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CONTRA DEUM, JUS ET JUSTITIAM
THE TRIAL OF BARTOLOMEO QUERINI,
BAILO AND CAPITANO OF NEGROPONTE (14th c.)*

In the course of a recent research trip to the Venetian State Archives I came across a group of hitherto unknown legal documents relating to the criminal action brought by the *Avogadori di Comun* against Bartolomeo Querini, bailo and capitano of Negroponte between the years 1372 and 1374. Querini was prosecuted upon his return to Venice and subsequently convicted for breach of duties specified in his Commission and offenses against the State.¹ The case which deals with events both in and outside the island of Euboea or Negroponte – as it was better known to the Latins – involving some of the most important figures of Latin-

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1. On the various duties of the *Avogadori di Comun*, see F. C. Lane, *Venice, A Maritime Republic*, Baltimore 1973, p.100; see also A. Viggiano, *Governanti e Governati, Legittimità del potere ed esercizio dell'autorità sovrana nello Stato veneto della prima età moderna*, Treviso 1993, pp. 51-146. The *Avogadori di Comun* were specifically charged with bringing criminal action against colonial officials who acted against their Commissions and Capitularies. On the procedure followed in cases involving overseas officials, see the chapter from the capitulary of the Advocates of the Commune, dated December 2, 1376, published by D. E. Queller, «Newly Discovered Early Venetian Legislation on Ambassadors», in *Two Studies on Venetian Government*, Geneva 1977, pp. 29-30, n° 24; cf. F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1959, pp. 198-203. I have been unable to locate Bartolomeo Querini's Commission, nor for that matter the Commission of any previous bailo of Negroponte. However, numerous laws passed by the *Maggior Consiglio* and instructions from the Senate refer to the election, salary, duties and responsibilities of the bailo of Negroponte, see Thiriet, *Délibérations des Assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Romanie*, v. 1-2, Paris - The Hague 1966-1971, passim.

dominated Greece, is of particular interest because it reflects the Republic's interests in the region and its concern about the safety and well-being of its colony. Moreover, it affords further indication of the failings of overseas governors and of the efficacy of the system devised by Venice to police its officials.²

The first to take an interest in this criminal trial was Karl Hopf, who, however, gave only a partial and incomplete account of the case, based chiefly on the sentence of the court, marred by many errors, especially with regard to dates.³ The scope of this paper is to present anew the main facts of the case and shed some additional light on the history of Negroponte and the surrounding regions, particularly in view of the newly discovered documents. No claim to exhaustiveness is made, given the limited time and space of this presentation.

The documents which contain the new evidence are collected in a file bearing on the cover the indication: «*Querini Bartolommeo bailo e capitano a Negroponte, violenza contro Nicola dalle Carceri di una figlia di Nicolo Sanudo che voleva fosse sposata a un proprio figlio, 1374*».⁴ They are the depositions of ten witnesses, taken between December 1374 and January 1375, and a rough draft of the bill of indictment dated January 4, 1375.

The Venetians were well acquainted with the island of Negroponte long before the Fourth Crusade. Situated just a few miles off the coast of central Greece, the island was a main stop for ships on route to Constantinople and an important market-centre for merchandise coming from the mainland. However, although the

2. On these subjects see the comprehensive analysis of D. E. Queller, *Il Patriziato Veneto. La realtà contro il mito*, Rome 1987, pp. 301-420 (transl. in Italian from the original English edition, Urbana & Chicago, University of Illinois press 1986).

3. K. Hopf, *Geschichte der Inseln Andros und ihrer Beherrscher in dem Zeitraume von MCCVII-MDLXVI*, Vienna 1855, pp. 41[61]-42[62]; idem, *Geschichte Griechenlands von Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit*, Leipzig 1867-1868 (reproduced by Burt Franklin, New York), p. 29, n. 20. The sentence dated July 12, 1375 (misdated by Hopf July 16, 1375) is preserved in A.S.V. (= Archivio di Stato di Venezia), *Avogaria di Comun, Raspe*, reg. 3643/3, f. 66v, see also Appendix, doc. B. In addition to the sentence Hopf cites the following authorities: 1) A.S.V., *Maggior Consiglio, Novella*, f. 361, copy, dated July 22, 1375 [(= f. 163 in the original register, according to which the date should read July 12, 1375), which contains two sentencing proposals put forward by the public prosecutors and the *Signoria*, respectively, and voted on by the *Maggior Consiglio* at the same session; for a summary of this decision, see F. Thiriet, *Assemblées*, v. 2, n° 823]; and 2) Stefano Magno, *Annali Veneti*, v. 4, *Ms. Cicogna 367*, Civico Museo Correr, f. 39v [= K. Hopf, «Estratti degli Annali Veneti di Stefano Magno», in *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Paris 1873, p. 182].

4. A.S.V., *Avogaria di Comun, Miscelanea Penale*, b. 208, 1, see below Appendix docs. A1-12.

partition treaty in 1204 assigned the northern and southern part of the island (Oreos and Karystos) to Venice, various circumstances prevented her from taking immediate steps to enter into possession of these territories. The Venetian claims on Negroponte were subsequently ignored by Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, who took over the island and, shortly before his death in 1205, divided it into three large fiefs which he granted to three Veronese lords, known also as triarchs. Only, Euripos (pres. Chalkis), the capital of the island, also called Negroponte by the Latins, remained undivided and was held in common by the triarchs.⁵

In 1209, Ravano dalle Carceri, who by then had managed to secure «possession of the whole island through a combination of death and disinterest of his fellow Veronese lords», became liegeman of the Latin emperor of Constantinople.⁶ Earlier the same year, he sought the suzerainty of the doge of Venice, as a means to protect his interests against emperor Henry. In return, Ravano undertook to provide the Venetians in the city of Negroponte and anywhere else on the island with a church, warehouses and significant commercial concessions. Furthermore, all cases involving Venetian subjects were to be decided by Venetian judges. The agreement was ratified two years later marking the beginning of Venice's expansion in Negroponte, which was finalized with the annexation of the entire island in 1390.

The Venetian settlement at Negroponte was modest at first but grew rapidly during the thirteenth century. Thus, by 1256 the Republic possessed a full quarter under Venetian sovereignty in the city. This «city of Venice», as Professor Jacoby aptly named it, was eventually closed up from the rest of the town, the *città dei Lombardi*, with a wall in the beginning of the 14th century.

A Venetian bailo was established in Negroponte by 1216. He was elected by the *Maggior Consiglio* in Venice and his tenure of office lasted usually for two years.⁷ In addition to his duties as civil governor, he was responsible for organizing the defence of the colony and was also the Republic's eyes and ears in the Aegean and the mainland. Two councillors, who were also appointed by Venice for a similar period of time, aided him in his tasks and together they constituted the local government, the *Regimen Nigropontis*.

5. For a detailed analysis of the gradual expansion of Venice over Negroponte, see D. Jacoby, *La Féodalité en Grèce Médiévale, Les «Assises de Romanie»: sources, application et diffusion*, Paris - The Hague 1971, pp. 185-211; see also P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204-1500*, New York 1995, pp. 150-151.

6. Lock, *Franks*, p. 150.

7. On colonial governors in Negroponte and elsewhere, see Thiriet, *Romanie*, pp. 93-95 and 190-197.

Bartolomeo Querini was elected bailo and capitano of Negroponte sometime before May 20, 1372 and took up residence late in the summer of the same year.⁸ By the time the Senate granted him permission to return to Venice, in May 1374, he was probably already under suspicion for misconduct in the negotiations for the marriage of Maria Sanudo, the half-sister of the duke of Naxos.⁹ But, he did not leave Negroponte until the autumn because the captain of the Gulf, Pietro Mocenigo, who had been elected to replace him, had been ordered to remain at his previous post, due to the continuing Genoese danger and recent developments in the Byzantine Empire.¹⁰

The preliminary investigation into the activity of the former governor began on December 17, 1374 and was completed in less than a month, on January 4, 1375. During this time the public prosecutors interrogated nine witnesses. The deposition of a tenth witness was taken six days after the close of the investigation.¹¹ With the exception of Jacobo Vistari, who, judging from his name, was probably of Greek

8. Bartolomeo or Bortolamio q. Nicolò came from the Querini dalle Zii branch of the known Venetian family and was one of the five *sopracomiti* who brought Pope Urban V from Marseilles, in 1362, see A.S.V., *Miscellanea Codici I- Storia Veneta 17 (gia miscell. codd. 894)*, M. Barbaro, *Arbori dei Patritii Veneti*, V.VI 28, f. 305 (Querini C). He should probably be identified with Bartolomeo Querini who was bailo of Cyprus in 1370, see A.S.V., *Senato, Misti*, reg. 33, original, f. 56v (May 20, 1370). By order of the Senate, the newly elected governor with his wife and *familia* was to board one of the Romania galleys which were scheduled to sail from Venice on July 18, see A.S.V., *Senato, Misti*, reg. 34, copy, ff. 14r-15v (May 20-22, 1372). The name of the new governor is given in A.S.V., *Senato, Sindicati*, reg. 1 (1329-1425), f. 94v; cf. the list of the Venetian governors of Negroponte in K. Hopf, *Dissertazione Documentata sulla Storia di Karystos nell'isola di Negroponte, 1205-1470*, Venice 1856 (transl. in Italian by G. B. Sardagna), Appendix I, p. 104.

9. According to Stefano Magno, *Annali Veneti*, ff. 39r-v, the metropolitan authorities had written to him on the subject sometime in 1373. This could very well have been during the first months of 1374, since the Venetian year began in March. On May 9, 1374 the Senate granted Querini's request and gave him permission to board any Venetian vessel heading for Modon and Venice, see A.S.V., *Senato, Misti*, reg. 34, copy, ff. 183v-184r.

10. For the Senate's instructions to Pietro Mocenigo, see A.S.V., *Senato, Misti*, reg. 34, original, f. 121v (July 11, 1374). In late August, the Senate ordered Mocenigo to take up his position in Negroponte, see A.S.V., *Senato, Misti*, reg. 34, original, f. 133v (August 24, 1374). On the movements of the Genoese fleet, see below p. 241. On the developments in the Byzantine Empire, see D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice. A study in diplomatic and cultural relations*, Cambridge 1988, pp. 308-310.

11. This was Pietro Superancio, who was a *sopracomitus Culfi* and could therefore have been away from Venice during the investigation; see Appendix, doc. A2, ll. 43-46, and A.S.V., *Senato, Misti*, reg. 34, original, f. 132v (August 24, 1374).

origin, they were all Venetians.¹² Three were commanders in the Venetian fleet, who had been stationed in the area at the time; while the others were merchants trading in the parts of Romania and noblemen residing in Negroponte, who had either been in close contact with the bailo and the other protagonists of this case or had been present in the events, and thus had a first-hand knowledge of what had transpired.¹³

On the strength of their depositions the *Avogadori di Comun* declared that as governor, Querini had acted «against God, law and justice», bringing dishonour on the Republic by his corrupt practices, and proceeded on the indictment. The formal charges brought against him were:¹⁴ 1) that he had coerced the duke of the Archipelago, Nicolò dalle Carceri, and his stepfather, Nicolò Sanudo, into giving their consent to the marriage of his son to the latter's daughter; that he had

12. The name Vistari is otherwise unknown. We do know, however, of a certain Filippo Vistariti, son of Giovanni, from Constantinople who was either Greek or of mixed origin, see F. Thiriet, *Assemblées*, v. 1, Paris-The Hague 1966, n° XXIX (September 27, 1254) and n° XXXVI (December, 1264); X. A. Μαλτέζου, «Παρατηρήσεις στον θεσμό της βενετικής υπηκοότητας. Προστατευόμενοι της Βενετίας στον λατινοκρατούμενο ελληνικό χώρο (13ος - 15ος αι.)», *Σύμμεικτα* 4 (1981), 8-9; cf. also D. Jacoby, «Les Vénitiens naturalisés dans l'Empire byzantin: un aspect de l'expansion de Venise en Roumanie du XIIIe au milieu du Xve siècle», *Travaux et Mémoires* 8 (1981), 220 [repr. in idem, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion*, Northampton 1989, n° X], and D. Jacoby, «The Byzantine Outsider in Trade (c.900-c.1350)», in Dion C. Smythe, ed., *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider (Papers from the Thirty-second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1998)*, Aldershot 2000, pp. 144-145. Vistari was on board the galley of Negroponte when its commander received orders from the bailo to sail to Andros and Naxos, he also traveled as a passenger to Corinth on board a public galley sent there on official business, and was in Venice at the time of the investigation, it is therefore very likely that he was a merchant, see Appendix, doc. A4, ll. 15-20, 36-58.

13. The galley commanders were: Giovanni Miani, Pietro Superancio and Donato Valaresso, see Appendix, doc. A2, ll. 43-46. Tomà Barbarigo was a merchant, engaged in textile and salt trade, see below and Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 2, n° 747. Domenico Polanni was a resident of Negroponte and was involved in salt and grain trade, see Appendix, doc. A2, ll. 133-137. Filippo Sanudo q. Giovanni was engaged in salt and textile trade, see Appendix, doc. A2, ll. 139-140; and A.S.V., *Senato, Misti*, reg. 34, original, f. 62r (July 31, 1373); and reg. 37, original, f. 209v (August 5, 1382). He should be identified either with the Filippo who, according to K. Hopf, *Chroniques*, pp. 373 and 480, was governor of Pteleon between 1360 and 1362. Or, with the Filippo who, again according to Hopf, administered the village of Larachi on behalf of Maria Sanudo from 1385 to 1414, see also R.-J. Loenertz, «De quelques îles grecques et de leurs seigneurs vénitiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles», *Studi Veneziani* 14 (1972), 25-26. I have been unable to identify the remaining three witnesses: Stefanelo Contarini, Enrico Dandolo and Alvisè de Mezzo.

14. See Appendix, doc. A1.

subsequently seized one of the duke's fortresses, raising therein his insignia, and forced Nicolò Sanudo to pay him a large amount of money, all this to the detriment of the local government and Venice itself; 2) that he had repeatedly used for the purposes of the above-mentioned wedding the galleys of the Venetian fleet, which had been sent to Negroponte by the Captain of the Gulf for the protection of the island against the Genoese; 3) that he had sided with the Catalans of Thebes and sent the galley of Negroponte along with two smaller armed vessels against the Catalans of Athens, jeopardizing the safety of the crewmen and the very outcome of the conflict; 4) that on the pretext of purchasing wheat for the colony, he had involved a public galley in the arrest of certain subjects of Neri Acciaiuoli, whom the lord of Corinth had later had executed on the charge of treason; 5) that, during a period of grain shortage, he had defied the existing prohibitions and repeatedly permitted the export of bread-corn from Negroponte, which was used on one occasion to make biscuit for the Genoese fleet, causing famine and much suffering to the island's entire population; 6) that he had rejected the proposals of certain merchants to export salt in exchange for importing the same quantity of grain, whereas later he had licensed many others to export salt freely without any obligation whatsoever, causing great inconvenience to the Venetian community and these merchants in particular; 7) that he had appointed a certain *socius suus* at the head of a *banderia*, who in turn had assigned its command to someone else, whom he paid part of the salary keeping the rest of the money for himself;¹⁵ 8) that he had received gifts during his term of office.¹⁶

Querini was given three days within which to prepare his defense, but it was not till six months later that the case was brought to trial. Unfortunately, neither his plea nor any of the testimonies he produced to disprove the serious accusations leveled against him have survived. However, we do know from the sentence of the court that two of the charges, those relating to his involvement in the internal affairs of the Catalans and the appointment of his *socius* to a salaried public position, were eventually withdrawn.¹⁷

Before turning to the evidence given by the witnesses in their depositions with

15. The *socius* was a member of the governor's *familia* and his salary normally came out of the latter's expenses, see Thiriet, *Romanie*, pp. 195-196; cf. also X. Γάσπαρης, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία και Αξιωματούχοι των αποικιών. Ο καπιτάνος της Κρήτης (14ος-15ος αιώνας)», *Σύμμεικτα* 12 (1998), 179 and 181. As a rule, colonial officials were prohibited from appointing members of their *familia* to public posts.

16. In 1371 the Senate included an additional clause in the Commissions of all provincial governors, which prohibited them from receiving gifts, see Queller, *Patriziato*, pp. 318-319.

17. See Appendix, doc. B.

respect to the first two charges, it is important to establish a more precise chronological basis for the events in question. According to the indictment, Querini used the galleys of the Venetian fleet, which had been sent to Negroponte for the protection of the island against the Genoese, for the purposes of his son's marriage to Nicolò Sanudo's daughter. In the summer of 1372 the Senate, concerned about suspicious movements of the Genoese fleet and the potential danger to Venetian interests in Romania, instructed the Venetian authorities in Euboea to equip and maintain prepared at all times the galley of Negroponte, and to report any intelligence of new developments in the area which might affect the security of ships bound east.¹⁸ As disquieting news from Negroponte reached Venice, on June 12, 1373 the Senate ordered the captain of the Gulf to dispatch two galleys from Modon and Coron for the protection of the island; the galleys were to remain in Negroponte until the threat was over and thereafter they were to rejoin the rest of the fleet.¹⁹ In March of the next year, following a complaint made by the captain of the Gulf, the Senate rebuked the bailo for disregarding the latter's orders and unnecessarily detaining one of the fleet's galleys in Negroponte.²⁰ This suggests that the Genoese threat was well over by that time; the events that concern us should, therefore, be placed between the summer of 1373 and the spring of 1374.

From his marriage to his cousin Fiorenza Sanudo, the duchess of Naxos or of the Archipelago (Aegean Sea), Nicolò Sanudo, known as «Spezzabanda», had two daughters: Maria and Elisabetta (Lisia).²¹ On her death, the duchy passed to Nicolò dalle Carceri, her son from her first marriage to Giovanni dalle Carceri, the lord of the two thirds of Euboea. In December 1371, Nicolò II dalle Carceri granted the island of Andros, the second larger island of the duchy of the Archipelago, as a fief to his half-sister Maria. As the young duke was then a minor, the donation was effected with the approval of his stepfather, Nicolò Sanudo, who was also his legal guardian, and most likely at his instigation, since the beneficiary was his own daughter.²²

18. See F. Thiriet, *Délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, v. 1, Paris - The Hague 1958, n^{os} 511 (July 11, 1372), 512 (August 2, 1372) and 516 (December 9, 1372); see also A.S.V., *Senato, Misti*, reg. 34, original, f. 27v (September 11, 1372), and f. 40v (February 22, 1373). On the movements of the Genoese, see O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome*, Warsaw 1930, pp. 249-254.

19. A.S.V., *Senato, Misti*, reg. 34, original, f. 54r (June 12, 1372); cf. Appendix, doc. A2, ll. 78-85.

20. A.S.V., *Senato, Misti*, reg. 34, copy, ff. 160r-v (March 21, 1374).

21. K. Hopf, *Chroniques*, pp. 479-480.

22. On these events, see Jacoby, *Assises*, pp. 280-281; cf. also *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, v. 32, Rome 1986, Dalle Carceri, Niccolò.

The grant stipulated that the beneficiary and her heirs were obliged to provide personal military service to the duke of Naxos, at his request, for a total of three months each year, and twenty marines for a period of two months annually.²³ By the same act, Maria was forbidden to marry without her half-brother's permission and was bound to provide sustenance for her younger sister and see to her marriage. Maria did homage and was subsequently invested with the fief by Nicolò II, who in turn undertook to protect her rights and defend her and the fief from harm. In fact, as was provided for by the Assizes of Romania, since she was a minor at the time, her father in his capacity as guardian must have received custody of the fief of Andros with the right to enjoy its revenues until Maria reached her majority.²⁴ This explains why Nicolò Sanudo is referred to in our documents as *dominus insule Andre* or *dominator Andre*.²⁵ According to article 85 of the Assizes, a female ward could be invested upon beginning her twelfth year but did not get full possession of the fief until a year later.²⁶ In Maria's case, however, her half-brother reserved the right to refuse to give her full possession once he attained his majority.²⁷

At some point, according to Stefano Magno, Nicolò II modified the donation, this time granting the island to his half-sister *a censo*, that is to say in return for an annual rent.²⁸ However, he later changed his mind again and reinstated the previous

23. For the terms of the donation see Stefano Magno, *Annali Veneti dal 1367 al 1388*, v. 3, Civico Museo Correr, Ms. Cicogna 3531, ff. 28v-29r, published by Hopf, «Estratti», p. 182, with mistakes. For an analysis, see Jacoby, *Assises*, p. 280.

24. Maria was born sometime after 1363; she was therefore about seven years old when her half-brother donated the island of Andros to her. On wardship and the investiture of a female ward, see G. Recoura, *Les Assises de Romanie. Edition critique avec une introduction et des notes*, Paris 1930; new ed. by A. Parmeggiani, *Libro dele Uxanze e Statuti delo Imperio de Romania, edizione critica*, Quaderni della Rivista di Bizantinistica, 1 (collana diretta da A. Carile), Spoleto 1998, articles 39, 83, 218, 85 [= from now on we shall refer only to the recent edition].

25. See Appendix doc. A3, ll. 6-7 and l. 40; doc. A6, l. 7; doc. A7, l. 8.

26. see Parmeggiani, *Uxanze*, articles 85 and 103; cf. P. Topping, *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania, the Law Code of Frankish Greece*, Philadelphia 1949 [repr. in idem, *Studies on Latin Greece, A. D. 1205-1715*, London 1977], pp. 134-136.

27. *La qual Maria li fe homazo et dito Nicolo la die defender ma a quella mai [dar] el poseso anzi venudo in etade non volse haveve quella* (Magno, *Annali*, f. 28v-29r).

28. Magno, *Annali Veneti*, f. 57v, drew his information from a letter that the Senate addressed to the duke of Naxos, which he placed under the year 1373. The passage reads: *Ita adi 8 avosto in pregadi fo scritto al ducha de Arcipelago haver intexo che la donation fata ala primogenita de Fiorenza Sanudo, madre de eso ducha, fiola de Nicolo Sanudo, suo paregno, de la ixola de Andre che reduta era a censo, noviter per eso destruta e et reduta a feudo che se ita e, ne par stranio, quare le scrivemo quatenus la dita primogenita debi redur in pristino stado dela sua donation,*

grant. This was probably after he had come of age and was free of his stepfather's influence. Nicolò Sanudo objected to this change, presumably because he considered the terms of the donation *a censo* to be more to his daughter's advantage than those of the original donation *a feo*, and the dispute was referred to Venice.²⁹ The Republic immediately took issue with the duke of the Archipelago and in August 1373, the Senate wrote to him asking him to rectify the injustice done to his half-sister. A copy of this letter was sent to the bailo who was invited to examine the case and offer his opinion, based on his expert knowledge of the customary laws of Romania.³⁰

It was probably around the same time that it became known in Negroponte that the negotiations for the marriage of Maria Sanudo to the son of Boniface Fadrique of Aragon had fallen through.³¹ As was the case with her mother some fifteen years earlier, the marriage of Maria Sanudo was a matter of concern for the Republic. For, in addition to Andros, her brother had granted to her in 1372 the island of Antiparos and the domain of Lithada in Negroponte,³² and Venice was naturally anxious to

non preiudicando ale raxon dele parte; et scripto al bailo et capitano de Negroponte di questo mandato, et manderoli la copia acio acio (sic) procuri la intention nostra, et scriver ne debi el suo conseio et opinion quello de raxon [...] dover esser fato, secondo le consuetudine et chi fu quello se la donation ala dita primogenita la qual parte fu mesa per i Savi.

29. The only type of donation *a censo* in the Assizes is the one envisaged by article 142, which deals with grants of vineyards or bourgeois land (*campo burgesaticho*). According to this, if the Prince or any other lord has given a vineyard or bourgeois property to someone and to the heirs descending from his body for an annual rent, and this person dies without progeny, the land returns to the grantor. Unless, it is mentioned in the letter of the donation that the property is granted *in borgesia*; in which case the beneficiary can sell and bequeath the property freely, and if he dies intestate, then the nearest relative succeeds as if the land were movable property. The lord can also transform a fief or part of a fief into a *borgesia*, see Parmeggiani, *Uxanze*, article 142; cf. Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, pp. 72-73. For an analysis of this article, see Jacoby, *Assises*, 286-287. Although the donation of Andros was *a censo*, it is possible that in this case it was tantamount to a donation *in borgesia*, which transformed a fief into non-feudal property.

30. See above n. 28.

31. Boniface was the Catalan lord of Salona, Lidoriki, Vitrinitsa and the island of Egina, from whom Venice, in 1365, had purchased the castle of Karystos in southern Euboea. On Boniface of Aragon and his sons, Peter and John, see R.-J. Loenertz, «Athènes and Néopatras I», *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 25 (1955), 100-212, 428-431 [repr. in idem, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca* (series altera), Roma 1978, pp. 271-274]; cf. also K. M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311-1388*, Variorum, London 1975, pp. 109-114; and idem, «The Catalans in Greece, 1311-1380», in K. M. Setton and H. W. Hazard, eds., *A History of the Crusades*, III, Madison, Milwaukee and London 1975, pp. 207ff. [= repr. in K. M. Setton, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, London 1975, n° IV]. The name of Boniface's son who was to marry Maria Sanudo is not known.

32. See above n. 22.

ensure that her island possessions should not fall to the wrong hands. Thus, upon hearing the news, the governor with the consent of his councillors ordered galley commander Giovanni Miani to sail to Andros and deliver two letters to Nicolò Sanudo.³³ These were presumably official letters, inviting Sanudo to come to Negroponte in order to discuss the issue up close. But it may well be supposed that it was also hinted that a suitable husband for Maria could be found on island. There is in fact good reason to believe that Querini already at this stage entertained the idea of her marriage to his son Zanino and intended to trade on Sanudo's dispute with his stepson in order to achieve his aims, because he instructed Miani, in the event that the lord of Andros refused to go to Negroponte after having read the letters, to advise him that it would be to his best interest to do so. Furthermore, he asked the galley commander to wait in order to escort Nicolò and his daughter back to Negroponte, in case she wanted to go along. Sanudo accepted the bailo's invitation and without further delay embarked on the galley together with his younger daughter, Lisia.

On his arrival in Negroponte, Sanudo met with the governor and promised to give his daughter in marriage to Zanino, if Querini succeeded in settling the dispute over Andros in his favour. Our information for this comes from Enrico Dandolo, who in turn heard about it from Jacobo Bocarammo, the duke's deputy in Negroponte.³⁴ If we are to believe Dandolo, their agreement was to be kept a secret, presumably for fear that Nicolò II dalle Carceri would otherwise refuse to accept Querini's arbitration. The plan was to lure the duke to Negroponte under the pretext of his half-sister's marriage, and thereby induce him to re-grant Andros to her and her father against an annual rent. But for this to happen they first needed to obtain the duke's approval for the projected marriage, because, as was mentioned earlier, by the terms of the donation of Andros Maria could not wed without his permission.

Nicolò II duly accepted Querini's proposal and shortly after, as planned, the governor sent the galley of Negroponte to Andros to fetch the bride and her father. After disembarking the passengers at the port of Chalkis, the galley returned to sea

33. See Appendix, doc. A5, ll. 1-26. Before sailing to Andros, Miani had orders to circumnavigate Euboea and search for two Turkish vessels that had been cited near the cape of Saint George. The cape should probably be identified with point *Λιθάδα*, situated on the *Λιχάδα* peninsula in the north-west end of Euboea, not far from the monastery of Saint George. Point *Λιθάδα* and point *Κνημίζ*, situated opposite on the mainland coast, form a narrow passage (*Στενά Λιχάδων*) which controls the north-western entrance to the northern Evoikos Gulf, see A. E. Δημαράκης, «Πορτολάνος» *Σκαφών Αναμνηχίς*, Vouliagmeni 1994, pp. 288-289.

34. See Appendix, doc. A8, ll. 1-18.

in order to fetch the duke of the Archipelago and his entourage from Naxos.³⁵ That the duke had initially consented to this marriage is confirmed by Domenico Polanni, one of the witnesses. Polanni stated in his deposition that when he asked Franguli Crispo, who was among the island lords that had accompanied the duke at Negroponte, about the purpose of their visit there, the latter replied that they had come to attend the wedding (*quod ipsi venerant ad faciendum honorem nuptiis predictis*).³⁶

Nevertheless, the wedding did not take place, because Nicolò II had a serious disagreement with the governor. We do not know particulars about the dispute, but it may be assumed that the duke somehow uncovered the plot and this caused him to withdraw his support for the marriage. Querini tried to dissuade him showing him a precept he had received from Venice, stating that Maria was to marry a Venetian citizen, but to no avail. As he later explained to Enrico Dandolo, Nicolò II was willing to give his half-sister in marriage to a Venetian, for he knew well enough that he could not oppose Venice; yet he suspected that this marriage hadn't been sanctioned by her. On the other hand, according to Barbarigo, the governor had complained in the loggia that the duke and his stepfather had betrayed him and claimed that he had received letters from Venice authorizing him to admit *eis dominium de sub pedibus et quod bene solvam eis*.³⁷ But even if by this we are to understand that he had been empowered to find a suitable husband for Maria Sanudo, he would still have needed to obtain the Republic's approval before going ahead with the wedding.³⁸ The precept that he showed to Nicolò dalle Carceri would

35. See Appendix docs. A2, ll. 1-17, A3, ll. 1-16 A4, l. 12-24.

36. See Appendix, doc. A2, ll. 17-26 and doc. A8, ll. 18-20; Frangulo Crispo, lord of Melos, and the other island lords, who are not mentioned by name, were members of the ducal council. Ever since Hopf, scholars have generally accepted that Frangulo or Francesco Crispo acquired the island of Melos through his marriage to Fiorenza Sanudo, the daughter of Marco, lord of Melos, on November 30, 1376, see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, v. 30, Rome 1984, Crispo Francesco (where sources and all previous bibliography). However, the evidence given by Domenico Polanni clearly shows that he had become lord of Melos before December 17, 1374, the date of the witness' deposition. That Frangulo Crispo was present in the events is corroborated by Enrico Dandolo's testimony, see Appendix, doc. A8, l. 40.

37. See Appendix, doc. A6, ll. 11-15.

38. When Querini's successor in Negroponte, Pietro Mocenigo (1374-1376), arranged the marriage between Giorgio III Ghisi and Maria Sanudo, he wrote to Venice informing her about the projected marriage alliance. On March 13, 1376 the Senate replied congratulating the bailo and his concillors on their conduct in the affair and instructing them on how to proceed. Nevertheless, the plan fell through and, in the end, Maria married the Veronese Gasparo Sommaripa, see Loenertz, *Les Ghisi dynastes Vénitiens dans l'Archipel, 1207-1390*, Florence 1975, pp. 179-180 and 253.

have certainly mentioned his son by name, had this been the case. It should be noted that the children of overseas governors were expressly forbidden from marrying someone from within the territory under the jurisdiction of their father.³⁹ Such was the Republic's determination to prevent its officials' private interests from interfering with public interests, that this restriction remained in force for a year after the end of their term of office. It is true, however, that the *Maggior Consiglio* occasionally bypassed the law and allowed certain marriages to take place, particularly when the projected marriage alliances were considered beneficial for the State.⁴⁰ But since there is no decision concerning Zanino Querini in the records of the *Maggior Consiglio* for the years 1372-1374, it may be inferred that the governor had failed to notify the metropolitan authorities about the plans for his son's marriage.

Whatever the case, having failed to dissuade Nicolò II dale Carceri, the governor resorted to strong-arm tactics in order to force him into giving his consent: he sent away the galley, which was standing by near the bridge of Chalkis to take Nicolò II and his entourage back to their islands, closed the city gates, positioning sentries before them, and placed the duke under house arrest. Under these circumstances the duke and his stepfather had no other alternative but to agree to a meeting with the bailo.⁴¹

The meeting was held early on a Sunday afternoon at the governor's residence, in the presence of two arbitrators: Saraceno de Saraceni, a prominent feudatory of Negroponte who had been granted Venetian citizenship in 1370; and Antonio d'Arduino, a former «*admiratus Nigropontis*», who was at the time in the service of

39. This restriction applied also to the governors themselves and was inserted in their Commissions, by order of the *Maggior Consiglio*, in 1355: *Cum non sit conveniens nec honestum quod rectores tempore suorum regiminum, contrahant parentellam pro se vel suis, nec aliter se impediunt de matrimoniis contrahendis, vel beneficiis impetrandis pro se, vel suis, seu aliis ullo modo; v.p. quod addatur in commissionibus omnium nostrorum rectorum quod, sub debito sacramenti, non possint ullo modo per totum tempus suorum regiminum et per unum annum post, contrahere vel contrahi facere matrimonium, nec impetrare seu impetrari facere aliquam prebendam, seu beneficium in locis ubi fuerint rectores, pro se vel filiis, nec procurare aut tractare quod hec fiant pro se vel aliis ullo modo, per totum tempus predictum*, A. S. V. *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg.19 (Novella), f. 44v (= Thiriet, *Assemblées*, v. 1, p. 233, n° 612 (summary) and p. 314 (text), the date should read February 5, 1355).

40. This was the case with Paolo Querini who, on April 19, 1411, obtained permission from the *Maggior Consiglio* to marry while still on assignment in Corfu. See V. Crescenzi, «*Esse de Maiori Consiglio*». *Legittimità Civile e Legittimazione Politica nella Repubblica di Venezia (secc. XIII-XVI)*, Rome 1996, p. 10, n. 9.

41. Querini originally had promised the duke that he would take him back to his island in three days, see Appendix, docs. A2, ll. 20-27; A8, ll. 18-29.

Nicolò Sanudo.⁴² Within the same day an agreement was reached by which Bartolomeo Querini backed down from his original demand and consented to his son's marriage with Lisia, Sanudo's younger daughter. For his part, Sanudo agreed to deposit the sum of 4,000 ducats for his daughter's dowry. Furthermore, it was agreed that Nicolò II dalle Carceri would cede the island of Andros to Lisia after her sister's death, in case Maria should not leave any legitimate heir.⁴³ To ensure the fulfillment of the above promise, Querini asked to be given as a pledge the duke's castle in Mantoudi, in the northeastern part of Euboea. In the event that the union was dissolved on grounds of minority, Sanudo would incur a penalty stipulated at 2,000 ducats. The money was to be deposited with Saraceno de Saraceni for safekeeping; but, according to the witnesses, he later handed it to the bailo – with Nicolò Sanudo's permission – who took it with him when he returned to Venice. In addition to this, Sanudo gave Querini two horses and several barrels of wine as gifts for the wedding.

The nuptials were celebrated in great haste on the following day; the ceremony took place in the church of San Domenico before numerous guests.⁴⁴ Immediately thereafter, the bailo sent one of his chancellors together with a judicial official, named Lança, to Mantoudi to arrange the conveyance of the land. All formalities having been completed Mantoudi was handed over to them and Bartolomeo Querini's insignia were raised on the ramparts of the castle. Nicolò II dalle Carceri was none too pleased with the cession of Mantoudi, but both he and his stepfather stood to gain from this marriage alliance, because Querini had promised to grant them licenses to export wheat from Negroponte, if all went well.⁴⁵

Indeed, shortly after the wedding two *griparie* – one of which belonged to Antonio d'Arduino – came from the Archipelago and loaded wheat on behalf of Nicolò II dalle Carceri and Nicolò Sanudo. Part, if not all, of the wheat came from

42. On Saraceno di Guiglielmaccio Saraceni, see R. C. Mueller, «Greeks in Venice and "Venetians" in Greece, Notes on citizenship and immigration in the late middle ages», in *Διεθνές Συμπόσιο: Πλούσιοι και Φτωχοί στην κοινωνία της Ελληνολατινικής Ανατολής*, Venice 1998, p.172; see also *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca, Documents for the history of the Peloponnese in the 14th and 15th centuries*, ed. by J. Chrysostomides, Athens 1995, passim. On Antonio d'Arduino, see *Dizionario Biografico*, v. 32, Rome 1986, pp. 74-76.

43. This was in accordance with the Assizes of Romania, see Parmeggiani, *Uxanze*, article 11.

44. The exact location of this church, which presumably belonged to the Dominicans, is not known. The Dominican order possessed a convent in Negroponte since 1228, see J. Koder, *Negroponte*, Vienna 1973, pp. 139-140; cf. Lock, *Franks*, p. 232.

45. On these events, see Appendix, docs. A2, ll. 28-40, 70-85 and 171-173; A3, ll. 20-38 and 87-90; A8, ll. 29-63 and 150-154; A11, ll. 2-12 and 47-51; A12, ll. 8-15.

the state storehouses in the city of Negroponte. This was apparently intended for the needs of the city and not for export; as a result, there was grain shortage in Negroponte.⁴⁶

In an attempt to alleviate the shortage, the bailo sent two agents to survey the countryside and record all the existing wheat. Once the inventory was completed, Querini proclaimed that a certain quantity of this wheat was to be conveyed to the city.⁴⁷ A few days later, seeing that his mandate remained a dead letter, he assembled the nobles and some of the citizens of Negroponte with a view to resolving transportation problems. In the ensuing heated discussion, Tomà Bolani suggested that the bailo should first retain the *griparia* which was at that very moment loading wheat at Protimo (in the gulf of Aliveri, on the southwestern coast of Euboea),⁴⁸ with his permission, no less, and then look for it elsewhere. At first, Querini denied knowing anything about it. But when confronted with evidence proving that he had licensed Nicolò Sanudo to export this particular shipment of wheat at Antonio d'Arduino's request, he replied that the ship was scheduled to stop off at Negroponte before leaving for its final destination. What happened next is not very clear. According to the deposition of Giovanni Miani, everyone expected the ship to arrive loaded with wheat, yet when it finally did appear later that day, it sailed past the bridge of Negroponte, headed toward Thessalonica, without stopping. Tomà Barbarigo, on the other hand, testified that the ship stopped at Negroponte, albeit only to unload a small quantity of wheat. Their accounts, however, tally with each other in the following point, that Antonio d'Arduino returned to the city of Negroponte sometime later with a *griparia* partly freighted with oil and charged it with bread-corn, which he thence transported to Thessalonica. Although no one dared accuse the former *admiratus Nigropontis*, it was clear enough to all that he was hand in glove with the bailo because he wouldn't have been able to export the grain without his permission.⁴⁹ It should be noted, that the grain exported by d'Arduino from the city of Negroponte amounted to some 600 *modia*, perhaps more.⁵⁰

46. According to the witnesses, there was no concern over a possible dearth of wheat at the time, see Appendix, doc. A3, ll. 31-51.

47. See Appendix, docs. A6, ll. 22-23; A8, ll. 96-103; A9, ll. 2-15.

48. For Protimo see Koder, *Negroponte*, pp. 30-31, 61, 105.

49. See Appendix, docs. A5, ll. 27-45; A6, ll. 33-57.

50. At least according to Barbarigo, see above n. 49. Some other witnesses give different figures as well as a variety of locations for the provenance of the grain: Dandolo stated that once, when he was at Oreos, in the north of Euboea, he saw a *galiota* which belonged to Antonio d'Arduino freighted with 1,000 *measure* of wheat and that this was during the shortage in

During the following months the situation deteriorated and by July-August 1374 conditions in the city had become intolerable; so much so that people complained in public that neither wheat was to be found nor bread to be bought. As his term of office was drawing to an end, Querini prohibited the export of grain from the entire island and the Gulf of *vale Licone*,⁵¹ and had a vessel patrol the area to prevent any illegal activity. He also informed the representatives of the feudal lords of the restrictions on the commerce of wheat and other victuals, and told the new bailo, Pietro Moçenigo, that he was looking to secure additional supplies and had even notified the metropolitan authorities. At the same time, however, he continued to issue export licenses in defiance of his own orders.⁵² Not surprisingly, the measures failed to relieve the situation and thus the famine persisted even after Querini's departure from office.

Among those who received permission from the bailo to export grain were Nicolò II dalle Carceri and Nicolò Sanudo; the former exported 800 *modia* of wheat from Oreos and Mantoudi to Naxos, while the latter loaded two *galiote* with grain, which was thence transported to Chios, where it became biscuit for the Genoese navy.⁵³ Similarly, Mapheo Morosini, one of the bailo's councillors, was allowed to export several times bread-corn and flour to Thessalonica, despite the fact that the councillors of Negroponte were explicitly prohibited by their Commission from engaging in commercial activities.⁵⁴ Given their connection with the governor it is quite certain that the export licenses were granted to them as personal favors. And, even though there is no evidence to that effect, it is realistic to assume that the bailo also took kickbacks in return for these licenses. This was probably the case with the brother of the late Alexios, the lord of Christoupolis

Negroponte, but whence it came, he could not say with certainty (Appendix, doc. A8, ll. 81-91). According to Domenico Polanni, d'Arduino exported on one single occasion 800 *modia*, which was loaded *intra culfos*; this could mean the territory located on either side of the northern and southern Evoikos Gulf (Appendix, doc. A2, ll. 47-57). *Modios* and *mensura* are measures of capacity used for grains; according to E. Zachariadou, «Prix et marchés des céréales en Roumanie (1343-1405)», *Nuova Rivista Storica* 61 (1971), 301-302, 1 byzantine *modios* or *modios* of Romania (*moglio del garno di Romania*) = 322 litres. The *mensura* or *mouzourion* (cretan measure) is equivalent to 17,089 litres.

51. *Vale Licone* should be identified with *territorium Licone* which is situated on the mainland opposite Negroponte, see Koder, *Negroponte*, pp. 129ff.

52. See Appendix, docs. A2, ll. 57-69; A8, ll. 92-95, 113-116.

53. See Appendix, docs. A2, ll. 60-63; A8, ll. 93-95, 105-108.

54. On this restriction see Thiriet, *Assemblées*, v.1, p. 62, n° CLII (March 24, 1291). That this restriction was still in force at the time is confirmed by the fact that Morosini claimed that he exported the goods on behalf of his brother, see Appendix, doc. A2, ll. 64-69.

(pres. Kavala), who, we are told, exported legumes, wheat and other grains from Pteleon and Negroponte in spite of the prohibition.⁵⁵

There is further evidence showing that the governor made a practice of licensing only certain individuals to trade in particular commodities. Domenico Polanni stated in his deposition that Querini refused to give him permission to export 1,000 *modia* of salt in exchange for importing the same quantity of grain, whereas he allowed many others to do the very same thing, and licensed Filippo and Guilielmo Sanudo to export 2,000 and 300-400 *modia* of salt, respectively, without any obligation.⁵⁶ The testimony of Tomà Barbarigo is highly illustrative of the difficulties some merchants encountered in Negroponte during Querini's term of office. He stated that a group of merchants, including himself, requested to be given the galley of Negroponte in order to ship cloths to Thessalonica, but the bailo refused because he had promised to transport the duke of the Archipelago and Nicolò Sanudo with his family back to their islands. Thus, they were forced to wait for the galley to return. Barbarigo went on to say that he had purchased some 6,000 *modia* salt for himself and another 7,000 *modia* for a certain Albano Baduario, and was about to export them, when Querini canceled the transaction and ordered the salt vendors to return the money to the merchant within the next three days. Somewhat later, the governor proclaimed *quod dicti venditores nichil deberent facere de dicto sale absque sua licentia*. What happened next is not known because the witness left the island. This incident,

55. See Appendix, doc. A8, ll. 116-120. Alexios and his brother John, the ex-pirates who founded the monastery of Pantocrator on Mt. Athos, are very well known figures. In 1357, emperor John V Palaiologos granted them the fortified cities of Crysoupolis (at the mouth of the Strymon river), Anaktoropolis and the island of Thassos and somewhat later they extended their authority over Christoupolis. After his brother's death, John requested Venetian citizenship as a means to secure his family's future against the mounting Turkish threat, which was granted to him on January 10, 1374. On the two brothers, see P. Lemerle, *Philippe et la Macédoine Orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine*, Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie, texte, Paris 1945, pp. 206-213; cf. N. Oikonomides, «Patronage in Palaiologan Mt Athos», *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism, Papers from the twenty-eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (Birmingham, March 1994)*, Hampshire 1996, pp. 103-111. The settlement of Pteleos, situated in the coast of Thessaly overlooking the entrance to the Pagasitikos Gulf, was under Venetian control since 1322. On Pteleos, see Γ. Κουλουράς, *Η περιοχή του Παγασητικού κατά τους Μέσους Χρόνους (Δ'-ΙΔ' αι.)*, Ιωάννινα 1997 (unpublished Phd. thesis), pp. 273-280, where all previous bibliography.

56. See Appendix, doc. A2, ll. 133-142. It is worth noting that the practice referred to here was first adopted by the *Collegio delle biave* in Venice in May-June 1375, see J.-C. Hocquet, *Denaro, Navi e Mercati a Venezia, 1200-1600*, Rome 1999, p. 78.

however, reveals that salt dealers usually sold their goods freely in Negroponte.⁵⁷

Let us now turn to the events surrounding the arrest and execution of Neri Acciaiuoli's subjects. First of all it is important to understand how Querini came to be implicated in this affair. All the evidence points to one person, Saraceno de Saraceni. It must be remembered that he was Neri Acciaiuoli's father-in-law. As we saw earlier, Saraceno together with Antonio d'Arduino had mediated the settlement between Querini and Nicolò dalle Carceri. Moreover, it seems that he was well acquainted with the bailo, because, according to Domenico Polanni, the latter had spent several days as a guest in his tower outside the city walls.⁵⁸ It may therefore be assumed that the governor agreed to purchase wheat from Neri Acciaiuoli as a personal favour to Saraceno. This explains why he insisted on purchasing wheat from Corinth, regardless of its high price, when he could have bought it from the surrounding regions *pro uno yperpero modium et pro minori*.⁵⁹ But he was careful enough not to create a scandal. Thus, once again he convened a council and informed those present that he had been approached by an agent of Neri Acciaiuoli with a proposal for the sale of 400 *modia* of wheat, which would cover some of the needs of Negroponte.

Despite certain objections about the price of the wheat, Querini ordered galley commander Donato Valaresso to set sail for Corinth and take with him Saraceno de

57. See Appendix, doc. A6, ll. 16-23 and ll. 58-67. Most of the salt sold in Negroponte came from salt marshes in the Gulf of Pagasiticos. On the salt trade in Negroponte, see Thiriet, *Romanie*, pp. 338; cf. also J.-C. Hocquet, *Le Sel et la Fortune de Venise, Production et Monopole*, v. 1, Université de Lille III, 1979, pp. 92-93.

58. According to Polanni, Querini stayed outside the city twice for health reasons; once as a guest in Saraceno's tower and on another occasion in the village of Άγιος Νικόλαος in *Lilanto*, south of Negroponte, see Appendix, doc. A2, ll. 161-167. Stefano Contarini, on the other hand, stated in his deposition that the bailo spent five days in *Lilanto* and a few days in *Argalea*, to the north of Negroponte. It may therefore be inferred that Saraceno's tower was situated somewhere in *Argalea*, see Appendix, doc. A7, ll. 56-63. On these locations see Koder, *Negroponte*, pp. 50, 111ff. (*Argalia*) and pp. 33, 67 (*Lilanto*, *Basiliko*); cf. Δ. Τριανταφυλλόπουλος, «Τοπογραφικά προβλήματα της Μεσαιωνικής Εύβοιας», *Αρχαίον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 19 (1974), 221 and 229-231; see also Loenertz, *Ghisi*, p. 159. By order of the Great Council of August 1, 1310, the bailo and one of his councillors or both councillors, if the bailo was absent, were to remain always within the walls of the city for security reasons, see Thiriet, *Assemblées*, v. 1, n° 222. This explains the public prosecutors' interest in Querini's sojourn outside the city. However, he was not formally charged with dereliction of duty, despite allegations that during his absence one of his councillors had fallen ill and as a result the second councillor was left on his own to administer justice in Negroponte.

59. See Appendix, doc. A2, ll. 120-124 and below. For the price of cereals during the 14th century, see Zachariadou, «Prix et marchés des céréales en Romanie», 291-306.

Saraceni and a few companions of his.⁶⁰ In addition to this, he instructed him to chase out two Turkish boats, that had been cited in the gulf of *Megre*, and protest against this to Neri and *illis de Megra*; he was also to warn them that, if they continued to harbour Turkish vessels, they would be held responsible for any damages caused to Negroponte and its ships. *Megre* may be safely identified with Megara, 12 km west of Athens on the road to Corinth. The castle of Megara, a Catalan possession, was occupied by the Florentine lord of Corinth sometime after the death of the Catalan vicar-general Mathew of Peralta, in the summer of 1374.⁶¹ Since Valaresso stated that he conveyed Querini's grievances to Neri, it may be assumed that *illi de Megra* were operating under his instructions. The events in question should, therefore be placed shortly after the fall of Megara.

After putting the passengers ashore at Corinth, Valaresso, on Neri's instructions, continued his journey southeast to the village of *Epediada*, where he loaded 400 *modia* of wheat.⁶² He, then, returned to Corinth, picked up Saraceno, loaded another 200 *modia* of wheat and subsequently set sail for Negroponte. While he was still in *Epediada*, Valaresso heard that Acciaiuoli had arrested a certain Guilelmaccio dela Roça and a few others. His testimony is confirmed by Jacobo Vistari, a passenger on Valaresso's galley, who had disembarked at Corinth and had witnessed the arrest.⁶³ Guilelmaccio and his alleged accomplices, we are told, were charged with conspiracy to murder Neri Acciaiuoli and later decapitated. It should be noted, that when Neri invaded the Catalan territories and occupied Megara, the pretext he used was that the Catalans had refused to surrender certain fugitive subjects of his.⁶⁴ In view of these facts, it is very likely that dela Roça and the others were the fugitives Neri was seeking, and that they had fled in the meantime to Negroponte, whence Saraceno de Saraceni lured them back to Corinth. This explains why he was the

60. See Appendix, docs. A2, ll. 95-100; A4, ll. 36-43; A10, ll. 21-29; A11, ll. 13-26 and 40-46.

61. On the occupation of Megara, see K. M. Setton, «The Catalans in Greece, 1311-1380», p. 211; cf. idem, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388*, London 1975, p.103.

62. *Epediada* should be identified with the medieval fortress and village of *Piada* (pres. Nea Epidauros), mentioned in Greek and Venetian sources from the 15th century onwards also as *Πεδιάδα*, which is situated southeast of Corinth and northwest of Ancient Epidauros, see J. Longnon - P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la Principauté de Moreé au XIVe siècle*, Paris 1969, pp. 257-258; cf. M. Σ. Κορδώσης, *Συμβολή στην Ιστορία και Τοπογραφία της περιοχής Κορίνθου στους Μέσους Χρόνους*, Αθήνα 1981, pp. 251-254.

63. Vistari also stated that one of Guilelmaccio's accomplices was named Antonio de Robia, see Appendix, docs. A4, ll. 43-58; A11, 26-39.

64. W. Miller, *Η Φραγκοκρατία στην Ελλάδα (1204 -1566)*, Athens 1997 [transl. from the original English ed. *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908], p. 369.

only one to board the ship on its return trip to Negroponte.⁶⁵ That Saraceno played an active part in their arrest is further confirmed by the fact that he brought back with him to Negroponte certain jewels that belonged to Guilelmaccio dela Roça, which were given to him by Neri to keep *tamquam bona sui proditoris*.⁶⁶ It is very likely that Querini ignored all along the true purpose of Saraceno's trip to Corinth, because galley commander Giovanni Miani stated in his deposition that he later overheard the governor in the loggia complaining that none of this would have happened had he not agreed to send the galley there in the first place.⁶⁷ Indeed, had he been privy to the plot against Guilelmaccio dela Roça, he would have hardly made a public admission of his involvement in it.

The identity of Guilelmaccio dela Roça is problematic. According to Polanni, who is our only source on the subject, Guilelmaccio was Neri's brother-in-law (*gener*); but he is either mistaken or using the term loosely to say that he was related to Neri through marriage, because elsewhere in his deposition he stated that one of the men who traveled to Corinth with Saraceno was the latter's brother-in-law (*cognatus*).⁶⁸

A few days after Guilelmaccio's execution, his widow and two children arrived in Negroponte, and two weeks later his daughter married Mapheo Morosini, Querini's councillor. Subsequently, Morosini asked for the governor's help in reclaiming his wife's family jewels. Thus, late one evening, Querini met with Saraceno at the loggia and demanded the return of the jewels. But the latter refused to hand them back and they had an angry argument during which the governor burst out in the hearing of all present: «*You made me send the galley to Corinth and made me the butcher of the Commune, and now you refuse to do what I ask of you?*» This outburst apparently convinced Saraceno to relinquish the jewels which were eventually returned to Guilelmaccio's daughter.⁶⁹

The evidence given so far by the witnesses in their depositions reveals that Bartolomeo Querini during his term of office, and especially the last months, constantly pursued his own interests, in neglect of those of the colony and the state, causing much suffering and political embarrassment. By contrast, his involvement

65. See Appendix, doc. A2, ll. 100-104.

66. *Ibidem*, ll. 109-112.

67. See Appendix, doc. A10, ll. 14-19.

68. See Appendix, doc. A2, ll. 99-100 and 110. On Neri's brothers-in-law, see Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, doc. 77, p. 156, n. 7; doc. 160, p. 314, nn. 15 and 16; doc. 212, p. 412, n. 6; and doc. 216, p. 420.

69. Appendix, docs. A2, ll. 104-109; A10, ll. 2-20.

in the internal affairs of the Catalans seems to have been within the bounds of his duties as colonial governor and this is presumably why this particular charge was withdrawn in the end. Querini, as we already know from the indictment, sided with the Catalans of Thebes against the Catalans of Athens and participated in an attack against the city of Athens, under the joint leadership of Louis and Boniface Fadrique of Aragon, with vessels that he equipped with public funds and manned with inhabitants of Euboea. In addition, we are told that at some point, probably before the attack, the bailo imprisoned an envoy sent by the castellan and veguer-captain of the city of Athens, Galceran of Peralta. Although fragmentary, this information enables us to place this, otherwise unknown, incident in its proper historical context. The conflict referred to in our documents can be easily identified with the civil war which broke out between the Catalan duchies of Attica and Boeotia in the summer of 1374, following the refusal of Galceran of Peralta to obey the order of King Frederick III of Sicily to give up the castellany and vegueria of Athens. On the eve of the war, the Company, «acting for the last time as a body corporate», conferred the supreme command of the Catalan duchies to the powerful count of Salona, Louis Fadrique of Aragon and his uncle Boniface. Shortly after, however, and while the civil war was still raging on, the two men fell into a separate quarrel. Since both their names are mentioned by our sources, it is safe to assume that the attack against Athens occurred during the first months of the war.⁷⁰ The reasons for Querini's involvement in this internal conflict are alluded to in the deposition of Enrico Dandolo. According to him, the governor waged war against the Catalans because of some outstanding debts they had toward the Jews of Negroponte. That Querini should go to such lengths to protect the interests of certain Jews is not surprising, for as Venetian nationals they were entitled to the same «privileges enjoyed overseas by other Venetians», such as diplomatic and legal protection.⁷¹ Besides, he had an additional interest in seeing that these debts were paid, for this could have had an effect on the ability of the entire Jewish community to fulfill its fiscal obligations toward the Commune.

70. See Appendix, docs. A4, ll. 65-71; A8, ll. 121-131 and 155-161; A12, ll. 27-35. For the civil war between the Catalan duchies, see Setton, «The Catalans in Greece», pp. 211-213; cf. Loenertz, «Athènes», 261-266.

71. On the economic activity of Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean and the attitude of the Venetian administration toward them, see D. Jacoby, «Venice and the Venetian Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean», in G. Cozzi, ed., *Gli Ebrei e Venezia (secoli XIV-XVIII)*, Milan 1987, pp. 29-58 [repr. in D. Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader States*, n° X].

After careful deliberation, on July 12, 1375 the *Avogadori di Comun* asked for Bartolomeo's conviction and proposed that he be ineligible for the office of governor of Negroponte, that all the obligations arising from the marital contract be declared void and that he be compelled to pay a fine of two hundred ducats. However, the *Maggior Consiglio* voted for the more lenient sentence put forward by the *Signoria* (a body consisting of the Doge, his six Councillors and the heads of the Quarantia), which was perpetual exclusion from all offices in Negroponte and a fine of one hundred ducats.⁷²

The sentence imposed on Bartolomeo Querini suggests that the mechanism devised by Venice to control its officials, despite its efficiency, was not entirely fool-proof. Because in theory, at least, it enabled a thoroughly corrupt official such as the former bailo of Negroponte to be appointed anew to other administrative posts, where he could easily commit similar mistakes. Whether Querini was ever chosen again for high office remains to be discovered. But it is worth noting, that in December 1375, six months after Querini's conviction, a committee of five *Savii* was appointed by the *Maggior Consiglio* to examine and revise the governors' Commissions and the Capitularies of officials because there was much confusion *occasione partium que quotidie capiuntur in consiliis de revocando et corrigendo preterita, que confusiones multiplicaverunt quod inducunt maximam obscuritatem, ita quod rectores, iudices et officiales nostri nesciunt ad quod se tenere debeant*.⁷³

In conclusion, we do not know whether the marriage between Zanino Querini and Lisia Sanudo was dissolved after his father's conviction. In any case, according to the genealogist Marco Barbaro, Zanino died on April 4, 1385.⁷⁴ As for Lisia, Hopf states – without, however, citing his sources – that sometime between 1384 and 1400 she was betrothed to Giacomo Crispo, the son of Francesco Crispo who became duke of Naxos in 1383, after the assassination of Nicolò dalle Carceri.⁷⁵ This, if indeed Hopf's statement is founded in fact, is the last we hear of her. It was her niece Fiorenza Sommaripa, the daughter of Maria Sanudo, who eventually married Giacomo Crispo, after his accession to the throne of the duchy of Naxos, following his father's death.

72. See above n. 3 and Appendix doc. B. On the penalties generally given to rectors who abused their offices cf. M. O'Connell, «Sinews of rule: the politics of officeholding in fifteenth-century Venetian Crete», *Renaissance Studies* 15 (2001), 265 ff.

73. A.S.V., *Maggior Consiglio, Novella*, copy, ff. 360r-361r (365r-366r); for a summary of this decision see Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 2, n° 827 (December 27, 1375).

74. Barbaro, *Arbori*, f. 305.

75. Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 479 (genealogical table). On Francesco and Giacomo Crispo see above n. 36.

APPENDIX

The following conventional signs were used in the edition of the documents:

[.....] = letters or words difficult or impossible to read.

[[abc]] = letters or words to delete.

<abc> = letters or words omitted by the scribe.

llabcll = letters or words added between the lines or in the margins by the scribe.

Letters or words erased by the scribe were removed from the text and incorporated in the apparatus criticus below so as not to confuse the reader.

A.

A.S.V., *Avogaria di Comun*, b. 208,1. File consisting of 17 folios (of which 2 are bifolios), unbound and unnumbered, all well preserved, with the following indication on the cover: «*Querini Bartolommeo, bailo e capitano a Negroponte, violenza contro Nicola dalle Carceri di una figlia di Nicolo Sanudo, che voleva fosse sposata a un proprio figlio, 1374*». Folios 16r to 17r are blank; f. 17v bears on the bottom margin the note: *Contra ser Bartolomeum Quirino, olim baiulum et capitaneum Nigropontis*. There are two sets of numbers on the left-hand margin of the documents numbering the charges before and after the changes in the indictment, from 1 to 8 and from 1 to 6, respectively; 0 is used to indicate the charges that were withdrawn. The numbers also serve to refer the reader to the relevant passages in the witnesses' depositions.

With the exception of the indictment, which is published first, as found in the file, all the other documents are published according to chronological order.

1

THE BILL OF INDICTMENT

January 4, 1375 (m.v. 1374)

f.1r *Infrascripta capitula apponuntur nobili viro ser Bartholomeo Quirino, olim baiulo et capitaneo Nigropontis, per nobilos viros <vacat>*

advocatores communis pro infrascriptis per eum in dicto regimine commissis
 super quibus peritius qui debeat respondere ad sui deffensionem et
 5 producere quidquid probare voluerit pro deffensione sua, usque ad tres dies
 proximos.

1374 die III^o januarii, data fuerunt infrascripta capitula dicto domino
 Bertholomeo, qui debeat respondere ut supra.

In primis opponitur nobili viro ser Bartholamo Quirino, olim baiulo et
 10 capitaneo suprascripto, quod ||ipse|| contra deum, jus et justiciam, et contra
 formam sue commissionis, pro contrahendo et possendo contrahere
 matrimonium de quodam suo filio cum quadam filia nobilis viri ser Nicole
 Sanhuto, fecit multas violentias et novitates nobili viro domino Nicole a
 Carceribus ||duce Arcipelagill, fratri dicte domine, et dicto ser Nicole, patri
 15 eiusdem domine, propter quas ipsos tamquam cohactos oportuit assentire
 et contrahere matrimonium supradictum, pro quo quidem matrimonio idem
 dominus Bartholamius multas novitates in bonis dictorum dominorum
 facere presumpserit, tam in accipiendo tenutam alicuius fortlicie ipsius
 domini duce, levando sua insignia super ipsa, quam in faciendo quod dictum
 20 ser Nicolam, patrem domine, multos oportuit deponere denarios pro dicto
 matrimonio, hec omnia comittendo cum magno onere, infammia et dedecore
 dominationis et regiminis antedicti.

Item opponitur eidem quod, dum ipse ||ser Bartholamius, baiulus et
 capitaneus supradictus||, pro tutela et securitate terre Nigropontis
 25 scripsisset et fecisset quod capitaneus culfi sibi misserat de galeis
 communis, ad custodiam culfi ||predicti deputatis||, que stare debebant
 continue in Nigroponte pro quam custodia dicte terre, maxime occasione
 armate Januensium, que tunc erat extrema, ipse, non attento periculo aliquo
 dicte terre neque dampno communis, misit pluries et in diversis vicibus
 30 dictas ||galeas|| communis hinc maxime occasione dicti matrimonii
 contracti, contra formam sue commissionis et sacramentum suum.

Item opponitur eidem quod ||ipse|| ser Bartholamius, baiulus et
 capitaneus predictus, tempore sui regiminis misit galeam ||Nigropontis|| et

1. 3 post commissis del. contra | 12 post matrimonium del. cum nobilibus viros dominos Nicola
 a Carceribus et | 13 post novitates del. fecit | 15 post cohactos del. assenserunt | 17 post
 Bartholamius del. pro se [.....] debeat | post multas del. bonis | 21 post omnia del. omnia. | 23
 post quod del. ipse | 25 post galeis del. ad | 32 post quod del. idem | 33 post predictus del. misit |
 post galeam del. communis et add. supra lineam Nigropontis

35 *aliquas galeotas armatas de hominibus Nigropontis contra illos de Setinis in
favorem illorum de Stive, cum magno sinistro hominum qui iverunt cum illis,
et ||cum|| dampno communis ac querela dicte terre et expresse contra
formam sue commissionis et sacramentum suum ut est dictum.*

*Item ||opponitur eidem|| quod ipse ser Bartholamius, baiulus et
capitaneus predictus, tempore dicti sui regiminis, misit unam de galeis
40 communis, ibi existentibus pro custodia dicte terre, usque Corantum in
favorem domini Raynerii, soceri Saraceni de Saracenis et domini Coranti,
ut ipse dominus Raynerius posset aliquos suos subditos et cives Coranti,
f. 1v quos asserebat fore | suos proditores, capere, cum qua galea ivit dictus
Saracenus et aliqui alii habitatores Nigropontis, ostendendo quod dictam
45 galeam mitteret ad accipiendum furmentum pro communi, occasione
necessitatis que erat, tempore quo si voluisset, potuisset habere furmentum
pro meliori precio in partibus magnis circumvicinis, cum maiori comodo et
minori dampno et sinistro communis, taliter quod, sub umbra dicte galee sic
misse, dictus dominus Raynerius suam intentionem executioni mandavit
50 capi faciendo illos quosque voluit, quos postea mori fecit, contra honorem
dominationis et formam sue commissionis.*

*Item ||opponuit eidem|| quod dum in terra Nigropontis esset magna
necessitas et incomodum furmenti et blaudi et ab hoc misisset perquisitum
per insulam predictam de quantitate furmenti et blaudi, que erat in insula, et
55 ultra hoc mandavisset vicariis ||dominatorum|| insule quod nulla furmentum
vel blaudum de insula exire permetterent ||et insuper pesmissit unum
galedelum ad custodiam [...].torum et insule, armatum expensis comunis, ne
aliquid furmenti vel blaudi extrahii possit||, ipse dominus Bartholameus,
tam ante dictas ordinationes quam post, imminente necessitate predicta,
60 permissit extrahere et concessit licentiam extrahendi, tam de terra
Nigropontis quam de insula et culfis circumstantibus furmentum et blaudum
pluribus et diversis personis, et maxime personis que de illo portaverunt ad
loca in quibus, ||ut dictum, fuit|| factum fuit biscotum et missum armate
Januensium, in maximum dampnum et sinistrum subditorum ||dominatio-
65 nis||, civium et habitatorum terre Nigropontis, ac periculum manifestum
terre predicte et totius insule, que ad tantam fammam pervenit, quod omnes*

34 post *aliquas* del. *arma* | 36 post *terre* del. *in qua tunc* | 40 post *communis* del. *ad cu* | post *terre*
del. *que* | 42 post *posset* del. supra lineam *cives* | post *suos* del. *cives et* | 48 post *taliter* del. *taliter*
| 51 post *et* del. *in* | 53 post *misisset* del. *partel perquisitum*: *per-* corr. ex. *con* | 56 post *vel* del. *ple*
| post *et* del. *ultra hoc* | *pesmissit*: lege *permissit* | 58 post *possit* del. [...]

clamabant pro eo quod furmentum, blaudum neque pannis pro denariis inveniri non poterat nec haberi.

70 *Item opponuit eidem quod dum multi ab eo peterent licentiam possendi salem extrahere de terra Nigropontis cum promissione et obligatione ||conducendi in Nigropontem|| tantam furmenti quantitatem quantam salis extraherent, ipse dominus Bartholamius eis dictam licentiam concedere noluit, concedendo postea pluribus et diversis personis licentiam extrahendi salem libere absque ula promissione vel obligatione conducendi furmentum*
75 *aliquid, cum manifesto sinistro et incomodo ||universitatis|| dicte terre et hominum eiusdem.*

Item opponuit eidem quod ipse, ad requixitionem et petitionem cuiusdam sui socii in regimine supradicto, concessit quandam banderiam, de illis que deputate sunt ad custodiam dicte terre, de qua dictus socius suus recipiebat
80 *pagas, faciendo illam banderiam duci per quedam cui ipse suus socius dabat aliquam partem muneram de suis paghis et residuum penes se retinebat, contra suum sacramentum et formam sue commissionis expresse.*

Item opponuit eidem quod ipse tempore sui regiminis habuit et recepit dona contra formam sue comissionis.

2

THE DEPOSITION OF DOMENICO POLANNI

December 17, 1374

f. 2r

1374 die XVII decembris

Nobilis vir Dominicus Polanni, habitator Nigropontis, coram dominis advocatoribus communis testis iuratus, interrogatus et examinatus dicere veritatem super querela deposita contra nobilem virum ser Bartholameum
5 *Quirino, olim baiulum Nigropontis, de hiis super quibus interrogabitur. Et primo, interrogatus quidquid scit de nuptiis que dicuntur fuisse contracte*

69 post *multi* del. h[...] | 70 post *obligatione* del. *possendi extrahere* et add. supra lineam *conducendi* *Nigropontem* | 73 post *noluit* del. *con* | post *concedendo* del. [...] | post *licentiam* del. [...] | 74 post *salem* del. [...] | post *obligatione* del. *dare* | 75 post *incomodo* del. *hominum* et add. supra lineam *universitatis*

2. 2 post *Polanni* del. d[...] | 4 post *super* del. *que*

per dictum ser Bartholameum, ipso existente baiulo, de quodam suo filio
 cum filia ser Nicole Sanuto, domino Andre, que dicuntur fuisse facte per vim
 10 pro parte dicti ser Nicole, suo sacramento respondet et dicit quod ipse
 sentivit per uxorem, que sentiverat a domina Frangula Dandulo, uxor
 quondam nobilis viri ser Marci Dandulo, qualiter tractabuntur nuptie de
 filio dicti ser Bartholamei, baiuli, cum filia dicti ser Nicole et quod galea
 Nigropontis erat itura in Andre et ad insulas ad levandum dictum ser
 15 Nicolam et ducam, fratrem suum, et alios dominos insule. Verum quod ipse
 testis vidit galeam Nigropontes predictam recedere de Nigroponte et vidit
 eam reverti et in reversione apportavit ducam Arcipelagi et alios dominos
 insule. Et cum ipsis venit quidam Franghulus Crespus, dominus Meli, quem
 ipse testis interrogavit quid ipsi venerint ad faciendum in Nigroponte, et ipse
 20 Frangulus respondit sibi quod galea Nigropontis iverat ad levandum eos
 et quod ipsi venerant ad faciendum honorem nuptiis predictis. Et est verum
 quod, dum essent dicti domini Nigroponte, ipse testis sentivit a ||Frangulo
 predicto|| qualiter ipsi non erant in concordia cum baiulo predicto de dictis
 nuptiis, et conquerebantur dicendo quod dominus ||baiulus|| protulerat eis
 25 infra tercium diem facere proicere illos ad domum suam, et quod videndo
 quod non poterant esse in concordio, dictus baiulus fecerat quod galea
 transiverat pontem. Et ita ipse testis vidit quod transiverat et vidit quod
 porte Nigropontis custodiebantur, que non consuevarent custodiri, pro tali
 quod finaliter ipsi accordaverint se de nuptiis. Et facto concordio inter illos,
 statim ghalea rediit de supra pontem et proiecit illos dominos in Andre. De
 30 tractatu vero facto inter ipsos, ipse testis non potest scire, quia non fuit
 presens, sed ut scivit Sarasinus et ser Antonius Darduinus fuerunt illi qui
 fecerunt pacta. Sed ipse testis | bene fuit presens quando nuptie date fuerunt
 f. 5v ad manum [[ad mannum]] inter dictum baiulum et dictum ser Nicolam
 verum dicere quod audivit dici publice, non quod sciret nominatim dicere a
 35 quibus, quod fuerant depositati per ser Nicolam ducati II^m auri in mannu
 Saraceni, qui debebant esse dicti ser Bartholamei in casu quo ipse Nicola
 tracheret se retro de nuptiis, quia puella non est ad etatem. Et audivit dici

8 domino: lege domini | post Andre del. suo | 12 post Bartholomei del. dns cu | 13 post itura del. ad
 | 14 post insule del. [...] | 15 post galeam del. pdu | Nigropontes: lege Nigropontis | post Nigro-
 ponte del. quo | post et del. pot | 20 post predictis del. [...] | 21 post a del. duca et a dicto ser Nicola
 et add. Frangulo predicto supra lineam | 23 post dominus del d[.]cos et add. supra lineam baiulus
 | 24 post diem del. proicere | 28 post se del. [...] | 34 post dici del. publice | 35 post fuerant del. de
 | 37 etatem sic

publice in Nigroponte quod dictus ser Bartholameus habuerat dictos
 dinarios et apportaverit secum Venetiis, non quod aliter sciret nisi quod
 40 publice dicebatur.

Interrogatus si scit quod aliqua *||alia||* galea communis fuerit *[umquam]*
 occasione dictarum nuptiarum, respondit quod scit quod novicia fuit bis in
 Nigroponte et continue fuit levata et proortata per galeas comunis. Sed a
 patronis ipsarum, qui fuerunt ser Johannes Mianni, sancti Vitalis, ser Dona-
 45 tus Valaresso et ser Petrus Superançio, poterit sciri veritas, que galee
 venerant Nigropontem pro custodia terre.

Interrogatus si scit de aliqua gratia blaudi facta per dictum ser
 Bartholomeum alicui extrahendi blaudum de insula, seu de aliquo blaudum
 extracto per aliquem ulo modo, ex sacramento respondet quod, tempore quo
 50 ipsi expectabant Januenses in Nigroponte, ser Antonius Darduino extraxit
 de Nigroponte unam galeotam onustam furmento, quod acceperit in
 Nigroponte de magaçenis. Et una alia vice intra culfos acceperit circa
 modia VIII^c, quod totum furmentum portavit in Salonico. Interrogatus de
 quantitate furmenti extracti de Nigroponte cum galiota, respondit quod
 55 nesciret dicere. Interrogatus que condicione furmenti erat tunc in
 Nigroponte, respondit quod tunc non erat furmentum in Nigroponte
||forsan|| pro uno mense.

Item diceret quod, dum in fine sui regiminis ipse ordinavisset vicariis
 dominatorum insule quod non permitterent extrahere aliqua victualia de
 60 insula, ipse post dictam ordinationem permisit ser Nicolam a Carceribus
 extrahere de insula unam suam galiota, onustam ordeo et furmento, que erat
 portatrice circa modiorum VIII^c, existente tunc incomodo blaudi in
 Nigroponte, *||pro tali quod illi qui sciverunt de hoc multum murmurabant||*.

Item per similem modum, existente incomodo blaudi in Nigroponte, ipse
 65 permisit extrahere de insula predicta Nigropontis circha modios IIII^c
 blaudi et hoc fuit ad contrariam ordinationem factam per ipsum. Et per
 similem modum, ser Mapheus Mauroceno, consiliarius, pluries extraxit
 blaudum de Nigroponte et farinam, quam mittebat in Salonicho, dicendo
 quod mittebat fratri suo.

70 Interrogatus si scit quod dicti domini fecerint dictas nuptias invite et de
 omnibus violenciis eis facere per dictum ser Bartholameum, ut nuptie

42 post quod del. galea ser Petri Superançii | 43 proortata: lege portata | 52 post una del. m | 53
 post de del. Salonico | 55 post Interrogatus del. si tunc erat | 58 post vicariis del. q | 61 post
 onustam del. inter

f. 6r *predicte complerentur predictis dominis, respondit quod audivit dici per*
 75 *publicam vocem et fammam quod dicti domini fecerant dictas nuptias male*
libenter et contra suam voluntatem, sed a quibus nesciret | dicere, nisi quod
ita erat publica vox et famma per totam civitatem Nigropontis. Verum dicere
quod audivit dici a Frangulo Crespo quod ser Bartholameus fecerat quod
ser Nicola ||a Carceribus|| protulerat sibi feudum Andre, quod, moriente sua
sorore magnam, ipse deberet investire istam juvenem, que erat futura
 80 *nurus ipsius[s] ser Bartholami, in casu quo foret sua nurus. Et quod pro*
securitate istius promissionis ipse ser Bartholomeus voluerat habere
castrum Manduci. Et quod dictus ser Bartholomeus miserat unum ex suis
cañçelariis, vocatum Nicolaum, et Lançam ad dictum castrum, et ibi fecerat
levari suam banderiam; et quod de hoc est verum quod ipse testis audivit
 85 *dictum ser Nicolam postea multum conqueri de dicta banderia que levata*
fuera in dicto castro.

Interrogatus si, tempore quo dicte galee communis, de quibus superius
 dixit, mittebantur pro dictis, factas dictas nuptias, terra Nigropontis
 remanebat cum periculo vel non, respondit quod, si terra fuisse bene fulcita,
 non fuisse missum pro istis galeis, sed, quia terra non erat bene fulcita, ideo
 90 missum fuit pro illis, quia deberent custodire terram, ||et missum fuit|| per
 dominum baiulum, qui scripsit capitaneo Culfi quod deberet sibi mittere
 dictas galeas pro custodia terrarum. Et est apparens quod si galee
 Januensium venissent ad terram Nigropontis, non existentibus ibi galeis
 predictis communis, quod ipsi cepissent dictam terram.

95 Item interrogatus super facto galee ||communis|| que dicitur fuisse misse
 per dictum ser Bartholameum Coratum, sub preceptu inveniendi
 furmentum, et fuit missa quod complacendo ser Saraceno, respondet quod
 est verum quod ser Bartholameus predictus misit ser Donatum Valaresso
 Corantum cum sua galea, ostendendo mittere pro furmento, super qua
 100 ascendidit dictus Saracenus et quidam suus cugnatus et alii plures. Et est
 verum quod galea reversa fuit in Nigroponte cum furmento, cum qua
 reversus fuit dictus ser Saracenus. Et tunc ipse sentivit quod fuerat captus
 Guilelmaçius de la Roça et alii plures qui dicebatur quod volebant
 interficere ser Raynerium, generum dicti Saraceni. Et est verum quod postea,

76 post Crespo del. ac a ser Bartho | post quod² del. [...] | post ser del. Bartholameus quod | 78
 magnam: lege magna | investire: lege investire | 81 post quod del. istu | 86 post galee del.
 mittaba | 92 post galee del. non | 93 post Januensium del. non | 96 Coratum: lege Corantum | 101
 post quod del. existent ibi

- 105 *elapsis aliquibus ||diebus||, uxor et filia et unus filius dicti ser Guilelmaçii
venerunt in Nigroponte, et tunc sentivit quod dictus ser Guilelmacius et alii
fuerunt decapitati. Et postea, elapsis forsan diebus XV vel circa, ser Mapheus
Mauroceno, consiliarius, accepit filiam, que fuerat dicti Guilelmacii, in
uxorem. Et est verum quod dictus Saracenus habebat in manibus aliqua*
- 110 *jocalia filie dicti Guilelmacii, que ser Raynerius, gener dicti Guilelmaçii,
miserat ad dicendum dicto Saraceno quod tenet tamquam bona sui pro-
ditoris. Et tunc dictus ser Mapheus Mauroceno rogavit baiulum quod faceret
quod Saracenus daret sibi dicta jocalia. Et tunc dominus baiulus rogavit
Saracenum in lobia, presente ipso teste et allis pluribus, quod restitueret*
- 115 *dicta jocalia filia dicti Guilelmacii et dictus Saracenus recusabat et nolebat
sibi dare. Tandem nolente dicto ser Saraceno dare sibi illa, dictus dominus
f. 6v baiulus [carozavit] se et habuit dicere omnibus | audientibus: «Tu fecisti me
mittere galeam in Corantum et fecisti me beccarium communis et non vis
facere quidquid volo?» Cum aliis multis verbis, taliter quod dictus Sara-
cenus fuit contentus restituere illa jocalia, et restituit ila. Interrogatus si*
- 120 *quando dicta galea missa fuit Corantum, ut est dictum pro furmento, si
furmentum potuisset habere cum minori dampno et maiori comodo commu-
nis, respondet quod sic, quia in partibus circostandibus habitum fuisset
furmentum pro uno ||yperper|| modium et pro minori.*
- 125 *Interrogatus si scit quod ser Bartholameus fecerit proici ser Nicolam
||Sanuto|| cum aliqua galiota communis de Nigroponte in Andre, ipso exi-
stente in Nigroponte pro suis serviciis, respondet quod scit quod, veniente
ser Mapheo Tirapele, almiraleo Nigropontis, a Çitono, cum una galiota
armata pro communi pro discordia que tunc habebatur, in Nigroponte, sta-
tim sicut galiota aplicuit dictus baiulus, non permittendo aliquem descende-
re in terra ad refrescandum se, fecit eam transire ponte et fecit quod proiecit
dictum ser Nicolam in Andre.*
- 130 *Interrogatus super facto salis, quem prohibuit quod non extraheretur,
nolendo concedere licentiam aliquibus qui volebant extrahere et conducere
tantumdem furmenti, et postea concedebat quibus volebat, respondet quod
scit quod ipsi testi [[testi]] noluit concedere licentiam extrahendi modia M
135 salis, volendo obligare se ad conducendum tantumdem furmenti. Et scit*

111 post *bona* del. *dicti sup* | 113 post *daret* del. [...] | 120 post *jocalia* del. *que erant va* | 121 post *fuit* del. *Nigropontem si potuisset* | 124 post *uno* del. *ducato* et add. supra lineam *yperpero* | 125 post *quod* del. *ser Nicola* | 127 post *quod* del. *ser* | 130 *aplicuit* sic | 134 post *nolendo* del. *conducere*

quod ipse concessit licentiam pluribus extrahendi salem, postea quam
 conduxerunt furmentum. Et scit quod ser Philipus Sanuto extraxit modia
 140 MM salis et non conduxit aliquam quantitatem furmenti, et ser Guilielmus
 Sanuto similiter extraxit modia CCCC vel CCC^o quod nichil furmentum
 conduxit.

Interrogatus si scit de aliqua banderia qua dominus baiulus dedisset
 alicui socio suo, respondet quod scit quod, dum Jacobelus a Ramo fuisset
 145 cassus de sua banderia, quidam Simon, socius baiuli, petiit sibi banderiam
 pro uno suo fratre, et ipse concessit eam sibi. Et [non] existente ibi fratre,
 ||baiulus|| posuit Marcum Strimidorem in loco fratris socii sui, qui non erat
 ibi. Et dictus Marcus dixit ipsi testi quod nullam utilitatem banderie
 habuerat nisi pagas suas et aliud nescit.

150 Interrogatus si scit de aliquibus paghis mortuis que dictus baiulus
 teneret, respondet quod de hoc nesciret dicere nisi per auditum quod
 dicebatur publice quod erant paghe mortue.

Interrogatus si scit de salario dato magistro Salamono, medico,
 respondet quod de hoc nesciret dicere, sed poterit videri per quaternum
 155 expensis galee de quantitate salarii quam sibi dabat.

Interrogatus si scit quod dederit aliqua territoria communis sine
 incantum, respondit quod dedit unum territorium, in quo consueverat esse
 arsenatus, sine incantum, Andriolo Paulo Alesio de [Ber]tis et Bertucio
 calefato per tercium, qui super ipsos fecerunt tria magacena pro tribus [vel
 160 pro quattuor], quod ad incantum venditum fuisset multo plus.

Interrogatus si scit quod dominus baiulus iverit extra terram
 Nigropontis stando per aliquid tempus extra, respondit scit quod ivit ad
 turrem Saraceni propter infirmitatem, ubi stetit per aliquos dies, quod non
 venit in Nigroponte, et, per similem modum, ivit ad Lilantum ad Sanctum Ni-
 165 colaum propter infirmitatem, stando pluribus diebus extra terram. | Et est
 verum quod vidit pluries unum ex consiliariis solum tenere jus, quia alius
 consiliarius erat infirmus et baiulus erat extra terram.

Interrogatus si scit quod fecerit verbare aliquem piscatorem, quia,
 piscando pro eo cum una tracta, non ceperat pisces, respondit quod nescit
 170 nisi per auditum quod audivit dici, sed a quibus nesciret dicere.

138 post *quam* del. *vel* | 145 post *Simon* del. *s.* | 146 post *fratre* del. *ipsus* et add. supra lineam
baiulus | 147 post *loco* del. *sui* | 154 post *per* del. *exp* | 156 post *territoria* del. *c* | 157 *incantum*:
 lege *incantu* | post *esse* del. *as* | 158 *incantum*: lege *incantu* | 159 *ipsos* sic | 162 post *tempus* del.
 [.] | 168 post *quia* del. *nolens psc*

Interrogatus si scit quod receperit aliquos equos pro exenio lla ser Nicolall, respondit quod lscitll quod a ser Nicola habuit duos equos, sed si habuit ipsos pro exenio vel alio modo, ipse testis nescit.

3

THE DEPOSITION OF FILIPPO SANUDO, SON OF THE LATE GIOVANNI SANUDO

December 18, 1374

f. 4r

1374 die XVIII decembris

Nobilis vir ser Philipus Sanudho, quondam domini Johannis Sanudho, coram dominis advocatoribus communis personaliter constitutus testis iuratus, interrogatus et examinatus dicere veritatem super eo quod scit, super
 5 *eo quod dicitur ser Bartholomeum Quirino, olim baiulum Nigropontis, contraccsisse matrimonium cum nobile viro ser Nicola Sanudho, domino insule Andre, lcontra voluntatemll domini Nicolai llda le Carcere et nolente dicto ser Nicola Sanudoll et [cum] suo sacramento [[sacramento]] firmavit super dicto facto se nil aliud scire, nisi quod est verum quod ipse bene*
 10 *scit, quod per dictum ser Bartholomeum, baiulum, fuit missa una galea communis Venetiarum in Andre, que tunc erat ibi in Negroponte, ad accipiendum dictum dominum ducham et ser Nicolam Sanudho, predictum, que galea conduxit predictos, dominum ducham et ser Nicolam, Nigropontem. Et ibi, ltransactis aliquibus diebusll, contractum fuit predictum*
 15 *matrimonium inter filium dicti ser Bartholamei Quirino et filiam dicti ser Nicole. Et audivit dictus testis postea publice murmurari per civitatem Nigropontis, quod dictus dominus Nicola fecerat dictas nuptias non voluntarie, sed tamquam persona coacta. Interrogatus a quibus hoc audivit dici*
 20 *respondit quod non recordatur, nec sciret dicere nisi quod sic murmurabatur per civitatem Nigropontis.*

Interrogatus super facto quod dicitur dictum dominum Nicolam

171 post *exenio* del. *ad alique* et add. supra lineam *a ser Nicola* | 172 post *quod* del. *nesciret dicere, respondet* et add. supra lineam *scit* | post *duos* del. [.]

3. 6 *contraccsisse*: lege *contraxisse* | post *ser* del. *b* | 7 post *Andre* del. *ipso* | *domini*: -*i* corr. ex. -*o* | post *Nicolai* del. *in vita* | 11 post *Venetiarum* del. *que tunc* | 12 post *dominum* del. *Nicolam* | 14 *contractum*: lege *contractum*

Sanudho depositasse II M ducatorum in manibus ser Sarasini de Sarasinis et quod dictus ser Bartholomeus Quirino dictos ducatos II M astulit de manibus dicti ser Sarasini, respondit quod ipse audivit publice dici quod in
 25 contractu dicti matrimonii fuerat imposita pena II M ducatorum, ne partem peniteret, et quod dictus dominus Nicola Sanudho depositaverat dictos II M ducatos in manibus ser Saraceni de Saracenis, et quod dictus ser Bartholomeus postea habuerat dictos II M ducatos. Interrogatus quomodo dictus ser Bartholomeus habuit dictos ducatos II M et si habuit eos de voluntate
 30 dicti domini Nicole, respondit quod nescit, nisi quod dictus testis audivit sic dici per civitatem Nigropontis.

Interrogatus super facto bladorum que dicitur dictum ser Bartholameum Quirino permississe extrahy de insula Nigropontis illis qui fuerant sibi in auxilium ad faciendum dictum matrimonium, respondit quod super hoc nil
 35 aliud scit, nisi quod, contracto dicto matrimonio, dictus testis scit quod venerunt due graparie de Arçipelago ad insulam Nigropontis et ibi caricaverunt se furmento, sed quo dicte griparie conducerent dictum furmentum, dictus testis nesciret dicere. Interrogatus nomine cuius fuit caricatum dictum furmentum, respondit quod fuit carichatum nomine domini duche
 40 Arçipelagi et dictum dominum Nicole, domini Andre.

Interrogatus si propter extrahere dictum furmentum de insula Nigropontis postea consequita est ||magna|| caritudo vel sinistrum civitati et insule Nigropontis, respondit quod sic. Interrogatus si ||aliud|| frumentum fuit extractum de consentia et voluntate dicti ser Bartholamei baiuli,
 45 respondit quod sic ||cum una galiota domini duce Arcipelagill||. Interrogatus si quoniam extractum fuit dictum frumentum erat penuria in insula Nigropontis, respondit quod prima vice, qua dictus dominus baiulus concessit gratiam dicto domino duche Arçipelagi de extrahendo furmentum, non erat caritudo in insula Nigropontis, sed una alia vice, qua concessit
 50 gratiam dicto domino duce de extrahendo furmentum et permisit extrahy, tunc erant maxima caritudo et fames in insula Nigropontis.

Interrogatus si scit quod ser Johannes Myani fuerit missus per dictum dominum baiulum pro dicto matrimonio in Andre ad accipiendum cum galea sua ad accipiendum dictum dominum Nicolam Sanudho et filiam suam,
 55 respondit quod scit quod per dominum baiulum fuit missus in Andree dictus ser Johannes Myani. Et scit quod dictus dominus Nicola Sanudho venit cum

39 post quod del. ut audivit dici | 42 post est del. aliqua | 43 post respondit del. quod credit | post si del. dictum | 50 extrahy: lege extrahi | 53 accipiendum: lege accipiendum

filia sua Nigropontem cum una galea communis Venetiarum, sed nesciret dicere si venit cum galea dicti ser Johannis Myani, eo quod non recordatur.

60 *Interrogatus si scit quod ser Guilielmus Quirino, frater dicti domini baiuli, fuit misus cum galea sua per dictum dominum baiulum in Andre ad portandum dictum dominum Nicolam et filiam suam, respondit quod scit quod dictus ser Guilielmus Quirino cum galea sua portavit in Andre dictum dominum Nicolam et filiam suam.*

f. 4v *Interrogatus si scit quod per dictum dominum baiulum fuerit misus ser*
65 *Petrus Supernatio cum galea sua in Andre ad accipiendum filiam dicti domini Nicole, respondit quod est verum quod, uno semel, dictus dominus baiulus missit dictum ser Petrum Superantio in Andre, sed qua de causa dictus testis nesciret dicere. Et cum dictus ser Petrus redivisset Nigropontem, dictus baiulus remissit dictum ser Petrum Superantio in Andre, sed qua de causa*
70 *dictus testis nesciret dicere, nisi quod dictus ser Petrus redivit ||postea|| Nigropontem et portavit filiam dicti domini Nicole.*

Interrogatus si scit quod dictus baiulus fecit portari cum galiota dominationis, que stabat ad Zitonum, dictum dominum Nicolam, respondit quod super hoc nil aliud scit, nisi quod, dum uno semel dictus dominus
75 *Nicola venisset Nigropontem cum uno suo galedelo, dictus dominus baiulus missit dictum galedelum Tenedum pro servitio dominationis, et postea, dum dicta galiota dominationis venisset Nigropontem et dictus dominus Nicola velet redire in Andre, dictus dominus baiulus fecit eum portari cum dicta galiota, quia galedelus dicti domini Nicole fuerat missus pro servitio domi-*
80 *nationis, ut est dictum.*

Interrogatus si dictus dominus faciebat verberari piscares quando non capiebant pisces, quando ipse faciebat piscari, respondit quod est verum quod ipse audivit dcjci quod dictus baiulus, uno semel, dum non foret bene sanus et misset extra terram causa solacii, ipse fecit portari unam tractam et
85 *fecit ipsam prohici, et audivit dictus testis dici quod, quia piscares non ceperant pisces illo ictu, quod ipse fuerat iratus cum dictis piscatoribus et quod fecerat aliquos eorum bastonari.*

Interrogatus si dictus dominus baiulus habuit a dicto domino Nicola Sanudho in donum duos equos, respondit quod scit quod dictus dominus

58 post recordatur del. nec etiam scit si dictus Johannes Myani fuit missus per dominum baiulum in Andre occasione dicti matrimonii | 60 post baiulum del. ad | 63 post suam del. sed nescit tamen dictus testis si ipsos portavit de mandato dicti domini baiuli vel non | 76 post Tenedum del. ad accipiendum bladum | 78 post baiulus del. ni | 83 dcjci: lege dici

- 90 *baiulus habuit duos a dicto domino Nicola, quos dictus dominus Nicola missit sibi de Andre. Sed si habuit eos in donum, dictus testis nesciret dicere.*
Interrogatus si scit quod dictus dominus baiulus fecerit carcerari unum nuncium Galzare de Peralta, afdatum per dictum dominum baiulum, respondit super hoc nil aliud ||scirell, nisi quod bene vidit dictum nuntium in
 95 *carceribus, sed si fuerat afdatus vel non, dictus testis nesciret dicere, nec causam qua fuerat positus in carceribus.*

4

THE DEPOSITION OF JACOBO VISTARI OF NEGROPONTE

December 18, 1374

f. 11r

1374 die XVIII decembris

- Jacobus Vistari de Nigroponte coram dominis advocatoribus communis personaliter constitutus testis juratus, interrogatus et examinatus dicere veritatem, ut supra, super querela contra dictum ser Bartholameum Quirino, olim baiulum Nigropontis etc. Et primo, interrogatus super facto nuptiarum contractarum inter filium ser Bartholamei et filiam ser Nicole Sanuto etc., suo sacramento respondet et dicit quod ipse a se nichil sciret de certo dicere. Sed est bene verum quod ipse testis publice audiebat dicere per terram Nigropontis quod dicti domini de ca Sanudo fecerant dictas nuptias magis ex timore quam ex amore, sed de aliqua conventionione vel pacto dictarum nuptiarum ipse nichil scit.*
 5
 10
 15
 20
Interrogatus si scit quod occaxione dictarum nuptiarum ser Bartholameus umquam miserit galea Nigropontis seu de aliis galeis, quas miserat acceptum pro custodia terre, ad insulas pro levando dominos seu pro levando noviciam, suo sacramento respondet quod ipse scit quod una vice, existente eo teste cum galea Nigropontis, dominus baiulus misit ad dicendum almiraleo galee quod ipsi irent cum galea ad Andre ad levandum ser Nicolam et postea in Nicosia ad levandum ducam Arcipelagi et portare eos Nigropontem, sed causam ipse testis nescit, nisi quod fuit tunc quando dicte nuptie complete fuerunt. Et est verum quod ipse scit quod postea ipse baiulus misit de galeis communis, que venerant pro custodia terre, ad insu-

4. 10 post quam del. voluntarie | 12 si corr. ex. ipse | 13 galea sic | 19 post tunc del. sed

las duabus vicibus, videlicet unam galeam pro qualibet vice, sed causam ipse testis nescit, nisi quod bene scit quod una vice ||novicia|| venit cum una dictarum glearum Nigropontem, et aliud nescit.

25 *Interrogatus si scit de aliqua gratia blaudi quam ipse dominus baiulus fecisset alicui, permittendo extrahere blaudum, existente ibi caritudine et incomodo blaudi, respondet et dicit quod, quantum de hoc, ipse testis nichil scit a se, quia non potest scire facta dominationis. Sed bene audivit publice dici per terram Nigropontis, quod ipse permiserat ser Nicolam Sanuto et*
 30 *ducam extrahere blaudum de insula et nunc ipsi habebant incomodum, et audivit pauperes homines multum clamare per terram ob caritudinem que erat. Interrogatus si scit quod ||baiulus||, fecisset aliquid bannum seu quod fecisset aliquid preceptum vicariis dominorum insule, quod non*
 35 *permitterent extrahere aliquid blaudum de insula, et postea ipse baiulus permitteret extrahere, respondet quod de hoc nichil scit.*

Interrogatus si scit de aliqua galea missa Corantum sub petextu habendi furmentum ad petitionem Saraceni, in favorem domini Raynerii, generi
 f. 11v *Saraceni predicti, respondet et dicit quod ipse scit quod ser Raynerius protulit dominationi Nigropontis de dando sibi furmentum, unde dictus ser*
 40 *baiulus misit unam galeam de illis communis, cuius erat supracomitus ser Donatus Valaresso, usque Corantum ad accipiendum dictum furmentum, super qua galea ipse testis ivit usque Corantum. Et super eadem galea ser Saracenus ivit Nigroponte Corantum. Et est verum quod, dum aplicuissent*
 45 *cum galea in Coranto, ipsi fecerunt sentire domino Raynerio qualiter ipsi iverant acceptum blaudum, quod ipse protulerat dominationi. Donec, dominus Raynerius dedit ordines quod galea iret ad unum suum castrum, unde galea ivit ad dictum castrum et ibi levavit furmentum. Et, habito*
 50 *furmento, galea rediit ad portum Coranti et ser Saracenus ascendit super dictam galea et cum ipsa rediit Nigropontem. Sed quod dicta galea missa fuerit in aliquo favore domini Raynerii, ipse testis nichil scit. Interrogatus si, tempore quo dicta galea fuit in Coranto, dictus dominus Raynerius [[f]]fecit capi aliquam personam, de qua postea faceret fieri justiciam, respondet quod, de quanto dicta galea fuit in Coranto, dictus dominus Raynerius non fecit capi aliquam personam, sed, postquam galea recessit de Coranto, ipse*

23 post *vice* del. *galea* et add. supra lineam *novicia* | 24 post *glearum* del. *novicia venit* | 25 post *Interrogatus* del. [...] | 28 post *audivit* del. *publ* | 30 post *blaudum* del. *et* | 34 post *blaudum* del. *et quod* | 36 post *missa* del. *in* | petextu: lege *pretextu* | 43 post *quod* del. *in Coranto* | 49 *galea*: lege *galeam* | 51 post *fuit* del. *in Nigroponte*

- 55 *testis remaxit in Coranto et vidit quod dominus Raynerius predictus fecit capi quendam Guilelmacium et quendam Antonium de Robia et aliquos alios pro proditione quam tractabant contra dictum ser Raynerium, quos omnes postea mori fecit, et aliud nescit.*
- Interrogatus si scit quod predictus ser Bartholameus, baiulus, fecit proici,*
- 60 *cum aliqua galiota communis armata in Nigroponte, ser Nicolam Sanuto in Andre, ente ipso ser Nicola in Nigroponte pro suis factis, respondit et dicit quod ipse scit quod dominus baiulus una vice fecit proici ser Nicolam Sanuto Nigroponte in Andre per unam galiotam communis, que veniebat a Cituno, cum quo tunc ipsi erant in guerra.*
- 65 *Interrogatus si scit quod dictus ser Bartholameus, baiulus, mitteret aliquam galea vel galiotam ||communis||, in favorem dompni Bonifacii vel aliorum, contra illos de Setinis, respondet quod ipse scit ||quod baiulus Nigropontis|| armavit galeam Nigropontis et aliquas galiotas in Nigroponte, et misit illas[[s]] in Sentinis, ad quem finem mitteret ipse testis nescit, neque*
- 70 *eciam quid facerent nisi, quod audivit dici, quod posuerunt concordiam int<er> illos de Stive et illos de Setinis.*

5

THE DEPOSITION OF GALLEY COMMANDER GIOVANNI MIANI

December 19, 1374

f. 12r *1374 die XVIII decembris*

- Nobilis vir ser Iohannes Miani coram dominis advocatoribus communis personaliter constitutus testis iuratus, interrogatus et examinatus, ut supra, dicere veritatem, primo si dictus ser Bartholameus Quirino missit dictum*
- 5 *testem cum sua galea in Andre ad accipiendum dictum dominum Nicolam et filiam suam et si ipsas portavit Nigroponte, respondit quod est verum quod dum dictus testis foret Nigropontem cum sua galea venerint nova quod due barche Turchorum erant ad puntam sancti Georgii, et tunc dictus dominus baiulus misit pro dicto teste et dixit sibi quod poneret se ad punctum cum*

58 post *aliud* del. *scit* | 59 post *proici* del. *ser* | 62 post *baiulus* del. *ipse* | 63 post *in* del. *Sentinis* | 68 post *aliquas* del. *ad*

5. 4 post *si* del. *scitas* | 6 *ipsas*: lege *ipsos*

10 *galea sua pro eundo ad reperiendum dictas duas barchas Turchorum. Et in
hoc venerint nova, quod dictus dominus Nicola Sanudho nolebat maritare
unam suam filiam uni filio don Bonifacii da Stives. Et tunc iterato, dictus
dominus baiulus missit pro dicto teste et ipse tunc, una cum consiliariis suis,
precepit dicto testi quod [[ire]] deberet ire ad querendum dictas barchas per
15 loca ynsule et circuire insulam, et quod, postea, deberet ire vèrsus partes
Andre et presentare domino Nicole Sanudho unam literam vel duas, quas
dedit sibi[[i]] dictus dominus baiulus, inponendo dicto testi quod si dictus
dominus Nicola nolet venire, ocaxione dicte litere, quod dictus testis deberet
horectenus, ex parte eorum, precipere dicto domino Nicole quod deberet
20 venire Nigropontem, quia erat expediens quod persona sua foret illic. Et
quod dictus testis dictum ser Nicolam deberet fere super sua galea \let filiam
dicti domini Nicole, si ipsam secum ducere velet\|. Et sicut dictus testis ivit et
fecit sicut sibi impositum fuerat superius. Et presentavit dictas literas dicto
domino Nicole, qui dominus Nicolas, receptis dictis literis et audito dicto
25 teste, dixit quod volebat venire et asendit galeam dicti testis cum filia sua
parva, unde dictus testis duxit ipsum cum dicta filia sua Nigropontem.*

*Interrogatus si dictus dominus baiulus existente penuria et magna
necesitate bladi in civitate Nigropontis permittit extrahii furmentum de
insula et de civitate Nigropontis, respondit super hoc tamen scire, videlicet
30 quod est verum quod, dum in civitate Nigropontis foret caritudo bladi, dictus
dominus baiulus fecit congregari ad consilium omnes \nobiles et de
burgensibus\| Nigropontis inponendo eis quod suum furmentum facerent
conduci intra civitatem. Et per aliquos fuit ibi dictum quod foret bonum
facere hoc. Et inter alios ser Thomas Bolani habuit dicere quod foret bonum
35 retinere unam gripariam Antonii de Arduino, qui morat in Arzipelagum, et
tota die expetabatur quod veniret caricata furmento, que griparia, postea,
venit Nigropontem caricata furmento et non fuit ibi retenta, sed transivit
pontem et ivit Salonichum. Et scit dictus testis quod postea, transeuntibus
aliquibus mensibus, dictus Antonius fecit caricari in Nigroponte unam aliam
40 suam gripariam oleo et, quia dicta griparia non erat bene caricata dicto
oleo, dictus Antonius acepit aliquam quantitatem bladi de civitate Nigro-
pontis et caricavit illud super dictam gripariam et illud etiam portavit
Salonichum. Interrogatus si dictum furmentum fuit extractum per dictum ser
Antonium de civitate Nigropontis de consencia dicti domini baiuli, respondit*

25 dicti: post -i del. -s | 26 duxit sic | 31 post omnes del. Burgenses et add. Supra lineam nobiles
et de burgensibus | 34 post Bolani del. habuit | 36 expetebatur sic | 41 acepit sic

- 45 *quod nescit quia nullus fuisset ausus acusare dictum ser Antonium.*
Interrogatus si dictus dominus baiulus dedit aliquam banderiam Simoni, socio suo, et cetera, respondit quod de hoc nil aliud nisi quod publice audivit dici in civitate Nigropontis, quod dictus Simon, socius domini baiuli, habebat aliquas pagas de banderia quam tenebat Marcus Strimitor.

6

THE DEPOSITION OF TOMA BARBARIGO

December 19, 1374

f. 9r *1374 die XVIII decembris*

- Nobilis vir ser Thomas Barbarigo coram dominis advocatoribus communis personaliter constitutus testis iuratus et examinatus ut supra dicere veritatem super his de quibus interrogabitur. Et primo, si scit quod*
 5 *dictus dominus baiulus cogerat dominum Nicolam Sanudho, dominatorem Andre, ad dandum unam filiam suam in uxorem uni filio dicti domini baiuli, respondit quod, quia ipse testis non erat Nigroponte tempore quo contractum fuit dictum matrimonium, super hoc facto nichil scit, nisi per auditum, quia cum aplicuit postea Nigropontem, iam facto dicto matrimonio, audivit*
 10 *publice dici quod dictus dominus Nicola fecerat dictum matrimonium non voluntarie sed coate. Et audivit etiam dici dictus testis quod, nolente dicto domino Nicola facere dictum matrimonium, dictus baiulus dixerat sub lobia, roncinando de domino Nicola predicto et de domino ducha Arzipelagi:*
 15 *«Permittant tamen isti proditores quod ego recipiam literas de Venecia, quod ego acipiam eis dominium de sub pedibus et quod bene solvam eis.»*
Interrogatus si dictus dominus baiulus missit galeam Nigropontis ad portandum ducham et dominum Nicolam Sanudo cum tota sua familiam in Andre, respondit quod sic, et dicit ipse testis quod illo tunc ipse et aliqui alii mercatores de Venetiis volebant dictam galeam pro mitendo panos Salonichum et dominus baiulus noluit tunc eam sibi dare, aserens quod ipsam
 20 *promiserat dictis domino duce et domino Nicole Sanudo et quod: «Ad*

45 *ausus acusare* sic | 49 post *habebat* del. *plur*6. 9 *aplicuit* sic | 11 *coate*: lege *coacte* | 14 *permittant*: sic | 15 *acipiam* sic | 17 *familiam*: lege *familia* | 19 *mitendo* sic | 21 post *Sanudo* del. *predictis* [...]

reditum dicte galee ipse daret nobis dictam galeam.» Et ita dedit sibi dictam galeam cum rediuit.

- 25 *Interrogatus si dictus dominus baiulus, existente maxima penuria bladi in civitate Nigropontis, permittit extrahy bladum de insula et de civitate Nigropontis per ser Antonium Darduino, respondit quod est verum quod, dum esset maximum incomodum in civitate Nigropontis, dictus dominus baiulus misit aliquos quesitum per insulam et ad sciendum quanta quantitas furmenti posset reperiri pro faciendo eam conduci intra civitatem. Et dum*
- 30 *redivissent illi, qui sic fuerant missi ad querendum de dicto furmento, dictus dominus baiulus fecit notari quantitatem furmenti quam illi invenerant et tunc fecit fieri unum preceptum quod de dicto furmento deberet conduci certa quantitas intra civitatem et stantibus postea aliquibus diebus et non reperiretur aliquid furmenti nec panis, dictus baiulus fecit congregari ad*
- 35 *consilium nobiles et aliquos de burgensibus Nigropontis, ut sibi consuleretur super facto recuperandi furmentum, et ibi fuerunt dicta multa et multa. Et inter alios ser Tomas Bolani habuit dicere dicto domino baiulo: «Domine ut scitis una vestra graparia est ad Protimo et caricat se furmento. Vos debetis facere retineri dictum furmentum et ||postea|| provideretur*
- 40 *aliunde.» Et tunc dictus baiulus volebat ostendere quod de hoc nihil sciret. Et tunc per aliquos de dicto consilio fuit sibi probatum quomodo ipse concesserat gratiam domino Nicole Sanudo de extrahendo de insula Nigropontis dictum navigium furmenti et hoc ad petitum ser Antonii de Arduino. Ita quod dictus baiulus nescivit hec negare et dixit: «O ||dimitamus ire||,*
- 45 *quia dictum navigium bene veniet huc ||antequam vadat alio bene tenebris bonus modus||.» Unde postea venit dicta graparia Nigropontem cum furmento, sed tamen non habebat totum suum caricum. Et ostendit dicta graparia vele discaricare dictum furmentum et discaricavit unam parvam quantitatem furmenti, quam postea iterato ipsam caricavit. Et cum hoc per*
- 50 *dictum ser Antonium fuit extracta de civitate Nigropontis una quantitas furmenti et farine, quam caricavit super dicta graparia et illam portavit Salonichum. Interrogatus quanta quantitas furmenti et farine fuit hec que fuit extracta de civitate Nigropontis per dictum ser Antonium, respondit quod nescit sed credit quod fuerit quantitas plurimum quam VI^c modia.*
- 55 *Interrogatus si dictus ser Antonius dictam quantitatem furmenti et farine*

38 *graparia*: lege *griparia* | 44 post *O* del. *non curamus de hoc* | 45 post *huc* del. *et providebitur postea id quod debet* | 47 post *dicta* del. *galia* | 48 *graparia*: lege *griparia* | 51 *graparia* sic | 52 post *quantitas* del. *fuit*

extrasit de civitate Nigropontis de consentia dicti domini baiuli, respondit quod sic, quia aliter non potuisset eum extrahere.

Interrogatus super facto salis positi in commune et de lucro consecuto exinde, respondit super dicto facto se nil aliud scire, nisi quod, dum dictus testis emisset pro se et pro ser Albano Baduario plurimum quam VI^M modia salis et quasi VII^M et iam solvisset, dictus dominus baiulus missit pro quaternis de mercatis et omnes emtiones quas fecerat dictus testis de dicto sale cancellari, precipiendo venditoribus quod infra tertium diem deberent dicto testi restituere suos denarios. Et postea dictus baiulus fecit fieri aliquas cridas, quod dicti venditores nichil deberent facere de dicto sale absque sua licentia. Et aliud dixit se nescire, quia in hoc dictus testis recessit illinc cum galeis.

7

THE DEPOSITION OF STEFANELO CONTARINI

December 19, 1374

f. 10r

1374 die XVIII decembris

Ser Stephanalus Contareno de confinio sancti Julianni coram dominis[[s]] advocatoribus communis personaliter constitutus testis juratus, interrogatus et examinatus dicere veritatem de hiis super quibus interrogabitur super querela facta contra nobilem virum ser Bartholameum Quirino, olim baiulum Nigropontis. Et primo, interrogatus quidquid scit de nuptiis quas dominus ser Bartholamius dicitur contraxisse de quodam suo filio cum quadam filia ser Nicole Sanuto, domini Andre, quas dicitur quod dominus ser Nicola et sui cohacte et per viam induti fuerunt ad faciendum suo sacramento respondet et dicit quod ipse ivit Nigropontem cum galeis et tunc audivit dici quod dicte nuptie erant facte, aliqui dicebant quod erant facte voluntarie et aliqui dicebant quod erant facte per illos dominos de ca Sanuto tamquam cohactos, sed a quibus audivisset dicere neque qualiter fuissent facte dicte nuptie ipse nesciret dicere, quia non ponebat mentem neque tangebatur nec impedunt se in aliquo de sciendo de eis factis.

56 *extrasit sic* | 62 *post quaternis del. mercatorum* | 63 *post deberent del. sibi*

7. 8 *post Andre del. contra voluntatem dicti ser Nicole, patri sui* | 9 *post faciendum del. dictas nuptias* | 15 *post nec del. debe*

Interrogatus si scit quod dictus ser Bartholameus, baiulus, occaxione
 dictarum nuptiarum seu pro ipsis nuptiis, miserat umquam aliquam de
 galeis communis, quas ipse baiulus miserat acceptum pro custodia et secu-
 20 ritate terre, ad levandum dictos dominos de ca Sanuto seu dictam noviciam,
 deserendo terram, respondet et dicit quod, de tempore quo ipse testis fuit in
 Nigroponte, ipse nescivit quod aliqua galea communis mitteretur, occaxione
 dictarum nuptiarum, ad levandum aliquos dominos neque noviciam ||neque
 per alium modum||. Sed est verum quod prima vice, qua ipse testis fuit in
 Nigroponte et quando sentivit de nuptiis predictis, in eo tempore quo ipse
 25 testis stetit in Nigroponte, ipse scivit quod dicta novicia venit in Nigro-
 pontem et venit cum una galea, que ut sibi videtur fuit galea communis. Sed
 quomodo venisset seu quomodo esset dictum factum ipse testis nescit. Verum
 dicit quod postea, dum ipse testis recessisset de Nigroponte et redivisset, in
 30 reditu suo, qui fiat de mense julio nuper elapso, ipse testis audivit publice
 dici quod de galeis communis iverant pro istis factis nuptiarum, sed quod
 aliter scia[nt] ipse testis nichil scit.

Interrogatus si scit de aliqua gratia furmenti vel blaudi seu aliorum
 victualium, que ipse baiulus permisisset extrahere de insula Nigropontis,
 existente ibi incomodo et caritudine, respondet et dicit quod ipse a se nichil
 35 scit. Sed isto mense julio nuper elapso, quando ipse testis rediit Nigro-
 pontem, existente in Nigroponte caritudine blaudi, ipse audivit dicere quod
 ipse baiulus consentiverit aliquibus quod bladum extraheretur de insula, sed
 quibus consentivisset seu quantitatem ipse firmiter non posset dicere, nisi
 quod audivit dicere quod consentiverat duce Arcipelagi et ser Nicole Sanuto
 40 et aliis de quibus non recordatur. ||Sed bene audivit pauperes homines
 murmurare et clamare per terram de incomodo blaudi quod erat et est ad
 presens in Nigroponte.|| Interrogatus si scit quod fecisset fieri aliquid
 banum idem baiulus quod non extraheretur per aliquem propter incomodum
 quod habebat terra et postea permetteret extrahere, respondet quod de hoc
 45 nichil scit.

f. 10v ||Item interrogatus si scit quod dictus dominus baiulus miserit aliquas
 galeas, armatas expensis communis, in subsidio dompni Bonifacii et dompni
 Aluysii, contra illos de Sentinis, respondet quod bene vidit armari in

18 post communis del. ad ser Be | post ipse del. miserat | 23 post vice del. pro | 29 post suo del.
 ipse testis audivit dici | 35 post Julio del. quod | 35-36 post Nigropontem del. [...] | 37 post
 extrahetur del. [...] | 38 post consentivisset del. dicti | 46 post quod del. miserit | post dominus del.
 in | 47 post et del. [...]]

50 *Nigroponte galeam Nigropontis et duas galeotas de hominibus Nigropontis
et scit quod misse fuerunt extra. Et fuit dictum quod iverant in Sentinis in
succursum illorum de Stive. Sed modum aut intentionem qualiter dominus
baiulus illos miserit seu ad cuius petitionem aliter eo quod superius dixit
nesciret dicere, neque de paga qualiter eis solutum fuerit, neque de panne
55 communis sibi dato, ipse testis nichil scit. Et dicta galera et galeote poterit
stare in d[icta terr]a circa per octo dies.*

*Interrogatus si scit quod dominus baiulus predictus iret extra terram
Nigropontis, stando per aliquid tempus quod non rediret intra terram,
respondet quod, existente ipso testi in Nigroponte, ipse scivit quod una vice
dictus ser Bartholameus, baiulus, ivit Lilantum, ostendendo quod iret prop-
60 ter gravitate sue persone, et stetit extra circha quinque vel sex dies, quod
non venit intra terra, et de alio nescit. Bene audivit dici, quod una alia vice,
testis non ente in Nigroponte, ipse baiulus per similem modum lliveratll ad
Argaleum et ibi steterat aliquibus diebus.*

*Interrogatus si scit quod dictus ser Bartholameus, baiulus, fecerit verbe-
65 rare aliquem piscatorem que faciebat piscare quia non cepisset pisces,
respondet quod ipse non fuit presens, sed audivit bene dici quod, dum ipse
ser Bartholameus fecisset aliquos piscatores piscare cum una tracta, et
tracta non fecisset sacham sed fuisset subversa, dictus ser Bartholameus
70 fecerat verberare dictos piscatores quia interponeret illos quod fecerint
studiose et aliud ipse testis nescit.*

8

THE DEPOSITION OF ENRICO DANDOLO

December 20, 1374

f. 2r

1374 die XX decembris

*Nobilis vir ser Henricus Dandolo coram dominis advocatoribus
comunis personaliter constitutus testis juratus, interrogatus et examinatus
dicere veritatem super querela deposita contra nobilem virum ser Bartho-*

59 post ivit del. extra terra | 61 post vice del. quando non ipse | 62 post ente del. ipse | post similem
del. de | post ad del. unum locum Saraceni vocatum

8. 4-5 post Bartholameum del. [...]

- 5 *lameum* ||*Quirino*|| *de hiis super quibus interrogabitur. Et primo, interrogatus super facto nuptiarum contractarum per dictum ser Bartholameum, baiulum olim Nigropontis, de quodam suo filio cum quadam filia ser Nicole Sanuto, que dicunt fuisse facte per dictum ser Nicolam et ducam tamquam cohactos, suo sacramento respondit et dicit quod ipse testis audivit dici a*
- 10 *Jacobo Bocarammo, vicario domini Nicole a Carceribus in Nigroponte, quod, pro aliqua discordia que erat inter ser Nicolam Sanuto et dominum Nicolam a Carceribus, dictus ser Nicola Sanudo tractaverat quod dominus Bartholameus baiulus intromitteret se in ponendo concordiam inter ipsos, promittendo sibi, quod in casu quo dictus dominus baiulus faceret quod*
- 15 *dominus duca daret sibi insulam Andre ad* ||*censum*||, *ipse ser Nicola daret sibi filia sua pro filio suo, dicendo quod dominus baiulus miserat pro ipso domino duca et pro ser Nicola predicto occasione predicta galeam Nigropontis. Et est verum quod, quando ipse testis venit in Nigropontem, ipse invenit ducam venisse in Nigroponte cum ser Nicola Sanuto et cum aliis qui*
- 20 *sunt de consilio dicti domini duce. Et sicut ipse testis fuerit in Nigroponte dominus ducas misit pro ipso testi, unde ipse testis ivit ad eum. Et sicut dominus ducas vidit eum, ipse dominus ducas habuit dicere: «In nomine illius alterius vide[re]t tibi p[.....] res illa quam facit mihi dominus baiulus, quod ipse tenet me clausum in domo, ut ego dem sibi meam sororem magnam.*
- 25 *Et ego neque darem sibi, neque credo quod sit intentio dominationis, et quando crederem ego [ir.. me necessarium]. Et est verum, quod ipse fecit mihi preceptum pro parte dominationis, quod ego mar[ita]rem eam in Venetum. Et ita sum dispositus facere, et quando facerem aliter dominatio cognosceret hoc.» Cum aliis multis verbis gravan[do] se multum. Et quadam*
- 30 *die dominica post [pran]dium ipse testis vidit dominum ducam et ser Nicolam Sanuto ire ad dominum Bartholomeum Quirino, tunc baiulum, qualiter facerent ipse testis nescit, sed die lune sequente de manne ipse testis coniu-ratus fuit in ecclesia sancti Dominici, et ibi audivit fieri nuptias, et compleri in hunc modum, videlicet, ||quod|| ibi audivit dominum baiulum dicere ser*
- 35 *Nicoli Sanuto, presente ser Nicola a Carceribus, duca, et aliis pluribus nobilibus: «Ser Nicola, estis vos contentus dare mihi vostram filiam, Lisiam, pro filio meo, Zanino?» Et ser Nicola respondit quod sic. Et ita nuptiae fuerunt complete, sed de pactis aliquibus dictarum nuptiarum, ipse testis*

6 post *contractum* del. *inter* | 11 post *quod* del. [...] | 15 post *ad* del. *feudum* et add. supra lineam *censum* | 16 post *sua* del. *Marie* | post *ipso* del. *ipso* | 19 post *qui* del. *consilio* | 33 post *audivit* del. *de* | 36 post *filiam* del. *dominam*

- f. 2v *nichil audivit tunc, sed venientibus eis extra ecclesiam, ipse testis petiit | ser*
 40 *Frangulum Crespum, et ser Michaelem, magistrum domini duce, de pactis*
dictarum nuptiarum, et ab ipsis audivit quod pacta dictarum nuptiarum
erant quod ser Nicola debebat sibi dare quatuor milia ducatorum pro
repromissa, de quibus ser Bartholomeus debebat sibi facere cartam duca-
 45 *torum III^M V^C. Et dominus duca promittebat, in casu quo Maria, filia dicti*
ser Nicole maior, decederet sine heredibus legitimis ||de suo corpore||, dare
dictam insulam Andre dicte Lisie, filie dicti ser Nicole et sorori dicte Marie.
Et, pro securitate huius promissionis, dominus baiulus voluit quod dominus
 50 *duca daret sibi castrum Manduci in pignore, quod est super insula*
Nigropontis. Et castrum ipse testis scit quod dominus baiulus missit ad
accipiendum in tenutam per unum ex suis cancelariis et per Lançam, qui est
advocatus in Nigroponte. Et quod ibi facere fierunt carte et quod levata
fuera super dicto castro una banderia dicti ser Bartholomei, secundum
 55 *quod de predictis publice fuit dictum in Nigroponte. Et hec verba audivit a*
capitano dicti castri Manduci, recedendo de Nigroponte et eundo per
terram, qui capitaneus ||vocatur|| Johannes Scagnolus. Et ultra hoc, quod
audivit a predictis ||quod|| in predictis nuptiis voluit ser Bartholomeus,
baiulus, dubitans ne dicte nuptie frangerentur, quia domina est multum
 60 *juvenis et non habet etatem, quod foret pena ducatorum MM, quos debebant*
depositari, per ser Nicolam, penes quedam bonum hominem et dictum fuit
quod debebant depositari penes ser Saracenum de Saracenis. Et pettendo
postea ser Saracenum si dictos denarios habuerat ipse, respondit quod
non, unde postea ipse audivit dici publice quod ser Bartholomeus predictus
habuerat dictos denarios, sed de hoc alio ipse testis nescit.
- Interrogatus si scit quod dictus ser Bartholomeus, baiulus, mitteret de*
 65 *galeis communis que misse essent pro securitate terre Nigropontis in aliquo*
facto occaxione dictarum nuptiarum, mittendo portatum vel acceptum dictos
dominos aut noviciam modo aliquo, respondit quod scit quod, completas
nuptias, ser Antonius Arduin portavit ducam et ser Nicolam Sanuto cum
 70 *galea Nigropontis in Andre. Et scit quod una altra vice, dum ipse testis foret*
in Nigroponte et ibi foret novicia et pater suus ser Nicolaus, venit ibi ser
Guilielmus Quirino cum sua galea, pro faciendo sentire de novis galearum

39 post *extra* del. *in* | 40 post *duce* del. *et ab ipsis* | 44 post *promittebat* del. *dare* | 46 post *et* del. *uxori* | 51 post *quod*¹ del. *super* | 57 post *baiulus* del. *quod* | post *quia* del. *juve* | 60 *pettendo* sic | 61 post *si* del. [...] | 64 post *de* del. [*ist*] | 65 post *communis* del [...] | 67 post *respondit* del. *respondit*

Januensium, et tunc dictus ser Guilielmus portavit ser Nicolam predictum et noviciam cum tota familia dicti ser Nicole de Nigroponte in Andre, de aliis nescit. Et audivit [...] dici a ser Petro Superançio quod ipse fuerat bis cum sua galea in Andre et audivit dici quod eciam fuerat ser Zaninus Miani et ser Andreas de Musto cum suis galeis. Et audivit dici a ser Mapheo Tirapele quod ipse ||cum galeota Nigropontis|| eciam una vice portaverat in Andre ser Nicolam Sanuto cum sua familia. Interrogatus si dicte galee erant misse pro securitate Nigropontis quando iverant in istis servitiis, respondet quod sic, secundum quod hoc erat omnibus publicum.

Item interrogatus si scit quod dictus ser Bartholomeus, baiulus, existente incomodo blaudi in Nigroponte, permetteret vel faceret gratiam alicui extrahendi furmentum vel blaudum de insula, in preiudicium seu periculum dicte insule, et maxime tempore | quo dubitabatur de aventu galearum Januensium, respondit quod, existente ipso teste ad Loreum, ipse vidit unam galeotam ser Antonii d'Arduino porta[n]te prout credit bene mile mensurarum de Nigroponte, que erat onusta, ut dicebant, furmento et ibat in Salonico, unde ipsi extraxissent dictum furmentum ipse testis non potet scire, sed tunc erat bene incomodum baludi in Nigroponte. Et audivit dici quod dicta galiota fuerat una alia vicem Salonico cum furmento unde quod tunc non erat incomodum vel caritudo furmenti.

Item diceret quod una alia vice, dum ipse adhuc foret in Loreo, ipse vidit galeotam domini duce, que onerabat furmento ibi, et ivit eciam usque ad castrum Manduci ad levandum furmentum et portavit illum ad insulam Nicosie. Et tunc erat magna caritudo furmenti et, potest dici, fames in Nigroponte et hoc fuit isto mense augusto nuper elapso. Et in dicto tempore non poterat haberi pannis. Verum dicit quod, dum ipse testis veniret in Nigroponte, ipse vidit et audivit quod, propter magnum incomodum et magnam caritudinem furmenti que erat in Nigroponte, omnes clamabant et murmurabant dicentes dominus baiulus misit ad temptandum insulam Nigropontis, pro possendo vedere quantum furmentum erat ||in insula||, et misit expensis comunis. Et postea, quando ipse invenit ||sciret|| furmentum quod erat in insula, ipse permisit extrahere illud. Et adhuc peius, quod, postquam ipse dixit ser Petro Maçanigo quod videret de recuperando

74 post *dici* del. *q* | 81 post *scit* del. *dcu* | 83 post *furmentum* del. *et* | 89 *baludi*: lege *blaudi* | post *Et* del. *ad* | post *dicta* del. [...] | 97 post *haberi* del. *et* | 98 post *quod*² del. *per omnes* | 100 post *dicentes* del. *ipse* | *temptandum* sic | post *insulam* del. *de* | 101 post *pro* del. *recuperand*[...] *furmentum* | 103 post *ipse* del. *misit* | 104 post *dixit* del. *misit ad dicendum* | post *quod* del. *a*

105 *furmentum et quod scripsit eciam dominationi, ipse permisit ser Nicolam*
 ||Sanuto|| *extrahere duas galiotas onustas furmento, quod furmentum ipse*
misit in Chio, de quo dicebatur quod fuerat factum biscotum et missum
Januensibus. Et nunc nos non possimus habere ||furmentum|| facient[es]
 110 *||illos|| multas querimonias et clamationes per terram. ||Et hec [omnia]*
audivit publice [d]ici per terram per [alios] qui conquerebantur||. Et ipse
testis audivit ser ||[Petrum, nunc]|| baiulum, conqueriri de caritudine et
famme furmenti que erat in Nigroponte.

Item dicit quod est verum quod dominus baiulus posuit unum galedelum
ad custodiam Culfi ne percureret extra furmentum et misit eciam ad preci-
 115 *piendum ipsum testem quod non permetteret extrahere de culfis Vale Licone*
aliquid furmentum. Et in hoc tempore, facto dicto precepto, due galiote
fratris condam Alexii, domini Cristopoli, venerunt in Fiteleo et iverunt et in
Nigroponte et venerunt postea onuste furmento et leguminibus et aliis
blaudis, unde accepissent dictum furmentum vel blauda ipse testis nescit, et
 120 *iverunt ad loca sua, secundum quod dicebatur.*

Item interrogatus si scit quod predictus dominus Bartholamius, baiulus,
mitteret aliquas[[s]] galeas vel galeotas Nigropontis, pro auxillio quellorum
de Stivis, contra illos de Setinis, cum sinistro illorum de Nigroponte et in
preiudicium dicte terre, respondit quod ipse audivit aliquos
 125 *||marineros|| de Fitileo, qui se invenerant in Nigroponte cum duabus*
barchis, multum conqueri dicentes quod, dum essent in Nigroponte, dictus
ser Bartholamius, baiulus, fecerat eos capi per vim et poni in galea. Et quod
miserat unam galeam ||Nigropontis|| et duas galeotas contra illos ||de||
Sentinis in favorem illorum de Stivis et quod noluerat eis dare aliquam
 130 *solutionem dicentes: «Ipse non misit nos in servitio communis et adhuc*
noluit nobis solvere». Et aliud nescit.

Interrogatus si missio dictarum galee et galeotarum erat in preiudicium
terre Nigropontis, respondit quod tunc illi de Nigroponte erant in galera
cum dompno Aluysio et ||vicariol|| Stive et baiulus mitebat eis in subsidium
 135 *eis ibi, ubi debebat facere contrarium.*

f. 3v *Item interrogatus si scit quod dederit aliquam banderiam communis*
alicui suo socio, respondit quod ipse nescit nisi hoc modo, quod una die,

106 post *extrahere* del. [...] | post *galiotas* del. *de* | 107 post *Chio* del. *dicentes quod* | 108 post *nunc* del. *po* | post *nos* del. *po* | *facientes*: -es corr. ex. -bus | 111 post *audivit* del. *propter* | post *baiulum* del. *ipsum* | 117 post *fratris* del. *Alex* | 120 post *iverunt* del. *pos* | 121 post *si* del. *dicere* | 124 post *in* del. [...] | post *audivit* del. *per* | 134 post *et*¹ del. *dompno Bonifacio domini*

140 *dum esset in Nigroponte ad banchum communis quod tenet [Jannes Veniciarius] appodiat[us], ipse testis vidit Simonem, socium domini baiuli, venire ad banchum predictum et accipere denarios, et ipse testis tunc petiit illum a bancho: «Que denarii sint isti?» Et ille respondit: «Sunt denarii banderie quam tenebat Jacobelus a Rammo.» Et ipse testis tunc petiit qualiter accipere ipse ipsos, et ille a bancho respondit: «Ego hescio.» Et postea ipse testis petiit Marcum Strimitorem de facto dicte banderie et ipse*

145 *respondit, quod dominus baiulus promisserat facere eam banderiam sibi scribere, et ita ipse fecit scribere. Sed, antequam scripta fuisse sibi, Simon recipiebat tamen pagas et dabat certa parte dicto Marco, secundum quod dictus Marcus sibi dixit. [Sed] quantitatem quam sibi daret, dictus Marcus [bene] dixit sibi, [sed] ipse testis non recordatur.*

150 *Interrogatus si scit de donis aliquis receptis per baiulum a ser Nicola Sanuto vel ab aliis personis, respondit quod scit quod habuit a ser Nicola Sanuutto duos equos et aliquos caretelos vini. Si fuerint per donum nescit, nisi quod per auditum quod audivit dici quod ipse habuerat eos per dono, de aliis nescit.*

155 *Interrogatus si scit de aliis commissis per dictum ser Bartholameum contra honorem dominationis et in dampno terre predictae Nigropontis, respondit quod nescit, nisi quod ||scit quod||, propter aliqua debita que judei ||de Nigropontell h[abere] debebant a Catlannis, dictus dominus baiulus cepit guerram cum Catalannis que fuit verecundia dominationis et magnum*

160 *dapnum terre et periculum, maxime quia tunc [.....] dubitabatur de galeis Januensium et quia caritudo furmenti que erat venit multo maior.*

THE DEPOSITION OF ALVISE DE MEZZO, SON OF JACOBELLO

December 22, 1374

f. 14r

1374 die XXII decembris

149 post recordatur del. *Interrogatus si scit de aliquibus paghis mortuis quas teneret in banderiis vel d.* | 150 post scit del. [...] | 152 *Sanuutto: lege Sanuto* | 154 post nescit del. *nisi quod audit* | 158 *Catlannis: lege Catalanis* | 159 post fuit del. *magna* | 160 post terre del. *predicte* | 161 post quia del. *de*

Nobilis vir ser Aloysius de Medio, filius ser Iacobeli, coram dominis advocatoribus communis personaliter constitutus testis iuratus, interrogatus et examinatus, ut supra, dicere veritatem super his de quibus interrogabitur.

5 *Et primo si scit de cercha furmenti quam fieri fecit dictus dominus baiulus per insulam Nigropontis et cetera, respondit suo sacramento super hoc nil aliud scire, nisi, quod, uno semel, dum dictus testis ivisset spaciatum extra terram, venit illuc ad hospitandum, in domo in qua dictus testis erat, quidam*

10 *ser Leo Condopetro, civis Nigropontis, unde tunc dictus testis interrogavit dictum ser Leonem, quid ibat faciendo, et dictus ser Leo respondit, quod ipse fuerat missus per dictum dominum baiulum ad querendum de furmento pro faciendo illud conduci intra civitatem, quia in civitate erat magna necessitas bladi. Et dictus testis tunc habuit dicere dicto ser Leoni: «Estis vos solus qui facitis hoc?» Et dictus ser Leo respondit: «Non, ymo etiam est*

15 *unus alius, qui ivit ab alio latere ad querendum.» Et aliud dixit se nescire.*

10

ADDITIONAL DEPOSITION OF GIOVANNI MIANI

January 4, 1375 (m.v. 1374)

f. 13r

1374 die IIII januarii

Nobilis vir ser Iohannes Myani, s[er] Vitalis, interrogatus per sacramentum, ut supra, super eo quod scit, quod dictus dominus baiulus miserit ser Donatum Valareso, cum galea sua, Corantum ad petitionem ser Saraceni de Saracenis et cetera, suo sacramento respondet se tamen scire, videlicet, quod una die circha occassum solis, dum dictus dominus baiulus et dictus Saracenus irent sursum et deorsum per lobiam stipendiariorum, et ibi adessent etiam multi alii, et roncinabant in simul de aliquibus çoielis que fuerant domini Guielmaci de la Roza. ¶Et dictus baiulus petebat dicto ser

5 *Saraceni dicta zoiela, dicendo quod faceret ea restitui filie dicti ser Guielmaci, que, ¶ut credit dictus testis, erant in manibus domini Raynerii, domini Coranti et generi dicti Saraceni, que zoiela spectabant filie dicti domini Guielmaci, sed dictus dominus Raynerius ostendebat ea nolle restituere dicte filie dicti Guielmaci. Unde dictus dominus baiulus et dictus*

10 .14 post dicti del. Raynerii

- 15 *ser Saracenus faciebant de hoc verba insimul. Unde tunc dictus testis
audivit dictum dominum baiulum dicere versus dictum ser Saracenum: «Ego
video quod ego fui causa huius rey, quod si ego non misisem galeam
Corantum, dominus Raynerius non fecisset illud quod fecit || nec hoc
occurisset quod est occursum||.» Cum multis multis aliis verbis super hoc,
20 ad que dictus testis non posuit mentem.*

- Interrogatus super facto galee, respondit quod est verum quod dictus
dominus baiulus convocat consilium dicendo, quod volebat mitere dictam
galeam Corantum pro furto. Unde tunc aliqui consulebant sibi quod fiet
et aliqui quod non, scilicet ser Dominicus Polani, dictus testis [[et]] et ser
25 Donatus Valaresso, et tamen, propter hec, non stetit dictus dominus baiulus
de mitendo galeam. Ymo eam missit cum ser Donato Valaresso predicto.
Super qua galea ivit Saracenus de Saracenis predictus cum aliquibus de
Nigroponte. Et scit dictus testis quod dicta galea conduxit circha modia IIIIC
furmenti Nigropontem.*

11

THE DEPOSITION OF GALLEY COMMANDER DONATO VALARESSO

January 4, 1375 (m.v. 1374)

f. 15r

1374 die IIII januarii

- Nobilis vir ser Donatus Valaresso coram dominis advocatoribus com-
munis personaliter constitutus interrogatus per sacramentum dicere verita-
tem super hiis de quibus interrogabitur. Et primo, si scit quod dictus baiulus
5 cotraserit matrimonium cum ser Nicola Sanudho, dominatore Andre, et si,
propter hoc, fecerit depositari dicto ser Nicole ducatos II M auri penex ser
Saracenum de Saracenis, et si, propter hoc, dictus dominus baiulus aliquam
molestiam fecit alicui persona, ut asentiret dicto matrimonio, suo sacra-
mento respondit super premissis se nil aliud scire, nisi quod audivit dici,
10 quod filius dicti domini baiuli erat novicius in filiam dicti domini Nicole, et
nil aliud scit, quia, illo tunc quando contractum fuit dictum matrimonium,
dictus testis non erat Nigropontem, ideo de hoc nichil possit scire.*

17 *missem sic*11. 5 *contraserit sic* | 10 post *quod del. dictus*

- Interrogatus si dictus dominus baiulus misit aliquam galeam communis Corantum, et si audivit dictum dominum baiulum dicere aliqua verba super
- 15 morte ser Guielmaci de la Roza, respondit quod est verum quod dictus dominus baiulus misit pro dicto teste et habuit sibi dicere, quod, quia dominatio ||Nigropontis|| emerat circha IIII modia furmenti ab uno factore dicti domini Raynerii, ipse volebat quod dictus testis iret ad accipiendum dictum furmentum, et etiam quod iret ad tentandum de duabus barchis turchorum,
- 20 quas senserant esse in culfo Megre, et quod deberet protestari dicto domino Raynerio et illis de Megra, quod omne dapnum, expenses et interesse esset super eos in duplum, si darent aliquid auxilium vel favorem dictis Turchis, ||si propter dictum auxilium vel favorem consequeretur aliquid dapnum vel sinistrum grapariis et insule Nigropontis||. || Et etiam ordinavit sibi quod
- 25 levaret in galia dictum Saracenum et quod deberet eum portare Corantum cum aliquibus aliis qui ibant cum eo ||. Unde tunc dictus testis ivit cum galea sua Corantum et dixit ||domino Raynerio|| quod venerat acceptum furmentum illud quod factor suus vendiderat dominationi, et fecit etiam sibi protestum predictum. Unde tunc dictus dominus Raynerius dixit dicto testi quod
- 30 deberet ire ad unum suum casale vocatum Epediada, distans a Coranto per sexdecim miliaria [in circa]. Unde dictus testis ivit ad dictum locum et caricavit ibi IIII C modios furmenti et, postea, redivit Corantum et ibi accepit in galea dictum ser Saracenum de Saracenis et etiam caricavit II C modia furmenti et postea redivit Nigropontem. Et nil aliud scit de predictis, nisi
- 35 quod, dum dictus testis foret in dicta Epediada, audivit dici quod dictus dominus Raynerius fecerat capi dictum Guielmazum et aliquos alios. Set super verbis dictis per dictum baiulum nil aliud scit, nisi, quod bene scit, quod dictus dominus Raynerius misit aliqua zoiela dicto ser Saraceno, socero suo, que fuerunt dicti Guielmaci.
- 40 Interrogatus qua de causa dictus dominus baiulus voluit quod dictus Saracenus asenderet galeam et portaretur Corantum et ad quid, respondit quod, de causa et ad quid dictus dominus baiulus voluerit quod dictus testis cum sua galea portaret dictum Saracenum Corantum, nichil sciret dicere, nisi quod, dum dictus testis velet recedere, dictus baiulus ||habuit sibi
- 45 dicere: «Ego volo quod tu leves super galea Saracenum cum aliquibus aliis et portes eum cum illis Corantum.»||

18 accipiendum sic | 19 tentandum sic | 25 post Corantum del. et sicut dictus testis fecit | 27 post dixit del. sibi et add. supra lineam domino Raynerio | acceptum sic | 30 post Epediada del. Unde dictus testis | 31 post [in circa] del. et [.] | 34 post redivit del. nu | 41 post quid del. dictus

50 *Interrogatus si scit quod dictus dominus baiulus receperit aliquid
exenium ab aliquo cive vel alia persona habitetrice tere aut insule
Nigropontis, respondit quod de hoc nil aliud scit, nisi quod, uno semel,
dictus dominus baiulus missit sibi unam testam zengnari, quam dictus
dominus baiulus dixit quod fuisse sibi donatam ab uno nobile Nigropontis.*

12

THE DEPOSITION OF GALLEY COMMANDER PIETRO SUPERANCIO

January 10, 1375 (m.v. 1374)

f. 8r

1374 die X januarii

5 *Nobilis vir ser Petrus Superantio coram dominis advocatoribus
communis personaliter constitutus testis iuratus et examinatus dicere verita-
tem super his super quibus interrogabitur. Et primo, si dictus dominus bai-
ulus fecit aliquam violentiam alicui persone ut asentiret matrimonio predicto,
respondit quod nescit, quia dictus testis non ||erat|| in Nigroponte tempore
quo fuit contractum dictum matrimonium.*

10 *Interrogatus si dictus dominus baiulus fecit depositari aliquos denarios,
occaxione dicti matrimonii, respondit quod, ut alia pars non traheret se
retro, dictus testis audivit publice dici quod aliqua quantitas denariorum
fuerat depositata per aliam partem, sed quantitatem certam nesciret dicere,
|| nisi quod audivit dici, quod fuerant II M ducatos et hoc dicebatur publice
per omnes de Nigroponte||. Interrogatus si dictus dominus baiulus habuit
15 dictos denarios qui sic fuerant depositati, respondit quod de hoc nihil sciret
dicere.*

20 *Item interrogatus si, occasione dicti matrimonii, fuerint misse aliqae
galee communis in Andre per dictum dominum baiulum, respondit quod de
hoc nil aliud scit, nisi quod ipse bene scit, quod dictus dominus baiulus
missit dominum Iohannem Miani cum sua galea in Andre, sed qua de causa
dictus testis nesciret dicere, et illuc etiam missit ser Guilielmum Quirino
fratrem suum, sed qua de causa dictus testis nesciret dicere. Et etiam est
verum quod dictus dominus baiulus missit dictum testem duabus vicibus*

48 tere sic | 50 post dictus del. testis | 51 post sibi del. missa | post ab del. ab

25 *cum galea sua ad circuendum insulam Nigropontis et comissit sibi quod in
redditu dictus testis deberet ire in Andre et elevare super galea sua nurum
suam, scilicet filiam parvam dicti domini Nicole Sanudho et duceret eam
Nigropontem, et ita fecit dictus testis.*

30 *Interrogatus si dictus dominus baiulus missit aliquas galeas in auxilium
||illorum|| de Setines, super quibus galeis dictus dominus baiulus missit et
fecit ascendere aliquos cives Nigropontis, quibus non fuit facta aliqua
35 solutio, respondit quod est verum quod dictus dominus baiulus missit
galeam Nigropontis et duo ligna parva ad illos de Setines et, ut dicebatur,
pro ponendo concordiam inter illos de Stives et illos de Setines, qui
habebant gueram in simul, super qua galea et lignis dictus dominus baiulus
fecit ascendere quam plures habitatores Nigropontis, sed si eis fuit facta
solutio vel non, dictus testis nesciret dicere.*

*Interrogatus super facto exeniorum, respondet quod de hoc nil alliud
scit, nisi quod bene scit, quod dictus dominus Nicola, facto dicto
matrimonio, mitebat multa exeniam dicto domino baiulo et sic faciebat
dictus baiulus dicto domino Nicole.*

B.

A.S.V., *Avogaria di Comun, Raspe*, reg. 3643/3, f. 66v.

THE SENTENCE OF THE COURT

July 22, 1375

die XII julii

*Nobilis vir ser Bartolomeus Quirino, contra quem processum fuit per dominos
advocatoris communis, in eo et pro eo quod, dum ipse Bartolomeus esset baiulus et
capitaneus Nigropontis, ipse contrafecit sue commissioni in sex capitulis sibi
oppositis. Primum, videlicet, quod ipse, contra deum jus et justitiam et contra
formam sue commisionis, pro possendo contrahere matrimonium de quodam suo
filio cum filia ser Nicole Sanuto, fecit multas novitates et violentias nobili viro ser*

Nicole a Carceribus, duce Arçipelagi, fratri dicte domine, et dicto ser Nicole, patri eiusdem domine, propter que ipsos tamquam cohactos oportunt assentire et contrahere dictum matrimonium. Secundo, quod, dum galee Culphi deputate ad custodiam Nigropontis deberent stare ibi per custodia dicte terre, ipse misit eas pluries huc et illuc occasione dicti matrimonii. Tercio, quod ipse misit unam ex eis galeis Corantum in favorem domini Raynerii, soceri Saraceni, pró capiendo aliquos suos subditos proditores. Quarto, quod, dum esset magna neccessitas furmenti et blaudi in Nigroponte et fecisset fieri proclamationes quod nullus auderet extrahere bladum de insula Nigropontis, ipse, contra hoc mandatum, permisit extrahere multum furmentum extra insulam Nigropontis in magnum sinistrum dicte terre et hominum eius. Quinto, cum, dum aliqui de Nigroponte velent extrahere salem de Nigroponte cum obligatione apportanti totidem furmenti, ipse nullo modo voluit assentire. Sexto, quod ipse, tempore sui regiminis, recepit multa exenia et dona ab aliquibus, contra honorem dominacionis et formam sue commissionis. Prout de predictis clare patet per processum camare dominorum communis ductum et placitatum fuit in consilio maiori, in quo possita fuit pars. Si videtur vobis per ea que dicta et lecta [...] quod procedatur contra nobilem virum ser Bartolomeum Quirino, olim baiulum et capitaneum Nigropontis, qui contrafecit in sex capitulis, sibi oppositis, in dicto regimine contra honorem dominationis et formam sue commissionis, ut dictum est. Nam datis et receptis in ipso consilio balotis 446, fuerunt: non sinceri 75 . 72, de non 149 . 154, et de parte 219 . 230. Et captum fuit de procedendo et tandem positus diversis partibus, captum fuit quod iste ser Bartholomeus privetur perpetuo quod non possit esse rector in insula Nigropontis et solvat ducatus centum. Et de predictis, seu aliquo predictorum, non possit fieri gratiam, donum, remissio, recompensatio vel declaratio aliqua sub pena ducatorum MM, pro quolibet consilio, capite vel alio ponente vel consentiente partem in contrarium.

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ
ΜΕΤΑΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ ΒΕΝΕΤΙΑΣ
ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟ ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΒΕΝΕΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ

Συνέδρια – 5

Βυζάντιο, Βενετία
καὶ ὁ ἑλληνοφραγκικὸς κόσμος
(13ος-15ος αἰώνας)



Πρακτικά τοῦ Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου ποὺ ὀργανώθηκε
μὲ τὴν εὐκαιρία τῆς ἑκατονταετηρίδας
ἀπὸ τὴ γέννηση τοῦ Raymond-Joseph Loenertz o.p.
Βενετία, 1-2 Δεκεμβρίου 2000

Ἐπιμέλεια
Χρύσα Α. Μαλτέζου καὶ Peter Schreiner

Βενετία 2002