"* 40 (2007): 25-31.
- Davis, James C. *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility as a Ruling Class*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth Century France*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987.
- Davis, Robert C. *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal: Workers and Workplace in the Preindustrial City*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1991. Kindle edition.
- . *The War of the Fists: Popular Culture and Public Violence in Late Renaissance Venice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- and Benjamin Ravid, eds. *The Jews of Early Modern Venice*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- and Garry Marvin. *Venice: the Tourist Maze: A Cultural Critique of the World's Most Touristed City*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

- De Certeau, Michel. *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.
- De Munck, Bert and Anne Winter. *Gated Communities?: Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2012.
- De Vivo, Filippo. *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- . “Pharmacies as Centers of Communications in Early Modern Venice.” *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 4 (2007): 505-521.
- Deane, Jennifer Kolpacoff. *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2011.
- Decker, Rainer. *Witchcraft and the Papacy: An Account Drawing on the Formerly Secret Records of the Roman Inquisition*, translated by H.C. Erik Midelfort. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008. First published 2003 by Verlag.
- Degli Agostini, Giovanni. *Notizie istorico-critiche intorno la vita, e le opera degli scrittori Viniziani*. Venice: Presso Simone Occhi, 1752.
- Del Col, Andrea. “Problems in Unified Cataloging of the Trial Proceedings of the Roman Inquisition.” *Critica Storica* 25, Issue 1 (January-March 1988): 154-163.
- . “Organization, Composition and Jurisdiction of the Tribunals of the Roman Inquisition in the Republic of Venice, 1500-1550.” *Critica Storica* 25, Issue 2 (April-June 1988): 244-294.
- . *L'inquisizione nel Patriarcato e diocesi di Aquileia 1557-1559*. Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 1998.
- and Giovanna Paolin, eds. *L'Inquisizione Romana in Italia nell'età moderna*. Rome: Ministero per Beni Culturali e Ambientali, 1991.
- . *L'Inquisizione Romana: Metodologia delle Fonti internazionale, Montereale Valcellina*. Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2000.
- Del Re, Niccolò. *La curia romana*. 3rd edition. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1970.
- Delph, Ronald K. Michelle Fontaine and John Jeffries Martin, eds. *Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy: Contexts and Contestations*. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2006.

- Deutscher, Tom. "The Role of Episcopal Tribunal of Novara in the Suppression of Heresy and Witchcraft, 1563-1615." *Catholic Historical Review* 77 (1991): 403-21.
- Dietler, Michael. "A Tale of Three Sites: The Monumentalization of Celtic Oppida and the Politics of Collective Memory and Identity." *World Archaeology* 30, no. 1, "The Past in the Past: The Reuse of Ancient Monuments" (June 1998): 72-89.
- Ditchfield, Simon. *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Dixon, C. Scott, Dagmar Freist and Mark Greengrass, eds. *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2009.
- Donawerth, Jane and Adele Seeff, eds. *Crossing Boundaries: Attending to Early Modern Women*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2000.
- Donna Fior da S. Barnaba, 1554. *Archivio di Stato, Venezia, S'Uffizio busta* 12, fasc. 24.
- Duffy, Eamon. *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Duni, Matteo. *Under the Devil's Spell: Witches, Sorcerers, and the Inquisition in Renaissance Italy*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University in Florence, 2007.
- Dursteler, Eric. *Renegade Women: Gender, Identity, and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.
- Eberhart, Marlene. "Sensing Space and Making Publics." In *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Performance, Geography, Privacy*, edited by Angela Vanhaelen and Joseph Ward, 173-189. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Eckstein, Nicholas. "Neighborhood as Microcosm." In *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, edited by Roger Crum and John Paoletti, 219-239. 2006. Reprint, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Edwards, John. "Was the Spanish Inquisition Truthful?" Review of *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*, by B. Netanyahu and *Conversos, Inquisition and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, by Norman Roth. *The Jewish Quarterly*, LXXXVII, nos. 3-4 (1997): 351-366.
- . *Inquisition*. Stroud: Tempus, 1999.
- Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion: The Significance of Religious Myth, Symbolism, and Ritual within Life and Culture*, translated by

- Willard R. Trask. New York: Harcourt, 1987. First published 1959 by Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag.
- Elliott, Dyan. *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitorial Culture in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Emirbayer, Mustafa and Jeff Goodwin. "Network Analysis, Culture, and the Problem of Agency." *American Journal of Sociology* 99, no. 6 (1994): 1411-1454.
- Empie, P. and T. Murphy, eds. *Papal Primacy and the Universal Church*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1974.
- Epstein, Steven. *Purity Lost: Transgressing Boundaries in Eastern Mediterranean, 1000-1400*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.
- Erasmio, Mario. *Death: Antiquity and its Legacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Errera, Andrea. *Processus in Causa Fidei. L'evoluzione dei manuali inquisitoriali nei secoli XVI-XVIII e il manuale inedito di un inquisitore perugino*. Bologna: Monduzzi Editore, 2000.
- Eyerman, Ron. "The Past in the Present: Culture and the Transmission of Memory." *Acta Sociologica* 47, no. 2 (June 2004): 159-169.
- Fallding, Harold. "Secularization and the Sacred and Profane." *The Sociological Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (1967): 349-364.
- Fenlon, Dermot. *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter Reformation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1972.
- Fenlon, Iain. "Magnificence as Civic Image: Music and Ceremonial Space in Early Modern Venice." In *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, edited by Fiona Kisby, 28-44. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- . *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- . *The Piazza of San Marco*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Fenster, Thelma and Daniel Lord Smail. "Introduction." In *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, edited by Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, 1-12. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Ferguson, Ronnie. *A Linguistic History of Venice*. Florence: Olschki, 2007.

- . "Venetian Language." In *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, edited by Eric Dursteler, 929-57. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Ferraro, Joanne. "The Power to Decide: Battered Wives in Early Modern Venice." *Renaissance Quarterly* 48 (1995): 492-512.
- . *Marriage Wars in Late Renaissance Venice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Ferrazzi, Cecilia. *Autobiografia di una Santa Mancata: 1609-1664*, a cura di Anne Jacobson Schutte. Bergamo: Pierluigi Lubrina Editore, 1990.
- Few, Martha. *Women who Live Evil Lives: Gender, Religion and the Politics of Power in Colonial Guetamala*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002.
- Fine, John V.A. *When Ethnicity did not matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in pre-nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the medieval and early modern periods*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006.
- Finlay, Robert. "Politics and Family in Renaissance Venice: The Election of Doge Andrea Gritti." *Studi veneziani*, n.s., 2 (1978): 97-117.
- . "The Venetian Republic as a Gerontocracy: Age and Politics in the Renaissance." *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1978): 157-78.
- . *Politics in Renaissance Venice*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980.
- . "Politics and History in the Diary of Marino Sanuto." *Renaissance Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (1980): 585-598.
- . "The Immortal Republic: The Myth of Venice during the Italian Wars (1494-1530)." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 4 (1999): 931-944.
- Firpo, Massimo, ed. *Il processo inquisitoriale del cardinal Giovanni Morone*. Rome: Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea, 1981.
- . *Riforma protestante ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento*. Rome: Laterza, 1993.
- and John Tedeschi. "The Italian Reformation and Juan de Valdes." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 2 (1996): 353-364.
- and Dario Marcatto, eds. *I processi inquisitoriali di Pietro Carnesecchi (1557-15670: Volume One: I processi sotto Paolo IV e Pio IV (1557-1561)*. Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 1998.

- and Sergio Pagano, eds. *I processi inquisitoriali di Vittore Soranzo, 1550-1558*. Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2004.
- Flather, Amanda. *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*. Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2007.
- Folin, Marco. "Il Principe Architetto e la "Quasi-Città": Spunti per un'indagine comparativa sulle strategie urbane nei piccolo stati Italiani del Rinascimento." In *L'Ambizione di essere città: Piccoli, Grandi Centri nell'Italia Rinascimentale*, a curia di Elena Svalduz, 45-95. Venice: Istituto Veneto do Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2004.
- Foscarini, Marco. *Della letteratura Veneziana libri otto*. Padova: Nella Stamperia del Seminario, 1752.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage, 1995. First published 1975 by Editions Gallimard.
- and Jay Miskowiec. "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 22-27.
- Fragno, Gigliola. "Cultura umanistica e riforma religiosa: il 'De officio boni viri ac probi episcopi' di Gasparo Contarini." *Studi veneziani* 11 (1969): 75-189.
- . "Aspetti della censura ecclesiastica nell'Europa della Controriforma: l'edizione parigina delle opere di Gasparo Contarini." *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 21 (1985): 3-48.
- . *Gasparo Contarini: un magistrato veneziano al servizio della cristianità*. Florence: Olschki, 1988.
- . "Cardinals' Courts in Sixteenth-Century Rome." *The Journal of Modern History* 65, no. 1 (March 1993): 26-56.
- . *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, translated by Adrian Belton. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- . "The Italian Reformation of the Sixteenth Century and the Diffusion of Renaissance Culture." *The Catholic Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (January 2002): 90-97.
- Francaviglia, Richard. "The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61, no. 3 (1971): 501-509.
- Frați minori e inquisizione: atti del XXXIII Convegno internazionale: Assisi, 6-8 ottobre 2005*. Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto

- Medioevo, 2006.
- Frick, Carole Collier. "Gendered Space in Renaissance Florence: Theorizing Public and Private in the "Rag Trade." *Fashion Theory* 9, no. 2 (2005): 125-146.
- Friedlander, Alan. *The Hammer of the Inquisitors: Brother Bernard Délicieux and the Struggle against the Inquisition in Fourteenth-Century France*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Frojmovic, Eva, ed. *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Fuller, Sylvia. "Creating and Contesting Boundaries: Exploring the Dynamics of Conflict and Classification." *Sociological Forum* 18, no. 1 (2003): 3-30.
- Gaeta, Franco, ed. *Nunziature di Venezia*. Volume 1: 12 marzo 1533-14 agosto 1535. Volume 2: 9 gennaio 1536-9 giugno 1542. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea, 1958-60.
- . *Un nunzio pontificio a Venezia nel Cinquecento (Girolamo Aleandro)*. Venice and Rome: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1960.
- . "L'idea di Venezia." In *Storia della cultura veneta*, edited by Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi, 3 (3):565-641. Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1980.
- . "Storiografia, coscienza nazionale e politica culturale nella Venezia del Rinascimento." In *Storia della cultura veneta*, edited by Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi, 3 (1):1-91. Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1980.
- Galasso, Giuseppe. *Le inquisizioni cristiane e gli ebrei: tavola rotunda nell'ambito della conferenza annuale della ricerca, Roma, 20-21 dicembre 2001*. Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 2003.
- Gamberini, Andrea. *The Italian Renaissance State*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Garrioch, David. *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris, 1740-1790*. 1986. Reprint, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Gentilcore, David. *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra D'Otranto*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992.

- . “Methods and Approaches in the Social History of the Counter-Reformation in Italy.” *Social History* 17, no. 1 (January 1992): 73-98.
- . *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998.
- Georgopoulou, Maria. “Late Medieval Crete and Venice: An Appropriation of Byzantine Heritage.” *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 3 (1995): 479-496.
- . *Venice’s Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism*. 2001. Reprint, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- “German Merchants and the Exchange House, 1475: From regulations approved by a Senate committee on customs duties.” In *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan, 328-29. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009. First published 1992 by Blackwell.
- Geruzzi, Salvatore. *Intorno all’Inquisizione*. Pisa: Giardini, 2005.
- Gilbert, Felix. "Contarini on Savonarola: An Unknown Document of 1516." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 59 (1968): 145-50.
- . "The Venetian Constitution in Florentine Political Thought." In *Florentine Studies*, edited by Nicolai Rubinstein, 463-500. London: Faber & Faber, 1968.
- . "Religion and Politics in the Thought of Gasparo Contarini." In *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison*, edited by T. K. Rabb and J. E. Seigel, 90-116. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- . “Biondo, Sabellico, and the beginnings of Venetian official Historiography.” In *Florilegium Historiale: Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson*, edited by J.G. Rowe and W.H. Stockdale, 275-293. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.
- . “Venice in the Crisis of the League of Cambrai.” in *Renaissance Venice*, edited by J.R. Hale, 274-292. London: Faber and Faber, 1973.
- . *The Pope, His Banker, and Venice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- . "Gasparo Contarini as a Venetian Gentleman." Paper presented at the XVIII International Congress of Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 1983.
- Giles, Mary, ed. *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

- Gilman, Sander. *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Gilmore, Myron. "Myth and Reality in Venetian Political Theory." In *Renaissance Venice*, edited by J. R. Hale, 431-44. London: Faber & Faber, 1973.
- Ginzburg, Carlo. *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, translated by John and Anne Tedeschi. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. First published 1966 by Giulio Einaudi.
- . *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*. Translated by John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980. First published 1976 by Giulio Einaudi.
- . *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, translated by Raymond Rosenthal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991. First Published 1989 by Giulio Einaudi.
- . "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist." In *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, translated by John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi, 156-64. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.
- . "Witchcraft and Popular Piety: Notes on a Modenese Trial of 1519," in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, translated by John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi, 1-16. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.
- Given, James Buchanan. *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline and Resistance in Languedoc*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Gleason, Elisabeth. *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome and Reform*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Glixon, Jonathan. *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities 1260-1806*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Godman, Peter. *The Saint as Censor: Robert Bellarmine Between Inquisition and Index*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Goldthwaite, Richard. *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300-1600*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Goodson, Caroline, Anne Lester, and Carol Symes, eds. *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400-1500: Experiences and Perception of Medieval Urban Space*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2010.

- Gordon, Bruce and Peter Marshall. "Introduction: Placing the Dead in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe." In *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, 1-16. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Gorski, Philip S. "Historicizing the Secularization Debate: Church, State, and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, 1300-1700." *American Sociological Review* 65, no. 1 (February 2000): 138-167.
- Gottdiener, Mark. *The Social Production of Urban Space*. 2nd edition. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1994.
- Gray, Madeleine. *The Protestant Reformation: Beliefs and Practices*. Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2003.
- Greene, Molly. *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Grendler, Paul F. *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- . "The *Tre Savii sopra Eresia*, 1547-1605: A Prosopographical Study." *Studi Veneziani*, nuova serie, 3 (1979): 283-340.
- Grubb, James S. "When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography." *Journal of Modern History* 58 (1986): 43-94.
- . *Provincial Families of the Renaissance: Private and Public Life in the Veneto*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Gullino, Giuseppe, ed. *La chiesa di Venezia tra riforma protestante e riforma cattolica*. Venice: Edizioni Studium Cattolico Veneziano, 1990.
- Hacke, Daniela. *Women, Sex and Marriage in Early Modern Venice*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2004.
- Hale, John. R. "Terra Ferma Fortifications in the Cinquecento." In *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations* 2:169-87. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1980.
- . *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance*. New York: Touchstone, 1993
- Haliczer, Stephen, ed. *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe*. New Jersey: Barnes and Noble, 1987.
- Halvorson, Michael J. "Lutherans Baptizing Jews: Examination Reports and

Confessional Polemics from Reformation Germany.” In *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Karen Spierling and Michael Halvorsen, 183-204. Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.

——— and Karen E. Spierling, eds. *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.

Hamilton, Bernard. *The Medieval Inquisition*. London: Edward Arnold, 1981.

Hamilton, Sarah and Andrew Spicer. “Defining the Holy: the Delineation of Sacred Space.” In *Defining the Holy, Sacred Space in the Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton, 1-23. Burlington: Ashgate, 2005.

Harding, Vanessa. “Whose body? A study of attitudes towards the dead body in early modern Paris.” In *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, 170-187. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Harrington, Joel F. “Child Circulation within the Early Modern Urban Community: Rejection and Support of Unwanted Children in Nuremberg.” In *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Michael J. Halvorson and Karen E. Spierling, 103-120. Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.

Harris, Jonathan and Heleni Porfyriou. “The Greek Diaspora: Italian Port Cities and London, c. 1400-1700.” In *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, edited by Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen, 65-86. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Harvey, David. “Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80, no. 3 (1990): 418-434.

Head, Randolph. “Religious boundaries and the Inquisition in Venice: Trials of Jews and Judaizers, 1548-1580.” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 20, no. 2 (1990): 175-204.

Henningsen, Gustav and Marisa Rey-Henningsen, eds. *Inquisition and Interdisciplinary History: Report from an International Symposium on the Medieval and Modern Inquisition, Skjoldenaesholm, 5th-9th September 1978*. Copenhagen: Dansk folkemindesamling, 1981.

——— and John Tedeschi, eds. *The Inquisition in Early Modern Italy: Studies on Sources and Methods*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986.

- Hermanowicz, Joseph and Harriet Morgan. "Ritualizing the Routine: Collective Identity Affirmation." *Sociological Forum* 14, no. 2 (1999): 197-214.
- Hills, Helen, ed. *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2003.
- Hohenberg, Paul M. and Lynn Hollen Lees. *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000-1950*. 1985. Reprint, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Holt, Mack. "The Social History of the Reformation: Recent Trends and Future Agendas." *Journal of Social History* 37, no.1, Special Issue (2003): 133-144.
- Homza, Lu Ann. "How to Harass an Inquisitor-General: The Polyphonic Law of Friar Francisco Ortiz." In *A Renaissance of Conflicts: Visions and Revisions of Law and Society in Early Modern Italy and Spain*, edited by John A. Marino and Thomas Kuehn, 299-336. Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. *Essays and Studies* 3. Toronto: CRRS Publications, 2004.
- Horodowich, Elizabeth. "Civic Identity and the Control of Blasphemy in Sixteenth Century Venice." *Past and Present*, no.181 (2003): 3-33.
- . "The Gossiping Tongue: Oral Networks, Public Life and Political Culture in Early Modern Venice." *Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 1 (2005): 22-45.
- . *Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Howard, Deborah. "Venice and Islam in the Middle Ages: Some Observations on the Question of Architectural Influence." *Architectural History* 34 (1991): 59-74.
- . "Ritual Space in Renaissance Venice." *Scroope; Cambridge Architecture Journal* 5 (1993/1994): 4-11.
- . *The Architectural History of Venice*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Hoyer, Wolfram, ed. *Praedicatores, Inquisitores. I: The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition. Acts of the 1st International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition*. Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 2004.
- Hsia, R. Po-Chia. *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Huddy, Leonie. "From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory." *Political Psychology* 22, no. 1 (2001): 127-156.
- Hudon, William V. "Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy: Old Questions, New

- Insights." *The American Historical Review* 101, no. 3 (June 1996): 783-804.
- Hults, Linda. *The Witch as Muse: Art, Gender, and Power in Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.
- Israel, Jonathan. *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Italia Nostra Difende Venezia: Venice for Modern Man: Ten Centuries of History Face Modern Town-Planning*. Paris: Italian Ministry of Education, Azienda do Soggiorno of the Municipality of Venice and the Center d'Information et Documentation du Bâtiment, 1962.
- Jedin, Hubert and Frederic Clement Eckhoff. *Papal Legate at the Council of Trent, Cardinal Seripando*. St. Louis, MO: B. Herder Book Co., 1947.
- . *A History of the Council of Trent*. St. Louis, MO: B. Herder Book Co., 1957.
- Jensen, Gary. *The Path of the Devil: Early Modern Witch Hunts*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2007.
- Jobe, Patricia H. "Inquisitorial Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: A Preliminary Handlist." In *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Sources and Methods*, edited by Gustav Henningsen and John Tedeschi, 33-53. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986.
- Johnson, Eugene J. "Jacopo Sansovino, Giacomo Torelli, and the Theatricality of the Piazzetta in Venice." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, no. 4 (December 2000): 436-453.
- Johnston, Mark Albert. *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England: Sex, Gender, and Registers of Value*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2011.
- Jones, Sarah Rees. "Preface." In *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850-c. 1550*, edited by Cordelia Beattie, Anna Maslakovic and Sarah Rees Jones, 11-18. Belgium: Brepols, 2003.
- Jung, Eva-Maria. "On the Nature of Evangelism in Sixteenth-Century Italy." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 14 (1953): 511-27.
- Jütte, Robert. *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Kagan, Richard L. and Abigail Dyer, eds. *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

- Kallendorf, Craig. *Virgil and the Myth of Venice: Books and Readers in the Italian Renaissance*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.
- Kasl, Rhonda. "Holy Households: Art and Devotion in Renaissance Venice." In *Giovanni Bellini and the Art of Devotion*, edited by Rhonda Kasl and Keith Christiansen, 59-89. Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 2004.
- Keenan, James. *The Works of Mercy: The Heart of Catholicism*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.
- Kelly, Henry Ansgar. "Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy: Misconceptions and Abuses." *Church History* 58, no. 4 (December 1989): 439-451.
- . *Inquisitions and Other Trial Procedures in the Medieval West*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2001.
- Kermode, Jennifer and Garthine Walker, eds. *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994.
- Kieckhefer, Richard. "The Office of Inquisition and Medieval Heresy: The Transition from Personal to Institutional Jurisdiction." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (January 1995): 36-61.
- . "Magic and Its Hazards in the Late Medieval West." In *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, edited by Brian Levack, 13-31. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Kilde, Jeanne Halgren. *Sacred Power, Sacred Space: An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- King, Margaret L. *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Klaits, Joseph. *Servants of Satan: The Age of the Witch Hunts*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985.
- Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane. *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Klestinec, Cynthia. *Theaters of Anatomy: Students, Teachers, and Tradition of Dissection in Renaissance Venice*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.
- Knapton, Michael. "Rural Religious Practice in the Sixteenth-Century Veneto: The Impact of Reform in Valpolicella." *Renaissance Studies* 10, no. 3 (1996): 343-357.

- Koslofsky, Craig. *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.
- . *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Kuehn, Thomas. "Fama as a Legal Status in Renaissance Florence." In *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, edited by Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, 27-46. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Kuntz, Marion Leathers. *The Anointment of Dionisio: Prophecy and Politics in Renaissance Italy*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.
- L'Apertura degli archivi del Sant'Uffizio romano: giornata di studio: Roma, 22 gennaio 1998*. Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1998.
- Ladurie, Emmanuel Le Roy. *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979. First published 1975 by Editions Gallimard.
- Laitinen Riitta and Thomas Cohen. "Cultural History of Early Modern Streets: An Introduction." In *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, edited by Riitta Laitinen and Thomas Cohen, 1-10. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Lane, Frederic C. *Venice: A Maritime Republic*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- Langbein, John H. *Torture and the Law of Proof: Europe and England in the Ancien Régime*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Lansing, Carol. *Power and Purity: Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Laven, Mary. *Virgins of Venice: Broken Vows and Cloistered Lives in the Renaissance Convent*. New York: Penguin, 2003.
- Lea, Henry C. "Confiscation for Heresy in the Middle Ages." *The English Historical Review* 2, no. 6 (April 1887): 235-259.
- . *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*. Volume 1. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1888.
- . *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*. Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2003. First published 1908 by The MacMillian Company.
- . *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*. New York: The Citadel Press,

1954.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991. First published 1974 by Éditions Anthropos.

Lehmann, Karl. *Justification by Faith: Do Sixteenth-Century Condemnations Still Apply?* New York: Continuum, 1997.

Levack, Brian. *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*. 1987. Reprint, Harlow, UK: Pearson, 2006.

———, ed. *New Perspectives on Witchcraft, Magic, and Demonology*. Volume 5, *Witchcraft, Healing, and Popular Diseases*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Levinas, Emmanuel. *Humanism of the Other*, translated by Nidra Poller. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006. First published 1972 by Éditions Fata Morgana.

———. *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence*, translated by Alphonso Lingis. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2002. First published 1974 by M. Nijhoff.

———. *Collected Philosophy Papers*, translated by Alphonso Lingis. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1998. First published 1987 by M. Nijhoff.

———. *Unforseen History*, translated by Nidra Poller. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004. First published 1994 by Éditions Fata Morgana.

Libby, Lester J., Jr. "Venetian History and Political Thought after 1509." *Studies in the Renaissance* 20 (1973): 7-45.

Liggett, Henry and David Perry, eds. *Spatial Practices: Critical Explorations in Social/Spatial Theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995.

L'inquisizione e gli storici: un cantiere aperto: tavola rotunda nell'ambito della conferenza annuale della ricerca: Roma, 24-25 giugno 1999. Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 2000.

Lobao, Linda, Gregory Hooks, and Ann Tickamyer, eds. *The Sociology of Spatial Inequality*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007.

Logan, Oliver. *Culture and Society in Venice, 1470-1790*. London: Batsford, 1972.

———. "The Ideal Bishop and the Venetian Patriciate: c. 1430-c. 1630." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 29 (1978): 415-50.

Lorenzetti, Giulio. *Venice and Its Lagoons*. Trieste: Edizioni LINT, 1975.

- Lowe, Kate. "Elections of Abbesses and Notions of Identity in Fifteenth-and Sixteenth Century Italy, with Special Reference to Venice." *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 389-429.
- Luria, Keith. *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005.
- Luzzati, Michele and Albano Biondi. *L'Inquisizione e gli ebrei in Italia*. Rome: Laterza, 1994.
- Lynch, Katherine A. *Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200-1800*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Mackay, Christopher S. *The Hammer of Witches: A Complete Translation of the Malleus Maleficarum*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- MacKenney, Richard. *Tradesmen and Traders: The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe, c. 1250-1650*. London: Croom Helm, 1987.
- . *Sixteenth Century Europe: Expansion and Conflict*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.
- McGough, Laura. "Demons, Nature, or God? Witchcraft Accusations and the French Disease in Early Modern Venice." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 80, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 219-246.
- McGregor, James H.S. *Venice from the Ground Up*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 2006.
- McIver, Katharine ed. *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible through Art and Patronage*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2012.
- McLelland, Joseph C., ed. *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1980.
- McNeill, William. *Venice: The Hinge of Europe, 1081-1797*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- McPherson, David. "Lewkenor's Venice and Its Sources." *Renaissance Quarterly* 41 (1988): 459-66.
- Madanipour, Ali. *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

- Mak, Sonia Sun Yee. *To Dwell in Memory: A New Addition for the San Michele Cemetery in Venice*. Gainesville: University of Florida, 2009.
- Malena, Adelisa. *L'eresia dei perfetti: Inquisizione romana ed esperienze mistiche nel Seicento italiano*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003.
- Mallett, Michael and J.R. Hale. *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice c. 1400-1617*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- and Christine Shaw. *The Italian Wars 1494-1559: War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe*. Harlow, UK: Pearson, 2012.
- Marino, John ed. *Early Modern History and the Social Sciences: Testing the Limits of Braudel's Mediterranean*. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University, 2002.
- and Thomas Kuehn, ed. *A Renaissance of Conflicts: Visions and Revisions of Law and Society in Early Modern Italy and Spain*. Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. *Essays and Studies* 3. Toronto: CRRS Publications, 2004.
- Marsh, Peter. "An Ethogenic Perspective." In *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, edited by Richard Trexler, 17-30. Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985.
- Martin, John Jeffries. "Out of the Shadow: Heretical and Catholic Women in Renaissance Venice." *Journal of Family History* 10, no. 1 (1985): 22-33.
- . "Popular Culture and the Shaping of Popular Heresy in Renaissance Venice." In *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Stephen Haliczer, 115-128. Kent, UK: Croom Helm, 1987.
- . "The Roman Inquisition and the Criminalization of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Venice." *Quaderni Storici* 22, no. 3 (December 1987): 777-802.
- . "Salvation and Society in Sixteenth Century Venice: Popular Evangelism in a Renaissance City." *The Journal of Modern History* 60, no. 2 (June 1988): 205-233.
- . "Journeys to the World of the Dead: The Work of Carlo Ginzburg." *Journal of Social History* 25 (1992): 613-626.
- . "Spiritual Journeys and the Fashioning of Religious Identity in Renaissance Venice." *Renaissance Studies* 10, no. 3 (1996): 358-370.

- . *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City*. 1993. Reprint, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004.
- and Dennis Romano, eds. *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City State*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Martin, Ruth. *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550-1650*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- Martines, Lauro. *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
- Massey, Doreen. *Space, Place and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Mattox, Phillip. "Domestic sacral space in the Florentine Renaissance Palace." In *Approaching the Italian Renaissance Interior: Sources, Methodologies, Debates*, edited by Marta Ajmar-Wollheim, Flora Dennis and Ann Matchette, 36-51. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.
- Mayer, Thomas. *The Roman Inquisition: A Papal Bureaucracy and Its Laws in the Age of Galileo*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- Mehta, Vikas. *The Street: Quintessential Social Public Space*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Meiss, Millard. "Sleep in Venice." Ancient Myths and Renaissance Proclivities." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 110, no. 5 (October 1966): 348-382.
- Mentzer, Raymond A. "Heresy Proceedings in Languedoc, 1500-1560." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society: Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge* 74, Part 5 (1984): 1-189.
- Mereu, Italo. *Storia dell'intolleranza in Europa: sospettare e punire: il sospetto e l'inquisizione romana nell'epoca di Galilei*. Milan: A. Mondadori, 1979.
- Michelson, Emily. *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Milani, Marisa. *Piccole Storie di Stregoneria nella Venezia del '500*. Verona: Essedue edizioni, 1989.
- Milne, Louise. *Carnivals and Dreams: Pieter Bruegel and the History of the Imagination*. London: Mutus Liber, 2007.

- Milner, Stephen J. "The Florentine Piazza della Signoria as Practiced Place." In *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, edited by Roger Crum and John Paoletti, 83-103. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Mitter, Partha. "Can we ever understand alien cultures? Some epistemological concerns relating to the perception and understanding of the Other." *Comparative Criticism* 9 (1987): 3-34.
- Molmenti, Pompeo. *Storia di Venezia nella vita private dalle origini alla caduta della repubblica*. Torino: Roux e Favale, 1880.
- Monson, Craig. "The Composer as 'Spy': The Ferraboscos, Gabriele Paleotti, and the Inquisition." *Music and Letters* 84, no. 1 (February 2003): 1-18.
- Monter, E. William. *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- and John Tedeschi. "Toward a Statistical Profile of the Italian Inquisitions, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries." In *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Sources and Methods*, edited by Gustav Henningsen and John Tedeschi, 130-157. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986.
- Moore, Henrietta. *Space, Text, and Gender: An Anthropological Study of the Marakwet of Kenya*. New York: The Guilford Press, 1996.
- Mormando, Franco. *The Preachers Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Morpurgo, Andrea. *Il cimitero ebraico in Italia. Storia e architettura di uno spazio identitario*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2012.
- Morris, Colin. *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050-1250*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Morse, Margaret. "Creating Sacred Space: The Religious Visual Culture of the Renaissance Venetian Casa." *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 2 (2007): 151-184.
- . "Creating Sacred Space: The Religious Visual Culture of the Renaissance Venetian casa." In *Approaching the Italian Renaissance Interior: Sources, Methodologies, Debates*, edited by Marta Ajmar-Wollheim, Flora Dennis and Ann Matchette, 95-128. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.
- Muir, Edward. "Images of Power: Art and Pageantry in Renaissance Venice." *The American Historical Review* 84, no. 1 (February 1979): 16-52.

- . *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- . “The Idea of Community in Renaissance Italy.” In *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002): 1-18.
- . “The 2001 Josephine Waters Bennett Lecture: The Idea of Community in Renaissance Italy.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (2002): 1-18.
- . “In Some Neighbors we Trust: On the Exclusion of Women from the Public in Renaissance Italy.” In *Florence and Beyond: Culture, Society and Politics in Renaissance Italy: Essays in Honour of John M. Najemy*, edited by David Peterson and Daniel Bornstein, 271-89. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- . “‘Why Didn’t the Dog Bark in Buia’,” interview by Rosenthal, David and Nevola, Fabrizio. In *Urban Communities in Early Modern Europe (1400-1700): A Research Review* (2011): 53-56. Available for download at: <http://earlymoderncommunities.com/home/interviews-2/edward-muir/> (accessed 27 August 2013).
- and Ronald F.E. Weissman. “Social and Symbolic Places in Renaissance Venice and Florence.” In *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*, edited by John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan, 81-103. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Mullaney, Steven and Angela Vanhaelen. “Introduction: Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe- Performance, Geography, Privacy.” In *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Performance, Geography, Privacy*, edited by Angela Vanhaelen and Joseph Ward, 1-14. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Naess, Hans Eyvind. “Norway: The Criminological Context.” In *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centers and Peripheries*, edited by Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen, 367-382. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Najemy, John. “Florentine Politics and Urban Space.” In *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, edited by Roger Crum and John Pailletti, 19-54. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Naphy, William and Penny Roberts, eds. *Fear in Early Modern Society*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.
- Netanyahu, Benzion. *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth-Century Spain*. New York: Random House, 1995.

- Nichols, Thom. *Others and Outcasts in Early Modern Europe: Picturing the Social Margins*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2007.
- Nicol, Donald M. *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*. 1988. Reprint, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Noble, Thomas F.X. *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680-825*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.
- Norwich, John Julius. *A History of Venice*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982.
- Nuechterlein, Jeanne. "The Domesticity of Sacred Space in the Fifteenth-Century Netherlands." In *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, 49-79. Burlington: Ashgate, 2005.
- Nussdorfer, Laurie. "The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997): 161-186.
- O'Connell, Monique. *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- Ojetti, Benedetto. "The Roman Congregations." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Volume 13. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912.
- Olard, Ludivine-Julie. "Venice-Babylon: Foreigners and Citizens in the Renaissance Period, 14th-16th Centuries." In *Imagining Frontiers, Contesting Identities*, edited by Steven G. Ellis and Lud'a Klusàková, 155-174. Pisa: University of Pisa Press, 2007.
- Olin, John C. *Catholic Reform: From Cardinal Ximenes to the Council of Trent, 1495-1563: An Essay with Illustrative Documents and a Brief Study of St. Ignatius Loyola*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1990.
- O'Neil, Mary. "Magical Healing, Love Magic and the Inquisition in Late Sixteenth-Century Modena." In *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe*, edited and translated by Stephen Haliczer, 88-114. London: Croom Helm, 1987.
- Ostling, Michael. *Between the Devil and the Host: Imagining Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Oxford-Paravia Il Dizionario*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Parker, Geoffrey. "Some Recent Work on the Inquisition in Spain and Italy." *The Journal of Modern History* 54, no. 3 (September 1982): 519-532.

- Partner, Peter. *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the middle Ages and the Early Renaissance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
- Paschini, Pio. *Venezia: E L'Inquisizione Romana da Giulio III a Pio IV*. Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1959.
- Pearson, Michael Parker and Colin Richards, ed., *Architecture and Order: Approach to Social Space*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Pegg, Mark Gregory. *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Pelling, Margaret. "Defensive Tactics: Networking by Female Medical Practitioners in Early Modern London." In *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, edited by Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington, 38-53. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Pennington, Kenneth. "Pro Peccatis Patrum Puniri": A Moral and Legal Problem of the Inquisition." *Church History* 47, no. 2 (June 1978): 137-154.
- Peperzak, Adriaan. *To the Other: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Emmanuel Levinas*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1993.
- Peters, Edward. "Editing Inquisitors' Manuals in the Sixteenth Century." *The Library Chronicle* 40 (1974): 95-107.
- . *The Magician, the Witch and the Law*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978.
- . *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980.
- . *Inquisition*. New York: Free Press, 1988.
- . "Quoniam Abundavit Iniquitas: Dominicans as Inquisitors, Inquisitors as Dominicans." Review of *Praedicatores, Inquisitores: The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition. Acts of the 1st International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition*, edited by Wolfram Hoyer. *Catholic Historical Review* 91, no.1 (January 2005): 105-121.
- Pincus, Debra. "Venice and the Two Romes: Byzantium and Rome as a Double Heritage in Venetian Cultural Politics." *Artibus et Historiae* 13, no. 26 (1992): 101-114.
- Polledri, Paolo. "Urbanism and Economics: Industrial Activities in Eighteenth-Century Venice." *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984) 41, no. 3: Urban History in the 1980s (1988): 15-19.

Praedicatores, inquisitors. The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition: Acts of the 1st International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition, 23-25 February. Rome: Istituto storico domenicano, 2004.

Price, Paola Malpezzi. "Venetia Figurata and Women in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Moderata Fonte's Writings." In *Italian Women and the City: Essays*, edited by Janet Levarie Smarr and Daria Valentin, 18-34. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2003.

Prigge, Walter. "Reading the Urban Revolution: Space and Representation." In *Space, Difference and Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, edited by Kanishka Goonewardena, Stefan Kipfer, Richard Milgrom, and Christian Schmid, 46-61. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Processi del S. Uffizio di Venezia contro ebrei e giudaizzanti, edited by Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini. Book II. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1980.

Prodi, Paolo. "The Structure and Organization of the Church in Renaissance Venice: Suggestions for Research." In *Renaissance Venice*, edited by J. R. Hale, 409-30. London: Faber & Faber, 1973.

———. *The Papal Prince*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

———. "I colloqui di Ratisbona: l'azione e le idee di Gaspare Contarini (tavola rotonda)." In *Gaspare Contarini e il suo tempo: atti convegno di studio*, edited by Francesca Cavazzana Romanelli, 207-22. Venice: Comune di Venezia, Assessorato Affari Istituzionali, and Studium Cattolico Veneziano, 1988.

——— and Peter Johanek. *Strutture ecclesiastiche in Italia e in Germania prima della Riforma*. Bologna: Societa editrice il Mulino, 1984.

Prosperi, Adriano. "L'Inquisizione: Verso una nuova immagine?" *Critica storica* 25 (1988): 119-45.

———. *Tribunali della coscienza: inquisitori, confessori, missionary*. Torino: G. Einaudi, 1996.

———. *L'Inquisizione romana: letture e ricerche*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003.

Pullan, Brian, ed. *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. York, UK: Methuen and Company Limited, 1968.

———. "Wage-Earners and the Venetian Economy, 1550-1630." In *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*,

- edited by Brian Pullan, 146-174. York, UK: Methuen and Company Limited, 1968.
- . *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.
- . "The Occupations and Investments of the Venetian Nobility in the Middle and Late Sixteenth Century." In *Renaissance Venice*, edited by J. R. Hale, 379-408. London: Faber & Faber, 1973.
- . "The Significance of Venice." *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 56 (1973-74): 443-62.
- . "A Ship with Two Rudders: 'Righetto Marrano' and the Inquisition in Venice." *The Historical Journal* 20, no. 1 (March 1977): 25-58.
- . *The Jews of Venice and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670*. London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1997. First published 1983 by Basil Blackwell.
- Queller, Donald E. "The Civic Irresponsibility of the Venetian Nobility." In *Economy, Society, and Government in Medieval Italy: Essays in Memory of Robert L. Reynolds*, edited by David Herlihy, Robert S. Lopez, and Vsevolod Slessarev, 223-36. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1969.
- . *The Venetian Patriciate: Reality Versus Myth*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- Quirini, Angelo Maria. *Tiara et purpura Veneta ab anno 1379 ad annum 1759 serenissimae reipublicae Venetae a Civitate Brixiae dicata*. Brescia: Rizzardi, 1761.
- Radke, Gary M. "Nuns and Their Art: The Case of San Zaccaria in Renaissance Venice." *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (2001): 430-459.
- Ragon, Di Michel. *Lo Spazio della morte: saggio sull'architettura, la decorazione*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1981.
- Raines, Dorit. *L'invention du mythe aristocratique. L'image de soi du patriciat vénitien au temps de la Sérénissime*. Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, 2004.
- Ravid, Benjamin. "Between the Myth of Venice and the Lachrymose Conception of Jewish History: The Case of the Jews of Venice." In *The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity*, edited by Bernard D. Cooperman and Barbara Garvin, 151-192. Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 2000.

- . “The Venetian Government and the Jews.” In *The Jews of Early Modern Venice*, edited by Robert C. Davis and Benjamin Ravid, 4-30. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- Rebillard, Éric. *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*, translated by Elizabeth Trapnell Rawlings and Jeanine Routier-Pucci. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Reicher, Stephen. “The Context of Social Identity: Domination, Resistance, and Change.” *Political Psychology* 25, no. 6 (2004): 921-945.
- “Report of Albert Bolognetti, papal nuncio in Venice 1578-81.” In *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan, 330-31. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009. First published 1992 by Blackwell.
- Ricketts, Annabel, Claire Gapper and Caroline Knight. “Designing for Protestant Worship: the Private Chapels of the Cecil Family.” In *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton, 115-136. Burlington: Ashgate, 2005.
- Riis, Thomas. *Aspects of Poverty in Early Modern Europe*. Sijthoff: Alphen aan den Rijn, 1981.
- Rinaldo, Mario. “Italy: The Other Venice.” In *The Conservation of Cities*, edited by UNESCO, 159-177. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1975.
- Roach, Andrew P. “Penance and the Making of the Inquisition in Languedoc.” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52 (July 2001): 409-33.
- Roberts, Penny. “Contesting sacred space: burial disputes in sixteenth-century France.” In *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, 131-48. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Robertson, Ritchie. “Introduction.” In *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters Between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800*, by Urs Bitterli, translated by Ritchie Robertson, 1-19. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989.
- Robey, Daniel and John Law. “The Venetian Myth and the 'De Republica Veneta' of Pier Paolo Vergerio.” *Rinascimento*, 2nd series, 15 (1975): 3-59.
- Robin, Diana. “Courtesans, Celebrity and Print Culture in Renaissance Venice: Tullia d’ Aragona, Gaspara Stampa, and Veronica Franco.” In *Italian Women and the City: Essays*, edited by Janet Levarie Smarr and Daria Valentini, 35-59. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2003.

- Romano, Andrea. *Intolleranza religiosa e ragion di stato nell'Europa mediterranea: inquisizione e Santo Uffizio*. Milan: A. Giuffrè, 2002.
- Romano, Dennis. "Quod sibi fiat gratia. Adjustment of Penalties and the Exercise of Influence in Early Renaissance Venice." *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 13, no. 2 (1983): 251-268.
- . *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.
- . "Gender and Urban Geography of Renaissance Venice." *Journal of Social History* 23, no. 2 (1989): 339-353.
- . *Housecraft and Statecraft: Domestic Service in Renaissance Venice, 1400-1600*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- . "Vecchi, Poveri, e Impotenti: The Elderly in Renaissance Venice." In *At the Margins: Minority Groups in Premodern Italy*, edited by Stephen Milner, 249-272. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
- Romeo, Giovanni. *Inquisitori, esorcisti e streghe nell'Italia della Controriforma*. Florence: Sansoni, 1990.
- Rosand, David. *Myths of Venice: The Figuration of a State*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Rosand, Ellen. "Music in the Myth of Venice." *Renaissance Quarterly* 30 (1977): 511-37.
- Rosenwein, Barbara H. *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Ross, James Bruce. "Gasparo Contarini and his Friends." *Studies in the Renaissance* 17 (1970): 192-232.
- . "The Emergence of Gasparo Contarini: A Bibliographical Essay." *Church History* 41 (1972): 1-24.
- Rothman, E. Natalie. *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects Between Venice and Istanbul*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.
- Roubin, Lucienne. "Male Space and Female Space within Provençal Community." In *Rural Society in France: Selections from the Annales, ; économies, sociétés, civilizations*, edited by Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, translated by Elborg Forster and Patricia Ranum, 152-80. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.

- Rousseau, David and Rocio Garcia-Retamero. "Identity, Power, and Threat Perception: A Cross-National Experimental Study." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51, no. 5 (2007): 744-771.
- Rowland, Ingrid. *Giordano Bruno: Philosopher/Heretic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Rowland, Robert. "Fantasticall and Devilishe Persons': European Witch-beliefs in Comparative Perspective." In *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*, edited by Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen, 161-190. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Rowlands, Alison. *Witchcraft and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Rozen, Minna. "A Survey of Jewish Cemeteries in Western Turkey." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* LXXXIII, no. 1-3 (1992): 71-125.
- Ruderman, David B. *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010.
- and Giuseppe Veltri, eds. *Cultural Intermediaries: Jewish Intellectuals in Early Modern Italy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Ruff, Julius. *Violence in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Ruggerio, Guido. "Law and Punishment in Early Renaissance Venice." *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 69, no. 2 (1978): 243-256.
- . *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crimes and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- . *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage, and Power and the End of the Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- . "Mean Streets, Familiar Streets, or the Fat Woodcarver and the Masculine Spaces of Renaissance Florence." In *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, edited by Roger Crum and John Paoletti, 295-310. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Rutherford, Richard, and Tony Barr. *The Death of a Christian: The Order of Christian Funerals*. 1980. Reprint, Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1989.

- Sabeau, David Warren and Malina Stefanovska, eds. *Space and Self in Early Modern European Cultures*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Sacks, David Harris. "Celebrating Authority in Bristol, 1575-1640." In *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, edited by Susan Zimmerman and Ronald Weissman, 187-223. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1989.
- Safley, Thomas Max. *The Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief*. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- Sansovino, Francesco. *Venetia: Città Nobilissima et Singolare*, con le Aggiunte di Giustiniano Martinioni. Venice: Filippi Editore, 1998. First published 1663 by Ristampa Dell'Edizione.
- Santosuosso, Antonio. "Religious Orthodoxy, Dissent and Suppression in Venice in the 1540s." *Church History* 42, no. 4 (December 1973): 476-485.
- . "Religion More Veneto and the Trial of Pier Paolo Vergerio." In *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform: Papers presented at the conference 'The Cultural Impact of Italian Reformers*. Faculty of Religious Studies of McGill University, Montreal, September 1977, edited by Joseph C. McLelland, 43-52. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1978.
- . "An Account of the Election of Paul IV to the Pontificate." *Renaissance Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1978): 486-498.
- . "The Moderate Inquisition of Giovanni Della Casa's Venetian Nunciature, 1544-1549." *Studi Veneziani*, II (1978): 119-210.
- Sanudo, Marin. *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, edited by Rinaldo Fulin, et al., 58 volumes. Venice: Fratelli Visentini, 1879-1903.
- . *De origine, situ et magistratibus Urbis Venetae ovvero La Città di Venetia (1493-1530)*, edizione critica di Angela Caracciolo Aricò. Milan: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1980.
- . "Laus urbis Venetae." In *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan, 4-21. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. First published 1992 by Blackwell.
- Sarpi, Fra Paolo. *Scritti Giurisdizionalistici*, edited by Giovanni Gambarin, 119-212. Bari: Gius, Laterza et Figli, 1958.

- Sarti, Raffaella. *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500-1800*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Savoy, Daniel. *Venice from the Water: Architecture and Myth in an Early Modern City*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.
- Sawday, Jonathan. *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture*. Oxford: Routledge, 1995.
- Sayers, Jane E. *Original Papal Documents in the Lambeth Palace Library: A Catalogue*. London: University of London, 1967.
- Schama, Simon. *Landscape and Memory*. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.
- Schatz, Klaus. *Papal Primacy From its Origins to the Present*, translated by John Otto and Linda Maloney. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1996.
- Schiesari, Juliana. *Beasts and Beauties: Animals, Gender, and Domestication in the Italian Renaissance*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.
- Schmitter, Monika. "Virtuous Riches": The Bricolage of Cittadini Identities in Early Sixteenth Century Venice." *Renaissance Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2004): 908-969.
- Schulte, Rolf. *Man as Witch: Male Witches in Central Europe*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Schulz, Juergen. "Urbanism in Medieval Venice." In *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, edited by Anthony Molho, Kurt Raaflaub and Julia Emlen, 419-445. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1991.
- Schutte, Anne Jacobson. "The Lettere Volgari and the Crisis of Evangelism in Italy." *Renaissance Quarterly* 28, no. 4, Studies in the Renaissance Issue (Winter 1975): 639-688.
- . *Pier Paolo Vergerio: The Making of an Italian Reformer*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1977.
- . "Periodization of Sixteenth-Century Italian Religious History: The Post Cantimori Paradigm Shift." *The Journal of Modern History* 61 (1989): 269-284.
- . "Inquisition and Female Autobiography: The Case of Cecilia Ferrazzi." In *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion and the Arts in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Craig A. Monson, 105-118. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.

- . “Palazzo del Sant'Uffizio: The Opening of the Roman Inquisition's Central Archive.” *Perspectives* 37:5 (May 1999) [journal online]. Available from: <http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/1999/9905/9905arc1.cfm>. (accessed 11 October 2013).
- . *Aspiring Saints: Pretences of Holiness, Inquisition and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618-1750*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- . “Saints” and “Witches” in Early Modern Italy: Stepsisters or Strangers?” In *Time, Space and Women's Lives in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Anne Jacobson Schutte, Thomas Kuehn and Silvana Seidel Menchi, 153-164. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2001.
- . “Society and the Sexes in the Venetian Republic.” In *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, edited by Eric Dursteler, 353-377. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Schwartz, Stuart. “Introduction.” In *Implicit Understandings, Reporting and Reflecting on the encounters Between Europeans and Other People in the Early Modern Era*, edited by Stuart Schwartz, 1-19. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Seidel-Menchi, Silvana. “Inquisizione come repressione o inquisizione come mediazione? Una proposta di periodizzazione.” *Annuario dell'Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea*, 35-36 (1983-84): 53-77.
- Seitz, Jonathan. *Witchcraft and Inquisition in Early Modern Venice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Sennett, Richard. *The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990.
- Setton, Kenneth M. *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*. Volume III: *The Sixteenth Century to the Reign of Julius III*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984.
- Shankland, Graeme. “Why Trouble with Historic Towns?” In *The Conservation of Cities: 24-42*. New York and Paris: St. Martin's Press and UNESCO Press, 1975.
- Shaw, Christine. *Italy and the European Powers: The Impact of War, 1500-1530*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Sheldrake, Phillip. *Spaces for Sacred: Place, Memory and Identity*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

- Shemek, Deanna. *Ladies Errant: Wayward Women and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Shepard, Alexandra and Phil Withington, eds. *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Shiner, Larry. "Sacred Space, Profane Space, Human Space." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 40, no. 4 (1972): 425-436.
- Siebenhüner, Kim. "Conversion, Mobility and the Roman Inquisition Around 1600." *Past and Present*, no. 200 (2008): 5-35.
- Simoncelli, Paolo. *Il caso Reginald Pole: eresia e santità nelle polemiche religiose del Cinquecento*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1977.
- . "Inquisizione romana e riforma in Italia." *Rivista storica italiana* 100 (1988): 1-125.
- Slavin, Arthur Joseph. *Politics, Religion and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of DeLamar Jensen*. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1994.
- Smail, Daniel Lord. "Common Violence: Vengeance and Inquisition in Fourteenth-Century Marseille." *Past and Present*, no. 151 (May 1996): 28-59.
- . *Imaginary Cartographies: Possession and Identity in Late Medieval Marseille*. Ithaca: Cornell University, 1999.
- . *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity, and the Legal Culture in Marseille, 1264-1423*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Smarr, Janet and Daria Valentini, eds. *Italian Women and the City: Essays*. London: Associated University Press, 2003.
- Smith, Alison. "Gender, Ownership and Domestic Space: Inventories and Family Archives in Renaissance Verona." *Renaissance Studies* 12, no. 3 (1998): 375-391.
- . "Revisiting the Renaissance Household, in Theory and in Practice: Locating Wealthy Women in Sixteenth-Century Verona." In *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible through Art and Patronage*, edited by Katherine McIver, 141-158. Burlington: Ashgate, 2012.
- Smith, Neil. *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008.

- Snyder, Jon R. *Writing the Scene of Speaking: Theories of Dialogue in the Late Italian Renaissance*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989.
- Soja, Edward. *Post-Modern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso, 1989.
- . *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996.
- Sorelli, Fernanda. "Imitable Sanctity: The Legend of Maria of Venice." In *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, edited by Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi, 165-181. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Sorrentino, Andrea. *La letteratura italiana e il Sant'Uffizio*. Naples: Liberia editrice Francesco Perrella, 1935.
- Spain, Daphne. *Gendered Spaces*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
- Sperling, Jutta Gisela. *Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Spierling, Karen and Michael Halvorsen. "Introduction: Definition of Community in Early Modern Europe." In *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Karen Spierling and Michael Halvorsen, 1-23. Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
- Stella, Aldo. *Dall'Anabattismo al Socinianismo nel Cinquecento Veneto: ricerche storiche*. Padua: Liviana Editrice, 1967.
- Stern, Laura. "Inquisition Procedure and Crime in Early Fifteenth Century Florence." *Law and History Review* 8, no. 2 (1990): 297-308.
- . "Public Fame in the Fifteenth Century." *The American Journal of Legal History* 44, no. 2 (April 2002): 198-222.
- Stock, Brian. "Networks of Faith: Interpersonal Bonds and Recruitment to Cults and Sects." *American Journal of Sociology* 85 (1980): 1376-95.
- Stow, Kenneth. *The Jews in Rome: Volume One, 1536-1551*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Streghe e Diavoli nei Processi del S. Uffizio: Venezia 1554-1587*, edited by Marisa Milani. Bassano del Grappa: Ghedina and Tassotti, 1994.
- Svalduz, Elena. "Visti dall'acqua: i disegni del "far la città" e la manutenzione urbana." In *Fare la città: Salvaguardia e manutenzione urbana a Venezia in età moderna*, edited by Stefano Zaggia, 71-96. Torino: Bruno Mondadori, 2006.

- Tafuri, Manfredo. "Renovatio urbis Venetiarum': il problema storiografico." In *"Renovatio urbis": Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti (1523-1538)*, edited by Manfredo Tafuri, 9-55. Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1984.
- . *Venice and the Renaissance*, translated by Jessica Levine. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989.
- Tavuzzi, Michael. *Renaissance Inquisitors: Dominican Inquisitors and Inquisitorial Districts in Northern Italy, 1474-1527*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Tedeschi, John. "La dispersione degli archive della Inquisizione romana." *Rivista di Storia e letteratura religiosa*, 9 (1973): 298-312.
- . "Italian Reformers and the Diffusion of Renaissance Culture." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 5, no. 2 (October 1974): 79-94.
- . "Preliminary Observations on Writing a History of the Roman Inquisition." In *Continuity and Discontinuity in Church History*, edited by F. Church and T. George, 232-49. Leiden: Brill, 1979.
- . "The Roman Inquisition and Witchcraft: An Early Seventeenth Century Instruction on Correct Trial Procedure." *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 200, fasc. 2 (April-June 1983): 163-80.
- . "The Question of Magic and Witchcraft in two Unpublished Inquisitorial Manuals of the Seventeenth Century." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 131 (1987): 92-111.
- . "Inquisitorial Law and the Witch." In *Early Modern Europe Witchcraft*, edited by Bengt Ankarion and Gustav Henningsen, 83-118. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- . *The Prosecution of Heresy: Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Italy*. Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991.
- . "The Status of the Defendant Before the Roman Inquisition." In *Ketzerverfolgung im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert*, edited by Hans Rudolf Guggisberg, Bernd Moeller, and Silvana Seidel Menchi, 125-46. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992.
- . *The Italian Reformation of the Sixteenth Century and the Diffusion of Renaissance Culture: A Bibliography of the Secondary Literature (1750-1997)*. Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 2000.
- Tenenti, Alberto. "The Sense of Space and Time in the Venetian World of the Fifteenth

- and Sixteenth Centuries.” In *Renaissance Venice*, edited by J.R. Hale, 17-46. New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973.
- Terpstra, Nicholas. “Civic Self-Fashioning in Renaissance Bologna: Historical and Scholarly Contexts.” *Renaissance Studies* 13, no. 4 (1999): 389-396.
- “The Church of San Giorgio dei Greci, 1511.” In *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan, 334-36. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009. First published 1992 Blackwell.
- “The Geto at San Hieronimo’, 1516.” In *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan, 338-39. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009. First published 1992 by Blackwell.
- Theile, Verena and Andrew McCarthy, eds. *Staging the Superstitions of Early Modern Europe*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2013.
- Thomas, Keith. *Magic and the Decline of Magic*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1971.
- Thompson, Bard. *Humanists and Reformers: A History of the Renaissance and Reformation*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1996.
- Thomson, John A.F. *Popes and Princes, 1417-1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church*. London: George Allen Unwin, 1980.
- Thornton, Peter. *The Italian Renaissance Interior: 1400-1600*. London: H.N. Abrams, 1991.
- Tonkiss, Fran. *Space, the City and Social Theory*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2005.
- Trexler, Richard C. *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*. New York: Academic Press, 1980.
- . “Introduction.” In *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*,” edited by Richard Trexler, 3-16. Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977.
- . “Community, Society, and the Individual.” *Geographical Review* 92, no. 3 (2002): 307-318.

- Unwin, Tim. "A Waste of Space? Towards a Critique of the Social Production of Space..." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 25, no. 1 (2000): 11-29.
- Vacandard, E. *The Inquisition: A Critical and Historical Study of the Coercive Power of the Church*. New York: Longman, 1915.
- Van Gent, Jacqueline. "Female Magic and Women's Social Relations in Eighteenth-Century Sweden." In *Women, Identities, and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall, 95- 109. Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
- Van Voorst, Robert E., ed. "Reestablishment of the Roman Inquisition." In *Readings in Christianity*. California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1997.
- Varisco, Daniel Martin. *Reading Orientalism: Said and the Unsaid*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.
- Vekene, Emil van der. *Bibliotheca bibliographica historiae Sanctae Inquisitionis: Bibliographisches Verzeichnis des gedruckten Schrifttums zur Geschichte und Literatur der Inquisition*. 3 Volumes. Vaduz: Topos Verlag, 1982-92.
- Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009. First published 1992 by Blackwell.
- Venice Città Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, edited by Patricia Labalme and Laura White, translated by Linda Carroll. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- Venice for Modern Man: Ten Centuries of History Face Modern Town-Planning*, compiled by Giorgio Bellavitis, Ennio Gallo, Jean Le Ling and Giuliano Viti. Venice: Stamperia di Venezia, 1963.
- Verschaffel, Bart. "The Meanings of Domesticity." *Journal of Architecture* 7, no. 3 (2002): 287-96.
- Wadleigh, Richard. "Archives in Venice." *Archives of American Art Journal* 5, no. 4 (1965): 9-11.
- Wakefield, Walter Leggett. *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.
- Wallman, Sandra. "Ethnicity and the Boundary Process in Context." In *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*, edited by John Rex and David Mason, 226-245. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

- Waugh, Scott and Peter Diehl, eds. *Christendom and Its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution and Rebellion, 1000-1500*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Webb, Diana. "Domestic Space and Devotion in the Middle Ages." In *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton, 27-47. Burlington: Ashgate, 2005.
- Webber, Melvin M. "Order in Diversity: Community without Propinquity." In *Cities and Space: The Future use of Urban Land*, edited by Lowdon Wingo, 22-54. New York: Earthscan LLC a division of Routledge, 2011. First published 1963 by The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Weissman, Ronald. "Reconstructing Renaissance Sociology: The 'Chicago Style' and the Study of Renaissance Society." In *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, edited by Richard Trexler, 39-46. Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985.
- . "The Importance of Being Ambiguous: Social Relations, Individualism, and Identity in Renaissance Florence." In *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, edited by Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F.E. Weissman, 269-280. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1989.
- Wendehorst, Stephan, ed. *The Roman Inquisition, the Index and the Jews: Contexts, Sources and Perspectives*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Wheeler, Joseph. "Neighbourhoods and Local Loyalties in Renaissance Venice." In *Mediterranean Urban Culture, 1400-1700*, edited by Alexander Cowan, 31-42. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000.
- White, Michael. *The Pope and the Heretic: A True Story of Giordano Bruno, the man who dares to defy the Roman Inquisition*. New York: William Morrow, 2002.
- Wickersham, Jane. *Rituals of Prosecution: The Roman Inquisition and the Prosecution of Philo-Protestants in Sixteenth-Century Italy*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 2012.
- Wickham, Chris. "Gossip and Resistance among the Medieval Peasantry." *Past and Present*, no.160 (1998): 3-24.
- . "Fama and the Law in Twelfth-Century Tuscany." In *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, edited by Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, 15-26. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.

- Wiesner-Hanks, Merry. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- . *Early Modern Europe, 1450-1989*. 2006. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Williams, Gerhild Scholz. *Defining Dominion: The Discourses of Magic and Witchcraft of Modern France and Germany*. 1995. Reprint, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- Williams, Raymond. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Wilson, Brownen. *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- and Paul Yachnin, eds. *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Wolf, Hubert. *Inquisition, Index, Zensur: Wissenskulturen der Neuzeit im Widerstreit*. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2001.
- Wolff, Larry. *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Wootton, David. *Paolo Sarpi: Between Renaissance and Enlightenment*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Wright, A.D. *The Early Modern Papacy: From the Council of Trent to the French Revolution, 1564-1789*. New York: Longman, 2000.
- Wright, Anthony. "Republican Tradition and the Maintenance of 'National' Religious Traditions in Venice." *Renaissance Studies* 10, no. 3 (1996): 405-416.
- Zagorin, Perez. *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Zapperi, Roberto. *La Leggenda del papa Paolo III*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 1998.
- Zika, Charles. *Exorcising Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- . *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Zimmerman, T.C. Price. *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Zinger, Nimrod. "Who knows what the cause is?": "Natural" and "Unnatural" causes for illness in the writings of Ba' Alei Shem, Doctors and patients among German Jews in the Eighteenth Century." In *The Jewish Body: Corporeality, Society, and Identity in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period*, edited by Giuseppe Veltri and Maria Diemling, 127- 155. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Vita

Place of Birth: Asheville, North Carolina

Degrees Awarded:

M.A. History, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, TN, May 2002

B.A. Classical Studies, University of North Carolina at Asheville, NC May 1998

Professional Positions Held:

Lecturer of Cross-Disciplinary Studies, 2009-present, East Tennessee State University

Academic Advisor of Masters of Professional Studies, RODP, 2009-present, East Tennessee State University

Adjunct Faculty of History, 2011-present, Mars Hill University

Scholastic and Professional Honors:

Recipient of the "Student Choice Award," 2011
Faculty Award, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, TN

Recipient of the Dorothy Leathers Fellowship, 2010
Graduate Student Award, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Julie Fox