

2 | Venetian Crete

The Historical Context

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2.1 The Political, Social and Economic Context

The purchase of Crete by Venice in 1204, its conquest by Enrico Pescatore under the protection of Genoa in 1206, Pescatore's expulsion from the island by Venice and the appointment of the first Duke of Crete (1207–9) and, finally, the first dispatch of colonists by Venice in 1211 are major political events in the history of the island.¹ In addition, the participation of the colonists in the administration and defence of the island as the ruling class constituted an equally important political step.

This arrangement played a crucial role in the formation of the social and economic landscape and, in the long term, the very appearance of the island, during the four and a half centuries of Venetian rule (1211–1669). Without losing their identity or losing sight of their origins, the Venetian feudal lords of Crete developed distinctive characteristics that sprang directly from the land in which they settled, and from the links that they established with both the Greek feudal lords and the agrarian population, the greatest part of which was Greek-speaking and Orthodox. To ensure successful colonisation, Venetian policy encouraged the identification of the settlers' interests with those of the island.

The decision of Venice to treat the conquest of Crete and its organisation as a question of fundamental reorganisation underlines the seriousness with which the Serenissima viewed the newly acquired colony. The complete redistribution of land and the subjugation of the local population and its Church to a new regime were the key elements in the new dispensation planned for Crete. Everything – land, people and institutions – found

¹ For a general view on the history of Crete after 1204, see Thiriet 1959a and b; Borsari 1963; Ortalli 1998; McKee 2000; Gasparis 2005.

2.2 The Religious Context: Greek Orthodox Priests and Churches

In 1211, Venice sent to Crete the first group of settlers to ensure the colonisation of the countryside and to occupy the land as fiefs. The Doge of Venice signed an agreement with the Venetian citizens who had consented to go to Crete, the well-known document of *Concessio Crete*; the document states: 'You [the feudatories] must keep all the churches of the aforementioned island [of Crete], as well as their priests free, but their estates must be managed as the Duke of Crete and his council wish.'²¹

The passage does not provide any specific information about how the Venetians intended to organise the local Church. One thing is certain: the churches of the island would remain Orthodox and the priests would be free to practise their duties as before. It also became clear that the estates of all monasteries and churches would be under state control. Hence the local government, as a representative of the Venetian state, acquired the right to dispose of the estates as it saw fit. On the other hand, this important document remains silent about the status of the local Orthodox Church, i.e. the Cretan archbishop and bishops. This silence could imply their abolition.

With the sale of Crete to the Serenissima and the arrival of the Venetians on the island between 1206 and 1209, the Orthodox hierarchy gradually began to dissolve. First, the archbishop of Crete left the island, finding refuge in the empire of Nicaea. Other bishops either fled the island or died without being replaced. Two bishops of the remaining four were expelled from their seats, while the other two continued to live on the estates of their former bishoprics. While during the first decades of the 13th century the Orthodox hierarchy gradually disintegrated, the corresponding Catholic archdiocese and dioceses of Crete were established during the years 1210–12, following the conquest of the city of Candia by the Venetians in 1209. It is worth mentioning that in the first half of the 13th century the Catholic Church included at least four Orthodox bishops who had accepted the

²¹ Tafel and Thomas 1856, 132. A similar reference to the Orthodox Church and its dignitaries is included also in the document in which Venice conceded the island of Corfu to ten Venetian noblemen in 1207: 'We (the feudatories) must keep all the churches located in the area granted to us, in the same way as they were during the times of the Greek Emperors'; see Tafel and Thomas 1856, 56. In 1209, however, in the agreement signed between Venice and Geoffroy de Villehardouin, according to which Venice kept the port cities of Modon and Coron in the Peloponnese, there is reference only to the Catholic bishoprics of these two cities; see Nanetti 2009, 57. For the status of the Churches in territories under Frankish dominion, see Coureas 2015, 145–84.

Serenissima: how to control the increasing number of Orthodox priests on the island and their participation in anti-Venetian activities (e.g. supporting revolts by Cretan landowners). Venice's concern was further heightened by the activity of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople on the island, especially during the second half of the 14th century; the Union of the two Churches (1438); and the Unionist policy of Venice in Crete.

2.2.1 The Orthodox Priests

The absence of an Orthodox hierarchy in Crete was compensated for by the existence of numerous Orthodox priests, the so-called *papades* in the Venetian documents,²⁴ scattered throughout the island. Venice quite reasonably accepted the presence of priests as soon as it conquered the island, in order to ensure social order. However, very soon it became clear that the priests, along with the monks (*caloieri*), had a decisive influence over the local population and often acted as instigators of reactions against the new rulers. At the same time, looking to limit the power of the Catholic Church on the island, Venice decided that it was important to control this social group. The agreement reached between Venice and the Catholic Church in 1268 mentioned above stated that from the total of the Orthodox priests on the island only 130 priests from Candia and its region would be under the authority of the Catholic archbishop. All the priests arriving on the island from other Greek regions were placed under the same authority. The 130 Orthodox priests were obliged to pay to the archbishop the small amount of six *grossi*²⁵ every year and to ask his permission for any undertaking.²⁶

²⁴ The common term used in Venetian documents to denote the Orthodox priests is the Greek word *papas* (πάπας) in the singular and *papates/papades/papadhes* (παπάδες) in the plural. In this way, it was easy for the authorities (and it remains so for researchers) to distinguish an Orthodox from a Catholic priest. In addition, the adjective *grecus* accompanied an Orthodox priest, indicating Orthodox, i.e. *papas grecus*, *clericus grecus*, *sacerdos grecus*.

²⁵ The *hyperpero* was a monetary unit in Venetian Crete equal to up to a half of the Venetian gold ducat during the late 13th and the 14th century, and to one third or one quarter during the first half of the 15th century. The *hyperpero* was divided into *grossi*, *soldini*, *tornesi* and *parvi/piccoli*. One *hyperpero* was equal to 12 *grossi*, 32 *soldini*, 128 *tornesi* and 384 *parvi*; see Vincent 2007, 285–306. To place the monetary value and the amounts cited here in perspective, the annual salary of the Duke of Crete was 1,000 *hyperperi* in the 13th and 2,000 in the 14th century; of the ducal chancellor, 125 *hyperperi*; of a notary in the ducal chancellery, 60 *hyperperi*; of a soldier, from 24 to 30 *hyperperi*; and of a male servant in a house, 7 *hyperperi*. For further examples of salaries, wages and prices in 14th-century Crete, see Gasparis 1989.

²⁶ The control of 130 priests, along with the almost permanent problem of the land property, brought about the aforementioned crisis between Venice and the Catholic Church in 1320, which was resolved in 1323, with the Venetian authorities recognising the absolute control of the 130 priests by the Catholic archbishop of Crete. For the status of the Orthodox priests in Crete under Venetian rule, see Spanakis 1959; Tsirpanlis 1967a; Tsirpanlis 1970.

The first half of the 15th century was undoubtedly a tense period in the religious affairs of Crete. The Union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches and the desire of Venice to support attempts to find compromise between the two rites of the Christian world led to some turbulence in Crete, but did not cause any serious problems. Venice continued to support the Union of the Churches until the 16th century, when the great danger of Ottoman expansion forced the Serenissima into pro-Orthodox policy, to ensure the support of the Cretan population.

2.2.2 The Churches

As has been demonstrated, the forced coexistence of the Orthodox and Catholics was a consequence of the political and ecclesiastical circumstances on Crete after its conquest by Venice. Throughout the period of Venetian rule in Crete (1211–1669) the Greek Orthodox population remained the majority, and thus the main places of Christian worship on the island were always the many Orthodox churches. It is, therefore, necessary to clarify their status, namely their ownership and use, as well as their spiritual jurisdiction, for which very little evidence survives.⁷⁰ The Orthodox monasteries, composite religious, social and economic units with special characteristics, are included in this study only to the extent that they generally included a church.

As the Catholic worshippers formed a minority which was mainly concentrated in the cities, at least during the first half of the 13th century, it is assumed that initially their religious needs were fulfilled by the conversion of some Orthodox churches to the Catholic rite. Moreover, at least one main church was quickly built in every city, either by the Catholic Church or by monastic orders that arrived on the island. In Candia, for example, the local Venetian authorities erected the ducal chapel of Saint Mark, while the old Orthodox Church of Saint Titus became the see of the archbishop of Crete and the ‘cathedral’ of the Cretan capital.⁷¹ However, over the years and mainly from the 14th century on, the number of Catholics increased in both cities and villages and consequently the need for more churches became apparent. Unfortunately, there is no information on how Venice and/or the Catholic Church dealt with this issue; it seems that a solution was provided either by building new churches in the

Crete, superioribus temporibus occursum propter prodicionem a papatibus et calioeris processam ...); see Manoussakas 1960, 126–7.

⁷⁰ For the status of the Orthodox churches in Crete and their administration, see Bonn lie 2003–5.

⁷¹ For the cathedral of Saint Titus in Candia, see Georgopoulou 2001, 109–20.

2.3 Earthly and Heavenly Justice: From Sin to Crime, from Crime to Sin

Crimes and offences are timeless, permanent characteristics of life; some are punishable by both earthly and heavenly justice, others only by the latter. There is no uniform type of crime and sin across time, place and society.⁹⁸ It is commonly accepted that crimes are those acts that are defined as such in any given era; in other words, crimes are human acts that the political and judicial authorities within the parameters of a specific society label accordingly.⁹⁹ Consequently, they should be studied within their overall cultural context.

Medieval urban and rural societies included every kind of physical or moral crime. The moral dimension of an offence, particularly during the Middle Ages, acquired great importance, since society was governed by strict religious rules. Whether or not punishable by human law, every offence was accountable before divine justice at the Last Judgement and the punishment was Hell.¹⁰⁰ This belief offered to an extent a social relief and a reassurance that nobody could escape justice in some form.

On Venetian Crete, Hell is populated by the damned who during their lifetime committed various crimes, ranging from extremely serious to lesser offences, all punishable according to the penal code. Thus, the sinners first experienced earthly punishment followed by that inflicted by God – both violent and humiliating.

The judicial system enforced the Venetian law (*Statuta Venetorum/Venetiarum*) on Crete.¹⁰¹ According to their statutes (*statuta iudiciorum*), when the judges on Crete were unable to pass sentence on the basis of the Venetian penal code, they were allowed to take into consideration other similar cases (*de similibus est ad similia*), or to consult the recognised local ‘habits’ (*secundum consuetudinem approbatam*), or finally to base their decisions on their conscience (*sicut iustum et equum eorum providentie apparebit*).¹⁰² The term ‘habits’ describes the law applied in Crete during

⁹⁸ For the idea of crime in the Middle Ages, as well as the emerging role of the state in its punishment, see Rousseaux 1996 (esp. 22–3); Hanawalt and Wallace 1999.

⁹⁹ Rousseaux 1997 (with extended bibliography on the subject).

¹⁰⁰ Maguire 1994, esp. 232–5.

¹⁰¹ In a decree of the Great Council of Venice dating from 1440, it is stated that Crete is governed according to ‘our laws and statutes’ (*nostris legibus et statutis est gubernata*); see Cozzi 1980, 33, n. 5. The Venetians of Crete, according to their embassy to the Doge in 1459, were aware that the laws on the island ‘imitate the laws of Venice’ (*imitatur Venetias in legibus*); see Noiret 1892, 449.

¹⁰² The statute of the judges of Crete is edited by Gerland 1899, 93. See also Santschi 1975, esp. 15–17 and 24, n. 41.

- paratheristis*) or the man who ploughs over the boundary line (παραυλακιστής / *paravlakistis*); and
6. Offences relating to religious life and the observance of church rules, as well as infringements committed by the clergymen in both urban and rural contexts.

The offences of the first three categories are undoubtedly subject to justice and punishment according to the law. From the remaining three categories, some of the transgressions could be punishable by human law, while others constitute sins punishable only by heavenly justice.

Probably due to the substantial urban redevelopment that took place in Crete's main cities on the north coast, most of the Hell scenes currently survive in churches in the island's countryside.¹¹⁰ Consequently, some of these scenes addressed its rural society. While painters employed traditional patterns in representing Hell, it seems likely that in certain cases they introduced a new figure or highlighted another, in order to reflect better the specific social context of their commissioned church.

2.3.1 Murder, Theft and Robbery

Gangs of robbers presented a serious problem for vulnerable medieval rural societies. Protection against these was provided by the fortified villages or houses owned by the landowners. Officials, the so called *capitanei contra furtis*, were responsible for recording the complaints of robbery victims and forwarding them to the judicial authorities. The castellan was responsible for keeping order in the villages in his district with an armed guard that in some cases administered justice.¹¹¹ According to Venetian law, the punishment for robbery depended both on the economic damage and the degree of bodily harm the victim had suffered.

Theft was very common in both cities and villages. The urban context offered endless possibilities to thieves with its diverse social and economic strata. In the countryside, thieves were primarily interested in animals and less in material wealth (e.g. tools, agricultural products, furniture or other precious items). In the Venetian penal code, theft was the only crime for which punishments were carefully described. Based on the value of the

¹¹⁰ See above, xxxxx and n. 97 on the evidence of the existence of a Last Judgement in the Church of Saint Mary of the Angels in the suburb of Candia.

¹¹¹ For the office of the castellan and his role in the Cretan countryside, see O'Connell 2003, 161–77. See also the *Capitularium Castellatorum* in Gerland 1899, 103–4, articles 8 and 17.

was punishable by death, very often including ritualistic mutilation and execution.¹¹⁷ The image of the moribund being led to the place of execution with his severed hand hanging around his neck recalls images of sinners in the Hell scenes.¹¹⁸

2.3.2 Professional Transgressions (Millers, Tailors etc.)

Among the professionals who broke the law in both urban and rural contexts, the miller holds a significant position, since this was a very important occupation in rural societies. It is related to the theft in weighing the product transported to the mill, or to the end product received by the client, or even to the quality of the end product. A miller could also be accused of withholding water for his water mill and harming the neighbouring lands. The frequent offences committed by millers did not usually end up in court, either because they were difficult to prove or because the affected parties did not have the means of reporting them to the judicial authorities. This is certainly a case where the belief in divine justice was highly important: it is likely that seeing a miller suffering in Hell offered any affected community member a sense of retribution.

The *parazygistis* (παραζυγιστής) in Cretan Hell clearly signifies a man who cheats at the scales. However, no such complaints have been identified so far in judicial sources. In fact, this was an illegal act that hardly affected the countryside, and the threat of Hellfire was perhaps the best way to prevent it. The potential wrongdoers were people associated with agricultural trades, such as millers, *curatores*, merchants or even landowners. The so called *ponderatores* or *mensuratores*, the appointed officials in the state service of *Statera Communis* in the Cretan cities, were responsible for weighing the products delivered by the farmers to the state or the merchants. Alongside these officials, there were also certified professionals who carried out such weighing. Since weighing was directly connected to the collection of duties, appointed officials, the so-called *iusticiarii*, were responsible for ensuring the use of the right weights and measures.¹¹⁹ In any case, whether in the city or in the village, cheating at the scales was treated as theft and punished according to the value of the stolen product.

¹¹⁷ Ruggiero 1978, 245–6, 250. See also Santschi 1976b, 50–8.

¹¹⁸ The image of a sinner in Hell with the object of their sin around their neck is very old, in both the Byzantine and Latin worlds; see Albani 2016, 379.

¹¹⁹ For the offences committed by tradesmen, and especially the outcome of a sale based on falsified weights and measures in the Byzantine Empire, see Papaiani 1997. For the state office of weighing and its personnel, see Gasparis 1989, 122–8.

Other professional sinners featured in Hell were the tailor and the weaver – the latter always female. Although production of fabric and clothing were usually part of domestic rural activity, the contact of peasants with such professionals either in the city or in the village was not rare. Nevertheless, such professions were more common within an urban environment. The offences a tailor and/or a weaver could have committed were related either to withholding part of the fabric, the bad quality of the texture, or the over-pricing of the end product.

The tavern keeper, male or female, is another sinner encountered in Cretan Hell. There were numerous taverns in the Cretan city-ports as well as in the castles in the vast countryside. Taverns were associated with immorality, violence and drunkenness. Quarrels that led to injury or murder, as well as gambling and prostitution, were frequently committed in medieval taverns.¹²⁰ Furthermore, the tavern keeper, just like any other merchant, was able to cheat his customers (e.g. over-charging for poor-quality and watered-down wine and other drinks).

2.3.3 Usurers and Notaries

While moneylenders and notaries were mostly active in the cities, from the second half of the 13th century on they also frequented the Cretan countryside. The peasants used them either to borrow money (as loans became an important part of the rural economy) or to sign an agreement. A place in Hell is reserved for usurers and forgers of documents, basically for those in these two professions who exploited villagers in need. Although no sinner in Cretan Hell is identified as a pawnbroker, this group should also be added here. Despite acting within the parameters of the law, they met with the Church's disapproval, since they took advantage of the misfortunes of others. Pawnbrokers were active in the villages, where impoverished farmers pledged valuable objects in exchange for money.¹²¹

Contracts (i.e. written agreements between two or more parties) became very popular in both medieval urban and rural environments, from the 13th century onwards. Hence, the illiteracy of most of the population at the time created problems in drafting such contracts. In addition, while the languages used on Crete in everyday life were Greek and Italian, the

¹²⁰ For example, in 1388, Fricel de Lubliana, 'scalper' in a butcher shop of Candia, murdered Giuliano de Arimino after a fight in a tavern while playing dice. Fricel was sentenced to be blinded in his left eye and to have his left hand cut off; see Santschi 1970, 90. For taverns in medieval Crete, see Gasparis 2019.

¹²¹ See, for example, Morozzo della Rocca 1950, no. 32; Ratti Vidulich 1965, no. 82.

contracts had to be drawn up in Latin. Thus, notaries were in a position to falsify documents, either for their benefit or for the benefit of one of the participating parties. In Crete there is rich documentation about illegalities committed by notaries, mainly in wills and in contracts facilitating the appropriation of money.¹²² Falsification of a document was a serious crime, usually punishable with a fine in both Venice and the Byzantine Empire.¹²³ Depending on the seriousness of their crimes, notaries could either temporarily or permanently lose their professional licence, which would see them deprived of an income, or even be sentenced to death.

Associated with the latter crime was that of perjury. Any artisan, professional, civil servant or official, including a notary, who violated their duties and brought other people into harm's way, could be considered a perjurer, and they often found themselves in the fire of the Cretan Hell.

2.3.4 Sins of a Social/Moral Nature

The most frequently encountered Cretan male and female sinners are identified in inscriptions as *pornos* and *porni* respectively. In modern Greek, the word means 'prostitute'. However, while this translation is correct in certain cases (see below), in medieval society the word covered a wider spectrum and thus 'fornicator' is a much more appropriate translation.¹²⁴

Prostitution was not a crime in the eyes of the law, unless it was associated with criminal activity. In Byzantium, the law punished only procurers.¹²⁵ It is therefore not surprising that the procuress (a woman in charge of a brothel, *μαυλίστρα*, which literally means 'seductress' or 'temptress'), is found among the sinners in Hell in some Cretan examples.¹²⁶ Such examples further support the translation 'fornicator', which in turn incorporates a variety of sins, starting with adultery.

In medieval society, adultery was punishable by law, especially when it led to separation and divorce. In Byzantium, after the Justinian era, adultery was classified as a crime thanks to the influence of the Church. This law defined adultery as the extramarital affair of a married woman, while the affair of a married or unmarried man with an unmarried woman was designated as prostitution (*πορνεία*).¹²⁷ The Isaurian *Ecloga*, dated to the 8th century, describes as fornicator (*πόρνος*) a married man who has

¹²² See, for example, Ratti Vidulich 1965, nos 133, 145. ¹²³ Pitsakis 1997.

¹²⁴ See also Lymberopoulou in this volume, xxxxx. ¹²⁵ Troianos 1997b, 181.

¹²⁶ Mavromatis and Panayiotakis 2015, 154–7, 209. For Cretan examples see cat. nos 7, 19, 45, 70, 83, 98 and 100.

¹²⁷ Vassilaki 1986, 42.

rumours harming members of the local society (η παρακαθήστρα / *i parakathistra*; η σουρεύτρα / *i soureutra*; η παραφουκραστρέα / *i parafoukrastreia*; η καταλαλούσα / *i katalalousa* and ο καταλαλών / *o katalalon*; η ψεύτρα / *i pseutra*). This behaviour definitely violated the moral code of the Christian faith, but it did not break any laws.

2.3.5 The Sins of the Farmers

A place in Hell is also reserved for all those who have committed offences related to peasants' daily work and financial obligations. According to Sharon E. J. Gerstel, 'no scene better exemplifies the desire for the orderly peasant life recommended by the Farmer's Law than the representation of agrarian sinners in Hell.'¹⁴³ The superintendent (*curator* / κουράτορας / *kouratoras*), i.e. the agent of the feudatory and owner of the land cultivated by the farmers, held a leading role in rural society. He was generally a resident in the same village and responsible for monitoring the proper course of agricultural and livestock holdings, collecting the annual contribution of the peasants to their feudal lord, and storing the agricultural products in the lord's warehouse.¹⁴⁴ He represented therefore a form of authority among the villagers and was in a position to abuse his power by pressing the farmers. The image of the *curator* in Hell acted as a deterrent for such people, offering them a glimpse of their eternal life as a warning against the cruel, unjust or unlawful conduct of state administrators towards peasants.¹⁴⁵ It is obvious that such conduct was considered a sin, but not against the law, unless it brought harm to others. However, no such cases have been identified in the sources so far.

The preposition *παρα*¹⁴⁶ is the prefix of the terms defining all those who take part in the next group of the damned; it refers directly to any kind of infringement, illegal activity and misconduct related to rural life. These are men who reap over the boundary line (*παραθεριστής* / *paratheristis*) or plough over the boundary line (*παραυλακιστής* / *paravlakistis*) and those

¹⁴³ Gerstel 2002, 217.

¹⁴⁴ For the superintendent (*curator*) and his role in the Cretan villages, see Gasparis 1997, 56–7.

¹⁴⁵ Baun 2007, 256 wrote that the Apocalypses of the *Theotokos* and of *Anastasia*, which describe tours of Hell, show no mercy to corrupt officials. According to this author (252), an archon and a priest were the two types of authority figures with whom the average person in medieval times came into contact – and this is certainly true of rural Venetian Crete.

¹⁴⁶ The Greek preposition *παρα* as a prefix could be identified with the English prefix *dis-*, *un-*, *in-* (in the sense 'against'), used in words that define a person who violates the law or the rules, like 'unlawful', 'illegal', 'disobedient' etc. The same prefix exists also in the Greek terms for other sinners, for example the gossipers (e.g. *παραφουκάστρα*), who disrespect social rules.

cheat at the scales (παραζυγιαστής / *parazygiastis* or παρακαμπανιστής / *parakampanistis*).

In all these cases, the offences were punishable if a complaint was made. Anybody reaping over the boundary line was also guilty of theft, since they effectively appropriated another's product. The boundaries of the fields were well defined, and the farmers were obliged to maintain them.¹⁴⁷ Thus, contracts and land registers often include relevant clauses or land marking. The control and sometimes the redefinition of the field boundaries, in the case of a complaint, were made by the castellan or his secretary; fief boundaries were the responsibility of the appropriate officials, called *partitores communis*. The authorities paid similar attention to damages to cultivations and boundaries caused by animals that were left free or unguarded by their owners (see doc. no. 16). In all cases concerning boundaries, the responsible officials used as witnesses either the *curator* or villagers who were able to offer testimony. The Byzantine law of all periods, from the 6th to the 15th century, included matters of land ownership and punishment for any related offences.¹⁴⁸

2.3.6 Religious Sins

The offences in the context of religious life and the violation of the Church's rules primarily incurred moral and ecclesiastical condemnation, even more so when committed by priests. Hence, the priest who did not take care of his church, or those who opted to sleep in on a Sunday rather than attend the liturgy, or did not bring offerings to the church, or gossiped during the Mass, all belong in this category and incurred divine condemnation. However, the penal code also condemned serious offences such as sacrilege, heresy, proselytism and blasphemy.¹⁴⁹ There were two types of punishable blasphemy – that committed by members of a specific faith group and that committed by believers outside this group. In Crete, where two different rites of the same faith existed side by side, blasphemy closely related to daily life was committed either by the worshippers of the same rite against 'God, Saint Mary

¹⁴⁷ For the farmers' obligation to take care of the land boundaries (hedges or ditches), see Gasparis 1997, 152–3.

¹⁴⁸ Nakos 1997, 152–6. Among the various Greek terms defining the violation of the boundaries and the appropriation of foreign land there are also: περί όρων ιθυντέων, αποκίνησις ... αλλοτριών όρων, παρόρισις αυλάκων του πλησίον, αρπάζων γην, μετατιθείς τα όρια.

¹⁴⁹ According to Byzantine law, such crimes were: apostasy, idolatry and proselytism, heresy, sacrilege, disturbance of the holy faith, the violation of ecclesiastical asylum, magic, divination and superstition, and grave robbing see Troianos 1979. For blasphemy in the legal traditions of Christians, Jews and Muslims, see Tolan 2016. See also an example of heresy and conversion in Santschi 1976b, 72–9.

2.4 Documents

1. Ordination. Permission granted by the Cretan authorities to Georgios Mouristos and Ioannis Lalachos, the former resident in the suburb of Candia, the latter in the village of Kalyvia, at the request of Marco Marsiliano and Donato Dandolo respectively, to travel outside Crete to be ordained priests by an Orthodox bishop. 18 March and 5 April 1391.

Die XVIII marcii 1391.

Data fuit licentia Georgio Muristo habitatori burgi in Nea Moni eundi extra insulam pro faciendi se ordinari clericum grecum ab episcopo greco et hoc ad petitionem Marci Marsiliani sutoris.

Die V aprilis 1391.

Similis licentia data fuit Iohanni Lalacho habitatori casalis Calivia ad petitionem ser Donati Dandolo.

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29bis, q. 22/5, 33v)

2. Certificate. The castellan of Coron and Modon certifies that Ioannis Kafouros was ordained priest by the Orthodox bishop of Coron. 16 August 1415.

Spectabiles et egregii amici carissimi significamus vobis, quod iuxta relationem nobis factam per episcopum nostrum grecorum Ianni Caffuro promotus est ad officium sacerdotale per ipsum episcopum nostrum iuxta mores grecorum. Et ideo ad instantiam et requisitionem literarum vestrarum providimus hec vobis significare, paratus et cetera.

Marchus Dandolo Coroni et Mothoni castellanus.

Koronii die XVI augusti 1415

Recepta die XXI augusti 1415

(ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 1, q. 6bis, 1 r)

2a. Certificate. The castellan of Coron and Modon certifies that Georgios Gerakas, son of the late priest Ioannis, was ordained priest by the Orthodox bishop of Modon. 1 October 1415.

Egregii et potentes amici carissimi notificamus vobis, quod lator presentis Georgius Geraca quondam papatis Iohannis, qui cum literis precessoris nostri receptis XXVI mensis elapsi ad has partes accessit pro faciendi se fieri papatem grecum, de nostra licentia per episcopum nostrum grecum huius loci promotus extitit ad sacerdotale officium secundum consuetudinem grecorum, paratus et cetera.

Michael Trivisano Coroni et Mothoni castellanus.