

Thus, not even physical pain had succeeded in bending Menocchio. He hadn't named names, or, more precisely, he had named only one—that of the lord of Montereale—which seems to have been done intentionally to deter the judges from probing too deeply. Doubtless, he had something to hide: but probably he wasn't too far from the truth when he declared that he had "read on [his] own."

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By his silence Menocchio had wanted to underscore for his judges, to the very end, that his ideas had been conceived in isolation, strictly through contact with books. But as we saw, he projected onto the written page, elements taken from oral tradition.

It is this tradition, deeply rooted in the European countryside, that explains the tenacious persistence of a peasant religion intolerant of dogma and ritual, tied to the cycles of nature, and fundamentally pre-Christian. In many cases, it was a matter of actual estrangement from Christianity, as with those herdsmen in the rural areas around Eboli who in mid-seventeenth century appeared to some astonished Jesuits as "men who had nothing human about them except their form, not very different in their capacities and knowledge from the beasts that they tended: totally ignorant not only of prayers, or of the other special mysteries of the holy faith, but also of the very knowledge of God." But one can discover traces of this peasant religion, which had assimilated and reshaped elements—not the least of which were Christian elements—from without even in situations of lesser geographical and cultural isolation. The old English peasant who thought of God as "a kindly old man," of Christ as "a handsome youth," of the soul as "a big bone stuck in the body," and of the hereafter as "a beautiful green field" where he would go if he had behaved well, certainly wasn't ignorant of Christian doctrines: he simply translated them into images that corresponded to his experiences, to his aspirations, to his fantasies.

We witness a similar process in Menocchio's confessions. Of course, his case is much more complicated. It involves both the mediation of the printed page and the disintegration of much of traditional religion under the blows dealt by the more radical currents within the Reformation. But the pattern is the same, and it isn't an exceptional case.

Some twenty years before Menocchio's trial, an unknown rustic in the Lucchese countryside who hid behind the pseudonym Scolio spoke

of his visions in a long, still unpublished poem, the *Settemario*, rich in religious and moral overtones, here and there punctuated with Dantean echoes. It hammers away at its central argument that the various religions have a common base in the Ten Commandments. Appearing in a cloud of gold God explains to Scolio:

Many prophets have I already sent
Diverse, because varied were those,
To whom I directed my prophets
And I also gave them different laws
Just as the physician various purgatives
Prescribes according to the nature of one's constitution.
The emperor sends out three captains
Into Africa, into Asia, and into Europe:
To the Jews, to the Turks, and to Christians
Each one makes a copy of his law,
And depending on the variety and strangeness of the customs
Dispenses to each people a different and appropriate version of it:
But gives Ten Commandments to each of them
The same, but which they comment on separately.
But God is one, and only one is his faith...

Thus, among the "captains" sent out by the "emperor" there is also Mohammed, "Reputed by criminals to be wicked amidst the good." Yet he was a prophet and a great warrior of God," named at the end of a list that includes Moses, Elias, David, Solomon, Christ, Joshua, Abraham, and Noah. Turks and Christians are exhorted to stop their fighting and become reconciled:

You Turk and you Christian by my decree
Do not go on as you have in the past:
Turk take a step forward
And you Christian take a step backward.

All this is attainable since the Ten Commandments are the basis not only of the three great Mediterranean religions (we recall the tradition of the fable of the three rings) but also of religions that have appeared and that are yet to come: the fourth, not specifically named; the fifth, which "God gave to us in our time" and which is identified with Scolio's prophecy; and the two in the future that will complete the prophetic number seven. As we see, Scolio's religious message is very simple. It suffices to obey the Ten Commandments, "nature's great precepts." Dogmas, beginning with the Trinitarian one, are rejected:

Do not adore or believe but in one God
Who has neither companion, friend nor son:
Everyone is his son, servant, and friend

Who obeys his precepts and what has been said and I say,
Neither worship others nor a Holy Spirit
If I am indeed God, God is everywhere.

Baptism and the Eucharist are the only sacraments mentioned. The former is reserved for adults:

Let everyone be circumcised on the eighth day
And then be baptized near thirty years of age,
As God and the prophets commanded
And as was done to Christ by St. John.

The Eucharist is substantially devalued: "And if I told you," Christ declares

That the blessed bread
Was my body, and the wine my blood,
I said it to you because it was pleasing to me
And it was a pious food and sacrifice,
But I did not command it as a precept
But because the bread and wine resemble God.
Now of what importance are your disputes
So long as you observe the Ten Commandments.

This is not simply impatience with theological discussions about the real presence; through the mouth of Christ, Scolio reaches the point of denying any sacramental value to baptism and the Eucharist:

My baptism with sacrifice,
My death and the host and my communion,
Was not a commandment, but an office
To perform sometimes in memory of me.

What counts for the purposes of salvation, once again, is the literal observance of the Ten Commandments, without "gloss or comment of any kind," without interpretations dictated by "syllogisms or strange logic." Religious ceremonies are considered useless; the cult must be very simple:

Let there be neither columns nor figures,
Neither organs, music, nor instruments,
Neither bell towers, bells, nor pictures,
Neither reliefs, friezes, nor ornaments:
Let all things be simple and pure
So that only the Ten Commandments may be heard...

The Word of God is extremely simple, God who asked Scolio to write his book in a language that was not "Puffed up, obscure, pedantic, or affected/But rather open and plain."

Despite certain similarities (probably independent of direct connections; at any rate they are undocumented) with Anabaptist doctrines, Scolio's statements seem to spring rather from that underground current of peasant radicalism to which we have also traced Menocchio. For Scolio, the pope isn't the Antichrist (even if, as we shall see momentarily, his figure is destined to disappear in the future); the exercise of authority is not, as it was for Anabaptists, inherently to be condemned. Of course, those in power must govern paternally:

If my Lord made you his steward
And handed administration over to you,
If he made you duke, pope, or emperor,
Endowed you with humanity and discretion,
If he gave you strength, intelligence, good will, honor,
You must be a father and defender to us,
What you have is not yours, it belongs to others and is mine,
Everything beyond your just due is of God.

The society imagined by Scolio was, in fact, the pious and austere one of the peasant utopias: rid of the useless professions ("Let there be no shops or manual trades/Except the most important and principal ones;/Esteem as vanities all the knowledge/Of physicians and do without doctors"), based on farmers and warriors, governed by a single ruler, who will be Scolio himself.

let gambling, whores, and the inn,
The drunkard and the buffoon be swept away,
And let him who plies the farmer's art
Surpass every art in utility and honor;
And those who fight for the faith
Be worthy of great praise and great reward;
Pride, pomp, debauchery with ostentation,
Superstition and vainglory, let them be swept away...
Let great dinners and great suppers be prohibited
Because they are full of drunkenness and guzzling,
Music and dancing, perfumes, baths, and games;
Dressing and footwear, let them be poor and few;
Let a single carnal man be sole sovereign,
Over the temporal and the spiritual,
Let one man be sole monarch and sole lord
And let there be a single fold and a single pastor.

In this future society injustices will disappear: "the age of gold" will return. The law, "brief, clear, and common to all" shall be:
In everybody's hands
Because through it they will produce good fruits;

And let it be in the vernacular, thus understood by all,
So that they may flee from evil and pursue the good.

A rigid egalitarianism will abolish economic differences:

Man or woman, suffice that it be a mouth
And entitled to its share in life.
It is not fitting for anyone to have more
Than an honest portion of food and clothing,
Or to eat better, dress better, or dwell better.
For, whoever wants to command must first obey.
It is impious and inhuman that you should have a surfeit,
Or that others or I should be made to suffer for you;
God has made us rich and not servants as before:
Why then do you want someone to fatten you up and serve you?
...and whether one is born in city, villa, or castle
And is low or high in birth,
Let there be no difference between one and another
And let no one have the least advantage.

But this sober and pious society is only one aspect—the terrestrial one—of Scolio's peasant utopia. The otherworldly one is very different: "It is only permitted in heaven, not in this world./To be full of abundance and joy." The life of the hereafter revealed to Scolio in one of his first visions is, in fact, a domain of abundance and of pleasure:

God led me on the following Saturday
To such a mountain where the whole world can be seen,
Where there was a paradise, and so beautiful a place
Surrounded by a wall of ice and fire.
Beautiful palaces and beautiful gardens
And orchards and woods, fields, rivers, and ponds,
Celestial foods and precious wines
There were, and dinners and feasts and great wealth;
The rooms of gold, of silk, and linens,
Choice maidens and pages and beds, and great
Trees, and grasses and animals, and all
Renew their fruits ten times each day.

This is an echo of the paradise in the Koran—joined here to a peasant dream of material opulence, characteristically expressed immediately after with features reminiscent of a myth we have previously encountered. The God that appears to Scolio is an androgynous divinity, a "domnhorna" with "its hands open and fingers raised." From every finger symbolizing one of the Ten Commandments, a river gushes forth from which living beings will drink:

The first river is full of sweet honey,
Hard and liquid sugar the second,
Of ambrosia the third, and nectar the fourth,

The fifth manna, the sixth bread that in this world
Has never been seen, the whitest and least heavy
That causes the dead to return joyous.

It was well said by a man of a holy place
That the face of bread represents God.
The seventh is of precious waters,
The eighth is fresh and pure butter,
Partridges the ninth, fat and tasty,
No wonder, as they came out of Paradise,
Milk is the tenth, and precious stones
Are their beds where I always wish to be,
The banks of lilies and roses, gold and violet,
Silver and flowers and splendor of the sun.

This paradise (and Scolio was well aware of it) greatly resembled the land of Cockaigne.

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The similarities between Scolio's prophecies and Menocchio's discourses are evident. They can't be explained, obviously, by the existence of common sources—the *Divine Comedy*, the Koran—that were certainly known to Scolio and probably to Menocchio. The crucial element is a common store of traditions, myths, and aspirations handed down orally over generations. In both cases, it was contact with written culture through their schooling, that permitted this deeply rooted deposit of oral culture to emerge. Menocchio must have attended an elementary school; about his own experiences Scolio wrote:

I was made a shepherd and later a student,
Then made an artisan and later a shepherd
Over all sorts of beasts, and then a student,
And later an artisan and then shepherd again,
I learned the seven mechanical arts
And then became shepherd and later a student again.

"Philosopher, astrologer, and prophet." Menocchio described himself; Scolio calls himself "astrologer, philosopher, and poet," as well as "prophet of prophets." Still, there are some obvious differences. Scolio gives the impression of being confined to a rural environment, without, or virtually without, contacts with the city; Menocchio traveled; he made several trips to Venice. Scolio denies any possible value to books that are not the four sacred books, namely the Old and New Testaments, the Koran and his own *Settemario*:

By obeying God you can make yourself wise
And not through books and study.
And let us forbid and remove every doctor,
Who would compose or study,
Every reader, author, and printer
Who would write or print a book,
Every logician, debater, preacher
Who would dispute or preach
On anything but the three holy books I have named,
And this book of mine, that is, of God.

Menocchio purchased the *Fiorello della Bibbia* but was loaned the *Decameron* and Mandeville's *Travels*; he declared that Scripture could be contained in four words, but also felt the need to acquire the inherited knowledge of his adversaries, the inquisitors. In the case of Menocchio, in short, we perceive a free and aggressive spirit intent on squaring things with the culture of the dominant classes; in the case of Scolio, we find a more reserved position, which expends its polemical charge in a moralizing condemnation of urban culture and in the longing for an egalitarian and patriarchal society. Even if the outlines of Menocchio's "new world" elude us, we are tempted to suppose that it differs, at least partly, from the one described in Scolio's desperately anachronistic utopia.

Another miller, Pellegrino Baroni, called Pighino, "the fat," who lived in a village in the Modenese Appennines, Savignano sul Panaro, seems to resemble Menocchio more closely. In 1570 he was tried by the Holy Office in Ferrara, but already nine years before he had been compelled to abjure certain of his errors in matters of the faith. His fellow villagers considered him "a poor Christian," "a heretic," "a Lutheran," some described him as "an eccentric and weak-minded," or actually "more a fool than anything else." As a matter of fact, Pighino was anything but stupid: during the trial he succeeded in matching wits with the inquisitors showing besides great strength of will, a subtle, almost cunning, intelligence. But it's not hard to imagine the confusion of the villagers or the indignation of the parish priest when faced by Pighino's ideas. He denied the intercession of the saints, confession, the fasting prescribed by the Church—if we stopped here we'd be within the realm of a generic sort of "Lutheranism." He also insisted, however, that all the sacraments, including the Eucharist (but not baptism, apparently), had been instituted by the Church, rather than by Christ, and that they were unnecessary for salvation. He affirmed, moreover, that in paradise "we will all be equal, and grace will be had by the great and the humble alike"; that the Virgin Mary "was born of a serving maid"; that "there is neither hell nor purgatory; they were invented by priests and monks for the sake of money"; that "if Christ had been a worthy man, he would not have been

cutified"; that "when the body dies the soul perishes with it"; and finally that "all religions were good for those who observed them inviolably." Although he was tortured on more than one occasion, Pighino obstinately denied having accomplices and asserted that his opinions were the result of illumination received while reading the Gospels in the vernacular—one of the four books he had read. The other three were the Psalter, the grammar by Aelius Donatus, and the *Fiorello della Bibbia*.

Pighino's fate differed from Menocchio's. Condemned to reside for life in the village of Savignano, he fled to escape the hostility of the other villagers; but almost at once he reappeared before the Holy Office of Ferrara, his torturers, to plead for forgiveness. He was a beaten man. The inquisitor, charitably, ended by finding a position for him as a servant with the bishop of Modena. These two millers ended differently; but the similarities in their lives are surprising, probably something more than an extraordinary coincidence.

The primitive state of communications in preindustrial Europe caused even the smallest centers of habitation to have at least one mill powered by water or wind. The occupation of miller, consequently, was one of the most widespread, and their prominence in medieval heretical sects and, in even greater measure, among Anabaptists is not surprising. All the same, when in mid-sixteenth century such a satirical poet as the previously mentioned Andrea da Bergamo asserted that "a true miller is half-Lutheran," he seemed to be alluding to something more specific.

The age-old hostility between peasants and millers had solidified an image of the miller—shrewd, thieving, cheating, destined by definition for the fires of hell. It's a negative stereotype that is widely corroborated in popular traditions, legends, proverbs, fables, and stories. "I descended into hell and saw the Antichrist," so went a Tuscan popular song

And he had a miller by the beard,
And a German under his feet,
Here and there an innkeeper and a butcher:
I asked him which was the most wicked,
And he said to me: "Listen and now I'll tell you.
Look who is grabbing with his hands,
It's the miller of the white flour.
Look who is stealing with his hands,
It's the miller of the white flour.
He passes the quarter off as a full bushel;
The biggest thief of all is the miller."

The charge of heresy was wholly consistent with a stereotype such as this. Contributing to it was the fact that the mill was a place of meeting, of social relations, in a world that was predominantly closed and static. Like the inn and the shop it was a place for the exchange of ideas. The peasants who

jostled before the gates of the mill, on "the soft ground muddied by the piss of the village mules" (still Andrea da Bergamo speaking) waiting to have their grain ground, must have talked about many things. And the miller, too, must have had his say. It isn't difficult to imagine scenes such as one that took place a certain day at Pighino's mill. Turning to a group of peasants, Pighino had begun to grumble "about priests and monks" until one of the villagers, Domenico de Masaffis, came back and convinced the bystanders to go on their way, saying "Look, boys, you'd better leave the recitation of the Office to priests and monks, and not speak badly about them, and ignore Pellegrino di Grassi" (namely Pighino). Their working conditions made millers—like innkeepers, tavern keepers, and itinerant artisans—an occupational group especially receptive to new ideas and inclined to propagate them. Moreover, mills, generally located on the peripheries of settled areas and far from prying eyes, were well suited to shelter clandestine gatherings. The case in Modena where, in 1192, the persecution of the Cathari led to the devastation of the mills of the Patarnes (*molendina paternorum*) must not have been exceptional.

Finally, the particular social position of the millers tended to isolate them from the communities in which they lived. We've already mentioned the traditional hostility of the peasants. To this should be added the bond of direct dependence that tied millers to the local feudal lords who, for centuries, had retained possession over the milling privilege. We don't know if this was the situation also in Montereale: the mill to full cloth rented by Menocchio and his son, for example, was privately owned. Nevertheless, an attempt, such as the one to convince the lord of the village, Giovan Francesco, count of Montereale, that "we do not know which is the true faith," on the basis of the story of the three rings, probably had been made possible by the atypical nature of Menocchio's social position. His occupation as miller set him apart at once from the anonymous mass of peasants with whom Giovan Francesco di Montereale would never have dreamed of discussing questions of religion. But Menocchio was also a peasant who worked the land—"a peasant dressed in white," as he was described by the ex-lawyer Alessandro Policroto who had met him briefly before the trial. All this may help us to understand the complicated relationship between Menocchio and the community of Montereale. Even if no one, except Melchiorre Gerbas, had ever approved of his ideas (but it's difficult to estimate possible reticence in the testimony before the inquisitors), a great deal of time passed, perhaps as much as thirty years, before Menocchio had first been denounced to the religious authorities. And it was the priest of the village, put up to it by another cleric, who finally accused him. To the peasants of

Montereale, Menocchio's statements, despite their peculiarity, must not have seemed so alien to their existence, to their beliefs and hopes.

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✠ In the case of the miller of Savignano sul Panaro, the connections with cultivated and socially prominent circles had been even closer. In 1565 fra Gerolamo da Montalcino, on a visit of the diocese for the bishop of Modena, met Pighino who was pointed out to him as a "concubine-keeping Lutheran." In his account of the visit, the monk described him as "a poor, ailing peasant, ugly as sin, and short in stature" and he added: "while speaking with him he astounded me, saying things that were false but ingenious, which led me to suppose that he learned them in some gentleman's home." Five years later, when he was tried by the Holy Office in Ferrara, Pighino affirmed that he had been a servant in the homes of several Bolognese gentlemen: Natale Cavazzoni, Giacomo Mondino, Antonio Bonasone, Vincenzo Bolognetti, and Giovanni d'Avolio. When he was asked if religious discussions had taken place in the homes of any of them, he denied it emphatically, even under the threat of torture. He was then confronted with the monk who had met him in Savignano years before. Fra Gerolamo declared that at that time Pighino had said he had learned those "false but ingenious" things in the home of a Bolognese gentleman, from a person who gave certain unspecified "readings" there. The monk's memory had faded; too much time had passed. He had forgotten both the name of the gentleman in question, as well as that of the person—a priest, he thought—who had given the "readings." But Pighino denied everything: "Father, I don't remember at all." Not even the torture of fire to which he was subjected (he was spared the strappado because he had a hernia) induced him to confess.

But there can be no doubt that he was holding back information. There may be a way to see through his reticence, however. The day after his encounter with the monk (11 September 1570) the inquisitors again asked Pighino to name the Bolognese gentlemen in whose homes he had served. He repeated the list, with a variation that went unnoticed: he named Vincenzo Bonini in the place of Vincenzo Bolognetti. This makes us suspect that Bolognetti may indeed have been the gentleman whom Pighino was trying to protect by his silence. If this is so (there's no proof of

it) who then had given the "readings" that had made such a strong impression on Pighino?

One possibility is the famous heretic Paolo Ricci, better known as Camillo Renato. After arriving in Bologna in 1538, Ricci (who was then going by the humanistic name of Lisia Fileno) remained for two years as tutor to the children of various noble families: the Danesi, Lambertini, Manzoli, and Bolognetti. It was to the Bolognetti that he alluded in a passage of the *Apologia*, which he wrote in 1540 in his own defense before the Holy Office. In it, Fileno, taking as his point of departure the ingenuously anthropomorphic beliefs of the peasants and the masses who attributed to the Madonna power equal or superior to Christ's, proposed a Christocentric religion, free of superstitions: "Again, I have heard with my own ears that most of the peasants and all the masses firmly believe that the blessed Mary is equal to Jesus Christ in power and in bestowing grace, and some even believe that she is greater. This is the reason that they give: the earthly mother may not only ask but even compell her son to do something; and so the law of motherhood demands that the mother is greater than the son. They say, we believe it is the same in heaven between the blessed Virgin Mary and her son Jesus Christ." In the margin he noted, "I heard in Bologna 1540 in the home of the knight Bolognetti." This is a specific recollection, as we see. Could Pighino have been one of the "peasants" encountered by Fileno in Bolognetti's house? If this is the case, we would have in the reticent confessions made to the Ferrarese inquisitors by the miller of Savignano, an echo of discussions heard from Fileno thirty years before. It's true that Pighino traced his heretical opinions to a more recent date—first eleven, then twenty or twenty-two years before—coinciding with the first time he read the Gospels in the vernacular. But his uncertainty over this date may have been concealing a deliberate plan to confuse the inquisitors. The fact that Paolo Ricci-Lisia Fileno was a defrocked monk, rather than a priest as fra Gerolamo da Montalcino had stated, doesn't pose a problem since the latter was simply making a conjecture.

Indeed, even the possibility of an encounter and of a discussion between the sophisticated humanist Lisia Fileno and the miller Pighino Baroni, "the fat," is also a conjecture, however fascinating. What is certain, at least, is that in October 1540 Fileno was arrested "in the Modenese countryside, where he was subverting the peasants," as Giovanni Domenico Sigibaldi wrote to cardinal Morone. There was another person with Fileno "performing the same Lutherizing office": "his name was Turchetto, son of a Turcho or Turcha." In all probability he was Giorgio Filaletto, nicknamed Turca, author of that mysterious Italian translation of Servetus's *De Trinitatis erroribus*, which Menocchio may have seen at one

time. In so many different ways we keep running into those delicate threads that in this period tie heretics of humanistic background to the world of the peasants.

But after everything that has been said thus far we shouldn't have to insist on the impossibility of ascribing manifestations of peasant religious radicalism to influences from outside—and above. Pighino's ideas also testify to the fact that he was not just passively receiving motifs that were then current in heretical circles. His most original statements—on Mary's humble birth, on the equality of the "great" and the "small" in paradise—clearly reflect the peasant egalitarianism being voiced in these very years by Scilio's *Settemario*. Thus, the notion that "when the body dies the soul also dies" has the appearance of being inspired by an instinctive peasant materialism. In this instance, however, the course followed by Pighino was more complicated. First of all, his belief in the mortality of the soul seemed to clash with that of the equality of the blessed in paradise. To the inquisitor who pointed out this contradiction to him, Pighino explained: "I believed that the souls of the saved have to remain in paradise for a long time, but that finally, when it shall please God, they will have to vanish into nothing, and not feel any pain." A little earlier he had admitted believing "that the soul finally has to come to an end and be resolved into nothing; and I thought this was because of our Lord's words, where he said 'Heaven and earth will pass, but my Word will not pass.' So I concluded that if heaven had to end some time, so much more should our soul." All this recalls the doctrine of the sleep of souls after death, which had been taught by Fileno in Bologna, as we know from his *Apologia* of 1540. This could constitute one more element in favor of identifying Pighino's unknown "teacher" as Fileno. But it's noteworthy that Pighino's position was much more radically materialistic than the doctrines circulating among the heretical groups of the time. In fact, he asserted the final annihilation of the souls of the *blessed*—and not just of the *dammned*, as did the Venetian Anabaptists, who reserved resurrection for the souls of the just on Judgment Day. It's possible that Pighino misconstrued, especially after such a long interval, the significance of the discussions, undoubtedly packed with recondite philosophical terms, which he had heard in Bologna. But in any case it was a noteworthy distortion, just as was the type of Scriptural argument that he used. Fileno wrote in his *Apologia* that he had seen with his own eyes references to the doctrine of the sleep of souls not only in patristic writings, but also in Scripture itself, without specifying where. Pighino, instead, didn't appeal to a passage such as the one in which St. Paul comforts the brethren of the church of Thessalonica by speaking to them of the final resurrection of those sleeping in Christ. He cited a much less obvious passage, one in which the


soul wasn't even mentioned. Why deduce the final annihilation of the soul from the annihilation of the world? Most likely Pighino had reflected on passages in the *Fioretto della Bibbia*—one of the very few books that he had read, as we recall (even if he had said earlier, perhaps out of prudence, that although he owned it, he "hadn't read it").

"And all the things that God created out of nothing," the *Fioretto* declared, "are eternal and will endure forever. And these are the eternal things, angels, light, world, man, soul." Slightly before, however, a different thesis had been offered: "there are some things that have a beginning and an end; and these are the world, and created things that are visible. There are other things that have a beginning and will not have an end, and these are the angels and our souls that will never have an end." Later on, among the "great errors" held by "many philosophers" regarding the creation of souls, the following were mentioned: "that all souls are one and that the elements are five, the four mentioned above, and in addition one other, which is called *orbis*: and they say that out of this *orbis* God made the soul of Adam and all the others. And for this reason they say that the world will never end, because when man dies he returns to his elements." The Averroist philosophers refuted by the *Fioretto* taught that if the soul is immortal, the world is eternal; if the world is to perish (as the *Fioretto* asserted at one point) the soul is mortal, Pighino "concluded." This radical reversal implies a reading of the *Fioretto* that, at least in part, resembled Menocchio's: "I believe that the whole world, that is air, earth, and all the beauties of this world are God . . . because we say that man is made in the image and likeness of God, and in man there is air, fire, earth, and water, and it follows from this that air, earth, fire, and water are God." From the identity of man with the world, based on the four elements, Menocchio had deduced ("and it follows from this") the oneness of the world and of God. Pighino's deduction ("I concluded") of the final mortality of the soul from the finiteness of the world implied an identity between man and the world. Pighino, more cautious than Menocchio, didn't mention the relationship between God and the world.

To suggest that Pighino and Menocchio read the *Fioretto* in a similar manner may seem arbitrary. But it is significant that both should have fallen into the same contradiction, one immediately pounced upon by the inquisitors in both the Friuli and in Ferrara. What sense does it make to speak of paradise if the immortality of the soul is denied, they asked? We've seen how this objection drew Menocchio into an inextricable tangle of new contradictions. Pighino resolved the dilemma by speaking of a temporary paradise followed by the final annihilation of souls.

Truly these two millers, who had lived hundreds of kilometers apart and died without ever meeting, spoke the same language and

shared the same culture. Pighino said: "I have not read any books except those I mentioned above, nor did I learn these errors from anybody; they came from my own imaginings or else the devil put these things into my head, as I believe: because many times he pursued me and I fought him in certain apparitions and visions, night and day, fighting him as if he were a man. In the end I began to realize that he was a spirit." As for Menocchio: "I have never associated with anyone who was a heretic, but I have an artful mind, and I wanted to seek out higher things about which I did not know . . . I uttered those words because I was tempted . . . It was the evil spirit who made me believe those things. . . . The devil or something tempted me . . . The false spirit was always after me to make me think what was false and not true. . . . I thought I was a prophet, because the evil spirit made me see vanities and dreams. . . . May I die if I have either followers or companions, but I have read on my own. . . ." And Pighino, again: "I wanted to infer that every man is obliged to remain under his own religion, meaning the Hebrew, the Turkish, and every other faith. . . ." And Menocchio: "It would be as if four soldiers were fighting, two on each side; and if one from one side went over to the other, wouldn't he be a traitor? So I thought that if a Turk abandoned his law and made himself a Christian, he would be doing wrong, and so I also thought that a Jew was wrong to make himself a Turk or a Christian, and all those who left their own faith. . . ." According to a witness, Pighino had maintained "that there is neither hell nor purgatory, and they were invented by priests and monks for the sake of money. . . ." He explained to the inquisitors: "I have never rejected paradise, although I said: 'Oh, God where can hell and purgatory be?' since it seemed to me that underground is packed with earth and water and there can be no hell or purgatory there, but that both are on earth while we live. . . ." As for Menocchio, he said: "Preaching that men should live in peace pleases me, but preaching about hell, Paul says one thing, Peter says another, so that I think it is a business, an invention of men who know more than others. . . . I did not believe that paradise existed, because I did not know where it was."

 We have seen cropping up repeatedly, from beneath a very profound difference in language, surprising similarities between basic currents in the peasant culture we have endeavored to reconstruct and those in the most progressive circles of sixteenth-century culture. To explain these similarities simply on the basis of movement from high to

low involves clinging to the unacceptable notion that ideas originate exclusively among the dominant classes. On the other hand, rejection of this simplistic explanation implies a much more complicated hypothesis about relationships in this period between the culture of the dominant classes and the culture of the subordinate classes.

It's more complicated and also, to some extent, indemonstrable. The state of the documentation reflects, obviously, the state of the relationship of power between the classes. An almost exclusively oral culture such as that of the subordinate classes of preindustrial Europe tends not to leave traces, or, at least, the traces left are distorted. Thus, there is a symptomatic value in a limited case such as Menocchio's. It forcefully poses a problem the significance of which is only now beginning to be recognized: that of the popular roots of a considerable part of high European culture, both medieval and postmedieval. Such figures as Rabelais and Brueghel probably weren't unusual exceptions. All the same, they closed an era characterized by hidden but fruitful exchanges, moving in both directions between high and popular cultures. The subsequent period was marked, instead, by an increasingly rigid distinction between the culture of the dominant classes and artisan and peasant cultures, as well as by the indoctrination of the masses from above. We can place the break between these two periods in the second half of the sixteenth century, basically coinciding with the intensification of social differentiation under the impulse of the price revolution. But the decisive crisis had occurred a few decades before, with the Peasants' War and the reign of the Anabaptists in Münster. At that time, while maintaining and even emphasizing the distance between the classes, the necessity of reconquering, ideologically as well as physically, the masses threatening to break loose from every sort of control from above was dramatically brought home to the dominant classes.

This renewed effort to achieve hegemony took various forms in different parts of Europe, but the evangelization of the countryside by the Jesuits and the capillary religious organization based on the family, achieved by the Protestant churches, can be traced to a single current. In terms of repression, the intensification of witchcraft trials and the rigid control over such marginal groups as vagabonds and gypsies corresponded to it. Menocchio's case should be seen against this background of repression and effacement of popular culture.

Despite the conclusion of the trial, Menocchio's case was not yet closed; in a certain sense, the most extraordinary part was about to begin. When evidence had begun to accumulate against Menocchio for the second time, the inquisitor of Aquileia and Concordia had written to Rome, to the Congregation of the Holy Office, to inform them of the new developments. On 5 June 1599 the cardinal of Santa Severina, a senior member of the Congregation, replied urging the earliest possible incarceration of "that person from the diocese of Concordia who had denied the divinity of Christ, our Lord," "his case is extremely serious, especially since he has been condemned as a heretic on another occasion." Moreover, he ordered that his books and "writings" be confiscated. The confiscation took place; as we saw, "writings"—we don't know of what sort—also were found. In view of Rome's interest in the case, the Friulian inquisitor sent a copy of three accusations against Menocchio to the Congregation. On 14 August another letter was received from the cardinal of Santa Severina: "that recidivist . . . has revealed himself to be an atheist in his examinations," it was thus necessary to proceed "according to the prescribed terms of the law also to discover the accomplices"; the case "is extremely serious," therefore "Your Reverence must send a copy of his trial or at least a summary of it." The month following, the news reached Rome that Menocchio had been condemned to death, but the sentence had not yet been carried out. The inquisitor in the Friuli was hesitating, perhaps out of a belated impulse toward leniency. On 5 September he wrote a letter (which hasn't survived) communicating his doubts to the Congregation of the Holy Office. The reply of the cardinal of Santa Severina, dated 30 October, written in the name of the entire Congregation, was peremptory: "I inform you by order of His Holiness, Our Lord, that you must not fail to proceed with that diligence required by the gravity of the case, so that he may not go unpunished for his horrible and execrable excesses, but that he may serve as an example to others in those parts by receiving a just and severe punishment. Therefore do not fail to carry it out with all the promptness and rigor of mind demanded by the importance of the case. And this is the express desire of His Holiness."

The supreme head of Catholicism, the pope himself, Clement VIII, was bending toward Menocchio, who had become a rotten member of Christ's body, to demand his death. In these very months in Rome the trial against the former monk Giordano Bruno was drawing to a close. It's a coincidence that seems to symbolize the twofold battle being fought against both high and low in this period by the Catholic hierarchy in an

effort to impose doctrines promulgated by the Council of Trent. This explains the persistence of the proceedings, which are otherwise incomprehensible, against the old miller. A short time later (13 November) the cardinal of Santa Severina renewed his insistence: "Your Reverence must not fail to proceed in the case of that peasant of the diocese of Concordia, suspected of having denied the virginity of the forever blessed Virgin Mary, the divinity of Christ our Lord, and the providence of God, in accordance with what I already wrote to you at the express order of His Holiness. The jurisdiction of the Holy Office over a case of such importance can in no way be doubted. Therefore, manfully perform everything that is required, according to the terms of the law."

It was impossible to resist such powerful pressure: and, shortly after, Menocchio was put to death. We know this with certainty from the depositions of a certain Donato Serotino who told the commissioner of the inquisitor of the Friuli on 6 July 1601 that being in Pordenone not long after "Scandella . . . had been executed by order of the Holy Office," he had met an innkeeper who told him that "in that town . . . there was a certain man named Marcato, or perhaps Marco, who believed that when the body died the soul also died with it."

About Menocchio we know many things. About this Marcato, or Marco—and so many others like him who lived and died without leaving a trace—we know nothing.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

ACAU	Archivio della Curia Arcivescovile, Udine
ACVP	Archivio della Curia Vescovile, Pordenone
ASM	Archivio di Stato, Modena
ASP	Archivio di Stato, Pordenone
ASVat	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
ASVen	Archivio di Stato, Venice
BCU	Biblioteca Comunale, Udine
BGL	Biblioteca Governativa, Lucca

PREFACE

1

xv. The common man, according to Vicens Vives, "se ha convertido en el principal protagonista de la Historia," (cited from P. Chaunu, "Une histoire religieuse sérielle," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 12 [1965]: 9, n. 2). The quote from Brecht is found in "Fragen eines lesenden Arbeiters," *Hundert Gedichte, 1918-1950* (Berlin, 1951), pp. 107-8. I see now that the same poem has also been used by J. Kaplow, *The Names of Kings: The Parisian Laboring Poor in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1973). See also H. M. Enzensberger, "Literatura come storiografia," *Il Menabò*, no. 9 (1966): 13.

2

I use A. Gramsci's term "subordinate classes" because it is broad enough in scope without having the more or less deliberately paternalistic connotations of "inferior

classes." On the themes elicited by the publication of Gramsci's notes on folklore and subordinate classes, see the discussion among E. De Martino, C. Lupatini, F. Fortini, and others (the list of participants is in L. M. Lombardi Satrani, *Antropologia culturale e analisi della cultura subalterna* [Rimini, 1974], p. 74, n. 34). For the modern dimensions of the question, many of which were effaciously anticipated by E. J. Hobsbawm ("Per lo studio delle classi subalterne," *Società* 16 [1960]: 436-49), see below.

The trials against Menocchio are preserved in the Archivio della Curia Arcivescovile Udine (henceforth cited as ACALU), *Sant'Uffizio, Anno intero 1583 a n. 107 usque ad 128 incl.*, Trial no. 126 and *Anno intero 1596 a n. 281 usque ad 306 incl.*, Trial no. 285. The only scholar to mention them (although without having seen them) is A. Battistella, *Il S. Officio e la riforma religiosa in Friuli: Appunti storici documentati* (Udine, 1895), p. 65, who mistakenly states that Menocchio was not executed.

xvi.

The literature on these issues is obviously vast. For an easily accessible introduction, see A. M. Cirese, "Alterità e dislivelli interni di cultura nelle società superiori," in *Folklore e antropologia tra storicismo e marxismo*, ed. A. M. Cirese (Palermo, 1972), pp. 11-42; L. M. Lombardi Satrani, *Antropologia culturale e analisi della cultura subalterna* (Rimini, 1974); P. Rossi, ed., *Il concetto di cultura: I fondamenti teorici della scienza antropologica* (Turin, 1970). The concept of folklore as "an incoherent fragmentary mass of theories" etc., was adopted, with some variation, even by A. Gramsci: see *Letteratura e vita nazionale* (Turin, 1950), pp. 215 ff. Cf. Lombardi Satrani, *Antropologia culturale*, pp. 16 ff.

xvii. Largely oral: See, in this regard, C. Bernani, "Dieci anni di lavoro con le fonti orali," *Primo Maggio* 5 (spring, 1975): 35-50.

R. Mandrou, *De la culture populaire aux 17^e et 18^e siècles: La Bibliothèque bleue de Troyes* (Paris, 1964) emphasizes that "culture populaire" and "culture de masse" are not synonymous. (It may be noted that "culture de masse" and the corresponding Italian term are equivalent rather to the Anglo-American expression "popular culture"—a source of great confusion.) "Culture populaire," which is an older term, designates in a "populist" perspective, "la culture qui est l'oeuvre du peuple." Mandrou uses the same term with a "broader" (actually different) meaning: "la culture des milieux populaires dans la France de l'Ancien Régime, nous l'entendons . . . ici, comme la culture acceptée, digérée, assimilée, par ces milieux pendant des siècles" (pp. 9-10). In this way, popular culture almost ends up being identified with mass culture. This is anachronistic since mass culture in the modern sense presupposes a cultural industry that certainly did not exist in the France of the Ancien Régime (see also p. 174). Even the term "superstructure" (p. 11) is equivocal. From Mandrou's point of view it would have been better to speak of a false consciousness. For the literature of *colportage* as escapist literature, and simultaneously as a reflection of a view of the world held by the popular classes, see pp. 162-63. In any case Mandrou is well aware of the limitations of his pioneering study, which, as such, is indeed praiseworthy. See by G. Bollème, "Littérature populaire et littérature de colportage au XVIII^e siècle," in *Livre et société dans la France du XVIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris and The Hague, 1965) 1:61-92; idem, *Les Almanachs populaires aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, essai d'histoire sociale* (Paris and The Hague, 1969); an anthology, idem, *La Bibliothèque bleue: La littérature populaire en France du XVII^e au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1971); "Représentation religieuse et thèmes d'espérance dans la 'Bibliothèque bleue': Littérature populaire en France du XVII^e au XIX^e siècle," in *La société religieuse nella età moderna. Atti del convegno di studi di storia sociale e religiosa, Capaccio—Pastum, 18-21 maggio 1972* (Naples, 1973), pp. 219-43. The studies contained in this volume

are of uneven quality. The best is the one introducing the anthology of the *Bibliothèque bleue* (at pp. 22-23 are remarks on the type of use that was probably made of these texts), which, however, contains statements such as these: "à la limite, l'histoire qu'entend ou lit le lecteur n'est que celle qu'il veut qu'on lui raconte. . . . En ce sens on peut dire que l'écriture, au même titre que la lecture, est collective, faite par et pour tous, diffuse, diffusée, sue, dite, échangée, non gardée, et qu'elle est en quelque sorte spontanée. . . ." (ibid.). The unacceptable distortions in a populist-Christian direction contained, for example, in the essay "Représentation religieuse" are based on sophistry of this kind. Impossible as it seems, A. Dupront has criticized Bollème for having attempted to characterize "l'histoire dans ce qui est peut-être l'anthistorique, manière de fonds commun quasi indéfinissable de traditions. . ." ("Livre et culture dans la société Française du 18^e siècle," in *Livre et société* 1:203-4).

xviii. On "popular literature" see the important essay by N. Z. Davis, "Printing and the People," in her *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 1975), pp. 189-206, which is based on premises in part similar to those in this book.

L. James, *Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-1850* (1963; reprint ed., London, 1974); R. Schenda, *Volks ohne Buch: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lesestoffe (1770-1910)* (Frankfurt, 1970) (in a series devoted to *Trivialliteratur*); J. J. Darmon, *Le colportage de librairie en France sous le second Empire: Grands colporteurs et culture populaire* (Paris, 1972).

4

See Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, Mass., 1968). In a similar vein, see the comment by A. Bebelović in the symposium volume *Niveaux de culture et groupes sociaux* (Paris, 1967), pp. 144-45.

5

xix. See E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Les paysans de Languedoc*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1966) 1:394 ff. (English translation, *The Peasants of Languedoc*, trans. John Day [Urbana, 1974], pp. 192 ff.). See also by E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Le carnaval de Romans: De la Chandeleur au marché des Cendres (1579-1580)* (Paris, 1979); and the English translation, *Carnival in Romans*, trans. Mary Feeney (New York, 1979); N. Z. Davis, "The Reasons of Mistrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past and Present*, no. 50 (1971): 41-75; E. P. Thompson, "Rough Music: Le Charivari anglais," *Annals: ESC* 27 (1972): 285-312 (and now, on the same subject, C. Gauvard and A. Gokalp, "Les conduites de bruit et leur signification à la fin du Moyen Age: Le Charivari," *Annals: ESC* 29 [1974]: 693-704). These works are cited simply as illustrations. On the somewhat different question of the persistence of preindustrial cultural models among the industrial proletariat, see E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present*, no. 38 (1967): 56-97, and idem, *The Making of the English Working Class* (2nd enlarged ed., London, 1968); by E. J. Hobsbawm see especially *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Manchester, 1959) and "Les classes ouvrières anglaises et la culture depuis les débuts de la révolution industrielle," in *Niveaux de culture et groupes sociaux* (Paris, 1967), pp. 189-99.

a number of scholars: See M. De Certeau, D. Julia, and J. Revel, "La beauté du mort: Le concept de culture populaire," *Politique aujourd'hui* (December 1970), pp. 3-23 (the phrase quoted is on p. 21).

In *Folie et déraison: Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* (Paris, 1961), p. vii. M. Foucault states that "faire l'histoire de la folie, voudra donc dire: faire une étude structurale de l'ensemble historique—notions, institutions, mesures juridiques et policières, concepts scientifiques—qui tient captive une folie dont l'état sauvage ne peut jamais être restitué en lui-même; mais à défaut de cette inaccessible pureté primitive, l'étude structurale doit remonter vers la décision qui lie et sépare à la fois raison et folie." All this explains the absence of madmen from the pages of his book—an absence that isn't due solely, or even primarily, to the difficulty of access to the necessary sources. The deliria, recorded over thousands of pages and preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'arsenal, of a servant living at the end of the seventeenth century who was semi-literate and "dément furieux" don't have, according to Foucault, a place in "the universe of our discourse," and are something "irreparably less than history" (p. v). It's difficult to say if evidence such as this could throw light on the "pureté primitive" of madness—which, after all, is perhaps not totally "inaccessible." In any case, Foucault's logic in this frequently irritating but brilliant book is undoubted (despite an occasional contradiction: see, for example, pp. 475–76). For an opinion concerning Foucault's regression from the *Histoire de la Folie* (1961) to *Les mots et les choses* (1966) and *L'archéologie du savoir* (1969), see P. Vilar, "Histoire marxiste, histoire en construction," in *Faire de l'histoire*, 3 vols., ed. J. Le Goff and P. Nora (Paris, 1974) 1:188–89. On Derrida's objections, see D. Julia, "La religion-histoire religieuse," in *ibid.*, 2:145–46. See now, M. Foucault et al., eds., *Moi, Pierre Rivière ayant égorgé ma mère, ma sœur, et mon frère* (Paris, 1973). On the "stupor," "the silence," "the refusal to interpret," see pp. 11, 14, 243, 314, 348 n. 2. For Rivière's readings, see pp. 40, 42, 125. The passage about wandering through the forest is at p. 260, the suggestion of cannibalism at p. 249. As for the populist distortion, see especially Foucault's "Les neurthes qu'on raconte," pp. 263–75. In general, see G. Huppert, "Divinito et Erudito: Thoughts on Foucault," *History and Theory* 13 (1974): 191–207.

6

xxi. By J. Le Goff see "Culture clericale et traditions folkloriques dans la civilisation néo-vingtaine," *Annales: ESC* 22 (1967): 780–91; *idem*, "Culture ecclésiastique et culture folklorique au Moyen Âge: Saint Marcel de Paris et le dragon," in *Ricerche storiche ed economiche in memoria di Corrado Barbagallo*, 3 vols., ed. L. De Rosa (Naples, 1970) 2:53–94.

acculturatio: See V. Lanternari, *Antropologia e imperialismo* (Turin, 1974), pp. 5 ff. and N. Wachtel, "L'acculturation," in *Faire de l'histoire*, 3 vols., ed. J. Le Goff and P. Nora (Paris, 1974) 1: 124–46.

research on witchcraft trials: See C. Ginzburg, *I benandanti: Stregoneria e culti agrari tra '500 e '600* (1966; reprint ed., Turin, 1979).

7

xxii. quantitative history of ideas or . . . serialized religious history: For the first, see *Livre et société*; for the second, P. Chaunu, "Une histoire religieuse sérielle," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 12 (1965), and now also M. Vovelle, *Piété baroque et déchristianisation en Provence au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1973). In general, see F. Furet, "L'histoire quantitative et la construction du fait historique," *Annales: ESC* 26 (1971): 63–75, who, among other things, properly notes the ideological implications of a method that tends to reabsorb the discontinuities (and revolutions) over a long period and in the equilibrium of the system. In this regard, see Chaunu's work and the essay by A. Dupront, "Livre et culture dans la société Française du 18^e siècle," in *Livre et société dans la France du XVIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris and The Hague, 1965) 1:185 ff.), which, after several hazy digressions on "the collective spirit," concludes by

boasting of the virtues of a method that allows one to study the French eighteenth century and ignore its revolutionary outcome—which would be equivalent to freeing oneself "from the eschatology of history" (p. 231).

those who, like François Furet, have maintained: See F. Furet "Pour une définition des classes inférieures à l'époque moderne," *Annales: ESC* 18 (1963): 459–74, esp. p. 459. Histoire événementielle (*which is not only . . . political history*): See R. Romano, "À propos de l'édition italienne du livre de F. Braudel . . ." *Cahiers Vitreolo Pareto* 15 (1968): 104–6.

the Austrian nobility or the lower clergy: I'm referring to O. Brunner, *Adliges Landliden und europäischer Geist* (Salzburg, 1949); (cf. C. Schorske, "New Trends in History," *Daedalus*, no. 98 [1969]: 963); A. Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, a Seventeenth-Century Clergyman: An Essay in Historical Anthropology* (Cambridge, 1970) (but see the critical remarks by E. P. Thompson, "Anthropology and the Discipline of Historical Context," *Middland History* 1, no. 3 [1972]: 41–45).

As with language, culture: See the observations by P. Bogatyrev and R. Jakobson, "Il folklore come forma di creazione autonoma," *Sprachenkritik* 1 (1976): 223–40. The celebrated pages by G. Lukács on a possible consciousness (see his *History and Class Consciousness* [London, 1971], p. 79) although originating in a totally different context, are applicable here.

xxiii. *In conclusion, even a limited case*: See D. Cantimori, *Prospettive di storia ereticale italiana del Cinquecento* (Bari, 1960), p. 14.

"archives of the repression": See D. Julia, "La religion-histoire religieuse," in *Faire de l'histoire*, 3 vols., ed. J. Le Goff and P. Nora (Paris, 1974) 2:147.

On the connection between quantitative and qualitative research, see the remarks by E. Le Roy Ladurie, "La révolution quantitative et les historiens français: bilan d'une génération (1932–1968)," in his *Le territoire de l'historien* (Paris, 1973), p. 22. Among the disciplines "pionnières et prometteuses" that remain steadfastly and quite properly qualitative, Le Roy Ladurie cites "psychologie historique." The quotation from E. P. Thompson is in "Anthropology and the Discipline of Historical Context," *Middland History* 1, no. 3 (1972): 50.

An Italian scholar: See F. Diaz, "Le stanchezze di Clio," *Rivista storica italiana* 84 (1972): esp. 733–34, and also by the same author, "Metodo quantitativo e storia delle idee," *Rivista storica italiana* 78 (1966): 932–47 (on Bollema's work, pp. 939–41). See also the critical observations by F. Venturi, *Utopia e riforma nell'illuminismo* (Turin, 1970), pp. 24–25. On the question of reading, see the literature cited below at p. 149.

8

xxv. On the history of mentalities, see J. Le Goff, "Les mentalités: Une histoire ambiguë," in *Faire de l'histoire*, 3 vols., ed. J. Le Goff and P. Nora (Paris, 1974), 3:76–94. The passage quoted is at p. 80. Le Goff observes characteristically: "Eminemment collective, la mentalité semble soustraire aux vicissitudes des luttes sociales. Ce serait pourtant une grossière erreur que de la détacher des structures et de la dynamique sociale. . . . Il y a des mentalités de classes, à côté de mentalités communes. Leur jeu reste à étudier" (pp. 89–90).

In a fascinating but mistaken book: See L. Febvre, *Le problème de l'incroyance au XVI^e siècle: La religion de Rabelais* (1942; reprint ed., Paris, 1968). As is well known, Febvre's argument, from a circumscribed theme—the confutation of A. Le Franc's thesis that Rabelais proved himself a champion of atheism in *Pantagruel* (1532)—expands in ever-widening circles. The third part of his work, on the limits of sixteenth-century incredulity, is certainly the newest from the methodological point of view, but also

the most general and inconsistent, as Febvre himself seemed to have been aware (p. 19). The unjustified inferences about the collective mentalities of "sixteenth-century men" owe too much to the theories about primitive mentalities of Lévy-Bruhl ("note naïve," p. 17). It's curious that Febvre should be ironic concerning such a phrase as "les gens du Moyen Age," and yet himself speak, perhaps only a few pages later, of "hommes du XVI^e siècle," and of "hommes de la Renaissance," although adding in the second instance that this is a formula "cliché, mais commode": cf pp. 153-54, 142, 382, 344. The allusion to the peasants is at p. 253. Bakhtin had already noted (*Rebels and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky [Cambridge, Mass., 1968], p. 132) that Febvre's analysis is based exclusively on circles representing official culture. For the comparison with Descartes, see pp. 393, 425, and passim. On this last point, see also G. Schneider, *Der Libertin: Zur Geistes- und Sozialgeschichte des Bürgertums im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1970); Italian translation, *Il libertino: Per una storia sociale della cultura borghese nel XVI e XVII secolo* (Bologna, 1974), and the (not entirely acceptable) remarks at pp. 7 ff. (Italian ed.). On the danger, in Febvre's historical writings, of falling into subtle forms of tautology, see D. Cantimori, *Storici e storia* (Turin, 1971), pp. 223-25.

xxvi. *marginal groups*: See B. Geremek, "Il pauperismo nell'età preindustriale (secoli XIV-XVIII)," in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 5, *I documenti*, ed. R. Romano and C. Vivanti (Turin, 1973), pt. 1, pp. 669-98; P. Camporesi, ed., *Il libro dei vagabondi* (Turin, 1973).

specific analyses: The publication of Valerio Marchetti's important research on artisans in Siena during the sixteenth century is eagerly awaited.

9

For what has been said in this section, see below pp. 58-60.

10

xxvii. *taking note of a historical mutilation*: Obviously, this shouldn't be confused either with a reactionary nostalgia for the past, or with an equally reactionary rhetoric about an assumed immobile and ahistorical "peasant civilization."

The quotation from Benjamin is found in his *Angelus novus: Saggi e frammenti*, which appears in *Testi di filosofia della storia*, ed. R. Solmi (Turin, 1962), p. 73.

TEXT

1

1. *Menocchio*: This is the name that recurs in the inquisitorial documents. Elsewhere he is also called "Menoch" and "Menochi." Today, the Italian transcription of his name's pronunciation would be "Menocio."

at his first trial: See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 15 v.

Monteale: Today known as Monteale Celina, a hill town (317 meters above sea level) located at the mouth of the Val Cellina. In 1584 the parish had a population of 650. See ACVP, "Sacrarum Visitacionum Noroes ab anno 1582 usque ad annum 1584," fol. 168 v.

following a brawl: See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 20 r.

the traditional miller's costume: "indutus vestena quadam et desuper tabaro ac plico

aliquo vestimentis de lana omnibus albo colore" (Ibid., fol. 15 v.). This manner of dress was still used by Italian millers in the nineteenth century. See C. Cantù, *Portogallo d'un operaio* (Milan, 1871), p. 68.

A couple of years later: See ACAU, "Sententiarum contra reos S. Officii liber II," fol. 16 v.

two fields in perpetual lease: On perpetual leases in this period, see G. Giorgetti, *Contadini e proprietari nell'Italia moderna: Rapporti di produzione e contratti agrari dal secolo XVI a oggi* (Turin, 1974), pp. 97 ff. We don't know if they were "perpetual" leases or for shorter periods (for example, twenty-nine or more probably, nine years). On the lack of precision in the terminology surrounding contracts in this period, which makes it difficult at times to distinguish among emptytens, perpetual lease, and lease, see the observations by G. Chittolini, "Un problema aperto: la crisi della proprietà ecclesiastica fra Quattro e Cinquecento," *Rivista storica italiana* 85 (1973): 370. The probable location of these two fields appears in a later document: an assessment prepared in 1596 at the request of the provincial Venetian governor (see ASP, *Notarie*, b. 488, no. 3785, fols. 17 r-22 r.). Among the 255 parcels of land located in Monteale and Grizzo (a neighboring village) there appear (fol. 18 r.): "9. Aliam petiam terrae arative positam in pertinentis Monteregalis in loco dicto alla via del' homo dictam la Longona, unius iug. in circa, tentam per Bartholomeum Andreae: a mane dicta via, a meridie terrenum ser Dominici Scandelle, a sero via de sotto et a montibus terrenum tentum per heredes q. Stephani de Lombarda", (fol. 19 v.): "Aliam petiam terrae unius iug. in circa in loco dicto . . . il campo del legno: a mane dicta laguna, a meridie terrenum M. d. Horatii Montis Regalis tentum per ser Jacomus Margannum, a sero terrenum tentum per ser Dominicum Scandelle et a montibus suprascriptis ser Daniel Capola." It hasn't been possible to verify the place names with any great degree of precision. The identification of these two parcels of land with "the two fields in perpetual lease" mentioned by Menocchio twelve years before (1584) is not absolutely certain. Moreover, only the second plot is specifically described as "terrenum tentum," meaning, presumably, in perpetual lease. It should be noted that in a 1578 assessment (ASP, *Notarie*, b. 40, no. 332, fols. 115 r. ff.) Domenico Scandella's name doesn't appear, while that of a Bernardo Scandella (we don't know if they were related; Menocchio's father was called Giovanni) is mentioned several times. The name Scandella, incidentally, is still common today in Monteale.

rent (probably in produce): See A. Tagliareri, *Struttura e politica sociale in una comunità veneta del '500 (Udine)* (Milan, 1969), p. 78 (rent of a mill with dwelling in Udine in 1571, for example, amounted to sixty-one bushels of wheat and two hams). See also the contract for the rent of a new mill to which Menocchio bound himself in 1596 (see at p. 97).

banned to Arbà: See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, interrogation of 28 April 1584 (unnumbered leaves).

2. *When his daughter Giovanna*: See ASP, *Notarie*, b. 488, no. 3786, fols. 27 r.-27 v., 26 January 1600. The groom's name was Daniele Colussi. For a comparison with other dowries, see Ibid., b. 40, no. 331, fols. 2 v. ff.: 390 lire and 10 soldi; Ibid., fols. 9 r. ff.: c. 340 lire; Ibid., b. 488, no. 3786, fols. 11 r.-11 v.: 300 lire; Ibid., fols. 20 v.-21 v.: 247 lire and 2 soldi; Ibid., fols. 23 v.-24 r.: 182 lire and 15 soldi. The modesty of the last dowry must certainly have been due to the fact that the bride, Maddalena Gastaldione of Grizzo, was marrying a second time. Unfortunately, we are in the dark about the social standing or the occupations of the persons named in the contracts. Giovanna Scandella's dowry consisted of the following items:

One bed with a new mattress with a pair of linen sheets of half-length, and new pillow cases, pillows and cushions; with a bed cover, which the aforesaid ser Stefano promises to buy her new

1. 69 s. 4

5. 10

An embroidered shawl, with folds	1	4s.	—
A gray dress	11	—	—
A new linsey-woolsey with the bodice of reddish cloth	12	—	—
Another linsey-woolsey similar to the above	12	—	—
A gray dress of half-length	10	—	—
A white linsey-woolsey, bordered with white cotton and linen, with fringes at the feet	12	10	—
A blouse of half wool	8	10	—
A pair of cloth sleeves, light orange in color, with silk ribbons	4	10	—
A pair of sleeves of silver colored cloth	1	10	—
A pair of lined sleeves of heavy cloth	1	—	—
Three new sheets of flax	15	—	—
A light sheet of half-length	5	—	—
Three new pillow cases	6	—	—
Six shawls	4	—	—
Four shawls	6	—	—
Three new scarfs	4	10	—
Four scarfs of half-length	3	—	—
One embroidered apron	4	—	—
Three shawls	5	10	—
One drape of heavy cloth	1	10	—
One old apron, one shawl, one of heavy cloth	3	—	—
One new embroidered kerchief	3	10	—
Five handkerchiefs	6	—	—
One mantle for the head of half-length	3	—	—
Two new bonnets	1	10	—
Five new undershirts	15	—	—
Three shirts of half-length	6	—	—
Nine silken ribbons of every color	4	10	—
Four belts of various colors	2	—	—
One new apron of thick cloth	—	15	—
A chest without lock	5	—	—
	256	9	—

I haven't been able to consult L. D'Orlandi and G. Perusini, *Antichi costumi friulani—Zona di Maniago* (Udine, 1940).

Menocchio's place: M. Berengo's observations (*Nobilità e mercanti nella Lucra del Cinquecento* [Turin, 1965]) concerning the Lucchese countryside should be borne in mind: in the smallest villages "every actual social distinction is eliminated since all earn their livelihood through the exploitation of collectively held land. And even if here, as elsewhere, people will continue to speak of rich and poor... there will indeed not be anyone who couldn't be suitably described as a rustic or even as a peasant." The miller's case was a special one: "They could be found in any place of some importance... frequently creditors of both the town and of private individuals, not participating in the cultivation of land, richer than most..." (Ibid., pp. 322-327). On the social position of the miller see pp. 119-21.

In 1581 he had been mayor: See ASP, *Notarile*, b. 40, no. 333, fol. 89 v.: an order issued by Andrea Cossio, a nobleman of Udine, "potesati, iuratis, communi, hominibus Montsregalis" requiring payment for rents owed to him for certain lands. On 1 June the order is transmitted "Dominico Scandellae vocato Menocchio de Monteregali... potestati ipsius villae." In a letter of Zianuto, a son of Menocchio (see above, p. 7), the latter is referred to as having been "mayor and warden (rector) in the five hamlets" (for their names, see *Leggi per la Patria e Contadinanza del Friuli* (Udine, 1886). Introduction, fol. d 2 r.) and "administrator" ("camarano") of the parish.

the old system of rotating offices: See G. Perusini, "Gli statuti di una vicinia rurale

friliana del Cinquecento" *Memorie storiche friulanesi* 43 (1958-59): 213-19. The vicinia, namely the assembly of heads of families, is that of Bueris, a tiny village near Tricesimo. Six family heads belonged to it in 1578.

"read": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 15 v.

Administrators: See G. Marchetti, "I quaderni dei camerari di S. Michele a Gemona," *Ce Fazio?* 36 (1962): 11-38. Marchetti observes (p. 13) that the camerari didn't belong to the clergy or to the notariate, namely to the "literate" class; usually they were "bourgeois or plebeians who had frequented the public school of the town" and he cites the probably exceptional case of an illiterate blacksmith who had served as camerario in 1489 (p. 14).

Schools of this type: See G. Chiuppani, "Storia di una scuola di grammatica dal Medio Evo fino al Seicento (Bassano)," *Nuovo archivio veneto* 29 (1915): 79. The humanist Leonardo Fosco, who was originally from Montebelluna, is thought to have taught at Aviano. See F. Fattorello, "La cultura del Friuli nel Rinascimento," *Atti dell'Accademia di Udine* 6th series, 1 (1934-35): 160. But this information doesn't appear in the biographical sketch of Fosco by A. Benedetti in *Il Popolo*, a weekly published by the diocese of Concordia-Pordenone, in the issue for 8 June 1974. Study on the municipal schools of this period would be extremely useful. They existed even in very small towns. See, for example, A. Ruslic, "Una scuola rurale della fine del secolo XVI," *La Romagna* n.s. 1 (1927): 334-38. On the spread of education in the Lucchese countryside, see Berengo, *Nobilità e mercanti*, p. 322.

denounced: See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, unpaginated: "fama publica deterente et clamorosa insinuatione producte, non quidem a malevolis orta sed a probis et honestis viris catolicaeque fidei zelatoribus, ac fere per modum notorii devenit quod quidam Dominicus Scandella..." (this is the usual formula).

"Preaching and dogmatizing shamelessly": "praedicare et dogmatizare non erubesci."

"He is always arguing": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 2 r.

"He will argue": Ibid., fol. 10 r.

"He knew": Ibid., fol. 2 r.

the village priest: Ibid., fols. 13 v., 12 r.

In the public square: Ibid., fols. 6 v., 7 v., unnumbered leaf (interrogation of Domenico Melchiori), fol. 11 r., etc.

3. "He usually": Ibid., fol. 8 r.

2

"Menocchio, please": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 10 r.

Giuliano Stegani: Ibid., fol. 8 r.

The priest Andrea Bionima: Ibid., fol. 11 v.

Giovanni Povoledo: Ibid., fol. 5 r. It's well known that in this period the term "Lutheran" was employed in a very general way.

some for thirty or forty years: Ibid., fol. 4 v. (Giovanni Povoledo); fol. 6 v. (Giovanni Antonio Melchiori, not to be confused with Giovanni Daniele Melchiori, vicar of Polcenigo); fol. 2 v. (Francesco Fasseta).

Daniele Fasseta: Ibid., fol. 3 r.

"many years": Ibid., fol. 13 r. (Antonio Fasseta); fol. 5 v. (Giovanni Povoledo, who first said that he had known Menocchio for forty years, and later changed this to twenty-five or thirty). The only recollection that can be dated precisely is the following.

pertaining to Antonio Fassetta (fol. 13 r.): "Coming down from the mountain one day with Menocchio at the time that the empress was passing through, speaking about her, he said: 'This empress is greater than the virgin Mary.' " Now, the empress Mary of Austria entered the Friuli in 1561. See G. F. Palladio degli Olivii, *Historie della Provincia del Friuli*, vol. 2 (Udine, 1660), p. 208.

people repeated it: See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 6 r.

"I see him having dealings": Ibid., Trial no. 285, interrogation of the priest Curzio Cellina, 17 December 1598, unnumbered leaf.

4. For four years Menocchio: Ibid., Trial no. 126, fol. 18 v.

"I don't remember": Ibid., fol. 14 r.

it had been Vorai: He himself recalled this to the Holy Office during the interrogation of 1 June 1584 (Ibid., Trial no. 136), regretful that he hadn't done so sooner.

by another priest, don Ottavio: Ibid., Trial no. 284, unnumbered leaf (session of 11 November 1598).

"What popes": Ibid., Trial no. 126, fol. 10 r.

practically setting himself up against: See a similar Friulian case cited by G. Miccoli, "La storia religiosa," in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 2, *Dalla caduta dell'Impero romano al secolo XVIII*, ed. R. Romano and C. Vivanti (Turin 1974), pt. 1, p. 994.

"beyond measure": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 10 r.

"Everybody has his calling": Ibid., fol. 7 v.

"The air is God": Ibid., fol. 3 r. (Daniele Fassetta); fol. 8 r. (Giuliano Stefanutti); fol. 2 r. (Francesco Fassetta); fol. 5 r. (Giovanni Povoledo); fol. 3 v. (Daniele Fassetta).

"He is always arguing": Ibid., fol. 11 v. (the priest Andrea Bionima).

5. Giovanni Daniele Melchiori: Ibid., Trial no. 134, interrogation of 7 May 1584. On the trial held earlier against Melchiori, and on his relationship to Menocchio, see above p. 73. Both Melchiori and Policreto were tried by the Holy Office (in March and May 1584, respectively) after having been accused of attempting through their suggestions to influence the outcome of Menocchio's case. See Ibid., Trials nos. 134 and 137. Both claimed they were innocent. Melchiori was ordered to remain at the disposal of the court, and the case ended there; Policreto was made to undergo canonical purgation. The mayor of Pordenone, Gerolamo de'Gregori, and such members of the local nobility as Gerolamo Popaiti testified in behalf of Policreto. It appears that Policreto was attached to the Mantica-Montereale family, to which the lords of Montereale also belonged. In 1583 he was appointed arbiter (succeeding his father, Antonio, in this function) in a lawsuit between Giacomo and Giovan Battista Mantica on one side, and Antonio Mantica on the other (see BCU, ms. 1042).

"conducted in handcuffs": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 15 v.

3

"It is true that": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fols. 16 r.-v.

"I have said": Ibid., fols. 17 r.-v.

6. "he might have said: Ibid., fol. 6 r. (Giovanni Povoledo).

4

"in earnest": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fols. 2 v.-3 r. Manifestations of heresy by the uneducated frequently were interpreted as the fruit of madness. See,

for example, G. Miccoli, "La vita religiosa," in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 2, *Dalla caduta dell'Impero romano al secolo XVIII*, ed. R. Romano and C. Vivanti (Turin, 1974), pt. 1, pp. 994-95.

"sane": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 6 v.

Ziannuto: Ibid., Trial no. 136, interrogations of 14 May 1584, unnumbered leaves. A century or so later: See M. Foucault, *Folie et déraison: Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* (Paris, 1961), pp. 121-22 (case of Bonaventure Forcroy); p. 469 (in 1733 a man was confined as a madman in the hospital Saint Lazare because he was affected by "sentiments extraordinaires").

5

7. The letter from Ziannuto to the lawyer Trappola and the letter written by the priest at Ziannuto's suggestion are both contained in the dossier of Menocchio's first trial (ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126). The explanations of the circumstances in which the letter to Menocchio was written, furnished by Ziannuto and the priest (foreseeably different but not contradictory), instead are among the records of the trial against the priest himself (Trial no. 136). The charges against Vorai, besides the one of having written to Menocchio suggesting a line of defense, were the following: having waited ten years to denounce Menocchio to the Holy Office, although he considered him a heretic; stating, while conversing with Nicolò and Sebastiano, counts of Montereale, that the church militant, even though governed by the Holy Spirit, may err. The very brief trial ended with the canonical purgation of the defendant. During the interrogation of 19 May 1584 the priest had declared, among other things: "I was moved to write this letter because I feared for my life. The sons of this Scandella used to pass near me and showed themselves to be angry. They didn't greet me as they had been accustomed to do. In fact friends warned me to be on my guard because it was rumored that I had denounced the aforesaid ser Domenego and they could have done me some harm. . . ." Among those who had accused Vorai of being an informer was that Sebastiano Sebenico who had advised Ziannuto to spread the word that Menocchio was mad or possessed (see above p. 6).

instead he attributed them to a Domenego Femenussa: The attribution had been suggested, it appears, by Ziannuto. See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 38 v.

"Sir": Ibid., fol. 19 r.

8. "It would appear from the trial records": Ibid.

According to Giuliano Stefanutti: Ibid., fol. 8 r.

"I meant": Ibid., fol. 19 r.

"Do not try to talk too much": Ibid., Trial no. 134, proceedings of 7 May 1584.

Fra Felice da Montefalco: See C. Ginzburg, *I benandanti: Stregoneria e culti agrari tra '500 e '600* (1966; reprint ed., Turin, 1979), index.

The conflict between the two jurisdictions: See P. Paschini, *Venezia e l'Inquisizione Romana da Giulio III a Pio IV* (Padua, 1959), pp. 51 ff.; A. Stella, *Chiesa e stato nelle relazioni dei nunzi pontifici a Venezia* (Vatican City, 1964), esp. pp. 290-91.

"He said to me": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 3 r.

"Domenego said": Ibid., fol. 4 r.

9. "It's true I said": Ibid., fol. 27 v.

- "I think". See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fols. 27 v.-28 v.
 10. "you want to become gods on earth". See Psalm 81:6.

About marriage: Here Menocchio shows his impatience with the matrimonial regulations introduced by the Council of Trent. See A. C. Jemolo, "Riforma tridentina nell'ambito matrimoniale," in *Contributi alla storia del Concilio di Trento e della Controfforma* (Florence, 1948), pp. 45 ff. (*Quaderni di Belgiojor*, 1).

About confession: See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 11 v.

"If that tree": Ibid., fol. 38 r.

"By the Virgin Mary": Ibid., fol. 6 v.

"I do not see anything": Ibid., fol. 11 v.

11. "I did say": Ibid., fol. 18 r.

"I like this about the sacrament": Ibid., fols. 28 r.-v.

"I believe that sacred Scripture": Ibid., fols. 28 v.-29 r.

12. [Menocchio] also told me": Ibid., fol. 2 v.

"I believe that saints": Ibid., fol. 29 r.

"He has been beneficial": Ibid., fol. 33 r. (I have corrected a slip: "Christ" rather than "God.")

"of the very same nature": Ibid., fol. 17 v.

"If a person has sinned": Ibid., fol. 33 r.

"I would say enough": Ibid., fol. 4 r.

"I have never associated": Ibid., fols. 26 v.-27 r.

"to speak out": Ibid., fol. 3 r.

"My lords, I beg you": Ibid., fols. 29 v.-30 r.

13. "In the previous examination": Ibid., fol. 30 r.

7

On the Friuli in this period, besides P. Paschini (*Storia del Friuli*, 2 vols. [Udine, 1953-54] vol. 2, 2nd rev. ed.), who concerns himself exclusively with political events, see especially the numerous studies by P. S. Leitch: "Un programma di parte democratica in Friuli nel Cinquecento," in *Studi e frammenti* (Udine, 1903), pp. 107-21, "La rappresentanza dei contadini presso il veneto luogotenente della Patria del Friuli," in *Studi e frammenti*, pp. 125-44, "Un movimento agrario nel Cinquecento," in *Scritti vari di storia del diritto italiano* 2 vols. (Milan, 1943), 1:73-91; "Il parlamento friulano nel primo secolo della dominazione veneziana," *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano* 21 (1948): 5-50; "I contadini ed i Parlamenti dell'età intermedia," *IX^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques* . . . *Etudes présentées à la Commission Internationale pour l'histoire des assemblées d'états* (Louvain, 1952), pp. 125-28. Among more recent works, see above all A. Ventura, *Nobiltà e popolo nella società veneta del 400 e 500* (Bari, 1964), especially pp. 187-214. See also A. Tagliaferrì, *Struttura e politica sociale in una comunità veneta del 500* (Udine) (Milan, 1969).

the masnada form of serfdom. See A. Battistella, "La servitù di masnada in Friuli," *Nuovo archivio veneto* 11 (1906), pt. 2, pp. 5-62, 12 (1906), pt. 1, pp. 169-91, pt. 2, pp. 320-31, 13 (1907), pt. 1, pp. 171-84, pt. 2, pp. 142-57; 14 (1907), pt. 1, pp. 193-208; 15 (1908), pp. 225-37. The last traces of this institution disappeared about 1460. But in Friulian

statutes of a century later such provisions remained as *De nato ex libero ventre pro libero repulando* (with the corresponding declaration "Quicumque vero natus ex muliere serva censetur et sit servus cuius est mulier ex qua natus est, etiam si pater eius sit liber") or *De servo communi manumisso*. See also G. Sassoli De Bianchi, "La scomparsa della servitù di masnada in Friuli," *Ce Fasi?* 32 (1956): 145-50.

in the hands of Venetian officials: See *Relazioni dei rettori veneti in Terraferma*, vol. 1 *La patria del Friuli* (luogotenenza di Udine) (Milan, 1973). (About this edition see the review by M. Berengo in *Rivista storica italiana* 86 [1974]: 586-90.)

As early as 1508: See G. Perusini, *Vita di popolo in Friuli: Patti agrari e consuetudini tradizionali* (Florence, 1961), pp. xxi-xxii (*Biblioteca di "Lares"*, 8).

14. On the events of 1511, see Leitch, "Un movimento agrario" and Ventura, *Nobiltà e popolo*.

the Contadnanza: See Leitch, "La rappresentanza dei contadini." We lack a modern study on this subject.

the statutes of the Patria: See *Constitutiones Patrie Foriuli cum additionibus noviter impressae* (Venice, 1524), fols. lx v., lxxvii v. The same provisions reappear in the 1565 edition.

the legal fiction: See Leitch, "I contadini ed i Parlamenti" who emphasizes the exceptional quality of the Friulian case. In no other part of Europe, in fact, did a representative body of the peasantry stand alongside a parliament or assembly of the states.

The list of measures: See *Leggi per la Patria*, pp. 638 ff., 642 ff., 207 ff.

15. attempted to transform the long-term leases: See Perusini, *Vita di popolo*, p. xxvi, and, in general, G. Giorgetti, *Contadini e proprietari nell'Italia moderna. Rapporti di produzione e contratti agrari dal secolo XVI a oggi* (Turin, 1974), pp. 97 ff.

the total population. . . declined: See Tagliaferrì, *Struttura*, pp. 25 ff. (with bibliography).

The reports of the Venetian officials: *Relazioni*, pp. 84, 108, 115.

the decline of Venice: See *Aspetti e cause della decadenza economica veneziana nel secolo XVII* (Venice and Rome, 1961); B. Pullan, ed., *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1968).

8

16. a totally dichotomous view: See the translation of the important book by S. Ossowski, *Class Structure in the Social Consciousness*, trans. Sheila Patterson (New York, 1963).
 "It also seems to me": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fols. 27 v.-28 r.

"Everything belongs to the Church": Ibid., fol. 27 v.

From an assessment made in 1596: See ASP, *Notarile*, b. 488, no. 3785, fols. 17 r. ff., especially fol. 19 v. Unfortunately, for this period we lack an inventory of ecclesiastical property in the Friuli such as the extremely detailed one compiled in 1530 by order of the governor, Giovanni Basadona (see BCU ms. 995). At fols. 62 v.-64 v. of this manuscript there is a listing of the lessees of the church of Santa Maria di Monteverde, among which the name Scandola doesn't appear.

17. At the end of the sixteenth century: See A. Stella, "La proprietà ecclesiastica nella Repubblica di Venezia dal secolo XV al XVII," *Nuova rivista storica* 42 (1958): 50-77; A. Ventura, "Considerazioni sull'agricoltura veneta e sull'accumulazione originaria del capitale nei secoli XVI e XVII," *Studi storici* 9 (1968): 674-722; and now, in general, the important essay by G. Chittolini, "Un problema aperto: la crisi della proprietà ecclesiastica fra Quattro e Cinquecento," *Rivista storica italiana* 85 (1973): 353-93.

18. "I believe a Lutheran": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 27 r. "some Lutherans will learn of it": *Ibid.*, Trial no. 285, unnumbered leaves. In the complex religious picture: Obviously, the bibliography on the subject is endless. On radical tendencies in general, see G. H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1962). On Anabaptism, see C.-P. Clasen, *Anabaptism, a Social History* (1525-1618): *Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, South and Central Germany* (Ithaca and London, 1972). For Italy, see the rich documentation gathered by A. Stella, *Dall'Anabattismo al socialmessianesimo nel Cinquecento veneto* (Padua, 1967) and *Anabattismo e antitrinitarismo in Italia nel XVI secolo* (Padua, 1969).
- "I believe that as soon as we are born": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 28 v. broken in mid-sixteenth century: See Stella, *Dall'Anabattismo*, pp. 87 ff.; *idem*, *Anabattismo e antitrinitarismo*, pp. 64 ff. See also C. Ginzburg, *I costumi di don Pietro Manfredi*, *Corpus Reformatorum Italicorum*: Biblioteca (De Kalb and Chicago, 1972).
19. But a few dispersed conventicles: On the religious situation in the Friuli in the sixteenth century, see P. Paschini, *Eresia e Riforma cattolica al confine orientale d'Italia*, *Laternum*, n.s. 17, nos. 1-4 (Rome, 1951); L. De Biasio, "L'eresia protestante in Friuli nella seconda metà del secolo XVI," *Memorie storiche Forogiuliese* 52 (1972): 71-154. On the artisans of Porcia, see Stella, *Anabattismo e antitrinitarismo*, pp. 153-54.
- an Anabaptist . . . could never have spoken: See, for example, what Marco, a dyer, a repentant Anabaptist, wrote in 1552: "and they [the Anabaptists] preached to me that we shouldn't have faith in the forgiveness of the pope because they say that they are lies. . . ." (ASVen, *Sant'Uffizio*, b. 10).
- "I believe that they are good": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 29 r.
- "aside from this": See Stella, *Anabattismo e antitrinitarismo*, p. 154. See also the statement made by Ventura Bonicello, a vendor of rags, who was tried as an Anabaptist: "any other books besides the Holy Scriptures are an abomination to me" (ASVen, *Sant'Uffizio*, b. 158, "libro secondo" fol. 81 r.).
- a typical exchange: See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fols. 37 v.-38 r.
20. The porter: See Andrea da Bergamo (P. Nelli), *Il primo libro delle satire alla cartona* (Vence, 1566), fol. 31 r.
- Neapolitan banners: See P. Tacchi Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1910-51), I: 455-56.
- in a prostitute's appeal: See F. Chabod, "Per la storia religiosa dello stato di Milano" in Chabod's *Lo stato e la vita religiosa a Milano nell'epoca di Carlo V* (Turin, 1971), pp. 335-36.
- almost all have an urban setting: Evidence such as the following, contained in a letter from the Venetian ambassador in Rome, M. Dandolo (14 June 1550) is quite rare: "some monkish inquisitors . . . here are relating fantastic happenings in Brescia and perhaps even stranger ones in Bergamo, including about some artisans who during holy days go about in the villages and climb trees from which they preach the Lutheran sect to the people and to the peasants. . . ." (P. Paschini, *Venezia e l'Inquisizione Romana da Giulio III a Pio IV* [Padua, 1959] p. 42).
- The religious conquest: This is a theme that I touched upon in an earlier study ("Folklore, magia, religione," in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 1, *I caratteri originali*, ed. R. Romano and C. Vivanti [Turin, 1972], pp. 645 ff., 656 ff.) and that I intend to develop further elsewhere.
- This doesn't mean: What follows is an attempt to define more closely and, in part to
21. an autonomous current: Although I distrust disquisitions on terminology, I think I should explain why I have preferred the expression "peasant radicalism" to "popular rationalism," "popular Reformation," or "Anabaptism." 1) The term "popular rationalism" has been used by M. Berengo (*Nobili e mercanti nella Lucca del Cinquecento* [Turin, 1965], pp. 435 ff.) to describe phenomena basically similar to those studied here. Nevertheless, it doesn't appear to be wholly appropriate for attitudes that only in part are traceable to our concept of "Reason"—beginning with the visions of Scilio (see pp. 112 ff.) 2) The peasant radicalism that I am trying to reconstruct is certainly one of the basic elements in the "popular Reformation" described by Macek and ("autonomous movements that accompany European history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and that may be understood as a popular or radical Reformation": J. Macek, *La Riforma popolare* [Florence, 1973], p. 2; my italics). It should be remembered, however, that it predates the fifteenth century (see the following note) and that it can't be reduced to a popular equivalent of the official Reformation.
- 3) The term "Anabaptism" as a comprehensive label for all manifestations of sixteenth-century religious radicalism was proposed by D. Cantimori (*Eretici italiani del Cinquecento* [Florence, 1939], pp. 31 ff.) and abandoned by him in the face of G. Ritter's criticism. It has been newly proposed by A. Rofonzo to designate "the mixture of prophetism, anticlerical radicalism, antitrinitarism, and social egalitarianism diffused among notaries, physicians, and teachers of grammar, among monks and merchants, among artisans in the city, and peasants in the country in sixteenth-century Italy" ("I movimenti ereticali nell'Europa del Cinquecento," *Rivista storica italiana* 78 [1966]: 138-39). This extension of the term seems inappropriate because it tends to minimize the deep-seated differences that existed between the popular religion and the religion of the educated classes as well as between the radicalism of the countryside and the radicalism of the cities. Certainly, vague "typologies" and "sensibilities" such as those suggested by A. Olivieri ("Sensibilità religiosa urbana e sensibilità religiosa contadina nel Cinquecento veneto: suggestioni e problemi," *Critica storica*, n.s. 9 [1972]: 631-50) are not very helpful, subsiding under the banner of Anabaptism phenomena that are totally extraneous to it—including processes in honor of the Madonna. Research should have as its object, instead, the reconstruction of the still obscure connections that existed between the various components of the "popular Reformation," giving due consideration especially to the religious and cultural substratum not only of the Italian but also of the European countryside of the sixteenth century—that substratum that comes through in Menocchio's confessions. In defining it, I have spoken of "peasant radicalism," not so much with Williams's *Radical Reformation* in mind (on which see Macek's critical comments) as with Marx's phrase, according to which radicalism "grasps things at the roots," an image that, after all, is singularly appropriate in the present context.
- but which was much older: See the important essay by W. L. Wakefield, "Some Unorthodox Popular Ideas of the Thirteenth Century," *Medievalia et humanistica*, n.s. 4 (1973): 25-35, based on inquisitorial documents from the area of Toulouse that contain "statements often tinged with rationalism, skepticism, and revealing something of a materialistic attitude. There are assertions about a terrestrial paradise for souls after death and about the salvation of unbaptized children; the denial that God made human faculties; the derisory quip about the consumption of the host; the identification of the soul as blood; and the attribution of natural growth to the qualities of seed and soil alone" (pp. 29-30). These statements are convincingly traced, not to the direct influence of Cathar propaganda, but rather to a current of autonomous ideas and beliefs. (If anything, Catharism may have contributed to bringing them to light directly or indirectly, by provoking the inquisitors' investigations.) It's significant, for example, that a proposition attributed to a Cathar notary at

the end of the fourteenth century, "quod Deus de celo non facit crescere fructus, fruges et herbas et alia, quae de terra nascuntur, sed solummodo humor terre," should have been echoed almost to the letter by a peasant of the Friuli three centuries later: "that the blessings that priests lay over fields, and the holy water that they sprinkle over them on the day of Epiphany, in no way help vines and trees to bear fruit, but only manure, and man's industry" (see respectively A. Serena, "Fra gli eretici trevigiani," *Archivio veneto-friulano* 3 [1923]: 173 and C. Ginzburg, *I benandanti. Stregoneria e culti agrari tra 500 e 600* [1966; reprint ed., Turin, 1979], pp. 38-39, to be corrected in the above sense). Obviously, Catharism isn't an issue here. Instead, we are faced with statements that "may well have arisen spontaneously from the cogitation of men and women searching for explanations that accorded with the realities of the life in which they were enmeshed" (Wakefield, "Some Unorthodox" p. 33). Other examples similar to those cited here could be found. It is to this cultural tradition, which reemerges centuries later, that we alluded with the expression "peasant (or 'popular') radicalism." To the elements listed by Wakefield—rationalism, skepticism, materialism—one should add egalitarian utopianism and religious naturalism. The joining together of all, or almost all, of these elements produces the recurrent phenomena of peasant "syncretism"—which could be defined more precisely as latent phenomena. See, for example, the archeological material collected by J. Bordenave and M. Vallet, *Aux racines du mouvement cathare: La mentalité religieuse des paysans de l'Albigois médiéval* (Toulouse, 1973).

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"had spoken sincerely": ACAU, *Santi Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fols. 2 v.—3 r.

"Sir": Ibid., fol. 21 v.

don Ottavio Monteleale: Ibid., Trial no. 285, unnumbered leaves (11 November 1599), had emerged even during the first trial: Ibid., Trial no. 126, fol. 23 v. No Nicola da Porcia is mentioned in the studies of sixteenth-century Friulan painting that are known to me. Antonio Forniz, who is conducting research on painters born in Porcia, kindly informed me with a letter dated 5 June 1972 that he had not turned up any trace of either a "Nicola da Porcia" or of a "Nicola de Melchiori" (see below). It should be noted that the meeting between the painter and the miller could have been connected to relations that were professional, as well as religious. In fact, in the registers of Venetian patents it isn't unusual to find painters, sculptors, and architects applying for licenses to construct mills. Occasionally, such prominent names are encountered as those of the sculptor Antonio Riccio and of the architect Giorgio Amadeo, or of Jacopo Bassano, who obtained licenses for certain mills in 1492 (the first two) and in 1544 (the third) respectively. See G. Mandich, "Le private industriali veneziane (1450-1550)," *Rivista del diritto commerciale* 34 (1936): 1, 538-545. But see also p. 541. I have been able to discover similar cases for a later period on the basis of photocopies of documents in ASVen, *Senato Terra*, graciously put at my disposal by Carlo Poni.

22. "It may be": See ACAU, *Santi Uffizio*, Trial no. 285, unnumbered leaves (interrogation of 19 July 1599).

a couple of weeks later: Ibid., unnumbered leaves (interrogation of 5 August 1599).

We don't know: No Nicola appears in the trial against the group of Porcia (see ASVen, *Santi Uffizio*, b. 13 and b. 14, dossier *Antonio Delio*).

"a great heretic": See ASVen, *Santi Uffizio*, b. 34, dossier *Alessandro Mantica*, interrogation of 17 October 1571. Nicola had gone to Rotario's house "to take some headboards for painting."

"I know": See ACAU, *Santi Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 23 v.

23. *Il sogno di Caravia*: Colophon: "In Vinegia, nelle case di Giovanni Antonio di Nicolini

da Sabbio, ne gli anni del Signore, MDXL, dll mese di maggio." There is no study specifically devoted to this work, but see V. Rossi, "Un aneddoto della storia della Riforma a Venezia," in *Scritti di critica letteraria*, vol. 3, *Dal Rinascimento al Risorgimento* (Florence, 1930), pp. 191-222, and the Introduction to *Novelle dell'altro mondo: Poemetto buffonesco del 1573*, Nuova scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare, vol. 2 (Bologna, 1929) which illustrate in an exemplary manner the person of Caravia and the literary current to which the *Sogno*, at least in part, belongs. On journeys into hell by buffoons and other popular comic figures, see M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), ch. 6.

"You appear to me to be melancholic": See *Il sogno*, fol. A iii r. The iconography on the title page is the customary one for "the melancholic," but its dependence on Dürer's engraving, which was well-known in Venetian circles, seems certain. See R. Kiharsky, F. Saxl, and E. Panofsky, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art* (London, 1964).

"Oh how dearly": See *Il sogno*, fol. B ii v.

"I know that Farfarel": Ibid., fols. G v.—G ii r.

24. "sgnietti": Ibid., fol. G iii r.

"showing him": Ibid., fol. G ii v.

"A certain Martin Luther": Ibid., fols. F iv r.—v. (here and below the italics are mine).

25. "The first cause": Ibid., fol. B v.

"Many fools": Ibid., fol. B iii v.

26. "They make a business": Ibid., fol. B iv r.

There's an implicit denial: Zampolo doesn't describe Purgatory. At one point there's an ambiguous allusion to "the punishment of hell down there, or purgatory" (Ibid., fol. iv r.).

"Purposefully": Ibid., fol. C ii v.

"sumptuous churches": Ibid., fol. E r. Caravia stresses this point in particular, criticizing among other things, the grandiosity of the School of San Rocco.

"Saints should be honored": Ibid., fol. D iii v.

"Every faithful Christian": Ibid., fol. E r.

"the popists": Ibid., fol. B iv v.

For men like Caravia: On his productivity after the *Sogno*, see Rossi, *Un aneddoto*. In 1557 Caravia underwent an inquisitorial trial, in the course of which the *Sogno* was also brought out against him, inasmuch as it had been composed "in derision of religion." Ibid., p. 220. Caravia's characteristic testament, dated 1 May 1563, is reprinted in part on pp. 216-17.

27. Long before the date: It's impossible, as we've seen, to date the onset of Menocchio's heresy. At any rate, it should be noted that he once declared he hadn't observed Lent for twenty years (ACAU, *Santi Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 27 r.)—a date that coincides approximately with his banishment from Monteleale. Menocchio could have had contacts with Lutheran groups during his sojourn in Carnia—a border area where penetration by the Reformation was particularly successful.

11

"Would you like me to teach you": See ACAU, *Santi Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fols. 16 r.—v.

"What I said": Ibid., fol. 19 r.

"The devil": Ibid., fol. 21 v.

28. From the prophets: See F. Chabod, "Per la storia religiosa dello stato di Milano" in *Lo*

stato e la vita religiosa a Milano nell'epoca di Carlo V (Turin, 1971), pp. 299 ff. D. Cantimori, *Erechi italiani del Cinquecento* (Florence, 1939), pp. 10 ff; M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969), and now G. Tognetti, "Note sul protestismo nel Rinascimento e la letteratura relativa," *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo*, no. 82 (1970), pp. 129-57. On Giorgio Siculo, see Cantimori, *Erechi*, pp. 57 ff; C. Ghinzburg, "Due note sul profetismo cinquecentesco," *Rivista storica italiana* 78 (1966): 184 ff.

"On confessing": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 16 r.

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At the moment of his arrest: See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, fol. 14 v., 2 February 1584; "invenit [the notary is speaking] quosdam libros qui non erant suspecti neque prohibiti, ideo R. P. inquisitor mandavit sibi restitui."

29. *The Bible*: Judging from G. Spini's bibliography, this would not appear to be Antonio Brucioli's translation (see *La Bibliotheca* 42 [1940]: 138 ff.).

Il foretto della Bibbia: See H. Suchier, ed., *Denkmäler Provenzalischer Literatur und Sprache* (Halle, 1883), I: 495 ff.; P. Rohde, "Die Quellen der Romanische Weltchronik," in Suchier, ed., *Denkmäler*, pp. 589-638; F. Zambini, *Le opere volgari a stampa dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Bologna, 1884), col. 408. As has been noted, editions vary in scope: some stop with the birth, others with the infancy or passion of Christ. Those known to me (and I haven't made a systematic search) date from 1473 to 1552, and almost all are Venetian. We don't know when precisely Menocchio purchased the *Foretto*. The work long continued to circulate: the *Index* of 1569 lists a *Flores Bibliorum et doctorum* (see F. H. Reusch, *Die Indices librorum prohibitorum des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts* [Tübingen, 1886], p. 333). In 1576 the Commissioner of the Sacred Palace, fra Damiano Rubec, replying to certain questions raised by the inquisitor of Bologna, ordered him to remove the *Foretti della Bibbia* from circulation (see A. Rotondo, "Nuovi documenti per la storia dell' 'Indice dei libri proibiti' (1572-1639)," *Rinascimento*, 14 [1963]: 157).

Il Lucidario: Menocchio first spoke of a *Lucidario della Madonna*; later he corrected himself: "I do not remember exactly whether that book was called *Rosario* or *Lucidario*, but it was printed" (see ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fols. 18 r., 20 r.). I have found at least fifteen editions of the *Rosario* by Alberto da Castello printed between 1521 and 1573. In this case, as in the preceding, I haven't made a systematic search. If the book read by Menocchio really was the *Rosario* (as we shall state below, the identification isn't certain), the "Lucidario" would still have to be explained. Was it an unwitting recollection of a *Lucidario* derived in some way from that of Honorius of Autun? Or this literature, see Y. Lefevre, *L'Elucidarium et les lucidaires* (Paris, 1954).

Il Lucendario: Even in this *lapsus* we should probably see the echo of the reading of a *Lucidarius* (see above). There are endless editions of the *Legenda aurea* in the vernacular. Menocchio, for example, could have seen a copy of the edition published in Venice, 1565.

Historia del giudicio: See A. Cioni, ed., *La poesia religiosa: I cantari agiografici e le rime di argomento sacro*, Biblioteca bibliografica italiana, vol. 30 (Florence, 1963), pp. 253 ff. The text read by Menocchio was part of the group in which the *cantare* (songster) on the story about the Judgment is preceded by a briefer one on the coming of the Antichrist (which begins: "To you I appeal eternal Creator"). I know of four copies, of which three are preserved in the Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan (See M. Sander, *Le lire a figures italiennes depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1942), nos. 3178, 3180, 3181); the fourth is in the Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna (*Opera nuova del giudicio generale, quid trahit della fine del mondo*, printed in Parma, and reprinted in Bologna, by Alessandro Benacci, with permission of the Holy Inquisition, 1575; about this copy, see below p.

149). These four imprints contain the passage, paraphrased from the Gospel of Matthew, remembered by Menocchio (see pp. 38 ff.); it's lacking instead in the briefer versions preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice (see A. Segarizzi, *Bibliografia delle stampe popolari italiane della R. Biblioteca nazionale di S. Marco di Venezia*, 1 [Bergamo, 1913], nos. 134, 330).

Il cavallier: There is a vast literature on this work. See the most recent edition known to me (M. C. Seymour, ed., *Mandeville's Travels* [Oxford, 1967]) and the opposing interpretations by M.H.I. Lests (*Sir John Mandeville: The Man and His Book* [London, 1949]) and of J. W. Bennett (*The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville* [New York, 1954]) who seek to demonstrate with unpersuasive arguments that Mandeville existed historically. The *Travels*, which was translated into Latin and into all the European vernaculars, circulated widely in both manuscript and printed form. In the British Library alone there are twenty editions of the Italian version, which appeared between 1480 and 1567.

Zampollo: On the *Sogno di Caravita*, see the studies by V. Rossi cited above, p. 145.

Il Supplemento: I know of at least fifteen vernacular editions of Foresti's chronicle printed between 1488 and 1581. On the author, see E. Panetti, "Fra Iacopo Filippo Foresti e la sua opera nel quadro della cultura bergamasca," *Bergomum* 33 (1939): 100-09, 147-74; A. Azzoni, "I libri del Foresti e la biblioteca conventuale di S. Agostino," *Bergomum* 53 (1959): 37-44; P. Lachat, "Une ambassade éthiopienne auprès de Clement V, à Avignon, en 1310," *Annali del pontificio museo missionario ethnologico già lateranensi* 31 (1967): 9, n. 2.

Lunario: Sander (*Le lire à figures*, vol. 2 nos. 3936-43) lists eight editions issued between 1509 and 1533.

Il Decameron: On the fact that Menocchio read a copy free of Counter-Reformation censorship, see above, pp. 50 ff. On this question see F. H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* (Bonn, 1883), I: 389-91; A. Rotondo, "Nuovi documenti," pp. 152-53; C. De Frede, "Tipografi, editori, librai italiani del Cinquecento coinvolti in processi di eresia," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 23 (1969): 41; P. Brown, "Aims and Methods of the Second *Rasseltatura* of the Decameron," *Studi secenteschi* 8 (1967): 3-40. In general, see A. Rotondo, "La censura ecclesiastica e la cultura," in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 5, *I documenti*, ed. R. Romano and C. Vivanti (Turin, 1973), pt. 2, pp. 1399-1492.

30. *The Koran*: See C. De Frede, *La prima traduzione italiana del Corano sullo sfondo dei rapporti fra Cristianità e Islam nel Cinquecento* (Naples, 1967).

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"which . . . I bought": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 20 r.

Supplementum: Ibid., Trial no. 285, unnumbered leaves (interrogation of 12 July 1599).

Lucidario: Ibid., Trial no. 126, fols. 18 r., 20 r.

Her son, Giorgio Capel: Ibid., unnumbered leaves (interrogation of 28 April 1584).

The Bible: Ibid., fol. 21 v.

The Mandeville: Ibid., fols. 22 r., 25 v.

The Sogno di Caravita: Ibid., fol. 23 v.

Nicola de Melchiori: Ibid., Trial no. 285, unnumbered leaves (interrogation of 5 August 1599).

Menocchio . . . had loaned: Ibid., Trial no. 126, unnumbered leaves (interrogation of 28 April 1584).

31. *We know that in Udine*. See reference to A. Battistella, in A. Tagliareri, *Struttura e politica sociale in una comunità veneta del 500 (Udine)* (Milan, 1969), p. 89.

Elementary schools: See G. Chiuppani, "Storia di una scuola di grammatica dal Medio Evo fino al Setcento (Bassano)," *Nuovo archivio veneto* 29 (1915): 79. On these questions, given the lack of modern studies still useful is the old work by G. Manscorda: *Storia della scuola in Italia*, vol. 1, *Il Medioevo* (Milan, Palermo, Naples, 1914).

It's astonishing: We should remember, however, that the history of literacy is in its infancy. The rapid general survey by C. Cipolla (*Literacy and Development in the West* [London, 1969]) is already outdated. Among the recent studies, see L. Stone, "The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640," *Past and Present*, no. 28 (1964), pp. 41-80; idem, "Literacy and Education in England, 1640-1900," *ibid.*, no. 42 (1969), pp. 69-139; A. Wyczancki, "Alphabétisation et structure sociale en Pologne au XVI^e siècle," *Annales*: ESC 29 (1974): 705-13; F. Furet and W. Sacks, "La croissance de l'alphabétisation en France—XVIII^e-XIX^e siècle," *ibid.*, pp. 714-37. Wyczancki's study is especially appropriate for comparison with the case we are presently examining. From the analysis of a series of financial documents from the region about Cracow during the biennium 1564-65, it appears that 22 percent of the peasants mentioned knew how to write their own signatures. The author warns that the figure must be accepted with caution, since it deals with a very small sample (eighteen persons), consisting, moreover, of peasants who were well off and who frequently held offices in the village (as was precisely Menocchio's case). He concludes, nevertheless, that "instruction at an elementary level existed among peasants" ("Alphabétisation," p. 710). We await with interest the results of research by B. Bonnin ("Le livre et les paysans en Dauphiné au XVII^e siècle") and J. Meyer ("Alphabétisation, lecture et écriture: Essai sur l'instruction populaire en Bretagne du XVI^e siècle au XIX^e siècle").

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32. *Menocchio knew little more Latin*. See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 16 r.: "He replied: I know how to say the Credo, and also I have heard the Credo that is recited in the Mass, and I have helped sing it in the church of Monte Reale." Interrogated: "Since you know the Credo, what do you have to say about that article, 'et in Iesum Christum filium eius unicum dominum nostrum qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine,' what did you say and believe about it in the past, and what do you believe now?" And when it was said to him: "Do you even understand these words, 'qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine'?" he replied: "Yes sir I understand." The course of the dialogue recorded by the notary of the Holy Office seems to indicate that Menocchio comprehends only when the words of the Credo are being repeated to him, perhaps more slowly. The fact that he also knew the *Pater Noster* (*ibid.*, Trial no. 285, unnumbered leaves, interrogation of 12 July 1599) doesn't contradict what we've suggested. Less obvious, instead, are the words of Christ to the thief which Menocchio cites ("hodie mecum eris in paradiso"; see Trial no. 126, fol. 33 r.). But to conclude on this basis alone that he knew Latin well would be hazardous indeed.

various social levels: Unfortunately, systematic research doesn't exist on books that circulated among the lower classes in sixteenth-century Italy—more precisely, among the minority of the members of these classes able to read. An investigation carried out on wills, *post mortem* inventories (such as those pursued by Bec especially on mercantile circles), and inquisitorial trials would be very useful. See also the evidence gathered by H.-J. Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVII^e siècle* (1558-1701), 2 vols. (Geneva, 1969), 1: 516-18 and, for a later period, J. Solé, "Lecture et

classes populaires à Grenoble au dix-huitième siècle: Le témoignage des inventaires après décès," *Images du peuple au XVIII^e siècle—Colloque d' Aix-en-Provence* 25 et 26 Octobre 1969 (Paris, 1973), pp. 95-102.

The Forest and the Mandeville: For Foresti, see Leonardo da Vinci, *Scritti letterari*, ed. A. Marinoni, new enlarged ed. (Milan, 1974), p. 254 (it's a conjecture, but plausibly founded). For Mandeville, see E. Solmi, *Le fonti dei manoscritti di Leonardo da Vinci* (Turin, 1908), p. 205, supplement nos. 10-11 of the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*. On Leonardo's reaction to Mandeville, see esp. p. 54. In general, besides the Marinoni edition just cited, pp. 239 ff., see E. Garin, "Il problema delle fonti del pensiero di Leonardo," in *La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano* (Florence, 1961), pp. 388 ff., and C. Dionisotti, "Leonardo uomo di lettere," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 5 (1962): 183 ff. (which we have tried to keep in mind, especially in terms of methodology).

Historia del Giudicio: This is the copy of the *Opera nuova del giudizio generale* preserved in the Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna (Aula V, Tab. I, J, vol. 51.2). On the title page there is a note: "Ulyssis Aldrovandi et amicorum." Other notes on the title and on the last leaf don't appear to be in Aldrovandi's hand. On the latter's encounters with the Inquisition, see A. Rotondo, "Per la storia dell'eresia a Bologna nel secolo XVI," *Rinascimento* 13 (1962): 150 f., with bibliography.

"fantastic opinions": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 12 v.

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33. *how did he read them*: On the question of reading—almost always surprisingly neglected by students of these questions, see the legitimate observations by U. Eco ("Il problema della ricezione," in A. Ceccaroni and G. Pagliano Ungari, eds., *La critica tra Marx e Freud* [Rimini, 1973], pp. 19-27), which in large part agree with what has been said here. Some very interesting material emerges from the investigation by A. Rossi and S. Piccone Stella, *La fatica di leggere* (Rome, 1963). On "error" as a methodologically crucial experience (which is demonstrated even in the case of Menocchio's readings) see C. Ginzburg, "A proposito della raccolta dei saggi storici di Marc Bloch," *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 6 (1965), pp. 340 ff.

"opinions": ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 21 v.

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34. *"was called a Virgin"*: See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fols. 17 v.-18 r. "Contemplative": I quote from the 1575 Venetian edition ("appresso Dominico de' Franceschi, in Frezzaria al segno della Regina"), fol. 42 r.

Calderari: See J. Furlan, "Il Calderari nel quarto centenario della morte," *Il Noncello*, no. 21 (1963), pp. 3-30. The painter's real name was Giovanni Maria Zaffoni. I don't know if it has been noticed that the feminine group on the right, in the scene of Joseph with the pretenders, resembles a similar group painted by Lotto at Tescore, in the fresco that depicts Saint Clare taking the veil.

17

"I believe": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 29 v.

35. *"Yes sir"*: *Ibid.*

"And the angels": I quote from the Venice edition of 1566 ("appresso Girolamo Scotto"), p. 262. Incidentally, it should be noted that among the scenes painted by Calderari at San Rocco there is also one of Mary's death.

36. "because many men": ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 16 r. in chapter 166 of the Fioretto: I quote from the 1517 Venetian edition ("per Zorzi di Rusconi milanese ad instantia de Nicolo dicto Zopino et Vincentio compagni"), fol. Ov v.

"Christi was born a man": ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 9 r.
 "if he was God": Ibid., fol. 16 v.

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37. "he is always arguing": ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 11 v.
 "I say": Ibid., fols. 22 v.-23 r.

"Oh, you who have": I quote, in the process correcting a couple of material errors, from the *Iudizio universale o vero finale* "in Firenze, appresso alle scale di Badia," n.d. (but 1570-80), a copy preserved in the Biblioteca Trivulziana. The 1575 Bologna edition (see above p. 146) has minor variants.

38. Even the Anabaptist Bishop: See A. Stella, *Anabattismo e antiritirismo in Italia nel XVI secolo* (Padua, 1969), p. 75.

39. "because it only hurts": ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 21 v.
 "I teach you": Ibid., fol. 9 r.

But during the interrogation: Ibid., fols. 33 v.-34 r.

40. Alcune ragioni del perdonare: "In Vinegia per Stephano da Sabbio, 1537." On Crispoldi, see A. Proserpi, *Tra evangelismo e Controriforma*: G. M. Giberti (1495-1543) (Rome, 1969), index. On the booklet, see C. Ganzburg and A. Proserpi, *Giochi di pazienza: Un seminario sul Beneficio di Cristo* (Turin, 1975).

"The prescription": [Crispoldi] *Alcune ragioni*, fols. 34 r.-v.

He is familiar with: Ibid., fols. 29 ff, especially fols. 30 v.-31 r.: "And to be sure they [soldiers and men of rank] and every state and condition of person and each and every republic and reign deserve perpetual war and never to enjoy peace, where there are so many who hate forgiving, or speak badly and have a low esteem of those who pardon. They deserve to have every person take the law into his own hands and have a private accounting, and that there should be neither judge nor public official, so that with a multitude of ills they may see how great an evil it is when everyone takes the law into his own hands, how vendettas, for the sake of the common good, are entrusted to public officials even by the laws of the pagans, and that even among them to pardon was the correct thing to do, especially when this was done for the good of the republic or even of some private person, as in the case where a father was pardoned so that his little children might not be deprived of his support. And think how much more important it is to do it because God wishes it so. This question of the common good is discussed at length elsewhere and by many." Cf. chapters 11-15 of book 1 of the *Discorsi* (first published in 1531).

not the *Machiavelli diminished*: See the Introduction by G. Procacci to N. Machiavelli, *Il Principe e Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* (Milan, 1960), pp. lix-lx.

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41. all his accomplices": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 27 r.

42. in a letter to his judges: See p. 89.

The *Travels*, probably . . . written: See the essential bibliography cited above, p. 147. It's well known: See G. Atkinson, *Les nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance française* (Paris, 1935), pp. 10-12.

"the different manners of Christians": I quote from the 1534 Venice edition (Joanne de Mandavilla, *Qual tratta delle piu maravigliose cose*), fol. 45 v.

"They say that a man": Ibid., fol. 46 r.-v.

43. "if that tree": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 38 r.

"among all the prophets": Mandavilla, *Qual tratta*, fol. 51 v.

"I doubted that": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 16 v.

"but he was never crucified": Mandavilla, *Qual tratta*, fol. 52 r.

"it is not true that Christ": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fol. 13 r.

"it seemed a strange thing": Ibid., fol. 16 v.

44. "they [the Christians]": Mandavilla, *Qual tratta*, fols. 53 r.-v.

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"the peoples": Joanne de Mandavilla, *Qual tratta delle piu maravigliose cose* (Venice, 1534), fol. 63 r. "Chanee" is Thana, a place located on the island of Salsette, northeast of Bombay (for the identification of geographical names in Mandaville, I've used Seymour's commentary to the edition [M. C. Seymour, ed., *Mandaville's Travels* (Oxford, 1967)]).

45. "they are people short in stature": Mandavilla, *Qual tratta*, fol. 79 v. On the possibility that this passage served as a source for Swift, see J. W. Bennett, *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville* (New York, 1954), p. 255-56.

"So many kinds": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, unnumbered leaves; Mandavilla, *Qual tratta*, fol. 22 r.

Michel de Montaigne: On the limits of Montaigne's relativism, see S. Landucci, *Filosofie e sebbongi*: 1580-1780 (Bari, 1972), pp. 363-64 and passim.

"In this island": Mandavilla, *Qual tratta*, fols. 76 v.-77 r. Dondina (Dondun) may be one of the Andaman islands. Chapter 148 of the Italian edition of Mandeville corresponds to chapter 22 of the English version (translators' note).

46. as it had Leonardo: See E. Solmi, *Le fonti dei manoscritti di Leonardo da Vinci* (Turin, 1908), p. 205, supplement, nos. 10-11 of the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*.

"Tell me": See ACAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, Trial no. 126, fols. 21 v.-22 r.

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47. "And you should know": Joanne de Mandavilla, *Qual tratta delle piu maravigliose cose* (Venice, 1534), fol. 63 v.

48. "the holiest beast": Ibid., fols. 63 v.-64 r.

"the heads of dogs": Ibid., fol. 75 r. The description of the Cynocephales is taken from the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais.

"you should know that in all that country": Mandavilla, *Qual tratta*, fols. 118 v.-19 r. "Et metuent": Ps. 66:8; "Omnes gentes": Ps. 71:11.

"although": Mandavilla, *Qual tratta*, fols. 110 r.-v. For the Scriptural citations, see Hos. 8:12; Song. of Sol. 8:14; John. 10:16.

118. "By obeying God": BGL, ms. 1271, fol. 12 r.

a more reserved position: I'll pass over those elements that are difficult to interpret, such as the repeated and surprising legitimization of cannibalism, both on earth and in heaven: "To the king for pleasure, to others out of necessity/ the eating of human flesh is not impious/ the worm eats it and fire devours it/ one is earthly, the other is not a little heavenly" (*ibid.*, fol. 13 r.); "If the desire to taste/ human flesh as he had it here one lacks his desire within himself/ he immediately sees himself presented with it/ and he can eat without strife or battle:/ everything is permitted in heaven, everything is well done/ because the Law is terminated and the Pact broken" (fol. 17 r.). Unconvincingly Donadoni interprets this last passage as a slangish allusion to sodomy ("Di uno sconosciuto," p. 127).

Pellegrino Baroni: For fuller information on this person, I refer the reader to a forthcoming study promised by A. Rotondo.

In 1570: See ASM, *Inquisizione*, b. 5b, fasc. Pighino Baroni, only partly paginated. The dossier contains copies of two testimonies pertaining to the Ferrarese trial (1561), 18e sticles (Paris, 1968), pp. 185-86, 278-80; C.-P. Clasen, *Anabaptism, a Social History (1525-1618)*: Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, South and Central Germany (Ithaca and London, 1972), pp. 319-20, 432-35.

a satirical poet: See Andrea da Bergamo [Piero Nelli], *Delle satire alla cartona libro secondo* (Venice, 1566), fol. 36 v.

The age-old hostility: See especially R. Bennett and J. Eikon, *History of Corn Milling*, 4 vols., vol. 3, *Fundal Laws and Customs* (London, 1898-1904, reprint ed., New York, 1966), pp. 107 ff. and *passim*. See also the collection of texts in G. Fenwick Jones, "Chaucer and the Medieval Miller," *Modern Language Quarterly* 16 (1955): 3-15.

"I descended into hell": See A. D'Ancona, *La poesia popolare italiana* (Livorno, 1878), p. 264.

120. "the soft ground": See Andrea da Bergamo [Piero Nelli], *Delle satire*, fol. 35 v.

"about priests and monks": See ASM, *Inquisizione*, b. 5b, fasc. Pighino Baroni, unnumbered leaves (1 February 1571). As early as the 1561 trial a witness had testified that he had heard Pighino in his mill "speak very badly about the Mass."

Their working conditions: R. Mandrou emphasizes this point in *Le Goff*, ed., *Hérésies et sociétés*, pp. 279-80.

The case in Modena: See C. Violante, *ibid.*, p. 186.

the bond of direct dependence: See M. Bloch, "Avènement et conquête du moulin à eau" in his *Mélanges historiques*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1963), 2: 800-821.

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121. In 1565: See ASVat. *Concilio Tridentino*, b. 94, fasc. *Visita della diocesi di Modena*, 1565, fol. 90 r. (and see also fol. 162 v. for a visit occurring four years later, and fol. 260 v.).

Natale Carazzoni: See ASM, *Inquisizione*, b. 5b, fasc. Pighino Baroni, fols. 18 v.-19 r. "readings": "lectiones."

"Father": See ASM, *Inquisizione*, b. 5b, fasc. Pighino Baroni, fol. 24 r.

He repeated the list: *Ibid.*, fol. 25 r.

122. After arriving in Bologna: See A. Rotondo, "Per la storia dell'eresia a Bologna nel secolo XVI," *Rinascimento* 13 (1962): 109 ff.

in a passage of the Apologia: See C. Renato, *Opere, documenti, e testimonianza*, ed. A. Rotondo, *Corpus Reformatorum Italico-rum* (De Kalb and Chicago, 1972), p. 53.

"Herd in Bologna": "Bonomae audita MDXL in domo equitis Bolognensi."

"in the home of the knight Bolognenti": Rotondo originally identified this individual with Francesco Bolognenti (see "Per la storia," p. 109, n. 3); but the latter became a senator only many years later, in 1555 (see G. Fanuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi* [Bologna, 1782], 2: 244). Thus, Rotondo dropped this identification (see index of names) in his edition of Renato's *Opere*. There is no problem, however, in identifying the person in question with Vincenzo Bolognenti, since he appears after 1534 among the *anziani* and *gonfalonieri*: See G. N. Pasquati Aldosi, *I signori anziani, consoli e gonfalonieri di giustizia della città di Bologna* (Bologna, 1670), p. 79.

first eleven: See ASM, *Inquisizione*, b. 5b, fasc. Pighino Baroni, fols. 12 v., 30 r.

What is certain . . . is that in October: See Renato, *Opere*, p. 170.

"his name was Turchetto": *Ibid.*, p. 172. His identification with fra Tommaso Paluso d'Apri, nicknamed "il Grechetto," suggested by Rotondo, isn't persuasive. That the person in question may be instead Giorgio Filaletto, known as "Turca" or "Turchetto" was suggested to me by Silvana Seidel Menchi, whom I wish to thank warmly.

123. "I believed that the souls": See ASM, *Inquisizione*, b. 5b, fasc. Pighino Baroni, fol. 33 v. the doctrine of the sleep of souls: See Renato, *Opere*, pp. 64-65 and Rotondo, "Per la storia," pp. 129 ff.

Venetian Anabaptists: See above p. 73.

a passage such as the one: 1 Thess. 4:13 ff.: "Nolumus autem vos ignorare, fratres, de dormientibus, ut non contristemini sicut et ceteri qui spem non habent. Si enim credimus quod Iesus mortuus est et resurrexit, ita et Deus eos qui dormierunt per Iesum adducet cum eo . . ." See also G. H. Williams, "Camillo Renato (c. 1500?-1575)" in *Italian Reformation Studies in Honor of Laelius Socrinus*, ed. J. Tedeschi (Florence, 1965), p. 107.

124. he "hadn't read it": See ASM, *Inquisizione*, b. 5b, fasc. Pighino Baroni, fol. 2 v.; but cf. fol. 29 v. The Fioretto had been placed on the index: See above p. 146.

"And all the things": See Fioretto, fol. A vi v.

"there are some things": *Ibid.*, fol. B ii r.

"that all souls": *Ibid.*, fols. C r-v.

125. "I have not read": See ASM, *Inquisizione*, b. 5b, fasc. Pighino Baroni, fol. 30 r.

"I have never associated": See above pp. 12, 5, etc.

"I wanted to infer": See ASM, *Inquisizione*, b. 5b, fasc. Pighino Baroni, fol. 20 v.

"It would be as if four soldiers": See ACAU, *Sent'Uffizio*, Trial no. 285, unnumbered leaves (19 July 1599).

Pighino had maintained: See ASM, *Inquisizione*, b. 5b, fasc. Pighino Baroni, unnumbered leaves (1 February 1571) and fol. 27 r.

"Preaching that men": See above pp. 76, 109.

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126. that of the popular roots: See M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

The subsequent period: For a general impression, see J. Delumeau, *Le catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (Paris, 1971), esp. pp. 256 ff. Interesting research possibilities are

suggested by J. Bossy, "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe," *Past and Present*, no. 47 (1970): 51-70. I see now that a similar periodization has also been proposed by G. Henningsen, *The European Witch-Persecution* (Copenhagen, 1973), p. 19, who promises to return to this question on another occasion with the Peasants' War: It would be very useful to have a comprehensive study of its effects, including those that were indirect and further removed.

the evangelization of the countryside: For this comparison, see Bossy, "The Counter-Reformation."

the rigid control: For vagabonds, see the bibliography cited above at p. 134, for gypsies, see H. Asséo, "Marginalité et exclusion: le traitement administratif des Bohémiens dans la société française du XVIII^e siècle," in *Problèmes socio-culturels en France au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. H. Asséo and Jean Vittu (Paris, 1974), pp. 11-87.

127. On 5 June 1599: See ACAU, "Epistole Sac. Cong. S. Officii ab anno 1588 usque ad 1613 incl.," unnumbered leaves. Giulio Antonio Santoro, Cardinal of Santa Severina, barely missed election to the papacy in the conclave that eventually resulted in the elevation of Clement VIII. His reputation for severity was the principal factor that ruined his chances.

"*has revealed himself to be an atheist*": Not one, thus, who denied Christ's divinity, but something even worse. On this terminology, see, in general, H. Busson, "Les noms des incrédules au XVII^e siècle," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 16 (1954): 273-83.

128. *shortly after*: When, on 26 January 1600, the dowry of Giovanna Scandella was registered with the notary (see above pp. 135-36) the act took place "domi heredium quonondam ser Dominici Scandella" (ASP, *Notarie*, b. 488, no. 3786, fol. 27 v.).

We know this with certainty: See ACAU, "Ab anno 1601 usque ad annum 1603 incl. a. n. 449 usque ad 546 incl.," Trial no. 497. At any rate, P. Paschini (*Grasia e Riforma catholica al confine orientale d'Italia*, Lateranum, n.s. 17, nos. 1-4 [Rome, 1951], p. 82), who affirmed on the basis of documents actually examined by him that the only person executed by the Holy Office in the Friuli was a German smith in 1568, should be corrected.

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