Reciprocity and redistribution: work and welfare reconsidered / edited by Gro Hagemann
(Work, gender and society : thematic work group 4 ; 2)

331.094 (21.)
I. Lavoro – Europa I. Hagemann, Gro

CIP a cura del Sistema bibliotecario dell’Università di Pisa

This volume is published thanks to the support of the Directorate General for Research of the European Commission, by the Sixth Framework Network of Excellence CLIOHRES.net under the contract CIT3-CT-2005-00164. The volume is solely the responsibility of the Network and the authors; the European Community cannot be held responsible for its contents or for any use which may be made of it.

Cover: Jan Victors (1619-after 1676), Clothing the Orphans in the Deaconate, ca.1657, painting. Amsterdam Historical Museum Collection, detail

Member of

© Copyright 2007 by Edizioni Plus – Pisa University Press
Lungarno Pacinotti, 43
56126 Pisa
Tel. 050 2212056 – Fax 050 2212945
info-plus@edizioniplus.it
www.edizioniplus.it - Section "Biblioteca"


Manager
Claudia Napolitano

Editing
Francesca Petrucci, Eleonora Lollini

Informatic assistance
Massimo Arcidiacono, Michele Gasparello
Before the Welfare State: the City and Welfare in the Veneto, 13th to 15th Centuries

Claudia Bertazzo
University of Padova

Abstract

From the 12th century on parts of northern and central Italy developed welfare systems that would characterize social life during the age of the Communes and throughout the following centuries. The lack of any full-scale centralized political power able to meet the requirements of the population meant that society spontaneously came up with religiously motivated welfare mechanisms to support those in need or, as occurred in the guilds, to look after fellow members of an association. The case of the Veneto shows such mechanisms to have complemented the running of city society. Seemingly disjointed, the system was coordinated and controlled by the local municipal authorities.

Amid the virtual silence of legislation and guild statutes as to female participation, here as elsewhere, one turns to private documentation to find rare traces of the woman’s unacknowledged yet fundamental supporting role.

Nel XIII secolo le città dell’Italia centro settentrionale sono all’apice del loro splendore economico, politico e culturale. È in questo periodo che si svilupperono quei sistemi assistenzialistici che caratterizzeranno non solo la vita sociale dell’età comunale, ma anche dell’epoca successiva. L’assenza di un potere politico accentrato e compiuto, in grado di rispondere alle esigenze di una società comunque attiva e in crescita, fece in modo che la società stessa si attivasse per creare spontaneamente quei meccanismi di assistenza necessari per fornire sostegno sia a coloro che non potevano provvedere a sé, come i malati, i minorenni e gli orfani, sia per fornire mutua assistenza agli appartenenti a una medesima associazione come, ad esempio, avveniva all’interno delle corporazioni artigiane. Il caso Veneto mostra con chiarezza la complementarità esistente tra i meccanismi di assistenza messi in atto all’interno della società cittadina. In un sistema che potrebbe apparire frammentario, se non si ponesse l’attenzione sul fondamentale ruolo di coordinazione svolto dall’apparato politico sia nella fase in cui la città era retta a comune, sia nella successiva fase di dominazione signorile, deve essere inserito anche il fenomeno della carità privata che si manifestava principalmente attraverso quei lasciti testamentari che garantivano un sussidio continuo sia a favore degli enti assistenzialistici, in primo luogo religiosi, sia a favore di singoli poveri che potevano così beneficiare direttamente del sussidio.
In questo quadro si può cercare di mettere in luce il ruolo della donna nelle strutture di assistenza. Poco però emerge dalla legislazione cittadina. Dalle norme corporative, inoltre, non emerge chiaramente la funzione che la donna doveva svolgere all’interno delle corporazioni di mestiere, in primo luogo perché la stessa partecipazione femminile non è chiaramente definibile. La documentazione privata appare, più di ogni altra, in grado di fornire il quadro più verosimile della realtà dell’epoca. Un mondo familiare in cui la donna svolge un ruolo fondamentale sebbene raramente documentato.

**INTRODUCTION**

Talking about Welfare in a historical period prior to that in which the modern state was formed, might appear unusual at the very least. Indeed, it would seem more appropriate to talk about reciprocity and redistribution of collective resources on which, in the long term, the social systems which precede the modern era pivot. Charity, donation and hospitality are concrete manifestations of these principles. In this long-term perspective, a period starting long before the formation of the modern State, a change takes place. L’obblazione benefica, [charitable oblation] which is not only based on rules of a collective nature, but on Christian principles according to which the poor represent Christ on earth, is adopted along with the idea of reciprocity and the habit of redistributing the resources to survive. The poor become ‘Christ’s poor’, indispensable for redemption from sin and for the benefactor’s eternal salvation. However, despite the fact that it was quite generalized and structured, this system lacked the characteristics of an organization based on the assisted person’s interests. In short, the impossibility of talking of Welfare in the Medieval period, lies, among other things, in the fact that the needy were perceived as an ethical and not as a social category. This affected the very ways in which help was given, which were tied to the worthiness or unworthiness of the needy person or beggar. Such was the attitude medieval man had towards the problem of poverty.

This medieval conception of poverty was closely connected with the phenomenon of associationism. Lay associations, religious in nature for the most part, involved more or less efficient and active mechanisms of mutual help among the members of a confraternity. Under various guises and at various levels, the association was an attempt on the part of medieval society to come to terms with a situation in which the individual could not count on any form of institutionalized assistance, given the lack, or embryonic state, of territorial-political organizations capable of meeting such needs. As Walter Ullmann claims, in no other historical period more than the medieval one was such a strong need for partnership felt, at least among equals. It was a context of “failure on the part of the authorities”, a failure that for obvious needs had to be overcome with various welfare structures, religious, private or “semi-public” (like the trade guilds).

The ambit of research for this chapter is the Italian City. Inserting the theme of Welfare into a wider context, beyond the Italian borders, would have meant facing the difficulties of an extremely broad subject area, set in a Medieval European context. The ex-
tended fragmentation of the political and socio-economic conditions of the centuries under discussion would make such an effort extremely difficult and perhaps not overly ‘productive’. The renaissance of the city in Italy and the rise of popular forces organized in corporate bodies can be seen as a *unicum* for the era. The city in Italy, and beyond the Alps in Germany and Flanders, develops similar, if not identical, forms at a later period, when the communal phenomenon in Italy is giving way to other forms of government. Furthermore, the situation of the cities in northern central Italy at the time cannot be compared to that of southern central Italy. The presence of strong monarchies and the different social and climatic conditions create a clear contrast between an urbanized, mercantile, manufacturing North, and a scantily urbanized South in which the cities lack political autonomy and the prevalently agricultural economy specialize in the production of raw materials to be exported to Northern Italy. When detecting the similarities which existed between structures and organizations with welfare importance in various different European regions, it is necessary to contextualize those structures within the specific social and political background. Again, which similar phenomena in different geographical areas were generated by social and political needs, and which cannot be associated? It is known, for example, that in Paris there were numerous advanced guilds and corporations, just as in Italy, but they acted in a different political context. The city of Paris did not benefit from any autonomy, but was heavily subject to the king. To quote another example, there exist strong similarities between welfare structures operating in northern Italian guilds and those in the Valenciennes guilds, where artisans had mutual assistance duties, and these can be compared. In this chapter I have focused on phenomena of solidarity provided by associations and welfare assistance dispensed by municipalities and by lay and religious associations, taking the area of Veneto from the 13th to the 15th centuries as my case study.

It is important to specify that the timespan taken into consideration in this paper also comprises a transition in political structures. At the beginning of the 14th century the political institution of the Commune lost its independence and autonomy, when the *Signorie* [Lordships] rose to power. In Veneto, the Commune became subject to Venetian domination when the Republic of Venice began to expand in the hinterland. I found that it is fundamental to emphasise how, despite deep institutional change, which happened over that period, the welfare structures in the cities did not undergo substantial changes. Despite the transformation of the structures of political power, the *Signorie* allowed the guilds and their forms of organization to exist independently.

We shall be considering both the mutual aid practised amongst craftsmen, and the mechanisms of welfare and of control that municipalities extended in favour and in defence of their citizens. For this reason the sources favoured are municipal and corporate legislative documents. These present the organization of the city as a whole, the forms of reciprocal interdependence – in short, the reciprocity of the systems of aid, or rather “of survival”, which were adopted in times of need in the cities of the Veneto hinterland.

This parallel between the legal/political systems and the welfare structures of the Italian city in the Middle Ages allows us to detect and lay bare the welfare structures and the
way collective resources were re-distributed among the various ‘sub-communities’ which made up a city society. This is the straight consequence of the nature of mediaeval law. Custom, the norms that give rise to a reiterated behaviour in time, dominated the legal life of those centuries. It came about because in the Middle Ages the State lost its force and because the coincidence between State and society broke down. Society was organised in a spontaneous way that conditioned every attempt to exert any organic form of influence over it. In this context of absence of the State (in the modern sense of the term) – or rather, in this circumstance in which power was incomplete –, the nature of Welfare in the Middle Ages can be explained. The custom of mutual support inside the guilds, the religious sense that urged the members to aid their neighbours and care for the sick, were not caused by top-down directives from the public authorities, but came from society itself, from its customs. A situation such as this was implemented by the Commune, and later by the City, which saw to controlling and sometimes integrating the various private or religious structures operating in the field of welfare assistance.

Through the description of the mechanisms which the commune and welfare institutions, lay and religious, organised for the poor, it is possible to observe the interdependence between public and private structures, both equally involved in welfare services and alms distribution. In order to complete the picture, I will describe those welfare mechanisms set up by the guilds, in order to detect how a semi-public institution organized the distribution of collective resources and according to what principles those resources were assigned.

While attempting to distinguish how the city’s organizational structures dealt with the basic theme of welfare assistance, I have also tried to clarify the attitude of those organizations towards women in the world of work and in city legislation. The sources will not provide information, or at most provide information of little significance, about women’s duties, either as recipients or benefactresses.

The legislative sources do not provide enough data to outline, even approximately, what women’s working conditions were like inside the guilds, and how far they received, if at all, benefits from guilds and from private donations. Here it was necessary to extend the search for data beyond what was provided by legal bodies. A last will and testament, as well as a podesta’s award, show female participation and are therefore likely to be more important than legislative sources, one presumes.

THE CITY AND WELFARE ASSISTANCE

From the statutes it becomes clear that, generally speaking, the City does not provide extensive mechanisms of assistance or aid for the weaker members of society. It tends to delegate other structures, social entities, to care for and defend the needy and weak. The weaker segments of society which are defended by city legislation are the same segments which have the greatest difficulty in defending themselves from a legal, and therefore economic, point of view. To state the obvious, the weakest members are orphans, especially young girls, minors and, obviously, the sick (especially certain kinds of
null
municipal law obliged their brothers to provide a dowry from their own inheritance. In fact, women in the Middle Ages did not participate in the division of their deceased parents’ wealth since their part of the inheritance was set aside as their dowry[^15]. A simple example is provided by the city of Belluno[^16], which named two arbitrators, one on the part of the mother and one on the part of the father, to check that the dowry was indeed assigned to the young woman orphan. The same procedure was to take place if the young girl decided to enter a convent or nunnery. Furthermore, girl orphans, even if in possession of a dowry, had to be fed by relatives who had benefited from the inheritance or by those who were able to do so, until they married or entered convent life[^17]. In the same way, the city of Treviso protected the young girl who lost the relative who was responsible for her dowry, by establishing that the closest relatives had the obligation to marry her off post etatem viginti annorum [after the age of twenty years[^18]]. This, as the purview states, was so that relatives, who might be brothers, the mother or others with the obligation to marry the girl off, did not postpone giving or fail to give the girl a dowry. Indeed, the dowry had to be commensurate with the property and wealth of the person who was to provide it by law.

Treviso provides yet another example of how the City entrusted the nuclear family with the assistance and maintenance of weak subjects. Just as the closest relatives had an obligation to maintain the unmarried young orphan girl, so the offspring of both sexes were made responsible for needy parents and had the obligation to provide them with essentials, including board and lodging[^19].

Along with the elderly and orphans, another category of the weak in every society is undoubtedly that of the sick and diseased. From municipal sources it is clear that in the medieval Italian city certain diseases were seen in a different light than they are today and, consequently, perceived differently from a social point of view as well. Among these, there is a sad focus on a certain type of sick person, the leper[^20]. Such people were excluded from the city, they were not allowed to enter the city gates; what is more, if some gatekeeper failed to block their path, out of negligence or for some other reason, he faced punishment[^21]. In the city of Bassano the podestà had to elect two sapientes [wise men] whose responsibility it was to seek out and establish whether any of the inhabitants of the village or of the neighbourhood had contracted and were being vastatur [wasted] by the disease. When they found a case, the sick person was forced to leave his or her home to go and live in a colony with other lepers, outside the city. However, there were waivers. An earlier rubric to the one quoted above, though soon repealed, allowed lepers to enter the city to ask for alms. In 1295 another rubric established, in mitigation of a law from 1259, that lepers could enter Bassano on Sunday mornings until midday. During this time they were not allowed to sit down or stop, for obvious hygiene reasons, but had to roam the streets for their alms[^22]. These laws – of which only a few have been quoted out of the numerous examples found in the legislation of the period – demonstrate the apparent state of abandonment of lepers, who undoubtedly formed a problem of social dimensions in city life. It was only apparent abandonment, however; legislation does not provide information regarding the means of assistance
and survival. The cities do not provide information because, yet again, the political and administrative body delegated other organizations. From the interesting case of Verona it is obvious that the information available is not always exhaustive. Looking at the legislative sources it becomes clear that, as in every other municipality in the Veneto, the laws were one-sided in character, defending the community of inhabitants. However, further information confirms the principle by which the municipality delegated other structures to manage emergencies and general problem areas such as that of welfare. The rubric entitled De privilegio hospitalis sancti Iacobi ad Tumbam [On the privilege of the hospital of San Giacomo alla Tomba]\(^{23}\) reminds us that the podestà and the vicar of Verona had the statutory obligation to maintain and defend the church of San Giacomo, its lands and its possessions, goods and rights conceded by bishop Iacobus in 1225\(^{24}\). Furthermore, the church of Santa Croce could not reclaim goods once possessed or privileges or perquisites for looking after the diseased. At the same time, the prior, the rector, the brothers of the confraternity and the lay brothers of the church and hospital of San Giacomo were obliged to defend and receive all the diseased and lepers of the city, and of the district of Verona. The sick had to be kept within the colony, where they would be looked after and supported out of the subsidies that San Giacomo received and had power to administer. In conclusion, the collaboration between the municipality and the church is apparent when one remembers the obligation on the part of the prior, the brothers and the lay brothers to receive all the diseased of the city and of the surrounding country of Verona within three days of the notification given by the podestà or by one of his nuncios. Any new guests of the hospital of San Giacomo were, from the moment they entered, obliged to stay *ibidem et non alibi* [there and nowhere else]\(^{25}\). This meant remaining outside the city walls, since the *ad Tumbam* was located outside, up against the walls.

Going back briefly to a passage mentioned earlier in rubric CCLX which makes reference to the aid necessary for the support of the sick, the statute makes no reference to aid from the city. It is therefore clear that any support in the form of money or property came from the generosity of private citizens. Reference has already been made to the mayors and the officials in charge of the proper distribution of legacies to organizations and to the poor. On behalf of the lepers of Verona there are references to numerous private legacies, up until the 12th century. In 1145 Bazalerio, son of Tenzone, left three lire to the hospital for the sick; his name however is not mentioned\(^{26}\). In 1167 a widow, Imilla, left the *malsani* [the diseased] arable land suitable for vineyards: *reliqui pro anima sua malesanis totam illam terram cum vineis et aratoria quam ipsa habet a Colegnola a Zusano* [for the salvation of her soul, let all the arable land and that with a vineyard owned by the deceased be left to the sick]\(^{27}\). In 1169 Uberto, a Jew who lived at the city gate of Organa, left the sick twenty coins; besides, to the hospital of Santa Maria di Gerusalemme he left his *pancera* [weapon], towards the work of the hospital of San Giovanni in Valle he left three lire, to the monks of the church he left twenty coins, to the care dispensed by the church of San Zenone, to that provided by San Pietro and to the lepers he left twenty coins\(^{28}\). There are numerous last wills and testaments.
from the 12th and 13th centuries, whose testators, both men and women, left sums of money or pieces of land to one or more hospitals. Some provided for all the organizations which took care of lepers, like Lanfranchino, called Vavasor, who in 1204 left ten lire, to each of the seven houses for the diseased in Verona while to the sick of Santa Croce he left a house with land in the area of the gate of San Zeno. A doctor, Rodolfo, also left five lire to the lepers of Santa Croce and twenty coins to the hospitali Tumbe. There are many other hospitals and churches which benefited from the money left in this particular will.

To conclude, it is clear that, to varying degrees, the whole municipality contributed to running the welfare organizations designed for the most seriously ill. If the municipality delegated the care of the malesani to religious organizations or to others, like the small houses for the diseased which benefited from Lanfranchino’s will, it was the private citizens, with their donations for the salvation of their souls, according to the Christian religious conception (but not only for this reason, if you consider the case of the Jew Uberto), who enabled the organizations to continue their work and see to the lepers’ primary needs.

THE GUILD AND WELFARE

To define a “guild” I will use the definition, which Meersseman used to describe a medieval guild as well as any other religious or lay association: a “mutual aid association structured in an organic way.” Belonging to a guild in a city gave you rights and at the same time duties, which over time, towards the 15th century, became more and more taxing in the attempt on the part of the guilds to guarantee the monopoly on the craft or mercantile activity that they managed. Members had to pay a fee to join the confraternity. At the beginning this went towards embellishing the chapel of the guild and celebrating the holy patron’s feast. With time it became a question of true piety and of mutual aid, as well as helping towards the protection of members from non-members of the guild and at times even the city. In the statutes of the guilds of Padua, for example, there are numerous examples of what can be defined as true piety. A strong, deep-seated religious sense, which is expressed in the community of rites, the support of poor brethren, aid to the sick, welfare assistance and shared mourning. This last aspect can also be included in the perspective of mutual and reciprocal aid, and not simply in a religious perspective, if you consider the importance medieval man gave to the salvation of the soul. According to the proem of their statutes, the Paduan guilds themselves did not come into being pro desiderio corporis, set pro anime rimedio [not to satisfy the desires of the body, but rather the needs of the soul]. Thus, the fee each member was expected to give towards the suffrage mass to be celebrated a month after the death of a brother does not belong to the religious sphere alone but, given the culture of the era, it also belongs to the sphere of aid and support that the brethren guaranteed each other. The guild thus assumes the role of internal regulation, not only of the production and commerce of finished products, but also of the behaviour of its members and, as mentioned above, of the aid factor, especially towards poor or diseased brothers.
One of the means of assistance most commonly found in the guild statutes was the *waita* [guard, with the meaning of assistance], generally provided at night, usually carried out by two people who were paid, since the statute of the guild made no mention of any obligation for members to personally provide this type of service. This is the case with the statutes of Verona’s *Misterium scavezatorum draporum lane*\(^3\). According to the rubric, a brother who fell ill outside the city of Verona, and had nowhere to go was to be assisted even economically by a fellow guildsman who might only later ask the guild for reimbursement. Again, transportation of the invalid from the site of the accident or from where he fell sick was to be seen to by the brethren at the expense of the guild\(^34\). The way in which the sick person was ‘picked up’ might vary; this could be carried out by members or by the chamberlain of the guild\(^35\). If a brother fell seriously ill then his fellows might be obliged to pay a further fee beyond the amount foreseen, as was the case in the *Misterium tintorum pignolatorum*\(^36\), where guildsmen were personally obliged to pay two coins for the *waita*. There is no doubt that these fees were paid, since those who refused to pay the two coins were fined far more. This practice was not generally observed and obviously no mention is found in statues of the wealthier guilds, such as the drapers, where it was unlikely to find a poor craftsman. The guild also provided for the funeral of the dead brother. In certain crafts the obligation also included the relatives who lived under the same roof as the craftsman. The fellow craftsmen were responsible for transporting the corpse to the church. Often the guild went into mourning and work was suspended during the ceremony and burial. The brethren were also obliged to give a sum for the *trigesimo*, that is the funeral service to be held a month after the death of a member. All members also had to pay the *luminaria*, a fee for lamps to be kept alight for deceased brothers in front of the altar of the guild’s patron saint. These practices cannot be seen as simply the giving of alms or charity to ‘colleagues’ in misfortune, but are rather a true demonstration of moral and economic solidarity. This becomes particularly clear in the statutes of the *Bubulci*, the wagon builders of Verona. Members had to help each other in road accidents and lend each other the tools of their craft. Particularly significant is the obligation, when a member loses one or more oxen, for at least four brothers to help him look for them. As payment, the brother had to pay a token coin for each day’s search, the rest being supplied by the guild\(^37\). Furthermore, if a brother had his animals confiscated or stolen, he would receive compensation from the other members. The sum was three coins from those who owned a sole beast of burden, six coins from those with two or more animals\(^38\). These rubrics give examples of the spirit of solidarity among members, which finds expression in acts of aid and compensation aimed at enabling the damaged member to continue working. Moreover, if we slightly enlarge the geographic area of research, it becomes clear that such mechanisms were carried out even more assiduously in Tuscany. In Florence the guilds of arts and crafts protected and compensated members who had suffered damage at the hands of stronger and more violent members of the city\(^39\). According to this rubric any man belonging to the guild of rag-and-bone men and linen drapers, if damaged or offended in possessions or person by a prominent citizen, had a statutory right to be helped and compensated by the members and officials of the guild.
At this point it is possible to affirm that only guilds whose members’ patrimonial situations were unequal provided in their statutes for assistance in cases of infirmity, for a daughter’s dowry or for transport of the sick. In guilds where brothers were well off this did not take place. Evidence of this can be found, for example, in the statute of the college of judges of Treviso\(^40\). In northern central Italy during the 13th and 14th centuries, the judges were organized in a college and not in a guild, and were generally among the more well-to-do citizens. The rubrics of the statutes regarding assistance can, on the other hand, be found in the case of the notaries from Treviso of the end of the 14th century\(^41\). Notaries, in fact, held a post of less prestige and consequently of inferior income to judges. The high number of notaries who practised in the same city meant that at times there was not enough business for a notary to survive and he often had to do other work to eke out his income. This type of business therefore led to stronger mechanisms of mutual assistance, proportional to the members’ greater needs. If a member was ill and incapable of supplying his own needs, the chamberlain could spend up to a sum of five lire from fraternity funds without first having to convene the guild. Furthermore, if the chamberlain thought fit, he could decide to further help the member in need, this time with the consensus of his advisors and the guild auditor, to the tune of twenty lire in small change without needing to call a meeting of the guild. Moreover, there was a system to search out all the poor or infirm members who did not live within the city walls, and who therefore had greater difficulty in contacting the chamberlain and auditor of the guild to ask for help. The chamberlain had to seek out all members who did not live in the city and, above all, the poor and infirm members in the countryside. Once found, the chamberlain had to provide them with guild support, up to the maximum sum provided by the statute. If a chamberlain appropriated the sum set aside for a needy member, he would be punished. There was a further form of guarantee provided by the guild, this time not of an economic but of a spiritual nature\(^42\). The confraternity established that two lights were to be kept alight in praise of God and the martyr, San Vito. These were placed in front of the altar of the saint and were to be paid for by the confraternity. Moreover, every Saturday the chamberlain should have a mass sung, for each of which he paid eight coins to the priest who said the mass. The reasons for this are found at the end of the rubric: that the merits of the martyr Vito, and his assiduous intercession with Christ, may free and defend the brotherhood from imminent dangers (\textit{sempre a periculis imminentibus liberet et defendat}). These words come as no surprise when seen in the context of this paper, which is an attempt to illustrate the forms of welfare assistance existing in cities in the 13th-14th century. They are a demonstration of how intricately secular culture was interwoven with the religion that marked the time and existence of man; the commingling of the worldly dimension of work with that of the other world explains the setting aside of money for rites. As with assistance to the infirm, so this money and these tasks of the chamberlain’s served to safeguard the well-being of the confraternity and the needs of its members.
Women, guild and welfare

It seems clear, however, that women are absent, if not excluded, from the mechanisms of welfare generated by the guilds. This depends directly on how they participated in the work and the ways in which they were employed which, we shall see, can be said to be ‘ambiguous’. As Herlihy has already noted, the statutes of Italian guilds show that female workmanship was widely used in the production of textiles. Herlihy notes that women were not formally listed, but that, as in Florence with the linen drapers, anyone who married the sister or daughter of a master craftsman had his entrance fee reduced. Basing himself on estimates which have come down to us from 1423 to 1502, Herlihy notes that in 15th century Verona female craftswomen were extremely rare. However, this is only a hypothesis, since female workers were not often included in the official register of the workforce. From the statutes one can actually deduce that at the craftsman’s side there must have been his wife, who is often mentioned in the statutes not as an ‘official’ worker, but as a helper. We can therefore hypothesize that the female presence in the arts and crafts and in commerce was far greater than official estimates would lead us to suppose. Women probably contributed within the system of home production, subject to the authority of father or husband, as was the norm in pre-industrial Europe. It is worth noting that in Italy there were no guilds that exclusively enrolled women, as there were in Northern Europe. In Cologne, in Paris, Toulouse and Languedoc, women participated actively in at least five guilds. Nothing like this is to be found in Italy, including the Veneto. We can therefore talk about all-male guilds, if not in terms of actual presence, certainly in terms of the language used in guild sources, which always speak about fratres and only rarely about sorores. With this in mind, there is an interesting example regarding the city of Padua, and in particular the fraglia of the fruiters. In the guild statute there is a strict rule by which no woman could manage or own a stacio [booth] to sell fruit, if her husband did not enter the guild. The woman was present in the guild as her husband’s “helper”, unable to manage the business independently. This hypothesis is confirmed by a few later rubrics, which show that women were not independent guild members.

Their presence is always closely related and subordinate to a male relative. The rubrics of the guild statute stress this state of subjection: women and man are not mentioned alike. It is usual to find women mentioned in relation to a man. For instance we read: statuimus vel ordinamus, quod nullus fratrum dicte fratalee, nec aliquo mulier dictorum fratrum [we decree and ordain that any fruiterer, and any fruiterer’s wife...], and even: statuimus et ordinamus, quod si aliquis ex fratribus dicte fratalee, vel aliquo mulier predictorum [we decree and ordain that, if a fruiterer or an aforesaid fruiterer’s wife...].

One deduces a passive role, one of clear inferiority to the position of the man who practised the same craft. However, a document which follows throws a different light on the same statutory rules. This document, dated 1424, deals with a dispute between fruit vendors who legally occupied stall sites obtained from the City on payment of ninety-six lire and those who practised the craft outside the stands which they had been
assigned. Among the first contenders we find the names of donna Giovanna, wife of Giovanni da Porciglia, Andrea da Portello, Bellino, Enselmino, Sibella and Benedetta da Adverso. Among the opposition there are twenty names of which five are women: donna Agnese, Ursola, Tintoressa, Antonia Struanella e Catarina. These are women, therefore, who practised their profession in complete autonomy, so much so that they appeared in person in front of the podestà of Padua. This is a ‘hybrid’ situation of effective participation without recognition, which legalizes an autonomous business activity⁹⁹. One would like to surmise that due to this lack of officiality, women were unable to benefit from the mechanisms of guilds welfare by which their male counterparts benefited. Of course, it is also possible to assume that the guild does not specify the gender of the person who receives assistance from the other members of the guild. The current state of studies on women’s work in mediaeval Italy does not enable us to choose between hypotheses, though one notes that by the 15th century the daily work practice would be modified from the time when the statute of the guild was compiled. So it is possible that this case marks an adjustment which is not adopted by the statute.

PRIVATE CITIZENS AND WELFARE

As can be deduced, aid for the most infirm came from private citizens in the form of charity and donations pro remedio anime. There were many such legacies, so much so that, as stated earlier, special officials were named to ensure the inheritance actually went to the poor and to ecclesiastical organizations.

To gauge the weight of the phenomenon, one should remember the strong religious sense of mediaeval men, but not only this. It was the conception of death, fear for the destiny of one’s own soul in the after-life, which worried women and men, at all times from the Middle Ages down to the early modern age. The assured means of salvation was to redeem one’s own sins through charity at the point of death.

The last will and testament of Nicola de Silva from Siena, who lived in Padua, is a good example of this social practice. This will is cited in a document⁵⁰ dated 1376, and provided for distribution to the poor of a certain length of grixo cloth worth four hundred denariorum parvorum, for the safety of Nicola’s soul and the remission of his sins. The heirs and commissary of the deceased describe the beneficiaries of the legacy in full, undertaking to distribute the cloth to the poor secundum aspectum personarum suarum [according to their appearance]. This is followed by a lengthy list of poor beneficiaries, one hundred and five in all, seventy of whom are listed by name, district and often along with information regarding their state of health. The remaining thirty-five pauperes et miserabiles persone [poor and wretched people] were to be chosen by the brothers of Montello. It is reported that, according to the custom of the times, the beneficiaries had to promise in exchange to pray to God for the soul of the deceased Nicola. This document is interesting, not only as an example of the forms of private assistance in practice at the time, an aspect of charity pro remedio anime [for the salvation of the soul], but for the clear preponderance of women among the beneficiaries of the legacy.
Of the seventy people listed in the document, thirty-one were women, while one man, *Franciscus Carta de Mandria* is given the cloth *pro uxore sua* [for his wife]. Among the beneficiaries there is a sick doctor, four invalids (three blind people and a hunchback), three belonging to a religious order, sixteen small children of the people listed, while only fourteen men were included in the list, exclusively because of their poverty.

It is important to note that this document provided for the beneficiaries to be chosen by Nicola’s heirs *secundum aspectum personarum*, hence upon objective establishment of the state of poverty of those who would benefit from the inheritance. It may be presumed, with due caution, that when designating the beneficiaries, Nicola’s heirs found more poor women in serious difficulty than men. One explanation could be that women more often than men took care of children and sick relatives. *Pedrina*, in fact, was responsible for an sick old husband and three young children. *Margherita* too had three dependent daughter *domiclete* (which may be translated as girl-servants), like *Mandreda* from Florence, who had three small children to care for. In support of this hypothesis, it is possible to present a significant document from Padua in the following century: the proceedings of the executor of the deceased *Nicolò di Fabriano*, master papermaker, who died in 1459. His heirs started proceedings to carry out the last will and testament of the deceased which included the distribution of one hundred lire to beggars. This sum was distributed by the executor over a period of about a year. As Silvana Collodo states, alms left as a bequest form an uninterrupted stream of charity for the poor of urban centres. In this distribution, the precision with which the poor beneficiaries are described is interesting. The notary *Bartolomeo dagli Statuti* reports on the inquiries carried out to trace the needy, no longer as in the proceedings of the commissary of *Nicola da Siena, secundum aspectum personarum*, but based on detailed knowledge of the individual and family needs of the beneficiaries. It is clear that alms were given on the basis of each individual's family responsibilities. All 14 beneficiaries had up to ten dependent children, like *Nofrio*, who received twenty lire as dowry for his daughter *Caterina*. The same was true for *Guglielmo* who had nine dependent children and received nine lire to provide a dowry for his daughter, *Vendramina*. Others received money to pay for food or buy clothing. By way of conclusion, one case seems particularly interesting, that of *Orsolina*, who received five lire. Among the reasons listed it appears that she and her husband had four dependent children and *Orsolina*’s mother to look after. According to the document, *Orsolina* herself had been wounded by a stray arrow and, therefore, *non potest pro se laborare et maritum adiuvare pro sustentatione filiorum* [could not work to support herself and to help her husband support the children]. Yet further proof that a woman’s work, in the Middle Ages as at other times, in the cities as well as in the countryside, was indispensable for the support of the family.

Women’s history and the history of welfare have often been tightly interwoven. Here it is necessary to emphasize that writing about women’s history in the medieval period can create, and I believe has created, problems for historians who have attempted similar research. The Middle Ages are usually seen as a block of centuries “from the male point of view”, in which the presence of the woman is somehow hazy, when not
completely hidden. We know, however, that this is only on a surface level. Often it was made even more evident by historians who in the past tended to analyze components and aspects of society from a “male point of view”. The present case is perhaps one more proof of Verdon’s claim that the sources for a history of women are the same as used for every other type of research. The difficulty lies in the fact that information must be gathered here and there, amid great dispersion of data. The sources for women’s history are wide-ranging and disparate. The historian, therefore, needs to gather them in an attempt to settle various aspects of the woman’s condition. For example, as regards the married woman, legislative sources give us a theoretical picture, narrative and literary sources deal with specific cases, but only documentary sources enable the historian to approach an understanding of the general condition. It is essential to remember that the woman plays a fundamental role in the society of her time. Every source may clear up a fragment of the history and condition of women in the middle Ages; every source should therefore be weighed according to the basic theme being dealt with.

Conclusion

In the light of the cases analysed and the picture that emerges of how collective resources were re-distributed in the cities of northern Italy, my view is that clear differences are to be found between the types or “models” of welfare implemented in the ages prior to the formation of the modern state and the welfare system peculiar to the modern state. The State, as the central administrative and political organization which directs and intervenes in every ambit of the community, will come to direct and centralize all types of welfare service like other aspects of civil society. In a situation in which the State was absent, with a different shape of political power, the Commune did not set out to centralize the powers but to manage and coordinate such organizational structures as the community spontaneously created. Thus every member of society was roped into the management of welfare –lay, religious, public or private. Just as all limbs are necessary for the life of the body; so every rank and organization of society is necessary for the health and survival of the community. John of Salisbury’s metaphor of society (which recalls another renowned metaphor: Menenio Agrippa’s), though transported from the English context of the 12th century, is no less valid if placed in the context of Italian city society.

As the sources in the case studied demonstrate, the city administration left it to pre-existent, or recently formed, structures to manage the problem of welfare and redistribution of resources. This is evident, for example, when we consider the relationship between the commune of Verona, seen as a political-administrative agency, and the religious structures ‘specialised’ in tending the sick. Again, the city administrative structure stands as a guarantor of the bequests by private citizens to invalids and beggars. Likewise the political power saw to it that the private citizens entrusted with orphan minors did their duty.

I do not know how significant or valid it actually is to compare modern and contemporary welfare with the welfare structures of the cities of Veneto (which offer a valid
sample for the entire Italian centre-north). To note the main divergencies between systems in various historical ages nonetheless warrants some, perhaps not insignificant, consideration.

The public welfare system of the Italian cities which I have analysed was not a ‘tax-based’ system. There was no straight redistribution of resources. The public apparatus guaranteed at most a salary for the few officers assigned to controlling private welfare operations. The true redistribution of resources was carried out through transactions between private subjects, by means of charity, through private or religious institutions, through testamentary bequests and, lastly, by support for indigent members of a guild or corporation.

One final remark before concluding. The absence of directives, originating from some higher public authority, and dictating the parameters of welfare and who should benefit from it, will once again lead to city society spontaneously deciding, according to own cultural parameters, which segments of the population or individuals should be supported by the assistance and charity of the city community.

Notes

11 Ibid., book II, third section, rubric VIII, p. 339. This rubric corresponds to that found in the 13th-14th-century statutes, in B. Betto (ed.), Gli Statuti del Comune di Treviso (sec. XIII-XIV), Rome 1984, rubric LVIII, book III.
14 Ibid., rubric LXXXVIII, book I, p. 79: De iudice pauperum elligendo.


17 Ibid., rubric XXXIII, book II, pp. 231-238.


20 As this work focuses on problems involving the welfare organizations in the cities of the Veneto, the extensive discussion and historiographical aspects of leprosy in the Middle Ages are only mentioned briefly. J. Agrimi, C. Crisciani, Malato, medico e medicina nel Medioevo, Turin 1980; F. Bériac, Histoire des lépreaux au Moyen Âge. Une société d'exclus, Paris 1988; P. Borradori, Mourir au Monde. Les lépreux dans le Pays de Vaud (XIIIe-XVIIe siècle), Lausanne 1992; F.O. Touati, Malaria e società nel Medioevo: la peste, le peste e i leprosi, Paris 1998.


24 News of this concession is given in a document from Verona of 1225. ASV, S. Silvestro, b. 3, perg. 203, in R. Saccomani (ed.), Le carte dei lebbrosi di Verona tra XII e XIII secolo, Padua 1989. The concession consists in the transfer of privileges that were once due the church of S. Croce of Verona to the church of S. Giacomo. The task of taking care of the sick and the lay brothers went along with the privileges. This transfer took place at the same time that all the lepers were moved to S. Giacomo, between the years 1223-1225. Initially, the groups of lepers who lived in small unorganised communities were moved; these were followed by all the sick from the great hospital of S. Croce. The advantage of S. Giacomo consisted in the greater distance from the city centre; S. Croce was located along the external bank of the moat (G. De Sandre Gasparini, Organizzazione, uomini e società: due casi a confronto, in Città e servizi sociali nell'Italia dei secoli XII-XV, Dodicesimo convegno di studi, Pistoia, 9-12 ottobre 1987, Centro italiano di studi di storia e d'arte-Pistoia 1990, pp. 166-196; G.M. Varanini, G. De Sandre Gasparini, Gli ospedali dei «malsani» nella società veneta del XII-XIII secolo, in Città e servizi sociali nell'Italia dei secoli cit., pp. 141-166).

25 As regards the lepers enclosed in the leper colonies, Giuseppina de Sandre Gasparini's observations regarding the social position of the sick are worth noting. The sick were both constrained and favoured. They were favoured because as sick people in the society of the time they would never have found better conditions than those guaranteed a leper. However, at the same time, by common agreement of both the ecclesiastic and civil authorities they were denied even the basic right of a free sexual life. The church's reasons concerned internal organization as well as religious and medical issues. The civil authorities, on the other hand, had sanitary and economic reasons; the restrictions were considered a way of containing contagious disease and a form of birth control within the leper colonies. There are indeed documents regarding cases of the birth of children fornicationes on the part of diseased patients of the hospital of S. Croce.


Before the Welfare State: the city and Welfare in the Veneto 13th to 15th Centuries

32 M. Roberti, Le corporazioni padovane d'arte e mestieri. Studio Storico-Giuridico con documenti e statuti inediti, Venice 1902, p. 150.
33 L. Simeoni (ed.), Gli antichi statuti delle arti veronesi secondo la revisione scaligera del 1319. Con una notizia sull'origine delle corporazioni a Verona, Venice 1914, rubric XXXVII, p. 33.
34 Misterium Textorum draperiorum lane Verone et distirctus, XV, 64, in Bianchi, Granuzzo (eds.), Statuti di Verona del 1327 cit.
35 As provided by the Misterium Tinctorum draporum de colore de civitate et burgis Verone, rubric XX, p. 96.
36 Misterium Tinctorum draporum de colore de civitate et burgis Verone, rubric XX, p. 161.
38 Misterium Bobulcorum omnium de civitate et burgis Verone, rubric XXXI, p. 464.
39 F. Santini (ed.), Statuti dell'Arte dei rigattieri e linaioli di Firenze (1296-1340), pp. 31-32, entitled Quod consule tenesit iuvare ravatos a magnatibus.
42 Ibid., rubric XLVI, pp. 125-126.
44 Ibid., pp. 158-161.
46 ASP, Statuti fraglie, Fruttaroli 1, Manuscript IIII, rubric 23-24: Statuimus et ordinamus, quod quelibet mulier, non debent habeare aliquam stacionem et partem, si dictus vir non intraverit in dicta fratalea. Et si voluerit entrate in dicta fratalea, dare debet massario soldos decem et novem cum dimidio denarorum parvorum. Et quod nullus de dicta fratalea debete affictare aliquam stacionem alici persone, que non sit de dicta fratalea, in pena soldorum quinque parvorum.
47 ASP, Statuti fraglie, Fruttaroli 1, Manuscript XIII. Also edited in M. Roberti, Le corporazioni padovane d'arti e di mestieri cit., p. 192.
48 ASP, Statuti fraglie, Fruttaroli 1, Manuscript XIII.
49 Greci, Donne e corporazioni cit., pp. 70-72.
50 ASP, Notarile, 407, f. 203.
51 ASP, Notarile, 438, f. 89.
53 Ibid., p. 462.
55 Collodo, Una società in trasformazione cit., p. 466.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Agrimi J., Crisciani C., Malato, medico e medicina nel Medioevo, Turin 1980.


Id., Il collegio dei giudici e dottori di Treviso. Dalle origini (secolo XIII) alla soppressione (anno 1806), Milan 1975.


Chabot I., Risorse e diritti patrimoniali, in Il lavoro delle donne, Rome 1996, pp. 47-70.


Fasoli G. (ed.), Statuti del Comune di Bassano dell’anno 1259 e dell’anno 1295, Venice 1940.


Hoegrefe P., Tudor Woman: Commoners and Queen, Ames (Iowa) 1975.
Melchiorre R., Le corporazioni padovane d'arte e mestieri. Studio Storico-Giuridico con documenti e statuti inediti, Venice 1902.
Roberti M., Le corporazioni padovane d'arti e di mestieri. Studio storico-giuridico con documenti e statuti inediti, Venice 1902.
Santini F. (ed.), Statuti dell'arte dei rigattieri e linaioli di Firenze, Florence 1940.

**Sources**

ASP, Statuto fraglie, Fruttaroli, 18 August 1424.
In Christi nomine amen. Anno eiusdem nativitatis millesimo quadringentesimo vigesimo quarto, indicione secunda, die veneris decimo octavo mensis augusti, ante tercias, ante sonum tercie campanele et post sonum secunde. Padue in comuni Palatio ubi ius redditur ad banchum ubi stat dominus potestas ad missas presentibus domino Daniele de Purci-
202 Claudia Bertazzo

clis quondam ser Iohannis de contrata Sancte Iuliane, magistro Dionisiu notario quondam Marci de contrata Androne Fabrorum et Iacobu Spaza notario quondam Ubertyni de contracta Burgi Omnium Sanctorum, testibus ad hec vocatis adhibitis et rogatis. Magnificus et generosus vir dominus Paulus Corario pro Serenissimo Ducali dominio Veneciarum civitatis Paduę honorabilis potestas, cognoscens de causa, lite et quistione vertente et que versa fuit et est inter partes infrascriptas, suam in hiis scriptis protulit sentenciam diffiniti-vam, sic dicens: «Nos Paulus Corario civitatis Paduę potestas, cognoscentes de causa, lite et quistione vertente et que versa fuit et est inter personas infrascriptas de arte fructarolorum et fratalea vendencium in plateis comunis Paduę ex una parte, agentes et petentes et person-as infrascriptas de dicta arte et fratalea vendentes extra plateas predictas per civitatem Paduanam parte ex altera et maxime super infrascripta peticione, cuius tenor talis est: coram magnifico et generoso viro dominu Paulo Corario civitatis paduę digno et honorabili potestate comparuerunt infrascriptę personę de arte et fratalea fructarolorum vendentes ad plateas comunis Paduę, dicentes quod in civitate Paduę sunt multę personę in eorum frata-lea descriptę quę vendunt fructus in diversis locis et partibus civitatis eiusdem nec volunt in dicta platea, ut licetum est, morari nec volunt onera dictę fratale viriliter substinere et in platea civitatis Paduę sunt undecim stacii sive loca pro quibus dicta fratalea tenetur solvere iure livelli camerę Dominacionis nostrę libras tres pro quolibet loco. Sunt eciam ibidem alia loca et stacia usque ad numerum viginti unius, ultra dicta undecim loca sive stacia, que simuliter solvunt libras tres pro quolibet loco sive stacio. Quod omnia stacia sunt in summa triginta duo et solvitur pro eis camerę predicte libras nonaginta sex in totum, ex quibus locis sive stacii per predictas personas vendentes in plateis teneantur stacia viginti unum et reliqua stacia undecim sunt vacua.

Cum enim predictę personę vendentes extra plateas recusent venire ad standum in dictis locis et stacii vacantes in plateis et solvere livellum pro eis, pro tanto petunt per ipsum dominum potestatem et eius sentenciam pronunciari et declarari debere dictę homines et personas dictam artę exercentem extra plateas cogendas esse ad standum in plateis predictis in supradictis stacii et in casu quo ad dictam plateam accedeced nollent ad dictam ar-tę exercendam obligatos esse ad solvendum pro dictis locis vacantes in platea predicta ad racionem librarum trium pro quolibet loco, Nichilominus quod solvere debent prelibatę ipse personę artę fructuum exercentes in plateis indebite, cogantur ad solvendum pro predictę extra platea-tem artę predictam fructum exercentium petentes sibi in premissis ius et iusticiam ministriar omni modo, via, iure, et forma quibus melius poterint. Nomina quorum undecim vendencium in platea sunt ista: domina Iohanna uxor quondam Iohannis de Porcilia, Andreas a Portelo, Bellinus Henselminus, Sibella et Benedicta; ex adverso, coram predicto domino potestate infrascriptę personę de arte et fratalea per civitatem et extra plateas vendentes comparuerunt predictibus ultrascriptis actoriis et respondendo predictę peticioni dixerunt se non teneri nec obligatos esse ad aliquum solvendum racione in dicta peticione descripta maxime cum ipsę et quilibet ipsorum in preteritum solvent ur vi-ginti soldos fratale predicte pro expensis que fieri contingenter in fratalea predicta et ad hoc ut eis licetum sit vendere suos fructus extra plateam prout eis placuerit et ita non solum servatum fuit per ipsos a longo tempore citra, sed fuit et est communis consuetudo omnium extra platea morancium dictam artę exercencium et vendencium servatum fuit nec unquam coacti fuerunt ad aliquum solvendum pro locis predictis in dicta platea vacantes nec cogi debent. Quare pecierunt per ipsum dominum potestatem ipsos solvendos et ab-
solvi debere a predicta peticione omni modo, iure, via et forma quibus melius fieri potest. Nomina autem dictorum fructarolorum vendencium extra plateas comunis Padue sunt ista, videlicet: dona Agnes Petri Naveselle a Sancto Maximo, Ursola Iacobi Selavolini de dicta contrata, Antonius Zanini de burgo Omnium Sanctorum, Antonius Bretanus de contracta Burgi Omnium Sanctorum, Tintoressa de extra portam Sanctæ Sophie, Bellinus de Ponte Molendinorum, Johannes de Sancto Antonio de Viena, Antonia Struanella stat ad Pontem Sancti Iohannis, Catarina de contrata Sancti Iohannis, Iacobus casalinus, Bartolomeus Bona Luce de Turisellis, Andreas coffanianus de contrata Sancti, Natalis fructarolus, Thomas Sclavus de contracta Casalinarum, Johannes de Thienis casalinus, Becchinus a Caseo, Prosdocimus Urchatinus de Putco illorum de Sancto Vitto, Anthonius Virgicinus, Johannes Iohannis de Oxellis, Bigna socius Bellini, Stefanus Sclavus.

Unde, per nos visa dicta peticione dictorum actorum et responsione dictorum vendencium fructus extra plateas civitatis Padue, viso termino locato ad probandum de iure suo auditis et quicquid dicte partes dicere et alegare voluerint, Christi nomine invocato in hiis scriptis, dicimus, sentenciamus, pronunciamus et declaramus in hunc modum, videlicet quod predicti extra plateam, artem predictam exercentes et alii de fratalea supradictæ artis qui loca non habent in predicta plathæa communis Paduæ, teneantur et debeant ire ad standum in predicta plathæa in dictis locis vacantibus secundum formam peticionis predictorum et statutorum communis Paduæ, et in caso quo ad ipsam plateam accedere non vellent ad artem predictam exercendam onus predictorum locorum vacantium debeat dividi inter ipsos extra plathæam fructuum artem supra dictam exercentes. Nehonus (sic) quo debent ad predictos viriliter pertinere ipsis in plathæa predicta, artem predictam fructuum exercentibus inungatur omni modo, via, iure et forma quibus melius possimus et debeatibus, presentibus et admonitis dictis de arte et fratalea predictae vendentibus in plathæis et presentibus multis aliorum dicte artis vendencium extra plathæas ac citatis omnibus ad dictam nostram sentenciam audiendam et observari dehbe sub pena in statutis communis Padue contenta».

Ego Manfredus quondam ser Iacobi Spaze, civis et habitator civitatis Padue in quarterio Turisellarum, centenario Ruine et contracta Sanctæ Catarine, publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius et iudex ordinarius existens pro notario et officiali communis Padue ad officium virtualium, his omnibus præsens fui et mandato predicti domini potestatis Padue scripsi.

In the name of Christ, amen. In the year of his birth 1424, second indiction, Friday 18th August [...] in Padua, in the city hall where justice is exercised, where the podestà works. [...] The persons of the guild of fruiterers, that sell in the squares of the commune of Padua, appear in front of the magnificent and generous Paolo Corario, worthy honourable podestà of the city of Padua, asserting that in the city there are many persons enrolled in their guild that sell fruit in various places and parts of the city, that want neither, as is lawful, to be confined to the square of Padua, nor to support the burden of the guild. In the square of the city of Padua there are eleven stands for which the guild of fruiterers has to pay three liras to the commune chamber as a perpetual lease. Moreover in the same place there are other
stands, to the number of twenty one, as well as the said eleven, for which likewise must be paid three liras. Now the stands number thirty two, so the guild has to pay ninety six liras in all. Twenty one of these stands are managed by persons who work in the square, while the others are free. Inasmuch as the aforesaid persons who sell outside the Commune’s square refuse to occupy the said empty stands or pay the lease thereof, they ask the podestà to pronounce and declare sentence, to the effect that men and persons who exercise the trade outside the Commune square are obliged to be and dwell in the said square and aforesaid stands, and in the event of their refusing, to be obliged to pay to said guild three liras for the stands that they do not occupy in the square. Inasmuch as the same persons who exercise the trade of fruiterers are unjustly forced to pay for the aforesaid who exercise the trade outside the square, they ask permission for themselves to administer justice as best they can. The names of the eleven that sell in the square are: Iohanna, wife of the late Johannis de Porcilia, Andreas a Portelo, Bellinus Henselminus, Sibella and Benedicta. The persons who sell fruit out of the square of the commune of Padua appear before the podestà. They answer that they should not be held or obliged to pay anything as per the petition mentioned, above all since each of the same has previously paid twenty soldi to the guild to defray the expenses of the said guild. For this reason, they ask that it be made lawful for them to sell their fruit outside the Commune square, and to preserve this tradition and not be forced to some payment for the said stands not occupied in square, and beg the podestà to be absolved from the petition in the fullest way. The names of the aforesaid fruiterers that sell fruit outside the square are these: Agnes Petri Naveselle from St Maximo quarter, Ursola Jacobi Sclavolini from the same quarter, Antonius Zanini from burgum Omnium Sanctorum, Antonius Bretanus from the neighbourhood Burgum Omnium Sanctorum, Tintoressa who lives out ofside the St Sophia gate, Bellinus from the Molendinorum bridge, Johannes de Sancto Antonio de Viena, Antonia Struanella stationed near the St Johannes bridge, Catarina from the St Johannes neighbourhood, Jacobus from Verona stationed near the St Johannes bridge, Constantinus casalinus, Bartolomeus Bona Luce de Turisellis, Andreas Caffanarius from the Sanctus neighbourhood, Natalis fruiterer, Thomas Sclatus from Casalinorum neighbourhood, Iohannes de Thienis, Becchinus a caseo[??], Prosdocimus Urchatinus de Puteo de Sancto Vitto, Anthonius Virgicinus, Johannes Iohannis de Oxellis, Bigna socius Bellini, Stefanus Sclavus.

[...] We rule [...] that the aforesaid who ply their trade outside the square and away from the others of the same guild and do not have stands in the said square of the commune of Padua are bound over to go and stay and work in the said square, in the aforesaid places not occupied, in accordance with the petition and in accordance with the statutes of the commune of Padua. In the event of their not wanting to use the stands in the Commune square, the cost of the stands that are not used are to be divided between the same ones that practise the fruit seller’s trade outside the Square. [...]

ASP, Notarile 407, f. 203.

MCCCCLXXVI. Erogatio facta centum pauperibus de C vestibus. In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi, amen. Anno a nativitate eiusdem millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo sexto, indicione quartadecima, die sabati, sexto mensis decembris, Padue in contracta Sancte Lucie in domo quondam Nicolai de Silva de Senis, presentibus dominis presbitero Marcho rectore ecclesie Sancti Michaeiis, presbitero Iohanne beneficiato et rectore ecclesie Sancte Lucie et presbitero
Dominicho beneficiato et rectore ecclesie predicte Sancte Lucie testibus vocatis et rogatis. Ibi vero ser Dominichus a Lignamine de contracta Sancti Firmi de mandato, iussu et voluntate ac nomine et vice et egregii militis domini Bonifacii de Lupis de Parma et Pacçini de Donatis de Florentia tamquam heredum et fideicomissariorum quondam Nicolai de Silva de Senis olim habitatoris in contracta Sancte Lucie, ut per testamentum dicti quondam Nicolai scriptum per me notarium hoc presenti millesimo et indicione, die sabati vigesimo tercio mensis februari evidenter apparat, dedit, distribuit et erogavit tantam quantitatem panni de grixo que constitit libris quadrigentis denariorum parvorum infrascriptis pauperibus et miserabilibus personis pro salute anime et in remissione peccatorum quondam dicti Nicolai de Silva iuxta tenorem legati dictorum pauperum, de quo in dicto testamento dicti quondam Nicolai plena fit mentio, dando et distribuendo dictum pannum de grixo eisdem pauperibus secundum aspectum personarum suarum. Quorum pauperum et miserabilium personarum nomina inferius descriptur:

Primo Iohannes gobus de contracta Saraxinesche
Item Anthonius cottus de contracta Sancti Michaelis
Item donna Bertha de eadem contracta
Item Richiolda quondam Zilii de contracta Sancti Michaelis
Item Petrus Becharatus de eadem contracta
Item donna Albertina quondam Oliveti de dicta contracta
Item donna Caterina quondam Marchi de dicta contracta
Item Beatrix Avancii de dicta contracta
Item Mutia quondam Incontri de dicta contracta
Item donna Lucia quondam Andrioli de dicta contracta
Item Iacoba Ugoconis de dicta contracta
Item Caterina Iacobi de dicta contracta
Item Zaninus ser Anthonii de dicta contracta
Item donna Francischa de Aggere
Item Nasembenus quondam Iohannis de Sancto Leonardo
Item Bona quondam Berholini de contracta Sancti
Item Beatrix de contracta Burgi Malefactorum
Item donna Lucia Alexii de contracta Sancti Michaelis
Item Iohannes de Feraria de contracta Heremitarum
Item frater Bartholomeus <de> ordine minorum
Item Zaninus Meliss de contracta Trinitatis
Item Vincentius de Feltro scolaris pauper
Item Margarita de Sancto Firmo
Item tres sue filie domicelete
Item donna Liardina de contracta Sancti Mathei
Item Soldanus cerdo pauper senex
Item donna Manfreda de Florentia de contrata Sancti Firmi
Item duo sui filii parvuleti
Item nutrix Mafri de Petronibus
Item Ghislla uxor quondam Bernuchi de Parma de contracta Sancti Firmi
Item Francischus Curta de Mandria pro uxor sua
Item duo sui filii parvuleti
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>\textit{Facinus dictus Cremona de Ponte Mollendinorum}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Johannes filius dicti Fachini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>donna Elisa de contracta Heremitarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>unus orbus dictus Fidanza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Bertinus de Burgo Sancti Donini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>tres filii dicti Bertini parvuletir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Binda de contracta Omnium Sanctorum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Pedrina cuius maritus infirmus et senex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>tres sui filii parvuletir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Berthus de Florentia cehus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>tres sui filii parvuletir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Zabelckl de Florentia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Iacoba de contracta Monteslylce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>una sua filia orba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>duo frares minores pauperes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Zenara fanula olim Nicolai de Silva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Facinus quondam Facini de Heste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Lucia quondam Anichini de contracta Sancte Lucie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Ricaldina de contracta Sancte Lucie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Benvenuta de Titulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>laconina quondam ser Iohannis de contracta Sancte Lucie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>magister Petrus medicus de Sancto Fermo pauper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Lucia filia Vincentii de Sancta Caterina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Anthonia filia dicti Vincentii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Iohannes de Trivixio in burgo Novo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Franciscinus eius filius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>unus infirmus medicus in hospitali Sancti Anthonii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>fratibus de Cartusio de Montello tantum de dicto grixo ex quo vestiri potuissent triginta a quinque pauperes et miserables persone. Cuius quidem panni de grixo distributione et erogatione diligentia facta per suprascriptum ser Dominichus a Lignamini nomine quo supra, suprascripti pauperes et miserables persone &lt;e&gt; de quantitate eis et cuilibet corum impensa dixerunt et assurerunt se fore tacitos et contentos, promitterentes singuli et singule Deum orare pro anima dicti quondam Nicolai in remissionem peccatorum eiusdem, rogans idem ser Dominichus a Lignamine ut de presenti distributione et erogatione sic pie facta publicum conficere debeam instrumentum.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MCCCLXXVI. Distribution made to one hundred poor of hundred garments. In the name of our lord Jesus Christ, amen. Year of his birth 1376, fourteenth indiction, Saturday 6th December, in Padua in St Lucia neighbourhood, at the home of the late Nicolai de Silva from Siena [...].

Therefore, ser Dominichus from Lignamini, from St Firmus neighbourhood, on the mandate, order and will and in the name of sir Bonifacius de Lapis de Parma and of Pacchini de Donatis from Florence, as heirs to the late Nicolai de Silva from Siena, that was an inhabitant of the St Lucia neighbourhood, [...] gave and distributed a quantity of cloth de grixo to the value of four hundred soldi, to the poor mentioned below for the health of the spirit and in...
remission of the sins of the lateNicholai de Silva, [...] giving and distributing said cloth de
grixo to the same poor, according to their aspect. [...]:
As first, hunchback Iohanes, from Saraxinesche neighbourhood
Anthonius lame from St Michael neighbourhood
Bertha from the same neighbourhood
Anthoniola daughter of the late Jacobus from the same neighbourhood
Richiolda daughter of the late Zilii from St Michael neighbourhood
Petrus Beebaratus from the same neighbourhood
Albertina daughter of the late Olivetus from the same neighbourhood
Caterina daughter of the late Marchus from the same neighbourhood
Beatrix Avancii from the same neighbourhood
Mutia daughter of the late Incontri from the same neighbourhood
Lucia of the late Andrioli from the same neighbourhood
Iacoba Ugoçonis from the same neighbourhood
Caterina Iacobi from the same neighbourhood
Zaninus ser Anthonii from the same neighbourhood
Francischa de Aggere
Nasembenus son of the late Johannes de St Leonardo
Bona daughter of the late Bertholinus from Sanctus neighbourhood
Beatrix from Burgum Malefactorum
Lucia Alexii from St Michael neighbourhood
Johannes de Feraria from neighbourhood Herernitanorum
friar minor Bartholomeus
Zaninus Meioris from Trinitas neighbourhood
Vincentius from Feltre, poor scholar
Margarita de Sancto Firmo; her three servant daughters
Liardina from St Matheus neighbourhood
Soldanus, poor old cobbler
Manfreda from Florence that lives in St Firmus neighbourhood; therefore her two little
children
Mafri’s de Petronibus wet nurse
Ghislla, wife of the late Bernuchus de Parma from Sanctus neighbourhood
Franciscus Curta de Mandria who receives in name of his wife, therefore their two little
children
Fachinus called Cremona from Moliendinorum Bridge
Iohannes Fachinu’s son
Elisa from neighbourhood Heremitanorum
A blind person called Fidança
Bertinus from burgus St Donini; his three little children
Bonda from Omnium Sanctorum neighbourhood
Pedrina whose husband is ill and old; their three little children
Berthus form Florence, blind person; his three little children
Zabeceilus’ from Florence daughter
Iacoba from Montesyilice; her blind daughter
two poor friars minor
Zenara, servant of the late Nicolai de Silva
Facinus son of the late Facini de Heste
Lucia daughter of the late Anichini from St Lucia neighbourhood
Ricaldina from St Lucia neighbourhood
Benvenuta de Titulo
Iacomina daughter of the late ser Johannes from St Lucia neighbourhood
Pietrus, poor doctor from St Firmus neighbourhood
Lucia, from St Caterina
Anthonia, Vincentius’ daughter
Johannes from Treviso that lives in burgo Novo
Francischinus his son
a doctor ill that stays in St Antonio hospital
Therefore the friars de charterhouse de Montelio receive such an amount of cloth with which
can be dressed thirty five poor and wretched persons. [...] These poor said and declared that
they received the cloth, promising to pray God for the soul of the late Nichola, in remission
of his sins. [...].