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THE PADUAN ELITE UNDER FRANCESCO NOVELLO DA CARRARA (1390–1405)
A selected prosopography
by
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In June 1390 Francesco Novello da Carrara recaptured the city and lordship of Padua from Gian Galeazzo Visconti with the active support of Florence and the tacit consent of Venice. In July 1388 his father Francesco il Vecchio had renounced his rule over Padua in attempt to placate his enemies, Venice and the Visconti lord of Milan. But in November as Milanese forces approached Padua, the younger Carrara lord fled the city with his family, household officials and a few loyal retainers. After a year in exile, first in Lombardy, then in Piedmont and finally in Florence, Francesco Novello travelled to the courts of Stefan of Bavaria in Munich and his brother-in-law, Friedrich Count of Ortenburg, to canvass support for the reconquest of the city. This was accomplished in the summer of 1390 by an army of Paduan exiles, Friulian allies, German mercenaries, troops supplied by the Count of Ortenburg and another brother-in-law, Stefan Frankapahn, Count of Veglia, and large contingent led by Stefan of Bavaria. Once again in possession of Padua the Carrara lord undertook to reconstitute his regime and create a new ruling elite composed of those followers who had followed him into exile or remained loyal during the Visconti interregnum.1 Thus, the restored regime excluded major no-

1 On these events, see B. G. Kohl, Padua under the Carrara, 1318–1405, Baltimore and London 1998, chap. 8, Exile and Restoration, 1388–1392. I wish to thank Dr. Dieter Girgensohn for his careful reading of an earlier draft which
ble families, such as the Lupi of Parma and the Camposampiero, Sanguinacci, Da Peraga, Scroveggni and Grompo of Padua, who had supported the new Visconti regime and opposed the Carrara restoration. Rather, Francesco Novello turned to members of his own family, his half-brothers, the condottieri Conte, Giacomo and Rodolfo da Carrara, his mother’s family, the Buzzacarini, his distant cousins, the Papafava dei Carraresi, and native families of bankers, jurist, and merchants, the Dotti, Conti and Lion, who had served his father before the regime’s fall in 1388. These were supplemented by the regime’s four main household officials: Enrico Gallo who served as chancellor, Baldo Bonafari as treasurer, the Gorizian knight Michele Rabatta as soldier and diplomat, and Ognibene Scola, trained in letters and civil law, who married one of Francesco Novello’s illegitimate daughters in 1399 and served his father-in-law as his envoy on several missions. Finally, “new men” from the towns of the Padovano, often adept in law and business, the Descalzi and Mezzoconti from Este and the Ovetari from Cittadella, helped oversee Carrara business interests. Altogether Francisco Novello created a new noblesse de robe, skilled in diplomacy, finance and administration, to complement the military captains drawn from his kinsmen or hired from the petty lords of the Romagna.

The purpose of this essay is to examine the nature of the elite of Padua under Francesco Novello da Carrara. Justly famous is Philip Jones’ provocative appropriation, for the signori of late medieval Italy, of Sir Ronald Syme’s epigram: “whatever the form and name of government, ... an oligarchy lurks behind the façade“. The paradox that Jones presented a generation ago, that narrow elites governed both republics and signori in Trecento Italy, has now become commonplace. But the particular composition of these oligarchies still

had allowed me to eliminate many errors and improve my argument in several ways.


merits close attention. Here I intend to examine the role that status and kinship as well as education and talent had in gaining the Carrara lord's favor, to note the elite's marriage patterns as a basis for its remarkable social stability, and to investigate the regime's system of rewards. For though it seems that the Carrara lords of Padua did not employ widely a system of conferring fiefs in return for services as did the contemporary Este lords of Ferrara, clearly membership in Padua's ruling elite conferred economic as well as political advantages. My choice of the families has been selective, but I hope that examples from each category, affines and kin, local noble servants of the regime, household officials, and "new men" from the Padovano, are representative of the elite as a whole. Finally, the reader should be aware that cameral and other financial documents, available for the study of the Este and Gonzaga regimes, are conspicuously missing for the Carrara. Thus, my prosographical analysis is necessarily based on surviving notarial protocols found in the Paduan State Archives and contemporary chronicles. As a result, my conclusions should be deemed tentative. Full answers must await an exhaustive prosography of the Carrara elite as has recently been accomplished for some forty Venetian nobles active in their state's church politics in the early years of the Quattrocento.

1. Affines and cousins: the Buzzacarini and Papafava. The younger brother of Francesco il Vecchio's wife Fina, Arcoano Buzzacarini, had been a loyal servant of the Carrara regime since boyhood, mainly as a captain in the Paduan army. It seems that Arcoano and his family at first remained in Padua after the flight of Francesco Novello but were later banned from the city, perhaps because of their role in a premature uprising against Visconti rule in 1389. The Buzzacarini had returned to Padua by June 1392 when two of Arcoano's sons, Pataro and Francesco, witnessed the new bishop of Padua Ugone Roberti invest Francesco Novello as advocate and guardian of the church of S. Maria Maggiore. The next year Arcoano oversaw his sons, Francesco and Ludovico Ungaro, acquire tithes in Sabbioncello

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from Orsola Buzzacarini, widow of Ansedesio Rossato da Casale. Though occasionally present as a witness in the Carrara chancery, Arcoano was mainly occupied with his landed and business interests: in the fall of 1395 appointing daughter Caterina's husband, the notary Tommaso Bettoni, to collect debts in Treviso. In November Arcoano bought four campi of vineyards for £290 and three campi of arable for £56 to create blocks in Sabbioncello. Like many landowners in the period, Arcoano acquired land cheap at the expense of impoverished peasants: in August 1396 he acquired for £300 several parcels in Piove di Sacco from one Bonaventura da Corte and his son, which he leased back to them for £25 a year and gifts in kind, called onori, and at the communal court at the Drago he was granted four campi of vineyard and fruit trees in Sabbioncello because of default on a loan of £100, thus acquiring the parcel at the bargain price of £25 per campo. But he also looked after the other branch of the family, mainly notaries and lawyers. In December 1398 Arcoano conveyed to the friars of S. Maria di Servi liturgical vestments, gems, a chalice, missal and candelabra, all from the estate of his son Pataro, who had died of wounds received in the Mantuan War, thus helping to outfit the Servite church built and endowed by sister Fina.

2. Buzzacarini genealogy (see Fig. 1). Four years later in November 1402, surrounded by friends and clients, Arcoano Buzzacarini made his will in his palace in contrada S. Urbano. He ordered that he be buried in the family chapel of the Dominican church of S. Agostino, with pious bequests of £200 for the repair of the Servite church of S. Maria and £25 each for dowries of five poor girls. His wife Nobilia Manfredi of Faenza was to have a small house near the family complex, with her household goods, clothes, jewelry, and silverware, supported for life from income of 60 campi in Campagnola,

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5 A. Gloria, Monumenti dell'Università di Padova, Padova 1888, 2, p. 263, Nr. 1827, 5 June 1392, and Archivio di Stato, Padova, Archivio Notarile (hereafter AN) Reg. 394, f. 153, 14 Nov. 1393.

6 AN Reg. 397, ff. 277–78', 1 Sept. 1395, for proctor in Treviso; AN Reg. 38, f. 89, 23 Nov. 1395, parcels in Sabbioncello. A Paduan campo = 38 hectares.

7 AN Reg. 42, f. 272', 7 Aug. 1396; AN Reg. 48, f. 378, 12 Jan. 1397.

8 AN Reg. 38, ff. 372–73, 6 Dec. 1398.
while his universal heirs were his two surviving sons, Francesco and Ludovico Ungaro. They and his nephew Francesco Novello were to serve as executors of the estate.\footnote{AN Reg. 18, ff. 224'–225', 7 Nov. 1402, excerpt in Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 408, Nr. 2214.}

A few months later Arcoano died, and on 1 February 1403, Francesco Zabarella pronounced his funeral oration, dwelling on his career as valiant soldier, attested by the knighthood bestowed by King Louis of Hungary, and his constant defense of Padua, which had led to the popular title of \textit{pater patrie}, now ended as he made his journey „from shadows to light, troubles to quiet, and from the hardships of war ... to peace.\textsuperscript{10}

Arcoano had four sons and several daughters. Little is known of Venceslao, who probably died young. Pataro was a soldier whose valor at the battle of Castagnaro in 1387 earned him a knighthood. A decade later he was appointed marshal of the Paduan forces in the Manutan War, where he died of wounds suffered in combat with Facino Cane at the battle of Governolo.\footnote{Text in G. Zonta, Francesco Zabarella, 1360–1417, Padova 1915, p. 142–44, quotation on p. 144.}


Francesco had also fought and was knighted at Castagnaro, served as adviser to Francesco Novello at the fall of the regime and accompanied him into exile. Returning to Padua by 1392, two years later Francesco received from the Carrara lord a gift of land in Selvazzano.\footnote{AN Reg. 119, ff. 177–78', 5 May 1394.}

By 1395 Francesco had taken as his wife Margherita, daughter of the late Count Rizzardo di Sambonifacio, with a dowry of 1,000 ducats, and soon became embroiled in litigation among his affines, serving as proctor for Novella di Sambonifacio, wife of Guazzalotto Guazzalotti of Prato, against the heirs of the late Aiardo di Vinciguerra Sambonifacio.\footnote{AN Reg. 8, ff. 80'–81, 5 June 1395, for the dowry, ff. 252–57', 22 March 1396, for the litigation.}

Francesco served the regime on several ceremonial occasions, ac-
companying Francesco III and Giacomo da Carrara to Milan for the coronation of Gian Galeazzo Visconti as Duke of Milan in 1395 and Gigliola da Carrara on her trip to marry Niccolò III d'Este in Ferrara two years later. In 1400 Francesco travelled with Ognibene Scola to Nuremberg as one of the Paduan envoys to negotiate an alliance with the new German king, Rupert.

The youngest of the four brothers was Ludovico, named in honor of the King of Hungary who had knighted his father. He was also the most studious, who initially followed the family tradition of legal studies at the University and earned his license in civil law in about 1389. In 1394, Francesco Novello trusted Ludovico's legal expertise enough to appoint him his proctor to collect money owed his late father by Antonio qd. Francesco Allegri of Florence, with specific charge of "having [Antonio] arrested and detained in any prison of that city." While still a student at the University in the 1390s, Ludovico formed a friendship with the humanist, Pier Paolo Vergerio. Ludovico's vacation on his rural estates in the summer of 1396 provided the occasion to write to Vergerio on the value of the study of history. The three surviving letters from Vergerio demonstrate a lively interest in the validity of historical knowledge, the nature of friendship, and, most of all, the proper education of an orator and writer of Latin prose, a theme that he would elaborate in his De ingenuis moribus, composed for Ubertino da Carrara a few years later. Ludovico himself acted as a guardian for his young Carrara cousins, accompanying Francesco III and Giacomo to Bologna where he and his charges were captured in the battle of Casalecchio in June 1402. Ransomed for 1,500 ducats, Ludovico returned to Padua shortly before his father's death. That next year both surviving brothers were resident in the family palace in contrada S. Urbano, where they displayed a certain business acumen, selling for £2,000 to their distant kinsman, Gasparo Rossato da Casale, son of Orsola Buzzacarini and the late Ansedesio, two half-timbered houses near the Duomo, that their father had pur-

15 AN Reg. 6, ff. 275'-76. 11 Aug. 1394, excerpt in Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 188, Nr. 1897.

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chased for £1,500 only two years before. In the regime's final war with Venice in 1404–5 both brothers served in the Carrara army. After the Venetian conquest Francesco retired to private life in Padua, dying of natural causes in 1408, while Ludovico remained active in university affairs and as a captain in the Venetian army. Ultimately loyal to their family's cause, Ludovico and his son Francesco aided in Marsilio da Carrara's plot to retake Padua in 1435. Their complicity was discovered and cost them their lives by beheading.

Two of Arcoano Buzzacarini's sisters had married important members of the Carrara elite: Imperatrice's husband Ludovico (Alvise) Forzatè was executed as a traitor in 1374, while Bonfemina was widowed early by the death of her husband Zanino da Peraga in 1375. For a time, Bonfemina returned to live in the Buzzacarini family complex at S. Urbano where she received income from property in the eastern Padovano: farmland in Camin di Sotto held from the Venetian monastery of San Giovanni Evangelista and over fifty campi in Zianigo. Several years later, having moved near the convent of San Benedetto, where her sister Anna was abbess, Bonfemina leased five parcels in Camponogara for rent of grain and hens. Forced into exile from Padua because of the exile of her in-laws, the Da Peraga, as traitors, by 1399 Bonfemina resided in Campo Santa Margherita in Venice where she settled suits with her sisters, selling to Imperatrice for £6,000 all her holdings in Camin and Zianigo and handing over property near San Benedetto to her sister, Abbess Anna and her nuns. The next year, Francesco Novello appointed a proctor to effect a compromise with Bonfemina over debts owed on the parcel in Camponogara.

17 AN Reg. 359, ff. 264–65, 27 Dec. 1403, sale of adjacent houses near Duomo, paying nominal rent to the Bishop of Padua; AN Reg. 57, ff. 50–51, 31 Dec. 1401, Arcoano's earlier purchase of the same property.
18 AN Reg. 42, ff. 95, 96, 1375.
19 AN Reg. 305, f. 108, 4 July 1379.
20 AN Reg. 109, ff. 150–53, 20 May 1399, suit settled by Ottonello Descalzi as judge of the Anziani; AN Reg. 40, f. 64, 22 Feb. 1400, settlement with Anna Buzzacarini, who as abbess of San Benedetto had taken the religious name of Orsola.
21 AN Reg. 8, f. 13, 13 July 1401.
In the long run, Imperatrice fared better than Bonfemina, achieving respectable old age in Padua. During the Visconti rule in 1388–90, the Venetian Senate „froze“ shares in the Monte held by all Paduans, but recognized the hardships that Imperatrice faced as a widow. The Venetian Senate held „that the same lady ... was a lover of this dominion and at the time of the Genoese War gave much pious alms and sustenance to our men imprisoned in Padua so that without her help, many would have perished of hunger“. In recognition of this service, Imperatrice was allowed to trade shares as before. Two years later Francesco Novello welcomed her son Aledusio qd. Ludovico Forzatè back to Padua, granting him by donatio inter vivos confiscated lands and tithes in the eastern Padovano, at Codevigo, Montemerlo, Noventa, Lupa and Castelbaldo, as well as houses in Piove di Sacco and Padua, which had previously belonged to his father and uncle, Ludovico and Filippo Forzatè. In 1399 Aledusio’s mother Imperatrice acquired extensive Buzzacarini lands. The next year Francesco Novello, acting as judge, settled a complex property dispute between Imperatrice and her brother Arcoano to the satisfaction of both parties. Imperatrice cooperated with her nephew and the restored Carrara in other ways. In 1401 acting as procuratrix for her son Aledusio, she approved and oversaw the sale for 2,540 ducats of hundreds of campi of arable in over fifty parcels in Tribano and neighboring villages to a rising Carrara favorite, the physician Giovanni Passari da Genova. Two years later, Imperatrice and her son Aledusio, who participated in the wedding of Giacomo and Belfiore da Varano, furthered Carrara interests by issuing bills of exchange with the condottiero Giovanni di Carlo Visconti, recently enrolled in the Carrara army. Another woman of the Forzatè family made alliances within the new Carrara elite through marriage. In 1392 Alice di Marco For-
zatè took as her husband the Friulian soldier Rizzardo da Valvasone, conveying to him a dowry of 600 ducats and land in Codovigo, Vallonga and Piove di Sacco, with Francesco Novello dispensing statutes against foreign husbands receiving real estate in Padua.  

Rizzardo thus became a wealthy landowner in Piove di Sacco, later leasing tithes and parcels there for £800 a year, grain, wine, hay and straw, to be delivered to his house in contrada S. Niccolò in Padua.

Equally close to the ruling family was the Papafava branch of the Carrara house which had been reconciled by Francesco il Vecchio's restitution of their ancestral lands in the villages north of the Adige in 1364, enlarged by the dowry of Albertino's wife, Caterina Schinelli, of houses, farms, meadows and woods in Rovolon, Costa and Carbonara in 1383. Thus, Albertino, resident in his palazzo in contrada S. Martino, was a wealthy landowner with large holdings in the northwest and southeast corners of the Padovano. The Visconti rectors had expressly permitted the Papafava to remain in Padua during Francesco Novello's exile, when Albertino attempted to enlarge his wealth by claiming as his inheritance the property of Ubertino da Carrara, who at his death in 1345 had conveyed the lordship of Albertino's great uncle Marsilietto. Claiming to be Marsilietto's closest living kinsman, Albertino sought Gian Galeazzo Visconti's approval of his plan which would have made him the richest man in Padua. It seems that the ploy did not work. That December Albertino bought for £1,400 from his younger brother Ugotino rights over the legacy of Ugotino's deceased wife of land in S. Margherita and Montagnana. With Francesco Novello's restoration, Albertino continued to acquire farmland in the contado, buying for £1,000 thirteen campi of vine-

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27 AN Reg. 6, ff. 213, 215–16, 13 June 1392, dowry in ducats and list of possessions conveyed to Rizzardo.

28 AN Reg. 109, ff. 85'–86', 25 May 1401, lease in Piove di Sacco. For Alice qd. Marco identified as Rizzardo's wife, see rent of property in Castelfranco held pro indiviso with Aledusio and Alice qd. Forzatè Forzatè, ibid., f. 60, 20 March 1390.

29 P. Ceoldo, Albero della famiglia Papafava, Venezia 1801, p. 100–1.

30 Ceoldo, Albero, p. 102–15, who includes the act of 26 Jan. 1389, where Albertino claimed Ubertino's inheritance, and AN Reg. 397, f. 64, 8 Dec. 1389, sale of rights to Agnese's land by Ugotino to Albertino.
yards in Terranegra. Three years later Albertino made his will, leaving his estate to his two sons, Giacomo and Marsilio Rinaldo, a monk, providing that if both sons predeceased him, his universal heirs were to be Francesco Novello and his sons. The reconciliation of the two branches was now complete, cemented two years later by Ugotino's will which named Francesco Novello heir of all he had inherited from his father Giacomino and sister Caterina, widow of Marco Resta. But the legacy of Albertino, who died late in 1396, proved difficult to settle. In June 1398 Albertino's heirs, his widow Caterina, acting as guardian for her sons, Giacomo and Marsilio Rinaldo, and daughter Fina, won a suit at the court of Sigillo against a neighbor who had encroached the boundaries of the family complex at S. Martino. That October Francesco Novello as executor appointed a procurator to sue for debts owed Albertino's estate by the heirs of his long deceased brother-in-law, Marco Resta, in Venice.

Giacomo soon emerged at the new head of the family, marrying in 1400 at age eighteen Taddea di Bonifacio Ariosti of Ferrara, whose mother Polentasia di Ostasio da Polenta was a member of the ruling house of Ravenna. Receiving a generous dowry of 1,000 ducats, Giacomo continued his family's tradition of marrying into powerful ruling families, the equal of the Este and Gonzaga consorts Francesco Novello's offspring had wed. While a new Papafava generation was beginning married life, an older generation was passing. At the request of Francesco Novello's consort, Taddea da Carrara, the aged Beatrice di Bonifacio Papafava was admitted to the convent of S. Mattia, where she was expected to share the same fare and dress as the nuns, though sleeping in a room of her own. For the privilege of living

31 Biblioteca Civica, Padova, MS B. P. 990, Documenti carraresi, perg. LXXXIV (142), 14 May 1392, excerpt in Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 262 Nr. 1824.
33 AN Reg. 187, ff. 10–11', 13 July 1397.
34 Documenti carraresi, perg. XCVI, 16 June 1398, for decision at Sigillo, and ibid., perg. XCVIII, 30 Oct. 1398, procuration for suit in Venice, another copy in AN Reg. 525, ff. 98'–99.
35 AN Reg. 525, f. 161, 29 Apr. 1400, for the dowry; on Giacomo's career, in general, see Ceoldo, Albero, p. 108–12.
out her days as a laywoman in this small Benedictine house, Beatrice paid £200, a third in 22 ducats, the rest in Venetian groats and carra-rini. Young Giacomo soon entered the public life of Padua, accompanying Carrara forces to Bologna in the summer of 1402, and serving in the Carrara army's campaign to take Verona two years later, knighted for his valor by Francesco Novello. Active in the final defense of Padua, Giacomo fell ill in the summer of 1405, when he sold five houses in Prato della Valle to Bartolomeo di Giacomo da Vicenza for £450 in June and 40 campi in Conselve to Rolando Capodilista for £900 in July. On the 4th of August, Giacomo made his will at his home in contrada S. Niccolò, naming his young sons, Albertino and Obizzo, his universal heirs, dying two days later only in his mid-twenties. The two heirs, soon joined by a posthumous son, Giacomo Junior, all lived well into the fifteenth century, forming the sole surviving branch of the Carrara house.

3. Advisors from three noble houses. Throughout his long rule, Francesco il Vecchio (1350–1388) had employed as councilors, advisers, envoys and agents members of the local families in his household government. At the beginning of Visconti rule, many of these close advisers were identified as the „bad seed“ of Padua and banned from the city, only to return in 1390 to serve Francesco Novello. Conspicuous among these favored families of the restored Carrara were the Conti, Dotti and Lion, whose earlier generation had served Francesco il Vecchio as the current members were to serve his son.

4. Conti. Manfredino and Naimiero di Alberto Conti had been such successful factors and agents for Francesco il Vecchio that Naimiero decided to construct and decorate the Chapel of Saints Philip and James in the Santo as a memorial to his brother Manfredino who

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36 AN Reg. 525, f. 164, 11 May 1400: Beatrice was exempted from participating in religious services and could leave with full refund of the £200 if badly treated by the nuns.
37 AN Reg. 395, f. 232, 30 June 1405, AN Reg. 359, f. 358, 13 July 1405.
38 Documenti carraresi, perg. CVIII, 4 Aug. 1405.
died in 1380. By his testament made on 12 September 1379, Manfredino had settled his entire estate on his two sons, Artuso, who sometimes served as secretary to the Carrara lord and Prosdocimo, destined for a brilliant career as law professor and jurist. Resident in contrada S. Cecilia in 1387, Artuso sold nine campi of vineyards in Rubano for £610, before appointing his paternal uncle (patruus), Na­miero Conti, to act as his general procurator the next year. According to the chroniclers Galeazzo and Andrea Gatai, Artuso followed Francesco Novello into exile, but betrayed secrets to Gian Galeazzo Visconti and was imprisoned and eventually beheaded on the Carrara lord’s orders in 1390. More fortunate was the younger brother, Pros­docimo, who perhaps as early as 1381 was a canon at the Duomo. After legal studies at the University, Prosdocimo received his license in civil law in August 1393, in canon law four years later, and gained the doctorate utriusque iuris in May 1398, having the Carrara favorites, Francesco Zabarella, Antonio da Sant’Angelo, and Giovanni Ludo­vico Lambertazzi, as his promoters. Serving often as judge dele­gate for the Carrara lord, in 1402 Prosdocimo was vicar to the podestà of Bologna, returned to Padua to marry Orsola Zaccho, daughter of the notary Giacomo, with a dowry of 400 ducats. Holding leases from the nuns of S. Agata on houses in the campanea, fiefs in Rovigo and lands in Cornaleda, Prosdocimo also traded in real estate, selling in 1400 for 200 ducats twenty campi in the campanea at Vigodarzere to his fellow academic, the medical professor Guglielmo di Marsilio da Santasofia, and three years later for 1,000 ducats a farm of forty-four

40 The will is in AN Reg. 35, f. 202–2', 12 Sept. 1379, with the estate still being settled five years later, AN Reg. 100, ff. 203'4', 30 Oct. 1384, with their mother Orsola and uncle Na­miero as guardians.
41 AN Reg. 48, ff. 15'–16', 15 Apr. 1387; Reg. 46, ff. 103'–4, 29 Jan. 1388.
43 See AN Reg. 43, f. 27, 19 May 1381, where Prosdocimo, though perhaps only eleven is listed as a canon, leased property for 32 ducats.
campi at Vigodarzere to Rolando Capodilista.\textsuperscript{45} Just before the fall of the regime, Prosdocimo sold for £8,000 to the jurist Giovanni di Andrea da Bologna all the land he had inherited in Conselve, gaining cash in uncertain times.\textsuperscript{46} Like Paolo Dotti, another famous jurist nurtured in the Carrara circle, Prosdocimo survived the fall of the Carrara to emerge as a faithful servant of the Paduan commune in its relations with Venice.

Prosdocimo’s uncle, Naimiero the Elder, served for over a decade as Francesco il Vecchio’s factor general, enjoying the office of taxfarmer for several communal dazii, thus earning the sobriquet of daciarius used in the documents. Resident near the Communal Palace in contrada Scalone, Naimiero often conducted business in his „office for the tax on wine on tap (stacio dacci vini a spina)“. There in March 1384, he brought for £1,500 from his cousin Giovanni di Engolfo Conti, several houses in Padua.\textsuperscript{47} Naimiero was an astute businessman with varied interests. For example, before the podestà Rizzardo Sambonifacio in 1380, he sold for £1,000 the iura livellarla on two retail cloth shops near the Salone (or Communal Palace), which leased for £13 a year to a cloth merchant. Three years later in the communal courts, Naimiero settled an outstanding loan by acquiring 45 campi in the campaneia and a house in contrada Rudena in return for cancellation of the debt.\textsuperscript{48} In the summer of 1388, Francesco il Vecchio appointed Naimiero his general agent to liquidate all Carrara property to pay for the defense of Padua against the invading army of Gian Galeazzo Visconti. Banned from Padua by the Visconti rectors, Naimiero and his family returned in 1392, when he resumed his post as councillor to the Carrara lord.\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{45} AN Reg. 188, f. 343, 2 Nov 1392, lease on two lots in contrada S. Michele; AN Reg. 56, ff. 475’–77, 20 Nov. 1396, fiefs in Rovigo held with Giovanni di Engolfo Conti from the Este; AN Reg. 352, fol. 247–47' 2, 17 Dec. 1401, lease in Cornaleda; AN Reg. 109, ff. 226’–27, 8 Sept. 1400, excerpt in Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 373, Nr. 2124, sale to Guglielmo Santasofia; AN Reg. 359, f. 207, 7 Feb. 1403, sale to Rolando Capodilista.

\textsuperscript{46} AN Reg. 359, f. 407, 20 Sept. 1405.

\textsuperscript{47} See Gatari, Cronica carrarese, p. 331, for the title, and AN Reg. 308, ff. 309’–10, 29 March 1384, for the purchase from Giovanni di Engolfo.

\textsuperscript{48} AN Reg. 178, f. 286’, 21 May 1380; AN Reg. 100, 73’–74, 25 Feb. 1383.

\textsuperscript{49} See Gatari, Cronica carrarese, p. 331–32, 403.
By November 1392, Naimiero Conti and his sons were again resident in contrada Scalone, when Antonio and Naimiero Junior acknowledged final payment on a loan of £2,000 made to a weaver and local merchant. In August 1393, Naimiero acquired a agent for his estates in the Oltrebrenta, investing Nascimbene a Legname with over 20 campi as his vassal, placing a gold ring on his finger while repeating the formula: „I Naimiero Conti invest you Nascimbene with these parcels of land as my vassal with the law of fief“. The two sons acquired 75 campi of vineyards and arable in Vigodarzere near Padua in return for canceling a loan of £1,200 made in September 1388 to their cousin, Giovanni qd. Engolfo Conti. Francesco Novello also rewarded Giovanni for his family’s service to the Carrara regime, conferring on him all Conti lands in the southeast Padovano, that had once belonged to Pietro di Filippo and Francesco detto Franzone di Tebaldo Conti as well as his own father Engolfo. The grant was followed by the bishop’s award of tithes in Meroldo that had once belonged to Amato qd. Altigrado Amasino. Naimiero Conti was clearly the richest and most powerful of the Conti of his generation when he made his will in March 1394 at his home near the Salone. Naimiero restricted his testament to a few apparently simple instructions: his body was to be buried in the family chapel in the Santo, his wife Antonia was to have her dowry, clothes, and life income from land in Casale, and two illegitimate daughters, Caterina and Margherita, were to have possessions in Limena and Sarmeola. The rest of his vast wealth was left to his male heirs, his three sons Naimiero, Antonio, Engolfo and a grandson, Manfrino, whose father Alberto had died in 1389. The executors were to be his wife Antonia, his oldest surviving son Naimiero, and the physician Niccolò di Zanino da Chioggia. By late 1394 Naimiero had died, leaving his heirs to quarrel over the estate.

50 AN Reg. 179, f. 121–21’, 1 Nov. 1392, repayment of loan; AN Reg. 180, f. 93, 6 Aug. 1393, investment of fief: ego Naimierus Comes te Nascimbene ut vasa-tum meum de dictis peciis terre iure feude investio.
51 AN Reg. 358, ff. 23–25, 1 Sept. 1392.
53 AN Reg. 18, ff. 73’–75’, 26 March 1394.
5. Conti genealogy (see Fig. 2). In January 1395 only the three brothers appeared before the bishop of Padua, Ugone Roberti of Tripoli, asking for the renewal of fiefs of tithes; then a year later the three brothers petitioned for other tithes their father had held in the 1380s of Bishop Raimondo Gaminberti. In the home of Pagano Capodivacca on 4 February 1395 the teenaged grandson Manfrino, who was being excluded from the inheritance, hired a proctor, Francesco dalle Ave, to sue for his share of the estate, claiming that four universal heirs had been named in all of his grandfather's wills. Naimiero countered by selling for 350 ducats to his brother Antonio his one-quarter interest in a deposit of £10,000. Though occasionally the four heirs worked in concert, division of the elder Naimiero's vast legacy became inevitable. In April 1399, the four men appeared before the podestà's vicar, Benedetto Girlandi, and divided the estate. Antonio received property in the southwest Padovano, at Este, Montagnana, Santa Elena, Scodosia and Solesino, as well as the tithes of Conselve and vineyards in Arquà, while Naimiero Junior got property to the southeast at Terranegra, Monselice, Piove di Sacco and a number of houses and perhaps twenty rental properties in Padua. In addition, he acquired the vineyards and farms in Arquà that once belonged to Prosdocimo Conti. Engolfo also got houses and parcels in Arquà and Conselve as well as a number of rental properties in Padua-shops, stores, homes, and a mill at Ponte Molino. The nephew Manfrino inherited Conti lands in the Oltrebrenta, farmland in Teolo and Pontecasale and vineyards in the Colli Euganei. The Conti complex in contrada Scalone, which consisted of three houses, a well, courtyard, and stables, was still to be held pro indiviso, though Naimiero resided there by himself, acquiring Engolfo's interest later that summer for £1,500. Settling the division of the legacy dragged on for

54 AN Reg. 43, f. 231, 18 Jan. 1395, and AN Reg. 40, f. 56, 18 Jan. 1396 excerpt in Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 301, Nr. 1936.
55 AN Reg. 358, f. 251–21, 4 Feb. 1395, excerpt in Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 293, Nr. 1910, claims of Manfrino Conti, f. 244, 6 Feb. 1395, Naimiero’s sale of interest in loan.
57 AN Reg. 358, ff. 371, 13 Aug. 1399, valued at £6,000 for the purposes of the sale.
several years. At the court of Sigillo in May 1402, Manfrino finally acknowledged receipt of his quarter of the estate, swearing that „the parts were and are equal.«58

Even with the division of Naimiero’s estate, the individual Conti remained among the richest men in Padua. They commanded large dowries from their wives and bestowed them on their daughters. Naimiero Junior married Polisena di Simone Lisca of Mantua who brought a dowry of 450 ducats, while in his will Antonio restored a dowry of 1,000 ducats to his wife Sofia and bestowed dowries of 1,000 ducats with 250 in non-dotal goods on each of his two daughters.59

When Engolfo living near the Duomo made his will in May 1402, he restored a dowry of 500 ducats to his wife, Lulla qd. Francesco da Castellato from the Valsugana, making his minor sons, Alberto and Francesco his universal heirs.60 The Conti continued to curry favor with the Carrara: in August 1399, at Francesco Novello’s request, Naimiero and Antonio acting for themselves and Engolfo and Manfrino made the gift of a large house in contrada S. Andrea to Giovanni Passari da Genova, physician at the Carrara court.61 In return the Carrara lord allowed the Conti to hold long-term leases of communal property. In September 1399 Francesco Novello ordered the communal sindico Francesco dalle Ave to invest Engolfo with eight cloth and three cheese shops which rented for £63 a year; that November Engolfo sold to Naimiero Junior his iura livellaria in a moneychanger’s shop (statio cambialis) under the stairs of the Communal Palace.62 In February 1401, Naimiero rented for nine years two blacksmith shops in Pontecorvo for £30 a year. The next year he oversaw the legacy of his mother Antonia, who in her later years had become

58 AN Reg. 367, f. 70, 23 May 1402, „et partes predicte fuisse et esse equales“.
59 AN Reg. 18, f. 423, 28 Aug. 1397, excerpt in Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 318 Nr. 1983, for Polisena’s dowry; AN Reg. 359, ff. 306–7, 28 Aug. 1404, who named his son Antonio his main heir, and Nascimbene a Legname, Prodocimo and Naimiero Junior Conti, and his wife Sofia, his executors.
60 AN Reg. 359, f. 135, 23 May 1402; his executors’ were his wife Lulla, Nascimbene a Legname and Giacomo Fabri, who was representing him in a suit against his brother Naimiero.
61 AN Reg. 8, f. 154–54, 12 Aug. 1399.
62 AN Reg. 358, ff. 376, 381, 11 Sept. and 15 Nov. 1399.

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a nun in S. Prosdocimo in Padua and now left her property in Casale to the local church and the rest to the bishop of Padua.\textsuperscript{63} For all his attempts to gain more than his share of his father's estate, Naimiero Junior was to die childless, while Antonio's offspring carried on the family traditions of scholarship. Indeed Antonio's youngest and posthumous son, Niccolò Conti, was destined to become the greatest astronomer of Quattrocento Padua.

6. Dotti. Francesco di Paolo Dotti (1345–1416) and his brother Antonio followed the family profession of war and diplomacy as servants of the Carrara regime.\textsuperscript{64} Following service in the Border War of 1372–73, Francesco Dotti served as the podestà of Bologna in 1377–78, of Florence in 1380, and of Treviso, recently purchased by the Carrara lord, from October 1384 to May 1386, as well as ambassador on several occasions. He had taken as his first wife a member of the nobility of Friuli, Giovanna di Giovanni della Torre, who bore him two daughters, Iacopina and Benevenuta, who married with dowries of 1,000 ducats each two brothers, Giovanni and Antonio Cavalcabò, knights and nobles of Cremona. A year or two after Giovanna's death late in 1388, Francesco took as his second wife, Caterina dal Verme of Verona, perhaps kin to Giacomo dal Verme, the Visconti captain in Padua. Caterina bore him four children, Alberto, who died as a child, and Dotto, Paolo, and Diamante, who achieved maturity. Francesco Dotti returned to Padua by May 1390, when he made his fourth testament.\textsuperscript{65} Francesco served often as a member of Francesco Novello's council before returning to Florence as podestà from August 1395 to February 1396, where he kept the Carrara lord advised of any changes in policies and plans of his Guelf ally.\textsuperscript{66}

\textsuperscript{63} AN Reg. 48, f. 473, 7 Feb. 1401, blacksmith shops; AN Reg. 41, f. 1, 5 Nov. 1402, Antonia Conti's legacy.
\textsuperscript{64} See B. G. Kohl, Dotti, Francesco, Dizionario biografico degli Italiani 41, 1992, p. 538–41, which is supplemented by archival sources given below.
\textsuperscript{66} See Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Missivi della prima cancellaria, Reg. 24, f. 186, 9 March 1396, on Dotti's conduct of the office of podestà.
7. Dotti genealogy (see Fig. 3). Resident in his home near the Carrara Reggia at S. Andrea and later in contrada S. Lucia, Francesco lived mainly from the income of estates centered in the southwest Padovano at Casale di Scodosia. In the waning days of the Carrara regime of September 1388, the monks of S. Giustina had leased to Francesco Dotti extensive farms, houses and tithes south of Padua in Maserà, Bertipaglia, Camurà, Terradura and Carpenedo for £800 a year. Six years later Dotti renewed the lease on the same properties still for £800 a year, which was also the bargain rent in 1399. Francesco Dotti also increased his rural holdings at the expense of his nephew, Giacomo qd. Antonio Dotti, who in 1396 sold his uncle a farmstead with barns and a mansus of 40 campi in Casale for £1,640. Two years later Giacomo, a law student at the Studium, got into litigation with his uncle Francesco over the inheritance of his recently deceased brother Francesco di Antonio. The case was serious enough for Francesco Novello to appoint his top jurists, Pietropaolo Crivelli, Ottonello Descalzi and Antonio da Sant’Angelo, as judges delegate to settle the matter. Francesco Dotti had other unsettled business both in and outside Padua: in January 1397 he appointed Giacomo di Ugone Berti his proctor to settle accounts on a grain sale and one month later his agent to plead a suit before the Duke of Milan. Dotti was active in the year 1401: in January he appointed a proctor to collect debts in Treviso, perhaps contracted during his term as podestà, in March he encouraged a kinswoman, Margherita qd. Francesco Dotti of contrada S. Croce, to rent a house near S. Lucia to longtime professor of grammar at the Studium, Guglielmo di Ugucione, and in September stood surety for peasants in Maserà for a loan of £190 from the Florentine banker, Veri di Agostino Donati. By the end of

67 See P. Sambin, Ricerche di storia monastica medioevale, Padova 1959, p. 73, from Archivio di Stato, Padova, Archivio Corona, Nr. 7442, another copy in AN Reg. 100, f. 344–44', 14 Sept. 1388.
69 AN Reg. 101, ff. 32–34, 22 Apr. 1396, for the sale, ff. 102–3', 7 Aug. 1398, for the litigation.
70 AN Reg. 101, ff. 45'–46', 48'–49', 31 Jan. and 2 March 1397.
1403, his elder surviving son, the future jurist Paolo Dotti, was old enough to be appointed a canon at S. Martino in Piove di Sacco, where he received properties generating income of £100 and two *moggii* each of spelt, sorghum and millet per annum. Francesco continued to take a lively interest in his rural villages, where he made *soccida* contracts leasing animals and granting loans to peasants in Casale and acquiring land in Megliadino di San Fidenzio in March 1405. In July 1405 Francesco Dotti made a new will, in which he ordered the sale of all his arms and horses to pay for funeral expenses, made his sons Paolo and Dotto his residuary heirs, and named as executors his wife Caterina and Giovanni Porcellini, Guglielmo Curtarolo, Ubertino Grompo, and the rector of S. Andrea, Fredo Malizia. Following the death of his wife Caterina, Francesco made yet another will, which retained most of the provisions of the earlier testament, but appointed a new executor, the prior of the Eremitani Gaspare da Casale. Perhaps Francesco Dotti was already distancing himself from the doomed Carrara regime, which he abandoned in favor of Venice later that month, earning for himself, his third wife Antonia Persico da Cremona, and his able son, Paolo, a secure place in Padua under Venetian rule.

8. Lion. Paolo and Luca, sons of Francesco detto Checco Lion (d. 1387) were, more than any of the major Carrara councillors, bankers and entrepreneurs, bound by close ties of interest and marriage to other powerful members of the Paduan business community. Remaining in Padua during Visconti rule, in July 1389, Paolo and Luca leased property in Piove di Sacco, with Francesco di Paolo Dotti and the wool entrepreneur Giovanni di Michele Savonarola serving as witnesses. The next February in their home in contrada S. Lucia, with Niccolò di Daniel Lion, Francesco dall'Olio, *campisor*, and Carlo da Genova, *aurifex*, as witnesses, the Lion brothers invested their friend

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72 AN reg. 672, f. 167–67', 7 Nov. 1403.
73 AN Reg. 670, ff. 397'–98, 3 March 1405. for the *soccide*, AN Reg. 40, f. 108, 29 March 1405, for the purchase for £175 of 5 campi near Montagnana.
74 AN Reg. 101, ff. 31–38, 319–21, 26 July, 8 Nov. 1405.
Giovanni Savonarola, also of S. Lucia, with a fief consisting of a house on 25 campi in Lion for a pair of gloves at Christmas.\textsuperscript{76} With his restoration, Francesco Novello set about to reward his supporters granting to Luca Lion, a large masonry house with courtyard and wells, called „la cha' de Madona,“ in contrada S. Urbano with a smaller dwelling nearby.\textsuperscript{77} On 27 February 1393, the Carrara lord made a \textit{donatio inter vivos} to Luca Lion of unspecified property in Galzignano; the next day for £6,424 Francesco Novello sold Luca several houses near S. Clemente, two farmsteads on 25 campi in the campanea at Arcella Vecchia, and nearly 150 campi of farmland in Cataio, which he promptly rented to local peasants for nearly £300 per annum, using Giovanni Savonarola as his agent.\textsuperscript{78}

The villages near the family's country seat at Lion had long been the center of their landed interests. Capitalizing on the hardships of the Visconti occupation that had impoverished many peasants, in November 1392 Paolo and Luca Lion acquired over eighteen campi in and near Lion from a peasant in return for canceling his family's debts of £2,213 to the Lion brothers. That October the men of Galzignano agreed to undertake the draining of a local wetlands and construction of canals to help Luca Lion bring more land under cultivation. In July 1394 Francesco Novello bestowed on Luca Lion the rights to ditch and change the course of the stream that flowed from the Euganean Hills at Galzignano east to Battaglia.\textsuperscript{79} While Luca was constructing a new canal near the Colli, the brothers were acquiring more land buying out debt-ridden peasants. Late in November 1394 Luca and Paolo bought over 30 campi in Villa Schiavon for £600 from one Pro-

\textsuperscript{76} AN Reg. 17, ff. 192–93, 19 July 1989, lease in Piove di Sacco; AN Reg. 506, f. 37=37', 7 Feb. 1390, fief to Giovanni Savonarola.
\textsuperscript{77} AN Reg. 6, ff. 376–77, with only 1390 given as date; but see AN Reg. 7, ff. 70–72, 4 Nov. 1394, grant of what appears to be the same property.
\textsuperscript{78} AN Reg. 6, f. 232, 27 Feb. 1393, gift to Luca; the sale to Luca Lion is in AN Reg. 506, ff. 57–59, 28 Feb. 1393, and AN Reg. 274, ff. 284–85.
\textsuperscript{79} Archivio di Stato, Padova, Archivi privati diversi, Nr. 190, Lion Reg. 2, perg. 20, 20 Nov. 1392, parcels for debts; AN Reg. 506, ff. 54–55v, commune of Galzignano donated swamp near Montegrotto to Luca Lion, promising to drain it so the land became tillable: AN Reg. 7, ff. 9–10, 1 July 1394, grant of flumen at Galzignano by Francesco Novello.
sdocimo a Lana, which they later leased back to the same peasant for £50 a year. The brothers next bought 20 campi from a peasant in Veternigo for 105 ducats, which they rented back for £16, grain and onori. The same technique was used to acquire properties in Padua. In four purchases made in 1395, Paolo and Luca acquired for £500 two houses near S. Lucia, which they rented to the seller for £40 a year and a house near S. Margherita for £500, that was rented back to the former owner for £45 annually. They also purchased the iura proprietatis on a house at Montegrotto for £100, which rented for £10 a year, and another house in contrada S. Lucia for 200 ducats, renting it back for 20 ducats per annum. Thus, the Lion brothers' real estate transactions brought them annual returns of eight to ten percent on their investment.

9. Lion genealogy (see Fig. 4). Soon after the Carrara restoration Luca Lion liquidated holdings outside Padua, appointing a proctor to sell all his property, real and personal, in Florence in June 1392, and naming another agent in August to collect debts in Bologna, especially 100 ducats owed by one Paolo Azoguido. These transactions were perhaps a means to amass enough capital to purchase for 2,000 ducats from Francesco Novello a large house located in Florence in S. Stefano a Ponte, that had perhaps been the home of the Carrara family during their exile. In this case, the Carrara lord was both collecting capital to pay the indemnity owed Gian Galeazzo Visconti as provided in the Peace of Genoa and rewarding a faithful servant with a townhouse in Florence, acquired at a bargain price. In any case, both Luca and Paolo remained in Padua, serving their lord as factors and councillors, residing at the family palace in contrada S. Lucia.

Paolo's will, deposed there in August 1392, reveals the nature of his family, and something of his business interests and values. His

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80 AN Reg. 32, ff 230'-31, 242, 244, 25 Nov., 26, 28 Dec. 1394.
81 AN Reg. 32, ff. 247−250, 251', 254, 8 and 15 March, 27 April, 14 and 26 May, 9 Oct. 1395 for these purchases and subsequent leases.
82 AN Reg. 506, ff. 51, 53. 22 June and 4 Aug. 1392, appointment of proctors to sale property and collect debts, ff. 67−68, 10 Nov. 1393, sale of Carrara palace in Florence.
body was to lie next to his father's in the family chapel in S. Agostino, while he atoned for any misdeeds with 500 ducats to the Dominicans, 200 ducats for dowries for marrying eight young women, 50 ducats for four women to become nuns, and 100 ducats for the poor and infirm. His two young daughters, Margherita and Francesca, were to receive dowries of 1,000 ducats each, if they married, or 400 ducats, if they entered religious life. His wife Anna di Pietro della Ganza was to have her clothes, effects and life occupancy of the house. Brother Luca was his main heir, but if he predeceased Paolo, the estate was to go to a nephew, the canon Bonfrancesco qd. Giacomino Lion, but only if he forsook the religious life "so that the lineage of his house of Lion may multiply." If Bonfrancesco remained a canon, the legacy was to be divided into four parts: one going to the sons of his sister Giacoma, who had married the Carrara factor, Guglielmo Ongarelli, another to his brothers-in-law Lotto and Viviano della Ganza, a third to his friend and sometime partner Giovanni Savonarola, and the fourth to any grandson born in wedlock. Paolo Lion lived long enough to see some of these conditions rendered superfluous, since Bonfrancesco eventually renounced his canonry, pursued a career in civil and canon law, and took as his wife Guglielma, daughter of another Carrara favorite, Biagio Ovetari.

Late in 1394, the two brothers decided to split their residence into two households, each taking half of their father's inheritance. In the event, the creation of separate households took several years, while they sometimes continued to acquire, hold and rent property jointly. For example, when in January 1396, Giovanni Parisino Mezzoconti sold for £400 to his former tenant Enrico di Fino della Brentella a house abutting Lion property in contrada S. Niccolò, Paolo and Luca later acquired it for themselves for £1,000. Later that spring for £800 Bartolomeo di Benedetto speziale sold the two brothers many parcels of land in Cornegliana, where they already held meadowland;

83 AN Reg. 32, ff. 208'-9', 18 Aug. 1392; the clause on his nephew reads: *cum hac condicione tamen quo dictus dominus Bonfranciscus debeat uxorari et vita seculare perfui, et vitam ecclesiasticam deserere et relaxare, ut prosapia domus eius de Leone multiplicet.*

84 AN reg. 32, f. 234, 30 Nov. 1394.

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in August Luca and Paolo bought from Bartolomeo several fishing ponds and streams near the Vigonzone for just over £2,000, which they leased the next January for £200 to a commercial fisherman. In April 1396, they purchased barber and apothecary shops in Padua’s Androne di Berne for £500.85 Early in 1397, Luca and Paolo sold for £3,950 to Giovanni Barberio of Prato della Valle several parcels in Cartura.86 In March 1399, Paolo and Luca jointly appointed a proctor to recover debts owed in Treviso, and in September with their partner Giovanni Savonarola named Gerardino Gerardini their agent to buy and transport to Padua timber from the Valsugana, Feltre and Belluno.87

By the turn of the century, Paolo and Luca had actually created two households and split most of their business interests. Already in October 1395, Luca had acquired for 2,000 ducats a palace in contrada Parenzi, with several houses, wells, courtyard, which a month later he sold for £6,000 to Giovanni di Uguccione da Montagnana. The property was probably being used as collateral for a disguised loan since in May on payment of 2,000 ducats Luca Lion received back from Giovanni di Uguccione the large complex in contrada Parenzi, while Paolo continued to reside at the family home near S. Lucia.88 That May Francesco Novello settled a dispute on property boundaries between Luca and his neighbor Pietro Piccinino Curtarolo, by appointing judges, each bound to be partisan in the dispute. In the end, the two judges Giovanni Curtarolo, the prior of the Hospitallers’ house in Padua and the Lion factor, Matteo “de Buglis” di Bartolomeo of contrada S. Niccolò, arranged a compromise that favored the Curtarolo cause.89 Clearly the split caused some anxieties. Four years later as diplomatic duties loomed, the brothers met in the Carrara chancery, and with Giovanni Savonarola as their witness, each pledged never to

88 AN Reg. 32, ff. 257–58, 19 Oct. 1395, ff. 312’–13, 30 Apr. 1398.
89 AN Reg. 32, ff. 314, 315, 15 May 1398.
alienate certain properties without the consent of the other. Paolo promised always to hold the house their father had built at S. Lucia, his lands in Lion and Mediavia, and the tithes in Montagnana and grazing lands in Patriarcati and Bovolenta held pro indiviso, while Luca agreed never to sell the houses and garden (brolium) at Prato della Valle, his parcels in Lion and Mediavia, and the tithes and pastures jointly held. 90

Luca Lion's interests centered on land deals and silk manufacturing. In June 1398 one of Luca's old associates the campsor Francesco dall'Olio renounced to Giovanni Savonarola omnia iura livellaria in forty campi in Monselice, renting for £270, which Giovanni promptly sold to Luca to £3,000. A month later in the druggist shop of Bartolomeo di Benedetto, in the presence of Antonio dalle Ave, Giovanni di Antonio da Casale, and the Lion agent, Matteo "de Buglis," Luca Lion sold the same fields to a cloth merchant Jacobo di Pietro Volpe for £2,900, with the approval of Francesco dall'Olio. These were probably "dry" sales used to generate capital for the group's interests in textiles and the Carrara Mint. Later that same day Francesco dall'Olio repaid £1,500 owed by his brother Pietro, to Bartolomeo di Benedetto. 91 Luca also facilitated the silk trade in Padua. On 1 May 1399 at his home in contrada Parenzi, Luca Lion sold for £7,000 over 100 campi in Monselice and Pernumia to two Lucchese silk merchants, Francesco and Martino Martini, whom the Carrara lord had granted Paduan citizenship just a month earlier, with Luca Lion lending the Martini brothers £3,500 to set up a silk shop just outside the Carrara Reggia in contrada S. Clemente. A year later Francesco Martini "in apotheca syri cummitentis Novelli" leased the lands in Pernumia and Monselice to sharecroppers for half the grain and animals and one third of the minuti delivered to Padua. 92 By the summer of 1402, Francesco Martini was a major member of the business community, paying the ransom of 1,000 ducats demanded for Francesco Novello's

90 AN Reg. 32, ff. 364'–65, 28 Jan. 1402.
91 AN Reg. 32, ff. 318'–20', 14 June 1398, ff. 323–324, 7 July 1398.
son-in-law, Ognibene Scola, who had been captured at the battle of Casalecchio.\footnote{See R. Cessi, Padova medioevale, studi e documenti, ed. D. Gallo, Padova 1985, p. 583, 609–11.}

Paolo Lion also took an interest in the silk trade, advancing capital to two Bolognese silk makers, Giovanni di Ludovico and Dante di Bartolomeo. But when the partnership failed, Paolo reclaimed the raw materials as creditor, selling the rights to the silk, cloth and textiles to the banker Manfrino Osio of Milan. The next year Paolo Lion advanced capital to Sante, called \textit{artifex sete}, with a Florentine moneyer and Paduan merchant serving as sureties.\footnote{AN Reg. 525, ff. 142', 143'–44', 162', 30 July 1399, 12 March 1400.} Thus Paolo Lion advanced capital to silk manufacturers and loans to merchants as production of silk cloth commenced in Padua at the end of the Trecento. Paolo was also an entrepreneur in the woolen industry. In September 1399 Francisco Novello gave Paolo in partnership with Giovanni Savonarola land for constructing mills to full and finish cloth at Pontecorvo. Both Giovanni Savonarola and Paolo Lion were councillors for Francisco Novello and friends of the chancellor Giovanni di Conversino, who composed a short novel, \textit{Violate pudicicie narratio}, based on an incident in Ferrara that Paolo Lion had once described.\footnote{On Giovanni Savonarola's economic and cultural interests, see T. Pesenti Marangon, Michele Savonarola a Padova, Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova 9–10 (1976–77) p. 46–50.}

The Lion brothers’ paramount interest, however, was in land. At the village of Lion in April 1399, Paolo Lion took possession of more than 40 \textit{campi} he had bought from Francisco di Rolando Lion for £2,000, while the next April Luca took possession of two farmhouses on sixty \textit{campi} on several other parcels in Lion.\footnote{AN Reg. 32, f. 333', 21 Apr. 1399, Archivi privati diversi, Nr. 190, Lion Reg. 2, perg. 47, 4 Apr. 1400, also in Villa Lion.} Francisco Novello aided in the Lions’ effort to create blocks of farmland in their native village. On 25 March 1400 the Carrara lord sold to Luca Lion over 60 \textit{campi} in three parcels in Piove di Sacco, which later that month he exchanged with the Venetian Ser Enrico di Plaza for property in Lion, 55 \textit{campi} on five parcels, and £700 cash.\footnote{AN Reg. 8, ff. 244–46 and 249'–51', 25, 31 March 1400.} Since all these parcels

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were bound by the possessions of Luca and Paolo Lion, clearly the brothers were aiming to build unified farmsteads in the village. Finally, the two brothers continued to acquire tithes in Lion and other areas. In 1400 Luca bought for £150 from his nephew Prosdocimo di Francisco Rogati tithes in Lion that had probably been part of the dowry of Prosdocimo’s mother, Lieta Lion. In March 1403, Francisco Novello sold to Luca tithes the turncoat Paganino Sala once held in Camin, and Aledusio Forzatè sold for £2,800 to Luca all the tithes his family held in the Oltrebrenta, especially in Curtarolo, Marsango, Camposampiero, and Campodarsego.98 The Carrara lord continued to reward Luca Lion, who remained more involved than Paolo in the daily administration of Carrara wealth. In January 1401 Francisco III and Giacomo acting as proctors for their father granted Luca an orchard near the Oratory of S. Michele. The rationale for the gift was to reward Luca’s ceaseless labor as well as his example which had incited others to serve faithfully the Carrara house.99

The variety and extent of the Lions’ interests in land, commerce and manufacturing eventually required that they employ their own agent to manage their affairs. As we have seen, they often appointed Matteo di Bartolomeo „de Buglis“ from Monselice as their proctor. Late in 1397 the position was formalized with the award of a residence in contrada S. Niccolò that had been purchased earlier from Enrico della Brentella, granted as a fief for services rendered to the Lion brothers.100 A few years later, Luca sold to Matteo for £450 seven campi of vineyards bordered by olive and fruit trees in Arquà. When Matteo made his will in the spring of 1400, his marriage was childless, with a dowry of £200 going to his maidservant, Caterina da Castelbaldo, and one of £300 to a favorite niece from Bassano. His main heir was his wife Francesca, while the Lions’ business associate Giovanni

98 Lion Reg. 2, perg. 52, 12 Oct. 1400, tithes in Lion, perg. 61, 7 Mar. 1403, tithes in Camin, AN Reg. 32, f. 370, 2 Mar. 1403, tithes in Oltrebrenta.
99 AN Reg. 9, ff. 45–46, 10 Jan. 1401, in príncipe virtutum remunerationes et laborum premia potissimum commendari, cum per ea familiares et subditi, et virtutem tales in suo heroæ cognoscentes, ad imitationem probitatis et fidelem famulatu ab lassitudine laborandæ serventius incitantur.
100 Lion Reg. 2, perg. 36, 13 Nov. 1397, the house bounded by a street, and property of Michele Rabatta, Bartolomeo speziale, and the Lion.

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Savonarola was one of his executors.\(^{101}\) The Lion brothers emerged as leaders of their family looking after the interests of both near and distant kin. For example, when his son Rinaldo turned seven, Luca Lion appointed Matteo Cavalcanti proctor to accept a benefice for the boy from Bonifacio da Carrara, Abbot of Praglia.\(^{102}\) Luca also remained intimate with Niccolò di Daniele Lion, an official of Francesco il Vecchio, who had been imprisoned under suspicion of treason at the end of Visconti rule and did not return to favor at Francesco Novello's restoration.\(^{103}\) When Niccolò made his will a decade later, he felt close enough to the main family to order that he be buried in S. Agostino „in sepulcro illorum de domo de Leone,“ while returning a dowry of £2,100 to his wife and granting her life residence in the house at S. Zilio, if she did not remarry. Niccolò was apparently estranged from his kinsman, the canon lawyer Bonfrancesco Lion, who was to receive only £250 with no further claims on the estate. His universal heir was Luca Lion, called „eius germanum et consanguineum,“ who got property in Lion. Among Niccolò's executors were Luca and Paolo, and their agent, Matteo „de Buglis.“\(^{104}\) Paolo maintained close relations with another kinsman, Matteo, who was a professor of arts and medicine in the Studium and natural son of Bartolomeo di Prosdocimo Lion. Legitimated at his father's request in 1393, six years later Matteo married Angela, daughter of the Carrara court notary, Giovanni Campolongo, with a dowry of £800.\(^{105}\) In February 1400 Matteo sold to Paolo a house and barns on forty *campi* in Lion for £2,000, and that June made his will, giving £400 to his father-in-law and restoring her dowry and effects to Angela, while his own clothes and books were to be donated to „uno scolari in medicina pauperi.“ He also donated a chalice and missal to the church of S. Ma-

\(^{101}\) AN Reg. 32, ff. 363'–64, 12 Jan. 1402, vineyard in Arquà, f. 354', 3 May 1400, will of Matteo „de Buglis.“  
\(^{102}\) AN Reg. 8, f. 243–43', 5 Mar. 1400, excerpt in Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 360, Nr. 2091.  
\(^{103}\) Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 241–42, Nr. 1762, 1764, 1766, May 1388, from court records, where Niccolò is called „magnum officialem“ of the Carrara.  
\(^{104}\) AN Reg. 180, ff. 185'–87', 9 Oct. 1399, for the testament.  
\(^{105}\) Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 277–78, Nr. 1868, 16 Oct. 1393, for the legitimation; p. 341, Nr. 2045, 22 Apr. 1399, for the dowry.
ria dei Servi, where he was to be buried. His universal heir was Paolo Lion, who was appointed his executor, along with Giovanni Cam­polongo.\textsuperscript{106} That spring Matteo’s step-mother Dorotea di Giovanni Turchetto, widow of Bartolomeo Lion, acknowledged Matteo’s restitution of her dowry of 400 ducats, which he had received as his father’s main legatee. But that ended the relationship. When Dorotea fell ill and made her testament in September, she conveyed most of her small estate to her brother Gian Francesco and did not even mention Matteo Lion.\textsuperscript{107} No doubt this was a trifling affront. In the early years of the Quattrocento Paolo and Luca Lion served the Carrara regime with great distinction as diplomats and soldiers. Paolo was ambassa­edor to Venice, Bologna and Mantua, while Luca served an envoy to the papal court at Rome, Venice, and Milan. Both participated in the final defense of Padua. Luca Lion went into exile in Ferrara where he died in 1406, but Paolo remained in Padua, a condottiero in Venice’s service.\textsuperscript{108}

10. Household officials. The daily administration of the Carrara regime was carried out by men who usually held the office of consiliarius in the lord’s household government. Sometimes this title was conferred on the lord’s closest advisers, including members of the Conti, Dotti and Lion families, but it was also given to the top household officials, including Enrico Gallo, Baldo Bonafari, and Mich­ele Rabatta. Usage at the Carrara court perhaps paralleled the practice of the Este court, where the title „denote[d] a new rank of admini­strator interposed between the signore and the functionaries of the chancellery and camera who executed his orders.”\textsuperscript{109} These men, who were, in effect, members of the lord’s „privy council“, received salaries for their services, grants of food, and sometimes gifts of residen-

\textsuperscript{106} AN Reg. 8, 231–32, 17 Feb. 1400, AN Reg. 359, f. 44–44', 17 June 1400, ex­cerpts in Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 358, 367–68, Nr. 2085, 2109.
\textsuperscript{107} Lion Reg. 2, perg. 50, 2 May 1400, dowry restitution; AN Reg. 187, f. 22, 7 Sept. 1400, Dorotea’s will.
ces near the court. Usually drawn from the Paduan popolo or talented immigrants, these consiliarii had often risen "through the ranks" as jurists, notaries and scribes. To illustrate the different background of these major officials, four careers have been selected. Enrico Gallo was a local notary who became the regime's chief scribe and diplomat. Baldo Bonafari migrated from the Trevisan border village of Piombino Dese to study law at Padua and held the office of the regime's treasurer. The son of a Florentine knight, Michele Rabatta was raised in Gorizia and migrated to Padua as a youth to serve as a soldier under Francesco il Vecchio and a diplomat and military captain under the son. Son of a Mantuan woolen worker, Ognibene Scola was trained in law and letters at the Studium and become one of the regime's major diplomats after his marriage in 1399 to Francesco Novello's illegitimate daughter, Agnese.

11. Enrico Gallo. Among the most important officers of the court was the jurist and chief scribe, Enrico Gallo, who served the last two Carrara lords as diplomat, confidante and adviser. Son of a notary, Oliviero, resident in contrada S. Giovanni delle Navi, Enrico married in 1383 Tarisa Apolonaria, daughter of the notary Paolo Ture, with a dowry of £1,736. Four years later, Oliviero Gallo had died and Enrico was living near the Duomo when he exchanged a small vineyard in Conselve with Naimero Conti for arable in Vanzo, witnessed in Carrara "camera fattorie" by such familiari as Francesco, prior of S. Giovanni di Vendara, Francesco Allegri of Florence who resided in contrada S. Lucia, the lord's spenditore Antonio qd. Checco of contrada Duomo, his scribe, Giovanni di Niccolò Salimbene of Cremona, and Biagio Ovetari of contrada S. Fermo. The next year Enrico bought from Conti a "domus canipe" in Padua, and for £32 a tiny parcel of olive groves and vines in Teolo from a local peasant who leased the land for one-third the crop and customary dues. Enrico

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110 Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 165, Nr. 1553, 9 June 1383, for payment of dowry; the father Oliviero resided there by 21 Sept. 1370, when he bought ten campi of farmland in Volta for £250, AN Reg. 55, ff. 15'-16.

111 AN reg. 45, f. 117–17', 11 Dec. 1387, exchange with Conti; AN Reg. 46, ff. 123, 126', April, 19 May 1388.
Gallo followed Francesco Novello into exile, serving as a messenger between Francesco il Vecchio in captivity in Lombardy and Novello in exile in Florence. He had returned to Padua by September 1390, when he leased farmland in Pernumia. Over a year later Gallo married his daughter Francesca to Antonio di Giacomo Papino, paying a dowry of £1,000, which Gallo received back as a loan from his son-in-law, obligating two houses at S. Giovanni delle Navi as collateral. Early in 1392, Francesco Novello rewarded Enrico Gallo, called "consiliarius et officialis dilectus," for his faithful service to the Carrara House by granting him two large houses in Porte dei Tadi, between the city walls and Duomo, and making a donatio inter vivos of real estate, valued at 500 ducats, in Teolo, Pernumia, Zovone, and Boccon, with fiefs of tithes in the same villages, yielding over £50 per annum. The next year Enrico's son Bartolomeo married Antonia Zabarella, daughter of Bartolomeo di Francesco, who brought a dowry of £1,200.

In November 1394, Gallo took long-term leases on property belonging to the Hospitallers near his family's home at S. Giovanni delle Navi, while the next January he received on orders from the Carrara lord tithes in Pernumia that the recently deceased Naimiero Conti had previously held. Later that spring Enrico Gallo enlarged his urban property, buying from Francesco di Antonio dalle Ave for £1,500 another large house near Ponte dei Tadi. That fall he appointed his son Bartolomeo his proctor to receive from the bishop of Padua additio-

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112 AN Reg. 40, f. 60, 6 Sept. 1390, rent of house on two campi for £9 on S. Giustina, 2 hens at Carnivale, 25 eggs at Easter, and 2 chickens in June.
113 AN Reg. 6, ff. 138, 140, 7 Jan. 1392, excerpt in Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 258, Nr. 1812.
115 AN Reg. 6, f. 323, excerpt in Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 273, Nr. 1856, 4 June 1393.
116 AN Reg. 189, f. 47', 5 Nov. 1394, leases from Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, AN Reg. 40, f. 120, 31 Jan. 1395, tithes in Pernumia.
nal tithes in Pernumia and Teolo.\textsuperscript{117} Enrico Gallo continued to invest most of his resources in land, buying for £7,500 in June 1397, twenty-eight parcels of orchards, vineyards and farmland in Cartura from the wool merchant Giovanni di Uguccione da Montagnana and receiving tithes in Cartura from Stefano da Carrara that October.\textsuperscript{118} Thereafter, Gallo worked at creating blocks of farmland in this area, purchasing a number of small parcels in Pernumia, bounded by land he already owned.\textsuperscript{119} In June of 1400, Bartolomeo acting as agent for his father acquired several parcels in Pernumia from the notary Giovanni Campolongo for £600.\textsuperscript{120} At the height of the plague of 1400 with the Carrara lord’s permission, Gallo acquired property from young heirs of the Carrara elite, buying for 377 ducats houses with court and garden near Pozzo Mendosi from Bernardo d’Alessio, who was grandson of Nicoletto (d. 1393), the Carrara prothonotary, and property near Porte dei Tadi for £400 from Giacomo qd. Francesco della Santa Croce, the Count Palatine.\textsuperscript{121}

The next few years saw Enrico active in diplomacy; he served with Luca Lion as envoy to the papal court at Rome early in 1402, before accompanying the Carrara army to Bologna, where he was captured at the battle of Casalecchio and later ransomed. Back in Padua in September, Gallo became involved in a dispute over the restitution of the dowry of his widowed sister Angela, from her first husband, the German physician Paul Richer of Nuremberg, from the sale of shares in Venice’s Monte worth 300 ducats. With this money Angela now bought over thirty campi with houses, barns, ovens, well

\textsuperscript{117} AN Reg. 101, f. 6, 14 May 1395, house near Duomo; AN Reg. 38, f. 62', 26 Sept. 1395, decimal fiefs.
\textsuperscript{118} AN Reg. 7, ff. 321–24, 16 June 1397; Archivio della curia vescovile, Padova, Feudorum Reg. 11, f. 14, 5 Oct. 1397.
\textsuperscript{120} AN Reg. 8, f. 357’, 29 June 1400.
\textsuperscript{121} AN Reg. 8, ff. 369–70’, 6, 13 July 1400, permission to acquire real estate from minors, and records of sales.
and dovecoat in Pernumia, as her dowry for her new husband, Filippo di Manfredo Isoleri of contrada S. Daniele. In the end Enrico Gallo, as his sister's principal heir, got the real estate. In November 1404 he settled accounts with Filippo Isoleri for the legacy of property in Pernumia that he received on Angela's recent death.\textsuperscript{122} Most of Gallo's energies were spent serving the Carrara regime, as envoy to Caterina Visconti in the winter of 1402–3 and to Venice with Michele Rabatta in May 1404, where he provided food and money to Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna, before aiding in the final defense of Padua in the summer of 1405.\textsuperscript{123} With the fall of the Carrara regime Enrico Gallo disappears from the historical record.

12. Baldo Bonafari. As Enrico Gallo was the major domo of the restored Carrara court, Baldo Bonafari (ca. 1360–1418) from the Trevisan village of Piombino Dese was its head financial officer (or \textit{referendario}) from 1390 to 1405.\textsuperscript{124} Already a scholar in civil law in 1381, Baldo soon became tutor to the young Conte da Carrara, went into exile with Francesco Novello, and returned to Padua in 1390 with his nephews Andrea and Francesco Squarcialupi. Baldo succeeded in having nephew Francesco made a canon at the Duomo in 1393, as he settled in the office of treasurer of Francesco Novello's regime. A fixture at the Carrara court in the last decade of the Trecento, in 1393 Baldo took as his wife Sibilia Cetto, widow of Bonacorso Naseri, who had been executed for treason in 1390. In addition to his office as \textit{referendario}, Baldo was useful to the Carrara lord in other ways: he retrieved Francesco il Vecchio's body for burial in 1393 and served as

\textsuperscript{122} Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 398 Nr. 2150, 24 Apr. 1402, settlement of Richer's estate; AN Reg. 9, ff. 111–113', 3 Sept. 1402, purchase of land in Pernumia by Filippo Isolari for £2,800 for wife Angela; AN Reg. 57, ff. 95–97, 20 Nov. 1404, "finis", granted by Gallo to Isolari to settle Angela's estate.


vicar in Carrara, Oriago and Anguillara in 1402. But mainly Bonafari made his living as a rentier owning extensive real estate both in the city and contado. An inventory of his property in 1400 demonstrates how wealthy this loyal servant of the Carrara regime had become.\textsuperscript{125} Baldo's twenty-nine urban properties fall into three categories. The largest group consisted of thirteen houses in contrada S. Margherita, with total annual rents of £410 and 85 ducats, including three large houses leased to the university as the residence of the rector of the ultramontane scholars, and of medical and other students, all near the seat of the Studium in Palazzo Bo. At Pontecorvo Baldo rented nine small houses for £85 and 15 ducats, while he owned seven shops near the Salone and Duomo, producing annual income of £154 and 18 ducats, for a total of £649 and 118 ducats. Since in 1400 one ducat was worth 90s, Bonafari total yearly income from property in Padua was £1,180. His extensive rural holdings, numbering nearly 80 properties, were grouped in three areas: the campanea, villages south of Padua near and in the Colli Euganei, and in Este, Salotto and Montagnana. Of these, fourteen parcels, mainly in Polverara, Casalserugone, the Patriarcati and Ronchi, were farmed on shares, with the peasants paying rent in kind, mainly grain, wine, and poultry; however, a shepherd named Donato rented all Baldo's pasture in Polverara for 500 pounds of cheese, though in fact that year he delivered only 444 pounds.\textsuperscript{126} The other 63 properties, consisting mainly of small plots of four to fifteen campi, rented annually for a total of £1,245 due at St. Justina, and onori, chiefly hens payable at Carnivale. With an annual income from rents alone of nearly £2,500, plus foodstuffs, grain and wood delivered to his home in Padua, in 1400 Baldo Bonafari was no doubt one of the wealthiest of those who had entered service at the Carrara court. With the fall of the Carrara family, Bonafari remained in Padua where he devoted himself to a life of Franciscan spirituality and with his wife, Sibilia Cetto, founded the church and hospital of San Francesco Grande in 1414.

\textsuperscript{125} Archivio di Stato, Padova, Ospitale civile, San Francesco, no. 1058, „Libro dele possessio et chaxe de Mag. Boaldo de Piombino“, parchment ledger on which the following analysis is based.

\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., f. 28', Nr. 57.
13. Michele Rabatta. Able soldier and diplomat for Francesco il Vecchio, Michele Rabatta remained loyal to Francesco Novello during his exile, leading troops enlisted from Friuli in the reconquest of Padua in June 1390. Born in Gorizia of a Florentine father, Antonio, Rabatta possessed knowledge of Slavic and German languages, skill at negotiation, and capacities as a military captain that made him one of the valued members of the Carrara elite. Named ambassador with Francesco Conselve to negotiate the Peace of Genoa in January 1392, Rabatta returned to Padua, rewarded with the gift of a complex of three houses in contrada S. Niccolò that the Carrara lord had acquired earlier by exchanging his Florentine residence with Luca Lion. Rabatta settled in Padua, playing a prominent role in court affairs, carrying the baton of command as captain of the city at the funeral of Francesco il Vecchio. His expertise in the affairs of northeast Italy prompted Francesco Novello in October 1394 to have him appointed Visdominus of the Patriarchate of Aquileia, who was absent from Padua as a peacemaker in Friuli for much of 1395. Returning to Padua some time after the new Patriarch, Antonio Caetani, assumed office on 19 April 1395, Rabatta served as the Carrara lord’s envoy at a congress at Ferrara in November 1397 and to secure Florentine citizenship for his sons in March 1398. Serving as Francesco Novello’s procitor to resign the post of Advocate in favor of the Counts of Gorizia, in July 1398 Rabatta returned to Padua, becoming a fixture in the Carrara chancery for the next three years.

Rabatta’s frequent missions abroad required appointing Enrico di Pietro Curtarolo as his agent in all business affairs and law suits in Padua and the contado. Rabatta’s landed interests were centered

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128 AN Reg. 6, ff. 114–16, 14 May 1392.  
130 AN Reg. 525, ff. 91', 8 Sept. 1398, payment to Curtarolo of contrada S. Fermo  
"gestor de negotiis et bonis mobilibus et immobilibus dicti domini Michae-
in Bovolenta, perhaps part of Conte da Carrara’s property that he had purchased at the first fall of the regime in 1388 for £30,000. There he maintained his country house, leasing through his gastaldo Matteo or agent Enrico Curtarolo parcels to his peasants, usually for cash rent and onori. In the crisis of the summer of 1402 Rabatta returned to Carrara service as ambassador to Venice, seeking aid against Gian Galeazzo Visconti. He returned to Padua soon after Gian Galeazzo’s death in September, when he witnessed the appointment of his associates Enrico Gallo and Ognibene Scola as envoys to make peace with Caterina Visconti. Praised by Vergerio as adept at both war and letters, Michele Rabatta participated in the final defense of Padua, returning to Friuli to serve as a captain in Udine after Venice’s conquest. One brother Giovanni became a soldier, mainly in Gorizia, while another brother Pietro was made canon at the Duomo by 1394, pursuing studies in canon law, eventually gaining his doctorate at the University. Michele son’s Ludovico was listed as a law student at the University in 1401–3, but left Padua with his father and uncle, soon after the Venetian conquest. Thus, Michele Rabatta, a loyal and conspicuous servant of the last two Carrara lords, was, in effect, exiled from Padua at the demise of the regime.

14. Ognibene Scola. Conspicuous among the next generation of scholar-diplomats was Francesco Novello’s son-in-law Ognibene Scola, whose father Bongiacomo, a wool worker from Mantua, had immigrated to Padua in the 1360s. There he married in 1370 Margherita dalle Donne, daughter of the notary Giovanni, and acquired land...
in San Bruson and Paluello, before his death in 1402. Two sons achieved maturity. One Marco married the daughter of a Carrara favorite, Agnese di Antonio Polastro. The other Ognibene enrolled at the University, received the license in civil law in September 1397, and perhaps studied rhetoric under Giovanni Malpaghini and Greek under Manuel Chrysolaros in Florence in 1398. In July 1399 Ognibene married the ruling lord's illegitimate daughter Agnese, paying £500 as a deposit and £100 as *contrados* for her dowry of some 400 *campi* of woodlands and arable on the Brenta at Mira. Immediately drawn into Carrara service, Ognibene undertook several delicate diplomatic missions. In 1401 he accompanied Francesco Buzzacarini to treat with King Rupert in Nuremberg. A member of the Paduan army in Bologna in the summer of 1402, he was captured at the battle of Casalecchio, ransomed for 1,000 ducats, and returned to be appointed ambassador to negotiate peace with Caterina Visconti in the winter of 1402. Ognibene joined his brother-in-law, the bishop of Padua, Stefano da Carrara, as envoy to inform Venice of the Visconti terms for peace in March 1404. Turning against his father-in-law and urging peace, Ognibene was briefly imprisoned during the final crisis of the regime. His favoritism toward Venice earned full pardon, and early in 1406 he was named one of sixteen local notables to welcome the new rulers of Padua.

15. New men from the Padovano. As we have seen in the case of Baldo Bonafari, Francesco Novello attracted able merchants, jurists, and notaries from the towns of the Padovano to the service of his regime. Three families have been selected here: the Descalzi and Mezzoconti from Este and the Ovetari from Cittadella, and all document the opportunity for advancement that adherence to the Carrara regime provided these newcomers. Perhaps the best known instance of social mobility of a family from the Paduan contado are the Zaba-

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135 AN Reg. 8, ff. 140–41', 19 July 1399, excerpt in Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 349 Nr. 2061.
rella of Piove di Sacco. Its most famous member was the canonist and cardinal, Francesco Zabarella (1360–1417), who though perhaps born in Padua was closely linked with his family’s roots in Piove di Sacco. Zabarella’s career has, however, been excluded from this survey since it is well documented in other scholarly sources.136

16. Descalzi. The Descalzi of Este first entered the political and economic life of Padua in the person of Prando di Ottonello, who as a wealthy wool merchant was already in residence in contrada S. Leonardo in 1369, where he purchased from a local weaver for £400 farmland in Capodiponte near Monselice, renting annually for £25 and onori, thus, returning over six percent on his investment. A few years later Prando took possession of a farmhouse with well and oven on forty campi of arable in Vighizzolo, for which he had paid £1,485. In July 1377, he bought for £300 from Naimiero di Alberto Conti some thirty campi in his native Este, building contiguous blocks of property.137 By that time his eldest son, Partenopeo had established his shop as a tanner, buying from the gastaldo of the Tanners’ Guild for £300 „iura una stacione cerdonie“ in contrata S. Clemente, which rented from the commune for £10 a year.138 In 1384 a second son Domenichino was established as a banker advancing loans to mercenaries in the Carrara officium stipendarii at the beginning of the Friuli campaign.139 Later Domenichino served as a banker in Carrara-occupied Treviso. In 1393, he matriculated in the Arte della Lana, serving as gastaldo in 1405. In 1399, he served as an adviser, along with Giovanni

137 See AN Reg. 168, ff. 85–86, 23 May 1369, land in Capodiponte; Archivi privati diversi, busta 267, Trevisan, Nr. 5368, 12 June 1375, land in Vighizzolo; AN Reg. 55, ff. 87’–88’, 8 July 1377, purchase in and near Este.
138 AN Reg. 55, ff. 86–87’, 30 April 1377.
139 AN Reg. 36, f. 283, 12 Dec. 1384.
Zabarella and Giacomo Zacco, in the Carrara mint, thus emerging as an important member of the Padua business community.\textsuperscript{140}

The most talented of Prando’s sons, Ottonello Descalzi, studied civil law, receiving his license in 1371 and doctorate in 1379, and early served the Carrara regime, holding the post of vicar of Bolzano in 1373 before it was ceded to the duke Albert of Austria.\textsuperscript{141} For the next decades Ottonello often served as judge delegate in cases appealed by Paduan notables for judgment by the Carrara lord. In April 1382 Ottonello accepted appointment as vicar at Zara, a client-state of the Carrara ally, King Louis of Hungary, and returned in 1384 to serve as vice-podestà of Treviso, recently acquired from Leopold of Austria. Ottonello next served as vicar general in the court of Francesco Gonzaga at Mantua from late 1384 to early in 1389. By 1384, Ottonello married Giovanna, daughter of Domenico and niece of Lombardo della Seta, Petrarch’s trusted secretary and literary executor, and developed a keen interest in the preservation and dissemination of the \textit{De viris illustribus}.

Returning to Padua in 1389, Descalzi served as a judge in the communal judiciary under both the Visconti and restored Carrara regimes and was named one of the Anziani for the quarter of Ponte Molino to hand over the keys of Padua to Francesco Novello at his triumphant return. Ottonello prospered under the restored Carrara regime, continuing to serve in the communal judiciary as well as judge delegate for Francesco Novello. In May 1391 he leased farmhouses situated on over 25 \textit{campi} in Paluello near Fiesso for annual rent of £70 and \textit{onorI}. Three years later Ottonello profited from Francesco Novello’s confiscation of the property of rebels against the regime, buying at auction for £1,000 houses, gardens and over twelve \textit{campi} of vineyards and orchards at Boion from estates taken from the Sanguinacci.\textsuperscript{142} The next year Ottonello took possession of property near

\begin{enumerate}
\item See Collodo, Società in trasformazione, p. 383.
\item AN Reg. 57, ff. 259’–60’, 7 May 1391, leases in Paluello, and ff. 61’–63, 4 Sept. 1394, Sanguinacci property in Boion.
\end{enumerate}
family estates in Faedo that he had acquired earlier from the monastery of S. Giovanni in Venda for £90. Five years later Descalzi appeared as a major landlord in Motta, where he made a contract with local sharecroppers for land reclamation, requiring them to excavate and build dikes on drainage canals and plant willows and vines as well as return half the crop of wine, grain and legumes (together with goose at All Saints, hens at Carnivale, a hundred eggs at Easter, and chickens at St. Peter's) all delivered to his house in Padua.  

By the time Ottonello made his will in 1400 he had become a wealthy member of the Carrara elite. In the church of the communal palace where he had serve as judge for several decades, summoning as witnesses his fellow jurist Giacomo qd. Corrado Zacco, kinsman Raprandino qd. Ubertino da Casale, and Federico di Rolando Capodilista, Ottonello dictated his will to the notary Giovanni Campo-longo, ordered his body to be buried in the Eremitani in such a monument as his executors saw fit to construct and arranged on the anniversary of his death by a commemorative feast to be attended by friends, family and the Augustinian Hermits. Among pious bequests, he left £500 for the repair of the family's parish church of San Matteo plus £50 for masses to be said there, and £10 each to the Carmelites and Eremitani. He provided 200 ducats for the dowry for Agnolla, „his niece whom he holds and considers like his own daughter.‟ His widow, Giovanna della Seta, was to have her clothing and household goods, and lifetime use of the house in San Matteo, supported by income from property in Paluello, on the condition that she never marry, with the explicit injunction that Giovanna's dowry of £1,200 was to be restored by his universal heirs. These were his brothers, Domenichino, who received estates in Motta, Carmignano and Este, and Partenopeo who got the family residence in Padua and land in Teolo and Faedo. His executors were to be his widow, his principal heirs, the jurist Mezzoconte Mezzoconti, and a professor of the sacred page at the Eremitani.

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143 AN Reg. 48, f. 312–12', 15 Apr. 1395, land in Faedo, AN Reg. 19, f. 135, 14 Apr. 1399, sharecropping in Motta.
144 AN Reg. 31, ff. 229'–32, excerpt in Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 373, Nr. 2125, 16 Sept. 1400, there is another version in AN Reg. 395, ff. 44–45'.

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Ottonello lived to oversee the construction of his tomb in the Eremitani, before dying, probably of plague, in the lethal summer of 1405, which proved unhealthy for the entire Descalzi family. By the end of May his brother Partenopeo had died at his home in Ponte Molino, leaving his widow Isabella Fronelli[?] to care for two young sons, Prando and the infant Ottonello, who were placed, at their mother's request, under the guardianship of uncle Domenichino. By 2 August Prando himself fell ill, appointing Domenichino and his sons, his universal heirs. Five days later, Domenichino made his own will at his residence in contrada San Leonardo, making legacies to his wife and Lombardino della Seta, and naming two sons his residuary heirs. Since probably only one of Domenichino's son, Niccolò, survived to manhood, it is scarcely surprising that the Descalzi family's influence in Padua ended with the fall of the Carrara regime.

17. Mezzoconti. The Mezzoconti emigrated from Este to Padua as moneylenders early in the Trecento, with Mezzoconte a jurist standing surety for a brother's restitution for usury in 1328. Mezzoconte's elder son, Ottonello, served in the communal judiciary from about 1355 until his death in 1382, while the younger, Giovanni Parasino, entered the Carrara army, serving in the Chioggia War and against the Scaligers. He followed the family profession of moneylending and emerged as a major entrepreneur under the Carrara regime, when he purchased in November 1388 for 30,000 alii of the Carrara lord's pawnshop, stores and warehouses in Padua, and pastures near the Adige. Giovanni Parasino was declared an enemy by Gian Galeazzo Visconti, eventually arrested and jailed until freed by Francesco No-

145 AN reg. 61, ff. 140'-41', 30 May 1405.
146 AN Reg. 61, ff. 261-62, 7 Aug. 1405, for Domenichino's.
147 Cf. A. Ventura, Nobiltà e popolo nella società veneta, Bari 1964, p. 82, where the Descalzi are said to have been "excluded" from political power by the Venetian regime.
148 For background, see J. K. Hyde, Padua in the Age of Dante, Manchester 1966, p. 185, and Collodo, Società in trasformazione, p. 246-47. The purchase of 22 Nov. 1388 in AN Reg. 5, f. 329 included the domus mutui domini and an oil shop.
vello in June 1390. Later that year he was sent to Florence to retrieve funds that Carrara lords had deposited there. At the restoration, he donated back to Francesco Novello a some of the property he had acquired at bargain prices in November 1388.\(^{149}\) A frequent witness in the Carrara chancery, in August 1394 Giovanni Parasino attended a meeting of the lord's *consiliarii*, who included Morindo Count of Porcia, the vicar Benedetto Girlandi, Baldo Bonafari, Raimondino Fieschi of Genoa, Daniele da Rio, Giovanni Porcellini, Francesco Beningrado, all doctors of law, and Simone da Noventa.\(^{150}\) The next year Giovanni Parisino returned to commerce, in November investing capital of £500 as partner with a local textile worker "ex causa laborandi et mercandi in arte et mercandarie fili et tellarum," and the next month, renting from the commune for 100 ducats *iura livellaria* in a shop on Piazza della Frutta.\(^{151}\) Three years later Giovanni Parisino was in the linseed oil business, acquiring for £675 from Donato di Bartolomeo Chierigati a building, press and "oven for drying flax seed from which is made combustible oil," renting the house in contrada S. Antonio di Vienna back to Donato for £60 a year later.\(^{152}\) Some sense of this wealth may be gauged from the loan of £11,500 that he made to a furrier (*piliçarius*), Ludovico di Giovanni Novello, to be returned within a month under penalty of £1,000.\(^{153}\)

Giovanni Parisino made a advantageous marriage into the Paduan nobility, when he took as his wife Lucia di Ludovico Forzatè. The marriage was childless with Lucia leaving her wealth to her husband in her will of September 1399. But Giovanni Parisino had fathered by his concubine, Francesca from his native Este, an illegitimate son, Celino Bartolomeo, whom the Count Palatine Giacomo da Santa Croce legitimated on 20 October 1401 in the Mezzoconti residence in contrada S. Niccolò, witnessed by members of the Carrara

\(^{149}\) AN Reg. 119, f. 109—9', 17 May 1391. \\
\(^{150}\) Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 288, Nr. 1897, 6 Aug. 1394, called "omnes consiliarii." \\
\(^{151}\) AN Reg. 101, ff. 7—7' and 28—29', 24 Nov. and 20 Dec. 1395. \\
\(^{152}\) AN Reg. 101, ff. 117—19, 21 Dec. 1398, *cum furno apto ad sicandum in eo semen linenum ex quo fit dictum oleum combustibile*, and ff. 185'—86', 30 Oct. 1399, lease to Donato "ad faciendum oleum combustibile." \\
\(^{153}\) AN Reg. 101, ff. 192'—93, 19 Aug. 1399.
court, Morindo Count of Porcia, Giacomo Panico, Pagano Paradisi Capodivacca, and Francesco Beningrado. A year later in November 1402, Giovanni Parisino made his will which was marked by large bequests to pious causes, probably to atone for his usury. After assigning his body and 200 ducats for repairs to S. Agostino, he left £10 each for upkeep and masses to the Franciscans, Carmelites and Eremitani, with lesser sums to other churches, and £10 each to fifty of Padua's poor. After leaving £2,000 to his uterine brother the cloth retailer, Giacomo de Calaore, and £300 and a cloak to his mistress, Francesca of Este, Giovanni Parisino divided the residue of his estate into four parts: one for Christ's poor, another for his wife, and the third and fourth for his nephew and grandnephew Conte Novello and Ottonello di Mezzoconte Mezzoconti.

Giovanni Parisino's brother Ottonello was a jurist who died in 1382, leaving a daughter Elena and two sons. Trained in civil law, one son Mezzoconte Mezzoconti married Orsola Turchetto and served as a communal judge and rector of the wool retailers guild. He also often held post of judge delegate for the Carrara lord in cases involving Padua's ruling class and was promoter or witness at ten examinations for the license and doctorate in law in the Studium. In 1400 he was appointed an executor of the will of Ottonello Descalzi, a fellow jurist and native of Este. In 1397 as administrator of the diocese of Padua Stefano da Carrara renewed fiefs of tithes to both Mezzoconte and Conte Novello in Montegrotto and on farms in Camponogara, Corte and Boion near the Lagoon. In June 1402 Mezzoconte made his will at his home in contrada S. Daniele, like his uncle making numerous bequests to churches, the mendicants and poor, probably to atone for any usury. He left dowries of £1,000 to each of his four nubile

155 AN Reg. 101, ff. 244–45', 3 Nov. 1402, excerpt in Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 407–8 Nr. 2213.
156 See biography in Gloria, Monumenti 1, p. 188–90, Nr. 412–14.
daughters and a copy of the \textit{Inforciatum} to a law student, Michele da Conegliano, with the hope that he would instruct his young son Ottonello in Latin grammar. Under the tutelage of his mother Orsola and uncle Conte Novello as his guardians, the principal heir Ottonello Mezzoconti continued to live in Padua as a student of civil law after the Venetian conquest.\footnote{See G. Zonta and G. Brotto, \textit{Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii Patavini ab anno 1406 ad annum 1450}, 2nd ed. Padova 1970, 1, p. 10, Nr. 242, 21 March 1412, where Ottonello is listed as a student of civil law.}

18. Ovetari. The fortunes of the Ovetari of Cittadella demonstrate the success that Carrara patronage could bring to energetic entrepreneurs. Already resident in Padua in contrada San Fermo in 1358, Albertobono \textit{q.d.} Giovanni Ovetari of Cittadella and his younger brother Niccolò paid a dowry of £1,300 to marry daughter Caterina to the physician Marsilio \textit{q.d.} Niccolò ad Santasofia.\footnote{Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 43 Nr. 1190, 16 and 18 June 1358.} Five years later Albertobono Ovetari entered Carrara service, serving as proctor for Francesco il Vecchio and his half-brothers to receive lay tithes from the bishop of Vicenza.\footnote{AN Reg. 165, f. 145, 30 Aug. 1363.} By 1367 Albertobono had begun to acquire property outside the family's historic interests in the Oltrebrenta, buying a parcel in Frassenedo surrounded by Ovetari property.\footnote{AN Reg. 676, f. 35', 26 May 1367.} The next year, Albertobono invested \textit{a livello} many parcels in Piove di Sacco that he had acquired from a Carrara political enemy, Bernabò Maccaruffi, and leased more property in Padua and Piove di Sacco the year following.\footnote{AN Reg. 166, ff. 322-27, 18 Aug. 1368, livelli in Piove di Sacco from home in S. Fermo; ff. 338'-39, 23 Jan. 1369, lease for five years of houses in Contrada Contarini; f. 348-38', 31 Jan. 1370, another lease in Piove di Sacco, made in Carrara chancery.} At the same time, Albertobono looked after interests in Cittadella: in 1368 he oversaw a dowry settlement among clients from Cittadella and sold the husband a small house there three years later.\footnote{AN Reg. 166, f. 321-21', 23 Aug. 1368, dowry of £800 conveyed to one Mussatino di Bertrandino, and on f. 404, 25 July 1371 sale of wooden house in Cittadella for £90 to the same Mussatino.} When Albertobono died in 1372, Francesco il Vecchio
acted as guardian to his widow, receiving final payment on a £2,000 deal from a timber merchant residing in Ponte Molino, with Bonifacio Lupi, Ludovico Forzatè, Zanino da Peraga, and Enrico Rabatta serving as witnesses.\footnote{165}{AN Reg. 31, f. 164–64', 7 Feb. 1372.}

With the death of Albertobono, his younger brother Niccolò with his son Giovanni took over the family interests in lumbering in the Oltrebrenta, receiving in 1374 several mills and over 500 campi of woodlands and marsh from the Abbot of S. Eufemia for the nominal rent of a pound of incense at Easter.\footnote{166}{AN Reg. 55, ff. 51'-52, 13 March 1374, the woodlands were located in S. Eufemia near the Trevisano border.} When Niccolò died in 1382, the other son Biagio Ovetari emerged as a wool merchant operating from the family home in San Fermo.\footnote{167}{AN Reg. 276, f. 154, 8 Jan. 1382.} Biagio was also a favorite at the Carrara court, recorded by Giovanni di Conversino as influential with the lord himself and known for his great wealth.\footnote{168}{Giovanni di Conversino, De primo eius introiti ad aulam, ed. B. G. Kohl and J. Day, In Two Court Treatises, München 1987, p. 67.} Biagio worked at enlarging his palace on San Fermo, acquiring a nearby garden and house, while brother Giovanni, trained in law, remained in Cittadella, leasing mills.\footnote{169}{AN Reg. 357, f. 115, 3 July 1382, purchase for £200 of house and garden next to Ovetari home; AN reg. 259, ff. 2i6'-217, 13 Sept. 1383, lease of mill post in Cittadella.} Meanwhile, Biagio diversified his holdings outside Padua: leasing in 1383 arable in Vigodarzere just north of the city for grain, cash and produce delivered to his house in San Fermo, the next year renting vineyards and farmland in Arquà for cash and onori, and making a soccida contract with a peasant in Vigodarzere who paid £70 to lease two cows and two calves for five years.\footnote{170}{AN Reg. 83, f. 2, 16 Apr. 1383, lease in Vigodarzere; AN Reg. 260, ff. 296'-298, 7 May 1384, leases in Arquà, ff. 302'-303, 25 May 1384, soccida contracts.}

For the next three years Biagio made further acquisitions in different parts of the Padovano. In June 1384, for £2,000 Biagio bought over 70 campi of farmland in Pianiga near Vigonza and two later acquired by exchange arable in Bertipaglia.\footnote{171}{AN Reg. 260, f. 305-5', 30 June 1384, purchase of land in Pianiga; AN Reg.}

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and Bassano for $8 and $10 respectively. Biagio continued to acquire rural and urban property: buying in May for $250 a parcel of five campi in the Paduan campanea, purchasing in June nearly 70 campi in Bovolone and Motta from Francesco da Carrara, and acquiring from two law students a house in Strà Maggior for 50 ducats. The early death of the two Ovetari brothers’ only nephew, Giovanni di Albertobono in 1388, further concentrated family holdings, with Biagio receiving extensive property in Piove di Sacco. That acquisition was followed in October with the purchase of more parcels in Prove di Sacco. At the fall of the regime, Biagio bought for $7,000 all the Carrara lord’s property in Cittadella and its district.

Biagio Ovetari remained in Padua during the Visconti occupation, even testifying against the "bad government“ of his former patron, Francesco il Vecchio. On 9 February 1389, Biagio leased a house in S. Canciano to a local cooper for $43 a year, and on 25 February, Biagio’s wife Prosdocima della Mantella bought a building lot and four parcels of vineyards, fruit trees and timber in Boccon for 100 ducats. That May Giovanni, called iurisperitus vir and residing in Cittadella, and Biagio, called circumspectus vir and living in contrada San Fermo, divided Ovetari family property they had held in common throughout the Padovano. Giovanni got holdings in the Oltrebrenta in Teggi di Sopra, S. Donato and Cittadella, while Biagio

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43, f. 118, 17 Feb. 1386, exchange in episcopal curia with the monks of Ognissanti.

172 AN Reg. 525, f. 3, 12 Feb. 1387, f. 36, 26 Nov. 1387.

173 AN Reg. 525, f. 13, 28 May 1387, parcel in the campanea; f. 50, 24 June 1388, sale by Carrara lord; and f. 34, 9 Nov. 1387, house from law students, cf. Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 208 Nr. 1669.

174 AN Reg. 357, f. 296, 15 July 1388.

175 AN Reg. 525 bis, f. 9', 21 Oct. 1388, sale by Pietro di Baluccci of Romini, for $760 of five parcels of vineyards and arable, and AN Reg. 5, f. 297v', 20 Nov. 1388, purchase for $7,000 of Carrara land in Cittadella.

176 See R. Cessi, Padova medioevale, p. 233, where in a court case in 1389, Biagio admitted that “as a familiar of the lord Francesco ... he had heard many of the officials say that they had done many and various misdeeds to the citizens of Padua on the order of lord Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara.“

received all property to the south, mainly in Frassanedo, Piove di Sacco, Arquà, Carpenedo, and in the city of Padua.\textsuperscript{178}

Apparently Biagio's disloyalty was forgiven at the Carrara restoration because on the 20 July 1390, he and his wife made a large profit on the property acquired in Boccon, selling for the original purchase price of 100 ducats the building lot alone.\textsuperscript{179} And on 20 October Biagio with the regime's new seneschal Deodato detto Dordo leased for 400 ducats a year all the possessions of the Venetian monastery of S. Gregorio di Alegato in Campolongo Maggiore, Campolongo di Leittoli and Piove di Sacco, which the two entrepreneurs then rented through their \textit{gastaldo} to peasants in the area.\textsuperscript{180} At the Carrara restoration Biagio resumed his trade as a timber merchant. In the Carrara chancery in September 1391 for £2,500 Biagio purchased from a business associate from Trent, Niccolò di Tarisio, nearly 100 \textit{campi} on woodlands in S. Andrea di Codiverno, and early in October had a proctor take possession of nearly 300 \textit{campi} of woodland in Villa del Bosco.\textsuperscript{181} Biagio died at the end of October and was buried in the family chapel in the Eremitani, leaving his widow, Prosdocima, to look after his business interests and children, Guglielma, who in 1401 married the canonist Bonfrancesco Lion with a dowry of £1,000, and two sons, Niccolò and Antonio. Prosdocima proved to be an able manager, who in April 1394 contracted \textit{soccide} on sheep in San Martino in Lupi for over £200 and in November oversaw repayment of a loan of 100 ducats made by her late husband.\textsuperscript{182} The next year, Prosdocima and her sons renewed a partnership of over £5,000 capital that Biagio had made in 1386 with Niccolò di Tarasio, now living at Codalonga in Padua, and leased to him for £160 a year the woodlands in S. Andrea di Codiverno, purchased earlier for £2,500, returning over six percent

\begin{footnotes}
\item[178] Two copies of the same act dividing common property are found in AN Reg. 357, ff. 336, 371, 8 May 1389.
\item[179] AN Reg. 262, f. 57, 20 July 1391, sale of \textit{sedimen garbum} in \textit{Villa Boconis}.
\item[180] AN Reg. 188, ff. 251'-52', 20 Oct. 1390, for original lease in Ovetari home near Duomo; AN Reg. 46, 337', 20 Oct. 1390, appointment of \textit{gastaldo} to rent monastic lands.
\item[181] AN Reg. 262, ff. 75'-78, 79'-80', 10 Sept. and 8 Oct. 1391.
\item[182] AN Reg. 262, ff. 283, 312, 25 Apr. and 2 Nov. 1394.
\end{footnotes}
on her investment. In May 1401 when Guglielma’s dowry was conveyed to her husband, Bonfrancesco Lion, the two brothers, Niccolò, who was a student of civil law in the Studium, and Antonio, probably still a minor, with their mother’s approval, took equal shares in their father’s estate. The next year the brothers decided to enlarge the family palace at S. Fermo, acquiring a house next door for £800.

Distant from the ruling family at the Venetian conquest, the two brothers prospered in the early Quattrocento. Niccolò Ovetari continued his legal studies at the University, received his doctorate in civil law in 1411 and worked as a judge until his premature death in 1427. Antonio Ovetari became a cultural leader in Quattrocento Padua, who shortly before his death at mid-century commissioned Andrea Mantegna to decorate the family chapel in the Eremitani with scenes from the lives of St. James and St. Christopher. Beneath the brilliant frescoes lay buried his father, Biagio, the enterprising timber merchant from Cittadella who rose to riches under Carrara patronage.

19. Conclusions. This selective examination of the leaders of Padua under Francesco Novello reveals some striking similarities. First, probably because of the prestige and standing of Padua’s Studium, the elite was remarkably well educated. Almost all those named consiliarii had some training in civil or canon law, and all the household officials, except for Michele Rabatta, had gained the license or doctorate in law. Second, membership in the Carrara elite brought large economic rewards: in part from the lord’s bestowal of houses and farms, often confiscated from the regime’s enemies, in return for faithful service, in part from the purchase of rural property at bargain prices from impoverished peasants or disfavored citizens. Third, service to the Paduan lord enhanced status. Following the fluid definitions of nobility in the late Trecento, almost all those men studied in this essay were at one time or another assigned the title of „nobilis“

183 AN Reg. 259, ff. 62’–63’ and 63’–64’, 27 and 23 Feb. 1395.
184 Gloria, Monumenti 2, p. 383 Nr. 2152, 9 May 1401, from AN Reg. 259, f. 102.
185 AN 259, ff. 111–13, 28 Feb. 1402.
in the notarial documents. This honorific status was applied universally to members of the older families of local notables, the Buzzacarini, Papafava, Conti, Dotti and Lion, and by the end of the century to the Ovetari and Mezzoconti. Michele Rabatta’s knighthood, and status as a soldier, was always recognized by the title “miles”, while those with legal training were defined by their degrees: “legum doctor” for Ottonello Descalzi and Ognibene Scola, and “licenciatus in iure civile” for Enrico Gallo and Baldo Bonafari. Fourth, the regime’s elite was made more cohesive through widespread intermarriage. The sons and daughters of virtually all the household officials married the offspring of other members of the Carrara elite. This prevalent endogamy perhaps served to stabilize the composition of the elite during the crisis by the Venetian conquest of Padua and subsequent extermination of the Carrara dynasty. Of the individuals treated here only Luca Lion and Michele Rabatta chose exile at the demise of the Carrara regime, while Enrico Gallo’s fate is unknown. Almost all of Carrara elite accommodated themselves to Venetian rule, and some, Proscocimo Conti, Francesco Dotti, Ognibene Scola, and Antonio Ovetari, assumed a major role in the governing Padua in the early Quattrocento. Thus, there was little dislocation of Padua’s ruling elite in the transition from Carrara to Venetian rule.\textsuperscript{187} Ironically, the governing class that Francesco Novello had cultivated so carefully survived his execution to prosper in Padua under Venetian dominion.

\textbf{RIASSUNTO}

La restaurazione di Francesco Novello da Carrara a Signore di Padova nel 1390 portò alla ricostituzione della elite dominante di regime in quattro settori differenti. Più vicina al Signore era la sua stretta famiglia, i fratellastri e figli, che prestavano servizio come capitani nell’esercito e come ecclesiastici di spicco, affiancati da membri della famiglia materna, i Buzzacarini e i suoi cugini, i Papafava dei Carraresi. Determinanti nei compiti di governo, come diplomatici, soldati ed ufficiali economici furono i membri di famiglie nobili

\textsuperscript{187} This point has been made by Ventura, Nobiltà e popolo, p. 64–67, and B. G. Kohl, Government and Society in Renaissance Padua, Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 2 (1972) p. 214–15.
locali: I Dotti, i Lion, ed i Conti, che avevano altresì prestato servizio sotto suo padre. Centrali per il governo di palazzo erano i membri del nuovo „privy council“ del Signore, come il suo cancelliere Enrico Gallo, il tesoriere Baldo Bonafari e i capi diplomatici Michele Rabatta e Ognibene Scola, ai quali si aggiunsero „homines novi“, provenienti dal contado, i Zabarella, Descalzi, Ovetari e Mezzoconti che prestavano il loro servizio nella cancelleria e sovrintendevano agli interessi economici di Carrara. Complessivamente la nuova elite comprendeva persone facoltose per le proprietà terriere ed il commercio, che avevano potuto svolgere studi universitari, specialmente di diritto civile, ed avevano raggiunto lo stato nobiliare all'interno della società locale. L'elite padovana fu ulteriormente rafforzata da numerosi legami matrimoniali tanto che i suoi membri riuscirono a superare il trauma del crollo della dinastia dei Carrara nel novembre del 1405, per diventare „leader“ di Padova sotto il dominio veneziano.
Genealogy II
The Conti (Abridged)

Alberto, d.1389

Manfrino

Naimiero the Elder, d. 1394
Carrara factor general = Antonia, d. 1402

Artuso, d. 1390

Manfredino, d. 1380 = Orsola

Prosdocimo, (ca. 1370–1438)
= (1) Orsola Zacco
= (2) Beatrice di Mastino Visconti

Engolfo, d. post 1404
= Lulla di Francesco da Castellato

Antonio, d. post 1404 = Sofia

Alberto Francesco

Manfrino

Antonio Francesco Lucia Niccolò

Alberto Francesco
Genealogy III

The Dotti (Abridged)

Dotto

Paolo, d. 1371
= Diamante

Francesco, (1345–1416)
Antonio, d. 1379
Beatrice = Antonio di Giudecca
= (1) Giovanna di Giovanni della Torre, Giacomo Francesco d. 1388 = (2) 1390 Caterina dal Verme
Margherita = 1378

(1) Iacopina = Giovanni = Alberto
= Benevenuta = Diamante = Paolo, prof. of law, d.c. 1455
= Antonio = Cavalcabò Cavalcabò

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Genealogy IV

The Lion (Abridged)

Lieta = Francesco Rogati

Francesco detto Checco, d. 1387 = (1) Antoinia Valentina = (2) Pasqua Brazolo, d. ante 1362 = (3) Caterina Malsperoni

Giacomo, d.c. 1392 Giacoma = Guglielmo Ongarelli

Bonfrancesco, canon lawyer = 1401 Guglielma di Biagio Ovetari

Giovanni, d. ante 1389, Carrara Seneschal

Antonio Paolo = (1) Margherita Turchi = (2) Anna di Pietro della Ganza

Luca Francesco, fi. 1402

Margherita Francesca

Prosdocimo

Costanza

Genealogy IV