



ACTA HISTRIAE
31, 2023, 4



UDK/UDC 94(05)

ISSN 1318-0185
e-ISSN 2591-1767



Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko - Koper
Società storica del Litorale - Capodistria

ACTA HISTRIAE
31, 2023, 4

KOPER 2023

ISSN 1318-0185
e-ISSN 2591-1767

UDK/UDC 94(05)

Letnik 31, leto 2023, številka 4

**Odgovorni urednik/
Direttore responsabile/
Editor in Chief:**

Darko Darovec

**Uredniški odbor/
Comitato di redazione/
Board of Editors:**

Gorazd Bajc, Furio Bianco (IT), Stuart Carroll (UK), Angel Casals Martinez (ES), Alessandro Casellato (IT), Flavij Bonin, Dragica Čeč, Lovorka Čoralić (HR), Darko Darovec, Lucien Faggion (FR), Marco Fincardi (IT), Darko Friš, Aleš Maver, Borut Klabjan, Urška Lampe, John Martin (USA), Robert Matijašić (HR), Darja Mihelič, Edward Muir (USA), Žiga Oman, Jože Pirjevec, Egon Pelikan, Luciano Pezzolo (IT), Claudio Povoło (IT), Marijan Premović (MNE), Luca Rossetto (IT), Vida Rožac Darovec, Andrej Studen, Boštjan Udovič, Marta Verginella, Salvator Žitko

**Uredniki/Redattori/
Editors:**

Lara Petra Skela, Žiga Oman, Urška Lampe, Boštjan Udovič, Veronika Kos

**Prevodi/Traduzioni/
Translations:**

Gorazd Bajc (it.), Lara Petra Skela (angl.)

**Lektorji/Supervisione/
Language Editors:**

Žiga Oman (angl., slo.), Gorazd Bajc (it.), Lara Petra Skela (angl.)

**Izdajatelj/Editori/
Published by:**

Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko - Koper / Società storica del Litorale - Capodistria[®] / Institut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja / Institute IRRIS for Research, Development and Strategies of Society, Culture and Environment / Istituto IRRIS di ricerca, sviluppo e strategie della società, cultura e ambiente[®]

Sedež/Sede/Address:

Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko, SI-6000, Koper-Capodistria, Garibaldijeva 18 / Via Garibaldi 18, e-mail: actahistriae@gmail.com; https://zdjp.si/en/p/actahistriae/

Tisk/Stampa/Print:

Založništvo PADRE d.o.o.

Naklada/Tiratura/Copies:

300 izvodov/copie/copies

**Finančna podpora/
Supporto finanziario/
Financially supported by:**

Javna agencija za znanstvenoraziskovalno in inovacijsko dejavnost Republike Slovenije / Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency, Mestna občina Koper

**Slika na naslovnici/
Foto di copertina/
Picture on the cover:**

Pretep na podeželju, Pieter Brueghel ml., 1610 / Una rissa in campagna, Pieter Brueghel il Giovane, 1610 / A Country Brawl, Pieter Brueghel the Younger, 1610 (Wikimedia Commons).

Redakcija te številke je bila zaključena 15. decembra 2023.

Revija Acta Histriae je vključena v naslednje podatkovne baze / Gli articoli pubblicati in questa rivista sono inclusi nei seguenti indici di citazione / Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in: CLARIVATE ANALYTICS (USA): Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), Social Scisearch, Arts and Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI), Journal Citation Reports / Social Sciences Edition (USA); IBZ, Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur (GER); International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS) (UK); Referativnyi Zhurnal Viniti (RUS); European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH PLUS); Elsevier B. V.: SCOPUS (NL); DOAJ.

To delo je objavljeno pod licenco / *Quest'opera è distribuita con Licenza / This work is licensed under a* Creative Commons BY-NC 4.0.



Navedila avtorjem in vsi članki v barvni verziji so prosto dostopni na spletni strani: <https://zdjp.si>.
Le norme redazionali e tutti gli articoli nella versione a colori sono disponibili gratuitamente sul sito: <https://zdjp.si/it/>.
The submission guidelines and all articles are freely available in color via website [http: https://zdjp.si/en/](https://zdjp.si/en/).



VSEBINA / INDICE GENERALE / CONTENTS

- Žiga Oman:** Enmity After the Feud: Violence and Its Control
in Inner Austria, 1500–1750 529
L'inimicizia dopo la faida: la violenza e il suo controllo nell'Austria Interiore, 1500–1750
Sovražnost po fajdi: nasilje in njegov nadzor v Notranji Avstriji, 1500–1750
- Jeppé Büchert Netterstrøm:** Feuding and Peacemaking among
Peasants in Seventeenth-Century Denmark 587
Faide e riconciliazione tra contadini nella Danimarca del seicento
Fajde in pomirive med kmeti na Danskem v 17. stoletju
- Vicent M. Garés Timor:** Los hermanos Colomer de
Valldigna ¿salteadores o miembros de una facción? 607
The Colomer Brothers from Valldigna: Robbers or Members of a Faction?
Brata Colomer iz Valldigne: roparja ali člana frakcije?
- Umberto Cecchinato:** Everyday Violence and Natural Disasters
in Early Modern Treviso. News of Homicides in the
Libro Macaronico of Zuanne Mestriner (1682–1731) 627
Violenza quotidiana e calamità naturali nella Treviso di età moderna.
Notizie di omicidi nel Libro macaronico di Zuanne Mestriner (1682–1731)
Nasilje in naravne nesreče v zgodnje novoveškem Trevisu. Novice o
ubojih v Libro macaronico Zuanneja Mestrinerja (1682–1731)
- Alejandro Llinares Planells:** The Songs of the Scaffold: Characteristics,
Creation, and Diffusion of Execution Ballads in
Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Catalonia 647
Canzoni da patibolo: caratteristiche, creazione e diffusione della
letteratura dei giustiziati in Catalogna nei secoli XVI e XVII
Pesmi z morišča: značilnosti, nastanek in razširjanje balad
o usmrtitvah v Kataloniji 16. in 17. stoletja
- Andrew Vidali:** When Peace is not Enough. Marco Michiel and the Council of Ten
in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice: Shifting Judicial Paradigms and Noble Violence ... 673
Quando la pace non è sufficiente. Marco Michiel e il consiglio dei dieci
nella Venezia di inizio cinquecento: paradigmi giudiziari
in cambiamento e violenza nobiliare
Ko mir ni dovolj. Marco Michiel in Svet desetih v Benetkah na začetku
16. stoletja: spreminjanje sodnih paradigem in plemiško nasilje

Amanda Madden: The Peace and the Duel; the Peace in the Duel	689
<i>La pace e il duello; La pace nel duello</i>	
<i>Mir in dvoboj; Mir v dvoboju</i>	
Matjaž Grahornik: Duelling in the Habsburg Hereditary Lands, 1600–1750: Between Law and Practice	707
<i>I duelli nelle terre ereditarie asburgiche, 1600–1750: tra legge e pratica</i>	
<i>Dvoboji v habsburških dednih deželah, 1600–1750: med zakoni in prakso</i>	
Darko Darovec: The Genesis of Koper Medieval Statutes (1238–1423)	743
<i>La genesi degli statuti medievali di Capodistria (1238–1423)</i>	
<i>Geneza koprskih srednjeveških statutov (1238–1423)</i>	
Darja Mihelič: Gli statuti di Capodistria e la vita cittadina	777
<i>Medieval Statutes of Koper and City Life</i>	
<i>Koprski srednjeveški statuti in mestno življenje</i>	
Martin Bele: Grad Lušperk in njegovi prebivalci med 13. in 15. stoletjem	807
<i>Il castello di Lušperk e i suoi abitanti tra il duecento e il quattrocento</i>	
<i>Lušperk Castle and its Inhabitans Between the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries</i>	
POROČILA	
RELAZIONI	
REPORTS	
Veronika Kos: Conference Report on <i>After the Feud? Dispute Settlement Between Custom and Law in Early Modern Europe</i> , 21–22 June 2023, Maribor & Čentur (online)	831
Veronika Kos: Conference Report on <i>Violence and its Control in Early Modern Europe</i> , 4–5 July 2023, York	834

Prvih osem člankov v tej številki *Acta Histriae* je nastalo iz prispevkov za mednarodno spletno konferenco *After the Feud? Dispute Settlement Between Custom and Law in Early Modern Europe*. Konferenca je bila del podoktorskega projekta Z6-3223 *Reševanje sporov med nižjimi sloji v baročni Notranji Avstriji: med fajdo in kazenskim pravom*, ki ga je financirala Javna agencija za znanstvenoraziskovalno in inovacijsko dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARIS) v letih 2021–2023, ter raziskovalnega programa P6-0435 *Prakse reševanja sporov med običajnim in postavljenim pravom na območju današnje Slovenije in sosednjih dežel, ki ga sofinancira ARIS v letih 2022–2027*. / I primi otto articoli in questo numero di *Acta Histriae* provengono dagli interventi presentati alla conferenza internazionale online *After the Feud? Dispute Settlement Between Custom and Law in Early Modern Europe*. La conferenza faceva parte del progetto di post-dottorato Z6-3223 *La risoluzione delle controversie plebee nell' Austria Interiore nel periodo barocco: tra faida e diritto penale, finanziato dall' Agenzia slovena per la ricerca e l'innovazione (ARIS) nel periodo 2021–2023 e dal programma di ricerca P6-0435 Pratiche di risoluzione dei conflitti tra diritto consuetudinario e statutario nell'area dell'attuale Slovenia e dei suoi territori limitrofi, cofinanziato dall' ARIS nel periodo 2022–2027*. / The first eight papers in this issue of *Acta Histriae* originate from papers for the international online conference *After the Feud? Dispute Settlement Between Custom and Law in Early Modern Europe*. The conference was part of the post-doctoral project Z6-3223 *Plebeian Dispute Settlement in Baroque Inner Austria: Between Feud and Criminal Law, funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS) in 2021–23, and the research programme P6-0435 Practices of Conflict Resolution Between Customary and Statutory Law in the Area of Today's Slovenia and Its Neighbouring Lands, co-funded by ARIS in 2022–27*.

EVERYDAY VIOLENCE AND NATURAL DISASTERS IN EARLY
MODERN TREVISO. NEWS OF HOMICIDES IN THE *LIBRO*
MACARONICO OF ZUANNE MESTRINER (1682–1731)

Umberto CECCHINATO

University of Trento, Department of Sociology and Social Research, Via Giuseppe Verdi, 26, 38122 Trento TN, Italia
e-mail: umberto.cecchinato@unitn.it

ABSTRACT

Between 1682 and 1731, the barber Zuanne Mestriner recorded many murders that occurred in Treviso. His Libro macaronico is a valuable account of the dynamics that led to a murder in modern times. This ego-document opens a glimpse into everyday interpersonal violence, showing how members of any social class resorted to lethal violence in conflicts that stemmed from seemingly trivial motives. This paper provides the first quantitative and qualitative analysis of this data for the city, measuring the homicide rate and focusing on the characteristics of the clashes. It finds a cause for the high rates of violence in the natural disasters that made urban life precarious.

Keywords: interpersonal violence, Republic of Venice, Treviso, homicide rate, ego-documents, Zuanne Mestriner, weapons, eighteenth century, natural disasters

VIOLENZA QUOTIDIANA E CALAMITÀ NATURALI NELLA TREVISO DI
ETÀ MODERNA. NOTIZIE DI OMICIDI NEL *LIBRO MACARONICO*
DI ZUANNE MESTRINER (1682–1731)

SINTESI

Tra il 1682 e il 1731, il barbiere Zuanne Mestriner registrò nel suo Libro macaronico gli omicidi avvenuti a Treviso. Questo ego documento è un prezioso resoconto delle dinamiche che portavano agli omicidi in epoca moderna. La fonte apre uno squarcio sulla violenza interpersonale quotidiana, mostrando come i membri di qualsiasi classe sociale ricorressero alla violenza in conflitti che nascevano da motivi apparentemente futili. Il presente lavoro fornisce la prima analisi quantitativa e qualitativa di questi dati, misurando il tasso di omicidi e concentrandosi su vari aspetti della violenza interpersonale. Le calamità naturali che rendevano precaria la vita urbana erano una delle cause degli alti tassi di violenza.

Parole chiave: violenza interpersonale, Repubblica di Venezia, Treviso, tasso di omicidio, ego documenti, Zuanne Mestriner, armi, diciottesimo secolo, disastri naturali

INTRODUCTION¹

Sunday, 7 June 1705, Treviso. A soldier serving a local nobleman sits at a tavern table and orders a drink. The waiters, however, ignore him – perhaps because of the many Sunday customers. After a while, the soldier, feeling outraged, draws his sword and strikes one of the waiters three times. The victim died of his wounds within three months (Mestriner, 2003, 137–138).

Between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, similar events happened daily in Treviso, the first town of the Terraferma to fall under the control of Venice – first between 1339 and 1381, then stably from 1388 until the fall of the Republic – which gradually deprived the local aristocracy of all political roles and exercised tight control over the economy (Varanini, 2010; Del Torre, 1990). The gratuitous use of lethal violence did not shock the barber Zuanne Mestriner, who recorded the incident in his journal, the *Libro macaronico*. On the contrary, he seems to justify the aggression, stating that the wounds inflicted on the victim were not intentionally fatal, the waiters were arrogant, and the time the soldier had to wait exceeded the limits of etiquette (Mestriner, 2003, 137).²

This familiarity with interpersonal violence has long been the subject of study. Many historians have suggested that the high rate of interpersonal violence in early modern Italy was due to the existence of a ‘culture of violence’ supported by the aristocratic cult of honour and usually explained peaks in murder rates by the presence of factional conflicts (Rose 2019; Carroll, 2017) or associated them with elite violence (Eisner 2003, 122–123). The *Libro macaronico* opens new perspectives on the causes that drove people to resort to violence in their daily interactions.

Written between 1682 and 1731, Mestriner’s journal provides an insight into daily life in Treviso during what has traditionally been considered a relatively peaceful period – compared to what other cities of the Terraferma were experiencing. Previous studies on the criminal funds of the Council of Ten have established that no factional conflicts were taking place (Meneghetti Casarin, 1992, 297–300). The few criminal sources currently held by the Trevisian State Archive – only a few trials and prisoner registers (ASTv-C, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1740) – do not allow a more in-depth study.

The *Libro macaronico* proves this view to be erroneous. The average homicide rate extractable from its records is ca. 24.9, well above the European and Italian average for the same period (Eisner, 2014, 80–81). Complementing what is not left in local archives, Mestriner sketches a scenario in which violence is recurrent in all kinds of everyday social exchange.

1 I would like to thank Stephen Cummins, Žiga Oman, and the two anonymous reviewers for helping me improve this article with their valuable feedback.

2 *Là [in the tavern] che erano superbi, comenzando dal patrone, e poi la patrona, e poi tutti li loro servi che in tutto il mondo non credo che ne fusero di pegior di loro aroganza e di mal trattare. Vedendo quel soldato che non era servido con quela presteza che risercava la puntualità di ben servire, ghe viense sdegno* (Mestriner, 2003, 137).

Ego-documents like Mestriner's journal have recently been used as sources for understanding the role of violence in pre-modern urban life. Journals and family memoirs kept by members of conflicting parties became 'account books' where all offences received from enemies were noted down. They often contain comments that shed light on the author's opinion on violent actions or the causes that triggered them. Thus, they have mostly been studied to reconstruct the perception and the experience of the authors, as well as the political conflicts that disrupted urban everyday life (Carroll, 2023, 373–404; Valseriati, 2016, 49–61).

Ego-documents have been used much less to study the formal aspects of interpersonal violence and could be regarded as unsuitable for statistical analysis due to their private nature. However, the *Libro macaronico* seldom narrates events in which the author was involved; rather than a personal memoir, it is a collection of news that circulated orally, a forerunner of today's newspapers. Providing useful data on times, spaces, and circumstances of violent events, the *Libro* is a precious source for understanding the dynamics of interpersonal violence in Italy between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

This paper introduces the source and its author. Then, it presents a quantitative and qualitative analysis of data concerning lethal violence and measuring the homicide rate of eighteenth-century Treviso. It points at new research directions, finding an alternative explanation for the high rates of violence in early modern Italy and looking at how natural disasters influenced the economic and social life of Treviso.

THE URBAN CONTEXT

In Mestriner's days, about 10,000 people lived in the city of Treviso. In 1509, after the battle of Agnadello during the Italian Wars, the Venetian government pulled down the medieval walls and all the buildings nearby to raise a more advanced defence system, designed to withstand modern artillery. The new city wall, with only a few gates and surrounded by a large, flattened area, turned the town into a fortress and prevented its urban development in the following centuries (Bellieni, 1992, 215–217). At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Treviso still appeared enclosed within its defensive walls and crossed by canals (Fig. 1).

Transformed into a fortress, Treviso entered a phase of cultural, social, and economic stagnation. The consequent isolation from the main trading routes and the lack of a local productive chain made the inhabitants dependent on income from the surrounding rural territory (Brunetta, 1992, 53–128), exposing them even more to the dangers of droughts, famines and epidemics that struck the region throughout the early modern era.

Almost all the events narrated in the *Libro Macaronico* took place within the city walls. Between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the community has been described as relatively peaceful compared to other areas of the Venetian

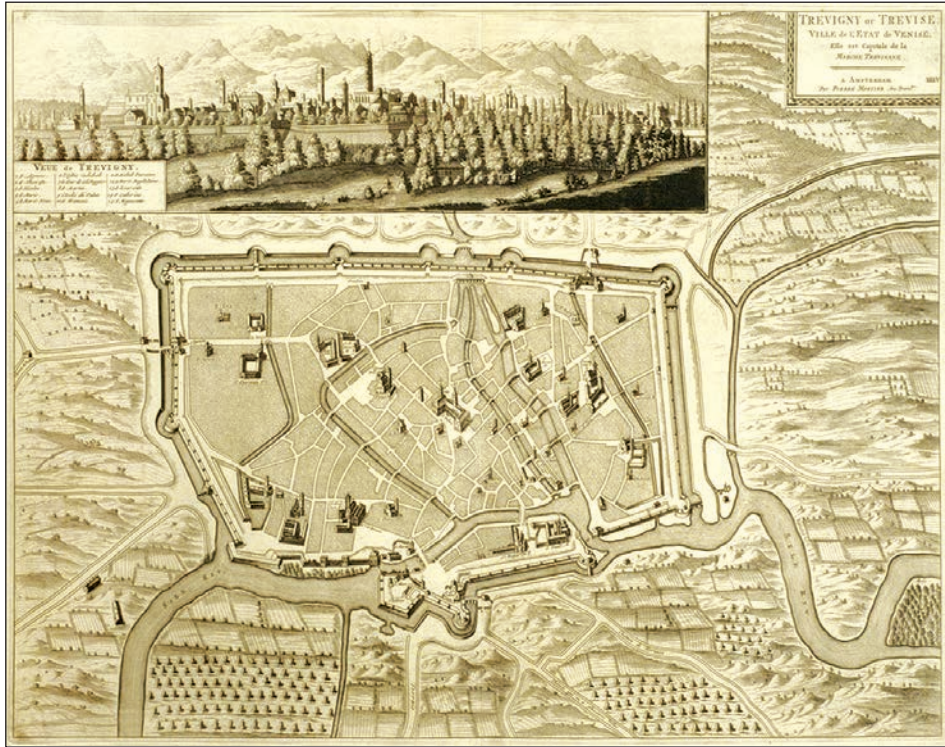


Fig. 1: Map of Treviso from *Les Villes de Venetie*, published by Pierre Mortier, Amsterdam, 1704.

Republic. Historians underlined the absence of factional conflicts and the low rate of crimes recorded in criminal archives (Meneghetti Casarin, 1992, 300). Mestriner's accounts partially belie this view. Although he does not quote many factional conflicts – the word *vendetta* appears only in two cases; the word 'enmity' only in one – he describes a recourse to violence that underpinned everyday interpersonal relations.

Mestriner explains the high rate of interpersonal violence with the instability and precariousness which affected townspeople's lives. The context of food and economic crises looms in the background of violent facts. In general, there is a sense of instability, insecurity, and cynicism towards institutions – all aspects widely recognised as causes of high rates of violence throughout early modern Europe as in other parts of the world (Carroll, 2023; Roth, 2009, 17–26).

According to Mestriner, the population suffered from the maladministration of the Venetian *podestà* who succeeded each year in the government of Treviso. Economic aspects essential to everyday life were subjected to con-

tinuous change. Each *podestà*, upon taking office, could raise or lower the price of grain, affecting the daily well-being of the inhabitants.

In Mestriner's eyes, murders appeared to be direct consequences of these political choices. A good governor would ensure the peace of the community, whereas a bad one would push people to resort to violence. In 1712, according to Mestriner, under the regime of Lazzaro Ferro, the price of consumer goods rose due to a wrong economic administration, thus poor people suffered, and many murders occurred. Conversely, under Girolamo Corner, who ruled in 1684 with wisdom and administered justice with fairness, there was no killing, and everyone lived in peace (Mestriner, 2003, 62, 41).³ Historians have described how the Renaissance State and its legal system could foment violence rather than limiting it (Carroll, 2023, 460–467; Povolo, 2017, 27–28; 1980, 220–232). In Mestriner's reports, at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Venetian State appears still playing a primary role in the high levels of interpersonal violence in Treviso.

THE AUTHOR

Mestriner is a good example of the eighteenth-century middling sort. According to Maria Moro, he was in his twenties when he started writing the *Libro macaronico*. In his youth, he served as *bombardiere* – a member of the burgher militia. In 1712, he was a father of four. In 1717, he was appointed as *capocontrada* – the chief of the burghers' police services – in the parish of San Vito. Although he mainly worked as a barber, he had other means of income, renting out a “house with a little courtyard” in the neighbourhood of San Francesco, from which he gained 5 ducats per year (BCTv, ms. 1614, f. 89v). In 1719, he was among the *massari* and *gastaldi* of the local Arts. He died of apoplexy in December 1731 (Moro, 2003, 11–14).

His job and his social position allow Mestriner to connect with important people. His barber shop was frequented by rich merchants and members of the local aristocracy. These connections provided him with first-hand oral information, in some cases received from those who were directly involved. Indeed, barbers were at the centre of urban life and often acted as informers (De Vivo, 2007, 142–146). Zuanne was in touch with local authorities. His main source was Nicolò degli Oniga, a *notaio del maleficio* working at the court of Treviso as the criminal judge's assistant (Mestriner, 2003, 143).

3 *Sotto de sto degno Cavalgero [Lazzaro Ferro] se ha incarido ogni cosa e la povertà si lamentava grandemente [...] ben si sotto de sto sogetto se avarano mazà più di cento persone però su tutto il teritorio, ma in Treviso ne sono stato mazà pure se di ogni condisione; Sotto sto no se ha mai sentudo mai nisun mal de mazamenti, né ubriachi, né nisuna cosa [...] perché tutti stavano in pace e con il santo timor d'Iddio e tutti stavano bene* (Mestriner, 2003, 62, 41).

Through his job, Mestriner may have witnessed the aftermath of some of the cases he reported. Barbers usually acted to heal wounds and were committed to denouncing any of them they suspected to be the result of a violent clash (Rose, 2019; Blastenbrei 2006; Pastore, 2004). Sometimes, his comments betray his experience with the injuries or his direct contact with the treating doctors. For example, in the case of the waiter killed by the soldier quoted above, he confidently states that the soldier's wounds were not lethal and that the waiter died from an illness that arose while he was recovering – even though he admits that the main cause of death was those same wounds, which had weakened the waiter. In another case, he states having met the culprit in prison (Mestriner, 2003, 137, 154). This position gives him a particular perspective on experiencing everyday urban violence.

Zuane's way of reporting violent events was also shaped by the rivalries between the local *bombardieri* militia and the Venetian governors' police forces. *Sbirri* are always depicted as cruel people operating above the law, abusing citizens, and acting hostilely against the *bombardieri*. Every time the two groups came into contact, a fight ensued, often leaving someone dead. In a particularly brutal case, a group of *sbirri* entered a tavern where some soldiers were eating. A joke by one soldier – “*sbirri* should not stay where soldiers are” – is enough to trigger a shootout. The soldiers are forced to retreat and leave one of them behind, who is surrounded, tied up and brutally beaten up. When the *bombardiere* asks to receive the last rites, a *sbirro* executes him with a pistol shot (Mestriner, 2003, 133–134). In this rivalry, it is possible to spot the ancient hostility between the burghers' militia and the governors' police forces, outsiders who came every year at the service of new governors (Dean, 2019; Basaglia, 1985).

THE *LIBRO MACARONICO*

The original manuscript of the *Libro macaronico* is currently held by the Biblioteca Comunale of Treviso, but a 2003 critical edition by Maria Moro provided easier access to the wider public (BCTv, MS 645; Mestriner, 2003).

Mestriner wrote the *Libro macaronico* between 26 February 1682 and 27 April 1731, spanning over 49 years. As he states in the first record, he started writing after the suggestion of some elders, because it was important to transmit certain events to posterity (Mestriner, 2003, 85). In this, the barber follows a long tradition of diarists with humanistic cultural backgrounds (Carroll, 2023, 374).

The *Libro macaronico* is a peculiar ego-document. It is not a personal or family memoir. Compared to other diaries studied by historians of violence, it is not written to recall injuries and offences the author suffered (Carroll, 2023, 373–404). Not one of the violent facts recorded involves Mestriner or his family directly, except when his wife is accidentally killed by one of his sons during a brawl. Even in that case, Mestriner recorded the fact as a cold, external observer (Mestriner, 2003, 318).

In many aspects, the *Libro macaronico* resembles a modern news journal. It is not a chronicle of linear, related events, but rather a collection of everyday happenings: ‘noteworthy’ facts noted down in a few lines – which however contain many useful details. Similar sources have been named *notatori* – for example, the 38 manuscript volumes written by the Venetian nobleman Pietro Gradenigo starting from 1747 (BMCVe, Classe VII, 67). The term *notatorio* generally indicated a kind of register used in courts to record procedural acts (Boerio, 1867, ad vocem). Mestriner’s style recalls that of a court notary recording events briefly and ordering them day by day.

Because of the author’s purposes and his writing models, the fictional component of the *Libro macaronico* appears to be very limited, if not completely absent. Some of the cases cited by Mestriner are traceable in the few remaining archival sources for that period, sometimes supplementing the data not reported in the journal. For example, in February 1682, Mestriner reports that a furrier stabbed his friend to death over a dispute. Called to trial, the aggressor cleared himself of the charges “at great expense to his father”, a wealthy fur trader (Mestriner, 2003, 87). Thanks to other sources, we know that the case ended upon payment of 10 ducats (ASTv-C, 1737, *Libro de condane pecuniarie*, c. 23r).

Although his style is dry, detached, and impersonal, Mestriner often enriches his entries with personal comments. In particular, the first part of the journal is dedicated to the evaluation of the different Venetian *podestà* who every year succeeded in the government of the city. This part delineates the political participation of the writer in community life and offers a fresh perspective on how social and economic crises were perceived by a middling sort of man.

Mestriner rates some governors as good administrators, attentive to the needs of the community. Pietro Zenobio, who ruled in 1687, personally controlled the foodstuffs sold at the market and in the town shops, and under his regime food was cheap and of excellent quality. Moreover, he fairly administered justice, listening even to the humblest pleas. When some poor people complained about being unable to access public loans from the Monte di Pietà because the administrator lent everything to his brother, an insolvent debtor, the *podestà* ordered an investigation and condemned the administrator and his brother to several years of prison, after discovering a loss of 3,000 ducats (Mestiner, 2003, 43–45).

Conversely, other governors are described as raiders. Giuseppe Pasqualigo took office in July 1692 and throughout his regime, he starved the population by setting excessive food prices and ‘sold justice’, releasing murderers upon payment of little money. Mestriner states that he had not seen worse before. The population was terrorised by Pasqualigo’s guards and by his barber, a Venetian with a “face that frightened even children”, who always went around carrying firearms and surrounded by an armed escort. All the most heinous actions were granted to him, being in the grace of the *podestà* (Mestriner, 2003, 46–47).

At times, Mestriner speaks out for the discontent of the community, as in the case of Pietro Maffetti, local governor in 1704. As it had been of poor harvest, the population blamed the governor, and on his departure, someone defaced his heraldry (Mestriner, 2003, 54).⁴ In another case, he comments on the work of the *contestabile* – the chief of the guards – called Antonio Duro – in Italian, Antonio the Tough – who, according to Mestriner, was tough in his actions too, committing unjust, barbaric, and shameful acts against the population, which were not tolerated by the community (Mestriner, 2003, 78).⁵

QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Data provided by sources like the *Libro macaronico* are by no means exhaustive, but they do project numbers and features of interpersonal acts of violence that lend themselves to quantitative and qualitative analysis, shedding light on many aspects of interpersonal lethal violence. However, in analysing this data, it is important to bear in mind it is a product of Mestriner's representation.

Over forty-nine years, Zuanne Mestriner recorded 122 homicides and 51 non-lethal cases of interpersonal violence. This imbalance may be due to Mestriner's desire to record sensational events. In any case, with a homicide rate of around 24.9 per 100,000 inhabitants, Treviso stands well above the European and Italian average of that period – which, between 1650 and 1749, appears to be 10.2 and 16.9 (Eisner, 2014, 80–81). Treviso's homicide rate resembles what has recently been calculated for Bologna, which has a mean number of 27 for the period 1600–1755 (Muurling 2020, 119–120; Rose, 2019, 79–140).

Unlike in Bologna, where many violent acts were related to power struggles between noble families (Rose, 2019, 8–10), there were no factional conflicts in Treviso at this time. Since aristocracy had been excluded from political power for centuries (Varanini, 2010), major families had little reason to compete. Thus, Treviso's high rate of violence needs an alternative explanation.

The chart in Fig. 3 reports a timeline of calamities recorded by Mestriner. The district was frequently hit by plagues killing people and cattle, weather anomalies destroying crops, and natural disasters devastating the countryside. All these calamities heavily affected the urban economy, spreading misery and death, and imposing a sharp rise in supply prices.

Cross-referencing these figures with those of homicides per year, one can draw some connections with the daily use of violence. For example, between 1709 and 1713, Treviso was hit hard by different calamities, culminating in an

4 *Aveva preso un poco di sdegno, che li fesero la notte quando è andato via li hano smerdà la sua arma* (Mestriner, 2003, 54).

5 *Si come porta il nome di duro, è duro anco nelle sue male qualità, perché è barbaro nelle sue operationi, delle male giustisie costui ma barbare e vergognose, e poco buone intese dalla città* (Mestriner, 2003, 78).

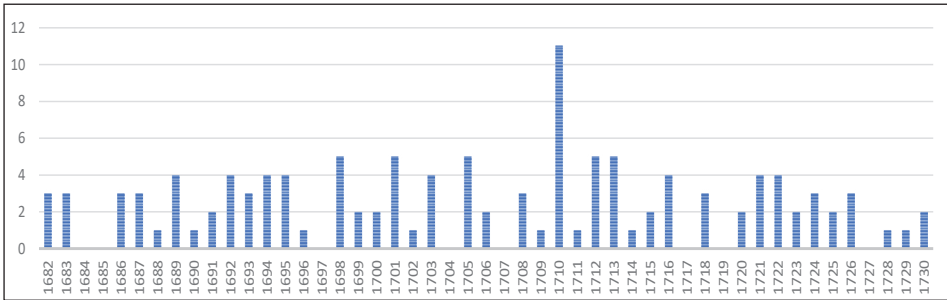


Fig. 2: Number of homicides per year in Treviso as recorded in the *Libro macaronico*, 1682–1731.

animal disease that exterminated at least 14,000 cattle and a two-year plague that killed more than 20 people per day, according to Mestriner's estimations (Mestriner, 2003, 170, 177). The chart in Fig. 2 shows how homicides peaked in 1710, right in the middle of this period, declined immediately after, and rose again during the years of the plague (1712–1713).

Although the data provided are not exhaustive, many violent disputes appear to be motivated by economic problems resulting from these calamities. In 1710, the community was experiencing a general dissatisfaction with the price of meat, so much so that the *contestabile* was forced to flee shortly after the start of his charge for fear of reprisals (Mestriner, 2003, 60). In August, an official in charge of weighing and pricing bread was ambushed and killed by a baker, who was accusing him of setting unfavourable prices (Mestriner, 2003, 161). In 1725, a severe drought despoiled the countryside, followed by an earthquake and several storms which spread destruction both in the city and among rural villages. In May, Mestriner saw a crowd around the local Monte dei Pegni: due to economic crises, many people were obliged to pawn their goods. This view impressed the barber and made him complain about the current time, stating that the city streets were not safe anymore because many armed men were around during the night robbing passers-by (Mestriner, 2003, 324).⁶

On the other hand, the fallout of these disasters could be mitigated by the governor's administration, also diminishing the violence rate. In the summer of 1696, a famine struck the entire Venetian Terraferma. Although many people starved to death, the effects on Treviso were mitigated by the charitable policies of the governor, who spent large sums of his own money to keep the price of food down (Mestriner, 2003, 115). In this year, Mestriner recorded only one murder.

6 *E adesso su la sera si vedono omini con cappe longhe in fina a tera, con arme longhe e corte, e vogliono delli soldi o roba per forsa. Siamo redoti adesso in una forma che non si può dire* (Mestriner, 2003, 324).

1682	
1683	
1684	Extreme weather - cold
1685	
1686	Extreme weather - storm
1687	
1688	
1689	Extreme weather - cold and heavy rain
1690	Extreme weather - heavy rain and flood
1691	
1692	
1693	Extreme weather - heavy rain and flood
1694	
1695	Extreme weather - heavy rain and flood; Natural disaster - earthquake
1696	Famine
1697	
1698	
1699	
1700	Draught
1701	Extreme weather - heavy rain and flood
1702	
1703	
1704	
1705	
1706	
1707	
1708	
1709	Extreme weather - cold and heavy snow, frozen
1710	Extreme weather - storm and wildfires
1711	Natural disasters - earthquake; cattle epidemic
1712	Extreme weather - storm; Animal epidemics; Plague
1713	Extreme weather - storm; Animal epidemics; Plague
1714	Animal epidemic
1715	Draught
1716	Draught
1717	Extreme weather - storm; Draught
1718	Draught; Extreme weather - heat
1719	Natural disasters - earthquake; Extreme weather - storm, heat, flood
1720	Natural disasters - earthquake; Extreme weather - storm
1721	Extreme weather - storm; Draught
1722	
1723	Draught; Extreme weather - storms
1724	Draught
1725	Draught; Natural disasters - Earthquake; Extreme weather - storms
1726	Extreme weather - storm
1727	Extreme weather - storm and anomalous heat
1728	Extreme weather - storm
1729	Extreme weather - storm
1730	

Fig. 3: Calamities that struck Treviso and its district as recorded by Mestriner (1682–1730).

Lethal clashes involved people of any social background and occurred inter and intra-classes. Grouping the aggressors’ and victims’ heterogeneous social conditions displayed in the chart in Fig. 4 into broader categories, violence delivered by commoners – workers and shopkeepers – a total of 104, doubled that by the ‘aristocrats’ – citizens and noblemen – a total of 50.

Police forces, soldiers, and officials were also responsible for many violent acts, a total of 57. Most of this violence derived from excessive use of force during policing action, clashes between *bombardieri* and *sbirri*, or duels among the dragoons quartered in the city for short periods.

On the other hand, ‘outlaws’ like smugglers and bandits, who have long been considered a primary source of violence in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Republic of Venice (Povolo, 1980), are involved in only five cases. Marginalised people did not therefore represent a great danger to social life, as interpersonal violence mostly occurred in everyday social exchanges between residents.

Homicides occurred mainly between males (109) and from male aggressions against females (9). Mestriner records only four cases in which a woman attacked a man (2) or another woman (1) or defended herself from a man’s attack (1).

In these few cases, women resort to violence with similar motives and in similar ways to men. For example, in July 1710, two aged women disputed a laundry place. One of them, in her sixties, hit the other, aged 70, three times with a knife, killing her instantly. In July

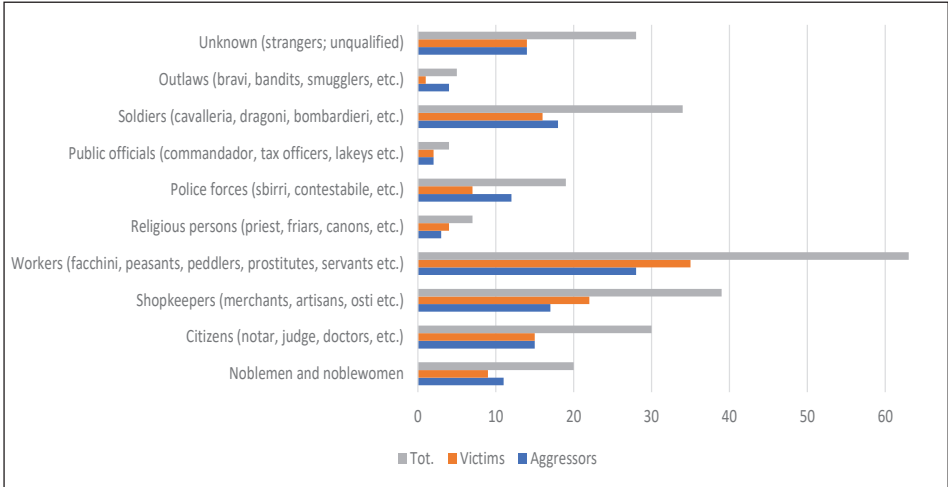


Fig. 4: Social classes involved in violent acts.

1686, the nobleman Anzolo da Ponte was strolling with a lover, during which they argued, and the woman killed him with a *stiletto*. In August 1694, a woman killed her husband defending herself from his aggression: she managed to take the *stiletto* from the man’s hands and hit him back. One night in April 1704, a woman ambushes in a street and kills a man with a *pistolese* (Mestriner, 2003, 154, 90, 106–107, 134–135). In all these cases, women wield the same weaponry as men, and this adds further confirmation to much recent research that revisits female violence (Muurling, 2020, 136–138; van der Heijden, 2013).

The *Libro macaronico* also informs about the geography of violence. As the chart in Fig. 5 shows, homicides occurred mostly in nodes of public interactions, such as the *osterie* (26) and the streets (25), sacred spaces (11), squares (9), and bridges (3).

Domestic murders appear in 20 cases. As many domestic murders are recorded in other Italian cities of the time (Rose, 2023, 6–7), this imbalance may be due to the perspective adopted by the writer. Public violence was more recognisable and left traces in oral communication,

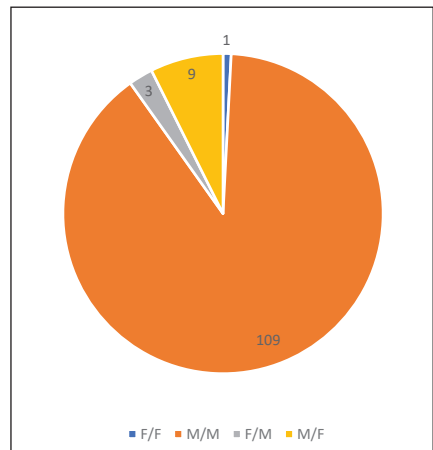


Fig. 5: Acts of violence by gender.

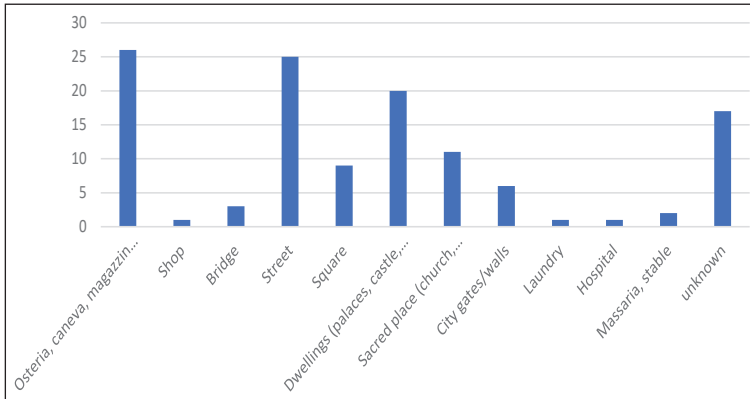


Fig. 6: Urban spaces in which violence occurred.

members of the community could speak for years about a public dispute. Mestriner might also be prone to record facts in the public dominion instead of domestic disputes, as they could serve as samples to be transmitted to posterity.

In any case, data shows that violence was still widely practised and mediated in public, differently from what has been argued for other eighteenth-century European regions – e.g., in German towns, where the authorities gradually took over the right to settle conflicts, once possessed by citizens (Eibach, 2007).

The public nature of the disputes allowed bystanders to interrupt the fight before it became lethal. In December 1708, for example, two nobles argued verbally in an apothecary shop but were stopped by those present. Later that day, the two reappeared armed with their retinues in the public square, but the confusion generated by their presence alarmed the governor, who settled the dispute by force of trial (Mestriner, 2003, 145).

Showing resentment in public could be a means of getting the authorities to intervene before the dispute turned into a bloody conflict. In June 1711, the *cittadini* gathered in the city square for a ball match. The playground was traditionally used in turn either by *cittadini*, by nobles, or by merchants. That day, however, while the citizens were preparing for the game, the nobles decided to occupy the ground and began to play. The citizens, then, stood at the sides of the field and pierced every ball they could get their hands on. After a while, the nobles stopped playing and swore revenge. The next morning, the citizens marched into the square with a large armed retinue, heading for the area usually occupied by the nobles. But the nobles did not show up, and the *podestà*, after having had the two parties seized, called two “*signori sopra la pace*” – one for each side – and forced the two parties to negotiate, but they could not come to a resolution. Therefore, the *podestà* wrote to the senate, and

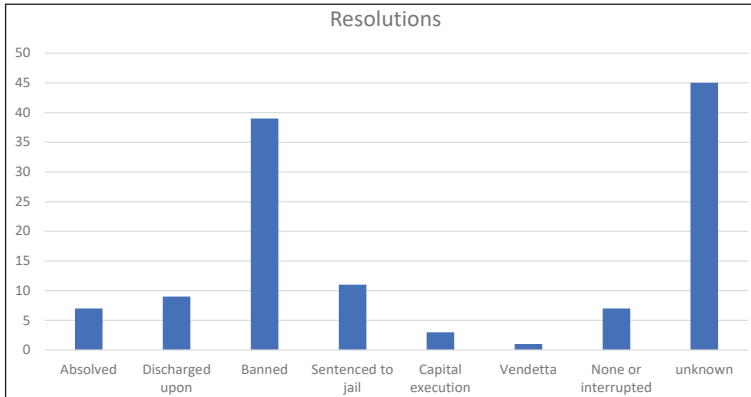


Fig. 7: Resolutions.

the two parties were summoned to Venice. Here, the negotiation was mediated by two Venetian patricians, and in October peace was sealed (Mestriner, 2003, 163–164).

In many cases, however, onlookers did not have time to break up the quarrel, because from a few words the disputants immediately moved on to physical violence. Many victims were fatally injured but recovered after a period of convalescence.

Mestriner discusses also the legal consequences of the murders, often commenting for or against the verdicts. Data collected in the chart in Fig. 6 represents whether the actors recurred to justice, sought an extrajudicial resolution, or were tried and punished by authorities.

The high number of people banished *in contumacia* (39) indicates that killers still preferred not to face the trial. These cases are likely to involve an extrajudicial settlement, which Mestriner unfortunately does not report (Povolo, 2017). Nevertheless, the banishment solution left the murderer with wide freedom due to the difficulties of controlling people's movements and the widespread *omertà*. Many murderers returned to the city shortly after the crime and were tolerated by the authorities. Mestriner's son regularly returned to Treviso after being banished for the death of his mother (Mestriner, 2003, 318).

Many murderers brought to trial were released by paying a fee to the court and in some cases to the victim's family. In June 1683, a merchant duels with another merchant in a churchyard over a quarrel in the fraternity and kills his opponent. Despite the seriousness of the deed – duels were prohibited, and the churchyard had to be reconsecrated – the murderer stands trial and is freed by paying 200 ducats to the dead man's family and another 300 to the court (Mestriner, 2003, 89).

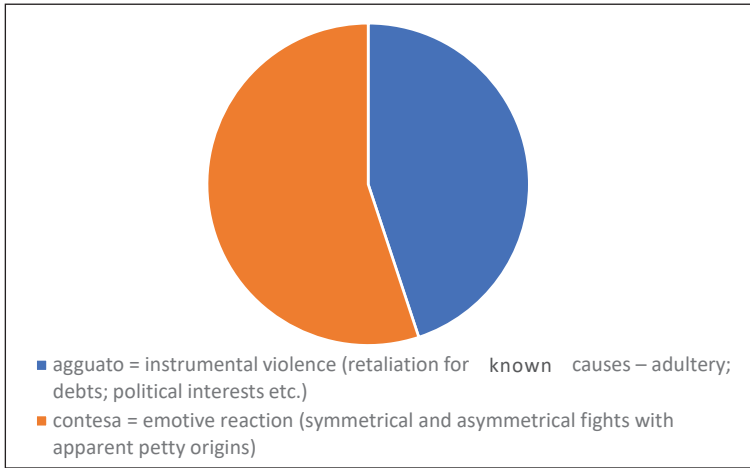


Fig. 8: Dynamics of lethal interpersonal violence.

Some people decided to face trial because they were sure they would receive favourable treatment due to their social position. These cases are usually commented on negatively by Mestriner. In August 1689, thanks to his privileged position, a notary of the governor’s court was discharged at little cost after having killed a painter over a woman (Mestriner, 2003, 95).⁷

Judges also turned a blind eye to murderous cops. In July 1718, a *sbirro* shot dead three peasants – two men and a woman – in a farmhouse northwest of Treviso, but not even a trial was formed, because “that’s the way to deal with cops, even if thirty people die” (Mestriner, 2003, 258).⁸ In March 1730, a *sbirro* shot a gunsmith in the mouth during a fight and flew away. After a brief trial, he is banished and sentenced to death. However, a few weeks later the soldier came back and showed himself around the city as if nothing happened (Mestriner, 2003, 350).

The victim’s relatives may take revenge when they feel betrayed by a court’s verdict. Ambushes occurred far apart in time and space. In August 1705, a nobleman argues with a saleswoman over money change and calls her a liar – an insult that carried deep meanings in Italy and often led to violence. The nephew of the woman intervenes on her behalf and kills the nobleman in a duel. Put on trial, he is acquitted for self-defence. He later went to live in Venice, but ten years later, he was lured into a back alley and killed by a pair of assassins (Mestriner, 2003, 138).

⁷ *Se ha deliberà con poca speza perché era (notaio) di Malefisio* (Mestriner, 2003, 95).

⁸ *Onde chi è morti, so dano. Che così si stila con li sbiri si anco fuse morti trenta persone* (Mestriner, 2003, 258).

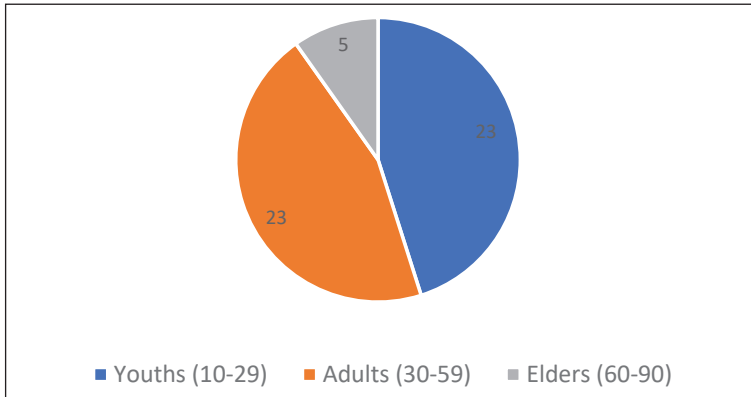


Fig. 9: Victims' Age.

Capital punishment was rarely imposed on murderers, as was the custom in European legal practice and other Italian states (Beam 2020, 395–400; Muurling, 2020, 113–114). Mestriner records only four executions, none of which were related to crimes committed in Treviso. In all the recordings the tone betrays the pity felt towards the condemned.

The chart in Fig. 7 shows that murders stemming from a hot-blooded dispute on trivial matters occurred almost the same number of times as the instrumental, revengeful ones, usually perpetrated by ambush. Notwithstanding that, as even seemingly petty motivations conceal deeper causes (Gould, 2003), many of the disputes described by Mestriner were probably driven by previous enmities.

Hot-blooded disputes are commonly believed to be the reign of young and unmarried people (Muchembled, 2011, 9; Ruff, 2001, 125). However, the sporadic recordings of the victims' ages in the *Libro macaronico* show an equal distribution of violence between youths between 10 and 29 years old and adults between 30 and 60, Fig. 8 and indicate that men of all ages resorted to violence.

Charts in Fig. 10 and 11 show the type of weapons reported by Mestriner – i.e., 92 cases out of 122. Long blades, short blades, and firearms appear in equal numbers and are widely spread across social classes. Aristocrats, merchants, and artisans used both long blades and firearms daily, although Venetian authorities forbade the possession of weapons, especially firearms, under pain of harsh penalties, as happened in any other Italian states (Fletcher, 2022; Muurling, 2020, 137–138; Povoletto 1980). This data casts doubt on the rigid categorisations adopted by some historians, who associate certain types of weapons with certain social classes (Spierenburg, 1998, 109–10; Muurling, 2020, 141–142).

In all cases, fighters used lethal weapons. The total absence of weaponized working tools – except in one case, in which a nobleman used a fork against

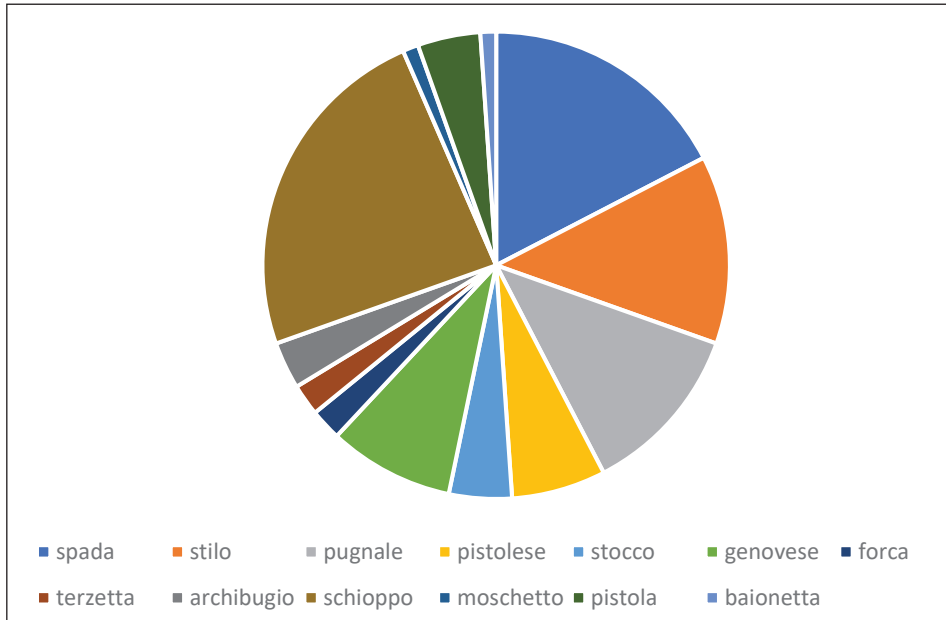


Fig. 10: Weapons used in the violent conflicts recorded by Mestriner.

his old stable servant (Mestriner, 2003, 310) – demonstrates that carrying weapons was still important in defining masculinity and their use spread in setting public disputes.

CONCLUSIONS

The *notatori* as a source could be used more extensively for quantitative analysis of interpersonal violence. Sources like the *Libro macaronico* offer a personal perspective on daily acts of violence. Even the dry reports of Mestriner have plenty of useful information on how, when, where, and why interpersonal violence occurred.

This perspective allows us to see the phenomenon of violence avoiding the usual factional/noble conflicts model and getting a glimpse of how violence affected everyday urban interpersonal interactions. Remarkably, no factional conflicts were going on in Treviso in that period, as was the case in cities with a similar murder rate, such as Bologna. Although further research on the Italian homicide rate will allow a better comparison, this data indicates that a high rate of homicide could be reached even without factional violence.

Treviso was traditionally seen as a relatively peaceful city. The *Libro macaronico* counters that perception, showing that people of all social classes often

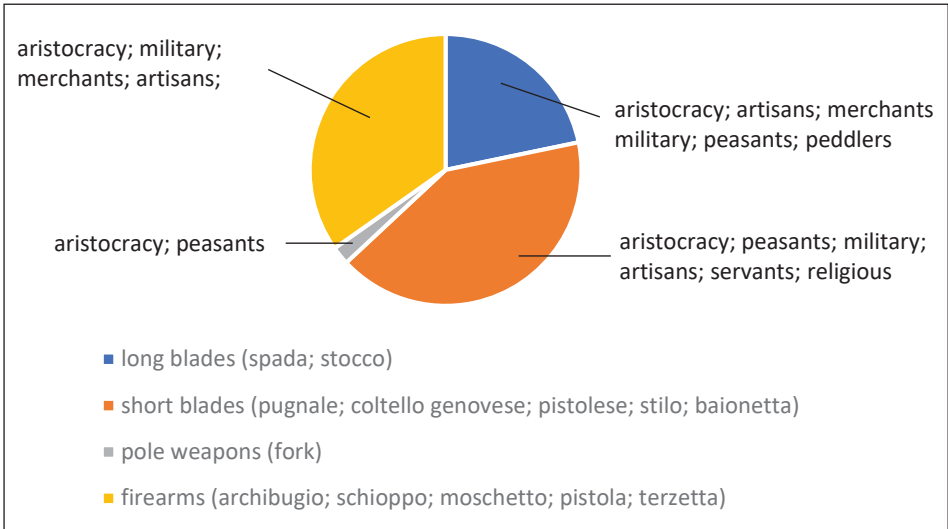


Fig. 11: Distribution of weapons among the social classes.

resorted to armed violence to solve seemingly ‘petty’ disputes. and were still prone to “ritually pull out their knives” in everyday public interaction. (Eibach 2007, 22–23). This resort to violence was motivated by enmity rooted in the relationships between individuals, although Mestriner does not reveal these reasons in any but very few cases.

What clearly emerges, however, is that political and economic insecurity made people more vulnerable and prone to defend their status by resorting to violence. Plagues, famines, and natural disasters constantly endangered the lives of the inhabitants and contributed to making interpersonal violence endemic. Moreover, the unfair administration of justice – which left many murders unpunished, favoured privileged categories and allowed murderers sentenced to banishment or capital punishment to roam freely – stimulated a sense of impunity and legitimised the use of violence. Arms and firearms were largely spread across the classes and openly displayed, despite being strictly regulated by the Venetian authorities. All these aspects undoubtedly contributed to the high homicide rate of a city like Treviso.

NASILJE IN NARAVNE NESREČE V ZGODNJE NOVOVEŠKEM TREVISU.
NOVICE O UBOJIH V *LIBRO MACARONICO* ZUANNEJA MESTRINERJA
(1682–1731)

Umberto CECCHINATO

Univerza v Trentu, Oddelek za sociologijo in družbene raziskave, Via Giuseppe Verdi, 26, 38122 Trento TN, Italija
e-mail: umberto.cecchinato@unitn.it

POVZETEK

Libro macaronico je dragocen vir za razumevanje dinamik medosebnega nasilja v Italiji med 17. in 18. stoletjem, saj nudi koristne podatke o času, prostoru in okoliščinah nasilnih dogodkov. Prispevek najprej predstavi vir in njegovega avtorja, nato pa poda, kaj ponuja zgodovinarjem nasilja, ki izvajajo kvantitativno in kvalitativno analizo podatkov o smrtonosnem nasilju in merijo stopnjo ubojev v Trevisu 18. stoletja. Analiza pokaže, da visoka stopnja nasilja, ki je bila značilna za zgodnje novoveška italijanska mesta, ni bila vedno posledica frakcijskih spopadov ali fenomena banditizma, temveč je bila lahko povezana z okoljskimi razmerami. Treviso je bil izpostavljen naravnim nesrečam, ki so prizadele njegovo ozemlje in vplivale na življenje njegovih prebivalcev, kar je prispevalo k visoki stopnji medosebnega nasilja.

Ključne besede: medosebno nasilje, Beneška republika, Treviso, stopnja ubojev, egodokumenti, Zuanne Mestriner, orožje, 18. stoletje, naravne nesreče

SOURCES AND LITERATURE

- ASTv-C** – Archivio di Stato, Treviso (ASTv), fund Comunale (C).
- Basaglia, Enrico (1985):** Giustizia criminale e organizzazione dell'autorità centrale. La Repubblica di Venezia e la questione delle taglie in denaro (secoli XVI–XVII). In: Cozzi, Gaetano (ed.): *Stato, Società, Giustizia*. Roma, Jouvence, 193–219.
- BCTv** – Biblioteca Comunale, Treviso.
- Beam, Sara (2020):** Violence and Justice in Europe: Punishment, Torture and Execution. In: Antony, Robert, Carroll, Stuart & Caroline Dodds Pennock (eds.): *The Cambridge World History of Violence*. Vol. III. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 389–407.
- Bellieni, Andrea (1992):** Treviso tra i secoli XV e XVIII: architettura ed evoluzione urbanistica. In: Brunetta, Ernesto (ed.): *Storia di Treviso. L'età moderna*. Venezia, Marsilio, 195–237.
- Blanstenbrei, Peter (2006):** Violence, Arms and Criminal Justice in Papal Rome, 1560–1600. *Renaissance Studies*, 20, 1, 68–87.
- BMCVe** – Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venezia.
- Boerio, Giuseppe (1867):** Dizionario del dialetto veneziano. Terza edizione aumentata e corretta. Venezia, Reale tipografia di Giovanni Cecchini.
- Brunetta, Ernesto (1992):** Treviso in età moderna: i percorsi di una crisi. In: Brunetta, Ernesto (ed.): *Storia di Treviso. L'età moderna*. Venezia, Marsilio, 3–136.
- Carroll, Stuart (2017):** Revenge and Reconciliation in Early Modern Italy. *Past and Present*, 233, 101–142.
- Carroll, Stuart (2023):** Enmity and Violence in Early Modern Europe. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Cecchinato, Umberto (2021):** Comunicare l'inimicizia nell'Italia del Rinascimento. Violenza, buone maniere e insulti gestuali in pubblico. *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, XXVII, 1–2, 277–292.
- Dean, Trevor (2019):** Police Forces in Late Medieval Italy: Bologna 1340–1480. *Social History*, 44, 2, 151–172.
- De Vivo, Filippo (2007):** Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Del Torre, Giuseppe (1990):** Il Trevigiano nei secoli XV e XVI. L'assetto amministrativo e il sistema fiscale. Treviso-Venezia, Fondazione Benetton Studii e Ricerche-Il Cardo.
- Eibach, Joachim (2007):** Burghers or town council: who was responsible for urban stability in early modern German towns? *Urban History*, 34, 14–26.
- Eisner, Manuel (2003):** Long-Term Historical Trends in Violent Crime. *Crime and Justice*, 30, 83–142.
- Eisner, Manuel (2014):** From Swords to Words: Does Macro-Level Change in Self-Control Predict Long-Term Variation in Levels of Homicide? *Crime and Justice*, 43, 65–134.
- Fletcher, Catherine (2022):** Firearms and the State in Sixteenth-Century Italy. *Gun Proliferation and Gun Control. Past & Present*, 260, 1, 3–37.

- Gould, Roger (2003):** *Collision of Wills. How Ambiguity about Social Rank Breeds Conflict.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Meneghetti Casarin, Francesca (1992):** Tensioni e disordini nelle famiglie e nella società del '700. In: Brunetta, Ernesto (ed.): *Storia di Treviso. L'età moderna.* Venezia, Marsilio, 297–330.
- Mestriner, Zuanne (2003 [1682–1731]):** *Libro macaronico di Zuanne Mestriner. Cronache di Treviso raccontate da un barbiere tra il 1682 e il 1731.* Verona, Cierre.
- Moro, Maria (2003):** Introduzione. In: Moro, Maria (ed.): *Libro macaronico di Zuanne Mestriner. Cronache di Treviso raccontate da un barbiere tra il 1682 e il 1731.* Verona, Cierre.
- Muchembled, Robert (2011):** *A History of Violence: From the End of the Middle Ages to the Present.* London, Polity.
- Muurling, Sanne (2020):** *Everyday Crime, Criminal Justice and Gender in Early Modern Bologna.* Leiden-Boston, Brill.
- Pastore, Alessandro (2004):** *Il medico in tribunale. La perizia medica nella procedura penale d'antico regime (secoli XVI–XVIII).* Casagrande, Verona, Casagrande.
- Povolo, Claudio (2017):** La pietra del bando. Vendetta e banditismo in Europa tra Cinque e Seicento. *Acta Histriae*, 25, 1, 21–56.
- Povolo, Claudio (1980):** Aspetti e problemi dell'amministrazione della giustizia penale nella Repubblica di Venezia. Secoli XVI–XVII. In: Cozzi, Gaetano (ed.): *Stato, Società, Giustizia.* Roma, Jouvence, 155–258.
- Rose, Colin (2019):** *A Renaissance of Violence. Homicide in Early Modern Italy.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, Colin (2023):** *Homicide in Early Modern Bologna. A Prepositional Cartography.* *Urban History, First View*, 1–20.
- Roth, Randolph (2009):** *American Homicide.* Cambridge, MA & London, Harvard University Press.
- Ruff, Julius R. (2001):** *Violence in Early Modern Europe 1500–1800.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Seebröker, Benjamin (2001):** *Lethal Violence in Decline? Crime, History & Societies*, 25, 2, 33–57.
- Spierenburg, Pieter (1998):** *Knife Fighting and Popular Codes of Honor in Early Modern Amsterdam.* In: Spierenburg, Pieter (ed.): *Men and Violence. Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America.* Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 103–127.
- Valseriati, Enrico (2016):** *Tre Venezia e l'Impero. Dissenso e conflitto politico a Brescia nell'età di Carlo V.* Milano, Franco Angeli.
- Van der Heijden, Manon (2013):** *Women, Violence and Urban Justice in Holland c. 1600–1838.* *Crime, History & Societies*, 17, 2, 71–100.
- Varanini, Gian Maria (2010):** *Treviso dopo la conquista veneziana. Il contesto politico-istituzionale e il destino di un ceto dirigente.* In: Cammarosano, Paolo (ed.): *Treviso e la sua civiltà nell'Italia dei Comuni.* Convegno di studio, Treviso 3–5 dicembre 2009. Trieste, Centro Europeo Ricerche Medievali, 429–471.