Notes

Introduction

Part of this introduction has been revised and adapted from McGough and Erbelding, 2006, pp. 183–95.

1. For a general introduction to the Italian Wars, see Hay and Law, 1989, pp. 158–68; for a general discussion of the sack of Rome and its impact, see Cochrane, 1988, pp. 7–18.


8. A useful starting place for the vast literature on the social construction of illness is Lachmund and Stollberg, 1992; Rosenberg and Golden, 1992; Roy Porter’s work provides wonderful examples of the application of this theoretical orientation in specific times and places, for example, Porter and Rousseau, 1998. Works of medical anthropology that have been particularly useful in helping me understand cultural responses to sexually transmitted disease are Farmer, 1992 and Hyde, 2007.


10. A useful introduction to early modern perceptions of illness and disease is Lindemann, 2006, pp. 8–12.


15. Hewlett, 2005, pp. 239–60; for the preoccupation with sodomy in Tuscany, see Rocke, 1996.


17. The ways in which sexually transmitted diseases were social constructed in Europe changed over time. For example, syphilis became a symbol of sexual and alcoholic excess, a symptom of the stresses of modern urban living in late
nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain. Syphilis was considered to be one of the diseases of “civilization.” See G. Davis, 2008, pp. 204–5.


22. The literature on cultural responses to epidemic disease is vast. A useful starting place is Ranger and Slack, 1996; an excellent example of a cultural study of chronic disease is Porter and Rousseau, 1998.
23. An exception is Hyde’s *Eating Spring Rice*, in which she discusses “how HIV/AIDS becomes embedded in political and economic relations, embodied practices, and cultural imaginations,” p. 2.
24. See notes 8, 11, 12, 14 and 15.
25. For an interesting study of how an “invisible” disease, sickle cell anemia, became “visible” due to political, economic, and medical changes, see Wailoo, 2001.
26. One important exception is Schleiner, 1994, pp. 499–517; Kevin Siena is also attentive to gender issues in his *Venereal Disease, Hospitals, and the Urban Poor*. Gender analysis has been central to studies of modern venereal disease, however; a useful starting point is Spongberg, 1997.
28. On methodology, see especially Davis, 1987; Muir, 1991, pp. vii–xxviii. For an excellent example of how criminal records can be used to study sexuality, see Ruggiero, 1985.
29. For an excellent discussion of how “structural factors” such as opportunities to earn income can influence behavior and disease risk, see the discussion on “risk regulators” in Glass and McAtee, 2006.
30. The history of venereal diseases has often been studied in relation to the control of prostitution. Several works include Bernstein, 1995; Walkowitz, 1980; Corbin, 1990; Gibson, 1986.
32. For an excellent discussion of the impact of the laboratory on conceptions of disease, see Cunningham, 2002, pp. 209–44.
34. On the problem of retrospective diagnosis with regard to the French disease, see Arrizabalaga, Henderson, and French, 1997, pp. 1–3; 17–18.
35. On Savonarola, see Weinstein, 1970; Arrizabalaga, Henderson, and French, 1997, p. 44.
37. Foreigners filled the ranks of infantry constables, while “large numbers of Albanian stradiots and even Turks were being used as light cavalry.” Mallett, 1974, p. 232.
40. Harper et al., 2008. For critical commentary from other scientists, see Mulligan et al., 2008.
43. It is not possible to determine the date of the first death attributed to the French disease, since the records between 1495 and 1503 are missing. Carmichael, 1991, pp. 187–200.
44. Baker and Armelagos, 1988, pp. 703–37. It is important to point out once again, however, that early modern perceptions of disease differed dramatically from modern perceptions. “Before the laboratory it was accepted that patients suffered from ‘mixed’ diseases, and that the ‘morbid matter’ freely moved within the body, which implied that any disease could change its seat, and even be transformed into another one” (Arrizabalaga, 1999, pp. 241–60, on p. 249). It was therefore possible for a case of leprosy to transform into a case of the French disease. For a specific case of early modern clinical diagnosis of the transformation of the French disease into leprosy, see Stein, 2006, pp. 617–48, on 617–8.
47. During the early sixteenth century, people more often used organic metaphors of the “body politic” to explain and understand the nature of politics. A body politic, as an organic entity, could suffer from ill health in a number of ways: internal corruption, threat of war from abroad, disruptive epidemics of plague or an outbreak of famine. For a particularly lucid explanation of the body politic metaphor in the Venetian context, see Laughran, October 17, 2002. Sperling, 1999, pp. 72–114.

1 A Network of Lovers: Sexuality and Disease Patterns in Early Modern Venice

3. The French disease was one of the most common ailments treated by Girolamo Cardano during the 1530s; most of his patients were from Milan, but he had also practiced in Venice, Sacco, Pavia, Bologna, and Rome. See Siraisi, 1997, p. 34. Similarly, David Gentilcore explains how the French disease was common enough throughout Italy to provide a steady stream of patients to both surgeons and physicians. See Gentilcore 2005, pp. 57–80.
7. City-wide population surveys in Venice typically do not include as many births and deaths as parish records, but not all parish records have survived. For the limitations on the study of Venetian demography, see Favero et al., 1991, pp. 23–110.
8. The state archives of Venice, Italy (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, henceforth ASV), Prov. alla Sanità, Necrologi, Busta numbers 814–23, 834–41, 850–4, 867–70.
9. For example, in 1586, there were 16 deaths attributed to the French disease (bustas 817–18); in 1610, there were 14 deaths (bustas 840–1), while in 1638 there were only nine (bustas 868–9). ASV, Prov. alla Sanità, Necrologi.
11. ASV, Ospitali et Luoghi Pii, Diversi, Busta 1031, Notatorio, f. 78r, f. 116r.
15. ASV, Proved. alla Sanità, Busta 819, November 8, 1587; the patient was a 40-year-old wife of a carpenter; and Busta 815, October 5, 1583; the patient was a 48-year-old tailor.
16. For example, ASV, Proved. alla Sanità, Busta 815, December 5, 1583; this 40-year-old widow’s illness was reported as having been only 15 days, but it is possible that the 15 days referred to fever, the other cause of death listed.
17. ASV, Prov. alla Sanità, Busta numbers 814–23, 834–41, 850–4, 867–70.
18. In medieval Bologna, Carol Lansing identified a gulf between social practice and elite definitions of female identity. While elite men could only define a woman as honest or a prostitute, people from working-class neighborhoods made many more distinctions, identifying several kinds of relationships outside of marriage, including a popularly accepted if not formal legal marriage. See Lansing, 2003, pp. 85–100.
22. The concern existed even before the Italian Wars, as Bernardo of Siena’s sermons of the 1420s suggest when he advised wives to conceal their menstruation and engage in sex to keep their husbands from demanding anal intercourse. Rocke, 1998, pp. 150–70, on p. 156.
23. On Florence, see Rocke, 1996.
26. Evidence of the relationships that ended with the woman’s entry into the Convertite or Casa del Soccorso exists in the records of these institutions themselves, as well as the Proveditori Sopra Monasteri, Processi Criminali, and occasional trials in the Sant’Uffizio. See McGough, 1997.


30. On how to use criminal records as a source for social history, see the introduction to Muir and Ruggiero, 1994. I have borrowed from Natalie Davis about using these sources as evidence of acceptable cultural constructs in a given society and avoided, as Renato Rosaldo has argued, treating the Inquisitor or examining magistrate as an ethnographic fieldworker, providing notes in the form of a trial. See Davis, 1987; Renato Rosaldo, “From the Door of His Tent: The Fieldworker and the Inquisitor,” in Clifford and Marcus, 1986, pp. 77–97.

31. Parte presa nell’Eccellentissimo Consiglio di Pregadi, February 21, 1542 m.v. (February 21, 1543).


34. Klovdaahl, 1985, pp. 1203–16, on p. 1210. After Klovdaahl’s article, there was a virtual explosion of interest in the application of social network theory to the AIDS epidemic. For early applications of the theory, see Anarfi and Awusabo-Asare, 1993, p. 1–15; Sexually Transmitted Diseases includes many articles on recent applications of social network theory, such as Boily et al., 2000, pp. 558–72. For a recent review of the literature on social networks and STD transmission, including HIV/AIDS, see Morris, Goodreau, and Moody, 2008, pp. 109–25.


40. Barlow, 2001, p. 1458.


43. Lurie et al., 2003, pp. 149–56.

44. Lurie et al., 2003, pp. 2245–52.

45. The bibliography on patronage is vast, but an excellent starting place on the issue of the extent of patronage networks is Kent and Simons, 1987, especially chapters 2 and 5. For Venice, see Romano, 1987. His work concentrates on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Davis, 1994, pp. 54–5, 135.

46. Romano, Housecraft and Statecraft, p. xv. Master–servant relationships were important throughout early modern Europe. For early modern France, for example, see Maza, 1983 and Fairchilds, 1984.

47. Chojnacka, 2000, pp. 6–25.

49. Married noblewomen were often active patrons, especially of female kin, servants, and neighbors, in their immediate neighborhoods, so they were not completely socially isolated. See Romano, 1987. Nonetheless, out of fear of women’s sexuality, noblewomen were closely monitored and not allowed free associations with other men, nor were they allowed freedom of movement throughout the city. See Romano, 1989, pp. 339–54, on pp. 347–8.


52. The Sant’Uffizio records provide evidence of relationships which failed, since women often turned to love magic to try to win back their former lovers. See for example Sant’Uffizio, Busta 95, fasc. Bretti, Angela. Angela complained that her lover, Michiel de Morchi, a soldier posted to Padua, broke his promise to marry her and married a different woman instead. It was possible to maintain more than one sexual relationship at a time. See also Ruggiero, pp. 30–1.

53. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 90, fasc. Fabri, Girolamo et al.

54. Overlapping sexual relationships are referred to as concurrent relationships in the literature on STDs and are associated with higher transmission rates through a population. See Morris, Goodreau, and Moody, 2008, pp. 117–20.

55. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 98, fasc. Franchesca da Bari, denunciation of November 6, 1642 and testimony of Camilla, wife of Nicolai de Pipes, 40-year-old, December 16, 1642.

56. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 70, fasc. Felicita detta Greca, meretrice. Testimony of Ludovico, November 23, 1617. “lei non è maritata, lei ha ben un certo tal che la tiene chiamato Giulio dal Todesco.” For similar cases, see Sant’Uffizio, Busta 73, fasc. Tommasina moglie di Nicolo barcaruol; Busta 81, fasc. Marioli Maria et al.

57. Cases sometimes came to court after man married a different woman and the abandoned woman allegedly practiced witchcraft against the new couple, the wife, or the man himself. See for example Sant’Uffizio, Busta 64, fasc. Azzalina, Livia; Sant’Uffizio, Busta 81, fasc. Marina Facchinetti and Lucia Bettinello; Sant’Uffizio, Busta 95, fasc. Bretti, Angela. The crime of defloration was also linked to failed expectations of marriage after the sexual act had occurred. Typically, the man promised to marry a woman and brought gifts to indicate his seriousness. He then failed to marry her, leaving her “deflowered” with diminished expectations of marriage. See Gambier, 1980; on defloration cases, Hacke, 2004, pp. 52–62; McGough, 1997, pp. 24–8; On women’s ability to regain honor after losing virginity, see Ferrante, 1990, pp. 46–72.

58. Sant’Uffizio, Busta 81, fasc. Marina Facchinetti and Lucia Bettinello, testimony of February 26, 1626. “Questo era mio moroso. Questo è quel che si è maritato questo Agosto. se bene mi haveva promesso di tuorme per moglie.”


60. Concurrency has an exponential impact on the prevalence of STDs in a population. In Uganda in the early 1990s, for example, the HIV/AIDS prevalence doubled due to concurrent partnerships. Morris, Goodreau, and Moody, 2008, pp. 117–20.
63. The date was not recorded for 1642, although nearby San Martino was surveyed on April 14, 1642, so it was probably near that date. All of the censuses were taken in March and April of 1642.
64. All census data is from ASV, Prov. alla Sanità, Busta 570.
70. Lane, 1973, pp. 254, 324.
73. This idea is part of the so-called “myth of Venice.” See Muir, 1981, pp. 13–61; Grubb, 1986, pp. 43–94.
75. The literature on concubinage is vast, but an excellent starting place is Brundage, 1987.
78. See also Ruggiero, 2001, pp. 141–58.
79. The literature on the dowry system is vast. For Florence, see Klapisch-Zuber, 1985; Kirchner, 1978; Kuehn, 1991. Throughout Italy, see Cohn, 1996.
80. On dowry laws in Venice, see Ferro, 1845, pp. 641–3; also Bellavitis, 1998, pp. 91–100; Chojnacki, 1975, pp. 571–600.
82. The guilds formally restricted the kinds of opportunities open to women, thereby limiting women’s ability to earn income on their own. Although women were allowed to be members if their fathers or husbands also were, women were not allowed to achieve the status of master and earned less than men. They were more likely to be found in the textile and clothing trades, along with trade in second hand goods. Even in these trades, however, their numbers were small. The mercers’ guild, which sold haberdashery and dry goods of all types, listed 31 women among its 964 members, a little more than 3 percent of the total. Mackenney, 1987, pp. 23, 103. The situation in Bologna was similar; see Dumont, 1998, pp. 4–5.
83. The dowry system engendered feminist critique at the time as well as contemporary feminist scholarly interest. At the time, Moderata Fonte criticized the dowry system as a threat to women’s virtue. She criticized the unfairness of inheritance rules that favored men and dowry regulations that constrained women, especially those women left without anything at all. These women “are forced, if they want to provide for themselves, to have recourse to those means that (as I have said) are blameworthy and despicable” Fonte (Modesta Pozzo), 1997, p. 63. As Virginia Cox explains, Venetian women’s criticism of dowry and women’s economic situation reached a climax just as the marriage market imposed limitations on women’s ability to
marry, the usual path toward respectability and economic stability; see Cox, 1995, pp. 513–81.


85. Not all Venetians believed that men were so powerless in the face of beauty and love magic. In the words of the writer Moderate Fonte, “Believe me, all that talk about magic spells is just words: men do what they do because they want to. And if you want proof, you will find men who are just as obsessed, or even more obsessed, with gambling as they are with women. So you can see what the problem is: men have vicious tendencies, to which they give too free a rein, and that’s the explanation for all the crazy things they do,” Fonte, 1997, p. 70.

90. Women practiced various forms of magic to discern whether their noble lovers planned to marry them. In 1591, for example, Appollonia Colomba appeared before the Holy Office and readily confessed to having “thrown the beans” (a common form of love magic) years before in order to find out if her lover, the nobleman Vicenzo Malipiero, intended to marry her. At the time of the trial, Appollonia was married to Salvador Saonetti, who operated a furnace on the island of Murano. Nine months earlier, her name was mentioned by a former servant of the nobleman as a practitioner of magic and wife of the nobleman. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 66, fasc. Colomba, Appollonia, case begins in 1590. In another case, a woman wanted to find out if her daughter’s lover intended to marry her daughter. Clara, the 70-year-old widow of a carpenter, mentioned that her daughter had been maintained by a man for three months and then wanted to find out if he intended to marry her. She therefore consulted a certain Angelica and paid her two lira for her services. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 89, fasc. Angelica, 1633.
93. Sometimes the groom’s family was not content with the dishonour such a bride brought to the family. See for example Eisenach, 2004, pp. 134–5.
95. On the practice of love magic, see Ruggiero, 1993, pp. 88–129.
96. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 96, fasc. Novaglia, Isabella, first booklet, fos. 45r-46v, August 7, 1640.
97. Ibid., fos. 38v-r, July 31, 1640.
98. Molho, 1988, p. 239.
99. Molho, 1979, pp. 5–33.
100. On patronage, see note 45.
102. Joanne Ferraro discusses other examples in Venice where both husband and mother-in-law offered the bride’s sexual services to a gentleman and where
Notes 161


107. Romano, 1996, pp. 52–3, 101–2. The Holy Office trials sometimes make reference to sexual relationships between masters and servants, although the focus of the trial itself was heretical belief. See for example Sant’Uffizio, Busta 68, fasc. De Medici, Gasparo, especially the testimony of Maria on July 18, 1591.


109. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 68, fasc. De Medici, Gasparo, see esp. testimony of July 30, 1591.

110. ASV, Esecutori contro la Bestemmia, Busta 61, March 4, 1627 f. 49v. See also note 57 for more literature on defloration cases.

111. The relationship between criminal prosecutions and extent of rape is not always clear, because women are often reluctant to report rapes when it is seldom prosecuted and the burden of proof is placed upon the victim, as was usually the case in Renaissance Italy. Samuel Cohn actually argues that the extent of rape in Florence probably increased during the fifteenth century because prosecution declined. See Cohn, 1996, p. 30.


114. Ruggiero, 1985, p. 96. Ruggiero’s study focuses on fourteenth- and fifteenth-century cases, but the broad pattern of remaining more sympathetic to victims according to age and status emerged during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See also Cohn, 1996, pp. 98–136, esp. 119–20.


116. On Saint Disdier, see Massimo Gemin, “Le Cortigiane di Venezia e i viaggiatori stranieri,” in Il gioco dell’amore, p. 76.


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2 The Suspected Culprits: Dangerously Beautiful Prostitutes and Debauched Men

This chapter is an expansion and revision of an earlier paper, “Purifying the Body Politic: Venice’s Response to Syphilis,” at The Body in Early Modern Italy Conference, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD, on October 17, 2002 and a book chapter, “Quarantining Beauty: The French Disease in Early Modern Venice,” in Kevin Siena (ed.) Sins of the Flesh: Responding to Sexual Disease in Early
Modern Europe (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2005), pp. 211–38.

1. Antonio Musa Brasavola’s treatise on the French disease was published both on its own and as part of a collection in Venice. The treatise De morbid Gallici vocati curatione formed the final part of Examen omnium Loch; idest linctuam, suffuf, idest pulverum, aquarum, decoctionum, oleorum, quorum apud Ferrarienses pharmacopolas usus est, ubi De morbo Gallico... (Venice: Apud Juntas, 1553); for Musa Brasavola’s contribution to the collection of various authors’ works on the French disease, see De morbo gallico omnia quae extant apud omnes medicos cuiuscunque nationis.... (Venice, Jordanum Zilettum, 1566–7), pp. 564–634. The Latin treatise was also published in Lyons multiple times in 1555, 1556, and 1561. On Musa Brasavola’s theory, see Foa, 1990, p. 39.

2. Rostinio, Trattato del Mal Francese, ff. 21r-v. The 1559 edition is a reprint of the 1556 edition. “Nel campo de Francesi del mille quattrocento era una meretrice bellissima, la quale nella bocca della matrice haveva una apostema putrefatta, et gli huomini che usavano con lei fregolando il collo della matrice, per la humidità & putredine del loco, nel mèbro virile cõtrahevano una dispositione, che ulcerava,” f. 21r. “Et questo male cominciò a macular prima un’huomo, poscia due, et tre, &cèto, perché quella era publica meretrice & bellissima. & si come la natura humana è appetitosa del coito, molte donne usando con questi huomini, infettate si trovavano di tal male. Et queste l’han participato con altri huomini, tal che il detto male si è sparso per tutta la Italia, Francia, & per tutta l’Europa,” f. 21v. From the 1553 Latin edition of Examen omnium, “Scortum aderat nobilissimum ac pulcherrimum in vteri ore putrefactum gerens abscessum. Viri qui cum illa coibãt adiuuante etiam humiditate ac putredine, dum membra virilia per uteri collum perfricabãt, ob loci etiam putredinem in eor(um) virilibus membris quondam affectionem contrahebant, qua exulcerabantur,” f 194r. “Hæc lues unum primo infecit hominem, postea duos, tres, & centum, quia illa erat publica meretrix & pulcherrima, & vt procax est humana natura in coitum, multe mulieres cum his vitiates viris coeuntes lue ista infecte sunt, quam deinde alius viris sunt imparteit, vt deniq; lues per totã Italiam sparsa sit, & per Gallias, & brevibus p(er) vniuersam Europam,” f 194r.


5. Qualtiere and Slichts argue that the development of the idea of contagion in the sixteenth century shifted the focus of ethical discourse to the individual. See Qualtiere and Slichts, 2003, pp. 1–24.


7. Literary scholars have been more successful than historians in recognizing references to diseased prostitutes as symbols of cultural anxiety. An excellent example is Deanne Shemek, 2004, pp. 49–64. See also the various essays in Siena, 2005.


11. For a similar discussion of how living people can become representatives of a particular disease, see Leavitt, 1996. Although others also suffered from typhoid fever, Mary Mallon’s role as a cook, her gender, and her Irish origins all contributed to public fascination with her as a singular representative of this disease.


15. Massa, 1566.


17. Parenti, quoted by Corradi, pp. 15–16. “Settembre 1496. Non sarà inconnu- eniente far memoria della nuoua malattia uenuta a questi tempi, chiamata rognia franciosa, la quale in tutte parti del mondo si distese. Fava doglia intensissima; durava 8 in 10 mesi.”

18. Corradi, p. 19. “Et non vera rimedio se non lasarla fare suo corso et se trovava che le feminine lo avavano in la natura e per questo ne fино chazate molte meretrize da bologna e da ferara e altri luoghi.”


20. For a useful summary of the medical traditions regarding women’s bodies, see Maclean, 1980, pp. 28–46.


28. For the ways in which images of chaste women could evoke the images of prostitutes and vice versa because they are defined in opposition to each other in Renaissance Ferrara, see Deanna Shemek, Ladies Errant, pp. 38–9.


38. Pancino, 2003, pp. 5–42, on pp. 5, 32–4. This moralistic discourse was still evident in the early eighteenth century, when writers such as Francesco Beretta wrote advice manuals for noblemen choosing a spouse.

39. Literally, “Con le bellezze non si mangia,” and “Ogni bela scarpa deventa bruta ciabata.” I have translated “scarpa” as slipper to reflect the word’s positive association in English (such as Cinderella’s glass slippers) and translated “ciabata” as shoe to reflect the negative connotations in English of old shoe. Cited by Pancino, “Soffrire per ben comparire,” pp. 36–7.


41. On the iconography of Mary Magdalene, see Mosco, 1986; Haskins, 1993; and Malvern, 1975. On the sexualization of touch represented visually in Renaissance art, see 1993, pp. 198–224.


44. Lewis Wager’s 1566 play about Mary Magdalene, for example, can be seen as a critique of Catholic mores. See Badir, 1999, pp. 1–20.


49. Eatough, 1984, p. 87.


51. The presence of Girolamo Fracastoro’s name on this list may surprise a few readers who associate him with refuting the idea of the French disease’s New World origins in his epic poem *De Syphilis*, credited with providing the name for the disease. Nonetheless, Fracastoro’s narrative strategies reinforced the association between disease, the New World, and the female body. See Campbell, 1992, pp. 20–2.


57. Henry III’s critics alleged that he contracted a venereal disease during this visit, another example of how disease served as a symbol of moral disorder and could be used to shame or discredit people. Poirer, 2005, p. 170.
58. Schuler, 1991, pp. 209–22. Rona Goffen wisely points out that the actual identity of Titian’s models is comparatively unimportant to understanding his paintings, in which “the anonymous becomes a mythic being, she becomes Sacred and Profane Love or Venus herself, or indeed she becomes the very embodiment of beauty. And in this process, her historical identity is taken from her: her own biography is irrelevant,” Goffen, 1997, p. 149.

59. One of the most widely circulated guidebooks was Coryat, 1611, in which he described his visit to a courtesan’s house. He justified his visit on the grounds that he tried to convert the courtesan to religious life, but was unsuccessful. Besides, his observation of vice would only consolidate his commitment to leading a virtuous life. “For I think that a virtuous man will be the more confirmed and settled in vertue by the observation of some vices, then if he did not at all know what they were,” p. 271.


63. As Leah Lydia Otis argues in the case of Languedoc, the change in attitude toward prostitution was part of a “desire for change in sexual morality [that] had been growing since the late Middle Ages,” Otis, 1985, pp. 43–5. In Augsburg, after the public brothel closed in 1532, prostitutes depended on fewer numbers of clients in longer-term relationships. “The boundary between prostitute and non-prostitute became blurred. No longer a group of dishonorable women, clearly defined by where they lived and what they wore, there was little difference between prostitutes, fornicators or adulteresses—indeed, any woman might be a prostitute.” Roper, “Discipline and Respectability: Prostitution and the Reformation in Augsburg,” History Workshop Journal, p. 21. For France, see Rossiaud, 1988.


68. On the importance of Venice to English debates about political liberty, see Muir, 1981, pp. 51–5.

69. Coryat’s narrative makes frequent reference to the hypocrisy of Venetian institutions: the friar who allegedly had sexual relations with 99 nuns, an orphanage which existed so that courtesans could more easily abandon their children, the existence of a convent for retired prostitutes, etc. See Coryat, 1611, pp. 253, 269, 268.


71. Coryat, 1611, p. 271.


75. Ascanio Centorio, Discorsi di Guerra (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de’ Ferrari, 1567), f. 12v. “Scipio Africano in Ispagna, essendogli presentata una bellissima giovane avanti, non solo da quella si astenne, ma non volse pur mirarla, et commesse che fosse restituita a suoi parenti.”
76. For example, Domenico Mora criticized the general indiscipline of soldiers, including such faults as killing out of caprice and “forcing women” (chi sforzerà donne). Mora, 1569, f. 8r. See also Hanlon, 1998, esp. p. 265.
77. Centorio, Discorsi di guerra, ff. 57v, 39v.
79. For a detailed study of the Interdict controversy, see Bouwsma, 1968, pp. 339–482.
82. The conflict between libertines and moralists made use of the trope of the diseased body in seventeenth-century France as well. One libertine poet ended his “lament” for having contracted the disease from intercourse with a woman by not renouncing sex (as was typical of the moralistic genre) but by vowing to have only anal sex in the future if he survived. “God I truly repent for a life so untrue:/ And if right away I am not killed by your wrath, I vow hereafter to screw only in the ass,” quoted by Poirer, 2005, p. 173.
83. So-called obscene literature, such as the writings of Pietro Aretino, were first prohibited by Pope Paul IV’s Index of Prohibited Books in 1559. Although Venetian booksellers protested the Index, the papacy responded with economic reprisals against Venetian booksellers that ultimately proved successful. See Grendler, 1977, pp. 116–22.
87. Foa, 1990, p. 39. In addition, Pietro Andrea Mattioli also wrote about intercourse with leprous women but provided no details.
95. Estienne, 1546, pp. 294, 300, 310, 312; the pastoral scene is on p. 312 and the woman reclining with legs splayed is on p. 310. On the association between Estienne and Italian erotic images, see Carlino, 1999, pp. 23–6. A few of Titian’s images have strongly muscled women, such as the 1560 painting Mars, Venus, and Amor, as do the erotic images in I Modi described in note 93.
96. Giulio Romano drew a series of these images which were accompanied by Pietro Aretino’s text. They were first published in 1524 and reappeared in woodcut edition in Venice in 1550. See Lawner, 1989.
98. The 1559 edition, for example, states that Rostinio has translated parts of Brasavola’s work and added his own work. The 1565 edition makes no mention of Brasavola, but makes references to the popular empiric Leonardo

100. Eamon, 1994, pp. 10–16.
101. Rostinio, 1565, p. f. 9v.
102. Daston and Park, 2001, p. 200; see also Paré, 1982, chapter 20. “An Example of the Mixture or Mingling of Seed,” p. 67. “There are monsters that are born with a form that is half-animal and the other [half] human, or retaining everything [about them] from animals, which are produced by sodomists and atheists who ‘join together’ and break out of their bounds—unnaturally—with animals, and from this are born several hideous monsters that bring great shame to those who look at them or speak of them.”
106. Allen, 2000, p. 34.
108. Leonicenno had earlier argued that the French disease struck first in the genitals not because of sexual transmission, but because these parts were more susceptible to putrefaction due to their natural humidity and heat. Other commentators, such as Almenar, rejected this idea on the grounds that all diseases should then begin in the genitals. See Arrizabalaga, 2005, p. 43.
109. “Se dimâdi in questo male, che cosa sia questa venenosita, dicemo, che è una mala disposizione senza nome, ne da niuno è definita dico ma la disposizione di questo male qual è nasciuto, & dalla mala qualita dell’aere, & dalla friczione nel cavernoso loco della donna, dove è mala disposizione il male è da numerar tra li contagiosi,” (f. 21v).
110. Rostinio’s complete explanation of these mechanisms is the following: “Nel campo de Francesi del mille quattrocento era una meretrice bellissima, la quale nella bocca della matrice haveva una apostema putrefatta, et gli huomini che usavano con lei fregolando il collo della matrice, per la humidità & putredine del loco, nel mebro virile cótrahevano una disposizione, che ulcerava, & per il mebro qual’è mollissimo ascèdeva una mala qualita fino alle vie emútorie, & alle parti del l’inguini. Et la natura per scacciar fuori la mala qualita venenosa ivi facea tumori, et ivi trasmetterà la materia. Poi quella mala qualita fino al figato ascèdeva, & maculava il sangue,” f. 21r.
111. Arrizabalaga, 2005, p. 44.

### 3 Stigma Reinforced: The Problem of Incurable Cases of a Curable Disease

5. Arrizabalaga et al., 1997, pp. 100–3, 139–42. On other treatment such as the dry stove, see pp. 137–9.
7. Siraisi, 1997; on Cardano’s alleged cure for a disease known as phthisis and its comparison to the French disease, see p. 24; on reasons why the French disease was seen as curable, see p. 34.
9. Aretino, 1976, p. 222. Letter of August 22, 1542. Aretino’s work is certainly more complex than simple pornography or even eroticism. He intended to criticize what he regarded as an excessively abstract academic culture and wanted to emphasize the importance of concrete, material reality. At the same time, he also wanted to examine the different “motors” of human life, which he saw as money and sex. Whereas men were often equally driven by both, some women, especially prostitutes, were only driven by money, and were therefore not caught between these two often conflicting forces. See Larivaille, 1980, esp. pp. 99–100, 172–3.
15. ASV, Giustizia Vecchia, Busta 74, Reg. 95, August 2, 1633 f. 1r, August 9, 1633 f. 2v. Thanks to James Shaw for showing me this case.
18. The groundbreaking work on stigma is Goffman, 1963. More recent work has emphasized how the development of stigma is embedded in broader power inequalities in society. See Parker and Aggleton, 2003, pp. 15–24; Link and Phelan, 2001, pp. 363–85.
21. Massa, 1566, p. iii. The same was true in seventeenth-century London, where medical advertisements for the French disease were common, and female healers treated women who were too ashamed to consult with male doctors. See Siena, 2001, pp. 199–224.
22. See Mercurio, 1621, p. 280. On Mercurio’s place in the history of Italian obstetrics, see Pancino, 1984, p. 27. Interestingly, Giovanni Marinello’s book “for chaste and young women” did not include recipes for French disease sores, again suggesting that the disease brought some shame for unmarried women. His book does include recipes for hiding marks due to smallpox, for example, and the various illnesses which can do damage to a woman’s external beauty. Marinello, 1574, see esp. f. 1v; for smallpox, third book, chapter X, f. 204r.
Notes 169

24. Cortese, 1588, pp. 13–16. On books of secrets, see Eamon, 1994. Little is known about Isabella Cortese’s life, although Eamon surmises that she must have been of high social status because of her literacy. She was the only female author of a book of secrets, an extremely popular genre in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On Cortese, see Eamon, 1994, p. 137.
26. *Opera Nuova Intitolata Dificio di Ricette, nella quale si contengono tre utilissimi ricettari* (Venice, 1526), f. 19v; *Opera Nova Intitolata Dificio de Recette nella quale si contengono tre utilissimi recettari* (Venice, 1530), f. 17r.
28. Guaiacum was a wood from the West Indies widely used as a cure for the French disease. The wood was supposed to be ground to sawdust, then soaked in water in a ratio of eights parts water to one part wood. The water should then be boiled until reduced to half its original volume; the foam produced during boiling should be dried and used as a medicine. See Arrizabalaga et al., 1997, pp. 100–2.
31. Palmer, 1985, pp. 100–17, on p. 101–2. One apothecary noted his happiness at receiving roots of a plant named *colchicum syriacum alexandrinum* (a flowering plant in the lily family) from a surgeon in the Venetian fleet; roots of this plant were added to guaiacum for treatment of the French disease.
37. ASV Prov. alla Sanità, Busta 736, January 8, 1590 m.v., Feb. 15, 1590 m.v., undated application for *mal francese* ff. 50r-51r, June 19, 1595; Busta 737, July 14, 1597, February 3, 1602, March 14, 1602, April 18, 1603, July 8, 1603, July 30, 1603, August 8, 1603, March 5, 1607. On the Sanità and secret recipes, see Laughran, 1998, p. 170 n.123. The Sanità also advised the College of Physicians about a secret powder said to be miraculous in the cure of the French disease in 1579. See Palmer, 1983, p.11 n. 38.
38. ASV Prov. alla Sanità, Busta 736, undated application for *mal francese* ff. 50r-51r.
39. In fact, venereal disease remedies account for only an average of 2.6 percent of all licensed remedies in select Italian cities between 1550 and 1800. This percentage does not describe sales volume, however. See Gentilcore, 2005, p. 73.
40. Prov. alla Sanità, Busta 737, March 14, 1602.
41. Prov. alla Sanità, Busta 737, April 18, 1603, f. 139r-v. The Health Board approved this request on April 19.
43. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 95, fasc. Refiletti Angela, Margherita Bergamo, test. of Olivia widow of Battista, August 17, 1638. “Dicevano che andava in barca,
et che vestita tutta di seta, et che andava con gran pompa, per quanto mi
diceva mi fia."

44. See also the description of the Italian charlatan Jacopo Coppa, “standing on
a rich carpet, holding a golden scepter, dressed, in the fashion of the Medici,
in a tunic of black velvet over a long skirt of the same material.” Gambacini,
2004, p. 85. Charlatans and mountebanks were well-known for their costume
and fine clothing, especially for wearing velvet and gold. Male charlatans
often dressed in “exotic oriental clothes” typical of Turks, or as physicians.
Despite sumptuary laws to limit this practice, charlatans continued to wear

45. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 95, fasc. Refiletti Angela, Margherita Bergamo, testi-
mony of Angela Refiletti, September 16, 1638.

46. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 95, fasc. Refiletti Angela, Margherita Bergamo, testi-
mony of Jo.es Bazizer Bergomer, 34 years old, August 16, 1638.

47. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 66, fasc. Orsetta Padova, testimony of Orsetta, May
24, 1590. “Io vivo delle mie fatiche et de mei sudori, che medico gentilho-
mimi, et Mons.ri et hora medico un prete da Muran che ha nome pre Paulo,
il qual ha un’ulcera nel membro.”

48. She was sentenced on July 7, 1590 and forbidden to practice medicine again.

49. There is no evidence that women in particular specialized in French disease
cures. Female healers often specialized in women’s illnesses, especially related

50. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 70, fasc. Maddalena Greca et Ottavio de Rossi, testi-
mony of June 2, 1615 and July 30, 1615.

51. Menghi, 1605; original edition 1576. “Il che per dar ad intendere al volgo,
& cavarne danari, fingono questi Malefici d’applicargli certi remedi naturali,
quale niente giouana se non per coprire le loro sceleratezze,” p. 230.

52. ASV Sant’Uffizio, Busta 30, fasc. 31 Helen La Draga, testimony of August 14,
1571.

53. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 97, Fasc. Compiliti, Giovanna, testimony of
September 10, 1641.

54. One of the best descriptions of the variety of healing practices is Gentilcore,
1998.

France, p. 633; Margaret Pelling, Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London, pp.
262, 340. Pelling points out that surgeons and irregular practitioners rather
than physicians provided much of the pox treatment in London. On the
lack of moralizing by Italian physicians and surgeons, see Schleiner, 1994,

56. On Falloppio and Rudio, see Schleiner, 1994, pp. 399–404; on Morgagni, see
Gentilcore, 2005, p. 61. On discomfort with same-sex sexual relations, see


58. Rostinio, 1565, p. 26. “Se alcuno ha usato con puttane, & che gli venga caroli in
bocca, & che nelle fauci, nella gola venga ulceratione… ne facilmente si puo curare,
ma par che vada via, poscia ritorni, costui ha mal francese.”


63. For the case of Bologna see, Pomata, 1998.
64. ASV, Giustizia Vecchia, Busta 74, Reg. 94, December 3, 1624, December 4, December 11, 1624, March 5, 1625, April 28, 1625. Thanks to James Shaw for pointing out this case to me.
69. Mercurio, 1658, p. 15.
71. Mercurio, 1658, p. 194.
72. Mercurio, 1658, p. 313. To remove women from “the world” usually meant to remove them from worldly life in order to adopt a religious life.
73. On exorcism and healing, see O’Neil, 1984, pp. 53–83.
75. It is unclear whether Sarpi’s codification of laws would have resulted in greater administrative attention to recording and preserving trial records, greater confidence in pursuing these cases, or greater assertiveness by the Venetian Inquisition in asserting its prerogatives. See Schutte, 2001, pp. 33–4, 97.
80. For an illuminating discussion of the relationship between social relations, illness, and witchcraft in South Africa, see Ashforth, 2000.
81. Briggs, Witches and Neighbors, p. 75.
82. Martin, 1993, pp. 49–70.
85. The best recent description of the workings of the Venetian inquisition is by Schutte, 2001, pp. 26–41.
89. Martin, 1989, p. 189; Marietta Colonna was found guilty of suspected heresy and punished but not executed; see pp. 186–8.
90. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 79, fasc. Savioni, Camilla. Denunciation made by Girolamo Marcello on February 21, 1624 includes the accusations against Camilla.
91. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 79, fasc. Savioni, Camilla.
93. Weaver, 2003, pp. 126–53, on pp. 131–2. Evidence that this epic was known outside of literary elites appears in Inquisition trials; see Guido Ruggiero, 1993, p. 44.
94. The most famous example is the character of Alcida who ensnared the hero Ruggiero by means of bewitchment in Ariosto’s Orlando Furioso. See Kisacky, 2000, p. 106. An exception to the story of the typical “Renaissance enchantress” is found in Torquato Taso’s Il Rinaldo, in which the character Floriana seduces not through magic but through “her great beauty, her courtesy, and her other virtues.” See Cavallo, 2004, p. 178.
96. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 79, fasc. Savioni, Camilla, testimony of August 17, 1624. “Io non giurarei che il suo male non procedesse anco da male soprannaturale, perche il diavolo pot. deciperet. et. medicos.”
97. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 79, fasc. Savioni, Camilla, testimony of August 17, 1624. “Et vedendo moi la pertinaccia dei mali et la varietà di essi, et alcuno anco straord. rario et non frequente, alcuni anco medici entrono in che vi potesse esser qualche lesion de fatture, ma però non vi erano segni dimostrativi.”
99. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 79, fasc. Savioni, Camilla, testimony of May 9, 1624.
101. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 79, fasc. Savioni, Camilla, testimony of February 24, 1624.
103. Andrea’s relationships with other women had been mentioned earlier in the trial. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 79, fasc. Savioni, Camilla, testimony of March 1, 1624.
105. ASV, Provveditori alla Sanità, Necrologio Reg. 853, year 1624, September 29, 1624.
108. In Venice, women of all ages were denounced for witchcraft, although the popular stereotype often focused on older women. For the age breakdown of those denounced of witchcraft in Venice, see Martin, 1989, p. 228. Throughout Europe as a whole, however, women over the age of 50 were the most common targets, partly because of fears expressed in the stereotype of the “sexually voracious old hag.” See Levack, 1995, pp. 141–5.
109. ASV, records of the Holy Office (Sant’Uffizio), Busta 77, fasc. 21, contra Bellina Loredana, 1624. See also Ruggiero, 1993, pp. 116–7.
110. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 77, fasc. 21, contra Bellina Loredana, December 10, 1624.
111. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 72, fasc. Domeniga cameriera della Signora Margarita.
120. ASV Guidice Petizion, Terminazioni, reg. 133, November 18, 1616, f. 154. Thanks to Chiara Vazzoler for pointing out this case to me. See also Chiara Vazzoler, “Governare come Padri: La tutela dei Minori à Venezia (secoli XVI–XVII)” (Tesi di Laurea, University of Venice, 1996–7), pp. 30–1.
121. ASV Sant’Uffizio, Busta 98, fasc. Mattea Lavandria, May 8, 1642–August 12, 1642.

4 Gender and Institutions: Hospitals and Female Asylums

Part of this chapter has been revised and expanded from an earlier article. See Laura J. McGough, “Women, Private Property, and the Limitations of State Authority in Early Modern Venice,” Journal of Women’s History, Volume 14, number 3 (November 2002), 32–52.

1. Arrizabalaga et al., 1997, p. 33.
3. ASV, Records of the Health Office (Prov. all Sanità), Busta 2, fol. 31r, February 12, 1521.
15. ASV, Proved. alla Sanità, Busta numbers 814–23, 834–41, 850–4, 867–70. It is possible that differential mortality rates between hospitals reflected the kinds of patients they cared for, although Brian Pullan argues that both these hospitals had become “general hospitals” by the late sixteenth century. See Pullan, 1971, pp. 257, 262.
16. ASV Proved. alla Sanità, Busta 854, deaths on April 4, 1625 and April 6, 1625. Both of their ages are listed as 30 and no family members’ names are included.

17. ASV Proved. alla Sanità, Busta 867, April 18, 1636 and Busta 853, April 11 and 12, 1624.

18. The years for which I compiled deaths in the Incurables hospital are 1619, 1621, 1623–5, 1636–8. ASV, Proved. alla Sanità, Busta numbers 850–4, 867–9.


22. ASV, Prov. alla Sanità, Busta 738, 19 No. 1611, f. 32r.


29. “Sound the trumpet/I want War/I want to arm myself/Against myself ... I want War against myself/The grief that assails me/I challenge in battle/Cover me with hairshirts/O, wound me with thorns/Thus I will fight to the grave/Sound the trumpet.” La Maddalena Penitente, Oratorio in Musica da recitarsi nell’Hospitale degli’Incurabili il giorno della Santa, dedicated to doge Alvise Contarini (Venice, 1670), f. 5r-6.


38. Capitoli et Ordini per il buon Governo della Congregatione del Monastero di S. Maria Maddalena delle Convertite della Giudecca (Venice: Lovisa, 1719), pp. 8–11.


40. Sansovino, 1581, p. 91b.


42. Molmenti, 1906, pp. 589–90.

43. MCC Codice Cicogna 3239, November 10, 1561.

44. ASV, PS M, Busta 267, November 28, 1624; Busta 260, July 2, 1619.

45. ASV, PSM, Busta 267, August 1, 1626.
46. Archivio IRE, ZIT A1, “Costituzione e Regole della Casa delle Citelle di Venezia,” Venice, 1738. Benedetto Palmio described himself as solely responsible for the selection of the Zitelle’s site, but several noblewomen were also involved. See Chase, 2002, p. 73.


51. Archivio IRE, ZIT A1, Costituzioni e Regole della Casa delle Citelle di Venezia, Parte Quarta, Cap. III and Cap. XV.


59. Boschini, 1664, p. 404; these paintings were still found at the convent at the time of its suppression under French rule, see ASV, Edwards, Busta 2, July 6, 1807. On Benfatto and Palma Giovane, see Haskins, 1993, p. 288; on del Friso, see Pallucchini, 1981, p. 22. Art within the church rather than the hallways and refectory would have been seen less often by the nuns, since they spent most of their time outside of the church and were confined to certain areas within the church. Minor artwork, such as small paintings of the Magdalene by an unknown artist, would likely have escaped the attention of contemporary observers; a few of these items appear in wills left by nuns, who bequeathed their portraits of Mary Magdalene to other nuns. See McGough, 1997, p. 127.

60. All of the following compilations of laws regarding “prostitutes” (meretrici) are available at the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice. Parte presa nell’Eccellentissimo Consiglio di Pregadi sopra il vestire, & ornamenti di casa delle Meretrici, February 21, 1542; Parte Prese nell’Eccel.mo Consiglio di Dieci in material delle Publiche Meretrici, con l’obbligo de Barcaruoli, e Carrozzeri, June 30 and July 8, 1615; Terminazione Degl’Illustissimi Sig. Provveditori alla Sanità in material de Meretrici, December 20, 1628.

61. Laughran, 1998; and ASV, Provveditori alla Sanità, Busta 2, September 12 and 16, 1539.


63. On the history of the Giudecca, see Basaldella, 1986.


Notes

1965), 45–84; Ruth Liebowitz, “Virgins in the Service of Christ: The Dispute over an Active Apostolate for Women during the Counter-Reformation,” in Ruether and McLaughlin, 1979, pp. 132–52.

68. “Parte Pertinente al Povero Hospedal della Pietà et delle Convertide,” in Parti prese in Consiglio Xm in Pregadi Vol. II (Turin: Carlo Clausen, 1898), ff. 527v-529r.

69. ASPV, Archivio Segreto, Visite Pastorali a Monasteri Femminili, Busta 3 (Priuli), January 11, 1593, f. 77r-84r; Laura McGough, “Raised from the Devil's Jaws,” 1.

70. These data were compiled from ASV Convertite, Busta 1, Fasc. D. A total of 104 women entered the convent between 1656 and 1675. For more discussion of the term “raised from the devil's jaws,” see McGough, 1997, p. 67.

71. ASV Convertite, Busta 1, fasc. D.

72. ASV Convertite, Busta 50, Capitoli, ff. 16–17.

73. Data compiled from ASV Convertite, Busta 1, Fasc. D. For more on these data, see McGough, 1997, pp. 70–3.

74. ASVatican, Sacra Congregatione, Episcoporum et Regularium, Positiones, Lett. S-V, July 24, 1600, Venice.


76. ASVatican, Sacra Congregatione, Episcoporum et Regularium, Positiones, September–November 1676, f. November 20, 1676, Padua.

77. Rape victims represented a minority of women in the Convertite, but their presence was persistent. Seven-year old Gratoisa Vettoni, for example, entered the Convertite after having been raped by Olivo Jurlini in 1659. See ASV, Esecutori contro la Bestemmia, Busta 62, Raspe, January 24, 1658 m.v., f. 23r. Court records survive for only a portion of the seventeenth century, so a complete list of rape victims is not possible to attain. Rape victims also entered the Convertite in Tuscany; see Cohen, 1988, pp. 64–5.

78. ASV Provveditori sopra Monasteri, Busta 267, “Le Convertite contro II. Nob. Ho. Tomà Lion et altri nobili,” cases begins October 7, 1626 and ends in dismissal January 2, 1627 (m.r.).


80. ASV Provveditori sopra Monasteri (PsM), Busta 265, fasc. June 22, 1618.

81. ASPV, Archivio Segreto, Visite Pastorali a monastery femminili, Busta 1, fasc. 9, November 20, 1625.

82. ASV PsM, Busta 265, fasc. June 22, 1618, interview with Suor Felice on June 29, 1618.

83. ASV, Sant’Uffizio, Busta 81, Fasc. 2, ff. 27v-28r.

84. Ibid., testimony of Nuntiata, widow of Paolo de Bacchis, August 11, 1626, ff. 13v-14r.

85. Ibid., testimony of Angela Giustiana, f. 30v.

86. Ibid., testimony of Angela Giustiana, September 3. “Ss.ri si. Ne havevo doi casselle; et gli davo da tener dell’acqua et del vin, accio la terra s’ingrassasse, et la herba venisse bella. et dicevo che era buona da farse ben voler, et che venendo bella cresceva l’amor, et che venendo bruta ò morendo, mancava l’amor, ò doveva occorrer qualche cattivo accidente.”


89. ASV Sant’Uffizio., Busta 81, fasc. 2, ff. 27v-28r.
90. ASV Provveditori sopra Monasteri, Busta 260, 4 February 1621 m.v.
91. ASV Convertite, Busta 50, Capitoli, f. 7.
92. ASV Provveditori Sopra Monasteri, Busta 260, August 13, 1622.
93. ASV Senato Terra, Register 107, August 3, 1632, ff. 246v-247r.
94. “Parte Pertinente al Povero Hospedal della Pietà et delle Povere Convertide,” in Parti prese in Consiglio Xim in Pregadi Vol. II (Turin: Carlo Clausen, 1898), ff. 527v-529r; ASV Senato Terra, Reg., July 12, 1622. The Tuscan Convertite was also financed through a tax on prostitution; see Cohen, 1988, p. 51.
95. ASV Senato Terra, Reg. 99, August 5, 1628, f. 219v.
96. ASV Convertite, Busta 70, Fasc. “Notatorio Primo,” May 6, 1630, f. 15r.
99. ASV Convertite, Busta 1, Fasc. D, ff. 5r-6r.
100. ASV Convertite, Busta 70, Fasc. Notatorio Primo, f. 5v-7v.
101. ASV Convertite, Busta 54, loose paper, January 28, 1597 m.v.
104. ASVaticano, Sacra Congregatione, Episcoporum et Reg., Positiones, 1651 January–April, in bundle dated January 13, 1651, Bologna.
105. Entrance records are in ASV Convertite, Busta 1, Fasc. D, ff. 5r-6r. and Busta 70, Fasc. Notatorio Primo.
107. Spiritual dowries could run as high as 3000–4000 ducats at the most exclusive convents. See Sperling, 1999, p. 190.
110. Data compiled from ASV Convertite, Busta 1, Fasc. D. The “raised from the devil’s jaws” category includes the women coming directly from the Casa del Soccorso. For more on these data, see McGough, 1997, pp. 70–3.
111. ASPV, Archivio Segreto, Visite Pastorali a monasteri femminili, Busta 1, fasc. 9, November 20, 1625.
112. The Patriarch’s criticisms were repeated in successive visits. See ASPV, Archivio Segreto, Visite Pastorali a monastery femminili, Busta 1, April 22, 1599, f. 114r; Busta 1, fasc. 9, November 20, 1635, no. 6; Busta 3, January 11, 1593, ff. 82v-83r.
114. Laven, 2003, pp. 3–8, 23–44.
115. Chojnacka, 1998, p. 82. The beneficiaries of charity were often the “deserving poor” throughout the Italian peninsula. See Pullan, 1971; for Bologna, see Ciammitti, 1979, p. 470.
117. Archivio IRE, PEN A1, Capitoli per il buon governo del pio loco in ovvegno delle povere peccatrici penitentidi San Job (Venice, 1731).


120. ASV PSO, Busta 76, fasc. “Ammalati,” October 31, 1793 and fasc. 19.


123. A useful approach to understanding the complex intellectual, economic, and political background underlying changing attitudes toward poverty during the eighteenth century is Lindemann, 1990, esp. pp. 74–99.


128. Musitano, 1871, p. 15. “I soldati Francesi ricevettero le Meretrici, e perche costoro non si vergognano in publico usare, cominciarono à negoziare le Meretrici, & belle, e brutte con gran empito di libidine.”


133. *Capitoli per il buon Governo del Pio Loco in Sovvegno delle Povere Peccatrici Penitenti di San Job*, Cap. XXVI.

134. Archivio IRE PEN, G11, November 21, 1730.

135. The trial against Domenico De Silvestro can be found in ASV, Esecutori contro la Bestemmia, Busta 46, June 19, 1793. See testimony of June 20 for explanation of the family’s circumstances. A surgeon, Antonio Previdi, examined Lucia and concluded that she had lost her virginity and become infected with the French disease.

137. On Lucia’s treatment with the hospital of the Incurabili, see ASV, Prov. alla Sanità, Busta 76, Fasc. “Ammalati.”


140. Archivio IRE, PEN A1, Capitoli per il buon Governo del Pio Loco in Sovvegno delle Povere Peccatrici Penitenti di San Job.

141. Capitoli per il buon Governo del Pio Loco in Sovvegno delle Povere Peccatrici Penitenti di San Job, Cap. XXVI, April 26, 1726 addendum. “Che restino di nuova incaricati li Signori Presidenti andar molto cauti nel proporre alla Congregazione Supplicanti per esser accettatte, senza che prima abbino le più possibe informazioni della loro salute intorno i mali, che sogliono le misere mostrare nella prostituzione de’ loro Corpi, ed in caso, dopo che fossero accettate, scoprissero detti mali di difficile curazione, assicurati che siano dal Medico, e Chirurgo di un tale stato di alcuna debbano immediatamente, & irremissibilmente licenziarla, ne sia sotto alcun pretesto licito trattenerla nella Pia Casa, ed esclusa una volta non possa poi esser proposta per esser di nuovo accettata; anzi per decoro dell’Istituto ne meno possa esser mandata all’Incurabili in avvenire veruna delle Penitenti, ne essere dispensato da questa parte, senza esser proposta alla Congregazione ridotta al numero di 18. con li cinque sesti, e previa la lettura di tutte le parti a questo proposito disponenti.”


145. Foucault, 1995. For assessments of Foucault’s impact, see Jones and Porter, 1994.

146. Useful scholarship using the concept of social disciplining includes Po-Chia Hsia, 1989 and Prodi, 1994.


**Conclusion**

1. ASV, Guidice Petizion, Terminazioni, reg. 133, November 18, 1616, f. 154.

**Afterword**

2. Iliffe, 2006, pp. 23, 82, 92.
3. Peter Geshiere even argues that belief in witchcraft should be seen as essentially modern (Geschiere, 1997). As Jean Allman and John Parker point out, however, it is difficult to know whether belief has increased without any reliable measure of the extent of witchcraft belief or accusations in the pre-colonial period. Allman and Parker, Tongnaab 2005, p. 116.
6. For how to collaborate with traditional healers and religious leaders, see UNAIDS, 2007; Green, 2000, pp. 1–2; Ssali et al., 2005, pp. 485–93.
7. Sontag, 1977, p. 3.
9. AIDS stigma has been identified as one of the principal obstacles to HIV testing worldwide, as well as an obstacle to seeking treatment until patients have reached an advanced stage of disease, often with CD4 cell counts at 50 or below. Patients are usually advised to begin antiretroviral therapy when they reach a CD4 cell count of between 200 and 350. CD4 cell counts of below 50 indicate advanced disease. Valdiserri, 2002, pp. 341–2; UNAIDS, April 2004.
12. Sarah Castle, p. 15.
14. A useful model could be the town hall meetings that have been used to develop health care priorities. These meetings are dialogues between local communities and public health officials, in which the public provides input for the establishment of priorities and provides feedback on official documents. See Daniels and Sabin, 2002. Another model would be to borrow from the literature about conflict resolution and reconciliation, where historical examples from other cultures are used in order to show that conflict is a human problem, not restricted to particular ethnic groups. See Staub, Pearlman, and Miller, 2003, pp. 287–94.
15. Nyblade et al., 2008; Nyblade et al., 2009.
19. A notable example of this was the decline in funds for syphilis and gonorrhea control during the 1950s, after the introduction of penicillin for treatment. Entire programs, such as contact tracing, were cut back. Syphilis and gonorrhea rates subsequently rose. See Brandt, 1987, pp. 176–8.
20. Personal communication with Dr. Jonathan Zenilman, Professor of Medicine, Division of Infectious Diseases, Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, Baltimore, Maryland, July 2005.
different experts asserting the relative importance of abstinence, condom use, and partner reduction. Epstein was one of the participants in the debate with an emphasis on partner reduction. Epstein’s book obviously presents her point of view on this issue on pp. 172–85, with ample footnotes that acknowledge the arguments, scientific studies, and rebuttals presented by her opponents. Pisani (2008) is more even-handed on the issue of Uganda and raises the alarm that, however much HIV prevalence may have declined from the 1980s to the late 1990s, it is unfortunately on the increase again (pp. 144–8).

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Bibliography


Index

Accademia degli Incogniti, 61–62
Alcibiades, 53
Angola, 109
apothecary shops, 78–79, 103
Aretino, Pietro, 73
Ariosto, Ludovico, 91
Aristotle, 66
Arrigona, Isabetta, 109
Arrizabalaga, Jon, 4
Arsenale, 23, 125–126

Belfante, Laura, 38
Benedetti, Alessandro, 1
Benfatto, Luigi, 113
Bindona, Menega, 75
Biondo, Michelangelo, 73
Bologna, 28, 50, 111
Bortoluci, Teresa Veneranda, 131
Bylebyl, Jerome, 94

Campbell, Mary, 55
Capilupi, Ippolito, 110
Cardano, Girolamo, 73
Carthage, 60
Casa del Soccorso, 7, 27, 32, 93, 116
Casanova, Giacomo, 43
Castellana, Angela, 88, 95–96
Castle, Sarah, 147
Cavallo, Sandra, 129
Cellini, Benvenuto, 61, 104
Centorio, Ascanio, 60–61
Cerchianus, Albertus, 92
chlamydia, 150
Chojnacka, Monica, 32
Cohen, Sherrill, 16, 107
Colombo, Realdo, 63
Columbus, Christopher, 11–12, 56
Company of Divine Love, 108
contagion, 15, 18, 49, 55, 57, 62–63, 66–68, 112–115, 147
Contarini, Gasparo, 35, 51
Convertite, 7, 27, 32, 107–130, 132–133, 142, 150
characters of nuns within,
116–120
financial struggles of, 115–116, 123–125
origins of, 108–109
rebellion against, 117–122
sexual scandal within, 110, 116
virginity scandal within, 122–127
Corradi, Alfonso, 49
Cortese, Isabelle, 77
Coryat, Thomas, 57, 59–60
Council of Trent, 34, 115–116, 125
Catholic Reformation, 58, 108
courtesans, 13, 26, 44, 51–52, 56–57, 59–60
da Monte, Giovanni Battista, 94
Dandolo, Marco, 37
defloration, 41–42
compare rape
del Friso, Alvise, 113
Della Porta, Giambattista, 53
de Vivianus, Vivianus, 93
disease
chronic versus acute, 12, 21, 133, 141
endemic versus epidemic, 2–4, 8, 102–103, 139–140
ontological idea of, 4–5, 9–10
see also under individual diseases
disenchantment, 88, 97
Dolfin, Andrea, 38
dowry (marriage), 9, 14, 34, 36–37, 38, 40, 43, 125–128, 138
spiritual dowry, 121, 124–125
Dugas, Gaetan, 47–48
Eamon, William, 65
epilepsy, 92–94, 146
Index

Epstein, Helen, 151
Estienne, Charles, 64–65
Facchinetti, Marina, 32
Fallopio, Gabriele, 64, 74, 84
Farinacci, Prospero, 88
Farmer, Paul, 48
female asylums, 3, 15–16, 27, 102, 107–135, 141–142
see also Casa del Soccorso; Convertite; Penitenti; Zitelle
Ferrante, Lucia, 28
Ferraro, Joanne, 38
Findlen, Paula, 54
Fioravanti, Leonardo, 48–49, 65–66
Firenzuola, Agnolo, 53, 104
Florence, 2, 61
Foa, Anna, 46
Foucault, Michel, 134
Fracastoro, Girolamo, 10, 55–56, 66–68
Franciscan, 108
Franco, Veronica, 56–57
French disease
as endemic disease, 13–14, 46, 69–70, 71–72, 99, 102–103, 136–137, 140
diagnosis of, 84–85, 94–95
distribution of in Venice, 18–25
as epidemic disease, 1–2, 10–13, 58, 68, 71, 74, 137, 140
initial reports of, 1
medical treatises about, 45–46, 48–50, 63–69, 130
mortality records, 12, 14, 18–25, 105
origins of, 11–13, 45–49, 63
patients in institutions, 6–7, 103–106, 128–131
relationship to gonorrhea, 10
relationship to syphilis, 9–10
representations of, 14–15, 55–57, 61, 62, 63, 70
secret recipes for treatment, 77–79
as sexually transmitted, 62, 67–69, 74–75
stigma associated with, 14, 46, 47–49, 71–79, 83–101, 139–140
treatment of, 4–5, 72–87, 103–105, 130, 140
French, Roger, 4
Galen, 50, 65, 72
Galenic medicine, 5, 63, 66, 74, 94
gender, 7, 8, 14–16, 20, 45–46, 55, 77, 89, 133, 142–143
see also masculinity
Gentilcore, David, 79
Giovane, Palma, 113
Giudecca, 113–114, 132
Giustiniana, Angela, 120–122
Goffen, Rona, 54–55
Goffman, Erving, 75
gonorrhea, 10, 77, 150
Grotto, Luigi, 50
guaiacum, 4, 56, 72–73, 78, 79, 102–106, 134, 141, 149
Harley, David, 97
healers, 140
empirics, 76
popular, 79–83, 90, 97, 99
university-trained, 83–87, 92–96, 98–99
Health Board
see under public health boards
Helen of Troy, 53
Henderson, John, 4, 102, 105
antiretroviral therapy, 144, 148–149, 152
as “spiritual disease,” 144–145
stigma associated with, 145–149
successful prevention and treatment programs, 151–152
transmission of in different African cities, 138
Holy Roman Empire, 11
homosexuality, 17, 26–27, 47, 85
hospitals, 12, 20–21, 55, 73, 79, 101–107, 109, 128–131, 133, 141–142
Howell, James, 50–51
Human papilloma virus (HPV), 150

Indorado, Giovanni Battista, 136

Inquisition
  see under Holy Office

Italian Wars (1494–1530), 1, 11, 45–46, 48, 51, 63, 66, 68–69, 130, 138–139

Jerusalem, 52

Jesuits, 17, 60–61, 108

Jews, 31, 59, 103, 106, 112–113, 115

Joubert, Laurent, 86

labor migration, 14, 30–31, 137–138

La Draga, Helen, 83

Leon, Pietro, 110

leprosy, 12, 46, 53, 63, 67, 69, 142, 146

libertines, 43, 61–62, 64–65, 73, 76

Lion, Maria, 118–119

Lippamano, Andrea, 75

Lombard, Peter, 115

London, 6–7, 28–29, 75, 77, 128

Loredana, Bellina, 95–96

Loyola, Ignatius, 108

Machiavelli, Niccolò, 51

Mainardi, Pietro, 63

Mali, 147

Marcellini, Margarita, 96–98, 100

Marcello, Andrea, 90–95, 98

Marcello, Girolamo, 91–93

Marcello, Leonardo, 120–122

Marcolini, Francesco, 93

Marinello, Giovanni, 53

Marinellus, Curtius, 92

marriage, 9, 31–40

Mary Magdalene, 12, 54–55, 106, 108–109, 112–113, 121

masculinity, 8, 45–47, 60–62, 68–69, 106, 139

Massa, Niccolò, 49, 76

master-servant relationships, 31, 40–42

McNeill, William, 4

Menghi, Girolamo, 92

Mercurio, Scipione, 76, 86–87

mercury, 4, 73, 80, 149

Molina, Zanetta, 38–39

Morgagni, Giambattista, 84

Muir, Edward, 61

Murano, 32

Musa Brasavola, Antonio, 45, 47–49, 63, 65–68

New World, 4, 11–12, 55–56, 63, 72

nobility, 9, 33–41, 44, 79–80, 89, 90, 95

Nocenti, Francesca, 32

Novaglia, Isabella, 39–40

Padua, University of, 13, 61, 63–64, 73, 76, 94

Pallavicino, Ferrante, 62

Palmer, Richard, 66

Palmio, Benedetto, 110

Paracelsus, 63, 72

Parmigianino, 111

patients, 7
  see also French disease

patron-client relationships, 31, 34, 39–40, 56–57, 134

Pavan, Elizabeth, 58

Penitenti, 7, 128–133, 142

Petrarch, 52, 56

pharmacies
  see under apothecary shops

plague, bubonic, 15, 97, 102, 113, 141

Pope Leo X, 108

Pope Paul III, 89, 112

Portugal, 109


public health boards, 12, 80–81, 102–103

Punic War, Second, 60–61

Quarantine, 113–115

Querini, Domenico, 98–99

Querini, Zorzi, 39–40

Rabelais, François, 139

Ragusa (Dubrovnik), 113
rape, 41, 42, 55, 117–118, 129, 131, 137, 142
  compare defloration
Refiletti, Angela, 81–82
rental of housing, 33
Romano, Dennis, 41
Rome
  Ancient Republic, 15, 60–61
city of, 11, 20, 103–104
Rosenthal, Margaret, 56
Rostinio, Pietro, 45, 64–66, 85
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 43
Roverani, Gabriele, 118
Rudio, Eustachio, 84
Ruggiero, Guido, 26, 37, 97
St. Augustine, 58, 108
  Augustinian rule, 109, 142
Sanità
  see under public health boards
Sansovino, Francesco, 65, 109
Sanuto, Marin, 1, 59
Savioni, Camilla, 91–95
Savonarola, Girolamo, 2, 10
Sarpi, Paolo, 88
Savorgnan, Andriana, 37
Scipio Africanus, 15, 60–61
  sexual tourism, 43–44
  see also homosexuality; prostitution; defloration; rape
Shakespeare, William, 15, 67, 139
Shemek, Deanna, 56, 60
Shilts, Randy, 47
Siena, Kevin, 6, 128
Siraizi, Nancy, 73
social networks, 2, 14, 25–26, 29–31, 38–40, 151
Sontag, Susan, 146
South Africa, 100, 145
syphilis, 9–10, 150, 152
  see also French disease
Sperling, Jutta, 51
Stein, Claudia, 84
Tasso, Torquato, 52
Thiene, Gaetano, 108
Titian, 49, 52, 54–55, 57, 62, 64, 139
Torrella, Gaspar, 68, 72
Turks, 6, 48, 61, 139
Uganda, 151
venereal disease
  see French disease
Venice, 13, 23, 25, 29–30, 33, 43–44, 48, 61, 143
  Great Council, 34–35, 58
  myth of, 51–52
  represented as a beautiful woman, 49–57, 69–70
Venier, Maffio, 56–57
Verona, 40
Vespucci, Amerigo, 55
Voltaire, 17, 23
witchcraft, 79, 82–83, 86–101, 144–146
women
  beautiful women as symbols, 45–46, 48, 49–57, 69–70, 104
  economic status of, 9
workhouses, 6–7
Yavneh, Naomi, 52
yellow fever, 4
Zitelle, 7, 102, 107, 110–113, 127–128, 142