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DORIT RAINES

OFFICE SEEKING, *BROGLIO*, AND THE POCKET
POLITICAL GUIDEBOOKS
IN *CINQUECENTO* AND *SEICENTO* VENICE

The Closing of the Great Council in 1297 marked a turn in Venetian political and social life: it led to the establishment of a socially-closed group whose assigned role, decision-making and governing, was based on its qualifications and professional performance. The governing group, the Venetian patriciate, carried the burden of managing the Venetian political affairs (with the exclusion of help only in secretarial posts, by the lower class of *cittadini originarii*),¹ defending the Venetian liberty, replenishing the Republic's wealth, and looking after the welfare of its subjects and citizens. In turn, but also in order to enable a smooth run of state affairs, the patriciate was allowed a legally-elevated status, along with many privileges and prerogatives.

The Venetian government was composed of numerous magistracies and councils. Since the Venetian constitution was based upon the assumption that all members of the patriciate were equal,² an attempt was made to preserve at least the guise of equality between all members of this class, and to avoid the concentration of power in the hands of a few, as well as the formation of hereditary office holding, and above all, electoral corruption. Consequently, through a long leg-

1. The prerequisite of a rapid turnover of offices led to a quick, yet partial, specialization of the patricians in all fields of activity: economic, diplomatic, military, bureaucratic, etc.. Thus, the civil servants, long experienced in their respective fields, were supposed to serve as the administrative backbone. Their loyal and efficient service enabled the patricians to reach the appropriate decisions, and act in the short term allocated to them, in accordance with the spirit of their group and the interests of the Venetian Republic. See P. FRASSON, *Tra volgare e latino: Aspetti della ricerca di una propria identità da parte di magistrature e cancelleria a Venezia (secc. XV-XVI) in Stato, società e giustizia nella repubblica veneta (sec. XV-XVIII)*, ed. G. Cozzi, I, Roma 1980, p. 590.

2. As the anonymous author (a patrician) of «Scrittura d'informire in proposito di brogli, e parti in tal materia del Maggior Consiglio» put it: «L'autorità dei Voti in tutti è la stessa.» Venezia, Museo Civico Correr (= Correr), *Cod. Cicogna* 3182, fasc. II, c. 2. This manuscript was written after 1729, as can be seen from the text. On this work see A. PILOT, *La teoria del broglio nella repubblica veneta*, in «Ateneo Veneto», 27 (1904), II, pp. 176-177.

islative process, the Venetian constitution fixed a term of office for every magisterial post. At the same time, being part of the myth presenting the Venetian political system as the best form of government, office holding was considered a service rendered by the patricians to the Republic, rather than a means for personal or economic gains. In this context, elections for offices required that the patricians consider the candidate's qualifications, and reject all personal considerations.³ The patricians therefore subjected themselves to a constant search for an office that would suit their expectations. Indeed, «office seeking dominated and shaped Venetian political life. Given the large number of offices available ..., the frequent rotation in office combined with rapid turnover in membership, and the necessity for sometimes holding multiple elections for one post, the search for place and position took up an enormous amount of time and energy in the Venetian political system.»⁴

Participation in the various councils required an intensive involvement in politics, both to fill the political responsibilities as well as to protect one's interests. Although decisions on laws and decrees demanded an unbiased approach from the patricians and had to do with decision-making on political and diplomatic matters, elections for offices involved personal and family or factional considerations. Contrary to the Venetian myth, being elected to a specific office meant not only a position of power, but in most cases a lucrative job that could sustain a candidate's impoverished family.

The elections in the Great Council occurring almost every Sunday and every holiday (days in which other councils did not meet), often turned into a battlefield, with each member fighting for his particular interest. Patricians used all means in their power to become elected, or in case of an onerous office, to avoid it. Since soliciting in all forms was prohibited

3. Thus, the preamble to the Senate's decree (not adopted) from 22 July 1533, declared that the will of the council was that: «le elletion se fano iuste et sincere, si che elegendosi le più merite persone.» M. SANUTO, *I Diarii*, LVIII, Venezia 1903, coll. 481. See also D. E. QUELLER, *Il patriziato veneziano. La realtà contro il mito*, Roma 1987, p. 103.

4. See R. FINLAY, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, London 1980, p. 197, and QUELLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

by law, the unofficial ritual preceding the actual nomination and election of magistrates came to be known as *broglio*. In Venetian context, it meant soliciting the vote of another in various ways or at least creating intrigue before an election.⁵ The means used varied from what we would today call self-advertisement or promotion of one's interests, to illicit ways of influencing the voters with promises, threats, or bribes.⁶ Robert Finlay, who examined the Venetian political system, concluded that «the proliferation of offices and elections, the complex electoral procedures, the obligations of kinship, and division between rich and poor within the ruling class combined to make *broglio* an integral part of the Venetian system.»⁷

What kind of information was needed in order to participate in the *broglio* and establish relations beneficial to all? If members of a particular patrician's family were running for office, the patrician, in consideration of his family's interests, needed to win supporters for them. A patrician may need more information regarding the nature of the offices available that particular Sunday or in the near future, as well as understand their advantages. An office's possible dividends were viewed differently by the rich than by the patricians with modest means. The wealthy patrician looked for decision-making offices, even if one had to spend much of one's own money to sustain decorum; such offices are Doge, Procurator of Saint Mark, ambassador, member of the Council of Ten, Senator, and others. His poor colleague preferred financially remunerative posts. Thus, having examined the list of all available offices, the patrician needed to quickly calculate which was the desirable post and then coordinate all efforts to be elected to it.

5. See G. BOERIO, «brogiar», in *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, Venezia 1856, p. 101: «Procurarsi occultamente voti o favori per ottener gradi o uffizii»; M. FERRO, «broglio», in *Dizionario del diritto comune e veneto*, I, Venezia 1845, p. 281.

6. What became to be known as *broglio onesto* is described by an eighteenth-century patrician as promotion of one's merits. He claims that after the consultation held on one's candidacy, the others «devono andar promovendo l'interesse del loro candidato, devono far palese la sua applicatione, le ragioni, i motivi, i meriti, che militavano a suo favore.» Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 3182, fasc. II, c. 3v. See also QUELLER, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

7. FINLAY, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

All this was not enough. In a crowd of patricians lobbying for nominations or wishing to avoid election, each voter needed to know whose vote he was soliciting. He had to consider past or existing rivalries between his family and the solicitee, or perhaps common interests upon which he could count: an imminent marriage between the two branches, economic interests in common, or the same views shared by prominent members of the two families on certain delicate affairs of the Republic. Clearly, vast amount of information had to be gathered, considered, and analyzed and in a relatively short time.

The young patrician entering the Great Council at the age of twenty-five (some were only aged eighteen upon entering, following the drawing on Santa Barbara's day, the fourth of December), obviously needed an understanding of all the political information relative to governing the vast Venetian empire. A rather difficult task! He was expected to know not only diplomacy and foreign affairs, but also internal city affairs such as economy and commerce, law enforcement and health and, above all, the way the different city magistracies function, in order to perform well when elected.⁸ And that was not all. As a member of the Great Council, the patrician was required to elect others to office. Voting on such delicate matters preconditioned a combination of family or factional interests, as well as acquaintance with the candidates and their suitability for the job. In an assembly ranging in theory from 2,600 patricians in mid-sixteenth century to 1,500 men a hundred years later,⁹ with approximately 800 different

8. The education of a patrician, although undergoing throughout the ages a considerable change due to a shift from the commercial to land investment and politically-oriented occupations, was always directed towards his preparation for a political career. The importance which the Venetian government attached to the education of its young patricians is manifest in its decision to establish in 1460 the School of Rhetoric, destined to teach what the government considered to be «greatly necessary to public affairs...especially for the education of the patrician youth and other citizens.» P. H. LABALME, *Bernardo Giustiniani: A Venetian of the Quattrocento*, Roma 1969, p. 100, citing a decree of the Senate from 28 November 1468. Similarly, in the early seventeenth century, the government established the Academy of Nobles for the education of poor patricians at public expense. J. C. DAVIS, *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility as a Ruling Class*, Baltimore 1962, p. 77.

9. Davis calculated the number of male patricians over twenty-five on the basis of the *libri d'oro* from mid-sixteenth century. See DAVIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-139, esp. p. 137. The attend-

offices open for election,¹⁰ even experienced members needed to review the pertinent information before voting.

This article will attempt to trace the means used by the patricians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to obtain information, an essential part of the *broglio*. In doing so, the article will describe the three types of books consulted by the patricians, the *libro d'oro*, the *zuccheta*, and the *consegi* or *brogietti*. The first (the *libro d'oro*) combines all data relative to the Venetian patriciate as a social group: births, marriages, etc.. The second type (called *zuccheta*) includes information on the various offices followed by relevant details. The third (the *consegi* or *brogietti*) deals with ballot results. Some books of the first two types appear in a pocket format, to allow the patricians to carry them to the *broglio*. The examination of these books, their function, target population, and contents, will shed light upon the considerations by various groups within the patriciate with regard to elections for certain magistracies. The inclusion of certain information in these books permits a different kind of analysis than previously made of the place office seeking occupied in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Venetian politics.

The format: utility and convenience

Before evaluating the contents of the political guidebooks and their contribution to the electoral process, let us briefly examine the place occupied by the political manuscript books in Venetian patrician society. In this context, we shall review

ance rate is less important, because all patricians were eligible, even if not present at the Great Council. See M. T. TODESCO, *Andamento demografico della nobiltà veneziana allo specchio delle votazioni nel Maggior Consiglio (1297-1797)*, in «Ateneo Veneto», n.s. 27 (1989), pp. 119-164.

10. From a manuscript written in 1635, it results that at that time there were 752 offices open for election in peacetime. Correr, *Cod. P.D.* 4a, c. 74. The attribution of the year 1635 is to the manuscript itself, as mentioned on the frontispiece. However, the opusculum under discussion was probably written by a later hand. Another source, copied from the registers of the *Segretario alle voci* in 1794, reports that the number of patricians in office at that moment was 737, but some may have been serving in two positions simultaneously (as *Podestà* and *Captain*, for example). See J. GEORGELIN, *Venise au siècle des lumières*, Paris-La Haye, 1978, p. 925, note 22, citing a manuscript from the Querini-Stampalia library in Venice, cl. IV, CCXLV, p. 291.

various types of required political information and the scale of the books' circulation as two factors playing a key role in the determination of the manuscript's physiognomical aspects: its binding, the material used, its dimensions and format, the calligraphy employed and the copyists-compilers.

The Venetian family library, initially a family archives containing documents relevant to its members' career, was a first-rate tool to develop one's understanding of the complicated political matters of the Venetian Republic. In the *Trecento* and *Quattrocento* the archives probably had only entry books, letters, ducal commissions, and chronicles telling the story of Venice and perhaps that of other cities as well. The fourteenth century in fact did not witness a wide circulation of manuscripts due to the preference for vellum as a more resistant material than paper; since important texts were copied only on the former only the rich could afford to own even less-sumptuous manuscripts.¹¹ The printing press, developed only at the end of the fifteenth century, did not create a wide circulation of books until the next century. To the exclusion of collectors with a deep passion for rare editions, the common patrician family of the *Cinquecento* tended to keep in its palace, apart from sacred books and the classics, all material relevant to political affairs.¹²

11. R. HIRSCH, *Printing, Selling and Reading 1450-1550*, Wiesbaden 1967, pp. 1-3; B. CECCHETTI, *Una libreria circolante a Venezia nel secolo XV*, in «Archivio Veneto», 32 (1886), pp. 161-168, and IDEM, *Libri, scuole, maestri, sussidi allo studio in Venezia nei secoli XIV e XV*, *ibid.*, pp. 332-333.

12. The Venetian private archives became libraries with the flourishing of humanistic interest in classical works. Italians discovered, borrowed, copied, and collected books with fervor. But not only ancient authors were shelved. Many of the patricians' original works were written on topics related to political life or public interest. See M. L. KING, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, Princeton, New Jersey 1986, pp. 5-9, 45-46; M. LOWRY, *Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius* in «Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester», 77 (1974), I, p. 131; and cfr. C. YRIARTE, *La vie d'un patricien de Venise au Seizième Siècle*, Paris 1874, pp. 20-24, for the list of the original works of the Barbaro family members, conserved in the private library until the eighteenth century. Less illustrious Venetians also kept in the *Cinquecento* manuscripts relative to political affairs, as is seen from the inventories conserved in the Venetian archives. See, for example, Venezia, Archivio di Stato (= A.S.V.), *Giudici di Petizion*, Inventari, b. 340, inventory of Vincenzo Zen, 1590; A.S.V., *Cancellaria Inferiore*, Miscellanea Notai Diversi, b. 36, inventory of Trifon Gradenigo, 1536. See M. ZORZI, *La circolazione del libro a Venezia nel Cinquecento: Biblioteche private e pubbliche*, in «Ateneo Veneto», n. s. 28 (1990), pp. 117-190.

Most printed books widely disseminated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were religious books, guidebooks, classical works, or authorized political treatises. Despite the appeal of the printed book to the public, manuscripts continued to play a crucial role in the patrician library. They contained unpublished works which did not correspond to the printing houses' classical tastes, or were prohibited by the Venetian government (either because they were too subversive or dealt with political affairs that the Republic did not wish to discuss publicly).¹³ Copying from a friend's library a text prohibited for publication was simple, cheap and unproblematic, and the Venetians turned to this form of information quite often.

Not all data was destined to be kept solely in the family archives. Sometimes the patricians needed readily available sources particularly in the hours preceding the electoral process. Since neither was a book in a large format easily manageable, nor was all the information included in it required for the *broglio*, the format was reduced in size, with an entirely different data editing, subject to political necessities.

The idea of the pocket-sized manuscript was not new. Indeed, these manuscripts had existed for sometime and had specific uses: important texts such as the Bible, poetry, or travel guidebooks were often small in order to make them portable. It may also be that the format did not drastically change the cost of the manuscript, and therefore the consideration was that of convenience rather than of expense. Since a copyist worked according to specific orders, the client determined the format. With the printing press, in fact, the pocket size became very popular. Aldo, for example, published texts in *ottavo*, not only because he wanted to cut down expense, lower prices, and thus attain a larger public, but also because small volumes were convenient to handle.¹⁴

13. See the case of Antonio Morosini, author of two chronicles, which the Council of Ten judged scandalous, thus ordering their destruction, in CECCHETTI, *Libri, scuole*, p. 351, citing a decree of the Council of Ten from 6 July 1418.

14. M. LOWRY, *Il mondo di Aldo Manuzio. Affari e cultura nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, Roma 1984, pp. 22, 336.

The convenience of a pocket book is evident. Ranging from *ottavo* down to *sessantaquattresimo*, bound usually in parchment, sometimes in leather, resistant materials that can protect the book from water or sweat, or any other consuming form of liquid, it was easy to consult, and consequently very popular. It could be carried in the sleeves, as was customary to do among patricians, who usually tended to carry all sort of things in the sleeves of their clothes. Cesare Vecellio, writing at about the 1590s, described the young patricians' clothes, and added his comment on the sleeves, long, wide, but tight in the wrists: «La qual usanza credo io, che piacesse a gli antichi della nostra Città, per la commodità di portar dentro a quelle maniche molte cose, secondo i bisogni, la qual commodità, ne anche al di d'hoggi è punto disprezzata.»¹⁵ The convenient sleeves permitted the young patricians to carry these little books, since high magistrates and senators had always large and open sleeves, and could not, therefore, use them for these purposes.¹⁶ Consequently, the young patricians, eager to get acquainted with the Venetian political system as fast as possible, were the first consumers of the various pocket books.

The compilers and the copyists

Copying information onto manuscripts in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Venice was usually commissioned by the patricians themselves, by borrowing a friend's copy or by appointment, through professional copyists. The gathering and compiling of data on a specific matter was either carried out by a patrician or someone acquainted with the matter who enjoyed the right of access to the official documents.

15. *Degli Habiti antichi, et moderni di Diverse Parti del Mondo, libri due, fatti da Cesare Vecellio*, Venetia 1590, c. 63. See also the description of Nicolò Doglioni in his *Le cose notabili et meravigliose della Città di Venetia*, cited by G. BISTORT, *Il lusso nella vita e nelle leggi: il magistrato alle pompe nella Repubblica di Venezia*, Venezia 1912, p. 125, note 2: «si fecero le maniche larghe, ma strette in bocca, per portarvi dentro fazzoletti, scritture, guanti et cose simili, et queste chiamarono a *comeo*.» See an example of carrying letters in the sleeves in M. SANUDO, *Le Vite dei Dogi (1474-1494)*, ed. A. Caracciolo Aricò, Padova 1989, p. 103.

16. VECCELLIO, *op. cit.*, c. 104.

The pocket books, indeed all political compilations, required the work of specialists with up-date, accurate information and with the capability to provide it quickly. The most suitable people for the job were those involved in the ducal palace affairs, especially with the elections in the Great Council.

Some of the pocket books bear evidence of the copyists' identity and their occupation. In one sixteenth-century pocket *zuccheta*, in fact, we find the name of the copyist, Giovanni Sargnano, with no other details given as to his status or occupation.¹⁷ One pocket *libro d'oro* carries the following colophon: «fatto da me Z[uan] Batt[ist]a Zandonella Balottin l'an[n]o 1683 il mese di luglio.»¹⁸ Another one reads: «Questo libro fu fatto da me Andrea Beni preggion nella giustigiana,»¹⁹ [*sic*] and is dated 20 January 1631. Perhaps Beni, imprisoned for a minor misdemeanor, completed the commission in order to finance his stay at prison.²⁰ It is certain that he could not have accomplished the job without being a part of this group of copyists. Further information on this trade is supplied by one copyist who indicated the cost of the binding: «1656.21 Agosto Fu fatto il presente Libro da me Giacomo Geneti Ballottin con spesa de 28 lire et 2 soldi per ligatura.»²¹

Evidence left by the copyists demonstrates that many were *ballotini*. An examination of the place occupied by these bal-

17. *Uffici e magistrature di Venezia*, ms., Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (= Bibl. Marc.), *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2424 (= 10307), c. 2v.

18. *Libro dei nobili veneti*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1259 (= 7537), after the index. For larger formats cfr. Correr, *Cod. Wcovich-Lazzari* 50, fasc. 3, from 1743, with a *ballotino* named Antonio Calcinoni.

19. Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 18.

20. The *Giustiniana* was the name attributed in the seventeenth century to a part of the ducal prison. In fact, it populated twenty to thirty persons, and served as a kind of a model prison where the convicts created an association destined to run their communal life. The population was composed of citizens imprisoned for small-time felonies and debts. Most of them came from relatively high socio-economic level and were educated persons. To maintain themselves and finance the activities in the prison (through their Association of the Blessed Virgin), they completed out small tasks, enabling them sometimes to pay their debts as well. See G. SCARABELLO, *La pena del carcere. Aspetti della condizione carceraria a Venezia nei secoli XVI-XVIII: l'assistenza e l'associazionismo*, in *Stato, società, e giustizia*, I, pp. 356-376.

21. Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 140, *libro d'oro*, title-leaf.

lot boys in Venetian political life can provide an explanation of their involvement in the production of the pocket books, vital instruments in the *broglio*. In 1443, after having discovered that men from the *Quarantia* (the supreme court) employed as urn carriers during ballot were far from being impartial, a new arrangement was adopted. Young men would serve as ballot boys. It was further decided that the job would be entrusted with the young citizens entering the ducal chancellery.²² But this practice was abandoned in 1492,²³ perhaps because the *ballotini* were believed to be too involved in the *broglio*, an undesirable situation considering that those young men were expected to serve in the most confidential posts and with the utmost discretion, efficiency and impartiality.²⁴

The *ballotino* status, duties and privileges received great attention in the sixteenth century. August became the time of their election and September the beginning of their one-year term of office. Having completed this term, they were required to remain inactive for a year before they could present themselves again as candidates. Their number varied, being

22. See G. TREBBI, *La cancelleria veneta nei secoli XVI e XVII*, in «Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi», 14 (1980), pp. 69, 80; A. DELLA TORRE, *Di Antonio Vinciguerra e delle sue prose*, Rocca di Casciano 1902, pp. 10-11, note 1: decree of the Great Council from 16 April 1443. See also M. NEFF, *A Citizen in the Service of the Patrician State: The Career of Zaccaria de' Freschi*, in «Studi Veneziani», 5 (1981), p. 37. Finlay, basing his ideas on the diarist Malipiero, cites a law from 1467 instituting the *ballotini* as urn carriers, and a decree from 1492 conferring the job upon the young men entering the ducal chancellery. Finlay, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-203. But what Malipiero notes in his diary are simply two of the recurrent up-dating of details, as the number of young men (increased to sixteen in 1467), or the institution of the covered urns in 1492. The first law instituting the *ballotini* is clearly from 1443. See D. MALIPIERO, *Annali veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500*, in «Archivio storico italiano», 7 (1844), II, pp. 655-656, 689.

23. Neff demonstrates the gradual development of a distinction between the white-ballot urn carriers (representing the «yes» votes), and the green-ballot boys. The latter held their posts without a time limit, while being trained for secretarial posts in the Chancellery or in other governmental offices. The Council of Ten decree from 30 June 1492 breaks the connection established between the post of urn carrier and Chancellery secretarial offices. This reform is partly linked with the introduction of a new ballot urn, carrying both «yes» and «no» votes, rendering thus superfluous the service of green-ballot boys. NEFF, *art. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

24. Indeed, throughout the sixteenth century we find evidence of the involvement of these *ballotini* in collaboration with the patricians in using counterfeit ballots, frauding or fixing elections in all sort of ways. *Ibid.* Cfr. A.S.V., *Compilazione leggi*, b. 71, c. 47, decree of the Council of Ten from 26 October 1536; c. 61, decree of the Council of Ten from 28 February 1569; c. 71, decree of the Council of Ten from 18 June 1584.

fixed at twelve in 1443, and increased to fifty-three by the end of the sixteenth century, according to the Council of Ten, because of the growing number of patricians.²⁵ Initially, their age was established at no less than fifteen years, then in 1579 to no less than twelve years and no more than fifteen.²⁶ They received a salary in return for their services and were placed under the charge of a citizen appointed to coordinate all their activities, the *Deputato al governo delli Ballotini*.

But this arrangement proved onerous. Already in 1536 the Council of Ten lamented the fact that there were «putti, li quali sotto nome di portar [bossoli], vanno per il Consiglio portando nove di quelli, che sono sta tolti, et le ballotte, che scadeno, parlando etiandio alli eletionarij con danno de molti Nobili nostri.»²⁷ In 1569 the situation got worse: not only were those boys involved in fraudulent elections, but they even spread around the fresh ballot results everywhere in Venice, as far as patrician residences.²⁸

The loss of a complete control over the situation drove the *Censori*, a magistracy created to see to elections free of frauds and disorders, to a quick intervention. In a report submitted to the Council of Ten in 1595, they suggested a radical reform. In fact, the *Censori* realized that the *ballotini* were not apt to this job. They described these children as «strepitosa, et disordinata multitudine di putti per la maggior parte mal educati, et mal nutriti, et senza alcun termine di costume, et di riverenza.» Consequently, they added, «molti di loro [sono] scorretti di lingua, et di gesti et di atti molti licentiosi.»

25. *Ibid.*, decrees of the Council of Ten, from 16 January 1520 (c. 9), 27 February 1523 (c. 11), 31 August 1528 (c. 25), 19 August 1552 (c. 53). See also the figures suggested by Antonio Milledonne, secretary of the Council of Ten, in 1580: A. MILLEDONNE, *Dialoghi*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 709 (= 8403), c. 47.

26. A.S.V., *Compilazione leggi*, b. 71, c. 63, decree of the Council of Ten, 21 July 1579. However, the secretary Milledonne supplies other figures in 1580: these boys should not be over eighteen. But, since fraud was exercised by the *ballotini* in regard with these positions, it is possible that some boys over fifteen took the place of younger ones, a long-established custom leading Milledonne to provide a higher age than that stipulated by law. See Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 709 (= 8403), c. 13.

27. *Ibid.*, c. 47, decree of the Council of Ten, 26 October 1536.

28. *Ibid.*, c. 61, decree of the Council of Ten, 20 February 1569. This lamentation repeats at 18 June 1584 in another decree. *Ibid.*, c. 71.

Even setting the minimum of age to fourteen years had not helped, declared those magistrates. In order to find solution to the situation, believed to have deep repercussions on the *broglio* itself, they suggested a different process of selecting the *ballotini*. In the past these boys had to prove a status of *cittadino originario*, and the job was used as a supplement of income to *cittadini* families. The reform cancelled all that. In turn, it proposed that the three *case pie* in Venice – the *Pietà*, the *Incurabili*, and the *SS. Giovanni e Paolo* – would supply the candidates «perché essendo questi allunati [i.e. alunnati] con qualche disciplina di obediencia non dipendendo da alcuno, ne havendo necessità di procurare guadagno per se stessi, o per le loro case, essendo spesati, et vestiti dalle predette case pie.»²⁹ In other words, the *Censori* believed that as those boys had no need to support their families, they would keep away from the fraudulent actions exercised by their predecessors.

It is at this point that the *ballotini* become involved more and more in activities related to the elections, but executed outside the ducal palace. In fact, the various fraudulent means which involved the boys continued as new methods were employed, in order to be more informed concerning the elections. The boys from the *case pie* were far superior in education to the previous *ballotini*, and thus could be used in a more useful manner. There is reason to believe that both the boys and the scribes situated at the palace collaborated in order to produce efficient and accurate data on elections, destined to serve the patricians.

Let us consider for a moment the role played by these scribes situated between the main entrance to the palace and the *Scala dei Giganti*. They were officially appointed to inform the lawyers and their clients of the outcome of all judicial matters brought before the various instances;³⁰ they were

29. A.S.V., *Censori*, b. 1, Capitolare I, cc. 31-32, from 19 July 1595. The proposal leaves the choice of candidates, sixty-three in number, to the governors of these *case pie*, as they may be better judges of their pupils. See also G. GREVEMBROCH, *Gli abiti de' Veneziani di quasi ogni età con diligenza raccolti e dipinti nel secolo XVIII*, Venezia 1981, IV, c. 11.

30. These people were also called *scapinante*. See BOERIO, «scapinante», in *op. cit.*, p. 619.

in charge of making public the dates and the hours of assembly of the various councils. With time, they handled additional unofficial tasks: notification of patrician births and marriages, and also of ballot results.³¹ They were probably also the copyists of the various pocket books, such as the *zuccheta*, or sometimes even the *libri d'oro*. Due to their strategic location in the palace, they were able to supply their clients with results of the elections in weekly editions called *brogietti* or *conseggi*, and were eventually commissioned by various patricians to gather information on births and marriages into a *libro d'oro*. Giovanni Rossi gives in his unpublished «Leggi e costumi de' Veneziani» rather an ungratifying image of them when discussing the «...liste rapidamente da vulgari persone trascritte sotto l'atrio maggiore del palazzo ducale, che mena alla scala de' Giganti, dove giaceano da un lato, e dall'altro diversi rozzi sgabelli, o piccoli scrittoj davanti a banche di legno fitte nel muro a loro uso [...] Quelle stesse persone poi servivano al basso popolo illiterato da Ciceroncini, scrivendo, per lievi mercedi, lettere, memoriali, simili, ed erano da trenta circa.»³² The collaboration of the *ballotini* and the scribes developed over the years a kind of symbiosis where people identified the scribes also by the name of *ballotini*, a tradition which continued well into the nineteenth century.³³

The collaboration between the *ballotini* and the scribes proved to be very useful for all concerned. The *ballotini* were present at the crossroad of power: they were the first to have the required information available, and could therefore quickly supply all data to the scribes. Their collaborators sat at the place most likely to be the center of events, when the *broglio* took place before elections, and could eventually per-

31. R. BRATTI, *I Codici Nobiliari del Museo Correr di Venezia*, Roma 1908, p. 44.

32. G. ROSSI, *Storia de' costumi e delle leggi de' Veneziani, Opera, XIII*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1398 (= 9289), c. 112.

33. See, for example, Bratti, who explains that the *ballotini* were those situated at the entrance to the ducal palace. Moreover, he claims that their number was thirty-six, and that they were granted their concession from the Doge. BRATTI, *op. cit.*, p. 44. Boerio, in turn, attributes to the *ballotini* the task of writing the *conseggi*, as if it was their official task. BOERIO, «balotini», in *op. cit.*, p. 59.

suade many young patricians of the utility of their merchandise. But this arrangement rapidly deteriorated into disorder and scandalized the Council of Ten who complained already in 1618 of «una quantità grande di gente che non si diletta di far altro esercizio non s'habbi messo a' questa mala operatione andando in grosso numero a gara li giorni di Consiglio, et in altre occasioni di brogli per pregadi, et espeditioni di cause de officij, conegli, e Collegij scorrendo per le scalle, e corridori di Palazzo et altri luochi procurando d'intender gl'eletti, chi rimane, chi casca per portar poi le nove alle case per haver la manza.»³⁴

It seems that the distribution of roles between the two groups was roughly as follows: the *ballotini* supplied the ballot results and were engaged in bringing this information, or any other, to patrician residences;³⁵ the scribes, on the other hand, gathered, compiled and copied all data concerning the *libro d'oro*, the various magistracies or the ballot results along with the names of the electors (*pieggi*). The *ballotini*, if competent enough, were sometimes commissioned to copy a *libro d'oro*, but it seems that the compiling was done by others, most likely the scribes, who solicited the collaboration of officials employed in the *Avogaria di Comun*.

Let us now examine in detail the three types of data books compiled and copied by the *ballotini* in collaboration with the scribes for the use of the patricians. As we have indicated, in order to be successful in the *broglio*, the patricians needed information of three kinds: the ballot results in order to analyze the situation and arrive to certain decisions regarding their career or their support of others, the candidates' identity, and the offices standing for election and their possible financial or political dividends. To meet these needs, the pertinent material was compiled into *consegi* or *brogietti*, *libri d'oro*, the pamphlets discussing the qualifications of a candi-

date, and the so-called *zuccheta* (list of all magistracies, with term of office and montly pay).

Ballot results and their significance

Getting elected to a desired magistracy involved intricate manoeuvres on the part of all eligible members of the Great Council. The patricians therefore needed accurate information relative to all members of their class, their qualifications, and the political and economic advantage of a certain office. But this was not the only kind of data gathered by the Venetian ruling group. In fact, an important component of the set of considerations leading a patrician to reach a decision was the ballot results. Various types of election information, the winners, the number of votes each candidate obtained, and the identity of the electors (*pieggi*) of the nominees, if analyzed thoroughly and correctly, could indicate tomorrow's leaders, as well as the pursuers of a political career or those preferring remunerating offices.³⁶ The ballot results served the patricians as a supplementary instrument allowing them to assess other members' career, to know one's chances of getting elected for a certain office, and of course, to keep an up-dated list of all magistrates. The importance attached to these results was a manifest sign of the Venetian belief in their ability to predict the chances of a patrician to develop a political career. Obtaining a copy of the official results (it was prohibited to keep private records of them) meant, therefore, improving one's grasp of the political situation through the use of a credible political indicator.

The interest in ballot results began in the second half of the sixteenth century. It was then that the patricians began to grasp the importance of maintaining a complete (although illegal) list of ballot results at home. Certainly, even in the fifteenth century, everybody wanted to learn the names of

34. A.S.V., *Censori*, b. 1, Capitolare II, c. 91v, decree from 9 February 1618.

35. See, for example, the notes of payment to the *ballotini* on the *consegi* they delivered to the house of Paolo Venier from 1700-1710. Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1295-1307 (=9481-9493), notes appearing on the back of certain leaves.

36. As Giovanni Rossi remarks: «Non era soltanto la curiosità soddisfatta in tal modo; ma le precedenti votazioni servivano in certa maniera di misura all'equità delle future, onde dai nobili consultavansi, preferendosi d'ordinario nell'elezioni successive chi, dopo il precedente eletto, avesse conseguito maggior numero di suffragi». Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1398 (=9289), p. 112.

those elected to the various magistracies, as well as the identity of the electors and their nominees (the patrician Marino Sanudo occasionally mentioned in his diary the names of his fellow patricians to whom he had done a favor, or who had won a nomination from him). In the *Quattrocento*, apparently, everyone was only interested in their own elections and did not consider the results obtained by others worth recording and keeping. The nascent Venetian patrician library of the fifteenth century, as I have already indicated, rarely shelved documents other than those concerning the family. But after the increase in the number of patricians as a whole, and especially that of the impoverished ones, the patricians frequently used voting analysis to improve their chances in the elections.

At first the patricians copied directly from the registers of the *Segretario alle voci*, the magistracy responsible for keeping record of the votes.³⁷ The compilation into a private register, of large format, served for voting analysis at home, and not as a quick-reference book whose format was smaller. Those compilations became to be known as *consegi* or *brogietti*, the latter derived from that of *broglio*.³⁸

The second half of the seventeenth century witnessed a further development in the preparation of these lists. The compilers were none other than our *ballotini* and their collaborators. The patricians were eager to get the ballot results as fast as possible. Giovanni Rossi sees the rapid preparation and availability of this information as a sign of the Venetian obsession to learn all about the elections.³⁹ But this diffusion of information was regarded with great suspicion by the

37. See, for example, *La Temi Veneta per l'anno 1566*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 567 (=7889), and *'Libro de consegi', 1570-1574/5*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 575 (=9604). Both are copied from another source, most probably the *Segretario alle voci*, because each is transcribed by one man, and no folding marks appear on the leaves, unequivocal signs that they were not prepared following each voting session in the Great Council. See also the compilation made by Bortolo Chicco, *Consegi, 1581-1621*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1575 (=7971), in which he clearly states that he compiled it from another source.

38. BOERIO, «brogeto», in *op. cit.*, p. 72: «chiamavasi nei tempi del Governo Veneto, quella carta in cui erano pubblicate le elezioni alle cariche ed uffizii dispensati dal Senato, col numero rispettivo dei voti favorevoli e contrarii. Gli eletti si contrassegnavano con la +.»

39. Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1398 (=9289), pp. 111-112.

Council of Ten. The assembly expressed its views in 1618 saying that the lists represented a threat to public order, because, considering the rapidity with which they were prepared, there could not have been enough time for accuracy. In short, they characterized those lists as pure falsification.⁴⁰ In fact, the *consegi* were copied with such speed that sometimes they were finished even before the Great Council's deliberations had concluded. The *ballotini* informed their collaborators at the entrance to the ducal palace who then compiled the information, adding the names of the deceased patricians. Once the work had been accomplished, the *Ballotini* hurried to send the fresh document to patrician residences. Rossi adds that some of the ballot boys gave further service by arranging the different weekly notices and binding them together.⁴¹ It seems, furthermore, that a sort of subscription existed beginning at the end of the seventeenth century, and that payment to the *ballotini* took place several times a year.⁴²

40. Here is the Council of Ten harsh condemnation of those lists: «le quali nove molte volte riescono false con grandissimi disgusti degl'interessati; perché formando loro nelli suoi concetti quello che li parono che possano rimaner se ne vanno inanzi le ballottationi a portar le nuove per esser li primi.» A.S.V., *Censori*, Capitolare II, c. 91v, decree of the Council of Ten, 9 February 1618.

41. Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1398 (= 9289), p. 112.

42. These lists were quite popular, especially in the eighteenth century, as can be seen from the collections existing in the *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*.

See *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 813-871 (= 8892-8950), which is the most complete existing collection, that of the patrician Zuandomenico Tiepolo, with ballot results for the years 1498-1797. This collection contains a copy of the registers of the *Segretario alle voci* until somewhere in the sixteenth century. From this period on, we can find leaves bearing sometimes the address of the Contarini family, and later on, that of Tiepolo.

Other examples are *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1886 (= 9076), for the years 1686-1797, leaves addressed to the Contarini family;

Cod. It., cl. VII, 1283-94 (= 9469-80), for the years 1600-1622, the part until 1603 is copied by one person. After that date, the leaves are separately transcribed;

Cod. It., cl. VII, 1768-74 (= 8795-8801), for the years 1720-1790, addressed to Nicolò Vendramin;

Cod. It., cl. VII, 2527-34 (= 12398-12405), for the years 1750-1794, addressed to Ca' Bolani;

Cod. It., cl. VII, 1308-18 (= 9494-9504), for the years 1730-1740, addressed to Marco Contarini *alla Carità*;

Cod. It., cl. VII, 1330-1342 (= 8995-9007), for the years 1745-92, addressed to Alvise Contarini or to Ca' Contarini;

Cod. It., cl. VII, 1319-29 (= 8989-8994), for the years 1736-1780 MV, addressed to Ca' Venier;

Cod. It., cl. VII, 1295-1307 (= 9481-93), for the years 1697-1729, addressed to Paolo

The *Seicento* witnessed, then, a growing interest in the ballot results and their effects. The patricians tried to analyze and edit the collected material in order to use it in a more efficient manner. Some patricians went as far as editing the data and compiling a list in which a chronological order of officeholders in every magistracy was observed.⁴³ Furthermore, the *consegi* made it possible to extract data relative to the identity of those in key positions.⁴⁴ This form of data editing permitted the patricians to observe the actual state of officeholders in the Republic and to assess one's chances to obtain a desired post, through an examination of all the past officeholders.

From the information included in the *consegi* it can be concluded that a great importance was attached to the electors, the *pieggi*, and their key role in the elections. The *consegi* would sometimes omit names of candidates, for example, at elections to the *Quarantia* or Senate when too many candidates were involved, but the names of the *pieggi* were always mentioned.⁴⁵ Indeed, the patricians could only know for sure who had nominated them, never who had voted for them. Also, as the election system combined lottery in nominating the electors with direct voting on the candidates chosen by the electors' committees, the only phase in which a patrician could be sure beforehand was that of the nominating committees. Likewise, the candidate could only reward the elector, because he was the only person in whose contribution to his

Venier, and in which he notes on the back of the leaf every end of June and December, that he had paid the *ballotino* and mentions the sum of money paid.

43. This is the case found in *Magistrature e Regimenti della Repubblica di Venezia, coi nomi dei titolari dal 1595 al 1630 circa*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 151 (= 8036), which adds the information of term and pay for every magistracy; cfr. Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1601 (= 8766), for the period 1630-1647. We have also evidence that Vettor Molin had in his possession a complete list in seven volumes of all officeholders in the Republic, arranged according to magistracies. Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. IX, 151 (= 6968), fasc. 5, «Catalogo dei mss. posseduti da Benedetto Molin del fu Domenico,» c. 16v.

44. This is the case of the manuscript called *Elezioni di alcuni magistrati di Venezia*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2108 (= 8737), where elections for *Savii del Consiglio*, *Savii di terraferma* and Heads of the Council of Ten are noted for the years 1728-39 and 1752-61, the later period with number of ballots. It is possible that the list is connected with the reform conceived by a circle of patricians headed by Andrea Tron. See G. TABACCO, *Andrea Tron (1712-1785) e la crisi dell'aristocrazia senatoria a Venezia*, Trieste 1957, pp. 8-13.

45. See, for example, «*Consegi*», Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1886 (= 9076).

election the candidate was sure. This key role of the elector is evident in a small book kept by Ottavian Contarini and his descendants, regarding their election to office in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Contarini, in fact, copied all the ballots in which he had been involved, either as a candidate (even if not elected) or as an elector. When he himself was a candidate, he mentioned the names of all the other candidates, yet only the name of his elector. When he was elected to one of the nominating committees, he carefully noted the name of the patrician nominated by him, who consequently, owned him a favor.⁴⁶

It is obvious that Contarini's is a kind of an account book destined to record all those owing him favors, and the ones who had won him an election. Indeed, Robert Finlay, when discussing the *broglio* in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Venice, observes: «because debts for being nominated were paid after many years and because thirty-six men were nominated every election day, it is reasonable to assume that some sort of political account books were used to keep track of outstanding obligations.»⁴⁷ Another form of keeping record of those indebted to a specific patrician was done by marking a little sign next to their name in the *libro d'oro*.⁴⁸ In this manner, the patrician could reflect at home not only on the results of the last election day, but also on the occasions in which he could pay debts or demand the return of a favor.

The working tools used by the patricians in order to arrive to their decisions, advantageous for them and their families, can still be considered as being part of *broglio onesto*. Patricians resorted to all possible means of gathering data in prep-

46. See *Registro degli onori e degli uffici conferiti dalla Repubblica a membri della famiglia Contarini*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 19 (= 7863), for the years 1575-1689. A similar account book was kept by Zaccaria Contarini, son of Polo, in which he noted that sometimes the *pieggio* for him, was no other but himself! See Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1282 (= 9468), for the years 1555-1660, mistakenly considered by the Marciana as being part of the collection of *consegi* with shelf-mark *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1283-94 (= 9469-80).

47. FINLAY, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

48. See, for example, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2668 (= 12863), a *libro d'oro* from circa 1660 to circa 1725, c. 71, the signs next to Alessandro Contarini son of Benetto; c. 72v, next to Andrea Contarini son of Giacomo; and Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 956 (= 7909), *libro d'oro* for 1657, cc. 133, 148, 198 for the Contarini and the Donà families.

aration for the *broglio*. Data editing was crucial too, as time was an important factor. Thus, the ballot results were gathered onto separate sheets, but this time in a large format. At the same time, information on eligible members, their branch of family, and their qualifications demanded another sort of a political guidebook, in smaller format, because this data was needed to be used when the *broglio* was going on. It is for this purpose that the patricians kept the *libri d'oro*.

The candidate: identity, qualifications

In 1506, the official «Golden book» (*Libro d'oro*) was created. The patriciate decided at that point to regulate the entrance of its members to the Great Council by avoiding the presentation of fraudulent proofs. Thus, all legitimate births and marriages between patricians and brides from either the same class or from an inferior one but of respectable condition were carefully recorded in a special register. In turn, every patrician reaching the age of entering the Great Council had to ask the *Avogadori di Comun* to affirm his status and thus his rights on the basis of this register. Some decades passed before the patricians began to massively preserve private copies of these registers. The oldest existing list is probably that dated March 1513, recording the names of all families while indicating for each the number of its eligible members in the Great Council.⁴⁹ The original idea of keeping private records of these lists belongs, however, to Marino Sanudo. The list he drew in 1512, and contained with further updating in his *Cronachetta*, introduced a new working tool for Venetian politics.⁵⁰

Sanudo was not the first to draw up lists of patrician families – some appeared as an appendix to old Venetian chroni-

49. See *Miscellanea (Famiglie nobili, ecc.)*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 90 (= 8029), cc. 349-350. See also DAVIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

50. Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 970, copied by the patriarch Zuanne Tiepolo in 1587 from an original of Sanudo, dated probably from 1530. See M. SANUDO, *De Origine, situ, et magistratibus urbis venetae ovvero La Città di Venetia (1493-1530)*, ed. A. Caracciolo Aricò, Milano 1980, p. XX.

cles – but he instigated an important change: the regular updating of these lists and the supply of further data, such as the number of the Great Council's members.⁵¹ The lists drawn at the offices of the *Avogadori di Comun* inspired also other patricians. Thus, for example, Marco Barbaro (1511-1571) prepared in 1536 the genealogy of all patrician families and recorded two years later the marriages of all members of his class.⁵² His idea was a further development of the Sanudo concept, aiming at the research into past origins, rather than being a tool for present uses. After him, more and more such lists appeared, thus permitting accurate calculation of the number of the members of the patrician class at any given time. The big flux occurred however in the 1550s.⁵³ Yet, those lists were still lacking in data since most of them, especially the earliest, did not supply their user with birth or death dates, or at least with complete and accurate information.⁵⁴

All *Cinquecento* lists were produced either as part of a compilation of a variety of information, or as a book by itself, and all in large format, intended for library use rather than for consultation as a reference book that one would carry. It is during the 1580s that these lists reached their final form,⁵⁵ a

51. See in *ibid.*, pp. 173-201: the lists of new patrician families, of all old patrician families (up-dated to 1512), of the extinct families, of all patrician ecclesiastics (disbanded by law from the Great Council). The lists represent an attempt to gather information on the identity of the members in that council.

52. The lists of marriages were the first to be compiled and copied. See, for example, the list prepared on 1 March 1529 by Girolamo Loredan in *Libro di nozze e origine delle famiglie nobili*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 538 (= 7734). Loredan calculates in the same manuscript the number of all members of the Great Council, by totaling the number of all patricians according to the families. Barbaro's list of matrimonial relations between patrician families is found in M. BARBARO, *Libro di Nozze patrizie (1380-1568)*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 156 (= 8492), in which only the years and not the full date are registered. Another list from the 1530s (probably 1534-35) is *Registro di nozze dei nobili veneti*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 333 (= 8840).

53. See, for example, *Libro di nozze patrizie*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 154 (= 8866), for the year 1550; *Libro di nozze patrizie*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 152 (= 8045), from 1557, both in large format.

54. See, for example, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 152 (= 8045), providing only the year of patrician births and marriages.

55. See *Libro dei nobili Veneziani dal 1520 al 1580*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 362 (= 7933), which supplies both birth and death dates; Correr, *Cod. Donà dalle Rose* 225, from 1594. See also DAVIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-137.

fact which coincided with another novelty: the introduction of the pocket-sized version of the *libro d'oro*.⁵⁶

The 1580s and 1590s are in reality a period of great change in Venetian internal politics. In 1582-3 a constitutional crisis drawing its origins from a rivalry between factions and from a deep structural change within the patriciate gave rise to an important political group, the *giovani*. This group, whose social or economic common denominator is difficult to establish,⁵⁷ protested against the monopoly of important posts exercised by a rival group whose ideas were too rigid and inadequate in front of a changing balance of power on the continent. The refusal of the *giovani* to elect the *Zonta* of the Council of Ten demonstrated to the old monopolizers of power that from that point they would have to share power with the new rising force. An open battle resulted in which the rich *giovani* were searching to get elected for important offices. In turn, the impoverished part of them (whose fortunes had become lost, especially after 1571), mainly sought lucrative offices in order to sustain their families.⁵⁸

The crisis produced two results: first, a division, even if not yet openly felt, was established between a political career and holding offices as a means to support one's family. Second, for three successive decades, the *giovani* had the upper hand in elections for important offices.⁵⁹ Another event

56. See Correr, *Cod. Gradenigo* 1, in 24°, from somewhere in the 1580s; Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 10, in 18°, from 1590. See also the pocket *libri d'oro* of the library gathered by the patrician family Zustinian *sulle Zattere* in a catalogue prepared by the librarian Pietro Bettio in 1819: four of the *libri d'oro* were in 16° and dated 1558, 1560, 1570, and 1577. See G. ROSSI, *Storia de' costumi e delle leggi de' Veneziani, Documenti, XL*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1463 (= 9354), cc. 44v-45.

57. See G. COZZI, *Il doge Nicolò Contarini. Ricerche sul patriziato veneziano agli inizi del Seicento*, Venezia-Roma 1958, pp. 3-10; F. SENECA, *Il doge Leonardo Donà. La sua vita e la sua preparazione politica prima del dogado*, Padova 1959, pp. 243-244.

58. COZZI, *Il doge Nicolò Contarini*, pp. 18-20. The diffusion of verses against the tricks employed in *broglio*, is another indicator of the growing antagonism between the groups. These written rhymes mainly reflect the patrician dismay at the exaggerated fraudulent means employed in order to win the elections. See the publications of A. PILOT, in the «Ateneo Veneto», 26 (1903), II, pp. 544-61; 27 (1904), II, pp. 1-22, 176-89, 295-34; 31 (1908), II, pp. 259-276.

59. COZZI, *Il doge Nicolò Contarini*, p. 96 sgg.; SENECA, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-244; M. LOWRY, *The Reform of the Council of Ten, 1582-3: An Unsettled Problem?*, in «Studi Veneziani», 13 (1971), pp. 303-306.

added to the pressure on elections for offices: the rise in the number of patricians between 1594 and 1606.⁶⁰ The eventual outcome of those evolutions was the growing importance of young patricians as accomplices in the *broglio*. All these developments, along with the intensified collaboration between the *ballotini* and the scribes at the gates of the ducal palace following the patrician need for accurate and up-to-date information, led to the creation of the pocket-sized *libro d'oro*.⁶¹ The old reacted accordingly, sneering at their younger colleagues for the use of new methods of information in order to become more powerful:

«Dove ch'i nostri Vecchi industriosi
Tegniva libro doppio di so conti,
Nu tegnimo di Nobeli, e de sposi.»⁶²

The small-sized books gained a remarkable success in the *Seicento*. The patricians, eager for accurate information, turned to the only place in which the data was unquestionably precise and fully recorded, the office of the *Avogadori di Comun*. Some sent scribes to up-date their private lists according to the registers, others carried out the task by themselves.⁶³ Still others, bolder and more inventive, «borrowed» the registers. The *Avogadori*, overwhelmed by the frequent disappearance of these official records, declared that it was against decorum to release registers containing official material to private citizens. Accordingly, they published a decree in 1623 in which they took measures to keep the registers in the offices of the *Avogaria*, permitting their borrowing

60. DAVIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57, 137: by 1594 there were 1,970 patricians members of the Great Council; by 1609, 2,090, the highest recorded point the patriciate reached in its recovery from the losses of the 1570s.

61. The format ranged usually from 8° to 64°. For pocket *libri d'oro* in 64° see, for example, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1260 (= 7538), from the seventeenth century, whose measurements is 6.8 cm × 5 cm; Correr, *Cod. Correr* 1, from 1656, which is probably the tiniest: 3.2 cm × 3.8 cm.

62. See: *Miscellanea*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. IX, 273 (= 6646), c. 92v. This opuscle «Capitolo in Lingua Veneziana contra il Broglio» was written at the end of the sixteenth century, since the Procurator Giovanni Donà, the famous *dalle Renghe*, is mentioned in it.

63. See, for example, Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 15, in 24°, from 1600, on which frontispiece the patrician Marco Lippomano son of Zuane (born 1 January 1578 as seen on c. 124), identifies himself as the compiler.

only following the unanimous approval of the three *Avogadori*.⁶⁴

The popularity of the pocket *libro d'oro* is manifest equally in the unique attempt to publish one in 1603. But, since the print could not have been up-dated every one or two years, perhaps due to the cost of publication, the project was apparently abandoned.⁶⁵ The manuscript pocket *libri d'oro* proved to be more efficient in handling the revision and the scribes were always ready with fresh information.⁶⁶ The patricians usually commissioned them every one to three or four years to up-date the *libro d'oro*.⁶⁷ The pocket book was eventually abandoned after a period of twenty years (after most of the patrician members mentioned had disappeared), contrary with the large format which lasted a longer period since it recorded the genealogy of the families, rather than identified the present members of the Great Council.

The pocket *libri d'oro* assumed other functions with time. First, the compilers indicated the patricians who had become priests, in order to complete the available data on the identity of the eligible members, since those who set on an ecclesiastical career were barred from any participation in political life.⁶⁸ In the second half of the seventeenth century, after the

64. A.S.V., *Avogaria di Comun*, reg. 17 – «Speculum Venetae Nobilitatis», c. 81, 21 February 1643.

65. See this example bound in parchment existing in the Bibl. Marc., *Str.* 947, in 16°. The owner tried to up-date it by erasing the names of all the deceased patricians. See also R. SACCARDO, *La stampa periodica veneziana fino alla caduta della Repubblica*, Venezia 1982, p. 120.

66. Thus we find the scribe, or another, indicating the year of revision in many of these books after the index or at the end. See, for example Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 593 (= 7531), in 24°, from 1658, frontispiece; *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 955 (= 7536), in 8°, from 1698, frontispiece; Correr, *Cod. Correr* 3, in 32°, from the 1650s; *Cod. Cicogna* 124, in 8°, from the 1690s, after the index.

67. See, for example, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1259 (= 7537), in 8°, from 1683, up-dated in 1693, 1702, 1704, 1707, 1709, 1714, 1717, 1718, 1721, 1723, the colophon appears after the index; *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2696 (= 12947), in 32°, from 1640, up-dated in 1641, 1642, 1646, title-leaf; Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 19, in 12°, from 1669, up-dated in 1672, 1673, 1675, after the index; *Cod. Cicogna* 37, in 8°, from 1620, up-dated in 1621 and 1622, colophon after the index; *Cod. Correr* 4, in 24°, from 1655, up-dated in 1657 and 1663, frontispiece; *Cod. Correr* 27, in 12°, from 1707, up-dated in 1712, 1723, 1727, title-leaf.

68. See, for example, Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 124, in 8°, from 1694; *Cod. Correr* 6, in 24°, from 1600.

aggregation of the new families into the patriciate had begun, the compilers would add lists of cardinals' nephews, procurators created in return of a huge payment, or princes of European courts. Due to the newly-included information, some books assumed, both in title and in contents, the form of the published *Protogiornale* or the *La Temi Veneta*.⁶⁹ The compilers went even further by noting alongside the new families their date of aggregation, supplying then a method of identification of the newcomers.⁷⁰ Thus, the *libro d'oro* becomes an evocation of the alarm felt by certain members of the old families in front of the rapid deterioration of the patriciate's noble reputation caused by the aggregation of new families. As we shall see later, other types of books will show the same tendency to include information more relevant to status than to election for offices.

Why was there such a demand for these little books and what exact purpose did they serve? As I have indicated, in an assembly ranging from 1,500-2,000 persons, it was difficult, especially for the young patricians, to recognize all the members, and therefore to nominate a candidate or vote according to one's interests. A contemporary patrician explaining the various methods employed by the patriciate during the *broglio*, commented on that particular problem: «quanto la pubblicazione delle ragioni de concorentj sia necessaria non lo può dire, se non chi sa per esperienza quanto sia difficile una cognizione fondata d'ogni soggetto. Questo è un lume, che non s'acquisti, che con una pratica lunga, et assidua. Gran parte de Nobili, che formano il Maggior Consiglio, o per la loro età, o per li loro impieghi ne sono all'oscuro.»⁷¹ Not only was

69. Cfr. Correr, *Cod. Correr* 9, in 18°, from 1683.

70. See, for example, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 955 (= 7536), in 8°, from 1698; *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1259 (= 7537), in 8°, from 1683; Correr, *Cod. Correr* 8, in 24°, from 1650s; *Cod. P.D.* 43a, in 24°, from 1710.

71. Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 3182, fasc. II, c. 4. See also other anonymous patricians commenting on the same problem in ACCADEMICO IMPERFETTO, *Ricordi etici, economici e politici alla Gioventù Patricia Veneta*, Venetia 1674, p. 57, and *Relazione sulla organizzazione politica della Repubblica di Venezia al cadere del secolo decimosettimo*, published by G. BACCO, Vicenza 1856, p. 40: «Ricordomi che uno di questi nell'udire proporsi ad un officio quattro persone a lui tutte sconosciute pose la palla sopra il bossolo, e poi con un dito la gittò a sorte, senza sapere se andasse favorevole o meno.»

the identity of the candidates unclear sometimes (for example, two Contarini of the same Christian name with fathers of the same Christian name would have caused quite a confusion for the inexperienced), but also their qualifications. For if indeed the Venetian patriciate still clung to being a «meritocracy» as Brian Pullan states,⁷² and if there were high offices involved, the voters had to be well-informed on the identity, merits, achievements and performance of the candidates.

If the *libri d'oro* contributed to a fast identification of the candidate and his family, the personal pamphlet distributed during the *broglio* tried to answer for the lack of information regarding the candidate's qualifications. In a rare sample of such a pamphlet, contained in one of the compilations of *miscellanea* at the *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*, we find the mechanism by which the Venetians attempted to overcome the problem. The pamphlet is a *curriculum vitae* of Francesco Erizzo son of Benetto, later Doge (1631-1646). The pamphlet was distributed in September 1623, during the elections for the dogate, to which Erizzo presented his candidacy, and in which was elected Francesco Contarini. The pamphlet introduces the candidate by giving his birthdate, the name and title of his father (*Cavaliere*), and that of his grandfather. Then it continues to enumerate all offices assumed by Erizzo, while commenting on their importance as a means to demonstrate the appreciation held by members of his class toward his unique qualities and talents.⁷³

With the help of the pocket *libri d'oro* and the pamphlets, it was possible to identify a candidate and evaluate his qualifications. But this was not enough. Data on offices, their remunerative opportunities or their weight in the *cursus honorum* was also required in order to decide upon a vote or

72. B. PULLAN, *Service to the Venetian State: Aspects of Myth and Reality in the Early Seventeenth Century*, in «Studi secenteschi», 5 (1964), p. 124.

73. *Bibl. Marc. Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 90 (= 8029), cc. 249-250. There are two samples of the Erizzo pamphlet in this compilation. The first is detailed and contains observations on his accomplishments and success in office. The second simply provides a list of offices filled by him. The latter was used, however, at the *broglio*, as the leaves bear folding marks, evidence that the document is not a copy, but the original pamphlet.

seek election for oneself. For that purpose another pocket political guidebook was used.

Office seeking and sophisticated data editing

The second type of a pocket political guidebook used in the *broglio* is a compendium of all offices and magistracies in the Venetian Republic.⁷⁴ From an examination of the inclusion of particular information and the data editing employed in this guidebook, it is more than conceivable that the compiler's major consideration was that of office seeking and the rapidity with which one could pull out the necessary information. This pocket quick-reference book presented, in fact, the same data by reorganizing it into several lists centering upon the important components relative to office seeking. These included lists drawn according to seat (Venice, mainland, and the maritime empire), elective council (Great Council, Senate, and Council of Ten) and absence term or inelegibility (*contumacia*) required after office. The main list based on the geographical criterion provided also other details such as term of office and monthly pay.

The novelty of the quick-reference book resided not only in its tiny format, but in the sophisticated data editing, the cross reference, and the up-dating option. The formation of this compendium started, it seems, with the earliest evidences found of such lists from the fifteenth century. The conquest of the *terraferma* in the *Quattrocento*, resulted in a large administration. More and more magistracies were created in order to meet with the needs of administering the maritime empire, as well as the continental hinterland.⁷⁵ A

74. Some criteria bind all these books together. First, their physiognomy: all are of tiny measurements, ranging from 8° down to 16°. Furthermore, most of them (especially those from sixteenth to seventeenth centuries) were written by scribes, sometimes using both red and brown ink to emphasize certain headings. The binding of these little books is very similar to that of the *libri d'oro*: usually in parchment to protect it and prolong its life.

75. Chojnacki indicates that by mid-fifteenth century, the number of offices had swollen to more than twice from that a century earlier: 286 against 141 posts. S. CHOJNACKI, *Political Adulthood in Fifteenth-Century Venice*, in «The American Historical Review», 91 (1986), IV, p. 795.

chronicle from sometime between 1423 and the mid-fifteenth century is probably the earliest existing compilation destined for political rather than historical purposes.⁷⁶ Other fifteenth-century exemplars with similar contents serve as evidence of the growing popularity of these lists in the 1480s.⁷⁷ Furthermore, some manifest a new attitude towards the nature of information required by the patricians. No longer would the Venetians narrate only past events; they now manifested a great interest in the present happenings, in organizing their empire. Yet, it must be underlined that the new lists settled for the enumeration of offices, without supplying any further details.

In the same years, the official historiographer of the Venetian Republic, Marc'Antonio Sabellico, compiled a list of all magistracies in Venice. This little book, *De magistratibus Venetiarum*, was published in Venice in 1488 comprising only the list of offices in Venice. Sabellico did not bother to publish the list of the mainland magistracies, nor of those in the maritime empire. Two main reasons lead me to believe that this book was not intended for practical use, but instead for the glorification of the Venetian republican system: the use of Latin and the absence of the complete list

76. The manuscript's location is unknown. It belonged to the famous library of the Senator Giacomo Soranzo, put on sale mostly in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The manuscript no. CCCXX in Soranzo's library was a chronicle of Venice from its origins until the dukedom of Francesco Foscari (1423). Francesco Melchiori, the compiler, mentioned among its contents the list of offices: «tutte le dignità, cariche, uffizj della Città, e stato ...». The compiler attributed the manuscript to the patrician family Valaresso. Moreover, from his description of the calligraphy as being in «*carattere antico*,» and written in two columns, it is possible to deduce, as Melchiori indeed does, that the chronicle is from the first half of the fifteenth century. See *Catalogo dei manoscritti della biblioteca Soranzo*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. X, 137 (= 6568), c. 237v.

77. See, for example, *Cronaca Veneta sino al 1432*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2560 (= 12452), cc. 35-37 from somewhere between the 1440s and the 1480s. The manuscript contains, apart from the chronicle, several lists, characteristic of information gathered from fifteenth to eighteenth centuries regarding offices, prelates, procuratores, doges, etc.. These lists did not necessarily constitute an integral part of the chronicle. It is possible that the same compilers saw an advantage in adding such lists to the chronicle, for although they were incompatible with the chronological narration, they were still politically useful. See also *Cronaca Veneta dalle origini al 1418*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 559 (= 7888), cc. 2-7v; *Cronaca veneta dal principio al 1444*, *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 46 (= 7603), c. 1; *Cronaca Veneta dalle origini al 1443*, *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2034 (= 8834), cc. 81v-92, probably from 1482; *Cronaca Veneta dalle origini al 1476*, *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 51 (= 8528), cc. 321-327.

of all magistracies, especially of those outside Venice. Had Sabellico really wanted to be useful would he not have presented his public with the complete list? For we know that the offices, especially those in the maritime empire and the small-time military governorships on the mainland were the only hope of the impoverished patricians. Also, as the use of the vernacular was officially instituted in Venice only somewhere between 1480 and 1490, a process initiated by the two famous humanists Bernardo Bembo and Ermolao Barbaro,⁷⁸ the work of Sabellico seems a little old-fashioned. The role of Latin in writing the history of Venice was evident; it manifested the author's classical tastes and preference, but Sabellico published here a list that is more of a compilation. And if the use of the vernacular in the official documents had already been accepted, it was a mistake on his part to revert to Latin even in this work: the vernacular was seen as a language adapted to everyday life.⁷⁹ As a result, Sabellico's work never gained a wide circulation; we find neither other editions beside that of 1488, nor a later attempt to revise the old edition.

The major exponent of the new trend of political data gathering was Marino Sanudo, «*il giovane*» (1466-1536), an identifiable chronicler and diarist.⁸⁰ The patrician, compiler of lists very similar to the ones used for the later pocket political guidebooks, was writing first and foremost for the use of his colleagues, but for non-Venetians as well, as he himself stated in the dedication of his *Cronachetta* to Doge Agostino Barbarigo: «*Questa veramente, a persuasione de' molti che mi hanno pregato che di questa degna città et Repubblica ne scriva alcuna cosa [...] ho voluto in brevissimi zorni me[tt]er] a uno quelli mi è parso necessario da dover*

78. See A. CARACCIOLIO ARICÒ, *Marin Sanudo il Giovane, precursore di Francesco Sansovino*, in «*Lettere italiane*», 31 (1979), p. 429; FRASSON, *art. cit.*, p. 589.

79. *Ibid.*

80. Lorenzo Seguso, in his introduction to his study on the *zuccheta*, prepared for publication in 1880, credited Sanudo's autograph manuscript in the Marciana (M. SANUDO, *Dei magistrati veneti*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 761 (= 7959), from 1515), as being the first example of these lists. An inaccurate observation, but still not far from the truth. Correr, *Cod. P.D.* 724c, fasc. IX, introduction.

sapere si da patritii nostri qual da fo[res]tieri, i quali tanto desiderano [...] intendere di questa città la sua origine et governo.»⁸¹

In fact, the *Cronachetta*, begun by 1484,⁸² represents quite a revolution since it is the first example of a book that considers Venice not from a doctrinal or historical point of view, but as a real and living subject. Sanudo preferred the present, the practical life, describing the centers of the city, the commerce, the administration, etc..⁸³ And thus, the lists contained in *Origine, situ et magistratibus* were subject also to constant revision, becoming then more an almanac than a chronicle. From the several existing examples,⁸⁴ it can be concluded that Sanudo realized the need to up-date these lists in order to render them useful. This up-dating proves that his interest was not of historical nature only, for example, immortalising a special moment, but of a different nature: to present the public with information on his marvellous city, and thus praise his homeland.⁸⁵

Details of Sanudo's life may shed light upon the origin of the idea. The events of his final years, and especially the creation of the *Diarii*, reveal that his interest was more that of a collector and compiler, than that of an historian. He was sincere and impartial in his descriptions, but lacked the ability to synthesize, analyze, and describe the historical

happenings in the logical order demanded of an historian.⁸⁶ Even before entering his first post in the Venetian administration as an *avvocato pizzol* in his twentieth year,⁸⁷ he was already collecting material for his studies.⁸⁸ Additionally, Sanudo acquired quite an admirable library, that already in 1498 comprised 500 volumes.⁸⁹ This library was the richest and probably the most important among private libraries in Venice at that time. From the partial reconstruction of this dispersed treasure, we can deduct that Sanudo kept also ancient chronicles of Venice.⁹⁰ Moreover, we have evidence that he collected references from other old chronicles.⁹¹ The idea to draw up lists came probably from the chronicles, but the patrician added a notion of his own to make them more useful.

Sanudo presented his lists to continuous revision. He similarly added some important facts absent from the chroniclers' lists for until his time the lists were of two kinds: the first enumerating the magistracies in Venice, with a brief description of their role and term of office, the second included all offices within and outside Venice but without any additional details. Sanudo added more useful information, such as the exact competence of the magistrates, and sometimes even the pay given to them. As for the list of the

81. SANUDO, *De Origine, situ, et magistratibus*, pp. 5-6, transcribed from Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 969, c. 1.

82. See *Ibid.*, in the introduction to *De Origine, situ, et magistratibus*, p. XXI; R. FULIN, *Saggio del catalogo dei codici di A.E. Cicogna*, in «Archivio Veneto», 4 (1872), p. 97, citing a letter of the librarian Baretta to Rawdon Brown from 2 March 1850.

83. CARACCILO ARICÒ in the introduction to *De Origine, situ, et magistratibus*, pp. XVIII, XXVI-XXV; G. COZZI, *Domenico Morosini e il «De bene instituta re publica»*, in «Studi Veneziani», 12 (1970), pp. 405-406, observes that at the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth many Venetians like Priuli, Dolfin and Malipiero, felt the need to narrate and record all contemporary events, and that this phenomenon was diffused all over Italy.

84. Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 969, copy of the version written in 1493, cc. 1v, 34, 41, 66v, etc.; *Cod. Cicogna* 970, copy of the version written in 1512, see p. 19; Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 761 (= 7959), written in 1515, see c. 5v.

85. G. COZZI, *Cultura politica e religione nella «pubblica storiografia» veneziana del 500'*, in «Bollettino dell'Istituto di storia della società e dello stato veneziano», 5-6 (1963-64), p. 227, explains that Sanudo took notes of almost anything because in his eyes the completeness of information presupposed truth, an essential element in history.

86. G. BERCHET, preface to the *Diarii* of Marin Sanuto, I, Venezia 1879, p. 35.

87. See SANUDO, *De Origine, situ et magistratibus*, p. 146, transcribed from Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 970, c. 66v.

88. See *Notabilia Saec. XIV e XV ex Notatoriis Venetis per Marinum Sanutum Iuniorum*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. Lat.*, cl. X, 359 (= 3708); BERCHET, *preface*, cit., p. 22, esp. note 1.

89. As attests his friend, Aldo Manuzio: «tua librorum omnis generis refertissima Bibliotheca.» See K. WAGNER, *Sulla sorte di alcuni codici manoscritti appartenuti a Marin Sanudo*, in «La Bibliofilia», 73 (1971), p. 251, note 16, citing from the preface to the edition of Politian. And see another reference of Aldo in 1502 to this library: «colloces in magnifica illa tua bibliotheca, ubi supra quingenta electorum librorum habes volumina.» *Ibid.* In 1516 this library contained 2,800 volumes, as notes Sanudo himself in his diaries (vol. XXII, col. 172, 28 April 1516). In his testament, drawn in 1531, the diarist speaks of 6,500 volumes. WAGNER, *art. cit.*, p. 252.

90. See, for example, no. 4679 of his library: «Cronica de Venesia,» written in 1465, bound in parchment, existing today in the Colombina Library in Seville, Spain, as Fernando Colombo bought a part of Sanudo's collection in 1531. *Ibid.*, pp. 253, 257-8, and *Idem*, *Altre notizie sulla sorte dei libri di Marin Sanudo*, in «La Bibliofilia», 74 (1972), p. 185.

91. As attests *Fragmenta diversorum Chronicorum*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. Lat.*, cl. X, 290 (= 3800), nos. 2940, 2908, 3420 in Sanudo's library, written or gathered in 1512.

magistracies on the mainland and in the maritime empire, the patrician still continued to give the full, but undetailed list, following his predecessors' example.⁹²

Marino Sanudo may be considered an unusual prototype of this current of gathering, recording and compiling data not only in a narrative and chronological form, but also of presenting information, past and present, in a ready-to-use form, arranged in an efficient and sophisticated manner, available to all. He furthermore decided to write it in his mother tongue «acciò dotti et indotti la possino leggere et intendere.»⁹³ His whole concept corresponded to contemporary political ideas and patrician needs. The practical-minded Venetians gathered information because they maintained that an evaluation of the past could contribute to a better understanding of the present. Sanudo alluded to this aspect in his dedication to Barbarigo: «perché è cosa di farne grande esistimazione saper l'origine della sua città [...] ho voluto pur infine dimostrar quello era necessario ad un erudito [...] et in questa operetta come espressamente si vederà, il principio dell'origine della città nostra, il sito di quella, il governo della Repubblica et reggimenti delli magistrati.»⁹⁴ To continue the legendary existence of Venice, its rulers had to demonstrate they were still a professional ruling class. And to the efficient empire managers that they had become in the fifteenth century, the chronological narration was no longer enough. More sophisticated tools were necessary to meet with the flux of data concerning the growing Venetian administration. The

92. And his list of 1493 (existing in Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 969) is very similar to that in *Miscellanea*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2540 (= 12432) (a sixteenth-century copy of a list from 1485, at pp. 218-220), although the distribution according to areas is slightly different. The list from 1515 [in Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 761 (= 7959)] is clearly an up-dating of the old list (and not just the galleys, as Berchet maintains in his preface to the *Diarii*, p. 29), as Sanudo probably felt it was necessary to include all the changes following the League of Cambrai.

93. SANUDO, *De Origine, situ et magistratibus*, p. 5. See also COZZI, *Cultura politica*, p. 227, who observes that Sanudo's conviction was that the use of a language within reach of all readers, would contribute to the educational role of history. Sanudo shared this view with his circle of friends, and with Aldo in particular. See FRASSON, *art. cit.*, p. 589.

94. SANUDO, *De Origine, situ et magistratibus*, p. 5. See also G. COZZI, *Marin Sanudo il Giovane: dalla cronaca alla storia*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI*, ed. A. Pertusi, Firenze 1970, p. 341.

lists added by the chroniclers, but mostly by the compilers of the manuscripts, were the first step to content the growing demand. Sanudo not only continued the tendencies apparent even before, but perfected them way beyond the first attempts to include useful data in a chronicle.

The up-dated lists proved to be quite an innovation.⁹⁵ The patriciate was desperately in need of them. The *Cronachetta* gained therefore a wide circulation, even if only in a manuscript form,⁹⁶ receiving such world-wide esteem and admiration, as Sanudo himself related to his cousin Giovanni Malipiero in 1495: «*De principio, de situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae* [...] de tutti extimata per la grande cognitione di questa terra che ivi è.»⁹⁷ More revealing is the fact that the patrician interest was always directed at that particular part of the *Cronachetta* called «*De magistratibus*». Indeed, all its eulogists always referred to it by that name.⁹⁸

The necessity of keeping a list of all Venetian magistracies was so widely accepted in the sixteenth century, that Francesco Sansovino saw fit to include in his *Delle cose notabili della Città di Venetia*, published in 1565, a list of all magisterial offices in Venice. He divided the magistracies according to their seat (ducal palace or the Rialto), described the function of each, but without providing important details as term of office or montly pay. His idea was similar to that of Sabellico who glorified Venice by presenting the efficiency of its government. Sanudo not only preceded Sansovino in the preparation of such lists, as Angela Caracciolo Aricò points out, but his list was more efficient and useful. In fact, it was

95. As he testifies himself in the dedication to Barbarigo: «Et non paia di novo a toa Signoria se vederà in quella alcune cose notabili da niuno altro cronista che habbi di Venetia tentato, descritte.» SANUDO, *De Origine, situ et magistratibus*, p. 5.

96. CARACCILO ARICÒ, *Marin Sanudo il Giovane*, p. 424.

97. BERCHET, preface to Sanudo's *Diarii*, p. 39, citing from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, cod. 1441, c. 161.

98. See CARACCILO ARICÒ, *Marin Sanudo il Giovane*, p. 425; Aldo Manuzio in his preface to the work of Politian, in the edition from 1498; and JACOPO PHILIPPO DA BERGAMO, *Supplemento delle croniche*, Venetia 1540, lib. XVI, c. 337: «Ha scritto adunque il clarissimo huomo [i.e. Sanudo] ingenuamente prima delli magistrati e ufficii Venetiani, [...] la sua felicità e piacere ha posto nel continuo veghiare e revoltare le carte tanto delli vecchi, quando delli nuovi volumi.»

recorded all throughout the *Cinquecento* as an innovation. But Sanudo's lists, and that of Sansovino which followed, proved to be more and more out-of-date. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the patricians, bearing in mind their political utility, looked for a way to carry this useful data to the *broglio*. Handiness joined up-dating as major prerequisites to the creation in 1597 of the first pocket guidebooks containing the information relative to all Venetian magistracies.

Offices and young patricians

As we have already seen, the 1580s and 1590s were a period of transition and change in Venetian politics. That decade of great turmoil witnessed an increasing circulation of pocket *libri d'oro*, as well as of pocket *zuccheta*. Following the tough competition for offices and the struggle between the two factions, the Great Council issued on 28 October 1590 a decree creating an electoral «mini-revolution.» To make sure that the experience and rank of patricians destined for major offices on the mainland and in the maritime empire would be maintained, the assembly decided that the Senate would nominate the candidates by *scrutinio*, followed by the Great Council's approval vote.⁹⁹ The decree exposed one of the deficiencies in patrician political performance: the qualitative competence of appointed patricians in key posts of the empire was gradually deteriorating. Young men lacking experience were nominated, contrary to the promises made to the mainland cities at the time of their surrender that only distinguished senators would be commissioned to run their affairs.¹⁰⁰

The mainland governorships were of critical importance for young patricians preparing themselves for a political career. It is clear that poor patricians were not interested in

99. See L. MEGNA, *Riflessi pubblici della crisi del patriziato veneziano nel XVIII secolo: Il problema delle elezioni in reggimenti*, in *Stato, società, e giustizia*, cit., II, p. 282, citing from A.S.V., *Maggior Consiglio*, *Deliberazioni*, reg. 32, c. 69.

100. See in *Relazione sulla organizzazione*, cit., p. 35.

them because of the enormous expense required. Elder members with Senate record and members of the Council of Ten could not have desired those burdensome nominations no longer needed to push ahead their career. There remained only the wealthy young patricians ready to assume them and gain precious time in this political race in turn for relatively painful costs. The Great Council's decision on the *scrutinio* process can be therefore regarded as an attempt to halt the devaluation of the mainland offices and to circumscribe the short-cuts artfully exercised by the wealthy young patricians. Consequently, the new situation forced those competing for the mainland offices to look for ways to remain well informed and prepared in case an election for one of the military governorships was in view.

It is not surprising therefore that the target population of the pocket political guidebooks consisted of young patricians, between twenty-one and twenty-four years, or even perhaps up in their thirties, when they had acquired enough experience in *broglio* and election matters. This ultimate observation lies mainly in some of the scribes' dedications to the commissioners, appearing on the frontispiece of these pocket books. From 1597 we have two books dedicated to young patricians: the first to Lorenzo Soranzo, the second to Francesco Michiel.¹⁰¹ Other examples, undated, were dedicated to Lorenzo Priuli, and to the non-patricians Piero Dalla Vedoa and Giacomo Bertarolo.¹⁰² The dedication custom continued in the seventeenth century as well: in 1604 a book to Ferigo di Paulini, and in 1635 to Alvise Minotto.¹⁰³ All the

101. «Al Clarissimo Signor Il Signor Lorenzo Soranzo mio signor et Patron colendissimo. Venetia 1597.» *Bibl. Marc., Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2610 (= 12725), frontispiece in golden ink; see also Correr, *Cod. Cicogna 27*, dedicated to Francesco Michiel in the same manner.

102. Correr, *Cod. Cicogna 120*, dedicated to Lorenzo Priuli, and *Cod. Cicogna 33*, dedicated to Paulo de Piero Dalla Vedoa [Vedoa], consul of France in Venice, and son of Piero, secretary at the ducal chancellery. See *Tabelle nominative e cronologiche dei segretari della Cancelleria ducale*, *Bibl. Marc., Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1667 (= 8459), c. 9v; G. DOLCETTI, *Il libro d'argento dei cittadini di Venezia e del Veneto*, I, Bologna 1968, p. 88. As for Bertarolo, we have an indirect evidence of the existence of the manuscript in the library of the patrician family Zustinian *sulle Zattere*, in the catalogue prepared by Pietro Bettio in 1819. *Bibl. Marc., Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1463 (= 9354), c. 23, cod. LXXIII, in *ottavo*, from the sixteenth century.

103. The dedication to di Paulini is in Correr, *Cod. Correr 29*, and that to Minotto appears in Correr, *Cod. P.D. 4a*.

patricians mentioned were in fact young at the time of the books' commissions, but their factional adherence remains unknown.¹⁰⁴

The dedications are not the only factor demonstrating that the books were intended mostly for young men. Probably even the term *zuccheta*, attributed to this pocket book,¹⁰⁵ plays a key role in establishing the books' function. This term may be linked with the growing antagonism between young and old, in which the latter strongly disapproved of the methods used by their young inexperienced colleagues in the elections for certain magistracies.

What is the origin of the nickname *zuccheta* given to the pocket political guidebooks dealing with data relative to magistracies and how can it be possibly associated with the patrician clash of factions? Unfortunately, in all dictionaries I have searched, no trace of *zucheta* or *zuccheta* with reference to this little book is found. Furthermore, learned scholars such as Giuseppe Boerio, Emmanuele Cicogna, or Fabio

104. Lorenzo Soranzo may be one of the following: Lorenzo, son of Francesco (1578-1647), or Lorenzo, son of Zuanne, *Cavalier* (1574-1627). See M. BARBARO, *Genealogie delle famiglie patrizie venete*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 928 (= 8597), cc. 117-118.

Francesco Michiel is either son of Zuane (1570-1624), or son of Steffano from S. Cancian (1573-1619). The others bearing the same name were either born in 1580 or 1585, and thus too young, or Lorenzo, son of Antonio (1549-1605), who was an experienced man at his age and did not therefore need that kind of a political guidebook. See Correr, M. BARBARO, *Genealogie* (in fac-simile), V, the Michiel family.

Lorenzo Priuli is either the son of Zaccaria (1577-1598), or son of Francesco (1586-1620). Another Lorenzo living at the end of the sixteenth century is son of Zuane (1558-1610). See *ibid.*, VI, the Priuli family, tavv. C., D.

Alvise Minotto is identified as son of Giacomo (1601-1646). See M. BARBARO, *Genealogie delle famiglie patrizie venete*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 927 (= 8596), c. 109.

As can be seen, all these patricians commissioned the books when they were between twenty and thirty-five years of age.

105. This term appears as a part of the title of the following pocket books: Correr, *Cod. Correr* 28, c. 137, from the seventeenth century; Correr, *Cod. Gradenigo* 4, c. 197, from the 1670s.; Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 88, title-leaf, from 1664. Additionally, Cicogna mentions this «nickname» on the title-leaf of some of these books. It is interesting to note that the name appears only when the list of magistracies is combined with the *libro d'oro* in a pocket format. It is possible that this term, commonly attributed to the list of magistracies, was only used in the combined pocket book in order to distinguish between the two lists: that of magistracies, and the other, of births and marriages of the patriciate. This combination existed also in larger formats from the sixteenth century, and the term *zuccheta* appears in them as well: Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 567 (= 7889), from 1566, probably one of the oldest existing combinations; *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2216 (=8632), from somewhere between 1595 and 1613; *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2106 (=7997), from 1632; and *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2460 (=10427), from the first half of the seventeenth century.

Mutinelli could not shed light on the origin of this expression.¹⁰⁶ For my part, I can only suggest two plausible hypotheses. The first one is based on the notion of *andar al capello* (to elect). *Zuccheta* in heraldic terminology means a little metal cap put underneath the hat or the helmet in order to protect the head.¹⁰⁷ Drawing from this interpretation, one can associate it with the institution in 1492 of the covered urns destined to maintain a secret ballot.¹⁰⁸ In both cases the form of a small hidden cap is conceived for protection. Evidence against this possible explanation is the fact that the term *zuccheta* is recorded only in the seventeenth-century guidebooks, long after the institution of the new ballot system. Moreover, it was clearly a term used in heraldic terminology, strange to Venetian mentality.

The second interpretation links the term *giocare* or in Venetian dialect *zogar*, or *ziogar*, to *zuccheta* and the *broglio*. In fact, the etymological derivatives of *giocare* – *giochessa*, a game, a joke, a trick, and *giochetto*, a little game, but also a trick, an intrigue – offer a variety of uses ranging from an innocent play to a manipulative, calculated game.¹⁰⁹ The logic in adopting this explanation resides in the association of the pocket format with a generation gap: the ever-growing rivalry between the old and the young resulted in the complaints of the former that the latter faction presumptuously and disobediently employed tactics causing disorder in the *broglio*. The elder members of the patriciate protested in fact,

106. Lorenzo Seguso, in his introduction mentioned above, testified in 1880 that he had questioned these men along with others such as Casoni and Galliccioli, and that furthermore, he had searched in all documents he could think of, but in vain. Correr, *Cod. P.D.*, 724c, fasc. IX.

107. See N. TOMMASEO and B. BELLINI, «zucchetta», in *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, IV, II, Torino s.a., p. 1951. The definition was taken from a flyleaf in a manuscript existing in the *Biblioteca Marucelliana* in Florence, in which Anton Maria Salvini noted and explained several heraldic terms. His definition to *zuccheta* was as follows: «Zucchetta, ovvero Segreta è un pezzo d'arme simile ad un berettino di ferro, la quale si porta sotto il cappello.» See A. M. SALVINI, *Sonetti fin qui inediti*, Firenze 1823, p. IV, note 1. A similar definition is repeated in the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, V, Venetia 1763, p. 249, «zucchetta.»

108. Sanudo's description of these bronzed urns covered with crimson velvet in the shape of a hat, resembles the form of the metal cap. See SANUDO, *De Origine, situ et magistratibus*, pp. 147-148, 150, transcribed from Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 969, c. 67-67v.

109. S. BATTAGLIA, *Grande Dizionario della lingua italiana*, VI, Torino 1970, p. 795.

mainly against the intensified involvement of twelve-year-old boys in the electoral process as distributors of pamphlets and messengers spreading around the candidate's praises. In one of the rare testimonies, called the «Capitolo contra il Broggio,» depicting the true sentiments of the «old» vis-à-vis the manipulative campaign of their younger political partners, is the following allegation:

«Adesso così putti, e garzignoli
De dodese anni i vuol la vesta in dorso,
E tal un porta in manega i pandoli
Quei se mandava con cavedal grosso
In Barbaria, in Ponente, in Levante,
Per che i no stesse a rosegar qua l'osso.»¹¹⁰

These verses convey the apprehension shared by all elder members of the Venetian ruling group, of the impact that the means employed in the *broglio* by younger patricians would have on the competition for offices. Those youngsters participating in the *broglio* as pages or pamphlet distributors, sustained the elder faction, were not only used for fraudulent ends, but at the same time brought up into a world exemplifying deceit and money as the only means to satisfy one's ambitions. The author sneers at these boys coming to the *broglio* with childish games hidden in their sleeves: the game of *pandolo* or *lippa*, as it was otherwise called. In fact, the pocket guidebooks were carried in the sleeves by young patricians as children carried games. This similarity may have led to the ironic attribution of the term *zuccheta* to this phenomenon of young patricians appearing to the *broglio* preceding the elections, with quick-reference books, as if they contained the magical solution to cover up for their inexperience. The author admits though that the elder members are partly to blame for the deteriorating situation: their refusal to take upon themselves politically unrewarding and financially onerous offices, invites the young to compete for them.

Notwithstanding the protest of some patrician members, the *zuccheta* apparently proved effective. Their popularity led to the creation of a flourishing industry. The manuscripts'

110. Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. IX, 273 (=6646), c. 92v.

technical aspects suggest that mass-production was involved. First, the format is similar in all; but equally significant is the editing itself: the order according to which the information was arranged, the titles, the use of red ink to emphasize the headings and brown ink for the text, the secretarial calligraphy, and last, the choice of up-dated items are similar in one exemplar to the next.¹¹¹ Following the Sanudo's lists – outdated and thus no longer useful – and the one published by Sansovino, the scribes enjoying their previous experience in the minimization of the *libro d'oro* format, probably introduced this novelty, meant to facilitate the carrying of books by the young patricians to the ducal palace.

By the seventeenth century these pocket guidebooks had become a part of the political education of young patricians in the complicated world of elections and *broglio*. The next century, however, announced the end of these pocket manuscripts. The printed almanacs such as the *Protogiornale* or *La Temi Veneta* eliminated all possibility that a young patrician would commission a written copy, far too expensive, when he could purchase an up-dated, less costly printed version. Still, a few eighteenth-century manuscript *zuccheta* have survived, although most were probably reproduced by the patrician himself from sixteenth-century copies to satisfy a collector's curiosity.¹¹²

111. The following manuscripts are pocket *zuccheta*:

sixteenth century – Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 488 (=7689); Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1792 (=7545); Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2424 (=10307); Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2610 (=12725); Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 27, 33, 120, 143 and 144; Correr, *Cod. P.D.* 53a; first half of the seventeenth century – Correr, *Cod. Correr* 29; Correr, *Cod. P.D.* 4a; Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2694 (=12938), probably from 1600; second half of the seventeenth century – Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 183 (=7545); Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1783 (=7543), from 1667; Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1801 (=7546), from 1661; Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1803 (=7547), from 1667; Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2462 (=10306), dated between 1669 and 1684; Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 17, from somewhere between 1669 and 1684, *Cod. Cicogna* 87, from 1667, *Cod. Cicogna* 88, from 1664, *Cod. Cicogna* 89, from 1658, and *Cod. Cicogna* 90, from 1664; Correr, *Cod. P.D.* 48a, from 1664.

Further evidence on other pocket books is to be found in the catalogue drawn by Bettio of the library of Zustinian *sulle Zattere*, containing three sixteenth-century *zuccheta*. See Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1463 (=9354), cc. 23, 23v, and 45. The Sagredo family had in its possession a similar guidebook. See *Catalogo de' libri ch'erano della nobil donna Caterina Sagredo Barbarigo a S. Maria Zobenigo*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 713 (=8404), p. 107.

112. See Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2007 (=7719), from the library of Gradenigo, with

A similar manifestation of collectionist interest was displayed by the end of the War of Crete, with the combination of the *zuccheta* and the *libro d'oro* into a pocket book. This compilation served more as source of information on the Venetian Republic as a whole, rather than as an actual working-tool in the *broglio*. Most of these new versions added lists containing names of patrician prelates, long-extinct patrician families, as well as Italian princes and sometimes even European courts.¹¹³ The new printed version appeared in the period between the War of Crete and that of Morea, but received a decisive boost with the outburst of printing at the beginning of the eighteenth century, following the growing use of the *libri d'oro* and the Venetian eagerness for more news of other parts of the world (so evident in the case of the *avvisi* or *mercurii*, these hand-written or published pages distributed as journals containing a narration of the events occurring in a specific city and other material of interest).¹¹⁴ These little volumes underwent a tremendous conceptual change subject to annual up-dating. The publishers adapted themselves to a new concept, considering a printed book not as an eternal piece of art, but as disposable merchandise. The consumers, on their part, endorsed the publication with enthusiasm as it offered them a handy and useful instrument at a relatively low cost.

The first pocket edition of the new concept was published in *sedicesimo* in 1673 by Girolamo Albrizzi (from *Campo della Guerra*, under the sign *Nome del Dio*) entitled *Protogiornale Veneto Perpetuo*.¹¹⁵ The next, that of the official cosmographer of the Republic, Vincenzo Coronelli, under the auspices of the *Accademia degli Argonauti*, that he himself had

a sixteenth-century title, the new families are not mentioned; and Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2495 (=11700).

113. See, for example, Correr, *Cod. Correr* 28, seventeenth century; Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 9, 1632; Correr, *Cod. Gradenigo* 4, from the 1670s; Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 17, after 1684; Correr, *Cod. Correr* 11, from 1671; Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 594 (=7532), from circa 1688.

114. F. FATTORELLO, *Il giornalismo veneziano nel '700*, I, Udine 1932, p. 86.

115. A. PARENZO, *Almanacchi Veneti*, Venezia 1897, p. 18; SACCARDO, *op. cit.*, p. 119, mentions copies existing in the Marciana and the Correr libraries from 1690 until 1716, though Albrizzi noted in the 1690 publication that it had started in 1673.

founded in 1691, was the *Il Giornale per l'Anno ...* [published annually between 1713 until 1716]. The major innovation of Coronelli and his academy was the introduction of the names of the officeholders. The annual edition wished to present its public with an integration between the list of offices and the *libro d'oro* prosopographical concept, to produce a sort of «who's who» in Venetian politics. In the following publications, Coronelli would gradually add other useful lists such as an appendix in the 1714 edition with the identity of the new officeholders elected in the second trimester of that year, or a list of all living heads of European states with their birthdate (in the 1716 edition).¹¹⁶

With time, the publications become more and more diversified, to meet with the specific requirements of their various target populations. The tradition of the pocket political reference book was however continued by two publications: *Specchio d'ordine* (1761-2) and *La Temi Veneta* (1761-1797).¹¹⁷ Their editorial concept was sophisticated and destined to facilitate the *broglio*: beside each magistracy was indicated the term of office required, the necessary ineligibility period following service, and the participation and voting rights in the Senate sessions. Additionally a list of all current officeholders with date of assuming office was presented. In short, this sophisticatedly-edited little book permitted the patrician a calculation of the best time to present himself as a candidate for a desired office. For, based on the data gathered, he could know in advance which office was to be vacant and when, and thus identify his potential rivals competing for offices.

*Cursus honorum and financial remuneration*¹¹⁸

If the *Settecento* emphasis tended to concentrate on office-

116. M. MAYLENDER, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, I, Bologna 1926, p. 337; SACCARDO, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

117. SACCARDO, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-132.

118. Or as Stanley Chojnacki prefers to call it: *cursus honorum* and *cursus lucrorum*. CHOJNACKI, *art. cit.*, p. 796.

holders rather than on office holding, the seventeenth-century pocket book presented the embryonic stage in which politico-economic considerations became socio-financial ones. Let us examine therefore the contents of the *zuccheta* in order to find the criteria according to which the information was included. It is clear that the first compiler or compilers knew the Venetian system well, and it is therefore very likely that the anonymous authors were not the scribes, but either secretaries in the *Cancelleria Ducale*, or an elder patrician.

The pocket book of the late *Cinquecento* included first and foremost a list of all magistracies in Venice, beginning with the Doge and the *Cancellier Grande*. The order of magistracies seems chosen somewhat at random, and not according to a scale of importance or dignity, excepting the first two. Contrary to the Sanudo's lists or those appearing in Sansovino's description, the anonymous compiler does not provide an explanation of the role of each magisterial post. Instead, he chooses to include, as we have seen, only three types of information: term of office, monthly pay, and participation rights in the Senate sessions. The data involves the entire Venetian administration in the *dogado*, on the mainland, and in the maritime empire.

Data editing and reorganization led the compiler to restructure in the next list the order of magistracies according to their elective councils: the Great Council, the Senate, and the Council of Ten. This modification permitted quick access to essential data during the *broglio*, and facilitated vote-soliciting following the councils' various nominating procedures. In the case of the Great Council, vote trade-offs were conducted with the maximum number of persons, due to the impossibility of identifying the electors beforehand. For the Senate and the Council of Ten, only members of these distinguished assemblies were addressed, because of the *scrutinio* system exercised in them. The sixteenth-century guidebook offered in addition the complete list of all patrician families of Venice. The contents of this pocket reference book remained unchanged until the 1640s with the beginning of the aggregation of the new families, started in 1646.

The War of Crete had not only changed the patricians'

considerations of the role played by the elections and the *broglio*, but irrevocably re-shuffled all the socio-political cards. First of all, the patriciate, or to be exact, certain elements in it, witnessed with growing fear those families entering the Great Council. Some of the newcomers were extremely affluent, and could therefore afford competing for top positions; others, impoverished by the weight of the contribution they had just deposited in the State Treasury, found themselves in the same boat with the poor patricians, competing for the same lucrative offices, slightly reduced after the loss of Crete in 1669. Second, the two hundred eighteen-year-old patricians allowed to participate in the sessions of the Great Council (in exchange for a contribution of two hundred ducats each) decidedly contributed to the increasing pressure and the ruthless competition to be elected for politically insignificant offices.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, the government decided to accelerate the career of young patricians whose relatives had died in the war. They were given access to offices until then reserved for elderly members of the patriciate, in order to compensate for the loss of manpower caused by the war.¹²⁰ Last, the situation was further aggravated by the aggregation of a group of families returning from Crete into the ruling class.¹²¹

The incorporation of new families into the Great Council, from the 1640s onward, left members of the old patriciate in dismay. The dilemma was whether to collaborate with the newcomers, and thus risk being alienated by other members of the patriciate, or ignore them completely, and chance the possibility that other patricians might befriend them. The aggregation led to the formation of new groups within the patriciate. The poor newcomers looked for rich patrons; the *Barnabotti* (the impoverished part of the old patriciate) felt in

119. As observes the anonymous writer of the *Relazione sulla organizzazione*: «duecento giovanotti nobili, che furono trasportati dalla scuola al consiglio, può ognuno immaginarsi la confusione d'allora perché sconosciuti e non conoscenti, leggeri e senza pratica votarono nelle conferme del Senato, e nell'elezione del Consiglio dei Dieci.» *Relazione sulla organizzazione*, cit., p. 40.

120. MEGNA, *art. cit.*, p. 272.

121. There were about a hundred persons. *Relazione sulla organizzazione*, cit., p. 44.

turn more helpless than ever because the Senators, long-time supporters of the aggregation, were now enjoying the fruit of their investment by exhibiting patronage upon the loyal newcomers.¹²² This was the great opportunity of the young patricians with money in their pocket: not only could they do without the support of influential patrons in the competition for small-time lucrative offices, but, as we shall see, they managed to profit handsomely from the socio-political crisis in general.

The formation of new pressure groups brought about major changes in the pocket guidebook. The newly-revised version followed the same logic and pattern as the previous one, and left the list of all Venetian magistracies untouched. In turn, the War of Crete introduced some modifications, explaining the appearance of the new version in the late 1650s. By then, the patriciate had clearly changed its character and composition. The sixteenth-century *zuccheta* had become anachronistically ineffective.

The additions introduced in the *zuccheta* indicated some important social and political changes occurring in the Venetian patriciate. A list of all the Procurators of St. Mark was inserted, and with it began the precedence of including names of those in office, a task usually carried out by the *consegi*. The compiler divided the Procurators into two groups: the ones elected by merit, and those having purchased this high rank. There was a valid reason leading to the inclusion of this list along with one citing all the new patrician families. The intention was to allow the identification of unwanted elements residing within the patriciate in order to avoid any contact with them, or in turn, count on their collaboration – the choice depending upon the patrician, his

122. See, in this connection, the comment of a patrician scandalized at the aggregation, and of the abuse of the *Grandi* of the situation, in Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1531 (=7638), fasc. IV: «Distinzioni segrete che corrono tra le casate nobili di Venezia», c. n.n. See as well the reaction of a newcomer at the despise felt by the poor patricians towards him: [A. OTTOBON], *Lettera d'un nobile catolico repubblicista...*, Milano 1712, pp. 5-6, 9. See also the accusation of an anonymous writer (probably patrician) directed against the Doge Giovanni Pesaro (1658-59), for favoring the aggregation of the nobles returning from Crete, in turn for their support in his candidacy to the highest political office. *Relazione dell'anonomo*, in P. MOLMENTI, *Curiosità di storia veneziana*, Bologna 1919, p. 366.

convictions and interests. In the case of the list of Procurators, it reflected the disapproval of certain groups of the devaluation of this high post, resulting in a segregation exercised towards those not appointed by merit.

With the entrance of new elements into the patriciate, the division between a political career and the search for lucrative offices to sustain one's family had become a reality. The wealthy young patricians contemplated short-cuts to the center of power. It is for this very purpose that a new list was added to the *zuccheta*, a list of offices of the first, second, and third categories, a sort of a *cursus honorum*.

Let us examine these three categories in order to better understand the mechanism of a political career. But first, a preliminary observation. Not all offices had to be assumed by the patrician on his way to key offices. It was enough to show, for example, financial sacrifice on his part in the governorships, coupled with experience in administrative and financial matters, in order to ascend the ladder. But above all, it was important to be present in the Senate, the center of action.

The tables presented here are drawn according to the information provided mainly in the *zuccheta*. The «category» signifies the hierarchical value of the particular office (the first is the highest). Additional factors bearing on the evaluation of the importance of a certain office were: term of office, monthly pay, the nature of office, participation in the Senate sessions, voting rights in its deliberations, and finally, the elective council of the magistracy.

ABBREVIATIONS

OFFICE: Pod – *Podestà*; Cap – Captain, Prov – *Proveditor*, Luogoten – *Luogotenente*, Gov – Governor

TERM: is given in months

PAY: is given in ducats per month

TYPE (and seat of office): gov – governorship; adm – administrative; fin – financial; const – constitutional; TF – *terraferma*; empire – maritime empire

SENATE: whether the patrician enjoys the right to participate in the Senate sessions

VOTE: whether the patrician enjoys a voting right in the Senate

ELECTED BY: the elective council of the particular office

THIRD CATEGORY OFFICES

| <i>office</i> | <i>term</i> | <i>pay</i> | <i>type</i> | <i>Senate</i> | <i>vote</i> | <i>elected by</i> |
|-----------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Pod/Cap Bergamo | 16 months | 30 dcts/month | gov TF | after office | no | Great Council |
| Pod/Cap Vicenza | 16 months | 35 dcts/month | gov TF | no | no | Great Council |
| Pod/Cap Treviso | 16 months | 30 dcts/month | gov TF | no | no | Great Council |
| Pod/Cap Rovigo | 16 months | 30 dcts/month | gov TF | no | no | Great Council |
| Pod/Cap Crema | 16 months | 27 dcts/month | gov TF | no | no | Great Council |
| Prov alla Giust. Vec. | 16 months | 1/2 dct/sentada* | adm | no | no | Senate |
| X savii s.a decime | 12 months | none | fin | yes | no | Great Council |
| Rason Vecchie | 16 months | 12 dcts/month | fin | yes | yes | Great Council |
| Prov de Comun | 16 months | 6 dcts/month | fin | yes | yes | Great Council |

* *sentada* is the session in which the tribunal gives sentence.¹²³

As emerges from the table of the third category offices, most of the *Podestà* positions in small mainland cities were open before a political novice. These offices did not usually grant

123. See Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1783 (=7543), c. n.n.

SECOND CATEGORY OFFICES

| <i>office</i> | <i>term</i> | <i>pay</i> | <i>type</i> | <i>Senate</i> | <i>vote</i> | <i>elected by</i> |
|---------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Pod/Cap Verona | 16 months | 40 dcts/month | gov TF | no | no | Great Council |
| Luogoten Udine | 16 months | 36 dcts/month | gov TF | no | no | Great Council |
| Pod/Cap Capodistria | 16 months | 12 dcts/month | gov empire | no | no | Great Council |
| Prov a Corfù | 24 months | 10 dcts/month | gov empire | no | no | Great Council |
| Prov alle Biade | 16 months | 13 dcts/month | fin | yes | yes | Great Council |
| Prov all' Armata | 36 months | 40 dcts/month | adm | yes | yes | Senate |
| Censori | 16 months | 10 dcts/month | adm | yes | yes | Great Council |

their holder a participation right in the Senate sessions. The only exception was the city of Bergamo, due to its marginal importance in the *cursus honorum* to the Council of Ten and the Senate. In fact, the experience and demonstration of sacrifice stipulated as essential requirements in the race were easily satisfied by the governorships of Vicenza and Verona. The patrician cynical outvote of Bergamo led to an ominous lack of suitable candidates, contributing in this manner to a deteriorating quality of officeholders in the city. Conscious of the growing danger, the leaders of the Venetian ruling group decided somewhere in 1660s to render the Bergamese governorship more attractive. They decreed that all patricians

FIRST CATEGORY OFFICES

| office | term | pay | type | Senate | vote | elected by |
|---------------------|-----------|----------------|--------|--------|------|---------------|
| Council of Ten | 12 months | none | const | yes | yes | Great Council |
| Savio del Consiglio | 6 months | none | const | yes | yes | Great Council |
| Consiglier | 12 months | 6 dcts/ month | const | yes | yes | Great Council |
| Gov dell' Entrade | 16 months | 10 dcts/ month | fin | yes | yes | Great Council |
| Prov al Sal | 16 months | none | fin | yes | yes | Great Council |
| Pod/Cap Padua | 16 months | 40 dcts/ month | gov TF | no | no | Great Council |
| Pod/Cap Brescia | 16 months | 40 dcts/ month | gov TF | no | no | Great Council |

having assumed the office of *Podestà* of Bergamo would enjoy upon their return the right to participate in the Senate deliberations for a short period.¹²⁴ The example of Bergamo and the choice of offices cited on the list of the third category offices demonstrate that this stage of the *cursus honorum* was, on the whole, a result of a compromise between the ambi-

124. The author of *Relazione sulla organizzazione*, cit., pp. 156-157, insists on the existence of the right to vote along with that of participation. In *Bibl. Marc., Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1783 (=7543), it is mentioned that only the right to participate in the sessions was ceded.

tions of the young and the barriers set before them by the patrician leaders in order to regulate and slow their process of integration.¹²⁵

The second category offices shed more light on the scale of importance attached to the financial sacrifice, combined with the degree of responsibility required in those offices. Verona and Udine were considered more important than Bergamo, Vicenza and others, following military and economic considerations. Verona and its territory rendered a nice income to the Venetian Treasury. The important commercial passages to the east and the north-east of the Udinese territory coupled with the strategic role it played defending the eastern aisle of the *terraferma*, justified the political priority granted to its capital.¹²⁶ The patricians assuming the office of *Podestà* in those cities had therefore to be more experienced than those sent to Bergamo or Vicenza.

The maritime offices included in the second category were equally popular, but for different reasons: expenses were low and the revenue, satisfactory and sometimes very handsome.¹²⁷ The young patricians, compelled to spend money in the mainland military governorships, could have enjoyed the benefit of at least a partial financial recovery in the maritime offices. The inclusion of maritime offices in the second category demonstrates the degree of attention paid to an exact combination of sacrifice and benefits. Not all the sacrifice was financial as not all benefits could have included a politic-

125. In fact, going over the data supplied by Megna, one may observe that nobody refused to assume this office until 1612. Yet, in 1612-17, three out of four accept the post of *Podestà* and five out of eight that of Captain. In 1651-58, the gap increases (but due to the war there is a sharp decrease during these years in the numbers of those accepting posts on the mainland): only three out of nineteen accept to be *Podestà* and four out of twelve to be Captain. In the period 1666-78, the rate is lower: nine out of eleven for the *Podestà* and eight out of fifteen for the Captain. In 1697-1717, twelve out of twenty-six accept to become *Podestà* and fourteen out of sixteen Captain. In the first three periods Verona does not hold those record rates of refusal, but Vicenza surpasses these rates by and far. These conclusions point out the existence of other means to avoid being nominated to the post in Bergamo. See MEGNA, *art. cit.*, pp. 290-293.

126. See A. TAGLIAFERRI, *Relazioni dei Rettori veneti in Terraferma*, I: *Patria del Friuli*, Milano 1973, p. XVII.

127. The anonymous author of *Relazione sulla organizzazione* mentions it with other more lucrative offices and observes: «è carica stimata assai più per il grado che per l'utile.» *Ibid.*, p. 24.

al reward. Yet, the patriciate proved a political maturity and understanding in creating financial incentives and political expectations as a part of a complicated game intended to draw the patrician protagonists into assuming their duties.

The list of second category offices introduced a new concept in regard with the relationship between office holding and political status. Most revealing is the following description of a situation in which the candidacy rather than the actual election to an office, defined a political status: «e tutti questi sud[det]ti di seconda classe addemandano, e sperano essere del Consiglio di Dieci.» The footprints of an already careful selection are easily detectable, for what this unique status unveils is a priority given to the patrician's declaration of intentions. Having demonstrated competence in some second category offices, the patrician needed only a nomination to the Council of Ten in order to reach a higher category. The anonymous author of the *Relazione* is very specific: to become Senator, he claims, the patrician is advised to win a nomination for the office of the *Podestà* of Vicenza, followed by that of Verona, and then stand for election to the Council of Ten, «il quale [office] alla prima o alla seconda occasione si ottiene.»¹²⁸ In the meantime, even if elected for another less significant office, the patrician was nevertheless still considered a probable candidate for the first category offices at least during the first two attempts to be elected to the Council of Ten.

The table presenting the first category offices, those enabling the young patricians to reach a decision-making position, reiterates the same manipulative principles used in the two lower categories, in order to encourage patricians to seek financially burdensome offices, compensating them at the same time with honor, or other lucrative, or decision-making offices. The office of *Podestà* of Padua was considered the most important of all governorships on the mainland, but it demanded enormous expense on the part of the officeholder. This explains why many patricians, for the most part those

128. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

without financial means, did all they could to avoid this «honor.» The field was left open for rich patricians, eager to demonstrate their readiness for a financial sacrifice, in turn for the political guarantee it provided. According to the anonymous writer of the *Relazione*, the unpopularity of the burdensome offices permitted the wealthy young patricians an easy election for the Senate.¹²⁹

After the Paduan governorship, the *Podestà* of Brescia was the second most important position on the mainland. The patrician Alvise Valaresso, once the *Podestà* of Brescia outlined concisely in 1628 the importance of this office: referring to the Brescian territory, to its military position and fortifications, and finally, to its revenues, he observed that «il primo [è] un asino d'oro, il secondo la colonna di Stato di Terra Ferma et il terzo la più opulente borsa di Vostra Serenità.»¹³⁰ The Paduan and the Brescian governorships conferred honor upon their officeholders accompanied by a possibility to move quickly up the ladder of offices. But not only honor and career possibilities were offered to the ambitious young patricians. The rule of compensating financial sacrifice by other lucrative offices such as *Provveditor al Sal*, or by a participation in the Senate and the Council of Ten, prevailed here as well.

The *cursus honorum* outlined above, discloses the principle established in regard with office seeking in the Venetian Republic: the distinction between service to the state in terms of a political career and office holding intended to satisfy financially remunerative ends. A political career postulated money-spending not as a sacrificial symbol of altruism and patriotism, but as a means to promote one's ambitions to en-

129. *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 34.

130. A. TAGLIAFERRI, *Relazioni dei Rettori veneti in Terraferma*, XI: *Podestaria e Capitana-to di Brescia*, Milano 1978, p. 305.

Indeed, this territory granted Venice a nice income: 337, 693 ducats a year, contrary to 136, 082 from Padua, or 213, 682 from Verona. Only Venice itself and the maritime empire present larger incomes at a certain point in the seventeenth century. See V. VILLI, *Cronichetta della nobiltà veneta*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 2460 (= 10427), from the first half of the seventeenth century, p. 657: «Tutto quello che cava la Repubblica Veneta sul suo stato.»

joy the honors and privileges at the top of the socio-political pyramid.¹³¹ In this context we witness also a rough division between the mainland military governorships, considered financially burdensome, and the maritime offices, offering a small but comfortable income for the impoverished patricians. This unfortunate group manifested its preference for administrative offices situated in Venice, alternated with small-time offices in the maritime empire. In 1509, it was the diarist Girolamo Priuli who had recorded the struggle over those maritime offices. In 1686 we find that nothing has changed: the offices of *Rettore di Tine*, *Provveditor al Zante* or in Corfù, and *Capitano a Rasputi* (Istria), were considered highly profitable, proving thus to be extremely popular.¹³²

The preferences of the wealthy young patricians were of a different nature. Their aspiration to be elected for certain offices always took into account the contribution of the particular office to their political career. As novices, their motivation centered on participation in the Senate deliberations. They could satisfy their aspirations by choosing a possible short-cut by way of the ten magistracies called *Sotto Pregadi*, which granted their bearer a participation in the Senate sessions although without a vote. Among those ministerial offices prevailed a scale of importance, the ones of secondary importance being the *Cazude*, the *Sopra Conti*, the *Offizii*, and the *Camera d'imprestati*, while the rest, the *Esecutori alle acque*, the *Provveditori alle pompe*, the *Provveditori ai banchi*, the *Provveditori ai cottimi d'Alessandria, Londra e Damasco*, and the *Provveditori alla sanità*, enjoyed a more elevated political status. The highest office however was considered that of the *Collegio de' Savii sopra le decime*, also part of the third category offices. But most of the third category offices were usually assumed after one passed through some

131. See MEGNA, *art. cit.*, pp. 260, 268, who remarks that the patricians embarking upon the career of small-time military governorships remained always in that field and did not try to change direction. The eighteenth century even marks an inclination of the government to help them, by creating more and more insignificant, poorly remunerative posts, a decision perpetuating their situation and leading to the diminution of pressure for a radical change.

132. See G. PRIULI, *Diarii*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, n.s., XXIV, 3, Bologna 1912-1938, p. 201, from August 1509; *Relazione sulla organizzazione*, pp. 23-26.

of the *Sotto Pregadi*, though no clear division existed in terms of political expedience.¹³³ The *Sotto Pregadi* were extremely helpful in the formation of a political career as they set the young patricians at the center of action, and promised them a possibility to study closely the intricate mechanism of the state machine as well as a chance to establish beneficial relations with important and influential members of the Senate that could eventually help them launch their career.

The brilliant young patricians could always do better. The fastest way to reach the Senate had always been via the *Saviati*: the *Savii agli ordini* and the *Savii di terraferma*. A patrician successively elected (usually twice or thrice) for these offices, was considered competent and experienced enough to enter the Senate and vote on state affairs.¹³⁴ This was, for instance, the case of the brilliant young patrician and later Doge, Francesco Erizzo. After three successive elections (in 1591, 1592, and 1593) for the office of *Savio agli ordini* (Erizzo proudly noted in his *curriculum vitae* already cited, that it was a great honor to be elected for the third time), he assumed a series of secondary mainland offices. In 1601, when he was thirty-six, he won the office of *Savio di terraferma* for the first time. Two more successive elections granted him a place in the *Zonta* of the Senate when he was only thirty-eight. Becoming a Senator proved to be longer and more complicated: only after having served as *Savio di terraferma*, in the *Zonta* of the Senate, and as the *Luogotenente* in Udine, Erizzo was finally nominated a Senator, at the relatively young age of forty-two.¹³⁵

Not everyone was as bright as Erizzo. His less-gifted colleagues had to be satisfied with a slower progress through the second and third category offices or in the *Quarantia Civil*

133. *Relazione sulla organizzazione*, *cit.*, pp. 49-50.

134. As attests one patrician in his advices and counsel for young patricians in 1674: «stimerei ottima risoluzione continuar due, e tre mude di Savio a gli Ordini, come anticamente si costumava, per accrescer la sufficienza con la pratica, per portarsi di filo seguente al Saviato di Terra Ferma, et al consiglio, anima del Governo, e base della Repubblica.» *Ricordi etici*, p. 79.

135. *Famiglie nobili*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 185 (=9008), cc. 249-250.

vecchia or *nuova*.¹³⁶ Performance and experience had become the necessary requirements to move up the ladder to key offices. The more successful the patrician was in his various responsibilities, the less he was required to assume onerous offices. In this context, the role played by mainland governorships was crucial. The historian Giuseppe Del Torre, examining the period relative to the years 1506-1540, demonstrated the close correlation between the importance of holding a mainland office, the number of times the patrician was recalled to serve on the mainland, and his future career. Del Torre concluded, on the basis of a careful research of the political career of several prominent patricians, that two or three terms in the mainland governorships constituted quite an exception when a brilliant career was involved. These findings reflect a sixteenth-century reality. The seventeenth-century *cursus honorum* was more complexed and subject to subtle distinctions. To the conclusions of Del Torre joins a new factor: an almost official categorization of offices according to considerations of political and personal expediency. The analysis of the esteem felt towards a patrician was consequently based on the establishment of the relative importance of each office in his *curriculum vitae*, along with the overall evaluation of his advancement in terms of the offices assumed and the time it took him to reach the center of power. Francesco Donà is a case in point. In the years 1516-1522, he served three times on the mainland governorships: first, as *Podestà* and Captain of Rovigo, then as *Luogotenente* in Udine to be finally elected for the office of Captain of Padua. Donà, in fact, passed all three categories on the mainland offices and in a relatively short time. It was perhaps irregular, but it certainly did not exclude the possibility of pursuing a brilliant career.¹³⁷ It is therefore that the offices held by a patri-

136. «e se non havesse congiuntura di seguitare, si logherà ne Magistrati di secondi, e terzi luoghi, che le sarà tanto più facilmente conferito, quanto haverà mostrato ne' passati sofficienza, et attitudine.» See *Ricordi etici*, p. 79. As for the possibility of entering the Senate through the magistracies of *Quarantia Civil vecchia* and *nuova*, see *Relazione dell'anonimo*, cit., p. 364.

137. See G. DEL TORRE, *Venezia e la terraferma dopo la guerra di Cambrai. Fiscalità e amministrazione (1515-1530)*, Milano 1986, p. 226.

cian have to be weighed against the time it took him to become Senator. Donà, either by chance or following obscure considerations, had decided to pass the *cursus honorum* to the Senate, on the mainland. His colleagues preferred otherwise. They tried to alleviate the burden by assuming the minimal number of offices required of them, avoiding mainly election to financially burdensome offices located outside Venice, such as the mainland governorships.

The patrician avoidance of the mainland offices was counteracted, it seems, by the norms established with regard to these offices, and which were destined to attract ambitious young patricians to hold them. Obtaining nominations for decision-making offices was conditioned by financial sacrifice. Consequently, it kept all the impoverished candidates away from key positions, leaving the field open for their wealthy friends. The new opportunities produced a growing political appetite on the latter's part. Their drive was not only based upon their will to stop the newcomers, but especially upon their conviction that no one could stop them. With fewer potential officeholders because of the numeric decline and the impoverishment of many families, the wealthy young patricians could now demonstrate their force of means: «onde al presente,» concluded the disillusioned author of the *Relazione*, «ogni giovane ha baldanza di correr la sua fortuna, e con buon esito.»¹³⁸

Office seeking in a social perspective

Elections for offices have inevitably created a social distinction between the pursuers of a political career and those promoting their own patrician status to earn a living. Reaching the apex of Venetian politics meant not only an influential position, but most of all a social stance. It is not surprising therefore, that the pocket political guidebook includes also a list entitled «*Del vestir de Titolati Nobili,*» describing important magistrates and their official clothes. The officeholders mentioned include the Procurators, the Coun-

138. *Relazione sulla organizzazione*, cit., p. 33; DAVIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-90.

selors, the three Heads of the Council of Ten, the Censors, the three Heads of the Forty, the *Savii Grandi*, the *Savii di terraferma* and the *Savii agli ordini*, all key positions enabling the patrician to translate his political position into socially characteristic by-products: honor, distinction and respect.

The norms established concerning noble clothing were always intended for social distinction. They sought to underline, on first glance, a person's rank. This phenomenon was diffused all over Europe, where every strata had its proper clothing, and an attempt to pass as another by the use of clothing was considered a punishable misdemeanor. In Venice, the law stipulated the kind of clothes certain magistrates were to wear, including the *cittadini* in secretarial posts.¹³⁹

Venetian official clothing went, however, beyond a mere distinction between the people and their leaders, conveying also symbol of splendor and power. The attribution of certain clothes to magistrates, or the decision on certain variants or details of dress, assumed in the seventeenth century a socio-political character. The open sleeves serve as a good example to the linkage between politics and social status. It was customary for certain magistrates to wear open sleeves as a symbol of the importance attached to their office. But the decision to elevate the status of the republic's institutions rapidly spilled over to personal considerations. The open sleeves became a symbol of a status attached to the person himself. A clothing detail, presumably simple and insignificant, had received a disproportionate treatment, having become a reflection of the deepening gap between the wealthy patricians (the *Grandi*) and the others, unable to reach the summit of power.

The debate whether or not to allow all Senators to wear open sleeves for life even after their term of office was over, reached its height in 1638, when a proposed decree sustained by the Doge Erizzo, was rejected. The voting results of the proposal demonstrated how important each symbol of power was, as part of the socio-political conviction of certain ele-

139. See BISTORT, *op. cit.*, p. 8; TREBBI, *art. cit.*, pp. 71-72, esp. note 16, where he demonstrates the importance of clothing in the process of *prove* of the *cittadinanza originaria*.

ments in the patriciate that social distinction would maintain the group's hold of power. Perhaps, due to the 1638 experience, the lists appearing in the *zuccheta* do not distinguish between offices in which the sleeves were worn only during office holding, and others such as the *Savii Grandi* or the Counselors, for example, in which the office «opens the sleeves» (*apre le maniche*), i.e. that the patrician enjoyed the right to wear open sleeves for the rest of his life, in sign that he had reached a political rank of major importance.¹⁴⁰ If in 1638 there still existed a strong resistance to allow the Senators a demonstration of magnificence as a means to elevate their rank, how much more ludicrous this decree, if adopted, must have looked forty years later, when a large percentage of that council's members were young men with a different scale of priorities: entertainment first, and state affairs after.¹⁴¹

The holder of certain offices was regarded in the second half of the seventeenth century as being a part of a certain group, albeit, social class, whose identification depended, first and foremost, on its special clothes. Office seeking in this context had become honor seeking, or as the Venetians used to call it: the aspiration to «~~ador~~ the gown» (*pavonizar la vesta*).¹⁴²

* * *

The image conveyed to us by the second version of the *zuccheta*, compiled during the first aggregation, in the second half of the seventeenth century, is of a ruling group considering office holding not as a service due to the Republic, but as a means to exist, or in turn, to develop a political career.¹⁴³

140. See also Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 185 (=9008), cc. 249-250, the pamphlet of Francesco Erizzo, the part of «considerazioni per istruire.» Cfr. G. B. NANI, *Istoria della Repubblica Veneta*, in *Degl'Istorici delle cose veneziane I quali hanno scritto per Pubblico Decreto*, Venetia 1720, VIII, pp. 561-562.

141. *Miscellanea di copie*, Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. VII, 1531 (=7638), c. n.n.

142. Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. IX, 273 (=6646), c. 93v.

143. The author of the «Capitolo contra il broggio» summarizes quite well this tendency

Historically, this tendency can be observed in past centuries. Yet, the *Seicento* demonstrates, beyond any doubt, that the Venetian patriciate was slowly drifting away from the mythical prerequisite of equality among its members and service to the state, he had always maintained vital as protectors of the system. Office seeking was consequently not a means to serve the Republic, but a time-consuming occupation in search of income and power.*

already prevalent at the end of the sixteenth century, comparing the office to a secure port he comments:

«Onde a 'sto muodo vu reste contento,
E zonze in porto senza altra fadiga
Con honor, bon guadagno, e salvamento.»

See Bibl. Marc., *Cod. It.*, cl. IX, 273 (=6646), c. 93.

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