

Conceptualizing the Priest: Lay and Episcopal Expectations of Clerical Reform in Late 17th-
Century Padua *

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Priests occupied a contested space during the post-Tridentine era. Reforming bishops like Gregorio Barbarigo of Padua (bp. 1664-1697) wanted to fashion their clergy into leaders capable of instructing and guiding their parishioners. The ideal cleric would be seminary educated, have a true vocation, and would contentedly live a contemplative and incorrupt life.ⁱ Some clergy managed to fit this image, but inevitably many fell short. While this was disappointing to the reforming bishop and detrimental to his overall reform plans, on a local level a given priest's shortcomings were not always cause for lament. The laity had developed a more forgiving understanding of the priesthood. Parishioners expected their priest to fulfill all clerical obligations but cared little if he had a calling, and most saw the priest's personal pastimes as acceptable unless they interfered with his ability to serve the parish or transgressed community norms. For most rural laity in the seventeenth century, the priesthood was an occupation more than a status. This article will examine the differences between episcopal and lay conceptions of the priesthood and argue that through the reform attempts of post-Tridentine bishops like Barbarigo, laity were introduced to the concept of the priesthood as vocation and began to internalize some of the church's priorities with regards to clerical comportment.

Gregorio Barbarigo was in many ways a model post-Tridentine bishop.ⁱⁱ The eldest son of a prominent Venetian nobleman, he had studied law *in utroque* at the University of Padua, served at the papal court from 1655-1657 and as bishop of Bergamo from 1657-1664, and became a cardinal in 1660.ⁱⁱⁱ He considered himself a disciple of San Carlo Borromeo, already famous in Barbarigo's day as the ideal Tridentine bishop. In Padua Barbarigo reinvigorated the

seminary, turning it into one of the premier institutions for diocesan education in Europe; reorganized the diocesan government and expanded Padua's system of *vicari foranei*; and undertook arduous and lengthy pastoral visitations of his 327 parishes.^{iv} Padua itself was well situated for the implementation of Tridentine Reform, particularly with a diligent bishop at the helm. Although Padua was a relatively large diocese, it was also one of the wealthiest in Italy and had already benefitted from a few other attempts at reform, most notably under Nicolò Ormaneto in the mid-sixteenth century.^v Barbarigo's exceptional devotion to reform, Padua's material advantages, and the copious documentation available from Barbarigo's reform attempts make Padua a useful case study for understanding the process of implementing Tridentine reform on the ground in a broader European context.

Barbarigo's pastoral visitations included substantive interviews of and audiences with ordinary laity which help shed light on lay interests and priorities over Barbarigo's entire tenure. In nearly every one of the 295 extra-urban parishes (there are few documents for the 32 urban parishes), he interviewed parishioners about church functions and the behavior of their clergy. In many towns he also set aside time for the laity to voice their concerns, an opportunity many were eager to take. On occasion, Barbarigo received letters from groups of laypeople requesting his intervention. His interviews were most often with men, though women do appear on occasion, while both men and women attended open audiences and wrote letters. Barbarigo preferred to call confraternity leaders as witnesses but when investigating particular scandals he spoke to a wide swath of the community, seeking anyone with relevant information. Most of the lay voices preserved in these records are those of artisans, though domestic laborers, farmers, and local notables also appear. Their testimonies, rather than being transcribed into Latin or proper Italian by scribes, were recorded in dialect. The ubiquity of superscript additions, marginal notes, and

strikethroughs suggests they were not recopied later for archiving, but that the roughly twenty thousand folios bound into forty-two *buste* in the archives were the same papers created during the bishop's travels. Through the records of interviews, audiences, and correspondence, historians can begin to reconstruct what rural Paduans expected from their church and priests, allowing us to better understand the priorities that provided context for their daily lives.

The records of episcopal visitations are generally considered to be “archives of repression,” the use of which scholars such as Peter Burke have cautioned against because they only reveal “clerical images of the behavior and beliefs of the laity.”^{vi} Barbarigo's investigations differ in several key ways that allow historians to glean more information about the laity and their abilities to negotiate reform.^{vii} Although they are records of conversations between often uneducated laypeople and an imposing authority figure who chose the questions and directed the narrative, Barbarigo's interviews carried little threat of retribution to the laity.^{viii} Legislation left over from the Venetian Interdict of 1606-1607 prohibited Barbarigo from interrogating the laity about their own practices, so there was little chance they could self-incriminate.^{ix} This may account for some of the laity's willingness to serve as witnesses against priests; Joseph Bergin has noted that in France bishops often had trouble finding willing witnesses for cases of clerical misbehavior, a problem Barbarigo rarely encountered.^x An interview with the bishop may well have been intimidating, but Paduan laity had few consequences to fear.

Furthermore, Barbarigo was careful to keep his language neutral and to ask open-ended questions at the end of each interview, allowing the laity a chance to bring up issues of their own choosing and leaving them room to share their own thoughts and desires when they so chose. After a series of questions about lay and clerical misbehavior (gambling, blaspheming, avoiding confession, heresy, witchcraft, etc), the competency of the priests, and the state of the church

possessions, Barbarigo finished with “Are you interested in informing his eminence of anything else for the benefit of his visit?”^{xi} Many interviews contain a series of terse “Si, Signore” and “Non, Signore” responses, indicating that some laypeople were unwilling to share their thoughts, but many others provided more detailed answers. Although some laypeople may have told Barbarigo whatever they thought he wanted to hear to end the interview quickly, others told detailed, impassioned stories of dysfunction within their parishes. As with inquisitorial sources, more reliable information can be culled from unnecessary explanations or asides and places where the bishop and his staff were clearly surprised by what they heard. This is not foolproof; a clever layperson could have provided misinformation to distract the bishop, while anyone could have said something they thought was normative that happened to shock Barbarigo. In an attempt to reduce the chances of ascribing meaning to false or misunderstood testimony, I have used lay testimony that is either supported by multiple witnesses or that Barbarigo investigated, judging these to be more reliable than testimonies provided by a lone witness or considered untrustworthy by Barbarigo. Even with this control, there is no way to be certain these sources are transparent, but the quantity and consistency of lay reports across the diocese suggest common concerns for laypeople independent of local conflicts.

The records from Barbarigo’s interviews are bolstered by the spontaneous appearances by and unsolicited correspondence from laypeople. As the laity chose to contact the bishop in these instances they were not under duress, nor were their complaints molded directly by episcopal influence. But these records still share challenges with the interviews. Lay voices generally enter the official record only when there was a problem or conflict. The testimony that provides the most vibrant details of quotidian parish life shows historians a community in turmoil. Moreover, there is often no way to determine the sincerity of a particular complaint.

Whether or not they were troubled by a particular offense, laypeople used a specific type of language and rhetoric to signal the significance of their problems with the priest: they spoke of scandal. As Barbarigo (like many in the church hierarchy) considered the scandal resulting from an abuse to be more damaging to the faithful than a sin kept quiet, this sort of language caught his attention. In contrast, some laity spoke of offenses without this charged language, suggesting that they were not bothered by the offense in question. Both types of testimony are telling; one provides evidence of a parish in need of a better spiritual leader, while the other provides evidence of which issues the laity did not find troubling.

What emerges from lay-episcopal interactions on the subject of clerical behavior is the disparity between the laity's conception of the priest and the bishop's idealization of the priest. Whether due to the rarity of extensive lay testimonies from pastoral visitations or the scholarly priorities and interests of individual historians, this sort of analysis is largely missing from the historiography of Tridentine Reform.^{xii} Several historians have fruitfully used lay testimonies in pastoral visitations to show the dynamics of lay-episcopal interactions, how laity reacted to reforms, and to some extent what they expected of the church, but many others make little or no mention of laity.^{xiii} In many dioceses, bishops asked few questions about the laity and were even less likely to talk to them.^{xiv} Most bishops also spent less than a day in any given parish, leaving them with little time for personal interviews, while Barbarigo generally spent two to three days in mid-sized parishes and even longer in his largest towns.^{xv}

Barbarigo's attempts at clericalization, the Tridentine goal of clearly defining the clergy as a body separate from the laity, were generally met with acceptance or even enthusiasm by the laity.^{xvi} This aspect of Tridentine Reform is often cited as one of the more successful pieces of the program.^{xvii} Barbarigo, in line with the expectations of the institutional Church, demanded

that his priests fulfill all their duties, provide the laity with a model of piety and morality, and engage their parishioners, but also avoid personal ties or involvement in local conflicts.^{xviii} At all times, the priest was to be held to a different standard of behavior; the priesthood was central to his identity. The laity, on the other hand, expected their priests to fulfill all their duties and engage them in religious services, but wanted them to be active members of the community.^{xix} Both parties demanded regular masses, preaching, proper delivery of all sacraments including last rites, catechism classes for children, and well-organized confraternities.^{xx} Laypeople expected the clergy to look and act like priests, but their definition of acting like a priest did not always align with Barbarigo's: parishioners were generally untroubled by anything that did not directly impact their access to services and sacraments.^{xxi} Moreover, the laity conceived of the priest's obligations in a different way than Barbarigo did. Barbarigo's ideal priest served and behaved in a certain way out of devotion and gratitude to God; he had a calling to serve. The laity, on the other hand, saw their relationship with the priest as a contractual one: they paid tithes that supported the priest and their church and in turn were entitled to services; for them, the priesthood was an occupation.^{xxii}

The priorities of the laity did not always fit the questions Barbarigo asked them, but the way they chose to answer his questions and the concerns they presented to him without prompting demonstrate that they wanted access to the church, properly performed sacraments, and the development and maintenance of a peaceful Christian community, while they cared little about most issues of morality unless they impeded the priest's ability or willingness to perform his obligations. They separated the priest as servant of the church community and the priest as member of the secular community in a way Barbarigo could not, though there is evidence that

some laity had begun to internalize Barbarigo's priorities and hold their priests to different personal standards.

In his clerical functions, the laity considered the priest's primary responsibility to be providing them with the basic services of the Church, performed well and in a timely manner. The laity expected at minimum the Latin Mass with a vernacular sermon and access to the sacraments at both their normally scheduled times and whenever emergency struck, and in many communities also expected other services such as Vespers and Rosary devotionals. Though this was not a particularly taxing demand, many priests failed to fulfill these fundamental requirements and raised the ire of their parishioners. When this happened, laypeople did not hesitate to complain to Barbarigo during his visitations.

At the most basic level, laity wanted easy access to their parish church and its services. Parishioners frequently wanted the priest to say Mass earlier in the day so that they could have sufficient time for work or other pursuits on workdays and feast days. Several parishioners from Valdobbiadene requested that their priest be required to offer a Mass at dawn for shepherds and farmers who had to start their day in the early morning hours.^{xxiii} On Sundays, late Mass pushed all other Sunday services, most importantly catechism classes, to a late hour. Parishioners in Perlina complained that the priest started Mass so late that people could not return home until the afternoon and that for this reason "they cannot go to Doctrine on Sundays because it ends so late."^{xxiv} Even if the real concern was a delayed lunchtime rather than the late catechism classes, these laypeople argued that they could not attend all the necessary services unless they were scheduled more conveniently.

The laity also needed the priest to be available to perform services. Clerical residency was an issue on which Barbarigo and the laity readily agreed. A priest who failed to maintain

residency in his parish left his parishioners without access to services and sacraments. In general the laity were unconcerned with the priest's actions while he was away, but they wanted him (or a substitute priest) around if he was needed. Priests who left appropriate substitutes did not cause scandal among the laity even if their reason for travel would have bothered Barbarigo, but those who left without notice or who failed to make arrangements angered parishioners. Laypeople in Saccolongo complained to Barbarigo in 1695 that their priest frequently went to Padua on business (about 12 km away), making him unable "to attend to more important things such as the care of souls and the Christian Doctrine."^{xxv} As he left no substitute and did not employ a chaplain, the laity of Saccolongo were often left without services.

Parishioners also expected a certain level of competence in their priests. In general, this meant moderate skill in reading Latin, decent vernacular oratorical skills, and an understanding of how to perform all of the sacraments. For rural laity to be satisfied, priests did not need advanced degrees in theology or a classicists' command of Latin, but they had to be able to perform the services in a way that inspired devotion. In one village, laity complained that the priest said Mass so quickly that many of them believed that he "understands little of what he says, and thus renders little devotion."^{xxvi} Similarly, parishioners in another village told Barbarigo that "the reverend priest should try a little more when he preaches on feast days because it seems that he knows nothing."^{xxvii} Some priests did not even try to deliver a weekly sermon; laity in eight parishes complained that their priests rarely or never preached, and in one parish witnesses told Barbarigo "the people murmur, desirous of hearing the word of God."^{xxviii} Sermons provided laity with rarified access to Sacred Scriptures and the sermon was the only part of weekly services that changed each time and was delivered in their own language. As Barbarigo and the Church reformers had hoped, they had become a popular and expected aspect

of Sunday Mass, and parishioners did not hesitate to complain when their priests did not live up to their expectations.^{xxix}

In addition to regular church services, laity expected priests to administer the sacraments properly as needed. The sacraments marked major life events and allowed the laity to connect with God and undergo rites of passage.^{xxx} For the most part, laity seemed content with the way in which their priests performed the sacraments but did experience problems of access particularly emergency services were required. Barbarigo heard numerous complaints about priests who were slow or who refused to come to administer emergency baptisms or last rites or who were reluctant to participate fully in funeral services, denying solace to their parishioners in their times of need.^{xxxi}

Although the Church allowed for emergency baptisms to be performed by any confirmed layperson and Barbarigo required his *vicari foranei* to examine all midwives to be sure they were capable of performing baptisms, the Paduan laity still preferred the ceremony to be performed by a priest.^{xxxii} When the priest did not rush to their house, however, he created a tense situation for the family in need. The midwife or another layperson could still perform the baptism if necessary, but it could only be performed once. As baptism by the priest was considered the better option, some families chose to wait even if the priest did not appear immediately, running the risk that the child would die unbaptized. In two cases, laypeople described this situation to Barbarigo. In one, the child died unbaptized because the priest could not be found.^{xxxiii} In the other, the father of the deceased told Barbarigo that when his child was born in distress and he went to fetch the priest, the priest replied “I do not want to go to the Church, bring the baby to the godmother and have her baptize the child. I do not want to baptize the child.”^{xxxiv} In spite of

the father's repeated entreaties, the priest refused to go and the godmother eventually performed the baptism.

A similar situation often arose when adults lay dying. Although some historians of Tridentine Reform have noted that laity in their regions of study had little interest in or even fear of the sacrament of extreme unction, laity in Padua seem to have accepted it as a fundamental rite of Catholicism that helped the dying pass peacefully and they were affronted when their priests failed to appear in a timely manner or refused to perform the rite correctly or at all.^{xxxv} When a parishioner's illness became grave, someone would summon the priest to administer last rites, which included hearing the dying person's confession and anointing him or her with holy oil. Problems arose when the priest was slow, could not be found, or refused outright to go. One witness testified that when his friend was dying he went to his priest's house three times on three separate days to summon him and each day the priest responded "I cannot." In spite of the man's repeated pleas, the priest never came and the man died without last rites, which caused the witness "infinite pain because he was a man who perhaps had great need of the sacraments."^{xxxvi}

In some cases, priests added to the grief of families by refusing to fully participate in funerals. Burial ceremonies began at the deceased's home and then the body was carried to the church in a procession for burial.^{xxxvii} Particularly when the deceased was a young child (generally under the age of seven), priests often refused to accompany the procession or demanded alms for their appearance.^{xxxviii} One layman told Barbarigo that when he asked the priest to bury his baby, the priest "asked me what I had to give him, and as I am poor he did not want to bury my child."^{xxxix} He had to go to the next village and ask their priest to perform the burial out of charity. In another village, the vicar-archpriest refused even to accompany the processions of adults or to send another priest to fulfill this duty. Five laymen appeared at

Barbarigo's open audience in 1674 and told the bishop that the priest's refusal was "indecent to the Christian religion, [caused] strangers to wonder, and was against the custom practiced by previous archpriests, who went, or sent another to bring the dead of their parish wherever they were."^{xl} The priest responded that it was not customary and was inconvenient "particularly in winter because of the ice."^{xli} Barbarigo was not sympathetic to the priest's complaints and in a lengthy decree on the priest's many shortcomings informed him that he was "obliged to go with his surplice and stole to the deceased's house to administer holy water and accompany them to the church in conformity with the Roman Rite" for every funeral.^{xlii} Just like a priest who failed to come in an emergency, priests who refused to accompany funerals compounded the family's grief, denying them some part of the succor they expected from the Church and which Barbarigo was determined that they should receive.

Based on lay testimony, it seems that priests were providing the laity with the opportunity to confess and communicate when they were required to at Easter, but some were less diligent about providing laity with chances to confess at other times. Although these confessions were less urgent than those of a dying parishioner, laypeople who were not able to confess were still in some danger of dying unconfessed and were left with the weight of sin on their minds. One layman testified that the priest refused to confess his family of five, simply saying "I do not want to confess you" and providing no concrete reason.^{xliii} After this refusal, the entire family remained unconfessed until Barbarigo's missionaries arrived and heard their confessions, at which point the priest agreed to communicate them.^{xliv} Although the situation had been resolved, the man was still sufficiently bothered by the incident to tell Barbarigo.

Beyond providing the necessary sacraments and regular church services, laypeople in rural Padua expected their priests to nurture the Christian community and help to preserve the

peace. This meant offering catechism classes to educate local children, supporting and respecting the confraternities that gave laypeople a more active role in their church, and acting as respectable community leaders in general, rather than becoming embroiled in local conflicts. For the most part, lay priorities fell in line with Barbarigo's - he was an ardent supporter of catechism classes and was generally in favor of confraternities - but Barbarigo expected his priests to remain aloof from lay society. He agreed that they should not be involved in conflicts, but felt they should stay far away rather than becoming active members of the lay community.^{xlv}

Catechism became mandatory after the Council of Trent as a part of reform intended to ensure laypeople were reasonably well educated in their faith.^{xlvi} Many reforming bishops adopted the methods of the Company of Christian Doctrine, which established the first catechism schools prior to Trent.^{xlvii} In Padua, children age four to sixteen and adults who had not been catechized were supposed to be taught on every feast day by clerical and lay instructors.^{xlviii} Though many historians have noted that catechism classes were long unpopular, Barbarigo did not face resistance on catechism from the majority of his laypeople.^{xlix} Joseph Bergin has noted a generational jump in catechism attendance, arguing that parents who had attended in their youth were more willing to send their own children regularly.¹ Many of Padua's extra-urban parishes already had catechism schools when Barbarigo arrived, suggesting that this generational jump had already occurred across much of the diocese of Padua.

Barbarigo heard complaints about catechism from fourteen parishes across his diocese. He required all priests with *cura animarum* to teach alongside laypeople, but in many towns the priests were not all involved.^{li} In general, the laypeople were more concerned with the ends than the means; as long as their children had a class to attend, they were much less concerned with who taught it or whether all local clergy were fulfilling their obligations. In the town of

Pontelongo, Barbarigo interviewed four laymen in 1695 who complained that the priest refused to teach catechism in winter, “so the poor children cannot learn the road to paradise and live in total ignorance.”^{lii} Moreover, the priest apparently forbade the curate and teachers to hold class, ensuring that there were no classes for much of the year.^{liii} Barbarigo responded with a decree condemning the priest’s actions, scolding that “for many years you have not only turned against the exercise of Christian Doctrine during winter, autumn, and spring, but you have also by your wretched counsel prohibited the same Christian Doctrine [to be taught] by the teachers and curates of the said church.”^{liv} In contrast to the situation in Pontelongo, in another village Barbarigo discovered that although only one of the three clerics with *cura animarum* was attending catechism, lay instructors ensured that classes were held. The laypeople were seemingly unconcerned about the priests’ failure to fulfill this obligation - two had no strong opinions, while a third merely stated “that it would be good if they were told and warned” of their duty, a far cry from other laypeople’s impassioned remarks about their children’s ignorance and impending damnation.^{lv} As long as their children were taught catechism, all was well.

Although many laypeople were content to fulfill the minimum obligations of the church, some early modern Catholics wanted a more active role in the church community and found it through membership in confraternities.^{lvi} Most parishes had at least one and many had several, typically devoted to souls in Purgatory, catechism schools, the Rosary, and other causes or spiritual devotions. Although some historians have noted that bishops were sometimes concerned that laypeople would use confraternities to circumvent church hierarchy, Barbarigo saw them as institutions that would increase parochial devotion and holiness.^{lvii} He often chose confraternity leaders as witnesses, considering them trustworthy, and was willing to assist in setting up new

confraternities or solving existing conflicts between confraternities and priests. The laity, in turn, wanted financial control and the support and respect of the clergy.

Many of the conflicts between confraternities and clergy revolved around financial matters like alms administration and payment for masses. Confraternities not only collected dues from members, a portion of which would go towards charitable services, but also had input over the management of alms collected in the church. It was customary for church alms boxes to have multiple keys (all required together to unlock them) which would be held by the parish priest, confraternity leaders, and sometimes civic leaders to minimize opportunity for fraud or theft.^{lviii} On occasion, parishioners complained that the priest had the only key and they did not trust his alms administration. In Borso, Barbarigo was asked to mediate between the confraternity and priest and responded with eleven orders for parish regulation, including that the alms box for the Souls of Purgatory have three keys, to be held by the priest, a confraternity leader, and a civil representative; and that the confraternity keep detailed records about alms distribution.^{lix} In the village of Mason, it seems that the problem was the rendering of services from the priest. Confraternity members told Barbarigo they had paid for “more than five hundred masses to celebrate per year” but that “no one knows if they are said or not, so we want him to tell us about each Mass each time.”^{lx} Not only did this indicate a lack of support and respect for the confraternity, but as the masses were typically dedicated to deceased members with the goal of shortening their time in Purgatory, unfulfilled masses also meant the confraternity was unable to ease the posthumous suffering of members of the parish community.^{lxi}

In addition to supporting the confraternities, a responsibility well within the priest’s obligations, laypeople expected their clerics to be active leaders in the community at large. On this point, Barbarigo and his flock diverged; Barbarigo and the institutional Church demanded

that priests keep their distance from lay society. Particularly in small towns, this was simply not possible; priests had to interact with the laity on a daily basis and often lacked the opportunity to keep the more appropriate company of other clerics. Priests, who were usually locals, were welcome into lay society, but parishioners expected them to play a slightly different role as clerics. As men of God, clergymen were supposed to solve disputes in the community, not create or engage in them. When the priest instead disturbed the peace or engaged in fights with parishioners, laypeople told Barbarigo they were scandalized and demanded that the priest be ordered to reform his behavior. Barbarigo was usually quick to mediate these conflicts as he wished the priests would avoid all familiarity with the laity, regardless of whether they disturbed the peace or maintained it.

Though it is possible that there were bellicose priests who had no justification for their actions, it seems more likely that there were tensions within the community to which laypeople also contributed. Still, both Barbarigo and the laity expected priests to resolve conflicts in a respectful manner. Parishioners from Campese appeared before Barbarigo in 1675 and provided information about a number of ongoing disputes over the use of bells, care of and access to the church, his propensity to quarrel with people “unjustly without cause,” and his scandalous behavior.^{lxii} As some scholars have noted, support and use of the church and its property were often the cause of conflict between clergy and laity.^{lxiii} At one point when tensions in Campese ran particularly high, the priest stood at the altar on the feast of the Assumption and preached “against the community with very injurious words and defiance and contempt with universal abuse calling them Hebrews, Thieves, and Heretics.”^{lxiv} Not only did he fail to cultivate a positive relationship with his parishioners but he abused them from the pulpit, compounding the offense.

While in Campese it seems clear that the priest was reacting to disputes over money, in other towns parishioners described their disruptive priests without mention of underlying conflicts. In 1688, a group of laymen told Barbarigo that “instead of procuring concord and peace among the community, [the priest] disturbs it.”^{lxv} On other occasions, laypeople told Barbarigo that the priest became disruptive when he drank but still offered no reason for his animosity. In Pianiga in 1669, Barbarigo heard from two laymen who complained that the priest drank almost every day and that when drunk, he called people sodomites (*buzzerone*), even when called to administer the sacraments.^{lxvi} His behavior demonstrated a lack of respect for his parishioners, the sacred space of the church, his duty as a priest, and above all God, which left the people very dissatisfied with his service to the community.

As long as their priest fulfilled his obligations and did not disrupt the concord of the community, most laypeople were unconcerned with his personal life and private amusements.^{lxvii} Offenses like drinking, engaging in relationships with women, gambling, dressing inappropriately, or laboring outside the church were scandalous to Barbarigo but tolerable to the laity if they did not interfere with the priest’s other duties. Although laypeople would often tell Barbarigo about these offenses, the language they used to describe them was impassioned when they felt their parish was poorly served and indifferent when the priest fulfilled his duties.

Although any of the behaviors Barbarigo hoped to extirpate could cause a priest to neglect his duties, one of the most disruptive habits for a priest was excessive consumption of alcohol. In Camporovero in 1687, the town governors presented Barbarigo with incredibly detailed records of their priest’s civil disturbances. They wrote to Barbargo “to implore him for a remedy... for our spiritual wellbeing.”^{lxviii} According to their complaint, their priest was “hated for his customs and bad comportment, it being known how easily he becomes inebriated, which

aggravates his vice of treating people badly.”^{lxi} They ended their letter with “we obsequiously beg your Eminence to remove this priest from the parish” and enclosed a detailed recounting of eight examples of his excesses over the past three years.^{lxx} In September 1684, “being altered by wine, he insulted the men of Camporovero with words improper and unworthy of a priest, which are omitted here for the sake of reverence.”^{lxxi} He also used inappropriate language in August 1687 when he insulted a local Capuchin monk, described by laity as “an exemplary religious.”^{lxxii} In November, he walked drunkenly through the town in the middle of the night yelling things against the honor of a local woman who was “an exemplary woman,” waking everyone up in the process.^{lxxiii} While drunk he also blasphemed; he had sworn in a layperson’s home and in the church. In June 1686, his inebriation left him unable to administer last rites to a woman, leaving her and her family without spiritual consolation. Finally, the priest was accused of poor management of the church benefice, which the laity believed was behind his false accusation of theft against a young man in February 1687. This lengthy complaint sparked an episcopal inquisition in which Barbarigo interviewed six laymen who gave consistent testimony about their priest’s failings. In the end, Barbarigo did not remove the priest but did severely censure his behavior and order him to reform or face suspension.^{lxxiv}

In contrast, when the priest drank but was a diligent, respectful cleric, laypeople either avoided the issue or mentioned it casually when Barbarigo asked about the priest’s consumption of alcohol. For example, in Villaraspa in 1666, two confraternity members admitted their priest drank, but said that he behaved respectfully and had not been seen “out of state” or “out of his senses” in a way that prevented him from performing his duties.^{lxxv} Similarly, three laymen in Rosara testified that the chaplain went “to the house of others to drink... but he has not [drunk to] excess nor caused scandal.”^{lxxvi}

Laity had similar opinions on clerical concubinage: if it was not a distraction, they generally did not mind if their priest maintained a stable romantic and sexual relationship with a woman, but they were quick to inform Barbarigo if the quality of services in their parish declined.^{lxxvii} In Pontelongo in 1695, several lay witnesses told Barbarigo that their priest maintained a Venetian woman and her two nubile daughters in his house, causing great scandal. Just before Barbarigo's arrival, the priest rented a nearby house for the two girls, aged 18 and 20, to live in while their mother stayed as the priest's housekeeper. Although this was an unusual situation, the laity's real complaint was that the priest "does everything contrary [to what he should do], maintaining women, not preaching, not helping the sick, and not teaching Christian doctrine."^{lxxviii} In contrast, Barbarigo discovered that while laypeople in Semonzo gossiped about their priest's love life, they did not seem particularly scandalized by it. This may have been a fairly common attitude; laypeople in other parishes may have chosen to obfuscate and tell Barbarigo that the priest's servant only fulfilled one licit role in his life. In Semonzo, lay witnesses told Barbarigo that the people gossiped about the priest's "practice" with a married woman but would only say that occasionally the two were seen speaking to each other familiarly in the street.^{lxxix} The fact that they gossiped signifies that this relationship (whatever its nature) did not go unnoticed, but the fact that their gossip had no details (at least none that they were willing to supply to the bishop) suggests that they were not scandalized. Small-town gossip was a significant social interaction particularly in isolated rural areas but was not necessarily a symptom of discontent; gossip served to bind the community, share interesting information, and simply alleviate boredom.^{lxxx} As each witness noted that the priest was diligent, it seems they had no reason to be upset by his personal life.

Many priests seem to have whiled away their free time playing cards, yet another activity condemned by Barbarigo and the Church but tolerated by laity so long as the priest tended to his duties first. In Vas in 1666, laypeople complained that the priest's continual gambling caused the *cura* to suffer. One gave the example that "having promised us he would say Mass at S. Gottardo, then he did not say it, and neither [did he say it] here nor there."^{lxxxix} Two other witnesses told Barbarigo that the priest played games but not prohibited ones. Though technically all gambling and card playing was prohibited, the residents of Vas seemed unaware of the rules and only took issue with the priest's gambling when it distracted him from his clerical obligations. Likewise, laypeople in other parishes who informed Barbarigo that their priests sometimes gambled or played cards presented their information as a simple answer to a question without added detail about the circumstances or consequences or heightened rhetoric about disappointment and scandal; they simply did not care.

On occasion, the priest's distraction was caused by other labors rather than sinful activities, but the laypeople's reaction was the same. Laypeople felt a secondary secular occupation was fine as long as the priest prioritized his spiritual occupation. In Grisignano in 1695, a lay witness lamented that the priest "cannot exercise the *cura*" because he managed rents for a Venetian nobleman.^{lxxxii} In order to serve the Grimani family, he often left his parish at inconvenient times. The other witnesses testified that the priest was often unavailable when needed and that some people had died without last rites. They did not mention that the reason for his absence was his second job, suggesting that they were not upset about the job *per se* but were unhappy that the priest abandoned them in their time of need. Although a priest holding a secular job was breaking canon law and dishonoring his position, the laity did not understand the offense in these terms; they were only concerned about accessibility.

Although the general pattern that emerges from the visitation records is that laity were not particularly troubled by behavioral offenses considered outrageous by Barbarigo, there are a few cases in which lay opinions appeared to be shifting towards a more formal understanding of clericalization. These ideas did not fully mesh with Barbarigo's reform priorities, but they were indicative of the development of a reform mentality among the laity through the attempts of Barbarigo and his predecessors to implement Tridentine reforms and impart their own priorities to their flocks. Visitations, pastoral letters, and other episcopal mandates seem to have combined with shifting local cultural and political realities to cause some laity to begin redefining the priest. As messages from bishops were repeated over the decades and new generations were raised with changing cultural norms, these reforms were slowly accepted.^{lxxxiii}

Fairly early in Barbarigo's episcopacy, he discovered that Tridentine regulations on clerical dress had begun to take hold. Prior to the Council of Trent, reformers and Protestants alike criticized priests who dressed in short cassocks or lay fashions. These priests were denigrating the honor of their office and those who wore expensive, luxurious, and fashionable clothes were held up as a symbol of the corruption of the church. The Tridentine Decrees addressed this issue in a very clear and direct manner, mandating that all clerics have short, tonsured hair and wear long clerical vestments at all times, even when they were not serving in the church.^{lxxxiv} When Barbarigo visited his parishes, he found that the laity also had strong opinions on clerical dress, though they did not match exactly. Most laypeople agreed clergy should wear cassocks of some sort, were less tolerant of priests' attempts to be fashionable or indulge in luxuries like velvet or silk, and expected proper garb particularly during church services. Although their standards were less rigorous than Barbarigo's, they wanted their priests to look like priests, which meant dressing in black vestments made of simple materials.

The testimonies of parishioners in the town of Sant'Eulalia clearly demonstrate lay feelings on different types of clerical dress. The parish had two priests, neither of whom was following Tridentine regulations to the letter. The first priest wore long vestments while saying Mass but on weekdays often wore shorter vestments, particularly when he went birding. To Barbarigo, both the birding and the short vestments were a problem, but the laity in Sant'Eulalia used him as the example of a good priest, contrasting him with their other cleric. The second priest "most of the time wears short vestments that do not cover his knees."^{lxxxv} Furthermore, he wore "red socks with wheel-shaped embroidery in gold, silver, and tinsel thread" which indicated "a soul dedicated to vanity."^{lxxxvi} As short vestments and fancy socks did not necessarily impede a priest's ability to serve, it seems that these laypeople understood that the priest's role in society set him apart and demanded a certain level of decorum, particularly when he was serving in Church.

A similar concern arose when priests refused to wear any sort of cassock and instead dressed in lay fashions. In Piacenza d'Adige, parishioners complained in 1689 that their priest, who was under noble protection and was negligent, often dressed "like a Slav...and also many times wears blue clothes."^{lxxxvii} One layperson explained that his dress made him "seem more like a layperson than a priest."^{lxxxviii} Clerical garb was an important signal for the people - if the priest dressed in black vestments (regardless of length) and had short tonsured hair, they could recognize him as a priest. If not, the situation could become confusing and scandalous, as the priest might be mistaken for a layperson and was certainly not treating his occupation or his church with respect.

Although for most of Barbarigo's tenure laypeople exhibited the common lack of concern over clerical concubinage, there is evidence that towards the end of his episcopacy lay attitudes

towards this offense had also begun to shift. In 1695, Barbarigo heard from laypeople in two parishes who complained about their priests' sexual relationships and tied them not to the availability of the Mass or sacraments but rather the desirability of receiving these services from a sinful cleric.^{lxxxix} Although the Church had long held that sacraments were efficacious even in the hands of a sinful priest (this issue is treated at length in Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*, for example), at least some people in the diocese of Padua saw their priests' offenses as making them unworthy spiritual leaders. This was technically heretical, but indicates a sincere concern on the part of laypeople that their priest behave in a certain way. In Pontelongo, where the priest was maintaining a Venetian woman and her two nubile daughters, one witness complained not that the priest was distracted by the women (as his neighbors had) but rather that "there are many who are afraid to confess [to him] fearing that the confession will not count because he is so scandalous."^{xc} In the end, the priest's maintenance of women caused his parishioners to lose faith and trust in him, resulting in a rupture in their spiritual relationship.

In the parish of Campo San Martino, laypeople tied the priest's sexual activities even more explicitly to his worthiness to serve. This priest, they said, "thinks nothing of sleeping at night with a woman and celebrating Mass in the morning."^{xc} The way they tied these two acts together suggests that they would not have been as scandalized had the priest at least abstained before serving Mass. As laypeople were supposed to abstain before receiving the Eucharist, perhaps they expected a higher level of purity from the priest before he celebrated Mass than they did on non-feast days. Although Barbarigo would have preferred that laity and priests alike find clerical chastity a necessity, demanding abstinence prior to feast days was at least a step in the right direction.

To Barbarigo, ensuring that priests exemplified model behavior was just as important as

ensuring that they provided the necessary services. The laity, on the other hand, had mixed reactions to clerical misbehavior depending on whether or not it affected their practice of Catholicism or transgressed cultural norms. In spite of their varying responses, reports of these abuses experienced similar changes in frequency over the course of Barbarigo's visitations. Reported instances of each increased significantly during the second visitation, while in the third round all decreased significantly, to lower levels than in the first visitation. It seems that lay opinion mattered little to Barbarigo's success in eradicating these abuses, but the laity's willingness to report abuses even when they were not scandalized helped Barbarigo to enforce his reforms. As Barbarigo's questions directly asked parishioners about the priests' behavioral habits, laypeople who were not bothered by specific behaviors had two choices. They could lie or, as in many of the cases discussed above, mention the offenses but without using language that indicated scandal or disappointment and without detailing negative consequences of those behaviors. However, offenses about which the laity cared little (drinking, working outside the church, concubinage, gambling, and dress) experienced the most significant decreases during the third visitation. This could be indicative of success in the clericalization of the diocese of Padua, but given the attitudes of laypeople it more likely indicates that they chose not to report these abuses once they realized the consequences of cooperation. Once they gained a greater understanding of Barbarigo's goals and actions, they may have been less interested in being what Liliana Billanovich has dubbed "instruments of control" in his program of social disciplining and worked to obstruct his reform efforts.^{xcii}

When laypeople chose to interact with Barbarigo or were called as witnesses and decided how to frame their testimonies, they most likely mixed their own values and desires with those they thought the bishop held. After a century of fitful reform, conducted better by some bishops

than others, rural laypeople had absorbed certain aspects of Tridentine Reform. As Barbarigo made his rounds and distributed his decrees and edicts, they learned his particular focal points and could choose to use that knowledge to their advantage or perhaps be introduced to new ideas about clerical comportment. Whether they were actually troubled by a specific offense or not, they seem to have known that certain complaints were more effective than others when the goal was to get rid of a priest or at least get him in trouble. Moreover, their changing response to certain offenses, including clerical dress and concubinage, indicates a slow shift in lay understanding of the priest's role and the decorum necessary for good spiritual leadership. Though they still did not fall in line with the bishop's program entirely, they began to internalize some of the values of the post-Tridentine Church.

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Abstract:

This article uses documents from the pastoral visitations of Cardinal Bishop Gregorio Barbarigo of Padua (bp. 1664-1697) to argue that although Barbarigo and the laity both supported reforming the clergy, they had different expectations of what reform would accomplish. In keeping with the Decrees of the Council of Trent, Barbarigo expected a complete separation of clergy and laity and unimpeachable behavior from priests at all times, and worked tirelessly over his thirty-three year tenure as bishop to bring the clergy of Padua up to his standards. As he traversed his diocese and heard from rural laity both during clerical inquisitions and open audiences, he spoke to laypeople with strong opinions on what priests were supposed to do or not do. I argue that lay priorities paint a different picture of the acceptable (if not ideal) priest: as long as the priest performed necessary services, was available for emergencies, and did not cause conflict within the community, his minor moral failings were not cause for concern. This makes it possible to delve deeper into the culture of the community and see how laypeople positioned themselves in relation to their priest and their parish. Towards the end of Barbarigo's tenure, there are also indications that lay opinions were beginning to shift. Perhaps as a result of greater contact with episcopal authority, some laypeople began to express opinions that suggest they supported greater

clericalization, in particular by tying a priest's personal life to his fitness to serve. This sort of development has implications for our understanding of how Tridentine Reform was implemented: it was a slow and arduous process faced with many challenges, but eventually it began to take hold when handled by a diligent bishop.

Abbreviations:

ACVPV: Archivio della Curia Vescovile di Padova, *Visitationes*

ACVPI: Archivio della Curia Vescovile di Padova, *Inquisitiones*

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ⁱ These were the common goals of reforming bishops for their clergy, which many historians have noted. See Kathleen Comerford, "'The care of souls is a very grave burden for [the pastor]': Professionalization of the clergy in early modern Florence, Lucca, and Arezzo," in: *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe: Dutch Review of Church History* 85 (2006), pp. 349-368. Joseph Bergin, "Between estate and profession: the Catholic parish clergy of early modern Western Europe," in M.L. Bush (ed.): *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe since 1500: Studies in Social Stratification*, London 1992, pp. 66-85. Angelo Turchini, "La nascita del sacerdozio come professione," in Paolo Prodi (ed.): *Disciplina del anima, disciplina del corpo e disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Bologna 1994, pp. 225-256. Elena Brambilla, "Società ecclesiastica e società civile. Aspetti della formazione del clero dal cinquecento alla restaurazione," in: *Società e storia* 12 (1981), pp. 299-366. Andrew Barnes, "The Social Transformation of the French Parish Clergy, 1500-1800," in Barbara Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (eds.): *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe*, Ann Arbor 1993, pp. 139-157. Gaetano Greco, *La chiesa in Italia nell'età moderna*, Rome 1999, pp. 66, 86.

ⁱⁱ The Catholic Church also considered him a model bishop: he was proposed for beatification immediately after his death in 1697, beatified in 1761, and finally canonized in 1960. At each stage, he was compared to other Tridentine bishop-saints, most often Carlo Borromeo. See Pierluigi Giovannucci, *Il processo di canonizzazione del Card. Gregorio Barbarigo*, Rome 2001.

ⁱⁱⁱ Pierantonio Gios, "Il giovine Barbarigo. Dal contesto familiare al cardinalato," in Liliana Billanovich and Pierantonio Gios (eds.): *Gregorio Barbarigo. Patrizio veneto, vescovo, e cardinale nella tarda Controriforma*, Padua 1999, pp. 3-26. Daniele Montanari, *Gregorio Barbarigo a Bergamo (1657-1664)*, Milan 1997.

^{iv} Liliana Billanovich Vitale, "Per uno studio delle visite pastorali del Barbarigo 1. Note introduttive alla prima visita (1664-1671)," in: *Contributi alla storia della Chiesa padovana nell'età moderna e contemporanea* 1 (1982): pp. 33-85. On the seminary, see Sebastiano Serena, *S. Gregorio Barbarigo e la vita spirituale e culturale nel suo Seminario di Padova*, Padua 1963.

^v Though large, Padua was dwarfed by others in Europe, including Milan (750 parishes) and Rouen (1300 parishes). Wietse de Boer, *Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan*, Leiden 2001, p. xiii. Joseph Bergin, *Church, Society, and Religious Change in France, 1580-1730*, New Haven 2009, p. 18. On Padua's wealth, see Aldo Stella, "L'età postridentina," in Pierantonio Gios (ed.): *Diocesi di Padova*, Padova 1996, p. 237. On early reforms, see Paolo Preto, "Un aspetto della riforma cattolica nel veneto. L'episcopato padovano di Niccolò Ormaneto," in: *Studi Veneziani* XI (1969), pp. 325-363.

^{vi} On the "archives of repression" see Keith Luria, *Territories of Grace: Cultural Change in the Seventeenth-Century Diocese of Grenoble*, Berkeley 1991, p. 57. Burke's argument about

episcopal interviews is in Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, Cambridge 1987, p. 40. For a more general discussion of episcopal questionnaires, see Umberto Mazzone and Angelo Turchini, *Le visite pastorale: analisi di una fonte*, Bologna 1985, pp. 151-172.

^{vii} Several historians have argued that reforms were not forced or imposed, but rather negotiated between ecclesiastical authorities and laypeople. See Mark Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550-1750*, Cambridge 2001, p. 12. Luria, p. 55. Allyson Poska, *Regulating the People: The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain*, Leiden 1998, p. 8. Simon Ditchfield, "‘In Search of Local Knowledge’: Rewriting Early Modern Italian Religious History," in: *Cristianesimo nella storia* 19 (1998), pp. 255-296. Angelo Torre, "Politics Cloaked in Worship: State, Church and Local Power in Piedmont 1570-1770," in: *Past and Present* 134 (1992), p. 43.

^{viii} Episcopal sources share many challenges with inquisitorial sources, which have been discussed at length by many scholars of both the Spanish and Roman Inquisitions. See for example John Tedeschi and Gustav Henningsen, *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Sources and Methods*, DeKalb, IL 1986. Christopher Black, *The Italian Inquisition*, New Haven 2009. Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision*, New Haven 1997.

^{ix} Liliana Billanovich, "Esperienze religiose negate nel tardo seicento. Il parroco e le devote di Alano fra vescovo e comunità rurale," in Liliana Billanovich (ed.): *Studi in onore di Angelo Gambasin*, Vicenza 1992, p. 105. For more information on limitations to ecclesiastical powers in the Veneto during this period, see William Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty*, Berkeley 1968.

^x Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change*, p. 184.

^{xi} The entire questionnaire is printed in Liliana Billanovich Vitale, *Per uno studio delle visite pastorale del Barbarigo II. Gli atti delle visite dal 1672 al 1697*, Padua 1984, p. 126.

^{xii} See Pietro Caiazza, “Stato del clero nella diocesi di Sarni durante la visita pastorale del vescovo Paolo Fusco (1581),” in: *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 33 (1979), pp. 80-94. Comerford, “The care of souls.” Gaetano Greco, “Visita apostolica, clero secolare e religione popolare. La diocesi di Grosseto nel 1576,” in: *Bollettino storico pisano* LX (1991), pp. 195-207. A.D. Wright, *Catholicism and Spanish Society under the Reign of Philip II/Philip III*, Lewiston, NJ 1991. Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation*, Cambridge 2009. Carlo Socol, *La visita apostolica del 1584-85 alla diocesi di Aquileia e la riforma dei regolari*, Udine 1986. Several historians have successfully “cheated silence” to make significant arguments about lay spirituality and reform when their documents did not include sufficient or trustworthy records of lay voices. See Poska. Angelo Torre, *Il consumo di devozioni*, Venice 1995. William Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, Princeton 1981. Henry Kamen, *The Phoenix and the Flame*, New Haven 1993.

^{xiii} Luria (n. 5). Marc Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages*, Ithaca 1992. Sarah Nalle, *God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca*, Baltimore 1992. Philip Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500-1789*, New Haven 1984. For a Protestant comparison, see Scott Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528-1603*, New Haven 1984.

^{xiv} Burke (n. 5), pp. 43-4.

^{xv} This is true not only of Barbarigo’s post-Tridentine predecessors, whose visitation records are found in ACVPV 7-29, but also of bishops across Europe. For example, Joseph

Bergin notes that a visitation of the diocese of La Rochelle, with 325 parishes, took 200 days. Bergin, *Church, Society, and Religious Change*, p. 176. Several historians have noted visits were done in haste or rarely undertaken. Marc Forster, *Catholic Revival* (n. 6), p. 216. Hoffman, p. 99. Poska, p. 52. Kamen, *The Phoenix*, p. 105.

^{xvi} A similar attitude has been noted by historians studying Italian, French, and German dioceses. See for example Angelo Turchini, *Clero e fedeli a Rimini in età post-tridentina*, Rome 1978, p. 30. Luria, p. 50. Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism Between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation*, London 1977, p. 183. Forster, *The Counter-Reformation*, p. 6. Forster, *Catholic Revival*, p. 199.

^{xvii} When this reform was achieved, not surprisingly, varied by diocese. Marc Forster argues that in Speyer most priests were in line with the basic requirements presented at Trent by the 1620s and sees clericalization as successful by the 1650s, while Jean Delumeau, focused primarily on France, identifies the early eighteenth century as the point when clergy stood apart from laypeople. Likewise, Kathleen Comerford argues that Tuscan priests were not a class apart by the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century, clericalization may have been more secure; William Taylor argues that in eighteenth-century Mexico, the priest's separation from the community and position as father, teacher, and judge was assumed rather than sought. Forster, *The Counter-Reformation*, p. 59. Forster, *Catholic Revival*, p. 11. Delumeau, p. 189. Kathleen Comerford, *Reforming Priests and Parishes: Tuscan Dioceses in the First Century of Seminary Education*, Leiden 2006, p. 33; William Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*, Palo Alto 1996, p. 7.

^{xviii} Barbarigo expected priests to follow all Tridentine requirements, as detailed in H.J. Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, St. Louis 1941, pp. 154-155.

^{xix} See Forster, *Catholic Revival*, p. 199. Kamen, *The Phoenix*, p. 162.

^{xx} This was not necessarily true for European laypeople in general; Forster has noted that the laity of Speyer in the late 16th century were uninterested in preaching, catechism, confirmation, and extreme unction. Forster, *The Counter-Reformation*, p. 28.

^{xxi} See Dixon (n. 13), p. 76. Gaetano Greco, "Fra disciplina e sacerdozio. Il clero secolare nella società italiana dal cinquecento al settecento," in Mario Rosa (ed.): *Clero e società nell'Italia moderna*, Rome 1992, p. 57. Christopher Black, *Church, Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy*, New York 2004, p.108. Forster, *Counter-Reformation*, pp. 21-3. Luria, p. 50. Kamen, *The Phoenix*, p. 161.

^{xxii} Similar economic or transactional relationships are discussed in Forster, *Catholic Revival*, p. 186. Torre, *Il consumo*, p. 58. Taylor, p. 246.

^{xxiii} ACVPI 84, fols. 257r-258r.

^{xxiv} "Non possono venire alla Dottrina la Domenica a tempo perchè finisse troppo tardi." ACVPI 85, fol. 308r.

^{xxv} "Non può attendere a quello che più importa che sarebbe la cura dell'Anime e la Dottrina Christiana." ACVPV 61, fols. 325v-326r.

^{xxvi} "Poco s'intende ciò che dice, e ciò rende anco poca devotione." ACVPI 85, fols. 111-113.

^{xxvii} "Il R[everendo] Parocho s'affaticcasse un poco meglio in predicare la festa, perchè pare non sappia niente." ACVPI 87, n.p.

^{xxviii} "Il popolo mormora desideroso di sentire la parola di Dio." ACVPI 85, fols. 1-2.

^{xxxix} Although popular in Padua, preaching was not always a concern for the laity. Marc Forster argues that laity were uninterested in preaching in spite of the visitors' concerns about it. Forster, *The Counter Reformation*, p. 28.

^{xxx} Marc Forster has noted that rites of passage remained very important for laity in the baroque Church. Forster, *Catholic Revival*, p. 107.

^{xxxix} Complaints about these two sacraments were often linked elsewhere in Europe as well. *Ibid.*, p. 109. Dixon, p. 76.

^{xxxii} Peter Elmer, *The Healing Arts: Health, Disease and Society in Europe, 1500-1800*, Manchester 2004, p. 85. The duty of vicars to examine midwives, who were most likely to perform emergency baptisms, is the first item in the document *Altra facoltà de' vicarii foranei*, printed in Liliana Billanovich, *Fra centro e periferia*, Padova 1993, pp. 186-187.

^{xxxiii} ACVPI 87, Vigodarzere (n.p.).

^{xxxiv} "Non voglio venir in Chiesa inde portatelo alla Comare, e che essa lo battezi che io non voglio battezzare." ACVPV 57, fol. 333r.

^{xxxv} Visitors in Speyer found that laypeople were disinterested in extreme unction. Forster, *The Counter-Reformation*, p. 28. Forster has also noted that parishioners in baroque Germany seemed afraid of extreme unction and wanted only deathbed confession. Forster, *Catholic Revival*, p. 109. Though he makes no mention of extreme unction, Angelo Torre notes that bringing the Eucharist to ill parishioners was common practice by the mid-seventeenth century. Torre, *Il consumo*, p. 268. Laypeople in Padua did not use the words "extreme unction" but spoke of administering sacraments to the sick or moribund and expected the anointing of the sick with holy oil.

^{xxxvi} “Infinito dolore perchè era anco un certo huomo, che forse haveva gran bisogno di sacramenti.” ACVPV 61, fol. 162v.

^{xxxvii} Barbarigo described this sort of funeral procession in a letter to one of his vicars. Biblioteca del Seminario di Padova, *Miscellanea Barbarigo II*, MS. 733d, n.p. A similar description is given in Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, New York 1981, p. 168.

^{xxxviii} Angelo Torre describes similar conflicts in the Piedmont. There, priests sometimes refused to accompany processions for children under 14, but more often drew the line at 6-7 years old. Torre, *Il consumo*, p. 65.

^{xxxix} “Mi disse cosa havevo da darghe, e così essendo io poveretto non la volle sepolire.” ACVPI 61, fol. 163r.

^{xl} “Con poca decenza alla religione Christiana, con ammiratione de forestieri, e contro l’uso praticato da gl’altri S[ignor]i Arcipreti suoi antecessori, che andava, o mandava a levare li morti della sua cura dovunque erano.” ACVPV 43, fol. 321.

^{xli} “Particolare nel tempo d’inverno a cagione de giacci.” Ibid., fol. 322r.

^{xlii} “Sia obligato esso arciprete andare con cotte, e stola alla loro casa per darli l’acqua benedetta, e acompagnarli alla chiesa in conformità del rituale Romano.” Ibid., fol. 322v.

^{xliii} “Io non ci voglio confessare.” ACVPI 85, fol. 112r.

^{xliv} A group of missionaries (regular clergy in the early years, seminary alumni later on) arrived in every village a few days before Barbarigo to stir up devotional fervor and hear confessions. Billanovich, *Fra centro e periferia*, p. 158.

^{xlv} Barbarigo repeated this admonition frequently. For an example, see Gregorio Barbarigo, “Esortazioni ‘pro bono regimine’ ai sacerdoti di Thiene (1688) in Claudio Bellinati

and Ezio Bolis (eds.): *San Gregorio Barbarigo ai suoi sacerdoti*, Padua 1997, p. 89. See also Greco, *La Chiesa*, p. 66. Black, *Church, Religion and Society*, p. 109.

^{xlvi} Schroeder (n. 20), pp. 200-201, 258. The format of catechism is not specified in the decrees; the reformers simply demanded that the laity have the sacraments explained to them.

^{xlvii} Paul Grendler, "The Schools of Christian Doctrine in Sixteenth-Century Italy," in: *Church History* 53 (1984), pp. 320-1.

^{xlviii} Liliana Billanovich, "Intorno al governo pastorale di Gregorio Barbarigo," in: *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa* 46 (1994), pp. 77-94.

^{xlix} See Forster, *The Counter-Reformation*, p. 28. Comerford, *Reforming Priests* (n. 17), p. 43. Kamen, *The Phoenix* (n. 12), pp. 348-9. Hoffman (n. 13), p. 50.

^l Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change*, p. 303. Marc Forster has also argued that in the baroque period, catechism classes gradually became an expected part of weekly services. Forster, *Catholic Revival*, p. 126.

^{li} Daniele Ireneo, "S. Gregorio Barbarigo," in Pierantonio Gios (ed.): *Diocesi di Padova*, Padua 1996, p. 263.

^{lii} "Così le povere creature non possono imparare la strada del paradiso, e vivono in un ignoranza totale." ACVPV 61, fol. 393v.

^{liii} Ibid., fols. 402v-403r.

^{liv} "Multis annis contra exercitium doctrine christiane non modo invermiseris hiemalis, autumnali, et vere tempore, verum etiam damnato consilio, ipsam doctrinam Christianam per curatos dicte ecclesie et magistros prohibueris." Ibid., fol. 404r.

^{lv} "Sarebbe bene fosser avertiti, et amoniti." ACVPI 87, n.p.

^{lvi} See Christopher Black, *Church, Religion and Society* (fn. 20), p. 225. Christopher Black, "Confraternities and the Parish in the Context of Italian Catholic Reform," in John Patrick Donnelly and Michael Maher (eds.): *Confraternities and Catholic Reform in Italy, France, and Spain*, Kirksville, MO 1999, pp. 1-26. Nicholas Terpstra (ed.), *The Politics of Ritual Kinship*, Cambridge 2000.

^{lvii} Ada Annoni, "Carlo Borromeo e la società secolare," in Accademia di S. Carlo (ed.): *San Carlo e il suo tempo*, Rome 1986, p. 952. Torre, "Politics Cloaked in Worship." Torre, *Il consumo*, pp. 73-150. Angelo Torre, "Confraternite e conflitti sociali nelle campagne piemontesi di ancien régime," in: *Quaderni storici* 45 (1980), pp. 1046-1061. Black, "Confraternities and the Parish," p. 24.

^{lviii} Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*, Oxford 1971, pp. 253-254, 298.

^{lix} ACVPV 44, fol. 66r.

^{lx} "Più di 500 messe all'anno di celebrare non si sa se venghino detto o no, onde vogliamo che ci dii di messe in messe in volta." Ibid., fol. 233v.

^{lxi} See Black, "Confraternities and the Parish." John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence*, Chicago 1997. Pullan. Nicholas Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna*, Cambridge 2002.

^{lxii} "Ingiustamente senza causa." ACVPV 44, fol. 191r.

^{lxiii} See Turchini, *Clero e fedeli*, p. 64. Greco, *La Chiesa*, p. 183.

^{lxiv} "Contra il commune con parole di tanta ingiuria, e sprezzo e vilipendio con universale abusive nominandoli Hebrei Furbi et Heretici." ACVPV 44, fol. 190r.

^{lxv} "Invece di procurare la concordia e la pace fra la comunità di S. Nazar, la disturba." ACVPV 56, fol. 101r.

^{lxxvi} ACVPI 86, fol. 158v.

^{lxxvii} Luria, p. 50.

^{lxxviii} “Implorare remedio... al nostro bene spirituale.” ACVPV 55, fol. 118r.

^{lxxix} “È odiato per i suoi costumi, e mali portamenti, essendo nota a tutti la lui facilità di ubriacarsi, dal qual vizio aggravato strapazza ingiuria.” Ibid.

^{lxxx} “Supplichiamo ossequioisamente la Porpora di V[ostra] E[minenza] rimuover da detta cura esso P[ad]re.” Ibid., fols. 118-121.

^{lxxxi} “Essendo alterato dal Vini, ingiuno con parole improprie, et indegne d’un sacerdote, la qualità delle quali s’omettono per reverenza, li huomini di Campo di Rovere.” Ibid., fol. 119r.

^{lxxxii} “Religioso esemplare.” Ibid., fol. 120v.

^{lxxxiii} “Donna esemplare.” Ibid., fol. 119r.

^{lxxxiv} Barbarigo’s decree included specific restrictions: the priest was forbidden to go to the tavern, was not to keep more wine in the house than necessary, was to be respectful to his parishioners, and was to avoid blasphemy. Ibid., fols. 127r-128r.

^{lxxxv} “Fuori di stato...uscito di senno.” ACVPI 84, fol. 413v.

^{lxxxvi} “Bevere a casa d’altre... ma non ha però fatto eccessi, ne scandali.” The testimonies of the other witnesses are nearly identical. ACVPI 86, fols. 60v-61r.

^{lxxxvii} Lay reactions in Padua support the argument made by Gaetano Greco that laypeople generally were unconcerned about concubinage. Gaetano Greco, “Fra disciplina e sacerdozio,” p. 57. See also Black, *Church, Religion and Society*, 108.

^{lxxxviii} “Fa tutto l’incontrario, mantenendo donne, non predicando, non assistendo all’infermi, e non insegnando dottrina christiana.” ACVPV 61, fol. 398v.

^{lxxxix} In concubinage cases, witnesses frequently said that the priest “prattica con una donna,” which could signify anything from a close friendship to a committed emotional and sexual relationship. ACVPI 84, fol. 381v.

^{lxxx} Alexander Cowan, “Gossip and Street Culture in Early Modern Venice,” in Riitta Laitinen and Thomas Cohen (eds.): *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, Leiden 2008, p. 136.

^{lxxxix} “Ci haveva promesso di messa a S. Gottardo, e poi ne non ce la dice, né quà, né là.” ACVPI 84, fol. 295r.

^{lxxxii} “Non può esercitar la cura perché ha delle possessioni ad affitto a Camisan dal N. Ho. Grimani.” ACVPV 61, fol. 163r.

^{lxxxiii} Joseph Bergin argues that reform was achieved more by socializing the next generation of clergy than by disciplining the current one. Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change*, p. 185.

^{lxxxiv} Schroeder (n. 20), pp. 110-111.

^{lxxxv} “Porta per la maggiore parte del tempo la vesta corta, che non si copre il ginocchio.” ACVPI 87, n.p.

^{lxxxvi} “Fa portare calzette rosso, e bruchine...che diano argomento d’animum dedito alla vanità. Ibid.

^{lxxxvii} “Va vestito molte volte alla Schiavona...e molte volte anco veste turchino.” ACVPV 58, fol. 163.

^{lxxxviii} “Pare piuttosto un secolare che prete.” Ibid., fol. 165r.

^{lxxxix} Andrew Barnes notes a similar change in 17th century France, but argues that priests began distancing themselves from the laity, becoming “holier than thou,” which caused social tensions that were expressed through accusations of sexual impropriety. Barnes (n. 1), p. 153.

^{xc} “Vi sono molti che temono andarsi a confessare temendo che la confessiona non vaglia per esser così scandaloso.” ACVPV 61, fol. 395r.

^{xcⁱ} “Non stima niente dormi la notte con una donna e per la mattina celebrar messa.” ACVPV 62, fol. 58v.

^{xcⁱⁱ} Billanovich Vitale, *Per uno studio*, II, p. 95.