



## HOW A COLONY SHOULD BE GOVERNED:

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The Commission of doge Pasquale Malipiero  
to Leone Duodo as duke of Crete (1459)

Edition and Introduction

**Marina Koumanoudi**

DIGITAL PUBLICATIONS 10

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ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ | ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ  
INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH | NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION

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Marina Koumanoudi  
*Institute of Historical Research,  
National Hellenic Research Foundation*

Artistic Design and Layout  
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[www.psdesign.gr](http://www.psdesign.gr)

ISBN: 978-960-7905-91-8

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Institute of Historical Research Bookstore  
<https://history-bookstore.ic.gr/en/>

The project entitled "ANAVATHMIS. Historical research and digital applications" (MIS 5002357) is implemented under the "Action for the Strategic Development on the Research and Technological Sector", funded by the Operational Programme "Competitiveness, Entrepreneurship and Innovation" (NSRF 2014-2020) and co-financed by Greece and the European Union (European Regional Development Fund).



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ATHENS 2020



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## PREFACE

The preparation of this edition began in 2009 shortly after I joined the Institute of Historical Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation (IHR/NHRF), then as a Junior Researcher, but it had to be postponed for many years as other obligations took precedence. I resumed working on the transcription of the manuscript in 2017 within the framework of the funded programme “Anavathmis–Development of historical research: studies and digital application”. Thanks to the funding provided by the Programme I was able to pursue my research at the Museo Civico Correr and the State Archive in Venice. The final stages of annotating the edition of the text and writing the introduction coincided with the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. During the lockdown access to bibliography and other resources was extremely difficult, almost impossible. I would not have been able to complete my work without the help and support of many people.

I would like to start by thanking Dr Peter Toth, Curator of Ancient and Medieval Manuscripts at the British Library, who was kind enough to send me photographs of the manuscript while library services were suspended, without which I would not have been able to finish the description of the manuscript. I must also thank the Photographic Laboratory of the Vatican Library for providing me with the photographs of Vat. Lat. 5262 and the license to publish them at very short notice.

I owe a great debt to my colleague at the IHR/NHRF and palaeographer par excellence Dr Zisis Melissakis for his willingness to share his expertise in Codicology and his invaluable help in describing the manuscript. Particular thanks are owed to my old friend Charalambos Dendrinou, Director of The Hellenic Institute at Royal Holloway, who provided me with his expertise in codicological terminology and polished the English in the technical description of the manuscript.

Dr Charalambos Gasparis, Coordinator of the Research Programme “Latin Dominions in the Greek Territories (13th-17th centuries)” of the IHR/NHRF, encouraged me to continue during the difficult months of the first lockdown and undertook the

task of reviewing the manuscript before submission. His comments and insights have substantially improved the text. Professor Anastassia Papadia-Lala of the University of Athens took the time to read earlier versions of the Introduction and gave me valuable insights and guidance regarding the communal organisation of Venetian Crete, for which I am very thankful. Yannis Stoyas, Researcher/Curator at the KIKPE Numismatic Collection, has elucidated many difficult points about money and coinage in Latin Greece and provided me with useful bibliography on the subject. Needless to say, any mistakes or misinterpretations are of my own doing. During the gestation and preparation periods of this work, I have had many intellectually stimulating discussions with my dear friend and colleague Katerina Konstantinidou; her help and support have always been consistent and invaluable.

But, my chief debt of gratitude is to my dear colleagues Evangeline Markou, Gerasimos Merianos and Zisis Melissakis, members of the monitoring committee of the Programme Anavathmis, were it not for their forbearance, support and encouragement, this book would have never been published. I owe them much more than I can acknowledge here.

I also wish to thank Dottoressa Sandra Sambo, former Archivist at the State Archive of Venice, for generously sending me a number of articles related to the workings of the ducal chancery and the Venetian Archives. Many thanks should go to Nina Limberopoulos, who proofread the summaries for grammatical errors.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband Petros and my daughter Alexandra for their patience over these last few months. I owe you a summer.

## INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

All Venetian administrators, before leaving the city of the lagoons to take up their posts in the *Dogado*, the cities of the *Terraferma* and the Venetian territories across the Adriatic, received their commission (*commissio*) from the doge, that is, the document containing their oath and mandate of office. This document was intended to provide them with guidance on their duties and responsibilities as well as on the appropriate conduct in carrying out their functions and dealing with the local population, help them navigate through the maze of Venetian legislation when faced with the day-to-day challenges of administration and remind them of the punishment awaiting those who were negligent or failed to fulfil their obligations.

Commissions are fundamentally legal documents that reflect the state's perception of good governance and its expectations toward the chief executive officers elected from and among the patriciate to represent and protect Venetian interests both in the mainland and overseas. Historians, influenced by different historiographical trends, have regularly mined these documents for information about specific offices and in the context of wider studies exploring such themes as the function of commissions as juridical tools, the role of patrician administrators in creating and maintaining Venice's empire, the character of the state, the various forms of political organisation and domination, and the relationships between the dominant state and its subordinated peripheries and the subject populations.<sup>2</sup>

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1. A very early version of the Introduction was presented at the second workshop on *The Mediterranean and its Seas: Natural, Social, Political Landscapes and Environments* (A Collaborative Project between the University of Athens and the University of Minnesota), held in Athens in October 2009.
  2. For an overview of scholarly interest in this source, see A. Rizzi, "Committimus tibi [...] quod de nostro mandato vadas", in A. Rizzi, ed., *Le commissioni ducali ai rettori d'Istria e Dalmazia (1289-1361)* [Deputazione di Storia Patria delle Venezie. Testi, 2], Rome 2015 (with the collaboration

Although the merit of ducal commissions as sources for the study of the political and administrative organisation of the Venetian state in the medieval and early modern era has long been recognized, access to these texts is not always easy as many still remain unpublished, scattered among numerous libraries and private collections in Venice, across Europe and the United States, while others are embedded in the registers of the Venetian councils which are kept in the State Archive of Venice. Other limiting factors are the language and palaeographical skills requisite for engaging with the original texts, especially the medieval ones.

The manuscript published for the first time in the present volume is the commission that doge Pasquale Malipiero handed to the newly-elected duke of Crete Leone Duodo upon taking his oath of office on or about 7 May 1459<sup>3</sup>. Duodo's commission is not unknown to the research community: it was recently used by Monique O'Connell in *Men of Empire. Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State*, Baltimore 2009. The manuscript is preserved in the British Library (henceforth BL) in the form of a leather-bound volume, under the call number Add. MS 41659.<sup>4</sup> It is one of the earliest examples of ducal commissions regarding the duke of Crete and, to the best of my knowledge, the oldest surviving in the original. Aspasia Papadaki has located in the Museo Civico Correr in Venice a sixteenth-century copy of the commission of Leonardo Caravello that predates the one published here by thirty years.<sup>5</sup> Two more, dated 1494 and 1516, are preserved in the Marciana Library and it is likely that more will be found in the future.<sup>6</sup>

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of T. Aramonte, U. Cecchinato and G. Zuccarello), pp. 8-13. However, this overview does not take into account the Greek bibliography on the subject. For the nature and function of the commissions, see A. Rizzi, "Dominante e dominati: strumenti giuridici nell'esperienza 'statuale' veneziana", in Gh. Ortalli – O. J. Schmitt – E. Orlando, eds., *Il Commonwealth veneziano tra 1204 e la fine della Repubblica. Identità e peculiarità*, Venice 2015, pp. 235-227, here at 266-271.

3. This is the inception date of the document, which probably isn't the same as the date of Duodo's official entrance into office.
4. For the description of the manuscript see below, p. 15ff.
5. Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Ms. Provenienze Diverse c 675 (henceforth MCC, Ms. PDc 675), ff. 162v-191v, 23 May 1429, ff. 191v-198v (additions). Papadaki announced its publication at the 11th International Congress of Cretan Studies in 2011, see A. Papadaki, «Από το δούκα στο γενικό προνοητή: Θεσμικές διαφοροποιήσεις και συμπτώσεις στη βενετική Κρήτη», *Thesaurismata* 41/42 (2011-2012), 441-450, here at 442, note 5. See also Papadaki, «Μετακινήσεις ανώτερων αξιωματούχων για άσκηση κυβερνητικού έργου στην Κρήτη», *Proceedings of the 12th International Congress of Cretan Studies, Heraklion 21-25.9.2016*, 26 November 2018, pp. 2-10, which draws heavily on the commission of Leonardo Caravello. Available at <https://12iccs.proceedings.gr/en/proceedings/category/38/33/358>. Accessed 22 January 2020.
6. J. Vallentinelli, *Biblioteca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum codices MSS. Latini*, v. 3, Venice 1870, p. 183.

The capitulary of the dukes of Crete containing the set of rules and regulations that governed the said office, and the commissions, the individual, personal contracts of office of these officials have long been a desideratum to historians of Venetian Crete.<sup>7</sup> For many decades it was believed that neither of these had been preserved. In the introduction of his classic study on the archive of the duke of Crete, published in 1899, Ernst Gerland noted that this loss could be at least in part compensated by Georg Thomas' edition of the commission of the councillor of Crete Stefano Bragadino (1350).<sup>8</sup> Some thirty years later, Spyridon Theotokis produced a monumental edition of the decisions of the Great Council and the Senate of Venice relating to Crete, which included among others many statutes, rules and regulations that had been subsequently added to the commissions for the duke and other senior officials of the island. Theotokis, who shared the same conviction as Gerland, intended to publish at a later stage the

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7. The councils, the judiciary and the various executive and administrative offices of the Venetian state all had capitularies that regulated their activities and competences, see G. Zordan, *L'ordinamento giuridico veneziano. Lezioni di storia del diritto veneziano con una not bibliografica*, Padua 1980, pp. 203-205. By analogy, it is held that the commissions of office given to individual administrators were drawn from their respective capitularies, see Ch. Maltezou, ed., *ire debeas in rettorem Canea. Η εντολή του δόγη της Βενετίας προς τον ρέκτορα Χανίων 1589* [Graecolatinitas Nostra. Πηγές 4] / *ire debeas in rettorem Canea. La commissio del doge di Venezia al rettore di Canea, 1589* [Graecolatinitas Nostra. Fonti 4], Venice 2002, pp. 7-8. The difference between these two types of documents, as Danielle Dibello notes, lies not in their content, but rather in that the former are phrased in the first person singular, in the form of the oaths of office (they begin with the standard formula "*Iuro ad sancta Dei evangelia proficuum et honorem Veneciarum...*"), while the latter are formulated in the second person singular (*Committimus tibi ...*"), "enunciating the vertical attribution of powers", see D. Dibello, "Book review of *Le commissioni ducali ai rettori d'Istria e Dalmazia (1289-1361)*, a cura di ALESSANDRA RIZZI, Roma, Viella, 2015 [Deputazione di Storia Patria delle Venezie. Testi, 2], pp. 260", *Archivio Veneto*, sesta serie, 14 (2017), 127-132, here at 131-132. The earliest extant commissions to Venetian officials of the maritime state are in the form of anonymous capitularies (*capitolari* or *capitolari giurati*), see Rizzi, "Committimus tibi [...] quod de nostro mandato vadas", pp. 13-14, and below note 19. The content in the capitularies is arranged in articles or chapters (*capitula*), hence the term *capitularium*. A partial edition of the capitularies of locally elected magistrates and minor officials of Crete was published by E. Gerland, *Das Archiv des Herzogs von Kandia im Konigl. Staatsarchiv zu Venedig*, Strasbourg 1899, pp. 91-114, later republished with an introduction in Italian by E. Barbaro, ed., *Legislazione veneta. I Capitolari di Candia*, Venice 1940. Also, S. Theotokis, «Τα καπιτουλάρια της βενετοκρατούμενης Κρήτης (1298-1500). Ιστορική μελέτη των επί τη βάσει των διασωθέντων εν τω αρχείω του δουκός της Κρήτης», *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Κρητικών Σπουδών* 4 (1940), 114-175, has published Greek summaries of these capitularies.
8. E. Gerland, *Das Archiv des Herzogs von Kandia im Konigl. Staatsarchiv zu Venedig*, Strasbourg 1899, p. 88. For the commission of the councillor of Crete, see G. M. Thomas, "Commission des Dogen Andreas Dandolo für die Insel Kreta vom Jahre 1350", *Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Philologischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, I Cl. XIV, Bd. 1, Abth., Munich 1878, pp. 165-224.

commissions of Venetian officials of Crete preserved in the series of the registers of the Venetian councils and the *Libri commisionum* of the Archive of Venice, so as to reconstruct the content of the commissions of the duke and the rectors of the island that were thought lost forever. However, he never followed through on this idea.<sup>9</sup> In fact, there was a lull in the interest for the publication of these documents in the following decades, with one notable exception. In 1950 Ihor Ševčenko published a partial edition of the commission of Paolo Contarini who had served as captain of Crete immediately after the Lepanto campaign (1575). His concluding remarks are indicative of the value assigned to these sources at the time: «La dogale, bien que document insignifiant, confirme en certains points notre idée sur les préoccupations de l'administration vénitienne au lendemain de Lepanto».<sup>10</sup> In recent years, there has been a renewed interest in these documents among Greek historians: Charalambos Gasparis, Chryssa Maltezoú and Aspasia Papadaki have made available to researchers the commissions of three senior officials of Crete, that of the captain of Crete Nicolao Mudatio (1411), the rector of Chania Piero Francesco Malipiero (1589) and the *provveditor general* Lorenzo da Mulla (1569), and studies devoted to them.<sup>11</sup> This research activity has shed light on the functions and scope of these state executive officials, contributing substantially toward a better understanding of the evolution of the local government system on the island under Venetian rule.

The commission of Leone Duodo provides the statutory and legal framework underlying the office of the duke, as it had come to be defined by the institutional and administrative changes of the preceding two centuries. This gives insight into role of

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9. S. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας, 1255-1669. Ιστορικά Κρητικά έγγραφα εκδιδόμενα εκ του Αρχείου της Βενετίας* [Μνημεία της Ελληνικής Ιστορίας], v. A2, Athens 1933, pp. η'-ζ'. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα της βενετικής Γερουσίας. 1281-1385. Ιστορικά Κρητικά έγγραφα εκδιδόμενα εκ του Αρχείου της Βενετίας* [Μνημεία της Ελληνικής Ιστορίας], v. B1-2, Athens 1936-1937. For the historiographical context of these editions, see A. Papadia-Lala, "La venetocrazia nel pensiero greco. Storicità, realtà, prospettive", in C. A. Maltezoú – Gh. Ortalli, eds., *Italia - Grecia: temi e storiografie a confronto. Atti del convegno di studi organizzato in collaborazione con il Dipartimento di Studi Storici dell'Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia, Venezia, 20-21 ottobre 2000* [Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, Convegna-1], Venice 2001, pp. 61-70.
10. I. Ševčenko, "Dogale pour Paul Contarini, capitaine de Candie", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 4 (1950), 268-280, here at 280.
11. Ch. Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία και αξιωματούχοι των αποικιών. Ο καπιτάνος Κρήτης (14ος-15ος αιώνας)», *Σύμμεικτα* 12 (1998), 171-214; Ch. Maltezoú, ed., *ire debeasin rettorem Caneae. La commissio del doge di Venezia al rettore di Canea, 1589* [Graecolatinitas Nostra. Fonti 4], Venice 2002; A. Papadaki, "Η Εντολή της βενετικής ηγεσίας στον γενικό προνοητή Κρήτης Lorenzo da Mulla (1569)", in K. A. Danousis – K. G. Tsiknakis, eds., *Ministerium Historiae. Τιμή στον π. Μάρκο Φώσκολο*, Tinos 2017, pp. 437-453.

island's governor and his interaction with the local society and the network of officials and agencies engaged in the business of administering the colony, but also has relevance for the study of governance in Crete as well, as more broadly, in Venice's maritime state. Such a future study will certainly benefit from a comparative examination of this and other as yet unpublished commissions.

### I. Description and study of the manuscript

Pasquale Malipiero's Commission to Leone Duodo is preserved in Lond. BL Add. MS 41659 (a. 1459), a parchment codex measuring 10.1/8 in. x 7 in. and consisting of ff. <I> + i + 40 + <a>, copied in single column of 18-25 lines of text per folio, except for ff. 1v-3v which are in two columns.<sup>12</sup> The manuscript, originally bound in parchment, was rebound in crimson leather in recent years and placed in a crimson cloth-covered clamshell box in the British Library.

The manuscript is currently in relatively good condition, with significant damage from damp and micro-organisms in the upper part of the first ten leaves, which have been repaired, and moisture related measles-like purple stains along the edges of the leaves resulting in some text damage and loss. The leaves were laminated in the course of conservation treatment with a transparent protective surface film that creates a criss cross effect (ill. 3).

The manuscript consists of two gatherings, of 24 and 14 leaves, originally enclosed by a bifolium forming fly leaves. Foliation added by a recent hand with Arabic numbers appears in the upper right corner of the recto folio (1-40); flyleaf "i" is numbered by the same hand, while flyleaves <I>, <a> are not numbered; ff. front end paper-1r, 39r- back-end paper are blank. Decorated with an illuminated initial introducing the text (f. 4r) and the coat-of-arms of the patrician Duodo family at the foot of the same folio,<sup>13</sup> the

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12. The description draws on the *British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts 1926-1930: Additional Manuscripts 41296-42181*, London, 1959, p. 111, MS 41659, and my own observations from digital photographs of the manuscript kindly provided by the British Library.

13. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana (henceforth BM), Rari Veneti 687: Vincenzo Coronelli, *Arme, Blasoni o Insegne gentilizie delle Famiglie Patritie esistenti nella Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia, Dedicata all'ill.mo, et Eccellentissimo Signore Pietro Garzoni senatore, ed Istoriografo Pubblico, dal p. cosmografo Coronelli*, Venezia, [between 1694 and 1701], f. 38. Available online at <https://bibliotecanazionalemarciana.cultura.gov.it/manoscritti/Coronelli/Coro19.htm>. Accessed 2 July 2020. Also, BM, Cod. It, VII, 16 (=8305): Girolamo Alessandro Capellari Vivaro, *Campidoglio Veneto, in cui si hanno l'Armi, l'origine, la serie de gl'huomini illustri et gli Albori della Maggior parte delle Famiglie, così estinte, come viventi, tanto cittadine quanto forastiere, che hanno goduto e che godono della Nobiltà Patritia di Venetia*, f. 47r. Available online at <https://>

manuscript preserves the original cord used to attach the doge's lead seal, which is now inlaid in the inside front cover (ills. 1, 4).<sup>14</sup>

The Latin text, written in humanistic semi-cursive script, comprises a table of contents (ff. 1v-3v), "... presentis commissionis ..." followed by the original commission of Pasquale Malipiero, doge of Venice, to Leone Duodo as duke of Crete in 213 clauses (ff. 4r-38r). There are several notes by the hand of the scribe and other hands in the manuscript:

- f. <1r> (recent hand): *Presented by E.G. Millar Esq., D. Litt., 10 November 1928.*
- f. <1r> (same hand): *The seal cord now inlaid within the front cover passed through ff. 1-14.*
- f. ir (pressmark): *Cassella 29 [...D...Leone Duodo]* (different hands)
- f. ir (serial number?): 792
- f. 1v (at the foot of the folio): *Oval red stamp containing the royal arms flanked by a lion and unicorn with the words BRITISH MUSEUM.*<sup>15</sup>
- f. 3v (at the end of the Table of Contents): *τελός*
- f. 38v (scribal inscription): *Dominicus Bellonus propria absoluit: mature quidem.*
- f. 39v (scribal hand): *Pasquale Maripietro Dei Gratia Dux Venetiarum.*

Our knowledge about the provenance and acquisition history of the manuscript is incomplete. The relevant entry in the British Museum catalogue provides little information beyond it being presented to the museum in 1928. However, internal evidence in the document itself combined with what we know about the procedure followed for the production of such texts and their destination allow us to partially reconstruct its history.

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[bibliotecanazionalemarciana.cultura.gov.it/manoscritti/Dl/Cap2047.htm](http://bibliotecanazionalemarciana.cultura.gov.it/manoscritti/Dl/Cap2047.htm). Accessed 2 July 2020.

14. For pendant seals attached to ducal commissions (*commissioni dogali*), see H. K. Szèpe, "Civic Artistic Identity in Illuminated Venetian Documents", *Bulletin du Musée hongrois des beaux-arts* 95 (2001), 60, note 4 (where also bibliography on the seals of the ducal office), 62, fig. 43 (Commission to Giovanni Soranzo as podestà of Bergamo, 1567), 64, fig. 44 (Commission to Paolo Contarini as captain of Crete, 1575); Szèpe, "Painters and Patrons in Venetian Documents", *Bollettino dei Musei Civici Veneziani*, III ser., 8 (2013), 25, 31; and A.-M. Eze, 'Safe from Destruction by Fire': Isabella Stewart Gardner's Venetian Manuscripts", *Manuscript Studies* 1/2 (2017), Article 3, 192, 193, fig. 3. Available online at [https://repository.upenn.edu/mss\\_sims/voll/iss2/3](https://repository.upenn.edu/mss_sims/voll/iss2/3). Accessed 13 February 2020. For the seal of doge Alvisio Mocenigo that was attached to Paolo Contarini's commission, see also Ševčenko, "Dogale pour Paul Contarini", 269.
15. This type of stamp was used between 1837 and 1929. Red ink normally indicated purchases, see Chr. Duffy, "A Guide to British Library Book Stamps", *British Library, Collection Care*, 23 September 2012, blog in [blogs.bl.uk/collectioncare/2013/09/a-guide-to-british-library-book-stamps.html](http://blogs.bl.uk/collectioncare/2013/09/a-guide-to-british-library-book-stamps.html). Accessed 21 December 2020.



It would appear that initially commissions came in the form of loose parchments but as they grew lengthier with time they typically took on the form of small bound volumes.<sup>16</sup> As many such manuscripts, especially from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, were elaborately decorated with illuminations and miniatures, it was assumed in the past that these works were commissioned by the individuals themselves to underscore their contribution in civic engagement and to function as a symbol of achievement and as a record to preserve for future generations. However, more recent studies have shown that these were official documents produced in the Venetian chancery, and, at least in some cases, paid for by public funds; and that aside from their intrinsic social, symbolic, personal or even artistic value, their primary purpose was practical: so that each newly-elected state official would be able to carry with him the official text of his mandate and have it handy for reference in the course of performing his duties.<sup>17</sup> The practical aspect of these documents is further corroborated by a decision of the Great Council of 1274 which required of governors and councillors posted in Venice's overseas dominions to obtain a copy of each other's commission before leaving the city for their place of office and to show it when asked to do so.<sup>18</sup>

The manuscript containing the commission for Leone Duodo is in the form peculiar to this distinctly Venetian type of civic manuscript described above. The cord once used to append the lead seal of doge Pasquale Malipiero (now wanting), which was inlaid in the inside front cover of the manuscript when it was rebound, bears testament to the official nature of the document, and, combined with the Duodo family heraldry on folio 4r, suggests that this was the patrician's personal copy (ills. 1, 4).

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16. Rizzi, ““Committimus tibi [...] quod de nostro mandato vadas””, pp. 13-14 (though it should be noted that the extant examples are copies of the original documents handed to the officials).
17. From the archival sources it is evident that payment for the doge's *Promissione* and the commissions of the procurators of St Mark was at the expense of the state, though it is still debated whether the same applied to the numerous commissions of provincial or overseas rectors, councillors and extraordinary officials, ambassadors, naval and military commanders: see D. S. Chambers, “Merit and Money: The Procurators of St Mark and their Commissioni, 1443-1605”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 60 (1997), 44, 46, 47; Szèpe, “Civic Artistic Identity in Illuminated Venetian Documents”, 64-66, who suggests that the recipients of the commissions may have paid themselves for the decoration, or at least to have more elaborate illuminations done; Szèpe, “Painters and Patrons in Venetian Documents”, 25. For the production of the commissions, see also Salmi, “Il Segretario alle voci”, in M. Knapton – J. E. Law – A. Smith, eds., *Venice and the Veneto during the Renaissance: the Legacy of Benjamin Kohl* [Reti Medievali E-Book 21], Florence 2014, pp. 51-52. Available at <http://www.ebook.retimedievali.it>; Rizzi, ““Committimus tibi [...] quod de nostro mandato vadas””, pp. 16-17.
18. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, p. 360, no VI; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου της Βενετίας*, p. 20, no 96.

Recent scholarship has done much to elucidate the process by which these documents were shaped. The bodies responsible for the drafting of the mandates of Venetian administrators were the Great Council, the *Signoria*, and, from the third decade of the fourteenth century on, the Senate. Since early in the thirteenth century the ducal chancery kept copies of the capitularies and commissions of officials, which, among others, served as models for subsequent commissions.<sup>19</sup> This practice became better systemised during the last decades of the century with the collection of commission models in registers of exemplars.<sup>20</sup> Also from that point onwards, an effort was made to supplement their content systematically with new or amendment legislation. Moreover, several all-encompassing revisions were carried out by order of the Great Council and the Senate in the course of the fourteenth century, with essentially the same purpose of ridding the rector's commissions and the capitularies of officials from superseded and obsolete provisions that rendered the texts confusing, lengthy and unwieldy. The last such major revision appears to have been in 1395, at least as far as the mandates of

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19. The earliest extant copies of officials' commissions are the oaths of the first count of Zara Vitale Dandolo and of the first podestà of Constantinople Ottaviano Querini, issued in 1204 and 1207 respectively, see S. Ljubić, ed., *Listine o odnošajih izmedju južnoga slavenstva i mletačke republike*, v. 1, *Od godine 960 do 1335* [Monumenta spectantia historiam slavorum meridionalium, I], Zagreb 1868, pp. 22-23, doc. XXXI; and R. L. Wolf, "A New document from the Period of the Latin Empire of Constantinople: The Oath of the Venetian Podestà", *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 12 (1952) [= *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, IV], 559-564 (repr. in Wolf, *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople*, London 1976, no VI; also M. Pozza, ed., *Gli atti originali della cancelleria veneziana*, a cura di, v. 2, 1205-1227, Venice 1996, pp. 28-29, doc. 3. See also Rizzi, "'Committimus tibi [...] quod de nostro mandato vadas'", p. 14. Another early example is the oath of the consul of Alexandria dated 1284, first published with commentary by M. P. Pedani, "The Oath of a Venetian Consul in Egypt (1284)", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 14 (1996), 215-222, here pp. 219-222; and more recently by D. Jacoby, "Le consulat vénitien d'Alexandrie d'après un document inédit de 1284", in D. Coulon – C. Otten-Froux – P. Pagès – D. Valérian, eds., *Chemins d'outre-mer. Etudes sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard* [Byzantina Sorboniensia, 20], Paris 2004, v. 2, pp. 461-474.
20. The registers of commission exemplars are partially preserved in the State Archive of Venice, in the series *Collegio, Formulari di commissioni*, regg. 1-8. The registers for Istria and Dalmatia have been published by Rizzi, ed., *Le commissioni ducali ai rettori d'Istria e Dalmazia (1289-1361)*; Rizzi, ed., *Le commissioni ducali ai rettori d'Istria (1382-1547)*, Rome 2017 (with the collaboration of U. Cecchinato, G. Giamboni and G. Zuccarello); Rizzi, ed., *Le commissioni ducali ai rettori della Dalmazia (1409-1514)*, Rome 2018 (with the collaboration of di U. Cecchinato, D. Dibello and G. Giamboni). For the *Dogado*, see E. Orlando, *Altre Venezie: il dogado veneziano nei secoli XIII e XIV: giurisdizione, territorio, giustizia e amministrazione*, Venice 2008, pp. 36-37, 227. The commission formularies for the officials of the Greek territories of the maritime state are not extant.

the Venetian administrators of the maritime state are concerned,<sup>21</sup> but this is not to say that their content remained static over the next centuries.

This elaboration and revision process has left a significant imprint on Leone Duodo's commission. From a comparison of the internal evidence in the document itself with the relevant laws enacted by the Venetian councils over a period of two and half centuries it is evident that the content of the duke's mandate was repeatedly revised and enriched during the fourteenth century,<sup>22</sup> and that it continued to be reworked intermittently up to March 1459, that is two months before the document was completed (article 213).

The use of model documents by chancery scribes suggests that the execution and expedition of the officials' commissions was a fairly routine task of copying and inserting in the allotted space the names of the incumbent doge and the recipient of the commission. However, as will be presently shown, it actually seems to have involved much more work. Since 1279, chancery scribes under the supervision of the Great Chancellor were required to record any new provisions in the capitularies of officials and in the commissions of rectors within eight days from their approval by the Great Council. As Gloria Zuccarello has illustrated in the case of the the early Dalmatian and Istrian commission formularies, the amendments to the original commissions were perfunctorily inserted at the end of the text. There, the corresponding decisions of various Venetian councils were either reproduced *in extenso* or provided in condensed form, sometimes omitting the name of the issuing council or the date of the decision

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21. For the revisions of 1328, 1340 and 1375, see Orlando, *Altre Venezie*, pp. 226-227. Similar revision committees were formed in December 1362 (Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, pp. 141-142, no 9), July 1372 (*Venezia – Senato. Registro XXXIV*, pp. 78-79, no 171) and October 1395 (ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. Leona, f. 83v (n.n. 87v). A revision ordered by the Great Council on 24 February 1417 was restricted to the capitularies of magistrates and officials serving in the city of Venice, see ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. Ursa, ff. 13v-14r (n.n. 21v-22r).

22. For example, article 32 combines four different provisions voted by the Great Council between 1255 and 1309 into a single provision, whereas article 97 is a consolidated version of two decisions issued by the Senate and the Council of Forty in 1305 and 1315, respectively. Article 157, which placed limits on public expenditures for lay and religious celebrations and charitable donations, was adopted following a motion introduced into the Senate by a committee of three *sapientes super commissionibus rectorum* on 20 July 1372. The committee had been appointed earlier that month to inquire into the salaries and emoluments of rectors and to collect, with assistance by the *officiales rationum*, the requisite information to revise them appropriately. Hereinafter, all references to articles are to the provisions in Leone Duodo's commission, unless otherwise stated.

altogether, and using a rather complicated system of references within the register itself and across different registers.<sup>23</sup>

A somewhat similar method was employed in preparing the drafts of the commissions of officials appointed to newly-instituted administrative offices, which were recorded in the registers of the Senate subsequent to their approval by the council. To give one such example, in eight of the twenty-five provisions forming up the draft of the commission to Antonio Loredan as first captain of Modon, approved by the Senate in 1461, only the initial words or the subject of the corresponding decision of the Senate is provided, along with, in most cases, the reference to the relevant register and folio.<sup>24</sup> The implication from the above is that chancery scribes were actively involved in the refinement of the commissions, since writing up the final version of the document would have, occasionally, at least, required recourse to the original registers of the deliberative councils and retrieval of individual laws, re-elaboration of the texts and some degree of editing.

Before we go on to examine who, how and when wrote out the document presented to Leone Duodo upon his appointment as duke of Crete, it is necessary to give a brief overview of the organisation and development of the Venetian state chancery in the fifteenth century, in order to provide the context in which our manuscript was written. At that time, the government embarked on a series of significant reforms that reflected the social, political and institutional realities of the Venetian state and responded to the need for increasing the efficiency of its bureaucratic apparatus.<sup>25</sup> By then the chancery

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23. G. Zuccarello, “Il sistema delle aggiunte”, in Rizzi, ed., *Le commissioni ducali ai rettori d’Istria e Dalmazia (1289-1361)*, pp. 68–70.

24. M. Koumanoudi, «Στρατιωτικοποιώντας το Κράτος της Θάλασσας: Ο προνοητής και καπιτάνος της Μεθώνης (15ος αι.)», in G. Varzelioti – A. Panopoulou, eds., *De Veneciis ad Mothonam: Έλληνες και Βενετοί στη Μεθώνη τα χρόνια της βενετοκρατίας: πρακτικά της διεθνούς επιστημονικής συνάντησης, Μεθώνη, 19-20 Μαρτίου 2010* [Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετίας, Συνέδρια 15] / *Atti del’ incontro scientifico internazionale De Veneciis ad Mothonam Greci e Veneziani a Modone durante la venetocrazia, Methoni, 19-20 Marzo 2010* [Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, Convegni 15], Athens – Venice 2012, pp. 95-120, here at 108-109. See also the draft of the commission to the rector of Tinos and Mykonos which was approved by the Senate on 17 December 1429, ed. C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l’histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, v.3, Paris 1882, pp. 364-365.

25. On the history of the Venetian chancery, see G. Trebbi, “La cancelleria veneta nei secoli XVI e XVII”, *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi* 14 (1980), 65-125, here at 79 ff.; Trebbi, “Il segretario veneziano”, *Archivio storico italiano* 144 (1986), 35-73; M. F. Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries in Venetian Politics and Societies, 1480-1533*, unpublished PhD Thesis (University of California, Los Angeles 1985), 31-128; M. Pozza, “La cancelleria”, in G. Cracco – Gh. Ortalli, eds., *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, v. 2. *L’età del comune*, Rome 1995, pp. 349-369; Pozza, “La Cancelleria”, in G. Araldi – G. Cracco – A. Tenenti, *Storia di Venezia*.

was already a solidly organised office, headed by the Great Chancellor and staffed by a fluctuating number of permanent employees—styled notaries, who occupied a place of considerable importance in the public life of Venice.

Located in the ducal palace since the late thirteenth century, the ducal chancery (*Curia Maior* or *Cancellaria ducale*) was responsible for the production and storage of official letters and records of a judicial, political and diplomatic nature. On a floor below was the city's notarial archive, hence named *Cancellaria Inferiore*, which was established in 1316 to house the protocols of dead notaries. In 1402, the most sensitive records arising from the deliberative activities of Venice's major councils were divided from the rest by decree of the Great Council. This was the beginning of a long process reflecting the changing perceptions of the ruling patriciate about domestic and foreign security that culminated in the creation of the Secret Chancery (*Cancellaria Secreta* or simply *Secreta*) as a distinct section of the chancery by the Council of Ten in October 1459.<sup>26</sup>

The growing concerns about maintaining the secrecy of the proceedings of governmental bodies and protecting the confidentiality of classified information also brought about some further degree of differentiation and specialisation within the chancery personnel function. In January 1459, as part of the wider reorganisation of the chancery, the Council of Ten sought, among other measures, to better define the duties and responsibilities of the notaries and “to divide them into groups, granting access to the most sensitive matters only to an elite within the elite of the personnel”<sup>27</sup>: specifically, access to the *Collegio* and the Senate was strictly forbidden to all members of the staff except fourteen, identified as the Great Chancellor and the two notaries under him serving the *Signoria*, the eight delegated in groups of two to the Council of Ten, the *Savi del Consiglio*, the *Savi di Terraferma* and the *Savi agli Ordini*, the two deputed to serve in the two *Quarantie* (i.e. the *Quarantia criminal* and the *Quarantia civil*)<sup>28</sup>, and

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*Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, v. 3. *La formazione dello stato patrizio*, Rome 1997, 365–387; Ph. De Vivo, “Ordering the Archive in Early Modern Venice (1400-1650)”, *Archival Science* 10/3 (2010), 231-248; and De Vivo, “Heart of the State, Site of Tension. The Archival Turn Viewed from Venice, ca. 1400-1700”, 459-485 [English version of: De Vivo «Coeur de l'État, lieu de tension», *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 68/3 (2013), 699-728]. Available online at <https://www.cairn-int.info/journal-Annales-2013-3-page-699.htm>.

26. See P. Carucci et al., eds., *Guida generale degli archivi di Stato italiani*, v. 4, Rome 1994, p. 870; Pozza, “La cancelleria”, in Cracco – Ortalli, eds., *Storia di Venezia*, v.2, pp. 349-369; Pozza, “La Cancelleria”, in Araldi – Cracco – Tenenti, eds., *Storia di Venezia*, v. 3, pp. 365-387; De Vivo, “Ordering the Archive in Early Modern Venice”, 235.

27. De Vivo, “Heart of the State, Site of Tension”, 480.

28. See A. Da Mosto, *L'Archivio di stato di Venezia; indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico* [Bibliothèque des “Annales institutorum”, vol. V], v. 1, Rome 1937, pp. 63-64; and *Guida generale degli archivi di Stato italiani*, pp. 891ff., 996ff.

the notary attending to documents. Moreover, it was determined that only a further fifteen ducal notaries would have a valid requirement for accessing the Senate and the Secret Chancery, and writing sensitive documents; of these, three had been deputed since 1458 in the Secret Chancery with the task of “rubricating” laws (*a rubricar*)<sup>29</sup>, and twelve were to be selected from the full roster of employees to carry ballots and assist in various electoral procedures. The remainder of employees were assigned to the ducal chancery (*Cancellaria Superiore*).<sup>30</sup>

It is perhaps no coincidence, as Filippo de Vivo perceptively observes, that it was from this juncture onwards that chancery notaries became increasingly known as secretaries;<sup>31</sup> a denomination originally given to those notaries assisting ambassadors on legation or serving as envoys abroad and extended gradually, in the course of the fifteenth century, to all personnel with access to the *Collegio*, the Senate and the Secret Chancery.<sup>32</sup>

Turning back to Leone Duodo’s commission, the scribe responsible for writing out the document was a certain Domenico Bellono (*Dominicus Bellonus*), whose signature is on folio 38v. Although he does not provide his father’s name or any other clues about his identity, he should be identified with Domenico Bellono, son of the late Jacopo, who, at the time, served as a secretary in the chancery of Venice. A notary by training, Bellono joined the chancery sometime before 1436 and rose steadily up the ranks.<sup>33</sup> In his dual capacity as notary public by imperial authority and ducal notary, he transcribed, from the draft drawn up by the ducal secretary Alessandro dalle Fornaci,<sup>34</sup> and engrossed the non-aggression pact between Venice, Milan and Florence that was concluded on 30 August 1454.<sup>35</sup> Bellono is first referred to in the sources as secretary in September of

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29. The three ducal notaries were elected for the task *per scrutinio* by the Council of Ten on 26 July 1458, see ASV, *Consiglio Dieci, Deliberazioni*, reg. 15, f. 156r. On this task, see below.

30. ASV, *Consiglio Dieci, Deliberazioni*, reg. 15, ff. 167v-168r, 24 January 1459, quoted in Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, p. 121, note 236 and *passim*; and De Vivo, “Heart of the State, Site of Tension”, 480.

31. See De Vivo, “Heart of the State, Site of Tension”, 478.

32. On chancery secretaries during the period under consideration, see Trebbi, “Il segretario veneziano”, 38; Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, pp. 38-40 and *passim*; and De Vivo, “Heart of the State”, 478-482.

33. The biographical information on Domenico Bellono is taken from the Prosopographical Appendix in Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, p. 371 (Bellono, Domenico), and complemented with additional evidence from archival sources.

34. For biographical information on Alessandro dalle Fornaci, see Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, pp. 429-431.

35. J. Ch. Lünig, *Codex Italiae Diplomaticus*, v. 4. Frankfurt – Leipzig 1732, no LXXX, pp. 572–580, esp. 578-580; summary in R. Predelli, *I libri commemoriali della Repubblica de Venezia: Regesti*

that same year. It is, therefore, quite likely that he used this appellation on account of the services he provided to the Venetian legation at the above mentioned conference.<sup>36</sup> However that may be, in July 1458 he was one of the three ducal notaries deputed in the Secret Chancery) *a rubricar*, that is with the task of indexing the legislation produced by Venice's major councils.<sup>37</sup> This work in itself would have entailed long hours of going through register after register in search of laws and edicts. But, as is clear from the preamble of the decision of the Council of Ten, the task involved more than just compiling indexes (*rubriche*) of legislation already indexed under various headings and recorded in many different registers. During their stint as indexers, Bellono and his two colleagues, Niccolò de Grassis and Giovanni Gonella<sup>38</sup>, were expected to gain thorough knowledge and understanding of the statutes, and become among those selected few within the chancery equipped to retrieve effectively, quickly and accurately all the law on a particular topic whenever asked. Furthermore, the three notaries were compensated with a salary increment of thirty ducats per year for the duration of their training, since it was recognised that this was a labour-intensive undertaking that required their undivided attention.

In January 1459, their position was confirmed again by the Ten, though subject to annual reconfirmation,<sup>39</sup> and in May 1460 they were granted access to the *Collegio* and the Senate, where apparently the knowledge they had acquired could be put to use.<sup>40</sup>

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[Deputazione veneta di storia patria. Monumenti Storici, serie prima. Documenti, vol. X], v. 5, Venice 1901, p. 100, no 313 as cited in Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, p. 371. The non-aggression pact, which was signed in the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, was a direct result of the treaty of Lodi and a precursor of the so-called Italian League, see I. Lazzarini, "The Peace of Lodi (1454) and the Italian League (1455)", in G. Martel, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Diplomacy*, London – New York 2018, pp. 1–5, esp. p. 4. E-book: <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118885154.dipl0282>. For the Peace of Lodi and the Italian League that followed with respect to Venice, see Romano, *La rappresentazione di Venezia*, pp. 355 ff. (where all the previous bibliography is cited).

36. On that day Bellono was granted partial payment of his salary, see ASV., *Collegio Notatorio*, reg. 9, f. 28v, f. 29v, quoted in Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, p. 109, note 107, p. 371, p. 561.
37. ASV, *Consiglio Dieci, Deliberazioni*, reg. 15, f. 156r, July 26, 1458. For the meaning of the terms *rubrica* and *rubricare* and for the efforts to organise the records kept in the chancery and to systematise the digesting and indexing of laws, see De Vivo, "Ordering the Archive in Early Modern Venice", 231-248, here at 235-242, 246. On experience in indexing as a qualification asset for career advancement and indexing tasks assigned to notaries of different levels, see Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, pp. 34, 52, 57, 136.
38. For biographical information on Giovanni Gonella and Niccolò de Grassis, see Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, p. 452, and pp. 454-455, respectively.
39. See above note 30.
40. ASV, *Consiglio Dieci, Deliberazioni*, reg. 16, f. 4r, 14 May 1460, quoted in Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, pp. 371, 452, 455.

Their training period in the Secret Chancery was successfully completed by October 1461, when the Ten revoked the decision of 1458 and reduced their salaries to previous levels.<sup>41</sup>

Leone Duodo's commission is dated 7 May 1459. It was, therefore, while still deputed in the Secret Chancery that Bellono completed the manuscript in question. Nevertheless, we have no way of knowing whether this was an *ad hoc* special assignment that took precedence over his indexing duties or considered as part of his assignment in the Secret Chancery (which, as we saw, involved also writing sensitive material).

Although it does not bear directly on the discussion here, there is one detail about the commission manuscript that deserves mention: at the end of the table of contents on fol. 3v and right above his subscription at the end of the text on f. 38v, Domenico Bellono wrote the Greek word *τέλος*—misaccented as *τελόος* (ill. 5). The word *τέλος* indicating the end of the reading of a text or text section is commonly found in literary manuscripts. As it happens, it is used interchangeably with the Latin word *finis* in manuscript Vat. lat. 5262, containing the *Lives of Illustrious Men* by Cornelius Nepos, several of Plutarch's *Lives* as translated by Leonardo Bruni and Caesar's *Gallic wars*,<sup>42</sup> which Bellono finished copying on 17 March 1456 (ill. 7).<sup>43</sup> Except for a later ownership note,<sup>44</sup> the manuscript bears no dedication, so we do not know who commissioned it and whether it was

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41. ASV, *Consiglio Dieci, Deliberazioni*, reg. 16, f. 4r.

42. The word *τέλος* (misaccented, again, or without accent) is found on ff. 201v, 202v and 209r. The manuscript, which has been digitised and is available online at [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.5262](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.5262), is partly, at least, a palimpsest: I have inspected the digitised images of folios 36v, 37r, 62v, 69r, 107r and 201r taken under UV light and as it turns out the recycled material used came from documents that were written in the Venetian ducal chancery (e.g. f. 62r contains part of a letter by doge Francesco Morosini). For the contents of the manuscript, see P. K. Marshall, "The Manuscript Tradition of Cornelius Nepos", *Bulletin Supplement (University of London. Institute of Classical Studies)* 37 (1977), iii-76, here at 73. Accessed March 28, 2021 at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43768339>; M. Pade, *The Reception of Plutarch's Lives in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 2 vols., Copenhagen 2007, v. 2, p. 265, no \*530.

43. The subscription on f. 209r of the manuscript reads: "MCCCCLVI XVI kalendas Apriles Dominicus Bellonus manu absoluit, verum quia more maiorum hoc est priscorum exscriptit, lectores scolasticos orat ne quid impingant aut ascribant, nam illi quom pro cum et quum pro quam et quoi pro cui scribebant, quae moderniores brevitatis causa aut minoris diligentia [... venere]." For the identification of the scribe with the notary of the Venetian ducal chancery, see M. D. Reeve, "The Italian Manuscripts of "Aemilius Probus" and Cornelius Nepos", *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 59 (2018), 1-42, here at 34.

44. For the later history of the manuscript, see P. Pellegrini, "Livio e la biblioteca di Girolamo Bologni. Libri e umanesimo a Treviso nei secoli XV e XVI", *Studi medievali e umanistici* 5/6 (2007-2008), 125-162, here at 149-151.



intended for personal or educational use.<sup>45</sup> However, what is of interest here is that Bellono appears to have moonlighted as a scribe of literary manuscripts,<sup>46</sup> which would explain how this influence occurred. Since the primary reader of the commission document would have been Leone Duodo, the insertion of the word *τέλος* may be seen as a playful reference to the patrician's posting in Greek-speaking Venetian Crete.<sup>47</sup> But it could also be an allusion to his own linguistic abilities and humanistic concerns, construed as a way of self-advertisement.<sup>48</sup> Bearing in mind that influential contacts

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45. Ancient biographies of illustrious men, statesmen and leaders attracted much interest during the Renaissance, especially among civically engaged readers, such as the Venetian humanist patricians with whom secretaries came in daily contact in the course of government business, and whom they looked to as patrons and sometimes befriended, see M. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, Princeton 1986, pp. 3-91 and passim (for the humanist circle of Venice), pp. 167-168 (for the interest in biography). Learned individuals with an avocational interest in humanism could also be found among the secretaries' own number: Bellono's colleagues in the chancery included among others Ulisse Aleoti, Febo Capella, Alessandro dalle Fornaci and Niccolò Sagundino, who formed a small, closely connected circle, associated with powerful patrician patrons. On the humanistic pursuits of secretaries and their patrician connections, see King, *Venetian Humanism*, p. 76ff., p. 295; also Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, pp. 268-299, and p. 348ff. It is possible as well that the manuscript was intended for the education of chancery trainees, see Tebbi, "La cancelleria veneta", 80; Trebbi, "Il segretario veneziano", 37-38; Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, pp. 34-35; De Vivo, "Heart of the State, Site of Tension", 478.
46. As early as 1267, a decree of the Great Council prohibited notaries of the ducal chancery from exercising private practice, unless otherwise authorised to do so, see Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, p. 226, no V. However, there were times when this prohibition was outright disobeyed. This was especially the case in the mid-fifties of the fifteenth century, when the Venetian Treasury was often unable to promptly pay the notaries' salaries, because it had been left depleted after thirty years of ceaseless warfare in Lombardy. Moreover, in 1456 the government announced a salary freeze for the two coming years. This situation apparently affected both the efficiency and the reliability of the notaries, and, not least, their loyalty to the state; for, as the Council of Ten noted in alarm, some notaries, strapped for cash, were driven to selling the right to collect their salaries at a loss of thirty or forty per cent; while others were forced to seek work outside the chancery, in the Rialto market-place, or incurred debts, thus becoming indebted not just to Venetians but also to foreigners, see Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, p. 38, n. 30, pp. 53-55; and De Vivo, "Heart of the State, Site of Tension", 490-473, 475, 480. As Bellono was among those notaries who had difficulty in obtaining their salaries (see above note 36), it is tempting to speculate that he undertook to write the literary manuscript to supplement his income.
47. As Filippo De Vivo ("Heart of the State, Site of Tension", 482) has observed with regard to doodles on government registers, chancery notaries occasionally adopted "a playful and personal approach to official acts, whether trying out a phrase in different writing styles, repeating their own signature or special symbol, or drawing portraits with different levels of skill".
48. On the valuation and knowledge of Greek in the Venetian chancery, see Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, pp. 36-37.

played a considerable role in the advancement of chancery notaries and that patrician officials had some say in the appointment of their secretaries,<sup>49</sup> it may be tentatively argued that by demonstrating his skills Bellono was looking to impress a potential patron or hoping to receive a position in his administration.<sup>50</sup> It is regretful that, apart from his competence in Classical Latin (as can be deduced from his subscription in the Vatican manuscript), we do not know more about the extent of his education or his intellectual pursuits. However, his later career as an envoy of the Venetian state testifies to the recognition of his capabilities by the ruling patriciate<sup>51</sup> as well as to his humanist commitment to the political use of eloquence<sup>52</sup>.

One final interesting observation concerns the illumination of the two manuscripts. The preface to Cornelius Nepos' lives, "Non dubito fore plerosque" (f. 1r), in the Vatican manuscript begins with a rather coarsely drawn foliated initial "N" that bears a striking resemblance to the initial "N" at the beginning of the commission (f. 4r), although the design of the latter is more elaborate (ills. 6, 5). The similarities between the two initial letters in terms of the character of the scroll, the foliate motif within the counter of the letters, but also colour and tone, suggest that they might be the product of the same hand, possibly Bellono himself.

As already mentioned in the beginning of this section, nothing is known of the later history of the manuscript up to 1928, at which date it was presented to the British Museum by Edward George Millar.<sup>53</sup> Prior to this, the commission appears to have

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49. See Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, pp. 80-82; T. Beverley, *Venetian Ambassadors 1454-94: An Italian elite*, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Warwick, Department of History September 1999), pp. 55-56; De Vivo, "Heart of the State, Site of Tension", 478.

50. It is relevant to note that in 1456, at the height of the state's financial crisis, the government decided to cut back on the personnel of the chancery of Venice in an attempt to reduce operating costs, giving superfluous notaries priority for consideration to other government posts, see ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. Regina, ff. 12v-13r (n.n. 6v-7r) quoted in Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, p. 38, n. 30.

51. Bellono was sent as an envoy to the duke of Milan Francesco Sforza in 1465 (see Predelli, *I libri commemoriali della Repubblica de Venezia*, v. 5, p. 183, nos 198-199) and to the duke of Austria Sigismund in 1484 (Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries*, p. 371). See also Beverley, *Venetian ambassadors 1454-94*, pp. 52-58 for the diplomatic activities of secretaries, and p. 413 for Bellono's service abroad as secretary to Venetian ambassadors and envoy.

52. Heinrich Hammer ("Literarische Beziehungen und musikalisches Leben des Hofes Herzog Siegmunds von Tirol", *Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums für Tirol und Vorarlberg* 43 [1899], 69-124, here at 102), refers to the humanistic eloquence he displayed in a letter to Sigismund in 1484, while sent as an envoy to Innsbruck in connection with the disputes over the Tyrol mines.

53. Eric George Millar (1887-1966) was a librarian, collector of manuscripts and paintings and Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum between 1944 and 1947, see L. Sorensen, "Millar Eric G.", in *Dictionary of Art Historians*. Accessed 8 April 2020, Web site: <https://arthistorians.info/millare>. F. Wormald, "Eric George Millar", in *The Eric George Millar Bequest of Manuscripts*

formed part of an archive. On the recto of the parchment fragment of the original cover, now incorporated into the modern paper front flyleaf (f. ir), is the indication “Cassella 29”, partly written over two illegible words (possibly a proper name and surname), in different hand; right below, in the same ink and hand, is the name “Leone Duodo” and further down the number “729”, in different hand (ill. 2). The word *cassella*, followed by the number 29, denotes the specific chest, coffer or small box in the library where the Commission was stored, as was the common practice of both institutional and private record-keeping in early modern Venice,<sup>54</sup> while the three-digit number “729” probably represents the serial number given to the particular document in the course of archiving. It is difficult to determine at which point in time the pressmark and the serial number were assigned to the manuscript, but the different hands indicate that some reordering was carried out, after the initial archiving. Due to the lack of further evidence, it is equally impossible to establish where the archiving took place. As Dorit Raines and Helena Szepe have observed, official documents, such as commissions to government and military offices and the oaths taken by the doge or the procurators of St Mark (*promissioni*), were frequently kept by patricians after the end of their term of office as records of their service to the state, and preserved in the family archives for centuries, whether to be referenced by other office-holding members of the family in the course of their political career or, simply, to be revered as records of past achievement. Many of these commission manuscripts were sold off after the fall of the Republic in 1797, when a large number of patrician family archives were dispersed in public libraries and archives or dissolved.<sup>55</sup> Leone Duodo’s commission probably followed a similar course, however this hypothesis needs to be further investigated.

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*and Drawings 1967. A Commemorative Volume*, London 1968 [offprint from the *British Museum Quarterly* 33/ 1-2 (1968-9)], pp. 3-6.

54. For references in early modern documents to chests of various materials and workmanship, either generically termed as *casselle* (from the Latin *capsella*) or specified as *casselle (or cassellete) da scrittura* used in Renaissance houses for the storage of documents, see Fr. Cavazzana Romanelli, “Come una sinopia. Le scritture d’archivio nella casa rinascimentale Veneziana”, *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato* n.s. I/3 (2005), 369-398, here at 386-387. For the use of this record-keeping system by institutional archives, see for example the archive of the *Seminario patriarcale* of Venice at <https://cutt.ly/CcWSAug>.
55. D. Raines, “Public or Private Records? The Family Archives of the Venetian Ruling Elite in Fifteenth-Eighteenth Centuries”, in M. De Lurdes Rosa, ed., *Arquivos de família, seculos XIII-XX: que presente, que futuro?*, Lisbon 2012, pp. 535-548, and esp. 535, 536; Szépe, “Painters and Patrons in Venetian Documents”, 25, 26; Szépe, “Painting in Documents: The Case of Venice”, in G. Bartz – M. Gneiß, eds., *Illuminated Charters: Essays from Diplomatic, Art History and Digital Humanities*, Cologne – Weimar – Vienna 2018, pp. 333-356, here at pp. 334-335.

## II. Leone Duodo's commission and the administration of Crete

The establishment of Venetian rule in Crete was one of the consequences of the dismantling of the Byzantine Empire in the wake of the Fourth Crusade of 1204. Venice's conquest of the island began in around 1207 and was fully achieved after roughly fifty years. After having successfully expelled the Genoese from the island, the Venetians were met with the resistance of the local Greek archons, who saw their privileges and traditions undermined. Venice faced seven major revolts throughout the thirteenth century and a few minor ones at the beginning of the next century, which it managed to subdue either by eliminating the rebel leaders or by assimilating them in the new order. From the early years of the occupation, the government brought in Venetian military settlers to assist in the conquest and subduing of the island and established a highly centralised administrative government structure that combined government-elected organs and representative councils.<sup>56</sup>

The duke flanked by two councillors, all three elected by the Great Council in Venice from among its members, constituted the local government (*regimen*), which had its seat in Candia, the island's largest town and main port since the Byzantine period. The main functions of the regime were administrative and judicial. In its work it was assisted by financial officials (*camerarii*) and a whole network of magistracies and agencies, similar to those in Venice.<sup>57</sup>

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56. S. Borsari, *Il dominio veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo*, Naples 1963, pp. 21-66; Fr. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age. Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XIIe-XVe siècle)* [Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 193], Paris 1959, 88, 93-101; Ch. Maltezos, "The Historical and Social Context", in D. Holton, ed., *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, Cambridge – New York 1991, pp. 17-24; D. Jacoby, "The expansion of Venetian Government in the Eastern Mediterranean until the Late Thirteenth Century", in Ortalli – Schmitt – Orlando, eds., *Il Commonwealth Veneziano tra 1204 e la fine della Repubblica*, pp. 73-106, here at 96-97, 103. For the state-sponsored military settlement of Crete, see D. Jacoby, "La colonisation militaire vénitienne de la Crète au XIIIe siècle. Une nouvelle approche", in M. Balard – A. Ducellier, eds., *Le partage du monde. Échanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, Paris 1998, pp. 297-313.
57. See Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age*, pp. 190-192, 205-208; Maltezos, "The historical and social context", pp. 19-20. A. Papadia-Lala, *Ο θεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο κατά την περίοδο της βενετοκρατίας (13ος-18ος αι.). Μια συνθετική προσέγγιση* [Βιβλιοθήκη του Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετίας-Αρ. 24] / *L'istituzione delle comunità cittadine in territorio greco durante il periodo della dominazione veneziana (XIII-XVIIIsec.). Un approccio sintetico* [Biblioteca dell'Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia- No24], Venice 2004 (in Greek with an English summary), pp. 104-116. B. Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern Period", in E. R. Dursteler, ed., *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, Leiden – Boston 2013, pp. 147-148. For the function of the ducal court as a regional appellate court, see also M. O'Connell, *Men of Empire. Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State*, Baltimore 2009, pp. 75-87.

The office of the duke of Crete was one of the most prestigious and highly paid in the Venetian maritime administration as it entailed both big responsibility and heavy expenses. Despite the Venetian ideal of equality in the burdens and benefits of participation in governing, research has shown that such important and lucrative positions usually went to a restricted circle of experienced patricians; and, moreover, that certain families or individual patricians “specialised in maritime office-holding, either in particular locales or in the maritime state as a whole”.<sup>58</sup> Even though there were no formal requirements or training for patricians to hold office, the state recognised that there were considerable benefits to be derived from an officeholder’s previous administrative experience and knowledge of the institutional setup and the local conditions of the area he was sent to administer. On the other hand, the primary function of these officials in the system of governance of the Venetian state was to implement the policies designed by the central government. Therefore, as it has been observed, loyalty to the state was sometimes a more important attribute than individual ability.<sup>59</sup>

The Duodo family had commercial interests in the Eastern Mediterranean and long-standing connections with the island. A branch of the family was among the first settlers to arrive on Crete in 1211.<sup>60</sup> From the will of Andrea son of the late Pietro Duodo of Venice, which was drawn up in Candia on 27 March 1412, we learn that he was the sedentary agent handling the affairs of the family on the island.<sup>61</sup> Also, at least three members of the clan, possibly Leone’s brothers, had served in offices on the island during the first half of the fifteenth century: Michele as rector Sitia in 1401 and, the same or his namesake, as rector of Rethimno in 1407, Vettore, as judge in 1407, and Tomà, who first came on the island as captain in 1438 and returned as duke in 1443.<sup>62</sup>

Leone Duodo, as yet, has no entry in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, published by the *Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana*. The genealogical tables of the Duodo family drawn up by Marco Barbaro contain a single reference to a person by that name. This was the son of Pietro of the Santa Maria Zobenigo branch of the family, residing in the parish of Sant’Angelo, in the sestier of San Marco. He had at least eight brothers: Arsenio,

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58. O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, pp. 43, 48-56.

59. Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 198. B. Kohl – A. Mozzato – M. O’Connell, “The Rulers of Venice, 1332-1524”, [rulersofvenice.org](http://rulersofvenice.org), accessed on 20 August 2020.

60. S. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion. Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity*, Philadelphia 2000, pp. 47, 158, 180.

61. S. McKee, ed., *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete, 1312-1420*, v. 2, Washington 1998, p. 846, no 668.

62. O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, pp. 49, 94, 132 (where inadvertently Vettore is named Tomà). For Michele Duodo, rector of Sitia, see Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 2, p. 15, no 1005.

Cristoforo, Luca, Marco, Michele, Tomà, Vettore and Zuanne.<sup>63</sup> Also, Girolamo Capellari mentions two sisters, without naming them.<sup>64</sup> Always according to Barbaro, Leone was admitted in the Great Council on 4 December 1415, through the lottery for early entry held on Saint Barbara's day, married an unnamed daughter of Niccolò Dandolo of the late Candian in 1423, and was elected podestà of Brescia in 1465. However, there appear to be some inconsistencies in the genealogist's statements. The actual record in the Balla d'oro register shows that Leone Duodo was enrolled in the lottery by his father Pietro in November 1413.<sup>65</sup> Also, Barbaro does not mention anywhere that Leone served as duke of Crete. To further complicate things, preliminary research in the Archive of Venice revealed that there was another contemporary namesake of Leone, who had the same father's name. This should probably be identified with *sier* Lion Duodo of San Giovanni in Bragora, who according to Marino Sanudo served as captain of the galleys of Romania in 1442.<sup>66</sup>

It is obvious that more archival research needs to be conducted in order to clarify the identity of our duke and reconstruct his career. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the Duodo family belonged to the opposition of doge Francesco Foscari (1373 -1457), and that a Leone Duodo was one of the heads of the Council of Ten in June 1456, when new accusations against Jacopo Foscari, the son of the elderly doge, emerged. Jacopo, who already had been banished to Chania since 1451 for complicity in the murder of Ermolao Donà (a member of the Council of Ten), was brought back to Venice where he stood trial for secretly corresponding with sultan Mehmed II, whom he apparently had asked to send a galley to rescue him from exile. The conviction of his son for a second time to exile in Crete precipitated the downfall of Foscari, who was forced to resign from the dogeship on the formal demand of the Council of Ten on 23 October 1457.<sup>67</sup> Leone Duodo *maior* was serving as councillor to the doge at that time and probably was

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63. Archivio di Stato di Venezia (henceforth ASV), *Miscellanea codici, Storia veneta* (Genealogie Barbaro, vol. III C-F), b. 19, p. 379. Available at <http://www.archiviodistatovenezia.it/divenire/ua.htm?idUa=141552>

64. Venice, BM, Cod. It, VII, 16 (=8305): Girolamo Alessandro Capellari Vivaro, Campidoglio Veneto, alla c. 46v. Available at <https://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/manoscritti/Dl/Cap2047.htm>

65. ASV, *Avogaria di Comun, Balla d'oro*, reg. 162-I (1405-1434), f. 58r.

66. A. Caracciolo Aricò, ed., *Marin Sanudo il Giovane, Le vite dei dogi 1423-1475*, v.1 (1423-1457), Venice 1999, p. 377 (Lion Duodo da San Zuane Bragolla), also p. 328 (Lion qd. Piero), pp. 290, 312, 329, 524.

67. For these events, see D. Romano, *La rappresentazione di Venezia. Francesco Fosrcari: vita di uno doge nel Rinascimento* [Storia e Temi 24], transl. by Fr. Ortalli, Rome 2012, pp. 302-312, 381-411, 488.

in the delegation that announced to Foscari that he had been deposed.<sup>68</sup> Also involved in Foscari's removal was Pasquale Malipiero, who succeeded him to the dogeship and swore in Leone as duke of Crete.<sup>69</sup>

Duodo's election came at an important period of transition not only in domestic politics but also in the geopolitical balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean in the wake of the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans.<sup>70</sup> At that time, Venice was particularly troubled on the one hand by the rapid advance of the Turks on the Greek peninsula and the threat it posed to its maritime possessions<sup>71</sup> and on the other by the climate of unrest among the Orthodox of Crete, which had its root in its policy of promoting the union of the Latin and Greek Churches.<sup>72</sup>

It is not clear when exactly Duodo took up his post. What little remains of his official incoming correspondence in the series *Ducali e Lettere ricevute* of the Archive of the duke of Crete reveals that his predecessor Gerardo Dandolo was still in office on 11 August 1459.<sup>73</sup> A judgment issued by the ducal court of Crete when Duodo was presiding over it, dated 27 November 1459, helps further narrow down the date that he assumed his duties. Duodo remained in his post for an additional year, until the arrival of his replacement, Lorenzo Moro, who was elected sometime before 22 April 1462.<sup>74</sup>

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68. ASV, *Consiglio Dieci, Deliberazioni*, reg. 15, ff. 115r - 144r.

69. Romano, *La rappresentazione di Venezia*, pp. 407 and passim.

70. On the fall of Constantinople and its consequences, see A. E. M. Philippides – W. K. Hanak, *The Siege and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453: Historiography, Topography, and Military Studies*, Farnham 2011; M. Angold, *The Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans: context and consequences* [Turning Points series], Harlow – New York 2012. A. E. Vacalopoulos, *Ιστορία του νέου Ελληνισμού*, v. 1. *Αρχές και διαμόρφωσή του*, Thessaloniki 1974, pp. 307-331.

71. Vacalopoulos, *Ιστορία του νέου Ελληνισμού*, v. 1, pp. 337-338; Koumanoudi, «Στρατιωτικοποιώντας το Κράτος της Θάλασσας», pp. 95-120.

72. M.I. Manousakas, *Η εν Κρήτη συνωμοσία του Σήφη Βλαστού (1453-1454) και η νέα συνωμοτική κίνησης του 1460-1462*, Athens 1960; Ch. Maltezos, "The History of Crete during the Fifteenth century on the Basis of Archival Documents", in M. Vassilaki, ed., *The Hand of Angelos: An Icon Painter in Venetian Crete*, Farnham 2010, pp. 26-36; Angold, *The Fall of Constantinople*, pp. 96-97.

73. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 2, fasc. 24(=29) *Diversorum Locorum al duca Leone Duodo*, f. 4r (August 11, 1459). On the official correspondence between the *Signoria* and the duke of Crete which is partially preserved in the State Archive of Venice, see Fr. Thiriet, ed., *Duca di Candia. Ducali e lettere ricevute (1358-1360; 1401-1405)* [Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia. Fonti per la storia di Venezia. Sez. I-Archivi Pubblici], Venice 1978, pp. vii-viii.

74. ASV, *Segretario Voci*, reg. 5, f. 41r (August 4, 1462). See also Kohl – Mozzato – O'Connell, "The Rulers of Venice, 1332-1524", record 23656, accessed on 20 August 2020.

Duodo's commission is in the form of the *commissio ad personam* that are drawn up nominally by the doge for each individual official.<sup>75</sup> The document is divided into two hundred and thirteen numbered clauses. Some of these are phrased as imperatives, while other retain the impersonal wording of the original laws and regulations passed by various constitutional bodies (Great Council, Senate, and Council of Ten, etc.). Their assortment is partially chronological and partially thematic. This lack of coherence in the organisation of the material and the wording of the clauses is due to the way in which these texts were drafted.

Ideally, each commission codified and systemised, to some degree, the relevant legislation in force at the time of issuance. Though this may generally be true in the case of new or recently established administrative positions, an attentive reading of Duodo's commission and that of his predecessor's reveals that both these documents only contain a part of the pertinent laws which then stood unrepealed. This would, undoubtedly, have resulted in incomplete or uninformed policy transfer from top to bottom, but what remains unclear is whether it was done intentionally or not. It is well known that the government constantly informed the regime on Crete about policy changes and new laws and regulations that affected the island and that these instructions were systematically recorded in the incoming correspondence registers which were kept in the ducal chancery for future reference. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that, when drafting these documents, the competent governmental bodies prioritised content considered necessary to address current operational or other issues.

The mission and term of office of the Venetian patrician are summarily outlined in the first article of the commission: He was the mandated governor of the island, where he was to serve for two years or until his replacement arrived (article 1). This was the standard term of office for Venice's representatives in the maritime state, Constantinople and its outposts scattered along the Eastern Mediterranean from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards.<sup>76</sup>

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75. Rizzi, "Committimus tibi [...] quod de nostro mandato vadas", pp. 13-14.

76. For the term of office of the bailo of Constantinople, see Ch. Diehl, «La colonie vénitienne à Constantinople à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle», *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 3 (1883), 90-131, here at 98; For a detailed study of the office of the bailo, see Ch. Maltezou, *Ο θρασμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει βενετού βαΐλου (1268-1453)*, Athens 1970. For the terms of office of overseas during the second half of the thirteenth century, see D. Jacoby, «L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant: les Vénitiens à Acre dans la seconde moitié du treizième siècle», *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977) [= repr. in Jacoby, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Peuples, sociétés, économies* [Variorum collected studies series 105], London 1979, no IV], 225-264, here at 231 and 251, note 20. D. Jacoby, «Le consulat vénitien d'Alexandrie d'après un document inédit de 1284», 463.



Duodo's salary was set at four thousand hyperpepers per year,<sup>77</sup> payable in two installments, in accordance with a decision of the Senate of 1426. To this should be added the additional incomes from judicial fines and privileges that came with the office, such as meat privileges, rights to falcons and the right to use a seal. Provision was also made for expenses for small maintenance works on his residence (article 156), expenditure on water supply and furniture (article 158), and compensation for travel expenses, horse transportation costs and sundry other expenses (article 185). The duke's earnings were supposed to be commensurate with his experience and capabilities, as is reflected in the deliberations of the Senate. But, by the time Duodo took up office, conditions of service had deteriorated dramatically not only in Crete but throughout the Venetian state. At the beginning of the century the state had established an official rate of 96 soldi per ducat for calculating the pay of Venetian officials in Venice's Greek territories (article 180). This, as Alan Stahl has observed, caused reactions from officials "who wished their salaries calculated at the effective rate". This is possibly one of the reasons why the duke's salary was raised in 1426. However, its value, which was reckoned in Cretan hyperpers (the local money of account), decreased precipitously in the second quarter of the fifteenth century because of the mounting inflation in Crete. Indicatively, between 1425 and 1462 the rate of the hyperper to the ducat rose rapidly from 4 hyperpers, 12 soldi per ducat to 5 hyperpers, six grossi.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, in 1434 the state began taxing the salaries of all Venetian officials to finance the wars in Lombardy. In November of the same year, the tax on the gross earnings of overseas officials receiving salaries of four hundred ducats and up was raised to thirty per cent.<sup>79</sup> In order to compensate for the salary loss they had suffered, the government reduced the duke's aggregate household by one servant and two horses (article 202). Lastly, since 1452, due to the fiscal deficit from the wars, all administrators who served two-year terms were required to spend an additional six months in office without pay.<sup>80</sup> Conditions slightly improved in 1455, when

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77. For the Cretan hyperper, see below note 78.

78. On the circulation of Venetian coinage in medieval Greece, see A. M. Stahl, *The Venetian coinage. A medieval colonial coinage* [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no 163], New York 1985, and especially pp. 18-19, 53-59 (for the relationship between the hyperper of account and the circulating coins), 61-65, 95-96 (for the exchange rates between the soldo and the ducat and the ducat and the tornesello; and F. C. Lane – R. C. Müller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, v. 1 Coins and Moneys of Account Baltimore 1985, pp. 361-363, 424-433. See also Vincent, "Money and Coinage in Venetian Crete, c. 1400-1669: An Introduction" *Thesaurismata* 37 (2007), 267-236, 287-289 (30-31).

79. For the taxation of the salaries of overseas officials, see Maltezos, *Ο δεσμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει βενετού βαΐλου*, p. 59-60. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age*, p. 195.

80. ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. Ursa, f. 186r, dated 23 January 1452.

the period of gratuitous service was moderated to four months, with the possibility of extension for another four months (article 206). High-ranking officials were not the only ones to incur salary loss. A law providing for a twenty per cent tax on the salaries of scribes and notaries employed in the financial offices of subject territories was passed by the Senate in December 1434 (article 204).

Out of his salary, Duodo had to pay for his retinue of eight attendants, one mounted assistant (*cavalerius, socius*), a chaplain, three servants and a cook as well as for the upkeep of eight to ten horses, which he had to procure within one month of his assumption of office (article 40). His staff also included a notary (or chancellor), who had to be either a Venetian-by-birth or a naturalised citizen residing in Venice or a citizen-by-birth from a subject territory other than the place of his posting; the same requirements also applied to his *socius* (article 201).

The law excluding foreigners and non-citizens from holding the positions of the notary, chancellor and assistant to Venetian administrators was enacted by the Great Council in 1419 and subsequently added to the commissions of all rectors. The reasoning for introducing citizenship requirements for these offices provided in the preamble was that the individuals filling them ought to be “thoroughly loyal, capable and zealous for good government and fearful of turning against the state or its representatives”.<sup>81</sup> The law was later extended to include all judges, *vicarii* and *comestibles baroeriorum*<sup>82</sup> serving under rectors, and along with this, a clause was added which prohibited the employment of locals to these positions. But the legislation met with resistance from the rectors, probably due to the difficulties they encountered in finding personnel who met the requirements outlined in it. In 1425, the Great Council reiterated the law remarking that although its provisions were “just and good”, they were not observed, and thereby imposed a monetary penalty of fifty lire for those rectors who recruited locally.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, it stipulated that the above provisions were to continue to be included in the commissions of all rectors. However, they were not incorporated in the commission given to duke Leonardo Caravello in June 1429. The reason for this omission is not clear. It should be noted that four months later the Senate declared that “it is appropriate for faithful citizens and subjects to hold our offices, and to be preferred to all foreigners, both for their convenience and advantage and also because, on account of their loyalty, our government will be able to securely trust in them”. Repeating that

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81. For the law and its significance, see A. Bellavitis, *Identité, mariage, mobilité sociale : Citoyennes et citoyens à Venise au XVIe siècle*, Rome 2001, pp. 324–325, no 1 (text), pp. 69–70 (discussion). Available online at <<http://books.openedition.org/efr/2240>>. Accessed 25 December 2020.

82. For the *comestibles baroeriorum*, see below article 155.

83. ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. Ursa, ff. 62v–63r (n.n. 68v–69r).

rectors are required to apply the provisions of the law of 1419 when engaging *vicarii* and judges, under penalty of a fine of two hundred lire, it then went on to specify that those foreigners who had taken wives from Venetian territories and resided with their families in these territories were exempt from the provisions of the law.<sup>84</sup>

At the heart of the island's capital city, on the north side of the piazza San Marco in Candia, stood the palace of the duke of Crete. It was the official's residence as well as the locus of the island's administration and as such a visual symbol of the power and authority of the Venetian government over Crete.<sup>85</sup> Duodo was limited by his mandate to spend only up to twenty-five hyperpers for repair and maintenance works on his residence throughout his term (article 156). Nevertheless, it was not uncommon for the government to grant requests from acting governors for additional expenditures for the upkeep of the palace since the condition of the building was a direct reflection of the prevailing political and economic situation and ultimately of Venetian governance on the island. In June 1461, during Duodo's second year in office, the Senate approved six hundred ducats for the execution of repairs and other works on the building.<sup>86</sup> The sum approved was much larger than the usual amounts, which, during the fifteenth century, ranged from a hundred hyperpers to two hundred ducats.<sup>87</sup> But it seems that the palace was run down and in need of serious repair. Significantly, five years earlier, duke Gerardo Dandolo was authorised to spend one hundred ducats to rebuild a corner of the building that was about to fall down.<sup>88</sup>

The content of Duodo's commission is substantially the same as that of the commission to Leonardo Caravello of 1429. From this we may infer that the functions and role of the official had been clearly delineated and solidified already in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The main bulk of the provisions in the document date from the period between 1255 and the end of the fourteenth century. This was the period in which Venice consolidated its rule over the island, laid down its practices of colonial governance, established new modes of social and political interaction with the island's society, and experimented with different administrative and institutional arrangements, all the while constantly adapting its rule to new needs and changing

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84. H. Noiret, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485 tirés des Archives de Venise*, Paris 1892, pp. 336-337.

85. M. Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism*, Cambridge 2001, pp. 94-103 and *passim*.

86. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 462.

87. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, pp. 197, 199, 294, 303, 371, 376, 390, 453, 455, 466, 489, 502.

88. ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar*, reg. 5, f. 142v (summary in Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 453).

circumstances. Over that period a number of fundamental changes were made to the jurisdiction and duties of the duke that were maintained in the following century.

After the completion of the conquest of the western part of the island in around 1255, the task of governing the colony became more complex, giving rise to new administrative arrangements. For a while, the two councillors of the duke acted also as governors (*rectores*) of Chania and Rethimno. But, as the increase in their responsibilities made it difficult for them to carry out their duties as members of the regime, the government sought alternative schemes. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, the territorial division of Crete was re-organised into four districts (*territorii*) consisting of the island's four major towns (Candia, Chania, Rethimno and Sitia) and their respective hinterland. Except for Candia, the administrations of the remaining three districts were each assigned to a separate governor with his respective councillors<sup>89</sup> and administrative staff (article 53). This restructuring, which arose from the need for a permanent administrative infrastructure for the fast-growing northern seaboard towns and better control of the countryside, brought some deconcentration of power and shared responsibilities between the rectors of the three districts and the regime. One major change was that the rectors were appointed by the Great Council and were answerable directly to the central state, albeit in constant communication and cooperation with the duke on matters pertaining to the administration of the colony. Moreover, the duke was no longer obligated to spend part of the year far away from the seat of the local government, as before (article 55); and when he did visit one of these places, he continued to conduct his duties with the aid of the local rector, who on that occasion assumed responsibilities of councillor (article 54).<sup>90</sup>

In 1363 a group of discontented Venetian feudatories of Crete in collusion with the Greek population revolted seeking independence from the mother city.<sup>91</sup> The

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89. There was only a single administrator in Sitia (*rector*).

90. For the administrative-territorial system of the island, see Maltezou, "The Historical and Social Context", p. 20; Ch. Gasparis, ed., *Catastici Feudorum Crete. Catasticum Chanee. 1314-1396* [National Hellenic Research Foundation. Institute for Byzantine Research, Sources 9], Athens 2008, 58-62; Gasparis, "Venetian Crete: The Historical Context", in A. Lymberopoulou, ed., *Hell in the Byzantine World. A History of Art and Religion in Venetian Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean*, v. 1: *Essays*, Cambridge 2020, pp. 60-116, here at p. 66

91. For the revolt of St Titus, see S. McKee, "The Revolt of St Titus in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete: A reassessment", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9/2 (1995), 173-204; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 131-167. For the severe measures adopted against the rebels and their families in the aftermath of the revolt of St. Titus, see McKee, "The Revolt of St Titus", 184-186, 190; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 141-144; Ch. Maltezou, «Μέτρα της βενετικής πολιτείας εναντίων των οικογενειών των επαναστατών στην Κρήτη (14ος αι.)», *Thesaurismata* 41-42 (2011-2012), 397-406.

uprising known as the revolt of St Titus marks a turning point in the administrative and institutional organisation of the island. The Venetian state responded to the revolt with military force and, as soon as the rebels had been quelled, restructured the local government system so as to strengthen the state's control over the island and, thereby, prevent future secessionist attempts.<sup>92</sup>

Following the implementation of these reforms, the role of the duke within the government was redefined. The responsibility for the organisation of the military defence and internal security of the island shifted from the duke to a centrally-appointed senior military official, bearing the title of captain of Crete.<sup>93</sup> Also, jurisdiction over criminal and civil offences committed by military personnel passed to the captain, limiting the scope of jurisdiction of the ducal court to civilians (articles 14, 15). Moreover, sometime before 1411, provision was made for the ad hoc convoking of a special tribunal to prosecute individuals for sedition, rebellion and other actions directed against the sovereign state (article 46).<sup>94</sup>

The ducal court had jurisdiction to hear cases as a first instance court and also functioned as a regional appellate court, processing appeals from the lower courts of Chania, Rethimno, Sitia and, following the annexation of the island in 1368, Cerigo. The ducal court also had the exclusive right to hear criminal cases from that island.<sup>95</sup> Its decisions could be overturned by the appellate courts of Venice. But although the

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92. This and what follows, unless otherwise stated, is based on McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 26, 30-56; Papadia-Lala, *Ο δεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο κατά την περίοδο της βενετοκρατίας (13ος-18ος αι.)*, pp. 60-104; and Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 171-214.

93. The administrative scheme that ensued from these reforms remained very much the same until the late sixteenth century. On the eve of the fourth Venetian-Turkish war (1569), in order to better organise the defense of Crete and deal with the excesses of the feudatories and the Venetian officials at the expense of the rural population, which endangered internal security and undermined Venetian sovereignty on the island, the Senate proceeded to restructure the local government, converting the formerly extraordinary position of *provveditor general* into a regular one. The *provveditor general* took over the military leadership, with responsibilities extending to the judiciary, see Papadia-Lala, *Ο δεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο*, pp. 104-105; Papadaki, «Από το δούκα στο γενικό προνοητή», *Thesaurismata* 41/42 (2011-2012), 441-450; Papadaki, «Η εντολή της βενετικής ηγεσίας στον γενικό προνοητή Κρήτης Lorenzo da Mulla (1569)», pp. 434-453.

94. For the judicial competency of the captain of Crete, see Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 178.

95. M. Koumanoudi, "Illi de Ca' Venier: The First Venetian Lords of Kythera", in M. Koumanoudi – Ch. Maltezos, eds., *Venezia e Cerigo. Atti del Simposio Internazionale, Venezia, 6-7 dicembre 2002* [Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia –Associazione Universitari di Cerigo, Convegno-8], Venice 2003, pp. 87-106, here at pp. 103-104 (where previous bibliography is cited).

ideal of Venetian justice was that it was available to all, in actuality this part of the appellate process was accessible only to those who could afford the expense that the trip to Venice entailed, which in this case meant primarily the Cretan elite. In the early fifteenth century, the Great Council repeatedly reaffirmed the subjects' right to appeal the decisions of their governors. However, the Senate's decision in 1437 to reimburse the expenses of all those who came to Venice to appeal against the decisions of their rectors illustrates the difficulty poorer subjects faced in seeking to exercise their rights.<sup>96</sup> In 1451, the Senate tried to resolve the problem by granting jurisdiction to hear appeals for civil cases with a value of up to one hundred hyperpers to the *collegium regimnis* of Crete, enlarged by the addition of the captain and treasurers of the island.<sup>97</sup> In 1455, on request of the noble feudatories of the island, the jurisdiction of the court was extended to cover cases with a value of up to five hundred hyperpers.<sup>98</sup>

At the institutional level, the main objective of the post-rebellion reform was to restrict the political functions of the political elite within the dominant class of the feudatories. This numerically limited group consisted predominantly of Venetians, descendants of the original military settlers and others permanently residing on the island, who belonged to the nobility as this came to be defined after the closing of the Great Council in Venice in 1297 (*Serrata*).<sup>99</sup> Its members were variously involved in the local government system, already from the late thirteenth century, through their local communal bodies, namely the Council of the Feudatories (*Consilium f(ph)eudatorum*), which had subdivisions in Candia and the other major cities of island, the Great Council (*Consilium maius, Maggior Consiglio*) and its subsidiary body the Senate of Candia (*Consilium Rogatorum Candide*). The main role of these bodies was advisory, but they also participated in the electoral process for local administration officials and acquired, for some of their number, the right to be elected to local offices. Thus, they gradually increased their political influence and, during the first half of the fourteenth century, transitioned into being important agents between the Venetian state and the island's society. Besides assisting the regime in managing the affairs of the colony and serving as negotiating venues between the rulers and the ruled elite, the Councils provided the authorities with a unique observation ground of the feudatory group.

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96. For the appeals from the territories of the maritime state and the appellate process in the fifteenth century, see the discussion in O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 84-90.

97. For the decision of the Senate, see Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 433.

98. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 446.

99. For the Closing of the Great Council in 1297, see G. Rösch, "The Serrata of the Great Council and Venetian Society, 1288-1323", in J. Martin – D. Romano, eds., *Venice Reconsidered. The History of an Italian City-State, 1297-1797*, Baltimore – London 2000, pp. 67-88.

The revolt of 1363, though completely suppressed, had shaken the Venetian rule on the island to its very foundations. The colonists' attempt at political independence was viewed by the patricians in Venice as an act of treason from their own side, which, in addition to action directed at the repression of the dissidents, both justified and necessitated non-violent restrictions on their privileges. These restrictions came in the form of the abolition of the Great Council, of the Senate of Candia and of the heads and treasurers of the Council of the Feudatories (article 162). Consequently, the Cretan councils lost many of their functions to the local government and communal organisation on the island entered a new phase. In the course of the fifteenth century there emerges the Council of the noble-Venetian, initially and later, Cretan-feudatories with nobility being the predominant category.<sup>100</sup>

The Cretan councils, albeit with clipped powers, continued to operate as the representative organs of the local elite and defend their prerogatives before the competent administrative and judicial authorities. At their meetings, conducted under the close supervision of the Venetian authorities, the council members discussed the problems of the region and drafted proposals for their resolution, which they then submitted to the local government and, through their delegates, the central administration. But, all in the meanwhile, they kept pressing the Venetian government for more active participation in the governance of the colony. While outwardly understanding and inclined to listen to what they had to say, the government remained firm in its resolution to keep things as they were for the best part of the fifteenth century.<sup>101</sup> Through the relevant articles included in his commission, the newly-elected duke was made aware of the changes that had taken place in the communal organisation of the island in the past in order to understand the dynamics at play, but also because these changes affected the method of making local government decisions.

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100. For the evolution of the Council of Feudatories after the revolt of St Titus, see Papadia-Lala, *Ο θρασμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο*, pp. 74-76. The group of Cretan nobles had diverse origins: it included Italians and Greeks with high social status as well as non-patrician Venetians. This social category is implied in earlier sources but emerges more clearly in 1463, around the time it came to be legally defined, see K. E. Lambrinos, «Η εξέλιξη της κρητικής ευγένειας στους πρώτους αιώνες της βενετοκρατίας», *Thesaurismata* 26 (1996), 206-224, here at 214-218. See also K. E. Lambrinos, "Identity and Socio-Economic Mobility in Venetian Crete: The Evolution of a Citizen Family (sixteenth century)", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 29/1 (2014), 57-70, here at 57-58 DOI: 10.1080/09518967.2014.897053

101. See for example the Senate's negative response to the proposal put forward by the Cretan delegation in 1455 for the election by the *regimen* and the captain of Crete of five nobles *sive provisores* on a yearly basis, who would act as an advisory committee to the local government, Noiret, *Documents inédits*, pp. 446-447.

Since council members no longer participated in the decision-making process, all important decisions, such as whether to undertake campaigns or when to go on official tours of inspection (article 47, 167), and the appointment of the *sopracomitus*, the island's galley commander, were to be made by the majority vote of the members of the ducal council (the duke and his councillors) and, in matters touching upon the military, the captain.<sup>102</sup> This further concentrated powers in the hands of the regime, for it was able to make and enforce its decisions without obstruction or pressure from local actors. Furthermore, by an amendment adopted on 14 February 1376 (article 150), the power to launch a fleet against the Turks was delegated to the duke, his councillors, and the captain, whereas previously such decisions had to go through the Senate in Venice. The amendment enabled the local government to act swiftly and effectively in response to external military emergencies at a time when the threat of the Turks was rising sharply and, concomitantly, removed a long-existing source of friction between the central authorities and the colony.<sup>103</sup>

From before 1350, the ducal council convened to discuss the affairs of the colony every Monday, Wednesday and Friday after mass and held court on the other weekdays. Whoever failed to appear without valid excuse was fined one hyperper (articles 6, 7). With the abrogation of the Great Council, new adjustments had to be made for keeping the quorum in the ducal court and in the council sessions, when the duke with one of his councillors travelled outside the city of Candia for official reasons. While in the past, two members of the local Great Council were chosen to fill in for the absent members of the government, from then on, they were to be replaced by two treasurers elected by lot (article 56).

Because the new administrative scheme had been born out of a state of emergency the role of the new senior military official in decision-making as well as some of his responsibilities had not been clearly defined from the beginning, causing dispute and dysfunction within the regime. The confusion regarding the captain's role in the local government was clarified by the Senate in 1388.<sup>104</sup> On the other hand, the problems arising from the overlapping jurisdictions between the captain and the officers of the night watch (police officers), and his judicial duties in the police court of the city

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102. Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 186. For the mandate of the *sopracomitus*, see Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 191v-203v.

103. E. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300-1415)* [Library of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies-No 11], Venice 1983, pp. xxxiv, 74.

104. Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 184, 189.



of Candia were considered to be significant enough to warrant legislative regulation (article 166).

Our document devotes a number of articles to rules regulating the distribution of middle level offices in the local administration. These were given out to Venetians and noble Venetian as well as non-noble residents of Crete, according to procedures and eligibility rules established in the fourteenth century and further regulated in the fifteenth century.<sup>105</sup> According to a rough calculation by Sally McKee, somewhere between fifty and a hundred men filled these positions, half of which were awarded by the Great Council in Venice and the other half by the Venetian administration of Crete (article 102).<sup>106</sup>

The politics of office-holding, as scholars have repeatedly pointed out, was a complex and difficult area of governance that required flexibility and continuous negotiation because of the different stakes and actors at play. From the earliest years of Venetian rule and throughout the fifteenth century, despite the setbacks caused by the crisis of 1363-1366, the island's elite persistently asserted its right to participate in local offices. The social and material benefits associated with office-holding made for intense competition, which, in turn, generated tension between the colony and the central government and division among the local power groups. The debate about access to local offices, which took place at the state and local levels, is a subject that has been discussed extensively by other scholars.<sup>107</sup> However, a brief reference to some aspects of this debate will help contextualise and interpret the directives given to Duodo.

A major question that occupied the Venetian government was who was eligible to hold office. After the conquest of the Crete, Venice allocated substantial privileges to the families of the original Venetian settlers and, subsequently, to other Latin feudatories who constituted the island's socio-economic elite, including the right participate in governance and administration through office-holding. As the fourteenth century progressed, social stratification in the island became more complex and, also, more fluid.

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105. On offices and office-holding in Crete during the period under discussion, see N. Karapidakis, *Administration et milieux administratifs en Crète vénitienne (XVIème siècle)*, v. 1, unpublished thesis for the diploma of archivist-paleographer (École de chartes, Paris 1983), pp. 43-66; Papadia-Lala, *Ο δεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο*, pp. 106-120; M. O'Connell, "Sinews of Rule: The Politics of Officeholding in Fifteenth Century Venetian Crete", *Renaissance Studies* 15 (2001), 256-271.

106. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, p. 27. The ratio for the distribution of offices on Crete was determined by the Great Council in 1326, see Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*, p. 206; Karapidakis, *Administration et milieux administratifs en Crète vénitienne (XVIème siècle)*, v. 1, pp. 51-53; Papadia-Lala, *Ο δεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο*, p. 107.

107. See above note 105.

Venetian and other Latin newcomers of differing socio-economic backgrounds as well as burgesses and Greek landholders came to penetrate the dominant class of feudatories and claim participation in all the privileges associated with it. The prominent group of the Venetian feudatories, for its part, sought to define its boundaries, pushing to exclude the rising, competitive, new elites from its midst and the island's administration, in a process similar to that by which the Venetian patriciate began to define itself in the late-thirteenth century.

The governing councils of Venice addressed these challenges by further defining eligibility criteria for holding office and providing clearer guidelines as to the procedure to be followed for the nomination and election of local officials. As early as 1302, the Senate had ruled that all those of illegitimate birth were banned from sitting on the Cretan councils and from all other administrative positions on the island.<sup>108</sup> The measure aimed at preventing unworthy men from accessing governance and preserving the integrity of the feudatory group, which at that time, more or less, was identified with the families of the original Venetian settlers. A residence requirement of five years was further introduced for all office-holders elected on Crete with a law enacted by the Great Council in 1344.<sup>109</sup> Although the final decision-making on these issues rested with the councils in Venice, the suggestions of former dukes were crucial in shaping state policy.<sup>110</sup> In 1392, in parallel to the campaign toward social exclusivity in Venice,<sup>111</sup> the Senate on proposal of the former duke of Crete Domenico Bono restricted access to magistracies, castellanships and other locally elected offices only to those who were registered as noble in the Great Council of Venice or the erstwhile Council of the Feudatories of Crete and resided for five-years on the island (or took local wives).<sup>112</sup> This legislation was apparently unsuccessful, because the Senate repeated its injunction to

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108. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 19, no 41; Cessi – Sambin, *Deliberazioni del consiglio dei rogati*, v. 1, p. 67.

109. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου*, pp. 125-126, no 26, summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 204, no 507.

110. See below articles 173-175.

111. For the legislative campaign of the first quarter of the fifteenth century that achieved the definitive closing of the patriciate in Venice, called the *Second Serrata*, see S. Chojnacki, "Marriage Legislation and Patrician Society in Fifteenth Century Venice", in B. Bacharach, ed., *Law, Custom, and the Social Fabric in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of Bryce Lyon*, Kalamazoo 1990, pp. 163-184; Chojnacki, "Social Identity in Renaissance Venice: The Second Serrata", *Renaissance Studies* 8 (1994), 341-358.

112. For the legislation cited above, see Papadia-Lala, *Ο θεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο*, pp. 106-108, 110-118; O'Connell, "Sinews of Rule", 260-261; O'Connell, "The Venetian Patriciate in the Mediterranean: Legal Identity and Lineage in Fifteenth-Century Venetian Crete", *Renaissance Quarterly* 57/ 2 (2004), 466-493, here at 483.

the duke and councillors as well as to the rectors of Rethimno and Chania again and again between 1415 and 1422.<sup>113</sup>

Duodo's commission (and Caravello's for that matter) nowhere specifies just which officials were elected by the regime of Crete. The relevant provisions primarily deal with the offices of judges, castellans and scribes, indicating that these positions, for one reason or another, concerned the Venetian state the most.<sup>114</sup> Also according to the commission, the regime was directly responsible for the appointment of the notary of the *curia di petizion*, the court that adjudicated commercial and debt disputes (article 141).

The Great Council in Venice controlled the nomination and election of key posts, such as judges, police officers, admirals, chancellors and fiscal officials (articles 103, 159). The term of office of these officials was usually two years, but due to delays in their replacement, the duke and councillors arbitrarily appointed locals to the above positions. In an attempt to deal with the problem, the Great Council in 1347 had decreed that all officials should remain in office after the end of their term until the arrival of their replacement and for up to two years. However, the problem was far from resolved, for the injunction was repeated in the commissions to Leonardo Caravello and, thirty years later, to Duodo, and it persisted well after that (article 159). In 1471, the representatives of the Cretan nobles and feudatories in Venice requested that the elections for these positions be held by the regime of Crete on the basis of the central government's failure to promptly provide replacements for outgoing officials. This failure, they argued, was owed to the refusal of Venetian patricians to accept their appointment. All the same, the Senate turned them down on account of it being against the orders of the state.<sup>115</sup>

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113. O'Connell, "Sinews of Rule", 261.

114. Locals played an active role in the administration of justice through participation in the numerous judicial bodies of the island, see Papadia-Lala, *Ο δεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο*, p. 106. Castellans were the representatives of the Venetian government in the rural areas of Crete and functioned as liaisons between the rural population and the town authorities. The office carried administrative, military and judicial responsibilities and was sought after for the power and economic benefits it conferred on its recipient, see M. O'Connell, "The Castellan in Local Administration in Fifteenth Century Venetian Crete", *Thesaurismata* 33 (2003), 161-177; Papadia-Lala, *Ο δεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο*, pp. 117-118. On scribeships, see Karapidakis, *Administration et milieux administratifs en Crète vénitienne (XVIème siècle)*, v. 1, p. 47.

115. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 520. For the refusal of office and evasion of public responsibilities by Venetian patricians, see D. Queller, "The Civic Irresponsibility of the Venetian Nobility", in D. Herlihy – R. S. Lopez – V. Slessarev, *Economy, Society and Government in Medieval Italy. Essays in Memory of Robert L. Reynolds*, Kent, Ohio, 1970 [= *Explorations in Economic History*

The ambiguity surrounding which offices were awarded by the local government could be largely attributed to the fact that both the Venetian government and the regime of Crete had the right to grant local offices by special privilege (*gratia*).<sup>116</sup> The practice was a powerful tool of political patronage, widely used to satisfy the demands of individuals and various interest groups in Venice and on Crete and to build up client networks. Castellannies, commands and other offices given by *gratia* provided jobs for patricians in financial distress. More important still, these positions were often granted for life or for as long as the *Signoria* willed it.<sup>117</sup> During the fourteenth century, the Venetian government had tried to reserve the right to itself, issuing repeated laws specifically aimed at controlling or forbidding the use of this practice by the regime of Crete. In 1381, the Great Council yielded under the pressure “of good and honest citizens, who depended on the offices to support themselves and their families”, and allowed the duke and his councillors again to award offices through *gratia*, excepting the offices of judges, police officers, and communal treasurers.<sup>118</sup> In the first half of the fifteenth century, the state’s extensive use of *gratia* to grant offices in the administration of Crete greatly undermined the role of the local government in appointments and elections of officials as well as the ability of the Veneto-Cretan elite to fill these positions. Both the communal council of Candia and the regime reacted strongly to this interference, which was regarded as an abrogation of their prerogatives and the laws. In 1449, the Senate, responding to a request of the delegates of the island’s feudatories, declared that all castellannies and captaincies were in the future to be awarded by election in Crete as ordered by the law. Furthermore, it clarified that “all those who held such offices by *gratia* could have them only for a maximum of two years”.<sup>119</sup> Although the dukes who served on the island in the 1450s were aware of the provisions of this law and had tried to enforce them on several occasions, the law was not included in the commission to Duodo, perhaps because the government was bent on preserving the status quo, despite outwardly espousing the demands of the local elite.<sup>120</sup>

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7 (1969-1970)], 223-235; D. E. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate. Reality versus Myth*, Urbana – Chicago 1986, pp. 113-171.

116. For the practice of awarding offices on Crete through *gratia*, see O’Connell, “Sinews of Rule”, 261-263; O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, pp. 112-113, and for *gratia* awards in general pp. 102-107, 110-116; see also Papadia-Lala, *Ο δεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο*, p. 119.

117. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, pp. 40-43.

118. For the mid-fifteenth century conflict over the practice of *gratia*, see O’Connell, “Sinews of Rule”, 261-263, and O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, pp. 112-113.

119. O’Connell, “Sinews of Rule”, 262.

120. O’Connell, “Sinews of Rule”, 263.

The instructions that were given to Duodo focus rather on implementing state-mandated short terms of offices (articles 154, 174, 175)—including for those positions given by *gratia* (article 173), on prohibitions against multiple office-holding (article 147) and consecutive terms of office (article 91), and eliminating nepotism among the members of the regime and the rectors of the island (articles 41, 145), so as to ensure the broad distribution of the benefits of participation in local governance and, importantly, prevent the monopolisation of public positions and the abuses related to it.<sup>121</sup> Offices and salaried positions were to be allocated on the basis of the competence and capabilities of the candidates (article 102) and in accordance with the set rules and procedures (article 103), but no details are given about what these procedures entailed.

As to the requisite qualifications for office, it should be noted that the document features only a selection of the pertinent legislation. This observation seems to confirm the hypothesis that governmental attention was paid to such laws as were enforced or, rather, intended to be enforced. The reiteration of the ruling of the Senate concerning the exclusion of bastards from the public life and administration of the colony (article 78) identified legitimacy of birth as a prerequisite for office-holding on Crete, but at the same time pointed to a continuing problem that needed to be addressed by the regime.<sup>122</sup> The government also gave heed to the residency requirements for judgeships, castellanships and other offices outlined in the 1344 act, mentioned above, and an earlier law with similar content (articles 99, 104). On the other hand, it is nowhere explicitly stated that these positions were reserved for the nobility, as provided by the law of 1392 and reiterated in the pronouncements of the Senate of the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The omission of this law, in both instances, could have been due

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121. The government established early on short terms of office for elected and appointed public officials on Crete, ranging from a fortnight to two years, see Karapidakis, *Administration et milieux administratifs en Crète vénitienne (XVIème siècle)*, v. 1, p. 53; Papadia-Lala, *Ο θεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο*, p. 107. On Venice's policy regarding the distribution of offices, see Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, pp. 44-50.

122. For the infiltration of bastards and other unworthy individuals into the administration in the early fourteenth century, see Gasparis, *Catastici Feudorum Crete. Catasticum Chanee*, p. 46. On the exclusion of illegal offspring from public life in Greek territories under Venetian rule, see A. Papadia-Lala, «Παιδί και διοίκηση στις βενετοκρατούμενες ελληνικές περιοχές», in *Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου: Οι χρόνοι της Ιστορίας για μια ιστορία της παιδικής ηλικίας και της νεότητας*, Αθήνα, 17-19 Απριλίου 1998, Athens 1998, pp. 173-180; and Papadia-Lala, *Ο θεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο*, pp. 70-71. For more on bastards in Venetian Crete, see I. Hatzakis, «Φυσικά τέκνα στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη: Αρχαιακές μαρτυρίες και νομικές προεκτάσεις ενός κοινωνικού φαινομένου», *Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Ερεύνης της Ιστορίας του Ελληνικού Δικαίου* 38 (2004), 118-219; Ch. A. Maltezos, «Το παιδί στην κοινωνία της βενετοκρατούμενης Κρήτης», *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 27 (1987), 214-227, here at 220-222; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 83-86.

to an oversight in the updating of the texts or because it was taken for granted that the beneficiaries would be noble, since the law was still in force. However, given the centrality of the issue in the still ongoing discussion on office-holding, it seems more likely that the oversight was intentional. By placing the focus on residency rather than status requirements, it could be that the government offered the duke the possibility to derogate from this provision, giving him leeway to accommodate certain candidates or local pressure groups.

This interpretation is supported by the studies of Monique O’Connell, who has demonstrated that, despite the establishment of social status criteria for candidates and the state’s insistence that the local authorities follow proper procedures, non-nobles were not precluded from gaining access to local offices, such as the much-coveted office of castellan.<sup>123</sup> In fact, the case of the governor of Rethimno, Lorenzo Donato, who had awarded the castle of Milipotamos and the judgeship of Lamari (Amari) to Latin property holders solely on the basis that the recipients met the five-year residency criteria illustrates that this legislation was ignored and not enforced.<sup>124</sup> As O’Connell has further observed, “in this period the Venetian administration was evolving a compromise position which limited important positions to the patriciate [...], while opening less-critical positions to a wider range of feudatories and residents”.<sup>125</sup> This would also explain the inclusion in Duodo’s commission of the 1445 law that required that the duke should elect the state prosecutors of Candia, who up to then were sent out from Venice, from among the nobles registered in the Great Council of Venice (article 208). The state prosecutors (or advocates of the Commune) occupied a key position in the judicial system of Crete and exercised considerable powers and responsibilities: among others, the three advocates of the Commune supervised the proper implementation of the law by the island’s courts and governing officials, and engaged in pre-trial investigation in criminal proceedings as their counterparts in Venice.<sup>126</sup>

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123. O’Connell, “The Castellan in Local Administration in Fifteenth Century Venetian Crete”, 163-164, 166-177; O’Connell, “The Venetian Patriciate in the Mediterranean”, 484. For the office of castellan from 1490 onwards, see Karapidakis, *Administration et milieux administratifs en Crète vénitienne (XVIème siècle)*, v. 2, pp. 215-218. Castellans were the representatives of the Venetian government in the rural areas of Crete and functioned as liaisons between the rural population and the town authorities. The office carried administrative, military and judicial responsibilities and was sought after for the power and economic benefits it conferred on its recipient.

124. O’Connell, “Sinews of Rule”, 262.

125. O’Connell, “The Venetian Patriciate in the Mediterranean”, 483-484.

126. For the office of the state procurators of Candia, see Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*, p. 236; Karapidakis, *Administration et milieux administratifs en Crète vénitienne (XVIème siècle)*, v. 2, pp. 177-186; A. Papadaki, «Αξιώματα στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη κατά το 16ο και 17ο αιώνα»,

When entering into office, judges and civil servants were required to take before the duke the solemn oath prescribed by their capitulary, in accordance with the customs of the island. The regime had the authority to amend their capitularies as it saw fit but not their salaries, which were fixed by law (articles 105, 106). In 1429, to effectively control the number of public employees as well as salary costs, all overseas rector, including the duke and his councillors, were prohibited from giving salary increases and from employing additional people without authorisation from the central authorities; they only were allowed to replace those dead, dismissed or otherwise lacking if it was within their purview (article 197).

The ducal chancery in Candia was an important link between the regime, the central authorities and the island's society. As its counterpart in Venice, it produced and stored official letters and records of judicial or other proceedings, and housed the archives of retired and dead notaries.<sup>127</sup> The quality and effectiveness of the local administration largely depended upon the quality and efficiency of its services. The commission includes several provisions regarding fees and tariffs for the issuance of certificates and provision of services, the remuneration of chancery staff and the private life of the chancellor that underscore the effectiveness of oversight as an attribute of good governance (articles 134, 135, 136, 137, 140, 141, 142).

The duke, as mentioned before, shared with his councillors administrative duties and decision-making responsibility. The regime would meet three times a week to discuss the business of the colony (article 6) but could act only within the powers specifically delegated to it by the laws of the Venetian state and the directives of the central government bodies. Because policy-making was centralised, the power of the local government to differentiate and effect change was severely constrained. The regime, for the most part, carried out the state's instructions and implemented centrally defined policies with limited discretion.

The correspondence between the *Signoria* and the duke of Crete was the most important channel through which the communication between the mother city and the colony took place. It was through this channel that policies, procedures, guidelines and orders as well as news were transmitted from the central government to the local

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*Κρητικά Χρονικά* 26 (1986), 99-136, here at 108; Papadia-Lala, *Ο δεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο*, pp. 110-111.

127. For the ducal chancery of Crete, see M. F. Tiepolo, "Le fonti documentarie di Candia nell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia", in Gh. Ortalli, ed., *Venezia e Creta. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Iraklion-Chanià, 30 settembre - 5 ottobre 1997*, Venice 1998, pp. 43-71, here at 45-46; Gasparis, *Catastici feudorum Crete. Catasticum sexterii Dorsoduri*, pp. 59-60; K. E. Lambrinos, ed., *Michiel Gradenigo, νοτάριος στη δουκική γραμματεία του Χάνδακα. Libro 1593-1617*, Athens 2010, pp. 31-32.

government. Through the same channel the government in Venice received information about the current affairs and developments on the island and the wider area, trade and commerce.<sup>128</sup> Maintaining the constant and reciprocal flow of information between the two poles was of paramount importance as a means of control through connectivity. In this context, the duke was required to notify the government in writing upon entering office (article 4). He was also enjoined to inform the central authorities about the condition of armaments, food and other supplies that he had received from his predecessor. A copy of this report was forwarded to the financial officials in Venice, who were instructed to keep records of the supplies of each place, update them occasionally and compare them for reasons of accountability (article 101). Furthermore, he was obligated to disclose to his councillors all incoming correspondence, so that they would be kept up to date on the instructions of their government and make informed decisions about the affairs of the colony. Similarly, before being sealed, the outgoing correspondence required the consent of the majority of the members of the ducal council, presumably both to enhance the joint responsibility of the council members and to ensure the reliability and validity of the information outflowing from the colonial authorities (article 44).

Upon his return to Venice, the duke was to present before the *Signoria* and the Senate an account of the developments on the island and in the wider Aegean region (article 3) and was invited to submit proposals for the betterment of the local government (article 4).<sup>129</sup> As any other senior Venetian official who handled public money, he was required to notify the governors of public revenue in writing that he had surrendered office to his successor, return unallocated funds and submit the records of his administration to the financial officials so as to be held accountable for his stewardship (articles 4, 9, 205).<sup>130</sup>

In his capacity as the head of the local government, the duke was responsible for the sound financial management (articles 5, 39, 80, 82, 87, 88, 89, 94, 185, 197), controlling public expenditure (articles 48, 49, 50, 157, 158, 185, 197), the collection of taxes and dues from the feudatories (articles 60, 123), the state-owned peasants (articles 128), the Jews (articles 88, 126, 128) as well as from the salaries of officials and civil employees

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128. On the official correspondence between the *Signoria* and the duke of Crete which is partially preserved in the State Archive of Venice, see Fr. Thiriet, ed., *Duca di Candia. Ducali e lettere ricevute (1358-1360; 1401-1405)* [Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia. Fonti per la storia di Venezia. Sez. I-Archivi Pubblici], Venice 1978, pp. vii-viii.

129. After the end of his term of office, Duodo gave a report to the Senate on the progress of the excavation of the port of Candia, based on which the latter imposed a duty on the ships that came to load or unload there in order to finance the works, see Noiret, *Documents*, p. 484 (summary Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 3, pp. 246-247, no 3168), 13 November 1462.

130. On these obligations that were common to all Venetian administrators, see Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern Period", pp. 154-155.



(articles 202, 203, 204), and the proper allocation of public revenues (article 10, 61, 80). He was also responsible for the management of public property assets, for according to the land ownership system established in Crete by the Venetians in 1211, the land belonged to the state, which granted it to Venetian citizens in perpetuity with the right to exploit, bequeath and alienate it through sale or gift. The majority of the land had been distributed to the settlers, who had arrived in waves on the island during the first half of the thirteenth century. A portion of the land previously owned by the Greek Church had been taken up by the Latin Church took over, whilst the state had retained for itself a large area around the city of Candia, the so-called Paracandia.<sup>131</sup>

With respect to the land held directly by the state, the duke's duties involved the recovery of public property and outstanding revenues accrued in the time of his predecessors (article 8), the leasing of residential plots and buildings in Candia as well as land and estates outside the city through public auction and for specified terms, the auctioning out of prisons, ensuring that the works carried on buildings by the tenants on the exterior of buildings on the main street of the capital were in compliance with the building regulations and that the public interest was protected at all times (articles, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 163).

Venetian hegemony on the island was premised from the outset on the contractual relationship between the state, as embodied by the doge and, on Crete, the duke and the feudatories, who were not only charged with the defence of the island but also were made to bear considerable part of the war expenses. In return for the concession of land by the state, the feudatories swore to preserve, protect and defend the colony for the honour of Venice and the benefit of the Venetian people. This oath, in theory at least, had to be renewed every five years by the original holder and his heirs, within a year of inheriting the estate and after securing the approval of Venice, provided they were of age. If the heir was under age or female, then the military service was performed by a substitute (articles 110, 112, 115, 116, 117, 118).<sup>132</sup> However, after the feudatories turned against the state in 1363, the terms and conditions of the original concession of land were revoked and prospective fief-holders were henceforth required to take an oath of fidelity to Venice and the regime of Crete (article 109).<sup>133</sup>

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131. On the land ownership system in Venetian Crete, see Ch. Gasparis, "Land and Landowners in the Greek Territories under Latin Dominion, 13th-14th centuries", in N. I. Tsougarakis – P. Lock, eds., *A Companion to Latin Greece*, Leiden – Boston, 2015, pp. 87-89.

132. See previous note. For the original concession of land to the Venetian settlers and the oath and the obligations of the feudatories, see below note 181.

133. For the abrogation of the original concession of land, see McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, p. 141.

Since grants of land were conditional upon providing continuing military service, the Greeks of the island initially had been excluded from the distribution of land, although, ultimately, this did not stop them from acquiring land through various means. Fearing that the number of Greek land-holders would increase at the expense of Latin land-holders and potentially become a threat to its rule, the Venetian government prohibited Greeks from purchasing or exchanging fiefs held by Latins and, later, banned the granting of land to Greeks by *gratia* (articles 129, 130).<sup>134</sup>

It was the duke's responsibility to implement the laws that governed land ownership, making sure that the procedures for the allocation or transfer of land would be observed at all times, that the established balance of landholding would not be upset, and that the expected military service, the so-called *varnitio*, would be provided for by the landholders. He was also reminded in his commission that Greeks who rebelled against the state forfeited their rights to land (article 75) and that he was to seize the property of those exiled for homicide and other criminal offences (articles 111, 143). Changes of ownership were to be recorded in the land registers that were kept in the ducal chancery under six keys, of which three were kept by the duke and his two councillors and three by each one of the treasurers (article 97).<sup>135</sup>

Article 73 in Duodo's commission reflects the circumspection and distrust with which the Venetian government consistently regarded its subjects on Crete, both Latin and Greek. The article reproduces a decree issued by the Great Council in July 1255 ordaining "that no more than two Latin men accompanied by eight servants should meet any Greek coming into the city, nor join together with any Greek in order to present a claim or submit a petition before the duke and his councillors or any other officials of Crete". It is important to remember that the decree was made immediately after the completion of the conquest of the western part of the island. This was a time of heightened tension in the colony, as the redistribution of the land was about to begin, which, it stands to reason, would have caused protest against the authorities and conflict between the new settlers and the Greeks.<sup>136</sup> In the two hundred years that had

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134. On the military service owed by the fief-holders and Venice's policy toward Greek land-holding, see Ch. Gasparis, *Catastici Feudorum Crete. Catasticum Chanee. 1314-1396* [National Hellenic Research Foundation. Institute for Byzantine Research, Sources 9], Athens 2008, pp. 51-57; and Gasparis, "Land and Landowners in the Greek Territories under Latin Dominion", p. 94-98.

135. For the land registers of Crete, see Ch. Gasparis, *Catastici Feudorum Crete. Catasticum sexterii Dorsoduri, 1227-1418* [National Hellenic Research Foundation. Institute for Byzantine Research. Sources 6], v.1, Athens 2004, pp. 60-61 and passim; and Gasparis, "Land and Landowners in the Greek Territories under Latin Dominion", pp. 99-100.

136. For the distribution of land in western Crete, see Gasparis, *Catastici Feudorum Crete. Catasticum sexterii Dorsoduri*, p. 24; Gasparis, *Catastici Feudorum Crete. Catasticum Chanee*, pp. 24-39.

elapsed, the divide between the settler and the indigenous communities had arguably lessened considerably through everyday coexistence, intermarriage and cultural assimilation. Nevertheless, the fear of violent confrontation erupting between the two groups appears to have remained ever present in minds of Venice's governing elite, and the traumatic events of 1363 helped enhance the apprehension that if the Latins and the Greeks were to unite in pressing their demands on the regime, such an alliance could once again lead into action against Venetian rule on the island.

In line with Venice's general attitude toward deserving and devoted subjects, already from the years of the revolts of the Greek archons of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the regime of Crete had taken to awarding land, debt forgiveness and other concessions to peasants who had remained loyal and helped put down the rebellions. In addition to the concessions stated above, villeins were usually rewarded with manumission.<sup>137</sup> This was a considerable privilege within the framework of the late-medieval agrarian society of Venetian Crete and in general. It meant exemption from certain personal dues, freedom of movement, freedom to marry without the permission of one's lord, and, in theory at least, the ability to change occupation and ultimately improve one's overall situation.<sup>138</sup> But this also came with an economic cost to the landowners as well as the Venetian state, which relied on dependant peasants to farm public-held lands and collected dues from them, since it translated into loss of free labour and subsequently loss of income.

The recurrent epidemics after 1348 and the revolt of 1363 had an exacerbating effect on the already acute demographic conditions on the island. The shortage of peasant labour was a source of constant concern for the colonial government, which the Venetian councils had tried to address from the beginning of the fourteenth century with a variety of measures, such as measures to restrict internal and external migration, measures

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137. For the Cretan rebellions of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, see Borsari, *Il dominio veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo*, pp. 27-66; Ch. A. Maltezou, «Η Κρήτη κατά τη διάρκεια της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας (1211-1669)», in N. M. Panagiotakis, ed., *Κρήτη. Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός*, v. 2, Crete 1988, pp. 108-161, here at 115-127; and Ch. Gasparis, «Η κρητική επανάσταση του 1333. Η επανάσταση των «άλλων» Καλλέργηδων», *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 32 (2012), 79-105. For a general overview and interpretation of these revolts, see N. Svoronos, «Το νόημα και η τυπολογία των κρητικών επαναστάσεων του 13ου αι.», *Σύμμεικτα* 8 (1989), 1-14. For the rewards to peasants who had remained loyal during these rebellions, see Ch. Gasparis, *Η γη και οι αγρότες στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη, 13ος-14ος αι./ Land and Peasants in Medieval Crete 13th-14th c.* [National Hellenic Research Foundation. Institute for Byzantine Research. Monographs 4], Athens 1996, p. 76; and Gasparis, «Για την τιμή και το συμφέρον της πατρίδας. Οι «θυσίες» των βενετών φεουδαρχών της Κρήτης για την υπεράσπιση της κυριαρχίας κατά τον 13ο αιώνα», *Thesaurismata* 41-42 (2011-2012), 291-310, here at 305-306.

138. On the enfranchisement of villeins, see Gasparis, *Η γη και οι αγρότες στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη*, pp. 60-69.

to attract refugees and immigrants and to reduce rebels to unfree status in order to boost the number of state-owned villeins (articles 76, 127, 128), alongside provisions for the systematic census of the peasant population by the regime (article 164) and laws aimed at curtailing the abuses against villeins by Venetian rectors (article 35). For the same reason, the enfranchisement of villeins was generally discouraged and, after the onslaught of the Black Death, the duke and his councillors were explicitly forbidden to enfranchise state-owned peasants.<sup>139</sup>

The revolt of St Tito had spread from the urban centres to the countryside, where the fighting had continued even after the collapse of the rebel leadership.<sup>140</sup> The difficulty that the government forces had experienced in subduing the revolt in the rural areas, had once again exposed the fragility of Venetian rule outside the island's cities. If, as it has been suggested, there were not many ardent supporters of the Venetian rule among the peasantry, to begin with,<sup>141</sup> once the prospect of enfranchisement was no longer available to them, it is obvious that the villeins had no incentive whatsoever to be loyal and supportive toward the regime. Moreover, whereas, in the previous revolts, the peasants had passively followed the Cretan archons without taking a precise political stance,<sup>142</sup> this time they had articulated their own agenda.<sup>143</sup> All these factors must have weighed heavily on the decision of the Senate to rethink the prohibition of enfranchisement and permit, in 1376, the regime to liberate both state and privately owned villeins in times of war as well as in peacetime as a reward for services rendered to the state (article 93).

The duke's administrative duties included oversight over the food supply and provision system of the island. He was responsible for securing the procurement of wheat, setting aside in the colony's budget two thousand hyperpers for it, and that foodstuffs circulated in the local markets unhindered (articles 144, 170), thereby ensuring the sustenance of the population and peace and stability on the island. The integration of

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139. On the demographic problem in medieval Crete, and the measures adopted by the Venetian state in order to deal with labour shortage, see Fr. Thiriet, "La condition paysanne et les problemes de l'exploitation rurale en Romanie greco-vénitienne", *Studi Veneziani* 11 (1968) [= repr. in Thiriet, *Etudes sur la Romanie greco-vénitienne (Xe-XVe siècles)*, Variorum Reprints, London 1977, no XIII], 35-69, here at 58-65; and more recently Gasparis, *Ηγη και οι αγρότες στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη*, pp. 60-81. On the condition of peasants in Greek territories under Venetian rule, including Crete, during the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, see also Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*, pp. 107-137, 287-302, 395-437.

140. McKee, "The Revolt of St Tito", 184-186; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 141-143.

141. Gasparis, «Για την τιμή και το συμφέρον της πατρίδας», 305.

142. Borsari, *Il dominio veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo*, p. 31.

143. McKee, "The Revolt of St Tito", 183; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, p. 140.

Crete in the Venetian trade and maritime network of the Eastern Mediterranean after 1207 signified more responsibilities and additional burdens for the head of the regime. Much of the island's agricultural production, especially grain and, from the fifteenth century onward, wine, was geared toward Venice and the international market. Cretan ports operated as local markets and centres for the concentration and distribution of rural products produced on the island and in the wider Aegean region. Candia, in particular, because of its favourable location along the main maritime routes and its function as regional administrative and economic centre, grew rapidly into a thriving port that served as an important station for the trading and transshipment of goods directed to or coming from Venice, Alexandria and Beirut<sup>144</sup> The duke played a critical role in the enforcement of Venetian commercial and trade policies in the area and in the coordination between commercial activities and production (articles 45, 119, 120, 1222, 124, 131, 132, 161, 165, 168, 169, 181, 193, 207). He monitored and controlled the activities and the conduct of merchants. Both the loading of ships and the goods moving through the port were under his ultimate supervision. And most important, he was charged with ensuring that the proper procedures for the sale and export of wheat were followed (articles 96, 171, 189, 190) and that the excess grain produced on the island as well as all important goods were routed toward Venice (article 172).

The Venetian state attached great importance to the administration of justice as a means of enforcing, establishing legitimacy and maintaining political and social stability.<sup>145</sup> In this context, a key component of good governance was ensuring that justice—including the enforcement of judicial orders—was carried out in an efficient manner without prejudice and coercion. The crucial role of the duke, as chief justice, in the judicial system of the colony emerges clearly from the provisions in his commission regulating the administration of justice and the operation of the Cretan courts (articles

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144. The Genoese conquest of Famagusta in 1374 further reinforced Candia's role as a major transit and transshipment station in the area. D. Jacoby, "Creta e Venezia nel contesto economico del Mediterraneo orientale sino alla metà del Quattrocento", in Ortalli, ed., *Venezia e Creta* [=repr. in Jacoby, *Commercial exchange across the Mediterranean: Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt, and Italy*, Aldershot, Hampshire – Burlington, VT, 2005, no VIII], pp. 73-106; Jacoby, "Candia between Venice, Byzantium and the Levant: The Rise of a Major Emporium to the Mid-Fifteenth Century", in Vassilaki, ed., *The Hand of Angelos*, pp. 38-47; Jacoby, "The Operation of the Cretan Port of Candia in the Thirteenth and First Half of the Fourteenth Century: Sources, Speculations, and Facts", *Thesaurismata* 39-40 (2009-2010), 9-23.

145. For the system of justice in Venice's maritime state, see Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern Period", pp. 156-164. For the judicial system as a site of negotiation and contestation, see O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, pp. 75-87. For the politics of justice in the Venetian state, see G. Cozzi, "La politica del diritto nella repubblica di Venezia", in G. Cozzi, ed., *Stato società e giustizia nella repubblica Veneta (sec. XV-XVIII)*, Rome 1980, pp. 17-152.

7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 92, 148, 191). The ducal court met at least twice a week under the presidency of the duke. Attendance was mandatory, although the monetary penalty for non-appearance without sufficient cause, which, incidentally, had remained unchanged since the fourteenth century, was inconsequential. Because the volume of judicial business was heavy, the court dealt only with civil cases involving disputes of high monetary values, delegating the adjudicating authority for property claims under one hundred hyperpers to the *judices proprii*<sup>146</sup>, who met every day, in the morning and after lunch at the hours of the bell. The duke was responsible for the delivery of swift and fair justice to all subjects, regardless of whether they were Latins or Greeks. Furthermore, he was to adjudicate in compliance with the majority opinion of the court and mete out justice and punishment impartially with due regard for the honour of Venice and the well-being of the colony. Both he and his councillors were to disqualify themselves in proceedings in which a relative was a party to the proceeding. Similarly, they could not be related to the state prosecutors of Candia (*advocatores comunis Candide*)<sup>147</sup>.

In addition to his judicial and administrative duties, Duodo was specifically instructed to undertake the fortification of the bourg of Candia (article 113). The demanding task of governing the colony also required of him to inspect the fortifications of the island one month after taking office (article 81) and from time to time to go on tour around the island or, if necessary, mount military expeditions. For these occasions, his commission provided detailed instructions about the composition of his retinue, the number of servants and horses he was allowed to take with him, his daily allowance, expenditure and dinning arrangements (articles 47, 49, 50, 51).<sup>148</sup>

The government of Venice expected of Duodo to perform his political duty in a compliant, consistent, and responsible manner *ad honorem et proficuum comunis Veneciarum*, to surpass any pressure from his entourage, whether friends or kin, and to place the Commune above his own personal and financial interests (articles 35, 36, 37, 41, 67, 68, 125). He was, hence, obliged to distance himself from the local society, even if it included members of his wider family, and to generally refrain from informal interaction, functioning rather as a disinterested observer of the local populace (articles 32, 34, 38, 47, 125, 160, 192). Moreover, he was compelled to implement state policies, as well as the—sometimes excruciating—governmental demands, all the while keeping the

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146. On the competence of this court, see Papadia-Lala, *Ο δεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο κατά την περίοδο της βενετοκρατίας*, p. 113.

147. For the functions of the state prosecutors, see above p. 46.

148. See Papadaki, «Μετακινήσεις ανώτερων αξιωματούχων για άσκηση κυβερνητικού έργου στην Κρήτη», 2-6.

subjects satisfied to avoid disturbing the delicate, and at times fragile, balance between state and periphery. Adhering to these rules and directives was considered a key element for effective governance. However, this required a difficult balancing act, which, as research has shown, not all patricians were capable of performing nor had the requisite high sense of responsibility and strong moral fibre.<sup>149</sup> Therefore, commissions not only offered guidance on laws and practices but also functioned as devices of control that could be employed by the state and its subjects to bring Venetian administrators to task and make them accountable for their actions, given that any violation or suspected violation of the terms of their mandate of office could be cause for prosecution. In both these senses, Duodo's commission could be described as a *vade mecum* to governance. How well he applied the Venetian government's policies, principles and directives laid down in the document during his term of office in Crete is a matter for another study.

### III. Edition practices and conventions

In the edition of the text, each provision is preceded by a summary in English and followed by cross-references (i) to the relevant provisions in the unpublished commission to duke Leonardo Caravello of 1429, (ii) to the original laws or regulations passed by various councils in Venice<sup>150</sup>, with date and archival reference or, where available, source edition, and (iii) to the same provisions found in published commissions to other high-ranking officials of Crete (i.e. the councillors of Crete, the captain of Crete, the rector of Chania), (iv) supplementary bibliography, where deemed necessary, for those wishing to pursue a specific topic further. Idiomatic expressions, terms and other designations are explained in the footnotes.

To facilitate the reader, the following conventions have been adopted in the transcription:

- Abbreviations are silently expanded and punctuation is modernised. Run-on sentences are separated by periods and semicolons.

- I have capitalised initial letters of place-names (e.g., Canea, Creta, Romania), and nationality proper names (e.g., Mamalucus, Venetus), the word *sanctus* when referring to a place-name or church dedication, products named after or for a region (e.g., Monovasia).

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149. See e.g., Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, passim; O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, pp. 119-139.

150. Despite exhaustive research in the registers of the Great Council, the Collegio, the Senate and the Council of the Ten, the source of some provisions has proved elusive, but it is hoped that this will be remedied in the future.

-Names of Venetian legislative or deliberative councils, magistracies and offices are standardised to lower case.

-All Latin forms of the word *comune* were rendered with a single *m*, as is the usage in the series Senato Misti.

-Certain common expressions appear in the edited text as compound words (e.g., *siquis*, *decetero*), regardless of the inconsistent practice in the manuscript.

-Deletions and scribal errors are noted in the footnotes.

-Folio changes are indicated by two vertical bars (e.g., |1r|).

-Square brackets [abcd] are used to enclose illegible text;

[abcd] Square brackets enclose illegible letters or words;

[āb.çđ] Dotted letters within square brackets denote possible restoration of illegible;  
[...] Three dots within square brackets indicate missing letters or words, regardless of their number and the length of text



# THE COMMISSION OF PASQUALE MALIPIERO TO LEONE DUODO

## Text and Summaries

[f.1v] [ ... presentis commissionis ...]

[1. ...] de gubernando.

[2. ...] diem introitus.

[3. ...do] facti Imperii Romanie.

[4. ...] ad consilium rogatorum.

[5. ... comuni ...].

[6. ...] debet audire missam.

[7. ...].

[8.] Possessionis [...] debeant pro comuni.

[9.] De [...] dies XV.

[10. ...] pecuniam comunis.

11. [...] videbitur dandi alicui de bonis comunis.

12. [Faciat] ducha [rationem] sine dilatione.

13. De maleficiis [de]claratis per lettera Nigropontis.

14. De rixis inter stipendiariis et cives.

15. [Modus serva...] a civilibus.

16. De hisque sunt de possessio.

17. Ducha non possit esse advocatus.

18. De pheudatis citatis ad iudicium.

19. Quod ducha et consiliarii non audiant questio [...rum] propinquorum.

20. [Quod ...] ducha cum consiliariis fecere deb[e]nt [condemnationes].

21. Si deficeret ducha quod [ab sit].

22. Advocatores Candide non possint esse propinqui.

23. Ducha in differentiis iudicum capiat illam partem que sibi videbitur.
24. Ducha ducat ad complementum sententias iudicum.
25. Gratie non fiant de condonationibus sine voluntate duce.
26. De debitis comunis non possit fieri suspensio.
27. Ducha non tollet servicium, vel donum.

| column2|

28. [... de fa...].
  29. [...] presbyterum [...] servitium.
  30. [Militem ... salarium] a comuni.
  31. Ducha [non] compret aliquod de monasteriis.
  32. Ducha non toller ullum imprestitum.
  33. Ducha non angarizabit rusticum comunis.
  34. Ducha ibit ad aliquid convivium.
  35. Ducha non exercebit negotiationes.
  36. Ducha non p[osse] adducere nec mittere mercationes Venetias.
  37. Ducha nec filius aut frater accipiet collegantiam.
  38. De servanda forma consilii.
  39. De credentiis tenendis.
  40. Capitulum quod habere debeat duca de sal[ario].
  41. Quod familia sit fulcita armis.
  42. Quod rectores in reditu vadant as officiales rationum.
  43. Si quid evenerit de duca mo[.]us et cetera.
  44. [Ducha monstret] letteras spectantes comuni consiliariis.
  45. De carato Io auri accipiendo Venetis pro sigillo.
  46. Siquid tractaretur contra bonum statum.
  47. Si videbitur quod duca debeat equitare.
  48. Si duca et consilarii essent in exercitu solum unam curiam.
  49. Si duca et consilarii ibunt in exercitum debent simul stare.
- |f. 2r| 50. [...].
51. Ducha non possit ducere secum aliqu[um] de [...] quando ibit in [...].
  52. Ducha possit secum ducere [... ...] duos socios.
  53. Quod decetro eligantur duo consilarii in Creta.
  54. Ducha non tenetur facere [viam].
  55. Quod Ducha aut unus consiliarius semper remaneat in civitate Candide.
  56. [Si] duca et alter consiliarius [ibunt ... ..em] alter consiliarius inquirat et cetera.
  57. Ducha faciat vindictam de cartis.
  58. Ducha [imponat] finem de cartulis si [...] differentia esset inter notarium et alios.
  59. Ducha faciat fieri litteras de contestatione.

60. Studeat ducha quod exigant annuatim yperpera IIIM a militibus et cetera.  
 61. [...lum] de vinis et mon[ovasiis].  
 62. Si Veneti male administrabunt bona eorum.  
 63. Quod nichil affictetur de Parachandia.  
 64. Ducha non possit obligare aliqua comunis.  
 65. Ducha de terris datis ad annos 29 non possit elongare.  
 66. Quod casalia comunis Crete affictent.  
 67. Ducha et consiliarii nihil possint emere quod pro comuni vendatur  
 68. Ducha non possit dare, vel donare aliquam rem comunis.  
 69. Res comunis incantet solum in platea.

|column 2|

70. [...].  
 71. [...].  
 72. [...].  
 73. [...].  
 74.[... Coroni et Mothoni ...].  
 75. Ducha non [...].  
 76. Ducha non [per ...] turchum [...] habitare [...].  
 77. Ducha et consiliarii [...] circiter [...].  
 78. Bastardi [...] quam [...].  
 79. Quod nullus [...].  
 80. Quod pignora non daretur [...].  
 81. Ducha infra mensem [...] retionem tenetur [...].  
 82. Quod [...] stare plezii.  
 83. Ducha et consiliarii possint [...] camerariis Crete [...].  
 84. Per ducham non possit [...] aliqua galea.  
 85. Quod siquis eorum qui faciunt [...]nerit Venetias [re...].  
 86. Ducha faciat notum s[...] in capite [...] mensis exemplare quaternum [...].

|f. 2v| 87. [...].

88. [...].  
 89. [...].  
 90. [...].  
 91. [...].  
 92. [...].  
 93. [...].  
 94. [...].  
 95. [... tur].  
 96. [...] per ducham et consiliarios.

97. [...] in loco tuto.  
 98. [...silli].  
 99. Castellanerie [.] judicatus Caneae a scallis Stromboli citra [...bus] in Canea.  
 100. [...] consegnare [...] per singulum.  
 101. [...].  
 102. Duchae [et consiliari eligunt officialios].  
 103. [...] et ... officiorum].  
 104. Officia non dare his qui non habeant.  
 105. [...] emendare capitularia].  
 106. Dantur singulis iudicibus ypperpera 36.  
 107. [...] ad Saracenos].  
 108. [...] ire in Alexandria.  
 109. [...] concessionis de feudis.  
 110. [...].  
 111. [...]retineatur.
- |column 2|
112. De [...].  
 113. Quod [...].  
 114. Conductores frumentum Venetias non impedeantur<sup>151</sup>.  
 115. Pheudati habentes uxorem servant in persona.  
 116. Pheuda non [dentur] pro iudicibus.  
 117. Habentes [mediam] militiam serviant.  
 118. De cavallariis commissis ad [...].  
 119. Quod naves debent cercaria.  
 120. Mercationes non ponantur locis [...tis].  
 121. [...]non accipiat zecha...].  
 122. Taride et naves non possint [elevari]  
 123. Terra feudi non possit affranchari.  
 124. Messetam [...].  
 125. Rector respondeat... per malef...].  
 126. Iudei non possint affranchari.  
 127. Villani forestieri [s ... ypperp...].  
 128. Villani habitat...s in... nichil solvant].  
 129. Duchae non det licentiam [Grecis] de pheudis.  
 130. Pheuda latinorum non possint [...].

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151. Thus in the manuscript.

131. Galee [...antur] ad suas [...].  
 132. [...].  
 133. Pena conducenti blada alio quam ad suas insulas.  
 134. Ordo cancellariis Crete.  
 135. Cancellarii non recipiant d...um].  
 136. Cancellarius non emat res aliquas.  
 137. Cancellarius non faciat de mercationibus.  
 138. Scribe palatii non faciant mercationes.  
 139. Salaria cancellarii Crete.  
 140. Solutiones preceptorum et actuum.  
 141. Cancellarius de cartis non accipiat solutionem a grossis.  
 142. De cartis comunis notarius accipiat [I...yperper...].
- [f. 3r] 143. Consilium de homicidiis.  
 144. Quibus ducha de [...].  
 145. [...]. duche non habeant officium.  
 146.[...titum ...] ab yperperi C supra.  
 147. Nullus habeat nisi unum officium.  
 148. Dantur cum sigillo scripture.  
 149. Scribat semper ducha de frumento.  
 150. [Armata] non possit fieri [nisi et cetera].  
 151. Turchi sclavi non conducantur.  
 152. Non recipiant cursarii.  
 153. Non tangantur pecun[ie depositate...].  
 154. [Annos ...].  
 155. Datio vel [transactio non valeat].  
 156. Ducha in reparatione domus non [expendat] ultra yperperis ....  
 157. Tanxatio expensarum [...].  
 158. [...] regaleae.  
 159. [...].  
 160. De [...] contrahendis.  
 161. [...] zuchari.  
 162. [...] pheudatum.  
 163. Carcere debeant incantari.  
 164. [... fiend...] villan[i]s.  
 165. Venetus non [naulizare] navem forensem.  
 166. D[i]fferentie] cirche.  
 167. Rectores insule debeant e[...re] et cetera.  
 168. Veneti [quant..] ad navigan[dum].

169. Provisores et rectores faciant cridari.  
 170. Concessio [...] victuali[um].  
 171. Duchas [...] frumentum.  
 172. Monovasio solvant ducat[os] X.  
 173. Pars de scribaniis castrorum.

|column2|

174. [...].  
 175. [...].  
 176. [...].  
 177. [...].  
 178. [...].  
 179. [...].  
 180. [...].  
 181. [...].  
 182. [...].  
 183. [...].  
 184. [...].  
 185. Duchas [...].  
 186. Equi [...].  
 187. Non [...].  
 188. De [...].  
 189. [...].  
 190. [...].  
 191. [...].  
 192. [...].  
 193. [...].  
 194. [...].  
 195. [...].  
 196. Quod [...].  
 197. Salaria [...].  
 198. Judei non [ha ...].  
 199. [...].  
 200. Terminus ad [...].  
 201. Quod cancellarii [...].  
 202. Pars [XX et XXXX sol...].  
 203. De decimis officialium [...ndis].  
 204. Scribe solvent XX [.....].  
 205. De [po.itan] litteras [gubernatio...].

|f. 3v| 206. [...].

207. [...].

208. [...].

209. [...].

210. [...].

211. [...].

212. [...].

213. [...].

Τελός<sup>152</sup>

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152. Thus in manuscript for «τέλος».

1. *He is appointed for two years, with the obligation to remain in his post until the arrival of his replacement, at which point he must relinquish his position. If his replacement arrives prior to the completion of his term of office he will continue to receive his full salary, but if he extends his stay beyond that time he will receive his salary reduced by half, until the departure of the first Venice-bound convoy. Upon the arrival of his replacement and the completion of his two-year term he must make arrangements to leave as soon as possible. On arrival of his successor he must lay off half of his retenue, reduce his expenses and sell his horses as is prescribed in his commission. If requested he must offer advise to the new administration in good faith.*

[f. 4r] Nos Pasquale Maripietro dei gratia dux Venetiarum comittimus tibi nobili viro Leoni Duodo dilecto civi nostro, quod de nostro mandato vadas et sis ducha Crete, [in quo regimi]ne esse debes per duos annos, nisi successor tuus prius applicuerit, cui quandocunque venerit dictum [regimen consignare debes], sed habere debes integer salarium [tuum et facere omnes expensas] sicut esses in regimine, usque ad complementum [dictorum] duorum annorum. Et in casu quo successor [tuus non applicu]erit illuc ante complementum tuum duorum annorum [expectabis] ipsum in regimine donec venerit. Et recipies integre salarium tuum de quanto plus steteris per rationem, [sed de quanto plus] steteris post adventum successoris tui, [complectis duobus annis,] habere debes solum medietatem salarii tui usque [per totam mu]dam primo venturam, scilicet usque ad diem qua ibi moram fe]ceri[s]. Ab ipsa vero muda in antea nullum salarium habere [debes]. Unde festinare debes ad red[eundum] post adventum successoris tui complectis predictis duobus annis[quam citius poteris bona fide]. Licitum est tibi ob adventu successoris tui in antea trans[actis] tuis duobus annis deponere medieta[tem] familie tu[e] [et aliarum ex]pensarum regiminis. Equos tamen vendere [potes .....] ad tempus et per modum tibi in hac tua commissione concessum. Et si duca successor et eius consilium á te pe[tierint sibi dari consilium et] teneris sibi [consulere] bona fide, [licentiaque] habes eundo ad consilium predicti duche successoris [tui donec] ibi fueris.

The salary arrangements regarding the outgoing duke were passed by the Senate on 14 February 1376, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, pp. 197-198, no 16. Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 162v-163r, no 1.

2. *Upon his entry in office, the duke must notify in writing the central government.*

Diem qua in hoc tuo regimine intraveris nobis scriber[e teneris].

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 163r, no 2.



3. *Within one month of his return to Venice, he must give an account to the doge, his councillors and the Senate of the situation in the Empire of Romania<sup>153</sup> and particularly in Crete, based on facts and personal opinion.*

Et infra unum mensem postquam in Venetiis intraveris omnia [que de] facto [f. 4v] [Imperii Romanie et specialiter] de facto Insule Crete esse facta sci[veris, vel facienda utilia] credideris. Licet inde á domino duce vel eius [consilio interrogatus] vel non á te ipso dices omnia, que credideris esse [dicenda et fore utilia] pro honore et proficuo tam domini ducis et comuni Venetiarum, quam [etiam Imperii Romanie quam insule Crete, domino duci et [consilium rogatorum]. Et si post ipsum mensem á domino duce vel eius consilio [predicto] de facto Imperii Romanie et insule Crete fueris interrogatus [dicere veritatem teneris], quod a te inde quesiverit cum proficuo et honore Venetiarum.

Cf. Venice, Ms. PDc 675, f. 163r, no 3. For the inclusion of the same provision in the commissions to the councillor of Crete of 1350 and the rector of Chania of 1589, see, respectively, Thomas, "Commission", 184, no 10; and Maltezu, *Εντολή*, p. 42, no 2.

4. *Within three months after his return to Venice, he may introduce a motion or motions in the Senate concerning provisions that need to be made for the betterment of the local government and for the honor and prestige of the Commune of Venice.*

S[cire etiam] debes quod per partem captam in maiori consilio 1375, die XVII aprilis, usque [ad tres menses] in redditu tuo Venetias poteris si tibi videbitur [venire ad consilium rogatorum] et ponem partem et p[artes] de p[rovisionibus de quibus haberes conscientiam] pro bono huius regiminis et pro honore et [statu] comuni Venetiarum, [ut in dicta parte plenius continetur].

ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. Novella, f. 149r (n.n. 160r), 17 April 1375 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 2, p. 46, no 823). Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 163r, no 4. For the inclusion of this provision in the commissions of the captain of Crete of 1411 and the rector of Chania of 1589, see, respectively, Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 205-206, no XXII; and Maltezu, *Εντολή*, pp. 42-43, no 3.

5. *He must manage the public revenues coming from Crete and other islands and places for the benefit of the Commune of Venice, at his discretion and with the consent of the majority of the councillors, and make sure that all public funds are promptly assigned to the treasurers of the island, who are acting there on behalf of the Commune.*

153. For the meaning of the term, see Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*, pp. 1-4.

Studiosus eris inquirere et excutere, intromittere et intrimitti, sal[vare ac salvari] facere ad [utilitatem] comunis Venetiarum omnia, que ad ipsum comune vi[deris pertinere aut tuis] consiliariis vel maiori vestrum videbitur per[tinere] de insule Crete et aliis insulis, quam de omnibus aliis partibus, [tam de redditibus, quam de ceteris omnibus comuni Venetiarum pertinentibus, [que omnia facies devenire quam cito poteris in manibus camerariorum comunis, qui ibi essent in Creta pro comuni].

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDe 675, f. 163r, no 5. For the inclusion of similar provisions in the commissions of the councillor of Crete of 1350 and rector of Chania of 1589, see, respectively, Thomas, “Commission”, 185, no. 11; and Maltezou, *Εντολή*, p. 43, no 4.

6. *The duke should convene with his councillors every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, after mass, at an appointed location, to deal with the affairs of the colony, and not leave until at least 9 a.m.*

Et omni die Lune, Mercurii et Veneris ibis ad videndum missam cum consiliariis tuis, qui presentes ex[titerint] ad aliquam ecclesiam, et missam [cantatam] ibi statim cum eis ad aliquem locum constitutum per vos ad faciendum et exercendum ea que neccessaria fuerint pro negotiis dicte terre et ibi stabis, nec ab ipso loco recedes ad minus usque ad tercias.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDe 675, f. 163v, no 6. For the inclusion of the same provision in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, “Commission”, 184, no 7.

7. *On all other days, and specifically on Tuesday and Thursday, after lunch, the duke and his councillors should hold court together in a location designated by them. A fine of one hyperper is provided for non-appearance, exception is made for absence due to official reasons, illness or attendance of weddings and funerals.*

Similiter omnibus aliis diebus eris simul cum dictis tuis consiliariis et specialiter omni die [Martis] et Jovis post prandium ad aliquem locum constitutum per vos ad audiendum et intelligendum petitiones et ad faciendum [alia negotia], que fuerint opportune. Et si non ibis et non stabis et non [f. 5r] eris sicut dictum est, debes perdere [qualibet vice qua non observabis] unum yperperum pro pena, exceptis hic<sup>154</sup> occasionibus vel [aliqua earum ... pro factis et servitiis comunis] dicte terre, vel occasione infirmitatis [tui corpus], vel occasione eundi ad mortuum, vel ad nuptias, [pro quibus non debes incurrere] dictam penam. Si etiam habueris tu et consilarii [taliam facere occasione] vestrorum regiminum, vel essetis vestris diversis

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154. Read *his*.

[negotiis impediti], possitis vos absolvere a dictis capitulis, si tu et consiliarii predicti fueritis inde concordēs.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, p. 163v, no 7. For the inclusion of the same provision in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 184, nos 8-9.

8. *The duke must promptly seize all public property and revenues that his predecessors should have, but failed to, seize, and see to it that it is registered in the public register of Crete; and upon his return to Venice he must submit a detailed statement of the public revenues and the expenditure incurred during his administration.*

Et omnes possessiones et redditus, quos possideri inveniris per [comune], et intromisse sunt per precessores tuos et alias, que non sunt intromisse per precessorem tuum, intromittes et intromitti facies pro comuni quam cito poteris et scribe facies in catastico comunis Crete et in tuo reditu Venetiis tecum duces in scriptis omnes redditus et omnis introitus comunis [et etiam] que expensata et data fuerint pro comuni tempore tui regiminis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 163v, no 8. The same provision was included in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 185, no 13; and in the commission to the rector of Chania, with wording adapted to the particular office, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 44, no 7.

9. *Captains, rectors, jurati and all those who manage public money are expected to submit their financial books and records and to return unallocated funds to the officials of accounts within fifteen days of their return to Venice. Failure to return the funds results in a fine tantamount to the sum withheld.*

Quod capitanei, rectores, jurati et omnes alie persone que habuerint et administraverint de pecunia [nostri comunis] quoque [modo] teneantur et debeant infra XV dies postquam applicuerint Venetias consegnasse officialibus rationum omnes quaternos et [rationes suas, in pena] tantumdem eius, quod inventum fuerit per suos [quaternos et rationes de] nostro comuni teneri de pecunia nostri comunis, [et etiam teneantur] infra dies XV quaternos expensarum et agotiorum [suorum assignare et dare] dictis officialibus rationum omnem et singulam quantitem pecuniis, que [eris rescribatus] et superabundabit ab expensis et agotiis suis, in pena et sub pena tantumdem eius quod retinebunt et non dederint nec assignaverint, ut est dictum.

Provisions passed by the Senate on 5 January 1371, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα της βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 137, no 26. Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 163v, no. 9.

10. *Public money managed by the duke and his councillors during their term of office must be expended, with consensus, strictly for public purposes and according to the orders they have received.*

Item observabis quod de omni pecunia nostro comuni spectante in tuo regimine quam tu et consilarii tui ibi [inveneretis] et que ad manus vestras pervenerit possitis expendere in utilitate et bono comunis et pro executione vobis commiss[orum], sicut vobis tribus in concordia pro honore nostro et salute illius [insule bonum et utile videbitur].

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 163v, no. 10. Revision passed by the Senate on 14 February 1376, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 202, no 25.

11. *Also, the duke and his councillors may award up to twenty-five hyperperes in the form of a gift or gratia to a person or persons for outstanding service toward the sovereign state only with consesus. Similarly, consensus is required for awards of over twenty-five hyperpers. However, to be valid the award must be ratified by the sovereign central authorities.*

Si autem videbitur vobis de dando alicui persone, vel personis que hoc meruissent [f. 5v] [propter aliquod notabile], quod fecissent pro honore domini aliquid de have[re comunis per viam] doni, vel gratie, possitis hoc facere usque ad sumam [yperperorum XXV] pro qualibet persona, existentibus vobis tribus, scilicet te et duobus consiliariis tuis in concordio de hoc. Si vero esset aliquis [vel aliqui], qui viderentur vobis digni maiori gratia seu dono et [viderentur] vobis dignum de providendo illi vel illis ab yperperis XXV [supra], in hoc casu non possitis facere nisi vos omnis tres, scilicet tu et consilarii tui [eritis] similiter in concordio. Et, ultra hoc, volumus quod predictum donum vel gratia propter hoc non habeant firmitatem, sed debeatis tu et consilarii tui [hoc] significare hoc nostro dominio et si dominationi nostre placuerit ponere in con[siliis] ordinatis per viam qua fiunt alie gratie ponatur, salvo et reservato [eo] quod tu et consilarii tui potestis expendere in aliis rebus vobis in commissionibus vestris limitatis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 164r, no 11. Revision passed by the Senate on 14 February 1376, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, pp. 202-203, no 25 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 141, no 571).

12. *The duke must administer justice without delay to all those who seek it, both Latins and Greeks, but only if a majority opinion of the members of the judicial panel which includes himself and his councillors is achieved. He must mete out justice and punishment to offenders based on majority opinion and with due regard for the honour of Venice and the well-being of the colony.*

Rationem et justitiam facies et fieri facies sine dilatione omnibus eam petentibus tam Latinis quam Grecis, nisi remanserit per maiorem [partem] tui et tuorum consiliariorum. De maleficiis autem justitiam et vindictam facies in personis et rebus malefactorum cum consilio tuorum consiliariorum, sicut tibi [et eis] vel maiori parti vestrum videbitur faciendum pro prode et honore Venetiarum et bono statu illarum partium.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 164r-v, no 12. For the inclusion of a similar provision in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 189, no 43 and part of no 44.

13. *On offences reported by the bailo of Negroponte and the castellans of Coron and Modon the duke and his councillors have descretion to decide as they see fit, by majority of the judicial panel.*

D[e aliis vero] maleficiis, que tibi declarabuntur per litteras baiuli Nigropontis, Constantinopolis et castellanorum Coroniet Mothoni talem facies justificationem, qualem tibi et tuo consilio vel maiori parti vestrum videbitur faciendum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 164v, no 13. For the inclusion of the same provision in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 189, no 44, with reference to the baili of Tyre and Acre.

14. *In criminal conflicts between professional soldiers and civilians (citizens, permanent inhabitants or transients), where the accused is a man-at-arms, the captain handles the investigation and prosecution. Where the accused is a civilian jurisdiction shall rest with the duke and his councillors.*

In casu vero quo aliqua rixa seu aliquis alius excessus vel differntia criminalis oriretur et esset inter aliquos ex stipendiariis ex una parte et aliquos ex civibus vel habitatoribus aut viandantibus ex altera, capitaneus noster Crete per se inquirere et examinare debet culpam et enormitatem stipendiariorum qui deliquerint. Et ipsa inquisition et examination facta secundum qualitatem delicti perpetrati procedure debet ipso capitaneo contra stipendiarios, qui fuerint culpabiles dicti excessus. Et tu [f. 6r] ducha et consilarii tui procedere contra cives [nostros seu habita]tores et alios quoscumque viandantes, qui fuerint culpabiles [dicte rixe] seu cuius vis alterius excessus perpetrati per ipsos et commissi [contra stipendiarios] nostros, prout vobis, vel maiori parti vestrum, scilicet illorum, qui per [formam commissionum] vestrarum ad examinationes et condemnationes debebunt [horum excessum interesse, vi]debitur fore iustum, dando vobis invicem, inquisitiones et pro[cessus secutos] ex rixis et excessibus huiusmodi ad hoc, ut debita et equal[is] justicia] fieri valeat per utrumque regimen.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 164v, no 14. For the same provision in the commission to the captain of Crete of 1411, see Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική Εξουσία», 201-202, no III.

15. *The duke and his councillors have jurisdiction over civil cases in which the plaintiff is a professional soldier and the defendant a civilian (citizens, permanent inhabitant or transient). Where the defendant is a soldier jurisdiction lies with the captain. Both courts shall perform their judicial duties swiftly, in good faith and without fraud.*

In civilibus vero hic modus debeat observari, quod si aliqu[a causa seu] letigium aliquod fuerit et verteretur inter aliquos ex stipendiarios ex una parte et aliquos ex civibus seu habitatoribus, vel quibuscunque viandantibus ex altera, ita quod aliqui ex civibus vel habitatoribus aut viandantibus teneantur et debeant aliquibus ex stipendiariis aliquid, quod stipendiarii in isto casu possint et de[beant] consequi jus suum coram te ducha et consiliariis tuis. Et vos tenemini et debetis sumarie et de plano facere debitum complementum [rationis et justit]ie stipendiariis habere debentibus. Et e converse, si aliq[ui ex stipendi]ariis tenebuntur et debebunt aliquid aliquibus ex civibus, vel habitatoribus seu aliis quibuscunque viandantibus, hi tales [possint et] debeant consequi jus suum coram capitaneo, et ipso sum[ere et de] plano tenentur et debet eisdem facere rationis et justitie debitum [com]plementum. Et utrumque regimen tenentur et debet quam citius po[test], bona fide, sine fraude, executioni mandare sententias, quas feceritis in huiusmodi causis et questionibus civilibus

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 164v-165r, no 15. Also included in the commission to the captain of Crete of 1411, see Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 202, no IV.

16. *All cases related to real property for claims under one hundred hyperpers shall be heard by the court of the iudices proprii of Crete in order to alleviate the burdens of the duke and his councillors. The judges will convene every day, in the morning and after lunch at the hours of the bell, and will be paid a percentage out of the court's revenues. To expedite the judicial process four attorneys (advocati) will be assigned to the ducal court, four to the curia proprii and four to the curia petitionum.*

Et pro alleviatione tua et consiliariorum tuorum, ordinatum est et sic in quantum ad te spectat observabis, quod omnia que sunt de possessio sicut sunt d[omus], loca, zardina, molendina et alia que quocumque spectarent ad possessionem vel possent spectare decetero, vadant et spectarent ad curiam proprii, videlicet, ad cameram iudicum proprii Crete, videlicet, ab yperperis C infra [et quod] dicti iudices teneantur sedere omni die de mane et post prandium ad horas campanarum, et habeant caratos de predictis rebus sibi commissis, et [f. 6v] [ut omni]bus occurrentibus detur expeditio, sicut sunt octo advoca[tori de magnis] et octo de parvis, ita in totum debeant esse decetero duo[decim], qui debeant dividi

in hunc modum, videlicet, quod ducha et consilarii [accipiant] quatuor advocatos, qui debeant placitare et facere petitiones [coram eis], et alios quatuor advocatos, quos deputent ad curiam proprii, et alios quatuor ad curiam petitionum. Et quod illi quatuor, [qui erunt] ad curiam proprii, non possint placitare ad illam ||aliam|| curiam quam ad curiam proprii ullo modo. Alii vero, qui deputabuntur ad curiam petitionum et coram dominio, vel regimine Crete, possint ire et placitare ad [alias] curias, quando non habebunt facere coram dominio, vel regimine Crete, accipiendo tamen licentiam a dominio, vel regimine Crete a iudicibus petitionum, qui possint et debeant concedere licentiam dictis advocatis, secundum agenda que occurrent et erunt facienda. Et ordinetur quod omnes dicti advocati sint ad unam partem et ad unum denarium, videlicet, sex sub una parte per se et sex ab alia per se.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 165r, no 16. Decision passed by the Great Council on 20 March 1373, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, pp. 202-203, no 25 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1).

17. *Attorneys cannot be younger than twenty years old and cannot hold another office concurrently.*

Et [non] potest esse advocatus aliquis minor XX annorum, nec habere aliquod aliud officium donec fuerit advocatus.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 165r, no 17.

18. *All debtors, feudatories or not, summoned to justice, who acknowledge the debt and agree to a consent judgement, do not incur a penalty on the debt. Those who object and are convicted, or judged in absentia, are subject to the usual penalty on the judgement debt. The duke must put in execution an enforcement on the movable property of the judgement debtor—other than horses and arms used for feudal military service—within one month after the request has been filed. If the debtor has insufficient movable property, his immovable property, horses and arms shall be sold on auction until the judgment amount has been satisfied in full.*

Quod omnes tam pheudati, quam non, citati ad iudicium, qui primo quam incipiant placitari confessi fuerint et sponte sententiari voluerint, non incurerant penam aliquam caratorum de illa quantitate debiti, quam confessi fuerint. Qui vero contradixerint et convicti fuerint, vel si absentes sententiati fuerint, penam solitam caratorum emendent. Et sententie date et dande contra pheudatos Candide tam contra illos, qui sponte sententiari voluerint, qui penam aliquam non incurrunt caratorum, quam contra illos qui sponte sententiari voluerint, qui propterea incidant solitam caratorum, mandetur executioni modo et ordinis infrascriptis, videlicet, quod ducha presens, et qui per tempora fuerit, teneatur et

debeat dictas sententias executioni mandare in rebus mobilibus et bonis pheudati ad mensem unum a die quo sibi fuerint presentate, vel ante quam citius poterit, preterquam in eorum equis et armis, que tenentur pro varnitione pheudorum. Et si mobilia non suffi|f. 7r|cerent ad huiusmodi sententiarum solutionem, tunc statim ducha et suo consilio tenatur stridari facere bona immobilia debitoris et [ea bona, vel] quantum eis sufficiet ad satisfactionem debiti, vendi facere a die [quo stri]data fuerint, usque ad terminum, qui per usum observatur de inde, [qui] bus venditis solvi faciat quam citius poterit debitum creditoris. [Ve]rum, [si] bona mobilia et immobilia non fuerint ad satisfactionem [sententiarum] sufficientia, tunc intromitti et vendi debeant equi et arma huiusmodi debitoris, et creditum creditori solvi et detineri etiam persona eius, re[manente] nihilominus firma lege, que universaliter de consuetudine observa[tur] in executione sententiarum, que dantur contra illos, qui non sunt pheudati et sic per totam insulam observetur.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 165r-v, no 18. Response by the Senate to a demand put forward by the Candiot communal delegation in 1344, ed. Gerland, *Archiv*, pp. 52-55, no 5, here at p. 54, 3; Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, pp. 264-269, no 14, here 267-268, ll. 135-166; *Venezia – Senato. Registro XXII*, p. 153, no 310 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 56, no 172). Included in the commission to the rector of Chania of 1589, with slight variations in the wording, see Maltezou, *Εντολή*, pp. 69–70, no 68. On liquidation and enforcement of judgments, see E. Santschi, “Recherches sur la procédure d’execution forcée en droit vénéto-crétois du XIVE siècle”, *Thesaurismata* 11 (1974), 89-127. For the problem of indebtedness in Crete and the court of the duke as a venue for the resolution of dept disputes, see M. Magnani, “Debiti, società e giustizia in Creta veneziana fra Tre e Quattrocento”, *Thesaurismata* 44 (2014), 77-108.

19. *The duke and his councillors must be excluded from hearing and adjudicating civil disputes involving their relatives. In case a member of the ducal court has a conflict of interest, he must be replaced by one of the treasury officials, elected by lot.*

Item quod duca et consilarii Crete non possint audire questiones, rixas et brigas aliquorum propinquorum suorum sibi attinentium, secundum formam consilii per quod exitur de consilio in Venetiis, sed reliqui debeant eas audire et diffinire. Verum si accideret iste casus ibi, tunc unus camerariorum, qui mittantur hinc per texeram vel ambo, si duo ex[irent], succedant loco eorum exeuntium pro propinquitate ut est dictum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 165v, no 19. For the same provision in the councillor’s commission, see Thomas, “Commission”, 204, no 134.

20. *Likewise, treasurers must be excluded from hearing and adjudicating civil disputes involving their relatives, and if all are to be excluded for that reason, the duke and his councillors alone adjudicate the case of the accused.*



Item quandocumque ducha et consiliarii Crete debebunt facere aliquas condemnationes Crete, ad quas requiretur esse aliquis ex camerariis, non possit nec debeat esse aliquis camerarius ad ipsas condemnationes fiendas, qui sit propinquus predictorum, et si forte aliquot casu accideret, quod credi non potuit quod possit accidere, quod omnes tres camerarii essent propinqui alicuius eorum, [tunc] predicti ducha et consiliarii possint et debeant dictas condemnationes facere [sine] aliquo predictorum camerariorum. Et hoc addatur in commissionibus omnibus illorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 165v-166r, no 20, with the addition of the phrase *et si consilium est contra sit revocatum in hoc*.

21. *In the event of disability of the duke to perform his duties, he is to be replaced by the elder of the councillors, who shall be named vice-duke and shall receive the councillor's salary with the emoluments corresponding to the function to which he is assigned. The elder of councillors shall be substituted by one of the treasurers of Crete, selected by lot.*

Quia deficiente ducha Crete aliquo casu regimen totum remanet duobus consiliariis, [quod] est cum sinistro multarum personarum, et bonum sit aliquem ordinem imponere super hoc, capta fuit pars quod deficiente ducha Crete aliquo casu, maior consiliariorum remaneat loco duche et vocatur viceducha, habendo salarium consiliarii, sed regalias in illo tempore recipiat sicut recipere ducha; et loco dicti maiori consiliarii [intret per |f. 7v| texeras unus] camerarius Crete, donec regimen erit sine ducha.

Cf. Venice, CMC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 166r, no 21. Decision issued by the Senate on 8 June 1363, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, pp. 107-108, no 4; and more recently *Venezia – Senato. Registro XXXI*, pp. 69-70, no 109 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 106, no 410).

22. *To prevent abuses of justice, the duke and his councillors must not be related to the advocates of the Commune of Candia (state prosecutors)<sup>155</sup>.*

Item quod advocatores comunis Candide, qui continue placitant coram ducha et consiliariis, qui ducha et consiliarii per placitare dictorum advocatorum condemnant plurimos, de quibus condemnationibus ipsi advocatores habent partem, ut est notum, non possint esse propinqui duche et consiliariorum Crete ita quod exirent de consilio pro eis.

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155. Papadaki, «Αξιώματα στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη», 108.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 166r, no 22, with slightly altered wording. Resolution passed by the Senate and added to the duke's commission on 8 June 1363, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 108, no 5; and more recently, *Venezia –Senato. Registro XXXI*, p. 65, no 100(b) (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 106, no 410).

23. *In case of disagreement between the judges of Crete, the duke must side with what he considers to be the most reasonable opinion according to good custom.*

Si autem aliqua differentia fieret intra iudices, qui erunt in Creta super aliqua causa, illam partem capies, que tibi magis rationabilis apparebit secundum bonam consuetudinem.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 166r, no 23.

24. *Prohibition of unwarranted delay in the delivery of judgement and stay of proceedings.*

Studiosus eris ducere ad complementum omnes sententias, que late erunt per iudices Crete. Et quia dicitur, quod per consiliarios executio sententiarum contra voluntatem duce, qui est executor earum, dilatatur dicentibus et allegantibus consiliariis, quod regimen debet fieri per maiorem partem quod vertitur in damnum et prejudicium specialum personarum, que non recipient id quod habere debent. Scire debes, captum et ordinem esse, quod decetero nulla dilatio, vel suspensio fieri possit in executione alicuius sententie, nisi de voluntate tua et amborum consiliariorum consultum fuerit propter iustam causam, que appareat de faciendo dictam dilationem vel suspensionem. Insuper studiose compleri facies omnia alia que per maiorem partem vestrum, scilicet tui et tuorum consiliariorum, consultum fuerit, nisi remanserit per maiorem partem vestrum, salvis causis in quibus aliter provisum et ordinatum erit in hac tua commissione in quibus observabis ut continebitur ibi.<sup>156</sup>

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 166r-v, no 24.

25. *The ducal court alone and in unanimity has the power to remit debts, revoke convictions, and grant pardons and reprieves for sentences and convictions issued by the advocates of the Commune, the officers of the night watch (officers of the peace)<sup>157</sup> or related to the payment of scutage and so forth.*

156. Manicule in the left-hand margin pointing at article no 24.

157. For the office of the *domini de nocte* (in Italian signori di notte) in Crete, see F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*, p. 236; and Karapidakis, *Administration et milieux administratifs en Crète vénitienne*, v. 2, pp. 186-191, especially for the sixteenth century, but with references to the previous period. See also Papadaki, «Αξιώματα στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη», 108.

Quia consilarii multotiens de penis et condensationibus advocatorum comunis, dominorum de nocte, de penis disvarnitionum et aliis penis occurrentibus, faciunt gratias, revocationes vel terminus contra voluntatem duce, capta fuit pars, quod aliqui, qui cadet ad aliquam dictarum penarum, non possit fieri gratia, remissio vel suspensio aut termini elongatio, nisi voluntate duce et amborum consiliariorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 166v, no 25, where the sentence between *quod aliqui* and *non possit* has been intentionally left incomplete, with dotted line indicating missing words.

26. *Since the duke with both his councillors have sole power to suspend the imposition of a sentence or to extend a conviction, they must not benefit friends or harm enemies by fraud.*

Item quod alicui, qui ex aliqua causa teneretur comuni, non possit fieri suspensio de eo quod teneretur comuni nec elongatio termini, nisi de voluntate duce et amborum consiliariorum, amicum non juvabis nec inimico nocebis per fraudem.<sup>158</sup>

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 166v, no 26, where part of the sentence has been intentionally left incomplete, dotted line indicating missing words. For the inclusion of a similar prohibition in the commissions to the councillor of Crete of 1350 and the rector of Chania of 1589, see, respectively, Thomas, “Commission”, 187, no 27; and Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 50, no 22.

27. *The duke shall not take gifts or services during his term of office and for half a year thereafter, directly or indirectly, under threat of a fine of double the value of the gift received.*

[f. 8r] Servitium vel donum non tolles, nec tolli facies, per totum tempus [tui regiminis], nec per medium annum postquam de regimine exiveris per te vel [alium modum] in pena dupli de eo quod parte receptum erit, et si tultum scieris illud quod facies.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 166v, no 27, with slightly different wording and dotted line indicating the missing phrase “de regimine exiveris, per te”. Prohibition on Venetian colonial rectors receiving gifts added to their commissions in 1273 by order of the Great Council, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, p. 360, no IV; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου της Βενετίας*, p. 19, no 4. For the inclusion of the prohibition in the commissions to the councillor of Crete and the rector of Chania, see, respectively, Thomas, “Commission”, 187, no 28; and Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 51, no 24.

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158. Manicule in the left-hand margin pointing at article 26.

28. *It is forbidden for members of the duke's household to accept services and gifts, and if the duke has knowledge of receipt of a gift, he must return it. The duke shall never receive gifts, and if he accepts a gift he must return it. He is forbidden from receiving gifts from imperial monasteries of the Greeks and from the Jews of Crete under threat of a fine of double the value of the gift received.*

Et nullum de tua familia permittes servitium vel donum ||accipere|| et si acciperit [et] sciveris, facies illud reddi sine fraude, nec tu donum vel presens recipies vel recepi facies ab aliqua persona vel aliquo modo vel ingenio, et si acceptum fuerit, facies illud reddi si poteris. Nec a monasteriis imperialibus Grecorum nec a Judeis Crete donum vel presens aliquod recipies vel recepi facies, aliquo modo vel ingenio, ad tuam utilitatem, et hoc per tantum tempus quantum in regimine steteris et per medium annum postquam de regimine exhibis. Et si receperis, perdere debes duplum de eo quod per receptum fuerit, vel per alium pro te.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 166v, no 28. The prohibition on the receipt of gifts from Greek imperial monasteries and Jews was issued by the Great Council on 9 July 1255, see Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, p. 339, no I; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου της Βενετίας*, p. 8, ll. 9-11 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 31, no XXX). For the inclusion of a similar prohibition in the commissions to the councillor of Crete of 1350 and the rector of Chania, see, respectively, Thomas, "Commission", 187, no 29; and Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 51, no. 25.

29. *The duke's armed retainer, his chaplain and all the members of his household must swear on oath that they shall not receive any gift for his benefit.*

Et militem et presbyterum tuum et omnes de tua familia iurare facies de non accipiendo aliquod donum vel presens ad utilitatem tuam aliquo modo vel ingenio.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 166v, no 29. Prohibition issued by the Great Council on 9 July 1255, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, p. 338, no I; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου της Βενετίας*, p. 8, ll. 17-20 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 31, no XXX).

30. *The duke's armed retainer or any other member of his household shall not be permitted to receive a salary from the Commune and neither is his chaplain allowed to hold office or receive any salary from the Commune.*

Item militem tuum vel aliquem alium de familia tua, non permittes habere aliquod salarium a comuni, nec presbyterum tuum aliquod officium nec salarium aliquod a comuni.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 167r, no 30. Prohibition issued by the Great Council in 1255, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, p. 338, no I; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου της Βενετίας*, p. 8, ll. 16-20 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p.

31, no XXX). For the same prohibition in the commission to the councillor of Crete, see Thomas, “Commission”, 188, no 31.

31. *The duke shall not purchase anything from the Greek imperial monasteries or the Sinaites for his own benefit.*

Non comperabis, nec comperari facies monasteriis imperialibus, nec a Si[naitis] aliquid ad tuam utilitatem aliquo modo, vel ingenio.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 167r, no 31. Prohibition issued by the Great Council in 1255, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, p. 338, no I; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου της Βενετίας*, p. 8, ll. 12-13 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 31, no XXX). For its inclusion in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, “Commission”, 188, no 30.

32. *The duke is forbidden from receiving loans in money, horses or in other forms from anyone who has a part in the island of Crete unless it is for the benefit of the Commune. He is forbidden to take out loans from citizens (burgesses or other inhabitants of the island), and to accept to become a guarantor for a borrower without the consent of the central state authorities. The prohibition is extended to his economically unemancipated sons and to his aid. He is also forbidden to take a loan in the name of the state repayable in Venice unless it is authorized by the central government. When ordered to collect money owed to the state, he must do so through public auction. He is not allowed to take out a loan repayable from his salary, nor pledge a state-owned ship or its rigging to procure his salary.*

Item nullum imprestitum tolles nec tolli facies ab aliqua persona que partem habeat in insula Crete, in pecunia vel in equis aut in aliquibus aliis rebus, nisi pro utilitate comunis. Nec accipies pecuniam mutuo, aliquo modo vel ingenio, ab aliquo cive vel burgense seu habitatori insule Crete, nec etiam filii non divisi a te, neque socius tuus ipsam possit accipere. Insuper non stabis plezius, tu vel ipsi pro aliquo qui recipiat pecuniam mutuo, neque possis tu vel ipsi accipere pro nobis absque voluntate nostra. Preterea non accipies pro comuni Venetiarum ad solvendum eam in Venetiis ullo modo, nisi specialem commissionem habueris a nobis et nostro consilio. Et si precipietur tibi de hinc, quod accipias super nostrum comune denarios, |f. 8v| [teneris et]<sup>159</sup> debes ipsos denarios accipere ad incantum, et non aliter, accipien[do illos ad quam maggiorem] presam poteris pro comuni. Non potes etiam aliquo modo [accipere pec]<sup>160</sup>uniam mutuo pro tuo salario persolvendo,

159. Words obliterated by a hole in the manuscript.

160. Letters obliterated by a hole in the manuscript.

nec pignorabis [...], nec alienabis navigium comunis, nec coreda ipsius pro tuo salario [...], nec pro aliqua alia causa.

This article is in effect a synthesis of, at least, four provisions issued by the Great Council between the 1255 and 1309. The first provision (which begins here with the words *Item nullum* and ends with the words *absque voluntate nostra*), was added to the commissions of all the chief officials in cities of the *Dogado* and the overseas colonies in 1276; the second (which begins here with the words *Preterea non accipies* and ends with the words *nostro consilio*) was issued in 1255; the third (which begins here with the words *Et si* and ends with the words *pro comuni*) was added to the commissions of the duke and councillors of Crete, the bailo and councillors of Negroponte, and the castellans of Coron and Modon in 1309; and the fourth (which begins here with the words *Non potes* and ends with the words *alia causa*) was added to the duke's commission in 1259, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, pp. 360-359, no VII, p. 338, no I, p. 340, no 5; Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου της Βενετίας*, p. 20, no 97, p. 8, ll. 6-8, p. 59, no 9, p. 10, no 5 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 31, no XXX, p. 32, no XXXIII, p. 127 no 184). Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 167r, no 32. For the inclusion of these prohibitions in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 188, no 32, p. 193, no 68, p. 191, nos 52, 51. The prohibition to become guarantors for loans was extended to the captain and the other rectors of Crete in 1376, see Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 200, no 21. Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 205, no XV. For the commission to the governor of Chania of 1589, see Maltezu, *Εντολή*, p. 51, no 26, p. 45, nos 10, 9, 8, with variations in the content and wording.

33. *Prohibition to impose land corvées on state villeins unless it is for the benefit of the Commune.*

Nullum rusticum pertinentem comuni Venetiarum in laboreris terre angarizare, nec angarizari facies, nisi ad utilitatem comunis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 167r, no 33.

34. *He is forbidden to participate in meals and banquets of Latins or Greeks in the city of Candia or at a distance of three miles from it; an exception is made for participation in wedding feasts. He is further prohibited from offering food to the inhabitants of Crete, both Latins and Greeks, or banquets in the city and the outskirts of Candia.*

Item ad prandium vel convivium alicuius Latini vel Greci in civitate Candide vel a tribus miliaribus prope, non ibis vel intereas ad comedendum. Licitum autem est tibi interesse nuptiis et comedere<sup>161</sup> ibi. Nulli autem Latino vel Greco habitantibus in Creta dabis ad comedendum aut eis convivium facies in civitate Candide vel a tribus miliaribus prope.

161. Thus in the manuscript for *comedere*.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 167r, no 34. For the inclusion of the prohibition in the commissions to the councillor of Crete of 1350 and the rector of Chania of 1589, see, respectively, Thomas, "Commission", 188, nos 33-34; and Maltezu, *Εντολή*, p. 52, no 27.

35. *The duke is forbidden to trade while in office. The same prohibition is extended to his notary, his assistant and all other members of his household. However, he is allowed to invest his salary surplus in commercial ventures outside of Crete.*

Preterea per te vel alios nomine tuo in insula Crete negotiationes non exercebis donec steteris in regimine ducatus Crete, nec notarium, socium aut alium in familia tenebis, qui mercationem faciant vel exerceant per ullum modum vel ingenium. Tamen licitum est tibi salarium tuum, quod tibi superfueris ab expensis, mittere extra Cretam in collegantiam vel rogadium vel alium modum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 167r, no 35. This prohibition, originally intended for the castellans of Coron and Modon, was passed by the Great Council on 16 March 1272, and added to the commissions of all rectors, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, pp. 359-360, no III; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου της Βενετίας*, p. 19, no 9<sub>3</sub>, ll. 15-21. For the inclusion of the prohibition in the commissions to the councillor of Crete of 1350 and the rector of Chania of 1589, see, respectively, Thomas, "Commission", 187, no 26; and Maltezu, *Εντολή*, p. 50, no 21.

36. *He is not allowed to transport or send goods to Venice without a trading license.*

Item non potes nec debes aliquos mercationes adducere vel mittere in Venetias, nisi secundum licentiam aliis mercatoribus datam.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 167v, no 36. For the inclusion of the prohibition in the commissions to the councillor of Crete of 1350 and the rector of Chania of 1589, see, respectively, Thomas, "Commission", 191, no 53; and Maltezu, *Εντολή*, p. 50, no 22.

37. *The duke is prohibited from investing in commercial partnerships with burgesses or any other persons during his term of office and for six months thereafter and the same applies to his economically unemancipated sons or brothers.*

Preterea non potes vel debes tu vel filius tuus aut frater, qui non sint divisi a te, recipere collegantiam ab aliquo burgense<sup>162</sup> seu ab aliqua alia persona pro eo ullo modo vel ingenio per totum tempus tui regiminis, nec per medium annum postquam compleveris.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 167v, no 37. The prohibition was added to the commissions of all the chief officials outside of Venice in 1273, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del*

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162. Thus in the manuscript for *burgense*.

*Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, p. 360, no V; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου της Βενετίας*, pp. 19-20, no 5. For its inclusion in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, “Commission”, 191, no 58; and for the commission to the rector of Chania of 1589, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, pp. 54-55, no. 36.

38. *The sons of the duke and his councillors are not permitted to have their domicile in the place where their fathers serve, have joint commercial ventures or trade and take part in joint capital investments.*

Item observabis formam infrascripti consilii, quod addatur in commissio duche Crete et eius consiliariorum, quod aliquis suorum filiorum non possit stare nec habitare in terris suorum regiminum, nec suam collegantiam nec denarios communium filiorum ibidem habere nec per cambium nec per aliquem [modum, aliquo modo] vel ingenio, donec ipsi erunt in ipsis regiminibus, et si consilium est contra sit revocatum].

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 167v, no 38. For the inclusion of the prohibition in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, “Commission”, 204, no 133.

39. *All credit which is held by the duke and his councillors must be acknowledged and reimbursed.*

Omnes credentias, que dicte erunt per maiorem partem tui et tuo[rum consiliariorum] tenebis et teneri precipies, donec solute fuerint per maiorem partem [vestrum].

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 167v, no 39. For the same provision in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, “Commission”, 185, no 14.

40. *The duke’s annual salary is set at four thousand hyperpers, which he will receive in Crete in two installments. He is not allowed any special rights or privileges other than rights to falcons, meat privileges and the right to use a seal. Out of his salary he must sustain eight attendants and one Venetian associate, presented to and approved by the doge and his councillors, who will receive forty ducats (per annum) plus expenses; also a chaplain, three servants, a cook, and eight to ten horses, at least four years of age, which he must procure within one month of his assumption of office. He is allowed to sell the horses one month before the completion of his term of office, to anyone but Greeks. Within the same time limit he may export the horses to a friendly or Latin-held territory.*

Habere debes de salario in anno et ratione anni yperperi quatuormilla, quod recipies in Creta de medio in medium annum in yperperis, quod [nullam] regalia, que dici vel imaginari possit habere debeas vel recipere, [ullo] modo, sed ipse regalia veniant in nostrum comune, excepta regalia falconorum, carniarum et sigilli, quas



tres solum habes et non aliud ut dictum est. Teneris aut habere et tenere tuis salario et expensis domicillos octo, unum socium Venetum, qui presentetur et confirmetur per nos et consiliarios nostros, qui sotius tuus habere debet a te ducatos XL in anno et expensis. Item unum presbyterum, tres ragatios, unum cochum et [octo] usque decem equos et non plures ullo modo. Et sint dicti equi omnes annorum quatuor completorum vel inde supra pro quolibet eorum, quorum [equorum] duo sint precii librarum quatuor grossorum pro quolibet eorum vel inde supra, quos equos habere debes et de ipsis esse fulcitus infra unum mensem postquam applicueris regimen tuum. Et potes vendere dictos equos per unum mensem ante complementum tui regiminis quibuscumque volueris, salvo quam Grecis. Etiam[que] potes ipsos mittere extra insulam si tibi placuerit, mittendo ipsos ad terras amicorum et latinorum, non mittendo tamen ipsos ante tempus unius mensis tibi concessum superius.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDe 675, f. 167v-168r, no 40. This article is the result of the merging of three different provisions enacted by the Senate: a) a provision regulating the duke's retinue dated 16 May 1392, ed. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, pp. 336-337, pp. 48-49, b) a ruling on salary increases and the export of the duke's horses voted on 16 June 1426, ed. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 314 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 2, p. 236, no 2026), c) and a decision authorising the export of his horses for sale, ed. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 316. For the time given within which to procure and sell his horses, see also below article no 200.

41. *The duke is not allowed to bring his son as his assistant and his retinue must be adequately equipped with arms.*

Est etiam tibi sciendum quod familia, quam teneris habere, debet esse [fulcita] armis sufficientibus et non potes pro socio tuo ducere aliquem filium tuum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDe 675, f. 168r, no 40.

42. *All rectors must appear before the office of the exchequer within one month after their return to Venice, and be accountable, paying what they owe and reimbursing the state for the horses and retenue they maintained during their term of office.*

Quod decetero quilibet rector in reditu suo postquam applicuerit Venetias teneatur infra unum mensem ire vel mittere ad officiales rationum ad faciendum rationem cum eis et ad solvendum illud quod debebit dare et refundere nostro comuni pro familia vel equis qui sibi defecerint tempore sui regiminis in ratione [f. 9v] grossorum trium in die pro quolibet ente de sua familia et pro quolibet equo, qui sibi defecisset pro tanto tempore quanto sibi defecerit. Verum si defecerit alicui rectori aliquis de familia sua habeat terminum ad remittendum alium octo dierum. Et si aliquis equus sibi defecerit habeat terminum ad remittendum alium duodecim dierum. Et si remisit ad terminos predictos nihil refundere teneatur

pro eis; si autem non remiserit ad terminos predictos, tunc debeat refundere comuni a die qua sibi defecerint usque ad diem qua remiserit in ratione predicta. Et hos observare teneatur quilibet rector sub pena librarum VC, et nihilominus teneatur ad solvendum comuni id quod debebit pro dictis defectibus in ratione predicta, cuius pene librarum VC medietas sit accusatoris si fuerit, per quem veritas habeatur, et alias medietas dividatur inter nostrum comune et officiales rationum. Et si aliquis rector condenaretur per ipsos officiales rationum, quod deberet aliquid dare vel refundere, tunc ille rector subiaceat parti capti in maiori consilio contra illos qui non solvunt, postquam eis preceptum fuerit per officiales rationum, non obstante quod per illam partem officiales rationum non habeant partem et per istam sic. Et teneantur officiales rationum mittere pro rectoribus quando redierint Venetias a regiminibus suis et pro aliis qui sibi videbuntur, et inquirere et examinare diligenter de predictis possendo ponere personas ad sacramentum et alia facere.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 168r, no 41. Issued by the Senate on 14 February 1376 in revision of a previous law dated June 3, 1375, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, pp. 198-199, no 17 (with wrong date). For the same provision in the commission to the captain of Crete of 1411, see Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 203-204, no X.

43. *If he dies during the first year in office, he will receive the salary for one year and so forth.*

Sciendum est tibi, quod si accideret, quod deus avertat, te viam universe carnis ingredi infra primum annum tui regiminis, esse debes solutus de toto illo anno de salario, quod debebis habere. Et si infra alium annum obieris, debes esse solutus de tanto quanto in regimine steteris.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 168v, no 42. Amendment to the commission to the bailo of Acre issued by the Great Council on 10 October 1278, which was also declared in force for all other rectorates and councillorships, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, p. 361, no IX. For a similar provision in case the councillor died during his term of office, see Thomas, "Commission", 189, no 42. For its inclusion in the commission to the rector of Chania of 1589, see Maltezou, *Εντολή*, p. 49, no 18.

44. *He should disclose to his councillors all incoming correspondence regarding state matters as soon as possible and in good faith. He is not permitted to seal outgoing letters unless with the majority consent of the ducal council.*

Omnes quoque litteras, que ad comune pertinebunt, monstrabis consiliariis tuis, quando cito poteris, bona fide, que tibi misse fuerint. Et nullas litteras, que comuni pertinebunt sigillabis, nec facies sigillari, nisi fuerit de voluntate maioris partis tui et tuorum consiliariorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 168v, no 43.

45. *The tariff for unsealing merchandise(?) is set at one carat of gold and under for Venetians, and at one and a half and under for foreigners.*

De nullo sigillo tolles vel tolli facies alicui Veneto ultra unum caratum auri, nec alicui forinseco ultra unum caratum auri cum dimidio.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 168v, no 44.

46. *In the event that an individual is charged with actual or threatened rebellion, sedition or actions that pose a threat to the stability of Venetian sovereignty on the island, he will be prosecuted by a court composed of the duke, his councillors and the captain. If there is dissent between the judges and the opinion of the court is divided, one of the treasurers of Crete, selected by lot, will act as fifth judge; a majority of judges must agree for the court to issue a decision.*

[f. 10r] Scire debes ad tuam declarationem, quod in nostris consiliis rogatorum captum fuit, quod in casu quo aliqua tractarentur vel fierent deinde verbis vel factis contra bonum statum insule nostre Crete vel per modum rebellionis, vel prodicionis vel aliter per quascunque personas, cuiuscunque conditionis existant, volumus pro bono factorum et ut cum maturitate procedatur, quod talia facta et processis inde fiendi fiant per ducham et consiliarios ac capitaneum insimul vel maiorem partem vestrum. Et si aliqua differentia esset penes vos, ita quod essetis duo a una opinione et duo de alia, unus de camerariis Crete intret per texeram in differentiis antedictis, et illud quod tunc fuerit deliberatum et terminatum in dictis differentiis per maiorem partem sit firmum et validum et debeat observari.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 168v, no 45. For the same provision in the commission to the captain of Crete of 1411, see Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 208, no XXXI.

47. *When the duke and his councillors go on an expedition by land or sea, decisions must be taken by the majority of the members of the ducal council. If there is dissent in the council and it is divided in its opinion, one of the treasurers of Crete shall be selected by lot in order to break the tie in the council; a majority opinion is required for any decision to be valid. While away on an expedition, the duke is entitled to a per diem allowance of one hyperper. He is to keep all gifts given to him for the benefit of the Commune. He must provide a written declaration of the costs incurred for the purchase of horses in Venice and Crete as well as for the transportation of horses bought outside of Venice. He is entitled to reimbursement if the horses die or are damaged during campaign or service to the state outside of the city of Candia. Such damaged horses are property of the Commune and are to be sold in public auction, in which the duke and his councillors are not allowed to participate. The duke is also entitled to compensation if he loses*

*his weapons and equipment under the same circumstances but not if they are stolen from him. The ducal council, by majority, shall decide on the required number of foot soldiers and knights.*

Si videretur tibi et consiliariis tuis ac capitaneo vel maiori parti vestrum, quod debeas equitare pro utilitate insule Crete vel ire per mare in servitio comunis vel ire alio tam in dicta insula, quam in factis de dicta insula per utilitate comunis, illud observabis, quod captum et ordinatum fuerit per maiorem partem vestram. Et si essetis in differentia, ita quod essetis pares in diversis opinionibus, unus camerariorum intrare debet per texeram, quod illud per maiorem partem vestrum fuerit ordinatum sit firmum. Et est sciendum quod debes tibi computare pro tuis expensis omni die de tuo havere unum ypperperum donec in servitio comunis sic steteris, et si plus expensabis, illud plus de havere comunis debet tibi refici et solvi. Omnia autem exenia et dona, que tunc tibi presentata et data fuerint stando in servicio comunis servabis ad utilitatem comunis. Et de omnis et singulis equis, quos feceris emi extra Venetias, quando erunt conducti Venetias, debes dicere quantum constabunt conducti Venetias. Et, similiter, si emeris equos in Venetiis, debes dicere quanto constiterint, faciendo scribi precium ipsorum equorum ad memoriam. Et si equos emeris in Creta, debes dicere et scribi facere quanto constiterint. Et si aliquis ex dictis equis morietur stando in exercitu vel servitio comunis extra civitatem Candide, habere debes restaurum secundum quod scriptum fuerit dictum equum constitisse tibi hoc modo, videlicet, si dictus equus mortuus conductus fuerit de Venetiis Cretam, habere debes de quibuslibet solidos viginti ad grossos ypperperum unum. [f. 10v] Et si equus mortuus emptus fuerit in Creta, habere debes restaurum secundum quod scriptum fuerit dictum equum constitisse tibi. Et si aliquis ex dictis tuis equis magagnaretur stando in exercitu vel servitio comunis extra civitatem Candide, ut dictum est. Et videretur propterea quod inde restaurum habere deberes, debes habere pro satisfactione dicti equi quantum scriptum fuerit dictum equum constitisse tibi et dictus equus remaneat in comuni et infra XV dies teneris facere ipsum equum vendi pro comuni ad incantum et non possis tu nec aliquis consiliariorum tuorum emere ipsum equum per totum tempus tui regiminis. Et stando in exercitu vel servitio comunis extra civitatem Candide aliquod de tuis armis et arnesiis perdideris, totum illum damnum debet tibi restitui de havere comunis, secundum extimationem tuorum duorum consiliariorum vel aliorum, qui essent electi loco illorum. Verumtamen, si aliquis furatus fuerit de dictis tuis armis et arnesiis, nullam inde satisfactionem habere debeas a comuni. Et nullam aliam restitutum de aliqua re habere debeas, nisi de iis rebus que dicte sunt supra et secundum quod scriptum est, scilicet de equis predicis vel magagnatis vel rebus predicis esse in servitio comunis. Preterea cum equitibus vel ibis per mare

in servitio comunis, ire debes cum illa quantitate hominum et equitorum, que videbitur maiori parti tui et tuorum consiliariorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 168v, no 46. Provisions amended and adapted to the administrative and institutional changes that were introduced after the failed revolt of St Titus (1363-1366), i.e. the abolition of the local Great Council and the institution of the office of the captain of Crete.<sup>163</sup> The revision was passed by the Senate on 14 February 1376, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 201, no 23; also partly in Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 210, no XXXVII. For similar provisions with regard to the governor of Chania on campaign and the loss of his weaponry, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, pp. 48-49, 16, 17.

48. *When on military campaign, the duke and his councillors must share one household and the same table, unless in case of sickness.*

Insuper scire debes quod, quando tu et consilarii tui eritis in exercitu, non debetis facere nisi unam curiam, sed debeatis facere et stare omnes ad unam mensam, nisi esset occasione infirmitatis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 169r-v, no 47. For its inclusion in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, “Commission”, 196, no 86. See also the discussion in Papadaki, «Μετακινήσεις ανώτερων αξιωματούχων», p. 5. The commission of the rector of Chania of 1589 contains a similar provision for when the official was on campaign with the duke, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 49, no 19.

49. *When the duke goes away from Crete on military expedition, accompanied by his councillors and treasurers, they must all live together, sharing the same staff and expenses.*

Insuper quodocunque de terra Crete exhibis in exercitu vel pro aliis negotiis terre, et de consiliariis vel camerariis tecum fuerint, debeatis tu et ipsi simul stare et ad communes expensas et ad unam curiam et unam societatem, computando de vestris salariis, secundum formam commissionis vestrarum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 169v, no 47. The same provision was included in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, “Commission”, 196, no 87. See also the discussion in Papadaki, «Μετακινήσεις ανώτερων αξιωματούχων», pp. 5. For when

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163. Before 1363, the tours and campaigns of the duke and his councillors were decided by the majority opinion of the *regimen* of Candia and the local Great Council, see Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 184-185; Papadaki, «Μετακινήσεις ανώτερων αξιωματούχων», pp. 2-3. For the corresponding provisions in force before the revolt, see Thomas, “Commission”, 186-187, nos 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. For the changes and developments in the communal institutions of Crete brought about by the revolt, see the Introduction and below article 162.

the governor of Chania went on campaign with the duke of Crete, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 49, no 19.

50. *When the duke and his councillors are on military expedition, all expenses must be approved beforehand by a treasurer, who is to accompany them. The maximum allowable daily expenses for all three officials and their staff is set at ten hyperpers. The treasurers are bound by oath, that at least one of them, shall follow the duke on military expedition every four months. Should one fail to comply, unless for illness, he would be subjected to a fine of three grossi per day; and the others must be ordered to go in his stance. Furthermore, the duke and his councillors are prohibited from giving spoils of war (animals or other) to members of their household, to the seneschal or the expensator, as these should be reserved for treasurers.*

Insuper, quando tu et consiliarii eritis in exercitu, tenemini habere vobiscum unum camerarium, et nullus possit expendi, nisi per manum dicti camerarii. Et tu et consiliarii cum vestra curia, inter omnes, expendere non possitis ultra yperperos decem in die et, [f. 11r] si plus expenderetis, expendatis de vestro. Et addatur in commissionem camerariorum, quod teneantur sub sacramento ad minus unus eorum ire in exercitu tecum et consiliario quilibet quatuor menses. Et si ille qui debet ire non ibit, perdat omni die grossos tres, salvo pro infirmitate persone. Et tu cum tue consilio precipere debeas aliis camerariis, quod vadant et stent in exercitu. Item, quando tu et consiliarii tui eritis in exercitu, non possitis, nec debeatis, dare alicui de vestra familia, nec senescalcho, nec expensatori aliquid de bestiis, nec de aliis, que lucrarentur in ipso exercitu, sed omnia predicta que lucrarentur debeant pervenire in manus camerariorum, et sic addatur in commissio eorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 169v, no 48. With slightly different wording in the commission to the councillor, see Thomas, "Commission", 197, nos 90-91. See also Papadaki, «Μετακινήσεις ανώτερων αξιωματούχων», pp. 4-5, 6.

51. *The duke is not allowed to bring his servants with him in general military expeditions, but must employ soldiers, salaried by the Venetian state; the restriction applies equally to the councillors and is added to their commissions.*

Item quando ibis in exercitum publicum, non possis conducere tecum aliquem de tuis octo servitoribus, quos debes tenere in civitate, sed debeas accipere alios soldaderios ad soldum comunis Venetiarum, si videbitur tibi et tuo consilio, et sic addatur in commisioni consiliariorum tuorum, quod debeant observare.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 169v, no 49. With slightly different wording in the commission to the councillor of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 197, no 92. See also Papadaki, «Μετακινήσεις ανώτερων αξιωματούχων», pp. 5-6.

52. *When he goes on campaign, in addition to his retinue, he may take with him two associates, one local and one from Venice, and eight squires, provided with adequate horses, who should not dine at the same table with him. The councillors are allowed one aid each and four squires in addition to their escort, who should not share the same table with them. The same applies to the rectors of Rethimno and Chania and others. The duke and his councillors cannot take any of the horses selected for the particular military operation.*

Item quando ibis in exercitu possis ducere tecum duos socios, unum de Venetiis et alium de Creta et octo sergentes ultra tuam familiam et non plures, et equos sufficientes ad istos, et dicti sergentes non debeant comedere ad tuam tabulam. Et consiliarii possint habere unum socium pro quolibet, quando ibunt in exercitum et quatuor sergentes ultra suam familiam, et non plures, qui sergentes non debeant comedere ad tabulam cum ipsis consiliariis. Et hoc intelligatur tam in rectore Rethimi et Canea, quam de aliis. Et tu vel consiliarii non potestis accipere de equis quibus venerant texere ad eundem in exercitum ipsum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 169v, no 50. For the same provision in the commission to the councillor of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 195, no 81. See also Papadaki, «Μετακινήσεις ανώτερων αξιωματούχων», p. 6.

53. *In the past, four councillors were elected, who served one year as councillors and the other as governors of Chania and Rethimno. But, in 1306, it was decided that, henceforth, there would be elected two councillors and two rectors of Chania and Rethimno, with a two-year term. The salary and the terms of these offices remain as in 1375.*

MoCCCoVI, die XXVII septembris, capta fuit pars in maior consilio quod sicut hinc retro fiebant quatuor consiliarii in Creta, qui stabant uno anno in consiliaria et alio in rectoria Rethimi et Canea, ita decetero eligantur duo consiliarii in Creta, qui debeant fieri per duos annos, et rectores Rethimi et Canea similiter eligantur per duos annos, qui consiliarii et rectores esse debent cum salario et conditionibus quibus sunt hodie, scilicet MoCCCoLXXV.

Ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου της Βενετίας*, p. 47, no 387, dated November 27, 1306 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 111, no 125). Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 169v-170r, no 51. On the duties of the councillors of Crete and the evolution of the offices of the governors of Chania and Rethimno during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Gasparis, *Catastici Feudorum Crete. Catasticum Chanee*, pp. 57-59; and Gasparis, «Το διαμέρισμα και η πόλη του Ρεθύμνου (13ος-15ος αι.). Ιστορικό Σχεδιάγραμμα», in Ch. Maltezos – A. Papadaki, eds., *Atti del simposio Rethymno venezian, Rethymno, 1-2 novembre 2002* [Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, Convegna 7], Venice 2003, p. 46.

54. *The duke is not obliged to go and stay for three months every year in Chania with his retinue and at his expenses as his predecessors were, but it is at his discretion to do so.*

[f. 11v] Sciendum est tibi, quod via quam facere tenebantur duche precessores tui ad Caneam et ad alias partes, et ibi stare tribus mensibus in anno cum familia sua de expensis suis, sicut essent in Candida, sis absolutus et ire non teneris, nisi secundum discretionem tuam et consiliariorum tuorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 170r, no 52.

55. *The duke and, at least, one of his councillors are to remain in the city of Candia at all times. Should he find himself outside of the city, he is to govern from wherever he is, according to the orders of his commission, and the rector of the district is to act as his councillor.*

Item quod ducha vel unus consiliariorum, ad minus, semper remaneat in civitate vestram Candida Verum, si casus occurreret, quod te reperias esse extra civitatem Candide, ubicumque fueris per insulam debes exercere regimen in locis ubi fueris, secundum formam tue commissionis, et rector illius loci tunc debet esse consiliarius tuis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 170r, no 53. Partly published in Thomas, "Commission", 205, no 145.

56. *If the duke with one of his councillors are absent from the city, the remaining councillor alone shall constitute the local government, with discretion to try cases and impose sentences, but not to finalise judicial proceedings. In case they are absent for over five days, they are to be replaced by two of the treasurers elected by lot, who shall govern together with the remaining councillor. However, they are forbidden from awarding or rescinding grants of feudal and public land without the majority agreement of the duke and his councillors.*

Preterea scire debes quod, si tu et unus consiliarius tuus iveritis aut aliquo modo fueritis extra civitatem Candide, alter consiliarius, qui remanebit solus tunc facere teneatur tam dium regimen illius<sup>164</sup> insule quamdiu tu et dictus consiliarius tuus steteritis aut fueritis aliquo modo extra civitatem Candide; et possit ille consiliarius, qui remanebit, inquirere et examinare atque imponere penam et penas, et accipere sacramentum, sicut sibi videbitur, non complendo

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164. After *illius* word *regimen* crossed out.



aliquid, sed dimittendo complementum negotii usque ad adventum tui duce et alterius consilarii. Verum, si tu ires dicto modo pro stando ultra dies quinque, tunc duo ex<sup>165</sup> camerariis Crete per texeram debeant esse apud illum consiliarium, qui remanebit, cum quibus possit facere regimen exercere. Non tamen possit dare vel concedere alicui persone vel aliquibus personis aliquas cavalarias vel terras comunis, nec concedere aut dare, nec auferre feudum vel terram comunis alicui persone vel personis, nisi ad voluntatem tui et consiliariorum tuorum vel maioris partis, et nichilominus capitulum commissionis tue super regimine totius insule cum duobus consiliariis remaneat firmum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 170r, no 54. The provision originally provided for the election of two councillors by the Great Council of Candia to replace the absent duke and councillor. Subsequent to the abolition of the council, it was amended accordingly by order of the Senate on 29 February 1376, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, pp. 203-204 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 141, no 572). For the earlier version of this provision, see Thomas, "Commission", 190, no. 47.

57. *With regard to the falsification of documents he is to impose the penalties applicable to such offences in Venice .*

De cartis vero falsis illam vindictam facies fieri, que fit in Venetiis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 170r, no 55.

58. *In the event of a dispute between a notary and another person over a testament or other legal document, the duke is to arbitrate and seek the best resolution for the parties involved.*

Item si aliqua differentia fuerit inter notarium et aliquam personam tam super testamentis, quam super omnibus aliis cartulis, quod notarius nimis accipere velit, tu per utraque parte illum finem impones, qui tibi magis rationabilis apparebit.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 170v, no 57. Ed. Thomas, "Commission", 189, no. 41.

59. *He must diligently provide letters of contestation when requested and see to it that summaries are made at the expenses of the party which has requested the documents for legal purposes.*

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165. After *ex* letters *consi* crossed out.

[f. 12r] Preterea studiosus eris facere fieri omnes literas de bona<sup>166</sup> contestatione, que tibi porecte fuerint, et quod ordinate inde fiant breviarum ad expensis illius, qui eas voluerit presentare.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDC 675, f. 170r-v, no 56. For its inclusion in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 189, no 40.

60. *He must see to it that the three thousand hyperpers to be paid annually to the state by the knights and sergeants is collected with profit and honour for Venice and for the wellbeing of the island of Crete.*

Et eris studiosus quod ille triamillia yperperorum, que debent solvere milites et serzentes nostro comuni annuatim, exigantur si poterit fieri cum proficuo et honore Venetiarum et pro bono statu insule Crete.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDC 675, f. 170v, no 58. For the same provision in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 189, no 46, where it is stated that the revenue from the taxation of the fief-holders is to be spent on the construction of the mole of the port of Candia.

61. *He should be aware that a tax has been instituted solely for the maintenance and repair of the port, and for the salary of the master builder, which, once it will have entered into force the day following its publication in Candia, prescribes that the duty for the exportation of all wines and Malmsey (Malvasia) from Crete to any destination, except Venice, shall be at one and a half hyperpers per three-bigonce<sup>167</sup> barrel. For the lesser quality Chania wines, the export duty shall be one hyperper per three-bigontia barrel. For Malmsey and other wines exported to Flandres the duty shall be two hyperpers per barrel.*

Scire debes esse captum et ordinatum quod infrascripta impositio fieret deinde, que solum convertatur in bono et reparatione portus et salario protomagistri ingeniarii illuc missi, videlicet quod decetero a die qua fuerit hec pars publicata in Candia in antea de omnibus vinis et Monovasiis, que extrahentur de insula Crete per quascumque personas pro portando in omnem partem, excepto Venetias, solvi debeat unus yperper cum dimidio pro qualibet butta trium biguntiorum. De vinis vero et Monovasiis Caneae, quia non sunt tante bonitatis, solvat unus yperper, tamen pro qualibet butta trium biguntiorum. De vinis vero et Monovasiis, que

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166. Thus in the manuscript.

167. *Bigontium* (It. *bigoncia*): a Venetian liquid measure containing one-fourth of the amphora, see R. E. Zupko, *Italian Weights and Measures from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society; v. 145], Philadelphia 1981, pp. 27-28.

extrahentur de dicta insula pro portando ad partes Flandrie per quascumque personas, solvi debeant duo yperperi pro qualibet butta trium biguntiorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 170v, no 59. Law passed by the Senate on 4 June 1372, which reinstated taxation on wine exports in order to meet the cost for the improvement and maintenance of the port of Candia, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 160, no 6; and recently *Venezia – Senato. Registro XXXIV (1372-1375)*, pp. 61-62, no 138 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 128, no 509). On Venice's policy to tax local products and imported goods for the purpose of financing the construction work carried out in the port and its impact in the years leading up to the revolt of 1363, see Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, pp. 23-26, no 18, pp. 32-33, no 29, p. 44, no 35, pp. 81-82, no 22, and the discussion in pp. 46-48, 83. On the structure, operation and maintenance of the port of Candia, see R. Gertwagen, "The Venetian Port of Candia, Crete (1299-1363): Construction and Maintenance", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3 (1988) [=I. Malkin - R.L. Hohlfelder, eds., *Mediterranean Cities: Historical Perspectives*, London 1988], 141-158; Gertwagen, "L'isola di Creta e i suoi porti (dalla fine del XII secolo alla fine del XV secolo)", in Gh. Ortalli, ed., *Venezia e Creta. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Iraklion - Chania, 30 settembre - 5 ottobre 1997*, Venice 1998, pp. 337-374; Gertwagen, "Does Naval Activity -Military and Commercial- need Artificial Ports? The Case of Venetian Harbours and Ports in the Ionian and Aegean Sea till 1500", *Graeco-Arabica* 9-10 (2004) [=G. K. Livadas, ed., *Festschrift in Honour of V. Christides*,] 163-181; and the critical review of the above articles by D. Jacoby, "The Operation of the Cretan Port of Candia in the Thirteenth and First Half of the Fourteenth Century: Sources, Speculations, and Facts", *Thesaurismata* 39-40 (2009-2010), 9-23. On the production and commerce of Cretan wines, see below article 172.

62. *The duke with his councillors are to reprimand and admonish those Venetians in Crete, who do not conduct business properly; in the event that the latter disregard their admonitions, they are to seize their goods and send them to Venice for the benefit of the other parties therein interested.*

Comittimus etiam tibi, quod simul cum consiliariis tuis, vel altero eorum, debeas Venetos siqui fuerint in partibus Crete, qui male fecerint et tractaverint facta sua redarguere, admonire et inducere ad beneficentiam, sicut vobis, vel maiori parti vestrum videbitur; et si pro vestra redargutione et admonitione non cessaverint male tractare et facere facta sua, bona omnia, que habuerint in partibus vestri regiminis debeatis intromittere et accipere et ea penes vos retinere, et ipsa bona tractare, procurare et Venetias ducere, vel mittere debeatis, sicut vobis, vel maiori parti vestrum videbitur, pro utilitate personarum ad quas ipsa bona spectaverint.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 170v, no 60. The earliest mention of this provision is found in oath of the Venetian consul of Alexandria of 1284, see Pedani, "The Oath of a Venetian Consul in Egypt (1284)", 220; Jacoby, "Le consulat vénitien d'Alexandrie", p. 471, no 7. For the inclusion of the provision in the commissions to the councillor of Crete of 1350 and the rector of Chania of 1589, see, respectively, Thomas, "Commission", 190, no. 49; and Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 54, no 35.

63. *He is allowed to lease the land in the area of Paracandia for only up to five years. After completion of the lease period, the lease will be put up for auction.*

Preterea de terra Parachandie non debes affictare alicui, nisi ad quinque annos tamen, et de illa que data erit ad terminum quinque annorum terminis erit completus, non affictabis de ipsa, nisi per incantum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 170v-171r, no 61, with slightly different wording.

64. *He is prohibited from distraining, pledging or ceding to anyone public goods or property during his term of office. He must lease out all public land, houses and goods through public auction.*

[f.12v] Item de bonis et possessionibus comunis non potes, vel debes obligare, pignorire, dare alicui tempore tui regiminis. Et si de terris, vel domibus aut aliis bonis comunis erit, affictare debeas per incantum et non aliter ullo modo.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 171r, no 62.

65. *He is not permitted to extend twenty-nine year leases of public land, which has been planted and cultivated; but, as regards uncultivated land, he and his councillors are at liberty to decide what is the best leasing option.*

Item non potes vel debes de terris comunis que date erint ad terminum XXVIII annorum alicui de illis, videlicet, que plantate et laborate erunt, ultra dictum terminum XXVIII annorum alicui elongare; de terris vero non laboratis facies secundum quod tibi et consiliariis tuis vel maiori parti melius apparebit.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 171r, no 63.

66. *The state-owned villages/estates are to be leased for twenty-nine years renewable for another twenty-nine years and then revert to the Commune. All state-owned buildings on the main street shall remain to the state. The buildings situated toward the back of the St Titus should be leased by auction for twenty-nine years renewable for another twenty-nine years, and then revert to the Commune. The tenants are obliged to construct the facades with stones and limestone mortar and are free to do as they please with buildings facing the interior.*

Quod casalia omnia comunis Creta affictantur ad XXVIII annos ad renovandum cartam ad alios XXVIII et postea redeant in comune. Item, quod illi, qui accipient casalia predicta debent solvere solum yperperum unum, sicut ipsi incantabunt. Item, quod omnes domus comunis, que sunt supra ruga magistram, remaneant in comuni. Et domus posteriores de versus Sanctum Titum, que continentur cum istis, et omnes alie debeant incantari ad XXVIII annos ad renovandum cartam

ad alios XXVIII annos et postea remaneant in comuni. Et illi, qui accipient eas, debeant facere comprehensum de foris circumcirca de lapidibus et calcina et alios albergos interiores de quocumque eis placebit.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 171r, no 64. This article brings together, in condensed form, various provisions passed by the Great Council and the Senate on separate occasions. For the state-owned estates/villages, see Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου*, p. 118, no 13, dated 16 November 1340, and pp. 126-127, no 28, dated November 20, 1345 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 195, no 479, p. 208, no 520). For the exploitation of state properties that were located on the main street of the city of Candia (*ruga magistra*) and the prescriptions regarding the facades of the buildings, see Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, p. 345, no 24; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, p. 15, no 24, dated 1282 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 31, no XXX); and Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 3, no 2 (only the title of this deliberation is preserved). See also the discussion in M. Georgopoulou, *The Meaning of the Architecture and the Urban Layout of Venetian Candia: Cultural Conflict and Interaction in the Late Middle Ages*, unpublished PhD thesis (University of California – Los Angeles 1992), pp. 312-315 and passim; and Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, pp. 16, 54, 75, 76, 77, 92, 109, 133, 136, 149, 163, 198, 216. For the same provisions in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 193, nos. 69, 70, 71.

67. *He and his councillors are prohibited from buying state-owned assets sold on auction. Also, he is forbidden from auctioning or purchasing property for his benefit.*

Et non potes tu et similiter non possint consiliarii tui emere nec emi facere aliquid, quod pro comuni vendatur ad incantum, nec aliquid, quod ad comune pertinet, debeas incantare nec incantari facere nec comperare nec comperari facere ad tuam utilitate aliquo modo.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 171r, no 65. This prohibition was issued by the Great Council on 9 July 1255, ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, p.8. For the inclusion of the provision in the commission to the councillor of Chania of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 185, no 15, and p. 201, no. 117.

68. *He is prohibited from donating, leasing or selling by "gratia" state-owned assets to family members in his place of posting.*

Item non potes donare, affictare seu vendere per gratiam, seu aliquo modo dare aliquam rem, que sit comunis, alicui, qui sit de tua familia, in isto regimine stando.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 171r, no 66.

69. *By decision of the Great Council that was added to the commissions to the duke and councillors of Crete, all auctions of public assets must be held in the square and not elsewhere.*

Capta fuit pars in maiori consilio, quod addatur in commissionem duche et consiliariorum Crete, quod omnes res comunis, que debebunt incantari, debeant facere incantari solum in platea et non alibi.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 171r, no 67. Added to the commissions to the duke and councillors of Crete by decree of Great Council dated May 9, 1293, ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου*, p. 31, no 16 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 68, no CLXXIX). Also included in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 202, no 121. For its inclusion in the commission to the rector of Chania of 1589, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 46, no 11.

70. *The duke and councillors may grant public property (rural and urban estates<sup>168</sup>, lands, houses etc) both inside and out of the city of Candia, only by public auction and in accordance with the specified procedure: auctions shall be announced at least fifteen days prior to the opening of the bidding, with a minimum of one auction per each of the scheduled auction days; auctions shall be held at 9 a.m. on a Sunday, in the main square. This applies in those cases when the duke and councillors have been granted the said power (arbitrium) by their commissions. Further, they should adhere to the following established auction procedures for leasing out of empty lots in the bourg of Candia: auctions shall be announced at least one month before the date set for the auction and shall be held only on Sundays, throughout the year, except for the period between the 1st of July and the end of September. The plots put for auction cannot exceed specific dimensions and shall be leased for twenty-nine years, renewable for another twenty-nine years, according to custom.<sup>169</sup> The auction must be preceded by*

168. The word *borgesia* (or *burgesia*) denotes the urban estates of the feudal lords that were a part of their fiefs, see Georgopoulou, *The Meaning of the Architecture*, pp. 267-286; Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean colonies*, pp. 167-168, 170, 171, 193; and Ch. Gasparis, «Τα αστικά φέουδα (borgesia). Η ακίνητη ιδιοκτησία των φεουδαρχών στον Χάνδακα», in *Πεπραγμένα Η' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, v. 2, Heraklion 2000, pp. 137-150.

169. State-owned urban land was leased for a period of twenty-nine years, renewable at the end of the term for another twenty-nine years and then was put up at auction. However, note that in 1414, in order to stimulate the development of the bourg of Candia and provide incentives for building quality housing, the Senate decreed that henceforth state-owned land in the area of the bourg, leased through public auction for construction, was to be allotted on perpetual leases. Moreover, according to the same provision, the *regimen* was to see to it that all property previously rented for twenty-nine years, was put up at auction once its lease expired and leased to the higher bidder in perpetuity, see Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 230. The law was probably not enforced, because two years later it was reiterated by the Senate in its response to the demands of the delegation of the Cretan feudatories, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 51, f. 156v (n.n. 159v), August 26, 1416; ed. partly in G. Gerola, *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, v. 3, Venice 1917, pp. 200-201, summarised in Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 247. The responses to the demands of the delegation were also recorded in the register of the incoming correspondence of the regime of Crete under duke Pietro Civran for future reference,

*an inspection of the property to determine the boundaries of the property and that it is not in violation with building laws.*

Prohibitum est tibi et consiliariis, quod non possis concedere alicui pheidum aliquod, borgesiam, terras, domos nec aliquam aliam rem|f. 13r|immobilium comuni spectantem, positam tam in civitate, quam extra, nisi per incantum; et quod incantetur per XV dies ad minus et singulo die illorum XV dierum semel ad minus; et non debeat delivri nisi die domenico<sup>170</sup>, hora tercię in platea. Et hoc intelligatur de illis de quibus tu et consilarii haberetis arbitrium per vestras commissiones. Item, de territorio vacuo posito in burgo Candide commissum est tibi et consiliariis, quod cuilibet volenti de ipso territorio per incantum, debeat ei deliberari scilicet plus offerenti, et debent durare dictus incantus per unum mensem ad minus nec possit delivri nisi in die domenica. Verum non potes incantare pro vice ultra duodecim passus in longitudine cum latitudine convenienti, sed a passibus XIII infra potestis ponere ad incantum in longitudine cum latitudine competenti, quantum vobis videbit, dando et deliverando dicta territoria ad annos 29 ad renovandum, secundum consuetudinem deinde. Ante vero quam delivretis dicta territoria ire debeatis ad videndum et examinandum illa et ponere confinia. Ita quod non transirent alias possessiones et devastarent stratas, intelligendo, quod a prima die julii usque per totum mensem septembris dicta territoria non debeant incantari.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDC 675, f. 171r-v, no 68. The procedure and regulations for auction of state-owned plots of land were detailed by the Senate on 6 October 1341, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. 1, p. 214, no 5; and more recently *Venezia – Senato. Registro XX*, pp. 40-41, no 88. See also the discussion in Br. Imhaus, “Les maisons de la Commune dans le district de Candie au XIVe siècle”, *Thesaurismata* 10 (1973), 124-137, esp. 131, note 51; and Imhaus, “Enchères des fiefs et vignobles de la republique vénitienne en Crète au XIV siècle”, *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 41 (1974), 195-210.

71. *The duke and his councillors are not allowed to grant state-owned houses to anyone without the permission of the doge and his council, except to specified officials.*

Quod aliqua domus comunis non possit dari decetero per ducham et consiliarios Crete alicui persone sine licentia nostra et nostri consilii, exceptis admiraleo,

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see Gerland, *Archiv*, pp. 62-65, here at p. 63. Further instructions on the same subject were passed by the Senate on 18 August 1425, upon a motion by the former duke of Crete Marco Giustinian, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 55, f. 156r (n.n. 157r), summarised in Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 309.

170. Thus in the manuscript.

pensatore et illo, qui aptat staterias, quello qui procurat portam et duobus gastaldionibus.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 171v, no 69. Ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, p. 31, no 12, dated May 5, 1293 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 68, no CLXXIX).

72. *The duke and his family members are prohibited from purchasing a deceased or living person's property, which has been taken over by the local government by any reason whatever.*

Et si habebis de rebus alicuius persone defuncte vel viventis seu aliquarum specialium personarum, per aliquem modum, non possis comperare nec facere comperari de ipsis nec vendere nec vendi facere alicui de tua familia in hoc regimine modo aliquo.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 171v, no 70.

73. *Also, it is prohibited for more than two Latins with eight servants to go out to meet a Greek approaching the city, or for more than two Latins and a Greek to join together in order to present a claim or submit a petition before the duke and his councillors or any other officials of Crete.*

Item non permittes, quod plures duobus Latinis cum octo servitoribus vadant obviam alicui Greco in civitatem venienti, nec quod plures duobus Latinis associent aliquem Grecum pro aliquo facto vel petitione coram te vel consiliariis tuis nec coram aliis nostris officialibus Crete.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 171v, no 71. Decision issued by the Great Council, dated July 9, 1255, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, p. 340, no I; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, p. 9, ll. 37-40, no 11. For its inclusion in the commission to the councillor of Chania, see Thomas, "Commission", 190-191, no 50.

74. *The duke must allow the proxies of the castellans of Coron and Modon to export wheat from the island.*

Item teneris et debes nunciis castellanorum Coroni et Mothoni bladum de insula extrahi, qui cum litteris castellanorum ad te venerint pro blado [f. 13v] accipiendo et conducendo Coronum.<sup>171</sup>

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171. The meaning of the first clause of the sentence is obscure, because the scribe has inadvertently omitted an infinitive before *extrahi*. The text should read *permittere extrahi*.



Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 171v, no 72. The cereal grains produced in the colonies of Coron and Modon did not always suffice, therefore additional imports from Crete were required to meet the local demand. On the supply of grain from Crete and the agents of the castellans, see Chr. Hodgetts, *The Colonies of Coron and Modon under Venetian Administration, 1200-1400*, unpublished PhD thesis (London 1974), pp. 187-188, 204, 412-415.

75. *The duke and his councillors must not give back fiefs or property exempt from taxes to Greeks who have rebelled against the sovereign state, under any condition.*

Item, si aliquis Grecus fuerit, qui habeat pheudum a domino duce, seu francus sit vel franchatus erit, qui rebellavit dominio vel fecerit contra fidelitatem, non potes nec debes reddere pheudum vel franchitatem aliquo modo vel ingenio, nec facere ei aliquam gratiam, nec dare donum vel cambium.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 171v-172r, no 73. Provision added to the commission to the duke and councillors of Crete by order of the Great Council on 7 June 1274, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, p. 343, no XVI; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μειζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, p. 12, ll. 141-148, no 16 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 37, no XLIV).

76. *The duke and his councillors must not allow vasmuli, Latins, Vlachs and Turks who have rebelled against the state, or their descendants, to remain on the island, unless reduced to the condition of state villein.*

Item, quod si aliquis vasmulus, Latinus, Vlachus, Turchus et omni alio genere fuerit, excepto de Grecis, qui rebellabit dominio, non permittes ipsum vel eius heredes, per aliquod tempus, habitare in tota insula Crete et si presumpserit habitare et habitabit, debeat esse villanus comunis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 172r, no 74. Provision added to the commission to the duke and councillors of Crete by order of the Great Council on 7 June 1274, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, p. 343, no XVI; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μειζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, pp. 12-13, ll. 148-151, no 16 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 37, no XLIX).

77. *The duke and councillors must transport to the city, the castles and forts all the wheat they deem necessary to keep them supplied.*

Quod duca et consiliarii Crete faciant duci in civitate aut in castris comunis sive fortificiis totum bladum, quod erit de foris, sicut tibi et tuo consilio videbitur pro bono insule Crete, guarniendo tamen castra nostri comunis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 172r, no 75. Decision dated 2 July 1287, included in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, with variation in the wording, ed. Thomas, "Commission", 195, no 83.

78. *As per the decision of the Senate, dated 14 August 1302, bastards are forbidden to participate in councils and all offices, except those of the fiefs.*<sup>172</sup>

Captum fuit in rogatis, quod bastardi privent de consiliis et omnibus aliis officiis, preter qui de pheudis, 1302, die XXIII augusti<sup>173</sup>.

Partial reproduction of the ruling of the Senate of 1302 published by Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 19, no 41; Cessi – Sambin, *Deliberazioni del consiglio dei rogati*, v. 1, p. 67. Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 172r, no 76.

79. *Further, that no man or woman could go to the enemies, nor benefit the enemies, nor confer with them, nor send them letters, nor do any of the above without permission from the duke and councillors, or other persons that shall be appointed by the said government. The duke with his council are at liberty to impose any penalties they deem appropriate.*

Item quod nullus homo vel femina possit ire ad inimicos, nec portate aliquam utilitatem inimicis, nec possit parlamentare cum eis, nec eis litteras mittere, nec aliquod predictorum facere sine licentia tui vel tuorum consiliariorum aut aliorum, qui erunt constituti pro dicta signoria, ponente te ducha cum tuo consilio penam et penas propter hoc, que tibi et tuo consilio videbitur expedire.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 172r, no 77. Ed. Thomas, "Commission", 196, no 88.

80. *The duke and councillors are bound by oath that none of the money or pledges collected by the courts as well as by other public officials will be allocated to the ducal scribe, the chancellor or the chaplain, but that they will reach the treasurers. Once the money and pledges are in the hands of the treasurers, the duke with the consent of the majority of the councillors will decide to what use it will be put. Treasurers are also bound by oath and by their commission to see that they receive both the money and the pledges.*

Item teneris tu et consiliiarii tui sacramento de non facere dari aliquos denarios vel pignus, tam a iudicibus quam ab aliis officialibus, alicui scribano de palatio, neque cancellario, neque tuo capellano, sed illi denarii et pignus deveniant in manus camerariorum. Et postquam erunt in manus camerariorum, tu cum maiori parte tui consilii facies sicut tibi et maiori parti tui consilii videbitur. Et camerarii teneantur sacramento ipsos denarios et pignus recipere, et addatur in

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172. The rendering of the last clause is uncertain.

173. Thus in the manuscript. The date should read 23 August 1302.

commissionibus, et quod te|f. 14r|neantur dare operam quod deveniant in manus suas et excutiendo ipsos.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 172r, no 78. Ed. Thomas, “Commission”, 196, no 89.

- 81.** *One month after taking office, the duke and councillors must inspect the condition of the fortresses and be informed of the cost of the upkeep of the fortifications.*

Quod addatur in commissione duche et consiliariorum Crete, quod infra unum mensem postquam applicuerint ibi teneantur et debeant scire et iquirere omnes varnitiones castrorum nostrorum de dicta insula Crete, et scire quantum ascendunt dicte varnitiones.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 172r-v, no 79. For the full text of the law, dated 6 July 1290, see Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 3, p. 269, no 64; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, p. 30, no 5 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 61, no CXLVII). Also included in the commission to the councillor of Chania of 1350, ed. Thomas, “Commission”, 201, no. 114.

- 82.** *The duke and his councillors are not allowed to become guarantors or sureties for debts towards the state.*

Scire debes, quod tu neque consilarii tui potestis, neque debetis, stare plezii vel pagatores pro aliquo vel aliquibus, qui debeant aliquid comuni, aliquo modo vel ingenio.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 172v, no 80. The prohibition was first imposed on the councillors of the island, see Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, p. 31, no 14, dated 5 May 1293; for its inclusion in the commission to the councillor of Crete, see Thomas, “Commission”, 202, no 124. On 14 February 1376, it was added to the commissions of the duke, the captain and the rectors of the island, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα της Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 200, no 21 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 68, no CLXXIX). See also the commissions of the captain of Crete of 1411 and of the rector of Chania of 1589, ed., respectively, Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 205, no XV, and Maltezu, *Εντολή*, pp. 60-61, no 50.

- 83.** *The duke and councillors can impose penalties on the treasurers of Crete for violations of the provisions contained in their capitulary, and execute them.*

Item scire debes, quod capta fuit pars, quod ducha et consilarii Crete possint imponere penam et penas camerariis Crete pro his, que facere debent, secundum formam sui capitulariis. Et penas, quas imposuerint, executere teneantur a camerariis, si facient contra.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 172v, no 81. Provision issued by the Great Council on 5 May 1293, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, p. 337, no 29; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, p. 31, no 15 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*,

v. 1, p. 68, no CLXXIX). For the inclusion of the provision in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, “Commission”, 202, no 125.

84. *He is not allowed to give to anyone, rector or private individual, a galley, ligno or other armed public ship, nor to use or exploit it, except for the needs of the Commune. He may, at his discretion and with the agreement of both his councillors, loan or charter a disarmed ship.*

Non potes, ullo modo, ingenio seu formam, alicui rectori vel speciali persone concedere aliquam galeam vel lignum, aut aliud navigium comunis armatum. Nec ipsa navigia uti, mittere, vel frui in alio quam in evidentibus necessitatibus et servitiis nostri comunis. Sed navigium disarmatum possis comodare<sup>174</sup> et naulizare, si videbitur tibi et ambobus consiliariis tuis in concordia.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 172v, no 82. Prohibition added to the commissions of the governors of Crete, Negroponte, Coron and Modon on 5 November 1357, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, pp. 53-54, no 11; and recently *Venezia – Senato. Registro XXVIII*, pp. 95-96, no 167.

85. *Officials, who expend public funds jointly with others outside Venice and are under obligation to render account of their management, on returning to Venice must submit a copy of their colleagues' ledgers, sealed by their seals.*

Capta fuit pars in maiori consilio, quod iniungatur in capitularibus et commissionibus omnium, qui faciunt extra Venetias cum aliis aliquas expensas de pecunia comunis de quibus debeant reddere rationem Venetiae, quod, quando aliquis eorum debet venire Venetias, teneatur requirere a remanentibus cum quibus expenderit exemplum suorum quaternorum, qui faciunt ad rationes suas, et ipsi teneantur sibi dare illud exemplum et ipsum per ipsos mittere sigillatum suis sigillis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 172v, no 83. Ed. Thomas, “Commission”, 203, no 131.

86. *The duke must have his notary or another appropriate person make copies of the account book kept by the treasurer every month. One copy is to be kept by the duke, since he must render account of his administration, one copy is to go to Venice and one is to remain in Crete.*

Item facies notarium tuum vel alium, sicut tibi et consiliariis tuis apparebit, in capite cuiuslibet mensis, exemplare quaternum illius, qui extiterit camerl[f.

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174. Read *commodare*.

14v|lengus, et exemplum in te accipies cum fieri debeat ratio. Ita quod unus veniat Venetias et alter remaneat in Creta.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 172v, no 84.

**87.** *The duke and his councillors must audit the treasurers' accounts once a month.*

Teneris quod omni mense tu et consilairii tui similiter videre rationes camerariorum Crete, tenendo modum, quod dicte rationes legantur particulariter et distincte, sicut stabunt in quaternis, et eas videre et audire legi debeatis per dictum modum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 172v, no 85. Provision added to the duke's commission on 14 February 1376, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα της Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 203, no 26 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 141, no 570).

**88.** *The duke is enjoined to have a separate register kept in the Treasury Office, or wherever deemed appropriate, where the total tax liability of the Jews, the Jew taxpayers by name and the tax paid per individual will be listed.*

Item ordinabis et facies, quod unus quaternus sit in camerlengaria comunis vel alibi, ubi tibi et tuis consiliariis videbitur melius, in quo scribi debeat solutio datii judeorum et singulariter omnes Judei et solutio cuiuslibet persone.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 172v-173r, no 86.

**89.** *The duke is forbidden to grant remittance from monetary penalties imposed by his predecessors, or provide any compensation or preferential treatment for such sentences without the permission of the doge and the Council of Forty, or the Great Council, rather he is to see that these sentences are executed. Likewise he is forbidden to remit sentences for offences such as homicide, theft and treason.*

Item non potes vel debes, aliquo modo vel ingenio, absolvere aliquas condemnationes in pecunias factas per aliquem vel aliquos tuorum precessorum, nec de ipsis condemnationibus vel earum occasione facere seu fieri facere aliquam compensationem, donum seu gratiam, aut ullam provisionem, nisi cum voluntate nostra et nostri consilii de XL vel maioris consilii potuis illas condemnationes ad tuum posse excutere seu excuti facere teneris si non sint excusae. Et sicut non potes absolvere aliquas condemnationes per precessores tuos in pecunia factas, sic non potes absolvere illas, que facte sunt vel fient decetero in persona vel rebus, occasione homicidii, furti et tradimenti, modo aliquo vel ingenio.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 173r, no 87. Ed. Thomas, "Commission", 199, no 101 and no 102. For the inclusion of the prohibition and the provisions regarding the modification or

remission of convictions in the commission to the rector of Chania, see Maltezu, *Εντολή*, p. 58, no 43, and p. 120, no 136.

90. *By decision of the Great Council, all rectors are prohibited from rescinding or reducing convictions either in part or in full.*

Capta fuit pars in maiori consilio, quod addatur in commissionibus omnium rectorum, quod de omnibus condemnationibus, quos facient in suis regiminibus, non possint postquam eas fecerint se impedire in remittendo vel revocando in toto vel parte, ullo ingenio seu forma.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 173r, no 88. Prohibition issued by the Great Council on 4 July 1361, ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου*, p. 140, no 7 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 250, no 676). For its inclusion in the commission of the governor of Chania, see Maltezu, *Εντολή*, pp. 58-59, no 44, with wrong date (5 July).

91. *Castellans and other officials, other than the advocates of the Commune and the heads of the advocates, are required to stay out of office for period of time equal to their term in office.*<sup>175</sup>

Item quod quilibet castellanus et officialis, qui fuerit in aliquo officio et exierit de officio, stet tantum extra quantum steterit in officio, except[is] advocat[oribus] et capit[ibus] advocatorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 173r, no 89. The same restriction is found in the commissions to the councillor of Crete of 1350 and to the rector of Chania, see, respectively, Thomas, "Commission", 205, no 139; and Maltezu, *Εντολή*, p. 60-61, no 50.

92. *The duke, one of the councillors or one of the treasurers, selected by the drawing of lots, must classify convictions in proper order.*

Item ducha, consiliarii et camerarii Crete, cui advenit texera, [f. 15r] teneatur ponere ad ordinem conditiones,<sup>176</sup> sicut erunt scripte in libro, scilicet incipere a capite libri et ire per ordinem.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 173r, no 90. Ed. Thomas, "Commission", 205, no 141. For a similar provision in the commission to the rector of Chania, Maltezu, *Εντολή*, p. 61, no. 52.

93. *It is forbidden for the duke and his councillors to donate, sale or enfranchise villeins. However, in time of war, the duke together with his councillors and the captain of*

175. On the practice of excluding officeholders from the same post for a specified time after the expiration of their term of office (*contumacia*), see Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, pp. 45-50.

176. Thus in the manuscript, read *condempnationes*.

*Crete, in majority agreement, may enfranchise villeins, of the state or even of private individuals, whom they consider worthy of reward for services to the sovereign state. The same applies in peacetime for services to the state.*

Item ducha et consiliarii non possint donare vel alienare, aliquos rusticos neque franchare, aliquo modo vel ingenio. Verum tamen per nos et nostra consilia minus, rogatorum et additionis 1375, die XIII february, ordinatum fuit, quod tempore guerre si decetero occurreret, quod deus avertat, possitis tu et consiliarii tui ac capitaneus noster Crete insimul vel maior pars vestrum franchare illos villanos, qui vobis videbuntur digni pro rebus notabilibus, quas fecissent in honore domini tam de villanis comunis, quam specialium personarum, faciendo satisfieri de bonis comunis pro illis specialium personarum, quos francheretis, sicut tibi vel maiori parti vestrum videbitur iustum, et similiter si tempore pacis aliqui villani manifestarent vel facerent aliquod notabile pro bono status nostri, possint franchari per modum predictum. Et hoc proclametur Candide bis quolibet anno.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 173r-v, no 91. Decision dated 14 February 1376, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα της Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 203, no 27 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 141, no 571. For its inclusion in the commission to the captain of Crete, see Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 210, no XXVIII (text) and 185 (commentary). This decision is an amendment to an earlier prohibition against the sale or alienation of villeins that did not allow for any exceptions, which was included in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, ed. Thomas, “Commission”, 205, no 142; also found in the commission to the governor of Chania of 1589, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 61, no 51.

94. *It is added to the commissions to the duke, the councillors and the treasurers of Crete, that public money, collected every Saturday, must be kept in a box with three keys. The treasurers will share one key, and the box will be opened in the presence of the majority or all of the officials.*

Item addatur duce, consiliariis et camerariis Crete, quod teneantur facere fieri unum banchum cum tribus clavibus, in quo debeant poni omnes denarios, qui proveniant in comuni, et omni die sabbati colligere denarios provenientes in comune et tenere in dicto bancho. Et quilibet camerariorum habeat unam clavem divisatam ad aliis et non possint apperire dictum banchum nisi omnes simul, vel maior pars eorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 173v, no 92. Ed. Thomas, “Commission”, 206, no 146.

95. *Before leaving his post, he is required to render account of the public funds and property he's left behind to his successor; and the latter is obliged, upon hearing and receiving his report, to communicate its content to the central authorities.*

Item teneris antequam de isto regimine recedas et debes facere rationem successori tuo de omnibus que dimittes in comuni tam in denariis quam in aliis rebus omnibus et predictus successor vel successores tenent audire et recipere dictam rationem et ipsam per suas litteras nobis significare per precessorem suum per singulum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 173v, no 93.

96. *When the duke and councillors procure grain from suppliers they must appoint a qualified person or persons, who will undertake, under oath, its reception and quality control; the former must also see to it that the boatmen do not commit frauds while loading the grain on ships. Once it has been certified that the wheat is new and of good quality, they will seal the two samples taken with their seal and send them, separately, to the grain officials with two trusted persons. If, by the inspection, it is proven that the grain does not meet requirements, they should not seal the samples and inform the authorities in writing about its quality.*

Quando autem tu et consiliarii tui recepi facietis frumentum pro nostro comuni a quibuscumque personis constituere debeatis personam vel personas idoneas cum sacramento, quod recipiant frumentum bonum, novum et mercadante, et non mixtum vetus cum novo nec balneatum vel [f. 15v] aliter fraudatum. Item quando frumentum nostri comunis caricabitur provideatis, quod nulla fraus per barcherios committi possit. Item quando accipi facietis monstram frumenti in navigiis caricati, faciatis accipi duas monstras de quolibet navigio. Et si inveneretis illud frumentum esse bonum et mercadante et non mixtum nec aliter fraudatum, faciatis illas monstras sigillari vestro sigillo, mittentes unam monstram officialibus frumenti cum dicto navgio consignatam uni qui magis legalis vobis apparuerit; alteram monstram eisdem officialibus mittetis per illud navigium consignatum alicui alteri bono et legali homini; in casu vero quo visis monstris non apparuerit vobis frumentum bonum et mercadante, non faciatis bullari monstras, sed scribatis nobis conditionem frumenti.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 173v, no 94. The article partly reiterates, with variations in the wording, the content of a decision of the Senate and the Council of Forty, dated 29 March 1315, which is included in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 211, no 158. The original decision is now lost, and only the rubric is preserved, see Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα της Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 62, no 9. For an extended version of these instructions, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, pp. 64-65, nos 58 and 59, where instead of *a quibuscumque personis* the text reads *a militibus Graecis aliisque personis*. The same wording is found in the relevant article of the commission to the councillor of Crete.

97. *The original land registers shall be kept under six keys, of which three are to be kept by the duke and his two councillors and three by each one of the treasurers. A copy of the*



*land registers shall be kept in the Treasury, to be shown upon request to applicants; and when it is deemed expedient to make additions or changes to the copy, the revisions must be added to the original within eight days.*

Scire debes, quod mater catasticorum Crete debet conservari in aliquo loco tuto sub sex clavibus diversis, quarum tu et consiliarii tui tenere debeatis unam pro quolibet, et reliquas tres camerarii, unam pro quolibet. Et exemplum dictorum catasticorum stare debet ad cameram camerariorum, ut possit ostendi petentibus quociens opus erit, et quando expediens esset, quod in exemplo adderetur, vel mutaretur infra octo dies post additionem vel mutationem, addi vel mutari debet in matre. Et predicta tenemini tu et consiliarii et camerarii Crete sub debito sacrementi inviolabiliter observare et facere observari, non deputantes aliquem alium officialem ad ipsorum catasticorum officium exercendum, sed relinquendo ipsum officium camerariis Crete totaliter, salvo de matre conservanda, ut superius dictum est.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 174r, no 95. Ed. Thomas, “Commission”, 211-212, no 160, from which it can be deduced that this article is the consolidated version of two decisions issued by the Senate and the Council of Forty in 1305 and 1315. The original decisions are now lost; for the rubrics in the original registers of the Senate, see Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 30, no 17, and p. 62, no 13; also, in Cessi – Sambin, *Deliberazioni del consiglio dei rogati*, v. 1, p. 113, no 132, p. 155, no 110.

98. *It is forbidden for the duke to buy fish from fishermen or fishmongers, and to compel or cause others to compel them to bring fish to his home. The same applies to the members of his household. Rather, the duke should allow them to sell their fish freely in the customary public places.*

Item non compelles nec compelli facies per te, vel alium aliquem piscatorem, vel venditorem piscium, quod tibi vendat pisces, nec concedat eos ad domum tuam, nec patieris, quod aliquis de tua familia vel alius faciat eis violentiam aliquam vel gravamen, sed potius permittes quoslibet libere et sine impedimento vendere in locis publicis solitis sicut voluerint suos piscos.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 174r, no 96. Prohibition included in the commissions of all rectors by decision of the Great Council dated 13 February 1319, ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου*, p. 102, no 3 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 179, no 410). For its inclusion in the commissions to councillor of Crete of 1350 and to the governor of Chania, see, respectively, Thomas, “Commission”, p. 212, no 163; and Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 66-67, no 62. On graft taking, see Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, pp. 189-190.

99. *The duke is to observe the following ruling by the Senate: that castellanies, judgeships and other offices in the district of Chania from the boundary of the “scalla” of*

*Strumbulas*<sup>177</sup> to the west shall be awarded by election from the regimen (duke and councillors) to candidates who are residents in Chania for at least one year.

Item observabis formam consilii, videlicet, quod castellanerie, iudicatus et officia Caneae a scalis Stromboli citra non possint dari, nisi illis qui faciunt residentiam in Canea, et ibi moram fecerint continue per unum annum et |f. 16r| ultra, et debent fieri electiones per ducham et consiliarios Crete. Et addatur in eorum commissionibus, quod ita a modo in antea debeant observare.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 174r, no 97. Decision by the Senate dated 23 August 1302, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα της Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B 1, p. 19, no 40. On the awarding of offices in the district of Chania from the boundary of the “scalla” of Strumbulas to the west, see also the reply of the Senate to a demand put forward by a delegation of feudatories from Chania in 1318, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα της Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B 1, p. 69, no 163; and more recently by Cessi–Sambin, *Deliberazioni del consiglio dei rogati*, v. 1, p. 67, no 234. For the judges and castellans of Chania, see Gasparis, *Catastici Feudorum Crete. Catasticum Chaneae*, pp. 64-65, 70-74. On residency requirements for eligibility of office in Crete, see O’Connell, “The Castellan in Local Administration in Fifteenth Century Venetian Crete”, 163-164. Cfr. article 104.

100. *The duke is to observe, to the extent that it concerns him, the following ruling added to the commissions of all Venetian rectorors: outgoing administrators are to consign all state weapons to their successors, who will then have them recorded in a receipt register. Likewise, they will notify the doge in writing about the weapons and see that they are well maintained.*

Et observabis, in quantum ad te spectat consilium continens, quod iniungatur in commissionibus omnium rectorum comunis Venetiarum, quod in eorum recessu a regimine consignent eorum successoribus per singulum omnia arma nostri comunis, que erunt in suo regimine, que dicti successores faciant notari in quaterno, sicut fuerit consignata, et nichilominus per suas litteras rescribant nobis ipsa arma et quod conservant ipsa ne devastentur sint studiosi.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 174r, no 98. Decision passed by the Great Council on 14 February 1320, ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος συμβουλίου*, p. 104, no 10 (summary

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177. The phrase *scal(l)a Stromboli* refers to the high plain at the foot of the mount Stroumboulas which is located approximately 11 km west of Heraklion, stretching in an east to west direction, see El. Platakis, «Στρούμπουλας – Τίμιος Σταυρός – Άγιος Παύλος», *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 22 (1970), 298-315. The *scalla Stromboli* formed the geographical boundary between the Eastern and Western part of Crete, which was also the administrative boundary between the districts of Candia and Rethimno during the Venetian period, see Gasparis, *Catastici feudorum Crete. Catasticum sexterii Dorsoduri*, p. 69; and Gasparis, *Catastici Feudorum Crete. Catasticum Chaneae*, pp. 16-17.

in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 181, no 422). For its inclusion in the commissions to the councillor of Crete of 1350 and to the rector of Chania of 1589, see, respectively, Thomas, “Commission”, 214, no 167; and Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 68, no 66.

- 101.** *Incoming rectors must inform the central authorities in writing about the condition of armaments, food and other supplies that they have received from their predecessors. The doge and his councillors in turn are bound to forward these letters to the financial officials, who are instructed to keep a record of the supplies of each place and update it occasionally. They are further empowered to inspect and compare the records, hold rectors accountable, if accused of negligence or destruction of public property, and to judge and sentence them accordingly.*

Quod nostri rectores teneantur et debeant in introitu suorum regiminum scribere dominio particulariter et distincte omnes munitiones armorum, bladorum et aliarum rerum sibi assignatum per precessores suos et condicionem et qualitatem ac bonitatem earum. Et dominus et consiliarii teneantur huiusmodi litteras mittere officialibus rationum, quibus committatur, quod habeant unum quaternum, in quo scribantur munitiones cuiuslibet loci per se et designationes, que facte fuerint de tempore in tempus. Et quandocumque sibi presentabuntur littere designationum, debeant diligenter examinare de rebus deficientibus vel devastatis. Et, si propter negligentiam seu defectum rectorum aliquid defecerit vel devastatum fuerit, habeant libertatem sentiendi et terminandi, quod reficiant et solvant de suo id quod eis iustum videbitur pro emenda comunis et imponendi penam et penas sicut eis videbitur, salvo semper officio advocatorum comunis, et, de toto eo quod dicti officiales sentiaverint, habere debeat soldos duos pro libra.

Guidelines added to the commissions to all rectors by order of the Senate on 12 May 1360, ed. Venezia – Senato. *Registro XXIX*, pp. 290-291, no 530. Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 174r-v, no 99. For the inclusion of the guidelines in the commission to the rector of Chania of 1589, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, pp. 68-69, no 67.

- 102.** *The election of officials on Crete falls within the competence of the duke and his councillors, who should henceforth choose honest, qualified and competent officials.*

Est etiam tibi sciendum, quod tu simul cum consiliariis tuis debes esse elector officialium Crete, quos officiales, si<sup>178</sup> illos qui spectant tibi et consiliariis tuis ad eligendum et constituendum, deinde eliges bonos, idoneos et sufficientes.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 174v, no 100.

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178. Read *scilicet*.

**103.** *Provision for and regulation of appointments to offices and salaried positions on the island of Crete: officers of the night watch, judges, treasurers and fiscal officials are to be elected by the Great Council in Venice, according to the usual procedure. These offices and judgeships are subject to the same terms and conditions applicable to all governmental officials both within Venice (intus) and overseas (extra), who are elected by the Great Council, and may be given as a special favour under the conditions set by the decision of the Great Council of 12 May 1342<sup>179</sup>. Admirals and chancellors are to be elected by the Great Council according to custom. As for all other offices and salaried positions, let it be proclaimed that from now on for five years none will be granted as a special favour, and that this decree can not be revoked; appointments to these positions are to be done by the rectors as is usual. The continuation of the decree will be reviewed every five years.*

Quia expedit omnino dare ordinem et regulam de officiis et beneficiis insule Crete, ut decetero de ipsis officiis error nullus occurrat, vadit pars quod infrascripta regalia et ordo debeat decetero de ipsis officiis et beneficiis observari, videlicet, quod domini nocte Crete, omnes iudices, camerarii et commercarii fiant in nostro maiori consilio per electionem, secundum modum solitum. Et sint dicta officia et iudicatus ad conditionem aliorum officiorum et regiminum nostrorum intus et extra, que fiunt per electionem in maiori consilio. In casu quo per gratiam ab aliquibus peteretur secundum formam partis alias capte in maiori consilio in 1342, die XII maii, loquentis super hoc: admirarie et cancellarie fiant in nostro maiori consilio, secundum usum; alia autem omnia officia et beneficia dicte insule, quocumque nomine nuncupantur, stringantur, quod de hinc, modo aliquo vel ingenio dari vel concedi non possint per gratiam alicui usque quinque annos proximos, nec revocari possit presens pars, sicut pluries factum fuit, sub pena librarum ducentarum pro quolibet consiliario, capite et alio ponente vel consentiente partem in contrarium, sed dentur illa talia officia et beneficia deinde per nostros rectores, sicut solitum est fieri et servari. In capite vero quinque annorum, per unum mensem ante, consilarii et capita teneantur venire ad istud consilium, sub debito sacramenti et providere, sicut videbitur super hoc, et nihilominus donec venerint et provisum fuerit super predictis hec pars duret et servetur sicut superius dictum est.

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179. Decision issued by the Great Council, see ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, Spiritus, f. 121p (n.n. 122r), dated 12 May 1342. For its inclusion in the commission to Leonardo Caravello of 1429, see Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 174v-175r, no 101.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 174v-175r, no 101. Decision issued by the extended Senate on 29 February 1372, prolonging for five years—and valid up until its revocation—the decision adopted by the same council on 29 July 1364, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, pp. 162-163, no 13.

- 104.** *Rectors are allowed to appoint to public office, including castellanhips, only those who live permanently in Crete for five consecutive years or those who go to the island and get married there.*

Item quod alicui, qui non fecerit habitationem ibi cum suo domicilio V annis continuis, non possit per aliquos nostros rectores dari aliquod officium vel castellanaria, videlicet, medietatis tangentis illos deinde sub pena librarum C, intelligendo, quod si aliquis iret de hinc ad partes Crete et ibi uxoraretur, occasione habitandi ibidem, de ipsis officiis possit habere et accipere, etiam si ibi non habitaverit quinque annis. Et si consilium est contra, sit revocatum. Que omnia durent quinque annis et tantum plus, donec fuerint revocata, et fuit capta dicta pars in maiori consilio 1344, die 31 augusti.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 175r, no 102. Temporary provision subject to renewal, voted by the Great Council on 31 August 1344, ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου*, pp. 125-126, no 26, summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 204, no 507. It was renewed by the Senate on 16 May 1392, see ASV, *Senato Misti, Deliberazioni*, reg. 42, f. 58r. The same provision, conflated with articles 146 and 147 of the present commission, is found in the commission to the rector of Chania of 1589, with slight variations in the wording and dated 7 January 1332, see Maltezou, *Εντολή*, σ. 81, αρ. 82. Cfr. article 99. See also the discussion in O'Connell, "The Castellan in Local Administration in Fifteenth Century Venetian Crete", 163-164. It should be noted that this article contradicts article 99 in reference to the duration of the term of office of public officials. But, since this law was the more recent one, it should have repealed the old one to the extent of the contradiction.

- 105.** *Before assuming the duties of an office, public servants must take an oath in the form specified in their capitulary. The duke with his councillors are at liberty to emend the capitularies, but not with regard to salaries.*

Sacramentum vero illis tolles cum illis capitularibus que scripta sunt propter hec que ibidem invenies, secundum ordinem consuetum, que capitularia licitum est tibi cum tuis consiliariis emendare, excepto quod non possis aliquid addere de salario in eis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 175r, no 103. For a similar provision included in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 185, no 16.

- 106.** *The duke shall give each judge a salary of thirty-six hyperpers and all emoluments customary to the office; he is also entitled to make proportionate deductions from pay in case such officer is absent from the city fails to attend at any term of court which*

*he is required to hold. Judges must take an oath before the duke, as specified in their capitulary, in accordance with the customs of the island. The duke with his councillors are at liberty to emend the capitulary of the judges, but not with regard to their salary. Each attorney shall receive a salary of not more than twenty-five hyperpers.*

Singulis quoque iudicibus dabis yperpera 36 pro suo salario tamen, dimittendo eis quantum de consuetudine usi sunt habere pro eorum officio, de quibus yperperis XXXVI, [f. 17r] secundum rationem tantum minus accipiant quantum foris extra civitatem Candide steterunt, videlicet, in illis diebus, quibus placita tene[re]ntur et audiri solent, a quibus iudicibus tale tolles sacramentum quale denotat capitulare ipsorum, quod ibidem scriptum invenies, iuxta consuetudinem illius insule. Quod etiam capitulare licitum est emendare cum tuis consiliariis preter quam eorum salarium, quod crescere non debes. Advocatis autem pro eorum salario a XXV yperperis infra, scilicet cuilibet eorum dabis, sicut tibi bonum videbitur.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 175r, no 104.

- 107.** *Prohibition on exports of horses, weapons, iron, wood and other strategic goods to Saracen territories and provision for sanctions against transgressors, ranging from monetary fines and confiscation of forbidden merchandise to loss of privileges associated with social status. Merchants must give pledge to local Venetian rectors that they shall not transport to these locations goods that are subject to the export restrictions. Venetians exporting wood from Venice or Segna to Venetian-held territories are bound to produce, within a year, a letter of declaration from the local governor acknowledging the arrival of the cargo. Offenders sentenced to pay a fine, who fail to do so, will be imprisoned until the fine is paid. The execution of the penalties order is committed to the provveditori of the Commune. Accusers will be rewarded with half of the fine.*

Preterea ab omnibus nostris fidelibus, qui portarent ad terras Saracenorum soldano subiectas equos, arma, ferrum, legnamentum vel alia, cum quibus Saraceni possent impugnare Christianos, accipies totum illud quod portarent vel valorem ipsius. Et, insuper, si quis mittere predicta vel aliquid de predictis vel cambium faceret vel fieri faceret aut imprestitum cum aliqua persona, que iret ad predicta loca per se vel alium, ullo modo vel ingenio, vel etiam portaret vel portari faceret Mamalucos, cadant in similem penam. Et si quis contrafaceret, qui esset de maiori consilio, sit extra omne consilium et beneficium comunis Venetiarum in perpetuum. Et si non esset de maiori consilio nonquam possit esse de ipso vel eligi. Et si aliquis marinarius esset obligatus ad tale viagium, nulla sit eius obligatio, sed sit absolutus ab ea. Et si contrafaceret, cadat in penam librarum L pro quolibet et qualibet vice. Et patronus et nauclerus in libras C. Et si in partibus tui regiminis

caricarentur predicta vel aliquod predictorum, debeas accipere plezariam, quod ipsa non portabunt ad predicta loca. Et si aliquis in Venetiis vel in Segna vel alibi caricaret legnamen vel ferrum pro ire extra Culfum ad aliquam terram, teneatur facere venire infra unum annum litteram a rectore illius loci, quod predicta illuc portaverit vel aliam probam facere vel fieri facere, quod dominus dux et suum consilium habeat contentari, sub pena quarti. Et si aliquis caderet ad aliquam dictarum penarum et non inveniretur de suis bonis, stet in carcere, donec solverit dictam penam, et si consilium est contra etc. Et provisores nostri comunis dictas penas excutere teneantur et carcerari facere illos quos bona non invenirentur. Et accusator habeat medietatem pene, si per eius accusationem habebitur et teneatur de credentia.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 175v, no 105. The article reproduces to a great extent the phrasing of a decision of the Great Council dated January 1313, see ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. Presbiter, f. 87r. To ensure compliance with the ban on the export of war materials to Egypt introduced by the Senate in 1304, the decision made provision for strict sanctions against anyone who contravened the ban, see Gh. Ortalli, "Venice and Papal Bans on Trade with the Levant: The Role of the Jurist", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10/1-2 (1995), 242-258, esp. 246, DOI: 10.1080/09518969508569696, dx.doi.org/10.1080/09518969508569696. For the corresponding article in the commission of the councillor of Crete, see Thomas, "Commission", 209, no 152.

- 108.** *General ban on trade with the dominions of the Mamluk sultan and provision for monetary fines for transgressors, corresponding to fifty per cent of the value of prohibited goods. The execution of the penalties order is committed to the Provveditori of the Commune in Venice and to the rectors of Venetian-held territories, who, along with accusers, shall be rewarded with a percentage of the fine collected by the state.*

Quod a modo nullus Venetus, vel qui pro Veneto distringatur, modo aliquo vel [f. 17v] ingenio, audeat irem in Alexandriam vel alias terras soldano subiectas, cum aliquibus rebus vel mercibus, seu ad ditas partes res aliquas aliquo modo mittere vel inde conducere aut conduci facere sub pena librarum L pro Co totius valoris rerum, quas ad ipsas partes portaverit vel miserit seu conduxerit vel conduci fecerit inde. Et commitatur provisoribus comunis in Venetiis et extra Venetias omnibus rectoribus terrarum Venetie subiectarum, quod super hec teneantur et debeant inquirere diligenter et a contrafacientibus excutere dictam penam, cuius pene quartum habeat accusator, si per eius accusationem veritas habebit. Et provisores comunis in Venetiis seu ipsi nostri rectores de extra habeant soldos duos pro libra totius quantitatis quam propter hoc excutient, reliquum vero deveniat in comune, quod in Venetiis et in terris Venetiis subiectiis publice proclametur.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 175v-176r, no 106. Ed. Thomas, "Commission", 215, no 172. The prohibition of commerce with Egypt or Syria was issued by the Senate on 18

January 1323. For the rubric of the original deliberation, see Cessi – Sambin, *Deliberazioni del consiglio dei rogati*, p. 265, no VII 239. The prohibition was promulgated in Crete later the same year, ed. P. Ratti Vidulich, *Duca di Candia bandi (1313-1329)* [Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia. Fonti per la storia di Venezia, sez. I, Archivi Publici], Venice 1965, pp. 129-130, no 342. For Venice's policy regarding Egypt and trade with Mamluk territories after the proclamation of the papal embargo in 1291, see E. Ashtor, «Observations on Venetian Trade in the Levant in the XIVth Century», *The Journal of European Economic History* 3 (1976), 533- 586; Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton, New Jersey 1983, pp. 17-19, 23-28, 38-40, 44-48, 54-55, and passim; Ortalli, «Venice and Papal Bans», 242-258; and recently D. Jacoby, «Venice and the papal embargo against Mamluk Egypt (1291-1344)», *Thesaurismata* 45 (2015), 137-154.

109. *Because of the uprising in Crete<sup>180</sup>, the earlier concession<sup>181</sup> has expired, so that it can no longer be kept alive in any way. As this concession is no longer binding, it is annulled, and all those acquiring a knight's fief or a sergeant's fief are henceforth obliged to swear allegiance and obedience to the doge and the Commune of Venice and its council, as well as to the mandates of the duke, the councillors, the captains and all officials appointed by Venice on the island. However, the original feudatories may still alienate their lands as before.*

Cum propter rebellionem Crete concessio alias factam pheudatis sit totaliter expirata nec sit tenenda viva, modo aliquo vel ingenio seu forma, vadit pars, ut dicta concessio amplius non allegatur per aliquos, quod ipsa concessio annulletur et pro omnibus et singulis pheudatis insule Crete fiat concessio talis, sicut nuper factum fuit nostris civibus et Venetis, qui cum cavallariis et serventariis iverunt ad illas partes, videlicet, quod ipsi pheudati jurent esse fideles domino duci et comuni Venetiarum et sui consilii, et omnibus et singulis mandatis duce et consiliariorum et capitanei Crete et omnium aliorum, qui per comune Venetiarum in illis partibus

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180. I.e., the revolt of St Titus (1363-1366).

181. The *Concessio Crete* is the first charter of the colonisation of Crete composed in 1211. However, the term *concessio* here seems to refer not so much to the charter itself as to the oath sworn by the first Venetian colonists and all subsequent fief-holders upon acceptance of their fiefs. By the middle of the thirteenth century, the oath consisted of a pledge of allegiance to Venice, a promise to uphold the terms and conditions of the concession of the land, and a solemn vow to obey the precepts of the local government. This underwent some changes, mostly in the wording, between the first half of the thirteenth century and 1367, when it was repealed following the revolt of the Cretan feudatories. The revised oath retained the declaration of allegiance and accentuated further the principle of obedience to the government (both the central and the local authorities). For the legal obligations and the form and content of the promissory oaths of the feudatories see Gasparis, *Catastici feudorum Crete. Catasticum sexterii Dorsoduri*, pp. 39, 80-81, and n. 151, pp. 111-114; Gasparis, "Land and Landowners in the Greek Territories under Latin Dominion", pp. 79-81, 89 and passim.



fuerint deputati, secundum quod tanget quemlibet predictorum, secundum formam suarum commissionum, declarando tamen quod primi pheudi<sup>182</sup> insule Crete possint eorum cavallarias vel serventarias vendere vel alienare, sicut prius poterant.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 176r, no 107. Ed. Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 206, no XXVI (text) and 193-194 (commentary).

- 110.** *Changes in the ownship of fiefs due to death of the owners must be recorded in the land registers by their heirs. The new owners must take over the estates within one year, if they fail to do so, these will be confiscated by the duke, who must inform the central authorities.*

Et si aliquis de militibus Crete moriretur tempore tui regiminis et illi qui ei succedunt non fecerint se scribi in quaterno comunis, et cavallarias quas habuerint non intromiserunt intra unum annum, teneris et debes ipsas cavallarias intromittere et tenere pro comuni; et significare nobis de predictis cavallariis quando casus predictus occurrerit.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 176r-v, no 108. This article is a more concise version of the decision issued by the Great Council on 11 August 1259, ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου*, p. 10, no 6; and Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, p. 341, no VI (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 32, no XXIII). For the procedure followed in case of change of the owner of the fief, see Gasparis, *Catastici feudorum Crete. Catasticum sexterii Dorsoduri*, pp. 110-115.

- 111.** *The duke must seize and confiscate in the name of the Commune the estates of those exiled for crimes.*

Item si aliquis erit, qui propter offensionem, quam fecerit seu faciet sit bannizatus aut bannizatus fuerit, et haberet cavallarias, eas intromittere debeas et retinere [f. 18r] pro comuni, et significare nobis de predictis cavallariis quas feceris intromitti.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 176v, no 109. Decision issued by the Great Council on 12 August 1259, ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου*, p. 10, no 7; and Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, p. 341, no VII (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 33, no XXXIII).

- 112.** *The duke and his councillors must see to it that all the fiefs that remain in the possession of the Commune and are not, presently or hereafter, in a state of defence, be given*

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182. Thus in the manuscript. The word should read *pheudati*.

*either to their previous holders or to new ones, who will be willing provide military service and all that is required of them under the terms of the concession, and take the prescribed oath of allegiance and obedience.*

Omnes autem militiae et serventarias que ad presens essent vel decetero fuerint disvarnate et remanserint in comuni dabis aut illis qui olim ipsas habuerunt aut aliis, secundum quod tibi et consiliariis tuis vel maiori parti apparebit, si eas guarrire voluerint et omnia alia facere ad que tenentur per ordines nostros, facientibus ipsis etiam iuramentum fidelitatis et obedientie secundum formam et ordinem, qui in quodam capitulo de iuramento fidelitatis superius continetur.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 176v, no 110.

- 113.** *The duke and his council must have the bourg of Candia defended and fortified by enclosing it with gates as they see fit.*

Item burgum Candide facies reduci et fortificari, ita quod intretur et excitur per ipsum cum clavi, sicut tibi et tuo consilio melius et utilis apparebit.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 176v, no 111.

- 114.** *The duke should not impede or cause others to impede anyone wishing to import grain to Venice, or withhold the grain, but, rather, he should give counsel and facilitate its transport to Venice. If he contravenes this act, he shall incur a fine of one hundred lire.*

Item non potes nec debes per te aut per tuum vicarium vel vicarios vel per alios impedire aut facere impediri aliquam personam undecumque sit, que velit venire Venetias cum frumento et alia blava, nec ipsum frumentum et bladum debeas retinere, sed potius teneris eis dare consilium et favorem cito cum ipsis frumento et blava Venetias veniendi. Et si contrafeceris cadas in penam librarum C pro qualibet vice, quam penam infra unum mensem postquam ab hoc tuo regimine Venetias redieris, camerariis comunis sub pena tantumdem solvere teneris. Et advocatores comunis ipsas excutere debeant; et nihilominus illud quod impedieris Venetias mittere teneris per sacramentum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 176v, no 112. Provision included in the commissions of all rectors by order of the Great Council, dated February 1284, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, p. 59, no 216, phrased in third person singular. For its inclusion in the commission of the councillor of Crete, see Thomas, "Commission", 199, no 103.

- 115.** *If someone marries in Crete and receives a fief as a dowry, he undertakes the feudal obligations in person. The fief must be registered, after an assessment made by the duke, in the name of the husband, who offers his assets as security; and if the husband*

*refuses to comply with these obligations, then the fief is sold and he is reimbursed for his dowry.*

Item si aliquis accipiet uxorem in Creta et habebit in dotibus pheudum aliquid, ipse debeat et teneatur servire in propria persona deinceps, et debeat illud scribi marito per extimationem factam a te ducha vel aliis, sicut tibi et tuo consilio videbitur bonum. Ita quod maritus faciat, quod illud pheudum sit pignus illi sue uxori et quod faciat ei securitatem super omnia bona sua, et si hoc a maritus nollet, vendatur pheudum et solvatur inde marito pro suis dotibus.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 176v, no 113. Provision added to commissions to the duke and the councillors of Crete by order of the Great Council in 1281, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, p. 344, no XXI; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, p. 14, ll. 193-199, no 21 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 40, no LI). For its inclusion in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, “Commission”, 192, no 60. The same provision but adapted for Chania is found in the commission to the rector of the city, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 55, no 37.

- 116.** *No woman may be given a fief in adjudication, unless she has a son able to provide feudal service, who will take an oath and provide the required service. If the son is a minor, the said woman must provide feudal service through replacement until he comes of age, as is the feudal land tenure system. If she has a daughter, then service must be provided through replacement until her marriage; thereafter the husband shall assume the responsibility, otherwise the fief shall be sold and the woman reimbursed for her dowry.*

Item non debeat dari pro iudicatu alicuius domine aliquod pheudum, salvo quod si ipsa haberet filium, qui posset servire, ipse debeat servire et iuvare. Et si ipse filius esset minor, quam de servitio ipsa domina debeat et teneatur facere, quod alius serviat, secundum formam aliarum militiarum. Et quando ille filius erit talis etatis quod possit illam militiam servire, recipiat ipsam et serviat, ut dictum est. Et [f. 18v] si habere filiam ullam aliquis alius donec ipsa filia nubet. Et postea maritus ipsius ipsam suscipiat et serviat, ut dictum est, secundum formam aliarum mulierum. Et si ipsa mulier hoc nollet, dicta militia vendi debeat et inde solvatur sibi sua repromissa.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 176v-177r, no 114. Provision added to commissions to the duke and the councilors of Crete by order of the Great Council in 1281, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, p. 344, no XXI; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, p. 14, ll. 200-209, no 21 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 40, no LI). For its inclusion in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, “Commission”, 192, no 61.

117. *The duke must make sure that those who have or shall receive from their wives half a fief or even more provide feudal service, as is required of other fiefholders in Crete.*

Teneris [etiam] et debes facere observari, quod omnes illi qui habent vel habebunt decetero in insula Crete pro uxoribus suis usque ad mediam militiam vel inde supra teneantur servire, sicut tenentur alii milites de Creta.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 17r, no 115. Provision added to commissions to the duke of Crete by order of the Great Council in 1276, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, p. 344, no XX, phrased in third person singular; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, p. 13, ll. 179-182, no. 20 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 38, no XLVI). For its inclusion in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, “Commission”, 192, no 64.

118. *The duke must examine, under oath, that both men and women, who have been, or shall be, named as executors of someone’s will, stipulating that a fief (cavalaria or sergentaria) be sold, carry out the instructions left in the will by the deceased regarding the sale.*

Item teneris sacramento inquirere tam de hominibus, quam de mulieribus, qui vel que remanserunt vel decetero remanserint commissarii alicuius, qui commiserit vel decetero committet ad vendendum aliquam cavalariam vel sergentariam, et facere observari formam testamenti in venditione, sicut testator ordinabit.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 177r, no 116. Provision added to commission to the duke of Crete by order of the Great Council in 1276, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, p. 344, no XX, phrased in third person singular; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, p. 14, ll. 185-189, no. 20. For its inclusion in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, “Commission”, 193, no 66.

119. *The duke should diligently check whether merchantmen sailing out of Crete comply with the order of the Great Council and the Council of Six, which prohibits stowing merchandise on board ships departing from Venice and returning from areas outside the Gulf, in the part from the middle mast towards the bow to the prow hatch by the foremast between the two castles<sup>183</sup>. He should also enforce the prescribed penalty against defiant ship operators or, if unable himself to enforce it, notify the advocates of the Commune in writing. Sailors are required, under threat of a fine, to denounce transgressors to the duke.*

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183. My rendering of the nautical expressions in this idiomatic passage is tentative.

Ceterum cum sit per nostrum minus et maior consilium ordinatum quod naves, que exeunt de Venetiis et redeunt de extra Culfis, non possint nec debeant ponere aliquam mercationem ab arbore de medio versus proram usque ad soiarium<sup>184</sup> porte prodis de versus arborem, que est iuxta proram, inter duos castellos<sup>185</sup>, in pena librarum ducentarum, volumus et tibi commitimus, quod simul cum sociis tuis, vel cum altero eorum, naves, que applicuerint Cretam, quando de portu debent recedere, antequam recedant, debes diligenter inquirere et cercare. Et quem patronum contra predicta inveniris facientem dictam penam ad eo exigere debeas. Et aliqua occasione dictam penam exigere non poteris, id debeas tuis litteris declarare advocatoribus comunis, ut dicta pena exigit ab eo, et navigatores navis patronum contrafacientem accusare tibi debeant et teneantur in pena librarum XXV pro quolibet.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDC 675, f. 177r, no 117. This provision is an amended version of the original safety provision which was added to the commissions of all rectors in July 1282, ed. M. Roberti, *Le magistrature giudiziarie veneziane e i loro capitolari fino al 1300* [Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria v. XVII, s. 2], v. 2, Venice 1909, pp. 169-170. The amendment was notified to the rectors, after being passed by the Great Council on 10 October 1284, see Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 3, p. 85, no 149. For its inclusion in the commission of the councillor of Crete, ed. Thomas, "Commission", 197, no. 96. Also included, in adapted form, in the commission of the governor of Chania, see Maltezou, *Εντολή*, pp. 55-56, no. 39.

120. *Prohibition against stowing merchandise on deck and in specified parts and compartments of ships sailing off the coast of Syria and in other areas outside the Gulf under penalty of double the fare. Venetian rectors are bound to enforce the fine, which is to be divided in two equal shares between the accuser and the Commune.*

Quod addatur in capitulari patronum navium et aliorum lignorum, quod non debeant recipere nec mittere nec recepi vel mitti facere aliquas mercationes super cohoptam, nec subtus bertesca<sup>186</sup>, nec subtus vanum<sup>187</sup>, nec subtus coredores<sup>188</sup>, nec subtus tabernam ipsarum navium et lignorum, que decetero navigabunt, tam

184. Thus in the manuscript.

185. For the nautical meaning of the term *castellum*, see Predelli – Sacerdoti, *Gli statuti marittimi veneziani*, p. 58, no 19, note a.

186. For the nautical meaning of the word *bertesca* (or *bertescha*), see A. Jal, *Glossaire nautique. Répertoire polyglotte de termes de marine anciens et modernes*, Paris 1848, pp. 287, 340; also, Predelli–Sacerdoti, *Gli statuti marittimi veneziani*, p. 203.

187. For the meaning of the term *vanus* (or *vannus*), see Jal, *Glossaire nautique*, p. 1526.

188. For the nautical meaning of the word *coredorum* see G. Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, Venice 1867, p. 198, entry "corridòr"; also, Jal, *Glossaire nautique*, p. 521, entry "coredorium".

per rippariam Sirie quam per alias partes de extra Culfum, sub pena du|f. 19r|pli maioris nauli quod habebunt. Et quicumque accusaverit, habeat medietatem dicte pene et teneatur de credentia et alia medietas sit comunis Venetiarum, quam penam rectores ad quorum notitam predicta pervenerint excutere teneantur, et hoc addatur in capitulari dictorum rectorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 177v, no 118. Provision included in the capitularies of ship masters and added to the commissions of Venetian rectors on 4 July 1283, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 3, p. 35, no 86. On earlier regulations on stowage of ships, see Predelli – Sacerdoti, *Gli statuti marittimi veneziani*, pp. 16-17, 16-17, article 46-47 (Statuti Ziani), p. 58, article 18 (Statuti Tiepolo), pp. 79-82 (Statuti Zeno). For the inclusion of the same provision in the commission of the councillors of Crete, see Thomas, “Commission”, 198, no 98.

- 121.** *It is forbidden for Venetians or residents of Venice to lease, whether through auction or otherwise, taxes, duties or privileges that do not fall under the jurisdiction of the Doge, of the Commune or the Duchy of Venice, or of Venetian-ruled territories.*

Quod aliquis Venetus seu habitator Venetiarum non posit incantare, recipere ad affictum vel ad partem, nec emere, nec accipere, aliquo modo vel ingenio, per se vel alios aliquam zecham, dohanam, mudam, pedagium, aliquod datium vel tolloneum, seu gratiam, que vel quod non pertineat ad dominum ducem, comune, seu ducatum Venetiarum, seu ad terras et loca supposita domino duci, sub pena dupli eius quod quilibet predictarum rerum constabit et sub pena librarum mille. Et qui accusabit aliquem contrafacientem habeat quartum pene, si per eius accusationem veritas cognoscatur et teneatur de credentia et addatur in capitulari advocatorum comunis, quod dictam penam excutere debeant.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 177v, no 119. Ed. Thomas, “Commission”, 198, no 99. For its inclusion in the commission of the governor of Chania, see Maltezou, *Εντολή*, p. 57, no 41.

- 122.** *It is prohibited to make changes that affect the main dimensions and carrying capacity of ships of a capacity of around nine thousand four hundred tons deadweight<sup>189</sup> after their inspection and evaluation by the Consuls<sup>190</sup>.*

189. One *milliarium* is equal to forty-seven tons deadweight (d.w.t.), see F. C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance*, Baltimore – London 1992, p. 248.

190. For the duties of the consuls of the merchants (consoli dei mercanti), see A. Da Mosto, *L'Archivio di stato di Venezia; indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico* [Bibliothèque des “Annales institutorum”, vol. V], v. 1, Rome 1937, p. 99; also see briefly in Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, p. 344.

Quod naves et taride et alia ligna, que fient decetero de CC milliaria vel inde supra vel circa, ita quod non sit prejudicium si essent plus vel minus XX milliaria postquam fuerint extimate per consules, non possint elevari, nec [iniungi] eis aliqua cohopena, nec corredorius, nec apperiri in bocha, sed debeant semper permanere in modo, mensuris et magnitudinibus, quibus erunt quando extimabuntur, salvo in vano, seu castello, bertesta, schermo et latere, que essent de supra cohopena vel corredorio. Et illa que fierent de minus ducentis miliariis possint elevari.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 177v, no 120. For the full text of the decision of the Great Council, dated March 16, 1286, see Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 3, pp. 139-140, no 10. Also included in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, ed. Thomas, "Commission", 198-199, no 100; and the commission of the governor of Chania, ed. Maltezos, *Εντολή*, pp. 56-57, no 40.

123. *The duke and his councillors are not allowed to free from dues land and houses that belong to a fief.*

Quod addatur duche et consiliariis Crete, quod non possint affranchare terram, neque domum in civitate, nec de foris, aliquo modo vel ingenio, si dicta terra vel domus fuerit alicuius pheudi.

Prohibition added to the capitularies of the duke and councillors of Crete by order of the Great Council, dated 19 January 1292, ed. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, p. 311, no 132; and Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μεζονος Συμβουλίου*, p. 30, no 27, who gives the wrong date and renders the word "affrancare" in Greek as "εξαγοράζω" (p. 28); summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 65, no CLXIII. Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 177v, no 121. For its inclusion in the commission of the councillor of Crete, see Thomas, "Commission", p. 202, no 120.

124. *Only Venetians and persons residing in Venice or in other Venetian-ruled territories for fifteen years and over are eligible to become brokers in Candia. Those banned from brokerage may resume such activity after one year, but subject the approval of two thirds of the merchants present at the time in Candia. Furthermore, they are forbidden during that time to associate with merchants and give them advice on brokerage matters, under threat of a fine and one year imprisonment for inability to pay the fine. Accreditation of all broker must be approved by the duke, the councillors and the Venetian merchants of Candia every six months.*

Quod in Candida non possit esse aliquis misseta, nisi sit Venetus vel nisi fuerit habitator Venetiarum vel aliarum terrarum et locorum, domino duci et comuni Venetiarum subiectorum á XV annis ultra. Et illi qui erunt private á dicta missetaria sint extra ad minus per unum annum. Et non possint decetero associare aliquem mercatorem nec dare ei consilium [f. 19v] de aliquibus mercationibus faciendis, nec modo aliquo vel ingenio se impedire in dicto vel facto aut in facto aliquo, quod

pertineat ad missetariam, sub pena yperperorum XXV pro quolibet illorum, qui contrafaceret qualibet vice, et qui non poterit solvere debeat stare per medium annum in carcere; et nihilominus teneatur observare quod dictum est supra, scilicet non intromittere se de dicta missetaria per unum annum. Et si postmodum poneretur inter mercatores quod restituatur ad dictam missetariam, non posit esse nisi captum fuerit per duas partes mercatorum Venetiarum, qui tunc erunt in Candide. Et tamen illi missete qui remanserint quam illi qui fient de novo, debeant approbari per ducham, consiliarios et mercatores Venetiarum, qui tunc erunt in Candida in quolibet medio anno. Et illi, qui per maiorem partem mercatorum predictorum fuerint approbati, sint firmi; et alii qui non fuerint approbati, non possint se impedire in dicto facto sub dicta pena, nisi fuerit restitutu<sup>191</sup> sicut dictum est supra, et illi qui erunt missete non possint habere societatem simul modo aliquo, vel ingenio, sub dicta pena. Et si aliquis accusaverit aliquem contrafacientem, ita quod per eius accusationem veritas cognoscat, habeat medietatem pene et teneatur de credentia.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 177v-178r, no 122. Law regulating the profession of brokerage in Candia issued by the Great Council on 26 August 1301, see Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου*, pp. 44-45, no 381 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 87, no 32). For its inclusion in the commission of the councillors of Crete, see Thomas, “Commission”, 205-206, no 144. The *messetaria* (derived from the Greek word μεσίτης) was a tax imposed on wholesale transactions in Venice and in Venetian-held overseas territories. Here the term refers to the profession of brokerage. On brokerage fees and brokers in Venice, see G. Luzzato, *Storia economica di Venezia dall’XI al XVI secolo*, Venice 1995, pp. 103-104; and Lane – Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, v. 1, pp. 187-191. For the changes in the social composition and duties of brokers after 1497, see E. N. Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul*, Ithaca, New York, 2014, pp. 36-42. On the tax and its collection in Venetian-ruled Greek territories, see Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*, p. 230. For Crete in particular, see Ch. Gasparis, «Οι επαγγελματίες του Χάνδακα κατά τον 14ο αιώνα. Σχέσεις με τον καταναλωτή και το κράτος», *Σύμμεικτα* 8 (1989), 83-133, p. 124, n. 1; and Gasparis, “Between Village and City: Peasants in the New Economic Context of Medieval Crete (XIII-XIV c.)”, in F. Daim – J. Drauschke, eds., *Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land: Leben im Byzantinischen Reich*, [Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident, Band 3], Heidelberg 2017, pp. 209, 210. Also D. Jacoby, “Cretan Cheese: A Neglected Aspect of Venetian Medieval Trade”, in E. E. Kittel – Th. F. Madden, eds., *Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, Urbana IN 1999 [= repr. in Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange Across the Mediterranean*, no VIII], 49-58, esp. 54.

125. *The duke is liable as guarantor and idemnifier if his wife, heirs or associate are accused and convicted of acting in contravention to the terms of his commission.*

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191. Thus in the manuscript. It should read *restitutus*.



Et si uxor tua vel heredes tam masculi, quam femine, intelligendo heredem ab annis XVI supra seu socius tuus aut aliquis de tua familia fecerint aliquid, quod tibi sit vetitum per tuam commissionem et fuerint accusati nostro dominio seu advocatoribus nostri comunis, debes esse responsator et pagator de omni eo quod advocatores convicerent in consilio in quo placitare vellent.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 178r-v, no 123. For the full text, see Thomas, "Commission", 206, ap. 145.

**126.** *No Jew or Jewess shall be able to free themselves from corvées except through baptism.*

Item quia Judei et Judee, que subsunt nostro dominio, procurant modis variis et diversis ut franchi efficiantur, captum fuit, quod aliquis judeus vel judea, non possit franchari ad aliqua angaria, nisi per susceptionem baptismatis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 178v, no 124. For the full text of the decision, see Thomas, "Commission", 206-207, no 147. On the angaria tax imposed on Jews, see R. N. Lauer, *Colonial Justice and the Jews of Venetian Crete*, Philadelphia 2019, pp. 91, 170, 176.

**127.** *Foreign peasants henceforth settling in Crete shall be registered as villeins of the Commune on condition that they pay the state annually only one hyperper, and they may not be claimed by any fief-holder or other individual as "non-inscribed villeins". Immigrant villeins belonging to Venetians shall be attributed to them as is the way.*

Quod villani forestieri, qui decetero venient ad habitandum in insula Crete, ascribantur nostro comuni cum condicione, quod debeant solvere in anno unum yperperum solummodo, et non debeant capi a militibus vel ad aliis pro agraffis, intelligendo quod villani nostrorum Venetorum, qui venirent ad ipsam insulam, dentur ipsis, sicut sit modo.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 178v, no 125. On the status of non-inscribed and foreign peasants migrating in Venetian-held Greek territories and Crete, in particular, see D. Jacoby, "Une classe fiscale à Byzance et en Romanie latine : les inconnus du fisc, éleuthères ou étrangers", *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des études byzantines, Bucarest, 6-12 septembre, 1971*, v. 2, Bucarest 1975 [= repr. in Jacoby, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale*, no III], 139-152, esp. 145-146 and note 35. See also Gasparis, *Η γη και οι αγρότες στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη*, pp. 70-72.

**128.** *Foreign peasants henceforth migrating in Crete, provided that they settle between the two "scallae", shall be exempted from payment of annual tax to the state and cannot be claimed as "non-inscribed" or villeins on condition that they serve in the fleet with the same pay as other enlisted men receive. The same applies to those already settled on the island and paying annually one hyperper to the state, who wish to move to the city or suburbs of Candia.*

Item ordinetur quod omnes villani forenses, qui aliunde decetero venerint habitare. 20r|tum ad insulam Crete, dummodo habitent in medio infra duas scallas, nihil solvant nostro comuni, nec possint per aliquos capi pro agraphis vel villanis, cum condicione tamen, quod ipsi tentantur ire in armatis rerum comunis, que fierent pro eo soldo, quo daret aliis per ipsum nostrum comune. De illis vero, qui sunt ad presens in insula qui solvunt yperperum annuatim nostro comuni, ordinetur, quod illi, qui voluerint venire ad habitandum in civitate vel burgo Candide absolvantur habitando ibi a solutione dicti yperperi, nec possint similiter capi pro agraphis vel villanis, cum condicione, quod teneantur ire in armatis nostri comunis pro soldo, qui daretur aliis, sicut dictum est supra de venientibus de novo; et si ipsi non servarent conditiones predictas tam isti, quam venientes de novo, remaneant villani comunis; et addatur predicta in commissio duche et consiliariis Crete, quod ea observent et faciant observari.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 178v, no 126. Provision issued by the Senate on 16 June 1332, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, pp. 107-108, no 2. Also included in the commission of the councillor of Crete, ed. Thomas, "Commission", 218, no 184. See Jacoby, "Une classe fiscale à Byzance", 149.

129. *The duke and his councillors shall not license the purchase of fiefs belonging to Latins by Greeks, unless deemed lawfull, under threat of loss of one year's salary.*

Non possis aliquo modo vel ingenio dare licentiam alicui Greco emendi pheudum alicuius Latini, sub pena tui salarii de uno anno. Et qui accusabit, si per eius accusationem veritas invenietur, habeat medietatem ipsius pene. Verumtamen si ducha et consiliarii vel rectores darent licentiam alicui Greco, aliqua occasione, que videretur esse justa, per XXV de XL sint ipsi ducha, consiliarii vel rectores absoluti a dicta pena, et hoc sit ad beneplacitum domini.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 179r, no 128. Decision issued by the Senate and the Forty on 23 July 1314, ed. Thomas, "Commission", 210, no 156. Only the rubric of the decision is preserved in the original registers of the Senate, see Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 61, no 7 (without date); and more recently Cessi – Sambin, *Deliberazioni del consiglio dei rogati*, v. 1, p. 150, no 46. On the prohibition of the sale of land to Greeks, see Gasparis, "Land and landowners in the Greek territories under Latin dominion", p. 94ff.

130. *Greeks are strictly forbidden in Crete to buy fiefs from Latins or to exchange their fiefs for fiefs belonging to Latins.*

Quod a modo in antea nullus Grecus possit emere vel aliquo modo vel ingenio habere nec cambire aliquod pheudum vel pheuda de pheudis Latinorum et de iure Latinorum per totam insulam Crete. Et non possit revocari nisi per sex consiliarios, tria capita de XL, XXX de XL et duas partes maioris consilii.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDC 675, f. 179r, no 127. Decision issued by the Senate and the Forty on 27 February 1319, and incorporated in the commissions of the duke, the councillors and governors of Crete, ed. Thomas, "Commission", p. 213, no 164. Only the rubric of the decision is preserved in the original registers of the Senate, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 67, no 9 (without date); and more recently Cessi – Sambin, *Deliberazioni del consiglio dei rogati*, v.1, p. 201, no 284. For the inclusion of the prohibition in the commission of the governor of Chania, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 67, no 63. See article 130.

- 131.** *Overseas rectors, through their councillors, must inspect all merchant galleys loading in their authority area. Specifically, the councillors must check that the ships do not exceed the allowed cargo weight, and if they find them overloaded, they must order the armatores to remove the extra cargo, under threat of a fine of two thousand lire per ship. The rectors and their councillors are required to inform in writing the officiales de super grossis Raxie about the freight and its weight; and the armatores, in turn, to submit the certificates of inspection to the said officials upon their return to Venice, under threat of a two thousand lire fine of which both rectors and councillors shall have a share. If the rector does not have councillors, he should elect to merchants two merchants, who are present at the place of loading, to carry out the inspection, who shall also receive a share of the fine.*

Preterea quando in partibus tui regiminis caricabitur aliqua galea armata per venire Venetias, teneris et debes per consiliarios tuos, si tunc habebis consiliarios facere, temptari ipsam galeam vel galeas quocumque fuerint. Et ipsi consiliarii id facere teneantur et facere, quod ipse galee sint caricate ad suas mensuras ordinatas et non ultra. Et si invenerint aliquam galeam caricatam ultra mensuras debitas, debeant precipere armatoribus earum, quod debeant eam vel eas discaricare, vel reducere ad mensuras debitas, antequam inde recedant, sub pena librarum IIM, pro qualibet galea. Et debes tu et consiliarii per vestras litteras significare officialibus de super grossis de raxia caricationem |f. 20v|et mensuras dicte galee vel non. Et ipsi armatores debeant adducere dictas litteras ipsis officialibus Venetiarum, nec possent inde recedere et venire Venetias, sine litteris predictis, sub pena librarum IIM pro qualibet galea et qualibet vice, de quibus pennis tu et consiliarii predicti, qui caricaverint et mensuraverint galeas predictas, habere debetis talem partem, qualem heberent officiales de super grossis de raxia predicti, si ipse galee forent caricate Venetiis. Si vero consiliarios non heberes, tunc teneris et debes eligere duos de nostris mercatoribus, qui erunt in terra ubi caricabitur galea vel galee et cum eis cricare<sup>192</sup> galeam predictam vel galeas. Et secundum ordinem supradictum facere

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192. Thus in the manuscript for *cercare*.

sicut debebant facere consilarii ad plenum. Et potes precipere dictis mercatoribus, quos eligeris sub pena que tibi videbitur, quod sint tecum ad faciendum omnia predicta tam in caricare quam in mensurare, quam in precipere penas predictas et omnia facere et fieri facere ita quod quelibet galea sit caricata ad suam justam mensuram et non ultra. Et si inveneris aliquem contrafacere vel contrafecisse, scriberis ad officialibus de super grossis de raxia. Et debes inde habere tu et dicti mercatores per te electi talem partem de penis, qualis dicta est supra, que pene et omnia et singula supradicta sint stricta et legata tali modo et ordine, quali sunt astricti et ligati ordines, qui nunc sunt ad dictum officium de supra grossis de raxia super factis dictarum galearum armatum tam in conditione et solutione penarum, quam in revocatione earum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 179r-v, no 129. The cargo inspection regulations to be enforced by overseas rectors and their councillors were part of the provisions for inspection by the *officium super grossis Raxie* passed by the Great Council on 4 June 1317, see ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. Clericus Civicus, ff. 97r-98r, esp. 97v-98r. On laws about loading and on the functions of the *officium super grossi grossi Raxie*, see F. C. Lane, "Maritime Law and Administration, 1250-1350", in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, v. 3, Milan 1962, 21-50 [= repr. in Lane, *Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane*, Baltimore 1966, pp. 227-252, esp. pp. 247-249].

132. *It is the duty of all overseas rectors to diligently inspect the merchandise brought into the area of their administration by Venetians, in disarmed ships, to see to it that everything is according to Venetian legal requirements, and to report violations to the provisosores<sup>193</sup>. The fine is to be divided in half between the rectors and the state, and if there is an accuser, it is to be split evenly among the three parties.*

Quod addatur in commissionibus omnium rectorum de extra Culfum de Venetiis, quod ipsi teneantur inquirere diligenter de mercationibus, que apportabuntur per Venetos ad partes sui regiminis cum navigio disarmato, si alique adducte fuerint de Venetiis vel aliunde contra ordines Venetiarum. Et si quem contrafacientem invenerint, rescribant provisoribus veritatem inventam, et propterea habeant ipsi rectores medietatem ipsarum penarum et altera sit comunis, et si accusator inde fuerit, dividatur per tercium.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 179v, no 130. Regulation added to the commissions to all overseas rectors in 1321, see Thomas, "Commission", 214, no 168. For the rubric of the

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193. Here the term refers to the *provisores comunis* (provveditori del Comune), the officials who superintended commerce, navigation, crafts, streets and the posts, see Da Mosto, *L'Archivio di stato di Venezia*, v. 1, p. 178; also briefly in Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, p. 346.

decision preserved in the original registers of the Senate, see Cessi – Sambin, *Deliberazioni del consiglio dei rogati*, v. 1, p. 241, no 235.

- 133.** *It has been observed that island lords, loyal to Venice, who have received a special license to export grain from Crete to their islands, very often violate this license by transporting or re-exporting the grain to other destinations. In order to stem these abuses, it is decided that violators will be punished with a fine twice the value of the grain exported in violation of the license. One-half of the fine shall go to the accuser, a quarter to the local rector and the remainder to the state. It is the rector's responsibility to conduct the inquiry and impose penalties upon violators.*

Item cum plures gratie de blado extrahendo de insula nostra Crete facte sint et fiant nostris fidelibus pro suis insulis, et dicatur quod fraus in hoc fiat in damno comunis per illos, qui habent dictas gratias, qui faciunt deferri bladum [f. 21r] alio quam ad suas insulas pro utilitate quam consequuntur, capta fuit pars, quod quicumque tam de habentibus ad presens gratiam extrahendi frumentum vel bladum de insula Crete, vel decetero habuerint pro usu hominum suarum insularum, et conduxerit vel conduci fecerit de ipso frumento vel blado alio quam ad insulas suas pro quibus facte fuerint gratie, vel postquam esset conductum ad insulas alio portaretur, cadat in pena dupli valoris eius, quod sit contra gratiam alio foret conductum. Et qui accusaverit teneatur de credentia et habeat medietatem pene, si per eius accusationem veritas habeatur. Et rectores inquirentes et exigentes habeant quartum et quartum sit comunis. Et inquirent dicti rectores et penas excutiant a contrafacientem; et nihilominus non permittant rectores eos, qui haberent gratiam, vel gratias, quousque non solverint penas.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 179v-180r, no 131. Law to prevent export violations passed by the Great Council on 10 April 1326, ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου*, pp. 111-112, no 1 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 188, no 452). For its inclusion in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, "Commission", 215, no 173.

- 134.** *He is to observe the mandate stipulating that the chancellor of Crete shall not receive a fee exceeding four grossi for issuance of certificates and documents without the approval of the duke and councillors.*

Item observabis formam infrascriptorum consiliorum loquentium de cancellario Crete, videlicet, quod cancellarius Crete presens et futuri non possint de aliqua carta scriptura officii recipere aliquam solutionem a quatuor grossis supra, nisi fuerit extimata per ducem et consiliarios vel maiorem partem eorum et secundum extimationem ipsam accipiant et non aliter.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 180r, no 132. Provision inserted in the commissions to the duke and councillors by order of the Senate on 26 October 1335, ed. Theotokis,

*Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 162, ll. 45-49, no 10; and recently *Venezia – Senato. Registro XVII*, p. 127, no 332 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 36, no 63).

135. *The chancellor of Crete, present and future, is prohibited from receiving gifts of any kind with the exception of fresh fruit.*

Insuper non possit ipse cancellarius nec alii cancellarii Crete futuri recipere donum vel presens ab aliqua persona ullo modo vel ingenio, nisi in fructibus recentibus tantum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 180r, no 133. Prohibition inserted in the commissions of the duke and councillors of Crete by order of the Senate on 26 October 1335, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 163, ll. 75-77, no 10; and recently *Venezia – Senato. Deliberazioni miste. Registro XVII (1335-1339)*, p. 128, no 336 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, pp. 35-36, no 63).

136. *The duke should be aware that the chancellor must not take ownership of any goods sold in, nor participate, in public auctions, under threat of a fine of a quarter of the value of the goods thus purchased; the fine is to be divided between the accuser (one third) and the Commune (two thirds). Rectors are also responsible for collecting the fine and for enforcing this provision.*

Item scire debes, quod cancellarius Crete non possit accipere aliquod incantum nec emere nec emi facere aliquas res, que venderentur ad incantum, nec habere partem in aliis, ullo modo vel ingenio, sub pena quarti, cuius pene accusator habeat tertium, si fuerit, et teneatur de credentia et aliud sit comunis et teneantur rectores exigere dictam penam et facere observari predicta.

Prohibition inserted in the commissions of the duke and councillors of Crete by order of the Senate on 26 October 1335, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 163, ll. 82-86, no 10; and recently in *Venezia – Senato. Deliberazioni miste. Registro XVII*, p. 129, no 338 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 35-36, no 63). For its inclusion in the commissions of the dukes and councillors of the first half of the fifteenth century, see the instructions to the Syndics of Romania and Crete of July 1413, September 1420, ed. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, pp. 223-224, 283; and the commission of Leonardo Caravello of 1429, Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 180r, no 134. From the instructions to the Syndics of May 1438 it follows that the prohibition was not upheld, ed. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 381 (reiterated in June 1453, ASV, *Senato Deliberazioni Mar*, reg. 4, f. 193r).

137. *The chancellor of Crete is prohibited from trading or investing in trade under penalty of confiscation and of perpetual privation of office.*

Quod decetero cancellarius Crete tam presens quam qui erunt per tempora non audeant nec possint per se vel alium vel alios facere, nec fieri facere, mercationibus ullo modo seu forma, nec dare vel dari facere per se vel alios denarios in collegantiam sub aliqua forma, modo vel [f. 21v] ingenio, sub pena perdendi totum in quo fuerit

quandolibet contrafactum et perpetue privationis cancellerie sue. Et committatur advocatoribus comunis, qui inquirent diligenter de contrafacientibus et penas exigant habendo partem, ut de aliis sui officii. Et de predictis vel aliquo predictorum non possit fieri alicui donum, remissio, declaratio, nec presentis partis revocatio, sub pena ducatorum ducentorum pro quolibet ponente vel consentiente partem in contrarium.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 180r-v, no 135.

- 138.** *The duke is to observe that it is prohibited for scribes employed in the court of Candia and other courts of the island to trade in wheats and, generally, in products grown on the island. Prohibition added to their capitularies or commissions.*

Item est sciendum et sic facies observari, quod nullus scribarum palatii Candide et quarumcunque aliarum curiarum et etiam castrorum insule possit facere seu fieri facere per se vel alium mercationes de frumento seu de alio blado nec aliqua re, que nascatur in insula, et hoc debet esse inscriptum in suis capitulariis vel commissionibus.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 180v, no 136. Ed. Thomas, "Commission", 219, no 185, dated December 7, MCCCXX (XVII) (?). This prohibition to trade in wheats was extended to chancery notaries and scribes as well as to the treasurers of Crete in 1335, Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 164, no 11.

- 139.** *He is enjoined to observe and see to it that the chancellor receives his salary and other emoluments as prescribed.*

Item observabis et facies observari per cancellarium Crete, videlicet, quod dictus cancellarius debeat percipere in anno pro suo salario iuxta solitum yperpera CXXV. Item pro facto disvarnitionum in anno yperpera XV. Item de militiis et serventariis et aliis possessionibus, que venderentur pro debitis, non possit percipere nisi quartum pro centenario, quod est grossos tres pro centenario yperperorum pro tanto solummodo quantum erit debitum quod solvetur, sicut alias captum est pro media pro centenario, et dictis grossis pro centenario teneatur facere omnes scripturas, securitates et cartas, que fuerint pro ipsis debitis opportune, que suprascripta omnia in ipsum tantum cancellarium debeant devenire. De aliis vero introitibus et proventibus, ut de quibus infra sequitur, debeat percipere ipse cancellarius tantum medietatem et reliquam medietatem percipiant et habeant scribe curie ducalis maioris Candide, qui quidem introitus et proventus sunt isti, videlicet:

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 180v, no 137. The provisions regarding the salary and fees of the chancellor of Crete were incorporated in the commissions of the duke and councillors by order of the Senate in October 26, 1335, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα της*

*Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 161, ll. 5-20, no 10; and recently *Venezia – Senato. Deliberazioni miste. Registro XVII*, p. 127, nos 329-330 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, pp. 35-36, no 63).

140. *Fees for issuance of legal documents and certificates to be divided in half between the chancellor and the scribes of the ducal court. For issuing certificates of transfer of ownership of a fief, neither the chancellor nor the notary shall receive any remuneration, other than that determined by the duke and councillors, which cannot be higher than 18 and 4 grossi for a knight's and a sergeant's fief, respectively.*

Pro quolibet precepto -----	parvi II
Pro quolibet termino -----	parvi III or
Pro quolibet clamore -----	grossus I
Pro qualibet evacuatione clamoris -----	grossus I
Pro qualibet fideiussione -----	grossus I
Pro qualibet testificatione recepta in palatio -----	grossus ½
Pro qualibet testificatione recepta extra palatium -----	parvum I
Pro quolibet socio militer cum scribitur sine mutat[ur] -----	soldum I
Item quando de curia presentatur aliqua scriptura ad aliquam aliam -----	parvi XVIII
Pro sententiis pecuniariis [f. 22r] pro quolibet yperpero usque [de] yperperis C ----	parvi II
Et inde supra pro quolibet yperpero -----	parvi I
Pro quolibet interdicto -----	grossus I
Pro inquisitione cuiuslibet scriptum sub quecumque [tempori] fuerit accipiat solum si tunc rapta fuerit ipsa scriptura -----	grossus I
Item quando fiet littera, vel intentio pro testificationibus, pro quolibet nomine testis vocati -----	parvi VI
Item de venditione et alienatione, vel transactione militie, vel serventarie non possit cancellarius vel alicuius notarius, qui hoc haberet facere accipere, nisi quantum tanxaverint ducha et consilarii, non possendo ducha et consilarii taxare ultra grossos 18 pro militia et ultra grossos quattuor pro serventaria, dividendo lucrum ut supra.	

Cf. the table of fees in Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 180v-181r, no 137. For a comparison with the fees in force in 1335, cf. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα της Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, pp. 161-162, ll. 21-44, no 10; and *Venezia – Senato. Registro XVII*, p. 127, no 330. The earliest provision about the fee allowed to the chancellor and the notary for issuing certificates of transfer of ownership of a fief that I have been able to locate is in the rubrics of the Senate



for the years 1314-1317, see Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα της Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, pp. 62-63, no 17; and Cessi – Sambin, *Deliberazioni del consiglio dei rogati*, v. 1, p. 160, no 161, dated October 1316.

141. *The chancellor's fee for issuing official documents is capped at four grossi, unless otherwise valued by the duke and councillors. The chancellor's fee or compensation for services other than those previously specified is determined at the discretion of the duke and councillors, who are required to notify the central authorities of their decision and obtain approval. In the interim their decision shall go in effect. Only the duke and councillors can appoint a notary to the court di petizion of Candia. Neither the chancellor nor his sons, emancipated or not, can possess a fief. The chancellor is not allowed to hold money belonging to the Commune or individuals, which was deposited in the chancery; the same prohibition applies to chancery notaries.*

Item quod cancellarius Crete non possit de aliqua alia carta vel scriptura officii recipere aliquam solutionem a grossis quatuor supra, nisi fuerit extimata per ducham et consiliarios vel maiorem partem eorum et secundum ipsam extimationem accipiat et non alter, quod dividatur, ut supra de alio specificate dictum est. Sed si alia occurrerent vel apparerent ultra prescripta proxime specificata pro quibus et ex consuetudine et si videretur etiam duche et consiliarios Crete vel maiori parti, quod cancellarius aliquid debeat recipere vel habere pro sua satisfactione et mercede superinde, scilicet non specificato, imponant ordinem predicti ducha et consiliarii et provideant, ut eis videbitur. Et id quod in illo casu ordinaverunt debeant interim facere observari et illud nobis rescribere de facto illo distinctus informare, ut illud approbare vel alter in eo providere, sicut nobis videbitur valeamus; et istud similiter, ut de alio dictum est proxime, dividatur scilicet medietas cancellario et reliqua medietas scribis curie antedictae. Et veniente responsione duche et consiliariis, teneantur consiliarii Venetiarum infra sex mensis, postquam recepta fuerint, dare ordinem et expedire factum, sicut consiliariis apparebit factum, sub pena librarum L pro quolibet consiliario. Item per ducham et consiliarios ordinetur una capsella in qua deponatur lucrum huiusmodi, sic per medium dividendum. Item quod quolibet mense fiat ex inde petitio supradicta. Item quod cancellarius non possit ponere aliquem notarium ad curiam petitionum Candide, sed ducha et consiliarii eum ponant. Item dictus cancellarius non possit aliquid pheudum habere, aliquo modo vel ingenio, vel tenere, nec filii eorum, sive divisi fuerint, sive non. Item aliqua pelf. 22v|cunia tam comunis quam specialium personarum, que deponeretur ad curiam non possit teneri per cancellarium antedictum; et similiter est prohibitum omnibus notariis dicte maioris curie.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 181r-v, no 138. Provisions regarding the fees and prerogatives of the chancellor of Crete issued by the Senate in 1335, ed. Theotokis,

Θεσπίσματα της Βενετικής Γερουσίας, v. B1, pp. 162, ll. 58-72, 90, 92, 95-97, 98-105, no 17; and Venezia – Senato. Registro XVII, pp. 127-128, no 332, 334, 339, 340 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, pp. 35-36, no 63). Also, partly included in the commission of the councillor of Crete, see Thomas, “Commission”, 216, no 174.

142. *Notaries in Crete, including the notary of the duke, cannot charge more than one hyperper for charters pertaining to the State. The rates for deeds of small value shall be adjusted accordingly, except rates for charters of affranchissement, which shall remain as they were.*

Item quod notarius duche vel aliquis alius notarius Crete non possit accipere de aliqua carta pertinente ad nostrum comune ultra unum yperperum. Et si esset carta parvi valoris, accipiat inde minus per rationem, salvis cartis franchi tantum, que remaneant sicut erant.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 181v, no 139. Ed. Thomas, “Commission”, 197, no 95.

143. *He is to observe the decree issued by the Senate on 30 April 1329, stipulating that the penalties for homicides in Crete are perpetual exile and confiscation of all landed estates. As a precaution, any transactions or alienations linked to homicides will be declared void.*

Item observabis formam consilii capti in rogatis 1329, die penultimo aprilis, quod declaretur et observetur in homicidiis, que decetero committentur in insula Crete hoc, videlicet, quod siquis amodo interfecerit aliquem ibi, sit perpetuo de tota insula forbanitus cum condicione, quod si infra unum mensem postquam pervenerit ad notitiam deinde de culpa sua vel alium terminum breviorum, qualis videbitur duche et consiliariis antedictis, seu maiori parti, ipse non exhibit et recedet de insula predicta, vel si infra terminum huiusmodi exierit et postmodum redibit, non observans bannum prefatum, quod pheuda omnia sua, si que habebit talis homicidia intromittantur et confiscentur comuni. In aliis vero, qui pheuda non haberent, qui, ut dictum est, in posterum homicidium perpetrarent, ipsi rectores observent et studeant, quod omni modo qui sibi videbitur, in insula non possint nec debeant remanere. Et ad cautellam ex nunc determinatum sit, quod aliqua alienatio vel transactio, que fieret per homicidium talem ab homicidio perpetrato nullius sit protinus firmitatis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 181v, no 140. In 1329, upon request of the duke of Crete and his councillors, the Senate elected a committee (*savii*) to discuss the measures taken to prevent homicides in Crete, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 98, no 2; also Cessi – Sambin, *Deliberazioni del consiglio dei rogati*, p. 389, no 24. For the inclusion of the decision in the commission to the councillor of Crete of 1350, see Thomas, “Commission”, 216, no 177. Also included in the commission to the governor of Chania of 1589, ed. Maltezos, *Εντολή*, pp. 78-79, no 79 but with different date (1339).

144. *Every duke, during his two-year term of office, must set aside two thousand hyperpers to be used solely for the purchase of wheat.*

Quod quilibet ducha suo tempori duorum annorum faciat depositum de yperperis IIM, que yperpera poni debeant et mercari in frumento pro ubertate terre Candide et tocius insule Crete, que nequeant removeri nec expendi, nisi in frumento per modum supra contentum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 181v, no 141. Decision of the Senate and the Forty, dated 7 January 1332, ind. 15, ed. Thomas, "Commission", 218, no 181, with slight variations in the wording. Only the rubric is preserved in the original registers of the Senate, see Cessi – Sambin, *Deliberazioni del consiglio dei rogati*, v. 1, p. 465, no 303.

145. *The sons and brothers of the duke, councillors and other rectorors of the island of Crete are prohibited from taking offices on the island during their term of office.*

Item quod filii et fratres duche, consiliariorum et aliorum rectorum insule Crete non possint habere officia in ipsa insula tempore sui regiminis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 181v, no 142. Perpetual law passed by the Senate and the Forty on 7 January 1332, ed. Thomas, "Commission", 218, no 182. Only the rubric of is preserved in the original registers of the Senate, ed. Cessi – Sambin, *Deliberazioni del consiglio dei rogati*, v. 1, p. 465, no 303. On 19 August 1415 the Senate repeated the injunction with specific reference to the position of the captain of the bourg of Candia, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti* reg. 51, f. 57v (summary in Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 238). In July 1434, the Great Council reiterated the prohibition, see ASV, *Maggior Consiglio*, reg. Ursa, f. 100v (n.n. 106v); summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 2, p. 166, no 1348 (4 July 1434).

146. *Rectorors are forbidden to have work done privately for a pay of 100 hyperpers and above, without the permission of the duke and his councillors.*

Quod inhibeatur rectoribus insule Crete, quod non possint laborari facere suo tempore [f.23r] a cyperperis supra absque licentia duche et consiliariis vel maior[e] parte eorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 181v-182r, no 143. Decision issued by the Senate on 7 January 1332, ed. Thomas, "Commission", 218, no 183. Only the rubric of the decision is preserved in the original registers of the Senate, ed. Cessi – Sambin, *Deliberazioni del consiglio dei rogati*, v. 1, p. 465, no 303. For its inclusion in the commission of the rector of Chania, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, pp. 80-81, no 82, where it is conflated with articles 104 and 147 of the present commission.

147. *Rectorors are prohibited from appointing the same person to two or more public offices.*

Ceterum, quia interdum per aliquos rectoros Crete dantur uni persone duo, tria et sepe quatuor officia in uno eodem tempore, quod uti non est equum nec utile in partibus illis, consulunt, quod provideatur, quod deinceps alicui persone

in dicta insula non possit dari per nostros rectores in uno eodem tempore ultra unum officium quod habeat salarium vel proventus aliquos.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 182r, no 144. Proposal introduced by a committee of three advisers (*sapientes*) on Cretan affairs and adopted by the Senate on 31 March 1339, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 180, no 8, 185; and recently *Venezia – Senato. Registro XVIII*, p. 76, no 198. Also included in the commission of the governor of Chania, where it is conflated with articles 146 and 104 of the present commission, see Maltezu, *Εντολή*, pp. 80-81, no 82.

148. *If a party wants to appeal against a decision of the duke to the auditori delle sentenze<sup>194</sup>, he is obliged to hand over the case documents certified with his seal. If by negligence of the duke the documents are delivered unconfirmed, he must pay to the interested party compensation for the expenses incurred.*

Et si aliqua sententia lata fuerit parte in contrarium alicuius et ille qui sententiam habuerit contrariam reputans se inde gravatum ad auditores nostros sententiarum recurere voluerit et conqueri de prolatione dicte sententie, teneris ad requisitionem dicti conquerentis facere dari sibi omnes scripturas pertinentes dicte questioni sub tuo sigillo, sed sine sigillo nullatenus debeant sibi dari. Et si propter negligentiam vel deffectum tuum, qui cognosci debeat per ipsos auditores, predicte scripture non fuerint date omnes sub tuo sigillo, videlicet, ille quas requisuerunt pars, tu teneris ad restitutionem et emendam expensarum propterea factarum per dictum conquerentem, si illarum, que erunt juste et rationabiles, que tanxari debeant per dictos auditores nostros.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 182r, no 145. Ed. Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 211, no XLI; also included in the commission of the governor of Chania, ed. Maltezu, *Εντολή*, pp. 82, no 84.

149. *The duke is bound to include in every report to the central authorities detailed information about the condition of the wheat in his area of jurisdiction, i.e. prices, quantity etc.*

Item observabis quod omni vice qua nobis scribes literas aliquas, debeas scribere statum et condicionem frumenti, scilicet precium ipsius et copia magna vel parva, que esset in illis partibus et omnem informationem claram quam dare poteris, ut possimus de omnibus informari.

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194. The *auditori* were appellate judges in civil cases. For the composition, competence and jurisdiction of the magistracy of the *auditori*, see Da Mosto, *L'Archivio di stato di Venezia*, v. 1, p. 85-86; also *Guida generale degli archivi di Stato italiani*, v. 4, Rome 1994, p. 995; and briefly in Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, p. 343.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 182r, no 146. Guideline enacted by the Great Council on 23 July 1340, ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου*, p. 117, no 12 with wrong date (24 July 1340); summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 1, p. 195, no 478. Also included in the commission of the governor of Chania, ed. Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 81, no 83.

150. *The duke, his councillors and the captain convene in council to decide if there is a need to equip a fleet and take action against the Turks, but a minimum of three votes is required for any action to be taken. One half of the necessary expenses for the armament of the fleet should be borne by the feudatories and the other half by the Commune.*

Insuper est nostre intentionis et sic firmiter observabis, quod non possit fieri aliqua armata deinde in aliquo casu pro facto Turcorum, nisi tu et consiliarii ac capitaneus noster Crete vel tres vestrum ad minus, eritis in concordia de hoc. Verum etiam hoc modo non possit fieri armata predicta nisi pheudati Candide fuerint contenti de contribuendo medietatem expensarum necessarium fiendum pro predictis et alia medietas solvatur per comune, et si armata fieret, ut dictum est, remaneat in discretione vestra de concedendo dicte armate pro eundo Turchiam et descendendo vel ponendo gentes in terram, sicut vobis vel tribus vestrum in concordia melius videbitur.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 182r-v, no 147. Revision of an earlier article in the commission of the duke, dated 14 February 1376, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 200, no 22. For its inclusion in the commission of the captain of Crete, see Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική εξουσία», 210, no XXXVIII.

151. *Prohibition of the importation of Turcs as slaves in Crete, including those captured in war. Those found on the island or, henceforth, illegally imported must be removed within six months. Smugglers of Turks will be fined fifty hyperpers. Powers of inquiry and enforcement are granted to the duke and his councillors and to the other rectors of the island, who, in case of conviction, will have a share in the proceeds from the fines.*

[f. 23v] Quod decetero aliqui Turchi, qui vocantur sclavi, conduci non possint ad insulam nostram Crete, nisi illi quos nostri ceperint in armatis, et nihilominus Turchi huiusmodi sic capti per dictas armatas et conducti ad insulam antedictam debeant extrahi per illos, quorum erunt de insula memorata, infra menses sex postquam in ipsa conducti fuerint, sub pena yperperorum L pro quolibet Turcho non extracto et qualibet vice. Et si quis decetero conducet seu conduci fecerit ad insulam nostram predictam aliquos alios Turchos, quam illos qui capti fuerint in armatis predictis, cadant in penam yperperorum L pro quolibet Turcho quem conduxerunt vel fecerunt conduci, et nihilominus teneatur eos extrahere vel extrahi facere de dicta insula infra dictum terminum sex mensium, ut

supra dictum est et sub eadem pena. Et hec omnia committantur inquirenda et executioni mittenda nostro duce et consiliariis Crete et aliis nostris rectoris dicte insule, videlicet, illi rectori, qui primo sciverit aut cui primo facta fuerit accusa de premissis, et a contrafacientibus exigant dictas penas, de quibus quartum sit rectorum, qui inquirent et examinabunt et condemnabunt, quartum accusatorum per quos sciatur veritas et reliquum sit comunis, et si non fuerit accusator tres partes veniant in comune.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 182v, no 148. This article replicates with slight variations a decision issued by the Senate on 6 March 1341, but with double the fine for violators, as provided for in the deliberation of 8 June 1363, see Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, pp. 205-206, no 25, and v. B2, p. 110, no 12; and more recently in *Venezia – Senato. Registro XIX*, pp. 234-235, no 441; and *Venezia – Senato. Registro XXXI*, p. 68, no 107 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 46, no 122).

152. *The duke should not accept corsairs on Crete and, if found on the island, he should see to it that they are expelled from there; nor should he allow them to purchase victuals or sell merchandise on the island. If someone buys merchandise from corsairs, the duke is to seize it for the state.*

Item nullum cursarum recipies in insula Crete et si<sup>195</sup> venerit et sciveris studiosus eris, quod inde expellatur, neque consenties quod aliquis cursarius trahat victualia inde, vel quod aliquas mercationes vendant in ipsa insula. Et si aliquis ab aliquo cursario emerit aliquid, totum illud, quod emerit ei, auferes et pones in nostrum comune.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 182v, no 149. Ed. Thomas, “Commission”, 189, no 45. The same directive but adjusted for Chania and without mention of the fine is found in the commission of the governor of Chania, ed. Maltezos, *Εντολή*, pp. 52-53, no 30.

153. *The local government may not draw upon private deposits in the treasury, unless in case of manifest necessity and on condition that the money will be returned within one month.*

Item quod non possint ponere manus in pecuniis depositorum specialium personarum, que sunt et decetero erunt in camera comunis, salvo in casu manifeste necessitatis, in quo casu possint accipere si aliunde sibi subvenire non possent, ita quod sit ultima subvenio, non occurrente debitori pena aliqua vel lucro pro eis, cum condicione quod infra unum mensem ducha et consilarii teneantur per sacramentum restituere quod acciperint omni occasione remota.

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195. Before *i* letter *e* crossed out.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 182v-183v, no 150. Response to a demand put forward by the delegation from the feudarories of Candia, dated 8 July 1344, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1, p. 269, ll. 185-200; and recently *Venezia – Senato. Registro XXII*, p. 153, no 310 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 56, no 172).

154. *The duke shall observe the following: the notary, chancellor, judge or associate serving under any Venetian governor is ineligible for the same post for two years after his term of office has ended. Any governor who contravenes this rule is liable to a fine of five hundred lire.*

Item observabis, quod qui fuerit notarius, cancellarius, iudex, vel socius alicuius nostri rectoris, in aliquo regimine, non possit esse notarius, cancellarius, [f. 24r] iudex vel socius, nec in aliquo officio in dicto regimine in quo steterit, usque duos annos proximos post complementum rectoris cum quo fuerit. Et predicta revocari non possunt, nec concedi alicui, nec fieri gratia contra hoc, ullo modo vel ingenio, sub pena librarum VC pro quolibet ponente vel consentiente partem in contrarium. Et si aliquis rector ullo modo contrafecerit suprascriptis, cadat de librarum VC pro qualibet vice, salvo ultra hoc officio advocatorum comunis, contra rectores contrafacientes.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 183r, no 151. Ed. Maltezu, *Εντολή*, p. 82, no 85.

155. *The duke shall further observe the following: If someone holding a chancellorship, a scribeship, an equestrian or foot post, a “police” captain’s post<sup>196</sup> or other paid officership and councilship in Venetian-held territory transfers it to another person, then the transfer is void, and he shall forfeit his post and be replaced by someone else. In addition, he must return all the money received from the recipient of the position*

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196. For lack of an accurate translation, I have rendered the phrase *postam capitaneum baroeriorum* here somewhat loosely as “police captain’s post”. *Baroerius* seems to be a corrupted form of the word *beroarius* / *beroerius* / *berrovarius*, which literally means “armed servant”, see entry in J. F. Niermeyer – C. van de Kieft, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus. A Medieval Latin-French/English Dictionary*, Leiden - NewYork - Cologne 1997. For the etymology of the word, see W. Schweickard, *Deonomasticon Italicum. Dizionario storico dei derivati da nomi geografici e da nomi di persona*, v.1 Derivati da nomi geografici (A-E), Tübingen 1997, pp. 223-225, entry “Berry”. In medieval Bologna, the *berrovarii* were officials paid by the Commune, who formed the podestà’s armed retinue, and, among other, had police duties. For a discussion of the duties and functions of the *berrovarii*, see G. Roberts, *Police Power in the Italian Communes, 1228-1326*, Amsterdam 2019, pp. 44-45 and *passim*. Interestingly enough, the retinue of the Venetian podestà and capitano of Bergamo in 1428 included *a comestabilis baroeriorum, cum baroeriis consuetis*, see the commission of Francesco Foscari to Marco Giustinian in C. Cantù, *Scorsa di un lombardo negli archivi di Venezia*, Milan 1856, p. 30. Although the functions of the *baroerii* are not specified, given that their captain is mentioned here in conjunction with what appear to be law-enforcement officers (*postam pedestrem velequestrem*), it is likely that they performed civil policing duties in Venetian-held territories.

*and pay a fine equivalent to one-half of the amount malversed. The payee shall also incur a fine equivalent to one-half of the amount paid or promised to be paid for the position. One-half of the money will go to the advocates of the Commune and the other half to the Commune, and if there is an accuser, it will be divided in three equal parts.*

Item observabis consilium continens, quod si aliquis habens cancellariam, scribaniam vel postam pedestrem vel equestrem vel aliam postam capitaneum baroeriorum, seu aliud officium vel consilium in aliqua terra nobis subiecta per pecuniam vel aliam provisionem fecerit vel tractaverit taliter, quod aliquid eorum sibi detur vel in alium transferatur, ipsa datio vel transactio non valeat, nec teneat, sed de presenti removeatur et loco ipsius per ducale dominium alius subrogetur. Et nihilominus totum, quod dedisset vel habuisset vel alius pro eo occasione predicta, restituatur in totum ei qui dederit. Et insuper incurrat ille qui tractaverit et fecerit in penam medietatis eius, quod habuerit vel habere debuerit vel alius pro eo, que pena exigatur per advocatores comunis, de qua habeant medietatem et alia sit comunis. Et illi qui darent vel promitterent, cadant de medietate eius, quod dederint vel promiserint pro pena, qua dividatur ut supra. Et si accusator fuerit in predictis dividatur pena per tercium. Et iniugatur nostris rectoribus, quod predicta observent et faciant observari et contrafacientes denotent advocatoribus comunis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 183r, no 152. Ed. Maltezos, *Εντολή*, pp. 82-83, no 86.

- 156.** *In order to control expenditure a) the duke is prohibited from spending more than twenty-five hyperpers for construction or repair works on his residence throughout his term, and b) it is forbidden to hold banquets at public expense upon the arrival of the duke, the councillors, other rectoris or for any other reason whatsoever. Also no one is allowed to reside in the dwelling located in the fortress, where the lower floor is occupied by the councillors, except the members of their household, understood as such those persons assigned to them.*

Quia ducha et consiliarii Crete faciunt multas expensas in reparando suas habitationes et de novo faciendo multa construi, capta fuit pars, quod aliquis ducha non possit toto tempore sui regiminis expendere ultra yperpera XXV tam in laboreriis de novo, quam in aliqua alia reparatione. Item pro adventu duce et consiliariorum seu pro adventu alicuius rectoris aut aliqua occasione vel causa non possint facere aliquid convivium, nec pastum, de bonis comunis. Item quod in quadam domo, que est in castello apud consiliaros, qui manent in domo inferiori, non possit aliquis habitare nisi familia consiliarii ibidem habitantis, itelligendo familiam suam illam que sibi deputata est per suam commissionem.



I have been unable to identify the original act, but it appears to be an amendment of the provisions initially proposed by the former councillor of Crete Eugenio Ruzini and passed by the Senate in May 1347, where the ceiling for construction costs was set at fifty hyperpers for the duke's residence and at twenty-five hyperpers for the councillor's, see Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1 p. 285, no 6122, 125, 126; and Venezia – Senato. Registro XXIV (1347-1349), p. 57, no 116, 119, 120. These provisions were included in the commission to Leonardo Caravello (Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 183v, no 153), therefore the amendment must have been enacted sometime after 23 June 1429.

157. *Limitation of the expenditure local government on the feast of the hunt*<sup>197</sup>, *various other rituals and ceremonies, religious alms and charitable donations.*

[f. 24v] Cum ducha et consiliarii Crete faciant multas expensas, que non sunt de necessitate et sunt extra modum et utile sit ipsas regulare et limitare pro bono comunis, vadit pars quod dicte expense taxentur et regulentur infrascripto modo, videlicet, primo, sicut expendere poterant pro festo caze yperpera C in anno, sic decetero possint expendere solummodo yperpera L, et hoc intelligatur si fecerint dictum festum, alioquin dicta expensa non recipiatur in rationibus suis. Item, in elemosinis, que consueverunt dari monasteriis fratrum et monialium, et in aliis elemosinis, quas ducha et consiliarii dabant aliis personis, que videbuntur eis, et in cera et donis, sive oblationibus, et in processionibus in laudibus decatandis in festo stelle, in stanis et sonatoribus galearum, in pallio, in smertella pro festis, in ture sive incenso pro cameus et aliis expensis similibus istis, in quibus omnibus expendebant magnam pecunie quantitatem, non possint decetero expendere per totum ultra yperpera XIII in anno, et si consilium, commissio vel capitulare est contra, renovatur in hoc.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 183v, no 154. This regulation was passed by the Senate on 20 July 1372, following a motion introduced by a committee of three *sapientes super commissionibus rectorum*, elected in July of the same year, ed. G. Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente* [Studi religiosi/3], v. 3, Verona 1978, p. 112, no 258; and recently in *Venezia – Senato*.

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197. The “feast of the hunt” refers to the symbolic slaughter of animals (one bull and twelve pigs) carried out on the morning of Giovedì Grasso, a ritual that recalled the victory of doge Vitale II Michiel over the patriarch of Aquileia in 1162, see E. Muir, *Civic ritual in renaissance Venice*, Princeton 1981, pp. 161-164. The carnival festival was transplanted from Venice to Crete, see A. Papadaki, *Cerimonie religiose e laiche nell'isola di Creta durante il dominio veneziano*, transl. G. Pelidis [Quaderni della Rivista di bizantinistica; 9], Spoleto, 2005, pp. 81-85. The spending limit for the feast was set at one hundred hyperpers in 1347 along with various other restrictive measures regarding expenditure, proposed by the councillor of Crete Ruggiero Ruçini, and examined by the *Proveditori del Comune*, see Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1 p. 286, no 6127; also, *Venezia – Senato. Deliberazioni miste. Registro XXIV (1347-1349)*, p. 58, no 121.

*Registro XXXIV*, pp. 87-88, no 189, and pp. 78-79, no 171 for the composition and tasks of the revision committee.

158. *The duke and his councillors are permitted to spend the usual amount of money for water supply and furniture. They shall also receive the usual additional amount for travel expenses and horse transportation costs and sundry other expenses.*

Insuper per nos et sapientes nostros ad hoc deputatos declaratum et terminatum est, ex libertate eis attributa per nostrum consilium rogatorum et additionis, quod tota illa pecunia, quam ducha et consiliarii Crete solebant accipere vel expendere pro aqua, item tota illa pecunia, quam ipsi solebant accipere pro tabulis, trespenti, lecteriis, banchis, stanis et aliis rebus pro usu suo et suarum familiarum et postmodum, remanebant eis. Item omnis pecunie quantitas quam ducha et consiliarii solebant accipere pro transitu, vel pro conducendis equis de Venetiis in Cretam, et generaliter omne aliud, quod accipere poterant ultra salarium et ultra illas regaleas, que eis reservate sunt, scilicet, tres duche, que sunt falconum, carnum et sigilli, et una consiliariis, que est de carnibus, sint omnes regalee et pro regaleis debent haberi et quod de eis nichil accipere possint.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDC 675, ff. 183v-184r, no 155. In 1347, expenditure for water supply was set at up to 100 hyperpers and for furniture at no more than twenty and ten silver grossi for the duke and each one of his councillors, respectively, see Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B1 p. 285, no 6 124, 123; and *Venezia – Senato. Registro XXIV*, p. 57, no 117, 118.

159. *Notwithstanding that officers of the night watch and other magistrates are elected on a regular basis and sent to Crete for two years, when these complete two years in office, the duke and councillors replace them with officials appointed locally for a two-year term. It is ordered that the former must remain in their posts for two years and for as long as it is required until the arrival of their replacements.*

Cum fiant continue domini de nocte in Candida et aliqui iudices, qui mittuntur pro duobus annis, et ducha et consiliarii Crete in complemento duorum annorum statim eligunt alios loco illorum, qui compleverint duos annos, et credatur quod intentio dominii fuerit et sit sicut est in rectoribus qui mittuntur illuc et alio, quod sunt per duos annos et tanto plus quanto successores eorum [f. 25r] distulerint illic, capta fuit pars, quod ordinetur et sic debeat observari, quod stare debeant in ipsis officiis et iudicibus per duos annos et tanto plus successores eorum illuc ire distulerint.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDC 675, f. 184r, no 156. Decision of the Great Council, dated 15 March 1347, ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μεϊζονος Συμβουλίου*, p. 127, no 29 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 2, p. 212, no 535).

160. *The duke is not allowed to marry or contract marriage, nor is he allowed to impetrate a prebend or benefice for himself or for the benefit of his sons and others, in the area of his administration, or to have others procure them for his own and others' benefit.*

Et non potes sub debito sacramenti per totum tempus sui regiminis et per unum annum post contahere vel contrahi facere matrimonium, nec impetrare seu impetrari facere aliquam prebendam vel beneficium in locis tui regiminis pro te, filiis vel aliis, nec procurare, quod hec fiant pro te vel aliis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDC 675, f. 184r, no 157. Prohibition added to the commissions of all Venetian rectors on 5 February 1355, ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. Novella, f. 33v (n.n. 44v). The same prohibition was added to the commission of the captain of Crete by order of the Senate on 13 March 1371, ed. *Venezia – Senato. Registro XXXIII*, p. 377, no 722. For its inclusion in the captain's commission, see Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική Εξουσία», 205, no XX.

161. *Provisions precluding the creation of exclusive cartels and monopolies to import salt and sugar into Venice. High penalties are set for offenders, without the possibility of exemption. The provision shall be notified to the competent central authorities, other competent officials, the duke of Crete and all the rectors on the island, the castellans of Modon and Coron, the bailo of Cyprus, the bailo of Trebizond, the consul of Tana, the consul of Alexandria, the bailo of Negroponte, the bailo of Constantinople, the captains of armed galleys etc. The fines will be divided in three equal shares between the accusers, the Commune and officials who denounce the offence.*

Quia posset occurere quod aliqui nostri Veneti aut forenses, hic in Venetiis et in locis subditis Venetiarum, aut solum Veneti extra Venetias emerent salem aut pulverem zuchari, que essent regum, principum aut dominationum aliorum locorum aut aliarum personarum cum pactis, quod dicti reges, principes, dominationes aut alie persone non deberent vendere de dictis rebus aliis personis, que apporarent eas intra Culfum, vendentibus predictis mercatus per suam manum tamen dictum salem et pulverem pretio, quod vendunt dicti reges principes vel dominationes, quod possent verti in damnum et preiudicium illorum quorum sunt navigia et etiam introitus comunis, ita vendentibus ipsius parvam quantitatem salis pulveris ac venientibus per hoc ad alia pacta de naulizatis, vadit pars quod si aliquis emisset vel emeret, aut emi faceret decetero, salem vel pulverem zuchari, cum dictis pactis a dictis regibus, principibus, dominationibus aut aliis personis non possint dare vel vendere, aut vendi facere, aliquo modo vel ingenio, illum salem seu pulverem zuchari sic emptum, pluri eo quod reges, principes vel dominationes aut alie persone consueverint, et quod semper teneantur dare de dictis sale et pulvere aliis ad sufficientiam iuxta petitionem mercatorum vel patronorum, qui vellent caricare navigia, sub pena librarum mille pro quolibet

contrafaciente et qualibet vice, et teneant etiam ad emendationem tocius damni et interesse in quod incurerent mercatores, patroni et navigia volentium emere et caricare dictum salem et pulverem et similiter ad omnem refectionem et emendam introitus, quem propterea amitterent nostrum, que committatur inquirenda advocatoribus comunis, provisoribus catavere, capitaneis |f. 25v| postarum, dominis nocte, capitaneis sexteriorum, officialibus Levantis, vicedominis ternarie extraordinariis, duche Crete et rectoribus omnibus dicte insule, castellanis Coroni et Mothoni, baiulo Cipri, baiulo Trapesunde, consuli Tane, consuli Alexandrie, baiulo Nigropontis, baiulo Constantinopolis, capitaneis galearum armatarum et aliis nostris rectoris, et non possint de predictis penis fieri gratia, donum, remissio seu recompensatio sub pena librarum mille pro quolibet consiliario, capite vel alio ponente vel consentiente partem in contrarium, et si accusator fuerit in predictis per quem veritas habeatur, habeat tercium et teneatur de credentia, tertium sit comunis et aliuc tertium officialium sive rectorum vel capitaneorum per quos hoc fuerit inventum, habent etiam ipsis rectoribus, officialibus et capitaneis libertatem imponendi et exigendi penam et penas et cogendi personas ad sacramentum per veritate habenda.<sup>198</sup>

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 184r-v, no 158. This article reproduces the content of a decision issued by the Senate on 14 June 1358, which also stipulated that the same provisions be included in the commissions of officials of the maritime state, ed. *Venezia – Senato. Registro XXVIII*, pp. 253-254, no 455. For its inclusion in the commission of the rector of Chania, see Maltezou, *Εντολή*, pp. 73-74, no 73.

**162.**<sup>199</sup> *That from now on there will be no Council of the Feudatories nor treasurers or heads of the feudatories in the area of Candia and the whole island of Crete.*

Quod decetero in partibus Candide nec insula Crete sit amplium consilium aliquod pheudatorum nec camerarii vel capita pheudatorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 184v, no 159. For the Councils of Feudatories and communal institutions in Crete, their functions and evolution, see Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*, pp. 204-208; E. Santschi, *La notion du “feudum” en Crète vénitienne (XVIIIe-XVe siècles)*, Montreux 1976, pp. 52-58; S. Cosentino, *Aspetti e problemi del feudo-veneto-cretese (secc. XIII-XIV)* [Studi Bizantini e Slavi 3- Quaderni della Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi], Bologna 1987, pp. 25-30; Karapidakis, *Administration et milieux administratifs en Crète vénitienne*, v. 1, pp. 28-42; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 30-56 (for the fourteenth

198. On Venice's policy toward cartels and monopolies, see F. C. Lane, *Venice. A Maritime Republic*, Baltimore – London 1974, p. 144.

199. Manicule in the left-hand margin.

century up to the 1360's); Papadia-Lala, *Ο θεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο*, pp. 60-103.

163. *The duke and his councillors must lease the island's prisons by public auction, the proceeds of which must be deposited in the Public Treasury.*

Quod tu et consilarii tui debetis decetero incantari carceres et plus offerentibus dari ad illum terminum qui vobis melium pro comuni et pro maletis evitandis iudebitur. Et quicquid ex inde habebitur devenire debeat in nostrum comune accipiendo bonam et idoneam plezariam ab illis, qui carceres predictos accipient, ita quod comune nostrum sit bene securum ordinando et faciendo quod non accipiatur de carceratis nisi sicut ante rebellionem accipiebatur.<sup>200</sup>

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 184r-185v, no 160, which also provides the reasoning of the Senate for issuing the decree: *Preterea pro evitando maliciis que in facto carcere deinde commitbantur ordinatum est per nostra consilia rogatorum....*

164. *The duke and his councillors must scrutinize the villeins so that the Commune doesn't forfeit its rights, and undertake a census of the peasant population once during the term of their government. To reduce cost, the census will be conducted in Chania, Rethimno and Sitia by the rectors of the three districts while on tour of the countryside, and in Candia by two treasury officers assigned to the task by the regimen.*

Quod committatur duche et consilariis Crete presentibus et futuris, quod de villanis faciant bonam examinationem, ita quod comune non perdat jura sua, et semel tempore suorum regiminum teneantur penitus facere fieri el nagrafi, et, ut propterea comune non gravetur expensis, teneantur rectores Canee, Rethimni et Sitie facere hoc tempore quo vadunt ad circandum castra, regimen vero Candide mittat duos de camere Crete tamen et non alios ullo modo cum quam minoribus expensis fieri poterit pro bono comunis ad faciendum nagraffi predictum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 185r, no 161. Resolution passed by the Senate and added to the commissions of the duke and councillors of Crete, and the governors of Chania, Rethimno and Sitia on 8 June 1363, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, pp. 111-112, no 15; and recently *Venezia – Senato. Registro XXXI*, p. 70, no 110 (summary

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200. On the public auction and the operation of prisons on Crete, see Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα της Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 109, no 9, (8 June 1363), and pp. 140-141, no 33 (10 February 1371); and recently *Venezia – Senato. Registro XXXII*, p. 67, no 104; and *Venezia – Senato. Registro XXXIII*, pp. 354-355, no 670. For prisons in Crete, see N. I. Tsougarakis, "Prisons and Incarceration in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 29/1 (2014), 29-55, DOI: 10.1080/09518967.2014.897052.

in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 107, no 410). See also Papadaki, «Μετακινήσεις ανώτερων αξιωματούχων», pp. 5, 6.

165. *Venetians, and those considered as Venetians, are prohibited from chartering foreign ships for the transport to Venice of alimentation goods, or other merchandise, except grain, under the penalty of forfeiture of the infringing goods. An exception may be made by the local Venetian governor in those cases where there are not sufficient Venetian ships or no Venetian ships available to transport the merchandise. In the event that the available Venetian ships do not suffice to cover the demand, and shipowners are asking exorbitant charter rates from Venetian merchants, thus leading to a bargaining impasse, the local governor with his counsellors are at liberty to mediate the dispute in order for the parties to reach a mutually acceptable agreement, or allow merchants to charter foreign ships. The enforcement of the foregoing act is entrusted to the competent authorities in Venice and all chief officials outside of Venice, to whose commissions it is to be added. The act will come into force upon its proclamation.*

Quod cridetur publice in locis solitis, quod aliquis Venetus, vel qui tractetur pro Veneto, non possit aliquo modo vel forma naulizare vel caricare navem<sup>201</sup>|f. 26r| sive aliud lignum vel navigium forensium extra culfum in aliqua parte pro veniendo Venetias cum mercationibus grassa vel aliis rebus, excepto blado, sub pena perdendi dictas mercationes grassam vel alias res, salvo semper si Veneti essent in aliquo ubi esset rector pro comuni Venetiarum et non esset ibi navigium seu navigia Venetorum, et etiam si essent et non forent ad sufficientiam, quod tunc in prudentia et in libertate ipsius rectoris seu rectorum dandi licentiam dictis Venetis, quod naulizare possint navigia forensium, existentia bona et sufficientia. Si vero forent ibi navigia Venetorum et essent in tam parvo numero quod non forent ad sufficientiam et pro hec patroni ipsorum navigiorum vellent aggravare mercatores Venetos in volendo ab eis sic ineptum et irrationabile precium, quod non possent concordari insimul, tunc sit in libertate et providentia rectoris et eius consiliariorum, si habebit consiliarios, vel maioris partis erum, concordandi differentiam, que erit inter patronos et mercatores predictos, sicut eis videbitur, vel dandi licentiam mercatoribus Venetis naulizandi navigia forensium existentia bona et sufficientia. Et, ut predicta serventur cum effectu, in Venetiis committatur provisoribus comunis, catavere, capitaneis postarum, officialibus Levantis et extra Venetias scribatur omnibus rectoribus, quibus spectant, et addatur in commissionibus futurorum, qui iquirant de contrafacientibus et penas exigant, videlicet, qui primo invenerint habentes partem ut de aliis contrabannis est

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201. *sive* in the bottom margin.

solitum servari. Et si accusator inde fuerit per quem veritas habebatur, habeat tertium et sit de credentia. Et de penis predictis, vel aliqua earum non possit alicui contrafacienti fieri aliqua gratia donum, remissio, recompensatio aut termini elongatio, nec presentis partis revocatio, nisi per sex consules, tria capita de XLta, XXV de XL et tres partes maioris consilii. Et mandetur nostris rectoribus, quod predicta etiam in locis solitis suorum regiminum faciant proclamari. Et incipiatur servari a die cride facte.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 185r-v, no 162. The law, which gave preference to Venetian merchant ships over foreign ships for the transport of goods to Venice, was first passed by the Great Council on 3 August 1278, ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου*, p. 18, no 98; and Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, v. 2, p. 361, no 8 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, pp. 38-39, no XLVIII). By the second half of the fourteenth century, it had fallen into disuse and was revived by the Senate on 8 June 1370, ed. *Venezia – Senato. Registro XXXIII*, pp. 228-229, no 452 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 124, no 487, with wrong date). This law is reproduced here although the prohibition was repeated once more in 1416 with specific reference to the transport of goods from Crete *ad partes Romanie et alio*, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 51, ff. 173r-v (summary in Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 259). For the differential treatment of Venetian and foreign ships, see R. Gluzman, “What Made a Ship Venetian? (Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)”, in G. Christ – F. -J. Morche, eds., *Cultures of Empire: Rethinking Venetian Rule, 1400-1700. Essays in Honour of Benjamin Arbel*, Leiden – Boston 2020, pp. 239-328, who mentions that the law was reiterated again in 1492 (p. 307, n. 44).

166. *Regarding the dispute between the officers of the night watch and the captain over who has the right to carry out the nightly patrols of the city of Candia,<sup>202</sup> it is decided that the right belongs to the captain alone. This order must be observed in full, it being understood that both the duke and the captain may pass judgement on their subjects.*

Quia videtur ||inter|| capitaneum nostrum Crete et officiales de nocte in Candida, quod fuerit aliqua differentia in facto cirche, quam predicti officiales dicebant ad se pertinere ex officio suo tam de nocte quam de die. Vadit<sup>203</sup> pars quod declaretur quod circha de nocte pertinet et spectat capitaneo soli |f. 26v| et sic ordinetur quod debeat observari, intelligendo, quod ducha et capitaneus, scilicet uterque per se, faciant condemnationes de subditis suis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 185v, no 163. Resolution passed by the Senate on 14 February 1376, and added to the officials' commissions, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 201, no 24 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 141, no 570).

202. The police officers claimed that they had the right, ex officio, to carry out daily and nightly patrols.

203. The symbol = in the right-hand margin.

For its inclusion in the commission to the captain of Crete, see Gasparis, “Μητροπολιτική Εξουσία”, 202, no VI (text), 188-189 (commentary).

- 167.** *He should be aware that the provisions governing expeditions by land or sea in the commissions of the duke, the councillors and the governors of Chania, Rethimno and Sitia, provide that these will be carried out with the approval of the majority opinion of the duke, the councillors and the captain. In case of dissent, one of the treasurers of Crete, chosen by lot, will be called in to break the tie.*

Scire etiam debes, quod in commissione rectorum Caneae, Rethimi et Sithie continetur, quod si videbitur tibi et consiliariis tuis et capitaneo Crete vel maiori parti vestrum, quod debeant equitare pro bono insule Crete vel ire per mare in servitio comunis et cetera, ut in dictis suis commissionibus plenius continetur illud servire debent secundum quod captum et ordinatum fuerit per maiorem partem vestrum. Et ubi essetis pares in diversis opinionibus, unius camerariorum Crete debet intrare per texeras et illud fieri quod per maiorem partem vestrum fuerit ordinatum. Quidem ad informationem tuam tibi declaramus.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 185v, no 164. Amendment passed by the Senate on 14 February 1376, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα της Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 201, no 23. See also Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική Εξουσία», 210, no XXXVII (text), 184 (commentary).

- 168.** *Provisions for the regulation and control of maritime trade, including detailed instructions for the procedure to be followed by the Proveditori di Comun in Venice and local rectors within and outside the Gulf, as per their respective powers and duties, in prosecuting violators.*

Quod Veneti nostri originarii quantum ad navigandum sint in illa libertate et statu quo sunt ad presens et soliti sunt esse ante creationem officii navigantium. Forenses aut facti Veneti privilegio non possint navigare nisi de quanto faciunt imprestita nostro comun, secundum formam nostrorum privilegiorum sub pena de L pro centenario et omnes aliis penis et stricturis ordinatis, que invenirentur. Verum, si aliqui ex dictis forensibus factis civibus per formam partium et ordinum dictorum hactenus per dominium haberent aliquam prerogativam, ut dominatio non deficiat de promissis, servetur eis id quod invenietur esse promissum. Et ut turbetur, quod Veneti non taxent havere forensium, faciant provisores comunis publice proclamari, quod decetero nullus noster Venetus, vel qui tractetur pro Veneto audeat, vel presummat modo aliquo, jure, forma, colore, vel ingenio per pactum, scriptum manus, obligationem, cautelas, credentias, cambias, recomendias, collegantias, plezarias, vel aliter per aliquem modum, qui posset dici, vel cogitari directe, vel indirecte, tanxare havere alicuius foernsis in Venetiis nec extra in aliqua alia parte, exceptis partibus Ponentis a capite Borsani supra,



que partes sunt Flandriam et loca illarum partium, nec illud havere forensium extrahere, vel extrahi facere de Venetiis nec aliquibus aliis partibus cum aliquibus navigiis armatis et disarmatis pro porta|f. 27r|ndo vel portari faciendo ad aliquas partes Levantis, intelligendo partes Levantis Romaniam Bassam et inde supra, scilicet Ciprum, Romaniam, Tanam, Cretam, Alexandriam, Armeniam et alia loca dictarum partium. Nec etiam illud havere forensium conducere vel conduci facere de aliqua dictarum partium Levantis ad aliquas partes intra Culfum, sub pena C pro centenario valoris eius, quod fuerit taxatum vel contrafactum. Et insuper sit privatus taxans vel contrafaciens si fuerit nobilis, duobus annis omnibus regiminibus, officiis, beneficiis et consiliis comunis Venetiarum intus et extra. Et si fuerit popularis, sit privatus duobus annis de veniendo in insulis Sancti Marci et Rivoalti. Et insuper cadat ille cuius havere taxatum fuerit in Venetiis vel extra de C pro centenario valoris eius, quod taxatum fuerit. Et si Venetus vel qui pro Veneto tractaretur, taxans et contrafaciens predictis, accusabit forensem cuius havere taxatum fuerit, vel forensis cuius havere taxatum fuerit accusabit Venetum vel eum qui pro Veneto tractaretur contrafacientem et taxantem, ut dictum est, sit absolutus primo accusans ab omni pena quam incurisset et sit de credentia et habeat partem penarum, velut accusator; de quibus penis, vel aliqua earum, non possit contrafacientibus fieri aliqua gratia, provisio, donum, remissio, compensatio, termini elongatio, nec aliqua declaratio, sub pena ducatorum mille pro quolibet ponente vel consentiente partem in contrarium. Et revocatio consiliorum habeatur pro gratia in hac parte. Et predicta omnia committantur provisoribus comunis Venetiarum, qui inquirent de contrafacientibus et penas exigint, habendo medietatem ipsarum et alia medietas sit comunis. Et si de predictis fuerit accusator per quem habeatur veritas, pena dividatur per tertium et sit de credentia. Et extra Venetias committatur nostris rectoribus de intus et extra Culfum cum libertate et auctoritate provisorum nostrorum. Et si dictis rectoribus extra Venetias fuerit aliquis accusatus, occasione predicta, et videbitur eis non habere tantum ad plenum, quod velint procedere, tunc teneantur ipsi rectores infra unum mensem, vel per prima navigia huc venientia, postquam viderint se non esse claros, mittere Venetiis nostris provisoris accusam depositam vel quicquid habuerint in ipso facto particulariter et distincte, sub sigillo; et in hoc casu rectores ipsi non habeant |f. 27v| partem penarum. Qui provisos, examinatis omnibus scripturis habitis de nostris rectoribus et aliis que habere vellent ad suam informationem, si videbitur eius vel maiori parti habere tantum ad plenum, quod possint procedere, procedant et condemnent iuxta formam istius partis. Si vero dicti officiales essent diversi vel non clari, habendo suspectus in dicta et presumptiones tam contra illos qui mitterentur a rectoribus, quam alios quos scirent hic in Venetiis contrafecisse, tunc teneantur dicti provisos vel maior partis eorum venire ad consilium rogatorum,

congregatum a LXX supra, cum omni eo quod habebitur contra illos. Et allegato casu et lectis scripturis, quicquid per dictum consilium factum fuerit sit firmum, et provisores comunis teneantur id executioni mandare. Verum si proposito casu per<sup>204</sup> provisores comunis vel maiorem partem eorum et lectis scripturis aliquis de consilio dicet aliquid, ita quod videatur provisoribus comunis de respondendo, possint provisores et quilibet eorum dicere et respondere ut eis videbitur, quod sustinendo jura comunis, et in fine ponatur pars per provisores ipsos si videtur illis de consilio quod illi ceciderit ad penam quam dicent provisores comunis vel non et quicquid captum fuerit in rogatis sit firmum et mandetur executionem per provisoros, ut est dictum.

This and the following article (no 169) reproduce, with some omissions and variations, a law enacted by the Senate on 22 November 1363, which abolished the *officium de navigantibus*, ed. *Venezia – Senato. Registro XXXI*, no 372, pp. 187-190, esp. pp. 188-189. The *officium de navigantibus* was created with the purpose to enforce the protectionist law, which forbade anyone from investing in maritime commerce sums exceeding his assessed valuation. It functioned intermittently between the years 1324-1325, 1331-1338 and 1361-1363, see R. Cessi, “L’«officium de navigantibus» ed i sistemi della pratica commerciale veneziana nel sec. XIV”, *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 32 (1916), 106-146. For its inclusion in the commission to Leonardo Caravello, see Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff.186v-187v, no 166, §1.

169. *And so that no one can claim ignorance, the proveditori di Comun and rectors outside Venice are instructed to have the above-stated proclaimed trice a year, that is once every four months, under threat of a fine of one thousand lire. Similarly, it shall be added to the commissions of merchant galley captains that they must have it trice proclaimed on board their ships, under the same penalty. The advocates of the Commune are committed with the collection and enforcement of the financial penalties. Also, the notaries of the proveditori must remind their masters on the set dates of their obligation to have these provisions proclaimed, under penalty of permanent deprivation of office.*

Et ut nemo sub specie ignorantie possit se tueri, teneantur provisores comunis et nostri rectores de extra Venetias facere ter predicta cridari in anno scilicet singulis quatuor mensis, sub pena librarum mille pro quolibet vice. Et similiter addatur in commissionibus capitaneorum nostrorum galearum a mercato, quod ter in suis galeis faciant predicta cridari, sub pena predicta. Et committatur advocatoribus comunis, quod teneantur exigere penas a contrafacientibus et facere servari quod dictum est, sub pena librarum ducentarum pro quolibet contrafaciente et qualibet

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204. *per* added at a later stage.

vice, que pena exigatur ad advocatoribus comunis per nostros officiales rationum, ita quod servetur intentio terre. Et teneantur notarii provisorum comunis, ut nulla excusatio esse possit, reducere ad memoriam dominorum suorum ad tempora predicta ordinata, quod faciant ipsam partem cridari sub pena perpetuo privationis officii sui predicti, de quibus penis vel aliqua earum non possit eis fieri gratia, donum, remissio et cetera, sub pena ducatorum mille pro quolibet ponente vel contrafaciente partem in contrarium.

See above article no 170. For its inclusion in the commission to Leonardo Caravello, see Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff.186v-187v, no 166, §2.

- 170.** *The rectors of Crete are ordered not to prevent subjects from transporting foodstuffs and grain within the island, provided that they have permission. Guidelines and procedure to be followed by the authorities and the merchants, and penalties for offenders.*

[f. 28r]<sup>205</sup> Quod mandetur omnibus nostris rectoribus insule Crete presentibus et futuris, quod decetro non possint prohibere nec vetare alicui nostro subdito vel fideli portandi de uno loco ad alium, vel de uno districtu ad alium, libere de victibus et bladis per insulam nostram, portando predicta semper cum licentia et bulleta<sup>206</sup> rectorum nostrorum dicte insule, qui teneantur ipsas facere sicut est dictum. Et accipere plezaria ab illis qui conducere volent ipsa blada et victualia per modum predictum, quod portata sint et conducta ad loca nostra dicte insule et non alio sub pena que videbitur rectori loci, ubi accipient bullete, ne portarentur extra insulam contra ordines nostros, qui in totum firmi maneant contra quoscunque, qui extraherent de insula de bladis et victualibus suprascriptis. Et predicta tenentur servare dicti rectores, sub pena librarum VC quocienscumque contrafecerint, que pena dividatur per tercium in hunc modum, unum tercium habeat accusator, si fuerit, per quem veritas habeatur et teneatur de credentia, aliud tercium sit advocatorum comunis Venetiarum, quibus hoc committatur, et reliquum sit comunis, de qua pena non possit fieri gratia, sub pena ducatorum mille pro quolibet ponente vel consentiente partem in contrarium.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 188r, no 167. Resolution by the Senate and the Zonta dated May 17, 1384, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 251, no 28, with wrong date (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 163, no 674). For its inclusion in the commission of the governor of Chania, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, pp. 84-85, no 88.

205. Manicule in the left-hand margin.

206. Letter “l” added at a later stage.

171.<sup>207</sup> *When the selling price for one hundred measures of cereals reaches twenty-six hyperpers or less, the duke and his councillors and all other rectors of Crete must allow producers to export a quarter of their estimated yield to Venice and to overseas Venetian territories, from the end of August until the feast of St Peter. The estimation of the wheat yield must be made by an honest and qualified assessor at the expense of the producer concerned. Exporters are bound to provide the authorities with a letter of declaration acknowledging the delivery of the grain to the above specified locations. Offenders shall forfeit the grain or pay a fine equal to the value of the grain involved. The same fine is provided for the rectors who fail to observe the law.*

Quod decetero ducha et consiliarii nostri Crete et omnes alii rectores insule presenti et futuri quandocumque et quotienscumque frumentum valebit transacto mensis augusti communiter usque ad festum Sancti Petri sequentis yperepra XXVI ab centenarium mensurarum vel inde infra permittere debeant quoslibet habentes frumentum de possessionibus suis extrahere seu extrahi facere de insula et conducere Venetias et ad alia loca subdita comuni Venetiarum extra Culfum quartum frumenti, quod possessiones et territoria sua extimabuntur usufructuare in frumento, non possendo intra Culfum conducere alio quam Venetias, que extimationes fieri debeant pro bonos et sufficientes extimatores ad expensa eorum quorum fuerint territoria, qui deputentur, recepto presenti mandato per dictos nostros rectores et sic successive quolibet tercio anno, ut quilibet extrahat secundum quod poterit per extimam suam. Et dicti rectores teneantur facere bulletum de dicto frumento, quod debeat valere solummodo octo diebus, quibus transactis, nihil valeat nec refici possit ulterius. Et rectores nostri predicti teneantur accipere plezariam a quibuscunque extrahabentibus de dictis bladis per dictum modum de portando contralitteram, |f. 28v| quod ipsa blada fuerint conducta Venetias vel ad alia loca nostra, ut continetur superius. Et contrafacientes perdant blada vel valorem eorum. Et teneantur dicti rectores predicta observare, sub pena valoris totius bladi in quo contrafecerint in eorum bonis, que pena dividatur in tres partes, quarum una sit accusatoris, si fuerit, per quem veritas habeatur et teneatur in credentia, alia advocatorum nostrorum Venetiarum, quibus hoc committatur, et alia sit comunis. Si vero non fuerit accusator, medietas sit comunis et alia medietas dictorum advocatorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDe 675, ff. 188r-v, no 168, which also contains the rationale of the decision. Redefinition of an article in the commissions of the duke and councillors of Crete voted by the Senate on 7 May 1384, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*,

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207. Manicule in the left-hand margin.

v. B2, pp. 252-253, no 29. For its inclusion in the commission of the governor of Chania , see Maltezuou, *Εντολή*, pp. 85-86, no 89.

172. *Malmsey (Malvasia and other wines imported from Crete, Modon and Coron into the Adriatic to be moved to areas outside Venice shall be levied with a duty of ten ducats per barrel of a capacity of three bigonce. Merchants must give pledge to local Venetian rectors that they shall observe the above. Rectors are required to give merchants a letter of declaration, providing details about the quantity of wine and barrels loaded in their area of jurisdiction, which should be lodged with the wine customs office in Venice. Further, the rectors must notify the customs officials about the quantity of wine and barrels loaded in their area of jurisdiction as well as about the merchants and intermediaries involved, to ensure that neither the state nor Venetian merchants are defrauded. Offenders shall incur a fine amounting to fifty per cent of the value of the contravening merchandise.*

Ordinatum est, quod quicumque accipiet Monovasias vel alia vina de insula nostra Crete, de Coronis et Mothono et conducet illa intra Culfum pro conducendo alio quam Venetias solvat ducatos decem pro qualibet butta trium biguntiorum. Et teneantur nostri rectores demum accipere á predicis bonam et idoneam plezariam de observando predicta. Et insuper teneantur ipsi rectores facere contralitteram predicis de quantitate vini et buttarum oneratarum in partibus suorum regiminum, quam contralitteram debeant predicti presentare hic in Venetiis nostris officialibus datii vini. Et, insuper, ut non contrafiat huic nostre intentioni tantum utili, immo neccesit teneantur rectores predicti etiam scribere officialibus datii vini quantitatem vini et buttarum oneratarum in partibus suorum regiminum et per quos fuerint onerate per alia navigia vel personas interpositas, ut comune nostrum vel mercatores nostri ullo modo non decipiantur. Illi vero, qui contrafecerint, cadant de L pro Co valoris eius in quo fuerit contrafactum. Et si fuerit accusator per quem habeat veritas, habeat tercium et duas partes comune.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDC 675, ff.188v-189r, no 169. Ed. Maltezuou, *Εντολή*, pp. 86-87, no 90. For the production and export of Cretan wines, see U. Tucci, "Il commercio del vino nell' economia cretese", in Ortalli, *Venezia e Creta*, pp. 183-206; D. Jacoby, "Creta e Venezia nel contesto economico del Mediterraneo orientale sino alla metà del Quattrocento", pp. 92-94, 96, 100; Ch. Gasparis, «Παραγωγή και εμπορία κρασιού στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη, 13ος-14ος αι.», in «Οίνος παλαιός ηδύποτος». Το κρητικό κρασί από τα προϊστορικά ως τα νεότερα χρόνια. Πρακτικά του διεθνούς επιστημονικού συμποσίου (Κουνάβοι: Δήμος «N. Καζαντζάκης» Ηρακλείου Κρήτης, 24-26 Απριλίου 1998), Heraklio 2002, pp. 225-236, which also deals extensively with grape varieties and the quality of Cretan wines; and D. Jacoby, "Mediterranean Food and Wine for Constantinople: The Long-Distance Trade Eleventh to Mid-15th Century", in E. Kislinger – J. Koder – A. Külzer, eds., *Commodities and Traffic Routes, Aspects of Supply and Accomodation in the Eastern Mediterranean (4th to 15th Centuries)*, Vienna 2010, pp. 140-148. On the export duties on wines, see A. Stella, *Il dazio*

*sul vino e sull'uva nella Dominante*, Turin 1891, pp. 24-42 (unfortunately, I was unable to consult this study), as cited in Tucci, “Il commercio del vino nell’ economia cretese”, pp. 193-194. For the taxation of wine in Crete, see also Gasparis, «Παραγωγή και εμπορία κραιού στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη», 230-235. On the production and of Malmsey in particular, see Gasparis, «Μαλεβίζι. Το όνομα, η αμπελοκαλλιέργεια και τα κρασιά στον 13ο και 14ο αιώνα», in Anagnostakis, ed., *Monemvasian Wine – Monovas(i)a – Malvasia, Acts of the Symposium* [National Hellenic Research Foundation. Institute for Byzantine Research. International Symposium 17], Athens 2008, pp. 147-158. On viticulture, grape and wine varieties in Venetian Modon and Coron, see A. Nanetti, “Vigne, vitigni, uva mosto e vini malvasia nei documenti notarili e negli Statuti veneziani di Methone e Korone (secoli XIII-XV)”, in Anagnostakis, ed., *Monemvasian Wine*, 259-278, and esp. 271-277 for the Malmsey variety.

173. *Those appointed by “gratia” as castle scribes shall remain in this particular position for one year only, but the government of Crete must see to it they be transferred to the same position at a different castle for their second year in office. If many others are in the same situation, then they shall throw lots to see who will get the position. The same applies in the case of appointment by gratia to castellanships on the island.*

Si aliquo tempore appareret de aperiendo gratias Crete, quod ex nunc sit parata provisio et remedium ad observandum maliciis que possent occurerit in hunc modum. Videlicet, quod ille cui facta fuerit gratia de aliqua scribania castrorum per duos annos debeat intrare in illa scribania, quam petierit per unum annum, quo completo non possit plus ibi stare nec remanere ullo modo pro alio anno sequenti. Sed per regimen Crete detur sibi una alia scribania castrorum insule per alium annum illa, videlicet, que primo vacabit. Et si essent plures ad istam conditionem proii|f. 29r|ciant texere inter eos, itaque adimpleatur intentio terre in aliis scribaniis, quia, ut dictum est, non posset fieri peius, quam consentire, quod sint per duos annos quantum in aliqua scribaniarum predictarum. Et similis provisio servetur et fiat in totum in illis, qui peterent castellanas insule Crete per gratiam, ut de scribaniis superius ordinatum dictum est.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff.189r-v, no 170. Proposal of the former duke of Crete Donato Tron enacted by the Senate on 7 July 1385, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 277, no 134 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 169, no 699).

174. *The government of Crete shall henceforth award the office of scribe for one year instead of two. Those who will have occupied such a position for one year must vacate it and remain out of office for a period of time equal to their term in office.*

Ordinetur pro bono insule Crete, quod sicut scribanie de proximo dantur per duos annos per regimen Crete, ita non possint dari amplius ullo modo, ingenio, nec forma per dictum regimen Crete, nisi per unum annum, et per istum modum plures participabunt de istis scribaniis et, ut melius adimpleatur intentio terre,

ordinetur quod illi qui fuerint in dictis scribaniis per unum annum vel circa, debeant vacare et stare extra omnes scribanias de extra insule Crete per unum annum sequentem postquam exiverunt. Et istud addatur in commissionibus duce Crete et consiliariorum. Et scribatur advocatoribus comunis Crete ut sic observent et faciant observari per sacramentum. Et si consilium et cetera.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 189v, no 171, which also provides the rationale of the decision. Enacted by the Senate on 7 July 1385, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, pp. 277-278, no 142 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 169, no 699).

175. *Similarly, the government of Crete may award castellanships for one year only. Those holding the position for one year are required to vacate it and remain out of office for a period of time equal to their term in office.*

Et similiter observetur in dando castellanias omnes insule Crete, videlicet, quod non possunt dari ullo modo, forma vel ingenio per regiminem Crete, nisi per unum annum. Et si quis fuerit in aliqua castellania per unum annum vel circa, debeat vacare et stare extra per unum annum proximum sequentem de omnibus aliis castelaniis insule predictae, postquam exiverit, sicut de scribaniis ordinate superius dictum est. Et istud addatur in commissionibus duce Crete et consiliariorum eius et scribatur advocatoribus comunis, ut sic observent et faciant observari per sacramentum et cetera.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 189v, no 172. Enacted by the Senate on 7 July 1385, ed. Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα Βενετικής Γερουσίας*, v. B2, p. 278, no 143 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 1, p. 169, no 699). On the procedure for electing castellans, see O'Connell, "The Castellan in Local Administration in Fifteenth Century Venetian Crete", 165-166.

176. *It is ordered and added to the commission of all rectors that they are forbidden to own a ship or shares in a ship in the area of their administration, during their term of office and for six months after its expiration. The penalty for violators is confiscation of the asset.*

Ordinetur et addatur in comissionibus omnium rectorum nostrorum, quod in partibus sui regiminis non possint facere, nec fieri facere, nec partem habere in aliquo navigio per totum tempus sui regiminis, nec per sex menses postquam exiverint de regimine. Et si contrafecerint ullo modo, faciendo vel fieri faciendo aliquod navigium vel habendo partem in eo, toto tempore predicto, perdant totum illud in quo fuerit contrafactum, quod veniat in comune, reservato ultra hoc officio advocatorum comunis. Et si accusator fuerit per quem habeatur veritas, habeat medietatem et teneatur de credentia et alia medietas sit comunis. Et predicta etiam committantur advocatoribus comunis qui teneantur inquirere de contrafacientibus et penas exigant.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff.189v-190r, no 173. Also included in the commissions to the captain of Crete and the governor of Chania, see, respectively, Gasparis, «Μητροπολιτική Εξουσία», 211-212, no XLII; and Maltezu, *Εντολή*, p. 89, no 93.

177. *The obligation of rectors to remain in office until the end of their two-year term is modified by this amendment provision to the effect that in the event that a new governor arrives in Crete to take up his duties before the completion of the two years of his predecessor's term of office, then the latter may return to Venice before the end of his term of office, maintaining his salary in full.*

Cum in commissionibus duche et consiliariorum et alio<sup>208</sup> rectorum nostrorum insule Crete, excepto capitaneo nostro Crete, contineatur unum capitulum effectualiter continens, quod quolibet ipsorum rectorum debeat esse in suo regimine per duos annos, nisi successor suus veniat prius, cui quandocunque venerit debeat assignare regimen, habendo tamen suum salarium usque ad complementum duorum annorum et faciendo omnes expensas sicut esset in regimine, usque ad illud tempus et cetera, prout in nostro capitulo denotatur. Et contingit per elapsa tempora et similiter posset accipere in futurum, quod aliqui rectorum nostrorum predictorum irent ad ipsum regimen suum ante complementum duorum annorum et illo medio [temporis] apparent et sunt navigia cum quibus ipsi rectores possent venire Venetias, sed non possunt, obstante capitulo suprascripto, per quod ipsi tenentur [stare usque] ad complementum duorum annorum, ex quo sequitur maxima inconvenientia et expensa nostro comuni, quia ipsi rectores pro maiori parte expectant post dictos duos annos alias mudas navium, videlicet, martii vel septembris, et habent medium salarium, cum magna gravitate comunis, et quamvis sit quedam pars continens, quod consilarii teneantur facere fieri rectores de extra Culfum ad tale tempus et quod vadant ad sua regimina tali tempore, quod comune nostrum non solvat duo salaria, tamen occursum est et posset accidere, ut prefertur, quod rectores predicti seu aliqui predictorum irent ante tempus duorum annorum, vadit pars quod quotienscumque aliquis rector noster insule Crete iverit ad suum regimen ante complementum duorum annorum sui precessoris, teneatur et debeat omnino precessor suus venire statim Venetias, si poterit habere transitum vel passagium, non expectando ad complemento duorum annorum, possendo interim exire de suis equis et familia in casu quo veniat Venecias, habendo propterea totum salarium integrum duorum annorum. Et hoc addatur in commissionibus dictorum rectorum nostrum insule Crete, excepto capitaneo, ut supra dictum est.

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208. Thus in the manuscript. It should read *aliorum*.



Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 190r-v, no 174. For the inclusion of the amendment provision in the commission of the rector of Chania, see Maltezou, *Εντολή*, pp. 89-90, no 94, where it is stated that the earlier provision was issued by the Great Council.

178. *Because it is an often occurrence that the meetings of the ducal council are attended only by two of its members instead of three, due to illness or other impediment, in order for the local government to function properly provision is made to ensure a complete quorum. It is decided that if one of the three is absent for over eight days, one of the treasurers shall be elected by lot as his replacement, and in the absence of the duke, the senior of the councillors shall be appointed vice-duke.*

Cum aliquando occurrat, quod ducha noster Crete seu consiliarii, vel propter infirmitatem [f. 30r] vel aliam causam, non sedent omnes tres ad bancham et duo eorum exercent regimen, et considerato quanti ponderis est dictum regimen, necessarium est providere, quod stet semper fulcitum et in numero constituto per terram. Vadit pars quod si ducha Crete vel aliquis ex consiliariis steterint, vel propter infirmitatem vel aliam causam, quod non veniant ad exercendum regimen per octo dies continuos, quod statim debeat prohiberi unius ex camerariis per texeram ut intret ad regimen, ita quod semper sint illi tres, sicut esse debent. Et quando aliquis camerarius intraret, quia ducha deficeret, quod maior consiliariorum sit viceducha, ut est justum. Et hec addantur in commissionibus duche, consiliariorum et camerariorum Crete. Et si consilium et cetera.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 190v, no 175. Decision of the Great Council passed on 29 December 1398, published in Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας*, pp. 160-161, no 12 (summary in Thiriet, *Délibérations*, v. 2, p. 80, no 947).

179. *The rectors of Crete must submit the accounts of their administration for reviewing by the officials of accounts (officiales rationum veterum) in Venice within two months from the completion of their term of office, under threat of a fine of two hundred gold ducats.*

Quod scribatur et mandetur omnibus recotoribus nostris insule Crete presentibus et addatur in commissionibus futurorum, pro evidenti bono nostri comunis, quod debeant in fine suorum regiminum ducere secum Venetias vel mittere quaternos omnium suarum rationum tempore sui regiminis, quoquo modo, et quod non misceant rationes alicuius aliorum rectorum cum illis, que fient et occurrent tempore sui regiminis per aliquem modum vel ingenium, ut possit clare et aperte viderei rationes cuiuslibet ipsorum per se ut est dictum. Quaterni etiam dictarum rationum mittantur nostris officialibus rationum veterum, ut videant et examinent illas, secundum consuetudinem sui officii. Et teneatur quilibet rectorum predictorum observare predicta et mittere, in casu

quo non veniat Venetias, dictos quaternos Venetias infra duos menses postquam compleverit seu exiverit de regimine, sub pena ducatorum ducentorum auri in suis propriis bonis, de quibus non possit fieri aliqua gratia alicui cadenti as dictam penam, sub omnibus penis, ligaminibus et stricturis contentis in parte nova contrabannorum. Et commitantur hec inquirenda et pene exigende nostris officialibus rationum veterum, habentibus partem, ut de aliis sui officii.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 190v, no 176, last sentence missing. Decision issued by the Senate on 1 March 1401, ed. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 115 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 2, p. 15, no 1005).

- 180.** *Rectors, officials and provisionati<sup>209</sup> serving in the East, beyond the Gulf of Quarnero—that is, everywhere where tornesi are in circulation—, who received their salaries in ducats, from now on must receive payment in tornesi at a rate of 96 soldi to the ducat or, if the exchange rate is lower, at the exchange rate between ducat and tornesi current at the time, since the state revenues in these localities are in tornesi. The senatorial decree shall take effect from the date of its notification to the local rectors.*

Quod omnes nostri rectores, officiales et provisionati partium Levantis a Quarnario ultra, intelligendo ubicumque expeduntur tornesii, qui recipiebant salaria sua et regalias ad solutionem ducatorum amodo in antea debeant recipere solutionem ad tornesios ad rationem lxxxxvi soldorum pro ducato et non ab inde supra ullo modo; et si valebit ab inde infra, accipiant tantum|f. 30v| quantum valebit ducatus, cum in omnibus locis introitus nostri comunis exigantur ad rationem tornesiorum. Et quod predicta scribantur omnibus dictis rectoribus Levantis et ponentur in eorum commissionibus. Et istud intelligatur á die qua rectores nostri receperint nostrum presens mandatum in antea. Captum in consilio rogatorum 1404, die 4 Junii, indictione XIIa.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 190v-191r, no 177, last three sentences missing. The ruling was in fact voted by the Senate on 3 June 1404, see A.S.V, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 46, f. 134r (partly ed. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 148, who incorrectly transcribed that the rate was 86 soldi to the ducat); summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 2, p. 47, no 110. Also included in the commission of the rector of Chania, see Maltezou, *Εντολή*, pp. 90-91, p. 95.

- 181.** *The duke shall observe the decision of the Senate, dated 24 May 1407, to reinforce the prohibition to the bail of Cyprus and to all other rectors, to whom this may concern,*

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209. *Provisionatus: Qui ex provisione sibi concessa officium aliquod obtinet et exequitur, vel qui alterius impensis vivit*, in C. du Cange et al., *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, augm. ed., v. 6, Niort 1886, col. 547b. Available at <http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/PROVISIONATUS>.

to arbitrarily prolong the loading periods of ships (*muda*)<sup>210</sup>, under penalty of a fine. The prohibition was first introduced by the Great Council in 1393, but was never properly observed. So that no one can claim ignorance, the consuls and vice-consuls in Syria, Cyprus and Alexandria shall summon all merchants at the time of the *mude* and have this order read to them twice.

Item observabis partem infrascriptam captam in nostris consiliis rogatorum 1407, die 24 maii, videlicet, cum alias in 1393, die 13 iulii, capta fuerit pars in isto consilio infrascripti tenoris, videlicet, cum per ordinem captum in maiori consilio prohibitum sit baiulo Cipri et aliis rectoribus quibus spectat, quod decetero non possint nec per se, nec cum suo consilio, elongare terminum *mudarum* et, si elongabunt, nihil valeat, immo illi, qui sub dicta confidentia venient, cadant ad penam ordinatam contra ordinis, et baiulus sive rector de ducatis mille et quilibet de dicto consilio de ducatis VC, quam penam exigant provisores *catavere* sive officiales *Levantis*, quibus primo facta fuerit accusa de qua habeant partem, ut de aliis suorum officiorum sub legaminibus et stricturis contentis in partibus captis super ordinibus *gothonorum* et cetera. Et dictus ordo sit bonus, sed non bene observatur, vadit pars confirmando dictum ordinem prout iacet, quod committatur omnibus officialibus nostris *contrabannorum*, quod, cum omnes naves *mude* applicuerint *Venetias*, debeant decetero nedum per viam accuse, sed etiam inquisitionis et aliter, ut poterunt, diligenter inquirere et examinare de *contrafacientibus*, exequendo dictum ordinem quam quemlibet ex predictis *contrafacientibus* prout patet. Verum, ut sub pretextu ignorantie nemo possit se excusare, mandetur omnibus nostris consulibus et viceconsulibus in *Siria*, *Cipro* et *Alexandria* et successoribus suis, quod omni tempore *mude* debeant convocare mercatores nostros deinde et bis legi facere ordinem *suprascriptum*, ut omnibus notus sit, intelligendo et declarando, quod predicta intelligantur habere locum in *mudis Siria* et *Alexandrie*, sicut de *muda Cipri* in dicto ordine provisum est, et si consilium et cetera, prout continetur in dicta parte. Que quidem pars fuit et esset multum utilis, si serveretur<sup>211</sup> in totum, sed, cum aliqui nostri mercatores cum *galea Quirina*, que f. 31r| venit de *Zaffo*<sup>212</sup> á<sup>213</sup> peregrinis isto ultimo viagio elapso, conduxerint *Venetias* *zucheros*, *gohtonos* et alias *mercationes*, ultra

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210. For the meanings of *muda* and the purpose of restricting the time of loading of the ships, see F. C. Lane, "Fleets and Fairs: The Functions of the Venetian *Muda*", in *Scritti in onore di Armando Sapori*, Milan, 1957, v. 1, pp. 651-663 [= repr. in Lane, *Venice and History*, pp. 129-149].

211. Thus in manuscript. It should read *servaretur*.

212. The port-town of Jaffa in Palestine.

213. Thus in manuscript. It should read *cum*.

mudam et contra formam partis predictis, excusantes se, quod pars suprascripta non erat annotata in commissione baiuli Cipri, propter quod ignorabant de ordine suprascripto, ordinetur quod confirmando suprascriptam partem in totum prout jacet, ex nunc captum et declaratum sit, quod decetero, sive si dicta pars et ordo positus fuerit in commissione dictorum baiuli Cipri, consulum et viceconsulum Alexandrie et aliorum rectorum nostrorum, sive non, et etiam sive si notificatus fuerit dictus ordo mercatoribus nostris predictos, baiulum Cipri, consules et viceconsules Alexandrie et Sirie et alios rectores nostros, sive non, nihilominus tam dicti baiulus, consules et rectores, quam etiam mercatores contrafacientes ordini suprascripto, cadant ad penas suprascriptas. Et ultra hoc officiales contrabannorum, quibus in Venetiis primo facta fuerit accusa, seu qui primo inquisiverint de contrafacientibus, teneantur procedere contra contrafacientes, sub pena ducatorum mille auri pro quolibet officiale negligente ad procedendum contra illos, qui contrafecissent et qualibet vice, que pena committatur exigenda advocatoribus comunis. Et si fuerit accusator, per quem veritas habeatur, habeat tercium dicte pene, tercium advocatores et comune reliquum, de qua pena non possit alicui officiali contrafacienti fieri aliqua gratia, donum, remissio et compensatio, suspensio, seu declaratio aliqua, nec revocatio presentis partis, nisi per sex consiliarios, tria capita de XL, 30 de 40 et tres partes maioris consilii. Et observatur ac locum habeat presens pars in omnibus ac pro omnibus aliis locis, que intelliguntur ad mudam.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 191r-v, no 178. For the original decision of the Senate, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 47, ff. 113v-114r (n.n. 115v-116r), where the prohibition issued by the Great Council bears the date 3 July 1393.

- 182.** *The duke shall observe the decision of the Small Council, the Senate and the Zonta, dated 16 June 1408, to renew the ban on granting fiefs to Greeks in Crete by gratia, because there have been instances of infringement.*

quod non fiat gratia Greci habendi pheuda<sup>214</sup>

Item observabis partem infrascriptam captam in nostris consiliis minori, rogatorum et additionis 1408, die 16 junii, videlicet, cum sit quedam pars capta in nostris consiliis rogatorum et additionis et posita in commissionibus duce et consiliariorum Crete continens quod aliquis Grecus non possit habere pheudum in insula nostra Crete et quod non possit alicuiu fieri gratia, quam hoc, nisi per sex consiliarios, tria capita de XL, 30 de XL et duas partes maioris consilii, et reperiatur

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214. Title by different hand.

quod facta est gratia cuidam contra partem predictam, licet transiverit<sup>215</sup> cum consiliis et ordinibus suprascriptis, [f. 31v] vadit pars ad removendum quamplures errores, qui ex tali concessione orti sint, quod decetero non possint fieri similis gratia alicui Greco cum aliqua solemnitate consilii, sub pena ducatorum mille pro quolibet ponente vel consentiente seu revocante partem in contrarium, sed observetur pars suprascripta posita in commissionibus duce et consiliariorum nostrorum Crete cum strictura ducatorum mille predictorum, ut superius per ordinem continetur.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 191v, no 179. Ed. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, pp. 189-190 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 2, p. 77, no 1306).

- 183.** *Rectors and councillors who have been appointed to posts outside the Gulf, when taking office early, will begin to receive their salary only fifteen days before their predecessors complete their term of office.*

Quod omnes rectores, qui in posterum eligentur ad aliquod regimen de extra Culfum, licet vadant et applicent ad sua regimina ante tempus et terminum suum, non debeant livrare, nec incipere livrare, aliquod salarium, nisi per XV dies antequam precessores sui veniant ad complendum et compleant diem regiminis sui, secundum suis commissionibus continetur, quod debeant ante incipere livrare salarium in quibus diebus XV incipiant livrare suum salarium et deinde ulterius, secundum quod est conveniens at iustum. Et similiter per istum modum fieri debeat et observari de consiliariis, qui eligentur et mittentur de extra Culfum, quia sepe eliguntur multo tempore antequam debeant intrare consiliariam, in posterum non debeant livrare aliquod salarium, nisi per dies XV ante complementum precessores suorum, sicut de rectoribus distincti[us] dictum est.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 192r, no 180 (partly). Ed. Maltezou, *Εντολή*, pp. 91-92, no 96.

- 184.** *Rectors are obliged to pay their associates and notary what is provided for in their commission under penalty of a five-year ban from officeholding and a fine of five hundred lire. If they would rather pay fifty lire di piccoli<sup>216</sup> to those, for whom there is the provision in their commission for expenses of seventy (lire), they are at liberty to do so.*

215. Thus in the manuscript.

216. For the *libra parvorum* (lira de piccoli in Italian), see Lane – Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, v.1, pp. 127-131, 290-291, 333-341, 352-363, 472-473.

Quod omnes rectores nostri teneantur dare sociis et notario suo, quos secum ducent in eorum officiis, totum et quicquid in eorum commissionibus continetur, sub pena privationis regiminum nostrarum per annos quinque et libras quingentarum. Verum si volent potius dare libras Lta parvorum cuilibet illorum, quibus per formam suarum commissionum tenerentur facere expensas LXX, hoc sit libertate rectorum predictorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 192r, no 181, the corresponding provision in the 1429 commission to Leonardo Caravello is more detailed as to how the fine is to be distributed, and what actions the affected officials should take. Also, the amount provided for expenses is one hundred lire.

- 185.** *When the duke goes on tour on the island, his escort shall consist of up to forty men with their horses, and daily expenses shall not exceed fifteen hyperpers, not including freight for animal transport and baggage. In like manner, each councillor may take with him up to twenty men and is allotted up to eight hyperpers daily expenditure. If the duke and councillor tour together, their escort will not exceed forty horses and daily expenses fifteen hyperpers.*

Quod decetero ordinetur, quod quando ducha Crete equitabit per insulam, secundum quod per formam sue commissionis tenetur, non possit ducere secum nisi personas quadraginta cum suis equis, non possendo expendere pluria yperpera XV in die de pecunia nostri comunis, non computatis agotiis<sup>217</sup> equorum et somerium. Et similiter quilibet consiliarius [f. 32r] non possit ducere ultra numerum personarum XXti, non possendo expendere ultra yperpera octo in die, non computatis agociis equorum et someriorum, intelligendo etiam, quod si consiliarius equitaret cum ipso nostro ducha, dicti ducha et consiliarius non possint ducere inter ipsos plures equos XLta et expendere pluria yperpera XV, sicut superius continetur. Et presens pars iungatur in commissionibus duche et consiliariorum Crete, ut eam observare debeant.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 192r-v, no 182 (in the second person singular). Provision passed by the Senate on 15 January 1419, ed. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, pp. 268-269 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 2, p. 172, no 1726). As stated in the preamble to the decision, the addition of this article to the duke and councillors' commissions was deemed necessary because a similar provision had been made for the captain's escort and expenses in March 1407. For this provision, see Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 176. For the tours of the duke on the island, see Papadaki, «Μετακινήσεις ανώτερων αξιωματούχων», p. 5.

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217. On the etymology of the word *agotium*, *agocium*, *agozium*, *agozum*, see M. Cortelazzo, "Agoio", *Lingua Nostra* 8 (1957), 39.

186. *Upon assuming and handing over his office, the duke is not allowed to give speeches or allow speeches to be made, under threat of a fine. He may only recite the phrases: “I accept this administration in the name of the sovereign Venice” and “I hand over to you this administration in the name of the sovereign Venice”. When announcing court decisions, he may only recite the phrase: “As it is written and read, so we decide”.*

Mandamus tibi cum nostro consilio rogatorum, quod in acceptatione huius regiminis non possis facere aliquam aregnam sive sermonem, sed solum dicas: “Ego accepto istud regimen, nomine Illustrissimi Domini Venetiarum”; et in consignatione dicas: “Ego consigno vobis hoc regimen nomine Illustrissimi domini Venetiarum”, sub pena librarum quingentarum et privationis omnium regiminum per duos annos. Item similiter cum nostro consilio decem mandamus tibi, quod in acceptatione vel consignatione, nihil plus vel minus dicas, quam superius dictum est, nec tibi fieri facies nec consentias, quod tibi fiat ab aliquo aliqua arenga vel sermo. Immo, si quis arengare vel sermocinare, voluerit, imponas sibi silentium nec sinas eum sermonicare, sub pena ducatorum C, quorum tertium sit accusatoris, tertium comunis et aliud tertium sit illius advocatoris vel auditoris novi, qui prius penam exigerit. In iustitiis autem proferendis solum dicas hec verba: “Sicut scriptum et lectum est, ita dicimus per sententiam”.

Prohibition passed by the Council of Ten on 8 March 1458, see ASV, *Consiglio Dieci, Deliberazioni*, reg. 15, f. 146v (n.n, 147v) and added to the commissions of all rectors. It reiterated an earlier prohibition issued by the Senate on 24 March 1425 (ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 55, f. 101r; cf. CMC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 192v, no 184) and made provision for penalty for transgressors. For the inclusion of the prohibition in the commission of the governor of Chania, see Maltezou, *Εντολή*, pp. 127-128, nos 158, 159. For the ritual and significance of the entry of a rector into a subject city, O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, pp. 59-60. For the laws regulating the arrivals and departures of rectors, see G. Bistort, *Il magistrato alle pompe nella Repubblica di Venezia*, Bologna 1912, pp. 277-279; P. Fortini Brown, “Vain Legislation Against vana ostentazione: Sumptuary Laws in the Venetian Dominion”, *Artibus et Historiae* 76/XXXVIII (2017) [= S. B. McHam, guest ed., *Studies in Renaissance Art and Culture in Honour of Debra Pincus*], 53-76, at 55.

187. *By decision of the Senate dated 18 June 1425, the duke is forbidden to sell to salaried men-at-arms or exchange, while in office, and for two months after he leaves office, the horses allocated to him by the state. Should he contravene, he will lose the horses and return the stipend he received for their upkeep.*

Tu ducha neque alius noster rector, sicut per nostra consilia rogatorum captum et provisum est, 1425 die 18 Junii, non potes modo aliquo vel ingenio scribere neque aliquo aliter scribi possunt sub aliquo nostro armigero vel aliter ad soldum vel stipendium nostrum per totum tempus tui regiminis, neque per duos menses postquam exiveris de regimine, illos equos, quos tibi per nostrum dominium

concessum fuerit, posse vendere vel cambire. Et si contafacies, ammittentur dicti equi et omne stipendium, quod habuisset a tempore quo scripti fuerint usque tempus quo facta fuerit cons[cientia], que pena dividi debes inter nostrum comune et rectorem.[f. 32v] Et si fuerit accusator, dividatur per tercium. Verum tu, qui gratiam vendendi aut cambiendi habueris, teneris advisare ementes de hac conditione, quod si non feceris, omne damnum per te refici debet.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 192v-193r, no 185, where the date of the ruling is not mentioned. For the original decision of the Senate, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni Misti*, reg. 55, f. 128v. Also included in the commission of the governor of Chania, ed. Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 94, no 101.

- 188.** *Rectors and officials, who are granted licence to leave their post in order to attend to their personal affairs, will be deprived of their salary for the duration of their absence.*

Si tibi aut alicui nostro rectori vel officiali decetero concedetur licentia standi per aliquod tempus extra tuum regimen vel officium, per nostra consilia declaratum et statum est, quod perdere debeas salarium tui regiminis per totium tempus, quo stabis extra dictum regimen vel officium, et non potest tibi aliter concedi, quam cum dicta conditione perdendi salarium, sub pena ducatorum C pro quolibet ponente vel contrafiacente partem in contrarium, excepto si per te per nostrum dominium mitteretur pro factis nostri comunis. Et propterea teneris antequam de regimine exeas ponere in nostrum comune totum id quod restituere debes dicta occasione, sub pena perdendi duplum eius quod deberes restituere, que omnia sunt commissa exequenda advocatoribus comunis et officiarum rationum, qui habent medietatem pene, et aliam comune, et si est accusator pena dividatur per tercium.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 193r, no 186. Decision dated 18 June 1425, ed. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, pp. 307-308 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 2, p. 288, no 1992). Also included in the commission of the governor of Chania, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 95, no 102.

- 189.** *Instructions on the procedure for the sale of wheat produced in Crete, which shall be offered for sale first to the regional authorities of the island, and the remainder thereof may be exported to Venice and other Venetian-held territories.*

Quod omnes qui decetero seminabunt in nostra insula Crete, sive colligent frumentum seminatum ad donegale in insula prefata, teneantur usque per totum mensem augusti cuiuslibet anni successive offerre illud regimini nostro Candide seu aliis nostris rectoris insule sub districtu et jurisdictione quorum recollectum fuerit predictum frumentum. Qui quidem rectores teneantur de presentationibus sibi factis advisare regiminem nostrum Crete, quod quidem regimen et rectores prefati dare debeant sacramentum dicitis presentantibus, quod ipso anno recolligerent tantam quantitatem frumenti cum donegalibus, quantam obtulerint.



Et ipsum regimen Crete usque per totum mensem septembris proximo, tam de frumento ei presentato, quam de alio, quod presentabitur aliis rectoribus insule, teneatur vendere, utrum illud sive partem eius voluerit pro nostro comuni, vel non. Et acceptando ipsum sive partem eius, debeant de illo facere solutionem usque ad duos menses proximos post acceptationem factam ad rationem ypperperorum quadragintaquinque pro quolibet C mensurarum ad mensuram Crete, ut dictum est, ente ipso frumento illius anni bono et mercadante. |f. 33r| Et acceptando partem ipsius frumenti, accipiat eam per ratam á presentantibus sicut justum. Et non acceptando, debeat illud, sive partem quam non acceptaret, permittere extrahi pro portando Venetias et ad alia loca nostra et non alio modo, dando subito illis, quorum erit frumentum non acceptatum, bulletum pro extrahendo illud de insula, pro portando Venetias et ad alia loca nostra, et accipiendo plezariam sufficientem ab extrahendibus, quod portabunt contralitteras ab illo nostro rectore illius loci, ad quem dictum frumentum fuerit delatum, ut alio non portetur. Non possendo dictum regimen et alios rectores insule denegare dictam licentiam extrahendi pro conducendo Venetias et ad loca nostra, nollendo illud sive partem eius, sub pena ducatorum VC pro quolibet in suis propriis bonis, quam exigant advocatores comunis habentes partem, ut de aliis sui officii. Verum si aliquis presentabit frumentum non recollectum illo anno, seu si non recolligisset tantam quantitatem frumenti cum donegalibus, quantam presentaverit, perdat illud frumentum in quo contrafecisset, de quo medietas sit regiminis Crete, seu aliorum rectorum ipsius insule, quibus presentaretur, et alia medietas dividatur, ut superius dictum est. Ulterius, si aliquis predictorum extraheret de dicta insula, in casu predicto, ultra quantitatem recollectam cum donegalibus, sive illud portare alió, quam Venetias, vel ad alia loca nostra, cadat ad valorem dicti bladi, que pena dividatur, ut supra. Caeterum ordinetur quod totum frumentum predictum, quod infra annum extractum non fuerit de dicta insula, non possit subinde in antea etrahi ullo modo sub pena predicta. Et debeat presens pars in locis solitis insule publice porclamari, ut omnibus nota sit. Capta 1420, die 26 iulii in rogatis.

This is an edited version of the original text of the decree, from which all references to the price of wheat have been removed. Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 193r-v, no 189, which replicates to the letter the decree of 26 July 1420. For the original decision of the Senate, see Noiret, *Documents inédits*, pp. 272-273 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 2, p. 184, no 1786). On Venice's wheat policy in Crete during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and the measures it took at the beginning of the fifteenth century to compel producers to sell their produce to the State at a price determined by it, see D. Tsougarakis, «Η σιτική πολιτική της Βενετίας στην Κρήτη τον 13ο-14ο αιώνα», *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά* 3 (1990), 333-385.

190. *The above decision should be included in the commissions of the rectors of Crete and observed by them. In addition to the penalties provided for those who violate the*

*decision, it is stipulated that anyone who lodges a complaint in Venice against the conduct of a governor and is proven to be true will be reimbursed for travel expenses by the accused and, further, will receive compensation to the amount sixty hyperpers for every hundred measures of wheat.*

Item quod pars capta in suprascriptis millesimo et die poni debeat in commissionibus omnium rectorum nostrorum Crete et eis committatur, quod illam debeant prout jacet effectualiter observare. Et addatur, quod si rectores nostri insule Crete non observabunt partem predictam, ultra penas ad quas cadunt et que continentur in parte predicta, si aliquis venerit Venetias ad conquerendum de aliquo rectore nostro, quod non observaverit ei partem predictam, et cognitum [f. 33v] fuerit propter placitare advocatorum comunis, quod quam fecerit parti predictae, teneat dictis talis rector solvere dicto conquerenti omnes expensas quas faciet in veniendo, stando et redeundo in Cretam et, ultra hoc, debeat dicto tali conquerenti frumentum solvere de propriis denariis suis ad tociem yperperorum sexaginta pro quolibet centenario mensurarum. Et si dictus rector accipiet se ipsum nichilominus solvat expensas dicto conquerenti et frumentum ad partium suprascriptum, prout continetur superius et tentantur rectores presentem partem et illam captam 1420 die XXVI julii omni anno facere publicari.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff.194r-v, no 190. For the original decision of the Senate, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni Misti*, reg. 56, f. 86r (summary in Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 316).

191. *According to the decision of the Great Council of 23 September 1406<sup>218</sup>, judges and officials (in Venice) must issue decisions within one month, or they will be, ipso facto, barred from office and pay the fine corresponding to refusal of office. The same penalty applies to judges and officials in Crete, who do not render a decision within two months.*

Capta fuit pars 1406, die xxiii septembris, in maiori consilio, quod omni vice qua coram aliquo iudicio, aut officio, comparebit quodquam pro vertendo iuribus suis et ipsi iudices seu officiales recusabunt dicentes se non esse claros, habeant terminum unius mensis ad possendum se claros facere. Ita quod ante quam pertranstat mens ipsi possint in sententia procedere, sed si transacto dicto termino, ipsi non fuerint clari eius qua facturi sunt, ipso facto sint extra officium et solvant penam ac si refutassent; quam penam, sicut 1416, die XX novembris, in rogatis captum fuit, tu duca facies observare in Creta cum illamet libertate, quam habent advocatores

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218. ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. Leona, f. 161r.

nostri comunis in Venetiis contra iudices et officiales, verum iudices et officiales Crete habeant terminum mensium duorum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f.193r, no 187. For the original decision of the Senate, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 51, f. 169r (summary in Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 259).

- 192.** *The duke is forbidden to wear mourning clothes or a toga throughout his term of office. However, in the event of the death of a father, mother, child, brother or wife, he is permitted to wear mourning clothes only for eight days.*

Toto tempore presentis tui regiminis quemadmodum prohibitum est omnibus nostris rectoribus omnium civitatum et locorum nostrorum vestire non potes vestes lugubres, sub pena ducatorum centum in tuis bonis propriis. Verum pro patre, matre, filiis, fratre et uxore portare potes ipsas vestes lugubres per dies octo et non ultra, non portando clamidem ullo modo.

The dress code act partly reproduced here was passed by the Senate on 20 August 1427, ed. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 317 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 2, p. 246, no 2072). Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f.193r, no 188. Also included in the commission of the governor of Chania, ed. Maltezou, *Εντολή*, p. 92, no 98. On restrictions against the wearing of mourning dress, see M. M. Newett, “The Sumptuary laws of Venice in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries”, in T. F. Tout – J. Tait, eds., *Historical Essays by Members of the Owens College*, Manchester 1907, 245-278, here at 249-250.

- 193.** *The duke must observe the decision enacted by the Senate on 13 July 1426, which prohibits Venetian citizens or subjects and inhabitants of Venice from buying or causing others to buy foreign ships of one thousand botti and under. Those violating the decree will pay a fine of one thousand ducats; the vessel will be sold at public auction by the local governmental authorities at a starting price not lower than its assessed value. Rectors or officials, who act in contravention of the decree, will face a fine of one thousand ducats and perpetual ban from overseas governorships, consulships and vice-consulships. The auction proceeds will be divided into equal shares between the accuser and the official who will denounce first the offence.*

Item observabis partem captam in rogatis 1426, die 13 julii, tenoris infrascripti, videlicet, quod nullus civis subditus vel fidelis vel habitator noster Venetiarum, audeat vel presumat in aliquo loco vel parte emere vel emi facere per se vel alios, sub aliquo colore, forma [f. 34r] vel ingenio, aliquod navigium forensium a mille buttis infra<sup>219</sup>, sub pena ducatorum mille pro quolibet contrafaciente et

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219. Before *infra* word *supra* crossed out.

qualiter vice, que tota pena pro et ante omnia sit comunis et sub pena amittendi tale navigium sic emptum contra ordinem suprascriptum, quod navigium debeat vendi ad publicum incantum per rectores, consules, viceconsules, baiulos vel alios officiales nostros quarumcunque locorum in quibus huiusmodi emptor repertus fuerit, quod navigium non possit ullo modo dari nec deliberari, minus eo precio quo constiterit, sub pena ducatorum mille pro quolibet rectore, consule, viceconsule vel alio officiale nostro contrafaciente et sub pena perpetue privationis omnium regiminum, baiulatum, consulatum, viceconsulatum a parte maris. Verum declaretur, quod precium extrahendum de tali navigio, dividatur in hunc modum, videlicet, medietas accusatoris et alia medietas sit dictorum rectorum, consulum, viceconsulum, baiulorum vel aliorum officialium, scilicet quibus primo facta fuerit accusa. Si vero non esset accusator, pena dividatur inter comune nostrum et dictos officiales, consules, viceconsules, baiulos et rectores nostros.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDe 675, f.194v, no 192 (in second person singular). For the original decision of the Senate, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni Misti*, reg. 56, f. 28r (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v.2 p. 237, no 2029). On Venice's policy against the buying by Venetians of foreign-built ships in the fifteenth century, see Lane, *Venice*, p. 378; and Gluzman, "What Made a Ship Venetian?", p. 319.

- 194.** *Admirals of arsenals in overseas territories are forbidden to deal in raw materials or finished products pertaining to the arsenal, under penalty of loss of their office and of a fine, which shall be divided into three equal shares between the local governor, the accuser, and the Commune. Furthermore, the offender shall be deprived of the specific office for life and barred from public office for five years. Those presently engaged in such activity shall have four months to disengage.*

MCCCCXXVIIo, die octavo augusti, in consilio .C. capta fuit pars tenoris infrascripti, videlicet, quod omnes admirati terrarum nostrarum a parte maris nullo modo audeant nec presumant per se vel per alios facere mercationem, nec habere partem in aliquibus rebus pertinentibus ad munitionem arsenatum, videlicet, in lignamine, ferro, laborerio de canipo, tam laboratis siquam non laboratis, pegula armis et omnibus aliis rebus pertinentibus ad arsenatum, sub pena librarum VC cuilibet dictorum admratorum et perdendi officium admirarie, cuius pene pecuniarie tercium sit rectoris illius terre nostre, cui facta fuerit conscientia de predictis, tercium accusatoris, si fuerit per quem veritas habeatur, et reliquum tercium sit nostri comunis. Et, ultra hoc, si talis admiratus contrafaciens perpetuo privatus officio admirarie talis terre vel loci et per quinque annos omnium officiorum et beneficiorum comunis Venetiarum intus et extra. Et predictis non possit fieri gratia aliqua, donum, remissio, nec recompensatio ullo modo. Et in Venetiis committantur hec nostris advocatoribus comunis habentibus partem ut

de aliis sui officii. Et mittatur hec pars omnibus nostris rectoribus a parte maris in locis regiminum, quorum sunt admirati ut illam faciant singulis annis [f. 34v] terris suorum regiminum publice proclamari. Et additur in commissionibus suis. Qui admirati debeant exivisse de suis mercationibus et rebus si haberent de illis infra quatuor menses proximos á die qua presens fuerit proclamatum in locis predictis.

Ed. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, pp. 317-318 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 2, p. 246, no 2069). For the restrictions on the commercial dealings of the admirals, see the discussion in Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, pp. 185, 186. From the commission to Leonardo Caravello, it may be inferred that this prohibition was added to the duke's commission sometime after June 1429 in replacement of one which was directed specifically to the admiral of Crete (*admiratus Crete*), see Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 194v, no 191, and article 2 of the later additions in ff. 195v-196r. For the inclusion of the general prohibition in the commission of the governor of Chania, see Maltezou, *Εντολή*, p. 97, no. 104.

195. *If the duke has stolen or obtained in a manner contrary to his commission public wealth, he shall repay the capital and also incur monetary and administrative penalties, which vary depending on the circumstances: a) for embezzlement of a value of fifty lire and over the penalty is double the amount stolen and perpetual ban from officeholding, b) for embezzlement of under fifty lire, the penalty is double the amount stolen and permanent deprivation of office in the place where the offence was committed. In both cases the official shall be named at the first meeting of the Great Council or at the meeting of the council held for the election of the Twelve Regimes<sup>220</sup> as a thief. If the official confesses and restores voluntarily what he has taken, then the fine is mitigated to half or one-third of the amount, respectively. Provision is made for settlement of disputes over what were or were not legitimate expenses. If he is accused of having given or received too much money, while enforcing a judicial ruling, he may pay it back within a delay of three days with no consequences; but if convicted he shall pay the double penalty.*

Si convictus fueris per advocatores comunis quod furatus fueris de bonis comunis libras L ad grossos vel inde supra, aut acceperis ab aliis contra commissionem tuam libras C ad grossos vel inde supra, modo aliquo, intelligaris tunc cecidisse ad solvendum capitale et tantudem pro pena usque ad tres dies postquam fueris quietus, sub pena soldorum quinque pro libra cum capitalis, quam pene, cuius

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220. The Twelve Regimes were the most important maritime offices, see B. G. Kohl, "The Serrata of the Greater Council of Venice 1282-1323: The Documents, edited by Reinhold C. Mueller", in Knapton – Law – Smith, eds., *Venice and the Veneto during the Renaissance*, pp. 3-34, here at p. 30, doc. 27 (February 14, 1320).

medietas sit advocatorum et alia comunis; et si fuerit accusator dividatur per tercium et sit de credentia. Et ultra hoc sis perpetuo privatus omnibus officiis et beneficiis comunis Venetiarum intus et extra; et crideris in primo maiore consilio de festo solemni cridato, vel in quo fiant de XII regiminibus, per unum ex advocatoribus comunis. Verum si restitueres usque ad tres dies postquam fraus requisitus ab advocatoribus non permittendo te convinci, sed confitendo te furatum fuisse de bonis comunis, vel aliter ab aliis accepisse contra commissionem tuam, tunc teneris solvere captale et medietatem terminum et sub dicta pena dividenda, ut supra. Si vero convictus fueris furatus fuisse á libras L ad grossos infra, tunc incurras ad solvendum capitale plus pro pena ad dictum terminum et sub dicta pena, dividenda ut supra. Et ultra hoc sis perpetuo privatus hoc regimine et publiceri in maiori consilio, ut est dictum. Et si voles restituere et restitues usque ad tres dies postquam fraus requisitus ab advocatoribus comunis non permittendo te convince, sed confitendo te furatum fuisse ut supra, teneris solvere capitale et tercium plus pro<sup>221</sup> pena, dividenda ut supra et priveris presenti regimine. Verum si scriberes in tuis rationibus vel quaternus aliquas expensas, vel alias res, quas officiales rationum dicerent non potuisse poni<sup>222</sup> in tuis rationibus vel quaternis, tunc non habetatur pro furto, sed veniatur ad collegium, ubi terminetur si dicte expense erunt bene posite vel non. Sed si vigore alicuius sententie determinationis, vel alterius |f. 35r| actus iudicariii, aut vigore alicuius publice consuetudinis, aliquid acciperes vel dares contra quod deberes, quod forte crederes posse licite accipere, vel dare in his casibus non cadas ad dictas penas, sed si restitues quod indebite accepis infra tres dies, ipsum restituas sine aliqua pena. Si autem pmiseris<sup>223</sup> te convinci, cadas ad dictam penam dupli, que dividatur sicut dividitur hodie, nec possit fieri aliqua gratia et cetera, sub pena VC pro quolibet ponente vel consentiente partem in contrarium.

This article reproduces, with some omissions and grammatical adjustments, the law against the embezzlement of public goods by Venetian officials, rectors or ambassadors, which was passed by the Senate on 1 July 1359, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 29, f. 11r. A marginal note in the register of the Senate records that it was incorporated in the commission of the rectors of Romania. Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 185v-186v, no 165. On the laws against misappropriation of public wealth and the treatment of embezzlers in Venice, see the discussion in Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, pp. 174-181. See also A. M. Stahl, "Coin and Punishment in Medieval Venice", in R. Mazo Karras – J. Kaye – E. A.

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221. Letter *l* crossed out after *pena*.

222. Between letters *o* and *n* letter *l* crossed out.

223. It should read *permiseris*.

Matter, eds., *Law and the Illicit in Medieval Europe*, Philadelphia 2008, pp. 174-176, for the 1359 law and its enforcement.

196. *The duke shall observe the ruling of the Senate of 30 August 1429, which states that in the city of Candia and in other parts of Crete it is customary on various occasions for the people to strew rectorors with myrtle, flower water, salt, wheat and others, which is an expensive, hypocritical and somewhat violent custom, more befitting to religious processions and rituals, and therefore must be discontinued. Provision is made for penalties for those who violate this ruling, and for governors who permit or order these events to take place.*

Observabis insuper partem captam in nostris consiliis rogatorum die 30 augusti 1429, videlicet, cum servata sit et servetur quedam consuetudo non bona neque honesta in civitate nostra Candide et in aliis terris insule Crete, quod ad complementum rectorum nostorum, quando recedunt ac etiam quando fiunt laudes et in quibusdam aliis rebus et actibus existentibus eis in regimine, proiiciuntur per viam, super capitibus eorum, per plebem, mirtus, aqua rosata, frumentum, sal et alia similia et fiunt multe expense per subditos nostros, que omnia sunt res simulate et quodammodo violente, que non bene conveniunt tali facto, nam huiusmodi actus et cerimonie potius competunt processionibus et aliis rebus divinis, vadit pars quod talis consuetudo proiiciendi dictas res super dictos rectores omnino removeatur et decetero nullatenus fiat neque servetur. Et siquis contrafaciet vel proiiciet aliquid contra predicta, incurrat ipso facto in penam ypperperorum viginti quinque pro quolibet contrafaciente et standi mensibus sex in carceribus. Et si rectores nostri tam presentes quam futuri consentiant aut ordinabunt talia fieri, cadant in penam librarum ducatorum VC pro quolibet in suis propriis bonis, que pena exigatur per advocatores comunis, habentes partem, ut de aliis sui officii, debeantque dicti rectores facere hanc partem, seu eius effectum, ad omnium intelligentiam facere proclamari.

Ed. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, pp. 335-336 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 2, p. 266, no 2161). For its inclusion in the commission of the governor of Chania, see Maltezou, *Εντολή*, pp. 92-93, no 99. See also Papadaki, *Cerimonie religiose e laiche nell'isola di Creta*, p. 28; P. Fortini Brown, "Ritual Geographies in Venice's Colonial Empire", in M. Jurdjevic – R. Strøm-Olsen, eds., *Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Edward Muir*, Toronto 2016, pp. 43–89, here at p. 58.

197. *Prohibition to overseas rectorors against using public funds to award salaries or salary increases without the permission of the central authorities, with fines for violators. Rectorors may, however, freely appoint new functionaries to replace those dead, dismissed or otherwise lacking if it is within their purview.*

Quod decetero rectores nostri á parte maris non possint augere nec dare salarium alicui officiali seu alteri persone de pecunia nostri comunis, sine expressa licentia nostri domini, sub pena restituendi nostro comuni salarium et augmentum quod dedisset sine licentia et solvendo medietatem [f. 35v] plus pro pena, que ex nunc sit commissa nostris officialibus rationum, habentibus partem ut de aliis sui officii. Verum possint dicti rectores, loco illorum qui mori[re]ntur vel cassarentur vel alio modo deficerent, si erit de foro suo, eligere illos fideles, qui eis videbuntur, cum conditionibus illorum, qui deficerent et non aliter, sine licentia domini, sub penis predictis.

Prohibition voted by the Senate on 13 September 1429, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 57, f. 155r. The same prohibition is found in the commission of the rector of Chania, ed. Maltezos, *Εντολή*, pp. 93-94, no 100.

- 198.** *It is forbidden for Jews and Jewesses to own real estate in Venetian territory under penalty of loss of the property.*

Item observabis et facere observari quod nullus judeus vel judea possit [em]ere vel acquirere in aliqua terra vel loco nostro aliquam possessionem [vel] domum vel aliud stabile alicuius maneriei vel sortis, sub pena per[den]di dictam possessionem, donum vel aliud stabile sic emptum vel [taliter] acquisitum, quod veniat in comune. Et si accusator fuerit, habeat me[dietatem] et aliqua medietas sit comunis.

This article partly reproduces the law enacted by the the Senate on 26 September 1423, which prohibited Jews from owning real estate outside Jewish quarters throughout the Venetian overseas territories, ed. Noiret, *Documents inédits*, pp. 297-298 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 2, p. 210, no 1905). Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 192v, no 183, for a more extensive version of the same article, with provision for exemption in certain cases and fines for offenders. On these restrictions and their enforcement in Crete, see D. Jacoby, “Un agent juif au service de Venise: David Mavrogonato de Candie”, *Thesaurismata* 9 (1972), 85-87.

- 199.** *The duke must observe the ruling that anyone convicted of wrongfully receiving public money will be deprived ipso facto from his office or salaried position, under penalty of five hundred ducats. But he is absolved from penalty, if he was deceived by the wrongdoer. The latter will be imprisoned and fined.*

Preterea captum est quod siquis repertus fuerit de denariis nostri comunis accepisse, privetur ipso facto officio et beneficio, que haberet a nostro dominio, [et] hoc facies observari, sub pena ducatorum VC in tuis bonis propriis, [cuius] pene medietas sit accusatoris et alia medietas nostrorum advocatorum comunis, quibus hoc committeretur. Et non possit eis fieri gratia, sub pena contenta in parte nova contrabannorum. Et siquis predictorum, qui accepissent de denariis nostri comunis, foret adeo temerarius, quod quereretur decipere rectores nostros, tunc et



eo casu ipsi rectores sint absoluti á pena predicta, et ille, qui [e]os decepisset, cadat de libris mille et stare debeat menses sex in carceribus et non possit sibi fieri gratia, sub pena contenta in parte nova contrabannorum.

Cf. CMC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 195r, no 193, which provides a longer version of the same ruling. For its inclusion in the commission of the governor of Chania, see Maltezou, *Εντολή*, pp. 95-97, no 103.

- 200.** *He is given one month from his arrival at his post to procure all his horses. He may sell them fifteen days before the end of his term.*

Insuper concedimus tibi quod habeas terminum ad essendum fulcitus [omniis] equis unius mensis postquam hoc regimen intraveris et possis eos vendere per dies XV ante complementum ipsius tui regiminis.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 195r-v, no 194, which details the penalties for failure to procure all the horses provided for in his commission. The clause reducing the time by which he may sell his horses from one month (see above article 40) to fifteen days before the end of his term of office is not found in the commission of Leonardo Caravello.

- 201.** *The chancellor<sup>224</sup> or the notary who is to accompany the duke must be either Venetian-by-birth or naturalised, residing in Venice with his family, or citizen-by-birth of subject territories, and must be from a place other than that of his employment. His mounted assistant should also be selected from among native-born Venetians, Venetians by privilege, naturalised Venetian citizens or citizens of Venetian dominions, and is prohibited from leaving for another similar position under another rector before the expiration of his term of service.*

Et non potes habere tecum aliquem cancellarium vel notarium, qui non sit civis originarius Venetiarum vel per privilegium, qui civis per privilegium habitet Venetiis cum sua familia, vel qui non sit civis originarius terrarum et locorum nostrorum, sed non possint dicti cancellarii vel [f. 36r] notarii ire pro cancellario vel notario in terra de qua fuerint [cives]. Et non potes tecum conducere pro cavallerio sive sotio aliquem, qui non sit Venetus, vel civis Venetiarum per privilegium, vel civis originarius terrarum et locorum nostrorum, sicut superius dictum est, sub pena superius specificata, qui cavalerius sive sotius non possit recedere á te cum [qui] veniat pro eundo cum aliquo alio rectore nostro, nisi compleverit totum tempus quo stare debet tecum cum quo primo venerit, sub pena privatio[nis] non

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224. This applied to other locales where, unlike Crete, there was no organised chancery. The chancellor of Crete was elected for life by the Great Council, see above note 127.

possendo ire per unum annum pro cavalerio sive socio aliquorum potestatorum et rectorum nostrorum.

This article appears to have resulted from the combination of two laws enacted by the Great Council on 19 May 1419 and 10 June 1425, see ASV, *Maggior Consiglio*, reg. Ursa, ff. 23r (n.n. 31r), 62v-63r (n.n. 68v-69r).

- 202.** *Rectors receiving a gross annual salary<sup>225</sup> of four hundred ducats or more will pay tax at a rate of thirty per cent, and sustain a reduction of their aggregate household corresponding to one servant and two horses; those receiving a gross annual salary of up to four hundred ducats will pay tax at a rate of twenty per cent, and sustain a reduction of one horse and one servant.*

Item scire debes quod omnes rectores, qui habent de salario et utilitatibus á ducatis quadringentis supra in anno, solvere debent ducatos 30 pro Co et diffalcantur eis duo famuli et duo equi. Illi [...] rectores nostri, qui habent de salario et utilitibus á ducatis 400 infra, solvere tenentur XXti pro Co et diffalcantur eis unius equus et unus famulus.

This article reproduces a section of the decision on the taxation of the salaries of Venetian officials voted by the Senate on 1 April 1434, but with the amended tax rates, which were adopted in November of the same year, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 59, ff. 40v and 77v (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 3, p. 37, no 2345, p. 43, no 2370). See also the discussion in Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*, p. 195.

- 203.** *The duke is responsible—and financially liable—for effecting the collection of the ten per cent tax levied on the gross salaries of all officials under him and for its submission to the governors of public revenue<sup>226</sup>.*

Item exigere debes ab omnibus tuis officialibus decimam de salario et [utilitatibus] suis, ita quod denari deveniant ad manus gubernatorum nostrorum introituum, sub pena solvendi de tuo proprio.

The responsibility for the collection of the tax on the salary of local government officials was assigned to rectors by the tax law of April 1434 (see above article 202). But, as they were reluctant to enforce it, the Senate had to return to the subject in December of the same

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225. Salary plus additional incomes.

226. The office of the *gubernatores introitum* (in Italian governatori delle pubbliche entrate) was instituted in 1433 in response to the noted decrease in public revenues. On the evolution of the office and the duties he duties of the three governors, see “Governatori delle pubbliche entrate”, *Inventario dattiloscritto*, ed. by M. Berengo – L. Fortunato Vitale – E. Vitale, 1961 (revised by Monica Del Rio in April 2020), pp. 4-7 Available at <<http://www.archiviodistatovenezia.it/siasve/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?Tipo=inventario&Chiave=1002>>.

year, reinforcing the provision and increasing the financial liability of the rectors. This article reproduces the resolution passed by the Senate on 2 December 1434, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 59, ff. 81v-82r (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 3, p. 43, no 2373).

- 204.** *Scribes and notaries of treasuries in subject territories receiving a gross salary of sevetny ducats and more will pay tax at a rate of twenty per cent.*

Scire etiam debes quod quilibet scriba et notarius camerarum terrarum nostrarum, qui recepit et habet computatis salariis et utilitatibus suis a ducatis LXXta supra, solvere tenetur nostro comuni XXti pro Co suorum salariorum et utilitatium.

This tax was introduced in December 1434, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 59, f. 81r.

- 205.** *Upon his return to Venice, the duke must notify in writing the governors of public revenue that he has surrendered office to his successor. And if he arbitrarily prolongs his stay, he will be subject to a tax of thirty per cent.*

Postquam redieris á tuo regimine, teneris, sub pena librorum C, portare nostris gubernatoribus introituum nostrorum unas litteras de exitu tui regiminis et introitu successoris. Et pro tempore quo stares in regimine ultra quod stare potes, secundum leges nostras, subiacere debes suprascriptis XXX pro Co.

Clarifications on the payment of salary tax by senior officials outside Venice passed by the Senate on 25 January 1454, ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 59, f. 89r. See also Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*, p. 195.

- 206.** *The duke has to spend an additional four months in office without pay, until the revocation of the provisional measures.*

Debes insuper scire quod tempore quo durabit pars serviendorum, 4or menses post complementum cuiuslibet anni, sicut tenentur generaliter omnes rectores et officiales in omnibus terris nostri domini, servire teneris menses 4or post complementum [f. 36v] [cuiuslibet] anni sive ullo salario sive soldo, quod remanere debet in [nostro comune, et sic firmiter] observabis, sub penis contentis in parte super [...] nostris consiliis rogatorum ac maioris.

Decision of the Senate of 15 September 1455, which was ratified by the Great Council on 21 September, partly reproduced here, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra*, reg. 3, ff. 172r (n.n. 174r)-173r (n.n. 175r) and ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. Regina, ff. 8r-9v.

- 207.** *Venetian merchants (native born or legally naturalised) are forbidden to hire foreign ships or to enter in any form of business partnership with non-Venetians for the purpose of transporting woollen or silk cloths and garments from the Italian peninsula*

*outside Venice to anywhere across the Near East, or Upper and Lower Romania. The penalty for transgressors is loss of the merchandise, which is to be divided in equal shares between the accuser, the chief government officials, who will be the first to indict the offenders, and the Commune.*

Item quod decetero aliquis Venetus, vel qui pro Veneto tractetur, non possit cum navigiis forensium mittere ad partes Levantis vel Romanie alte et basse aliquos pannos lane vel sete aut velamina levata de aliquo loco Italie aliunde quam de Venetiis, sub pena perdendi pannos et velamina predicta, quorum tercium sit accusatoris, tercium sit consulum, baiulorum, aut vicebaiulorum, aut rectorum, qui in causa primo procederent, et aliud tercium sit communis. Et, similiter, aliquis Venetus, [vel qui] pro Veneto tractetur, non possit admittere in recomendiam vel factoriam vel collegantiam vel in solutionem sui debiti, vel emere vel recipere vel alio quovismodo directo vel indirecto, qui dici vel excogitari possit se intromittere in aliquem pannum lane vel sete vel velamina conducta ad dictas terras ex aliquo loco Italie aliunde quam [de Venetiis]. Et si quis noster Venetus contrafaciat, perdat dictas res, vel valorem earum, quarum tercium sit accusatoris, tercium communis et aliud tercium sit provisorum comunis vel illius nostri baiuli vel vicebaiuli, consulis vel rectoris vel officialium nostrorum, qui primo in causa procederent, qui [omnes] possint etiam inquirere, habendo medietatem, si per suam inquisitionem invenerint veritatem. Et si eorum sententia vel terminatio vel intromissio incidetur, non incurant aliquam penam, nisi ad restituendum id quod habuissent. Item declaretur, quod nemo contrafaciens possit accusare se ipsum. Et publicetur presens pars et addatur in commisssionibus illorum ad quos spectat et scribatur rectoribus et baiulis et aliis quibus videbitur.

Decision issued by the Senate on 23 May 1437, see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 60, f. 13r [= ed. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, v.3, 433-434, no 1027 (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, v. 3, p. 59, no 2441)] and the addition to the decision on f. 17 v, dated 8 June 1437. Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 196r-197v, article 6 of the later additions to the commission of 1429.

**208.** *He is to observe the decision voted by the Great Council on 24 October 1445, to the effect that all those elected or appointed by the government of Crete to the office of the advocates of Crete must be nobles, members of the Great Council.*

Item observabis partem captam in maiori consilio 1445, die 24 octobris, tenoris infrascripti, videlicet, cum officium advogarie civitatis nostre Candide, sicut omnibus liquet, sit maxime dignitatis importantie propter diversos et notabiles casus, qui per illud officium transeunt expediendi, ita, ut conveniens sit, pro

meliori ho|f. 37r|norificentia dicti<sup>227</sup> multis respectibus omnibus notis, quod in illo [officio reperantur] reperiantur et sint de nobiles nostris maioris consilii. Vadit pars quod decetero in dicto officio advogararie Candide non poss[int esse] aliqui, qui non sint approbati nobiles de nostro maiori consilio, [qui tamen] eligantur per regimen Crete sicut hactenus fieri consueverit. [Nec] possit dictum regimen Crete eligere ad dictum officium advogararie aliquem qui non sit approbatus de nostro maiori consilio, sub [pena] cuilibet contrafacienti et qualibet vice de ducatis [quingentis auri] exigendis per advocatores nostri comunis. Nec possit presens pars [revocari], suspendi, declarari aut aliquo modo contra ipsam fieri, nisi per sex consiliarios, tria capita de XLta et 35 de 40 et tres partes maioris consilii. Et addatur in commissionibus rectorum Crete.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 196v. Ed. Theotokis, *Αποφάσεις Μεζονος Συμβουλίου*, p. 172, no 9, with wrong date (see ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. Ursa, f. 161v).

- 209.** *He is prohibited from paying scribes, financial clerks and other officials amounts in excess of what they may have earned, without the approval of the central authorities, and he himself from receiving amounts beyond those allowed by his commission.*

Et non potes solvere ne solvi facere massariis, scribanis, vel aliis officiali[bus], nec per te accipere ultra formam et continentiam huius tue commissionis, ultra id quod ipsi livraverint, sine gratia nostri domini, sub penis et stricturis contentis in parte furantium havere comunis. Verum ut tu [possis...] fulcere, possis salarium tuum accipere ante tractum sicut per commissionem ordinatum.

Cf. Venice, MCC, Ms. PDc 675, f. 198r-v, which contains the full text of the Senate's decision, dated 3 October 1449 (see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra*, reg. 2, f. 119v). For the inclusion of the prohibition in the commission of the governor of Chania, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, pp. 113-114, no 127.

- 210.** *He is prohibited from clipping or debasing coins for personal gain. The offence is punishable with privation of all offices in Venice for five years, perpetual ban from offices in the place where the offence was committed and a three-month incarceration.*

Ceterum captum est quod si trabucabis vel cambiabis monetas cuiuscumque conditionis spectantes nostro comuni ad utilitatem tui sub aliqua forma, colore vel ingenio, vel sub pretextu alicuius intelligentie vel conventicule, quam cum aliis haberes hac de causa, ipso facto constringaris ad solvendum totidem pecunias, quot contaverit te trabucasse vel cambiasse ad tui utilitatem vel aliorum quovismodo. Et

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227. It should read *dicti officii*.

ultra hoc priveris per annos V omnibus officiis comunis Venetiarum, sed privarebis perpetuo hoc regimine. Et si accusator fuerit per quem veritas habeatur, habeat tercium et teneatur de credentia. Et committantur hec inquirenda advocatoribus comunis et omnibus officialibus contrabannorum habentibus partem, ut de aliis sui officii. Et ultra penas suprascriptas stare debes mensibus quinque in carceribus. Et addatur in commissionibus omnium rectorum et cetera.

For the inclusion of the prohibition in the commission of the rector of Chania, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, p. 102, no 109. On the crimes of coin clipping and counterfeiting and the differentiated punishment of mint officials and employees on the one hand and members of the general public on the other, see Stahl, "Coin and Punishment", pp. 161-179, esp. pp. 166-173. On the prosecution of Venetian patricians involved in coin tampering, see Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, pp. 207-208.

211. *Detailed instructions regarding the sale of the horses assigned to the duke by his commission. The sale price for his personal horse is set at eighty ducats and for the other horses at sixty ducats, including their equipment. The duke is prohibited from selling his horses at a higher price under strict penalties.*

Et non potes vendere equos, qui tibi per comissionem tuam deputati sunt, nisi hoc modo, videlicet, equum qui erit pro persona tua deputatus pro [f. 37v | [pretio ducatorum] octuaginta, et illos alios equos pro pretio ducatorum [sexaginta cum omnibus selis et fulcimentis suis. Et si venderes vel [vedi faceres] aliquo modo equos predictos maiore precio, perdas totum pretium [ipsorum equorum] et, ultra hoc, baniaris perpetuo illo regimine. Nec possis [ultra equos tibi deputatos] tenere vel teneri facere equos alicuius conditionis, [vel in aliquo loco palam] vel occulte per te vel alios, sub pena perdendi dictos equos [in casu quo illos venderes tempore tui] regiminis et etiam per menses duos post. [Et si de supradictis contrafactionibus fuerit aliquis] accusator [habeat tercium] ipsorum equorum, tercium advocatorum [comunis et tercium nostri comunis]. Declaretur [etiam quod] per te non possit fieri aliqua promissio, so[lutio vel fideiussio per cameras nostras sive de pecunia quoquo modo spec[tantia nostro comuni vel dicits cameris alicui] venditori pro precio [ipsorum equorum, sine expressa licentia] nostri dominii. Nec aliter fieri pos[sit sub pena rectoribus et officialibus et cetera perdendi totum precium equorum scriptum vel] solutum [contra hanc nostram intentionem et camerariis qui huius rei] contrafacientes [essent libras mille et privationis officii. Et committantur] hec inquirenda [advocatoribus nostri comunis, qui teneantur predicta omnia observari facere et procedere adversus contrafacientes habendo partem prout de] aliis sui officii. Nec possit [presens pars revocari, suspendi vel declarari alio modo vel ingenio, sub] pena ducatorum duorum millium [... non possit] fieri gratia, donum et cetera, sub pena ducatorum mille, quas [penas exigant] advocatores sine aliquo consilio.

This article reproduces partly a decision issued by the Senate on 14 December 1448 (see A.S.V, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra*, reg. 2, f. 97v), which amends a previous decision on the same subject, dated 22 October 1433 (see ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 59, f. 10r). Cf. CMC, Ms. PDc 675, ff. 196v-197r, article 5 of the later additions to the commission of 1429, which contains the full text of the decision. For the inclusion of similar instructions in the commission to the governor of Chania, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, pp. 99-100, no 107.

**212.** *Penalties imposed on those who, on the occasion of the imposition of tax measures, insult or disapprove of the administration, with insulting phrases.*

Item quod quando aliqua [impositio vel datia] deliberate erunt per maiori con[silio ordinata solvende tam] in Venetiis quam in ceteris terris et locis [nostris tam a parte terre], quam [a parte maris], et <sup>228</sup>aliquis presumpserit pri[viare illas damnare, impugnare] seu contradicere, utendo talibus verbis [“non page, non compre pegni”] et ipsis consimilibus, que veniant contrariare [deliberationis factis in consiliis] nostris stare debeat uno anno in carceribus [et banniat per annos duos] de ipsis civitatibus in quibus deliquit. [Et ultra hoc subito solvere debeat] ducatos trecentos auri, quorum si fuerit [accusator] habeat tercium, tercium officiales quibus facta fuerit denuntia et tercium comune. Et similiter observetur in omnibus aliis locis et terris nostris, videlicet, quod tercium sit accusatoris, tercium regiminum, vel rectorum, et tercium comunis, et si non fuerit accusator, totum deveniat in comune, de quibus penis non possit fieri gratia, sub pena [f. 38r] quingentorum. Liceat tamen civibus et subditis [nostris loqui coram re]giminibus, rectoribus et officialibus nostris, ut unus[quisque ut pos]sit rationibus suis ne indebite gravent. Et quando [exigenda erit] aliqua posita impositio seu datia faciant dictis rectoribus in locis] eis commissis hanc partem publice proclamar.

Decision issued by the Senate on 28 December 1442, ed. G. Luzzato, *I prestiti della repubblica di Venezia (secc. XIII-XV). Introduzione e documenti*, Padua 1929, pp. 293-294 (with wrong date). For the inclusion of a similar decree in the commission of the rector of Chania, see Maltezos, *Εντολή*, pp. 100-101, no. 108. See the discussion in Romano, *La rappresentazione*, pp. 258-259.

**213.** *The will of the sovereignty is that church benefices within the jurisdiction of the Venetian state be given to persons who are faithful and pleasing to it. Therefore, it is henceforth forbidden for anyone to receive a benefice in Venice’s territories by virtue of a papal bull without the vote of two thirds of the Senate, having a quorum of one hundred and twenty. Central government officials who do not comply with the requirement laid down above will incur a fine of one thousand ducats. The same*

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228. Add *si*.

*applies to rectors who do not have prior approval from the Senate. An exception is made for benefices with a revenue of one hundred ducats or under.*

MCCCCLVIII, die quinto martii, in rogatis. Dominium nostrum [continuis] temporibus habere voluit [maximam advertentiam et respectum, ut] pro commodo status nostri et contentamento fidelium subditorum nostrorum beneficia ecclesiastica jurisdictionis nostre qu[e Dei]<sup>229</sup> largitate in maximo numero sunt, conferantur personis nobis fidis et gratis, de quibus suprascripti nostri subditi per quorum p[ro]genitores] res dicta [beneficia] principaliter nedum dotata [sed etiam fundata] sunt, ma[teriam]<sup>230</sup> haberent remanendi contenti, [et occurrat quod dies] quod optinentes de beneficiis predictis [ad presentiam domini cum bullis papalibus comparent] et de facili [obtinere] litteras possessionis sibi dande, quod posset maximum afferre inconueniens, et sit omnino providen[dum]. Vadit pars quod decetero per dominium non posset acceptare [qui]<sup>231</sup> squam ad aliquod beneficium terrarum nostrarum nec scribi possessione[m]<sup>232</sup> ei assignari sub pena ducatorum mille pro quolibet consiliario, capite de XLta vel alio scribente vel assentiente scribi nisi prius captum sit per hoc consilium per duas partes ipsius, congregatis CXXti vel inde supra. Et sub eadem pena quisquam rectorum nostrorum non possit aliquem acceptare sine litteris per nostrum consilium scriptis. Et hoc addatur in eorum commissionibus, que pene per advocatores exigantur sine alio consilio, habentes partem ut de aliis sui officii. Verum declaretur quod in hac strictura non intelligantur beneficia redditus ducatorum C vel infra, que remaneant in statu pristino, exceptis tamen plebanatibus huius civitatis, ad quos nemo possit acceptari, nisi per modum suprascriptum, videlicet, per hoc consilium, sub penis suprascriptis, que in quantum ad te spectabunt observabis.

Decision issued by the Senate on 5 March 1459, ed. G. B. Picotti, *La dieta di Mantova e la politica dei veneziani, Monumenti storici: Serie quarta Miscellanea di storia veneta* [Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, serie 3] , v. 4, Venice 1912, pp. 408-409, no VI (text) and pp. 119-130, for an analysis of the decision and the background against which it was taken. See also M. Mallet, "Venezia, i Turchi e il papato", in A. Calzona – F. P. Fiore – A. Tenenti – C. Vasoli, eds., *Il sogno di Pio II e il viaggio da Roma a Mantova. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Mantova, 13-15 aprile 2000*, Florence 2003, pp. 237-246, here at 238-239.

Omnia que tibi dicendo mandabimus attendes et observabis |f. 38v| [bone fide] et sine fraude.

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229. Obliterated letters.

230. Obliterated letters.

231. Obliterated letters

232. *m* obliterated.



Iurasti honorem et proficuum comunis Venetiarum eundo, stando et redeundo.

Datum in nostro ducali palatio [vii] mensis maii, indictione [...ma]  
MCCCCquinguesimonono.

Τελός<sup>233</sup>

Dominicus Bellonus propria absoluit, mature quidem.<sup>234</sup>

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233. Thus in manuscript for «τέλος».

234. Scribal inscription.



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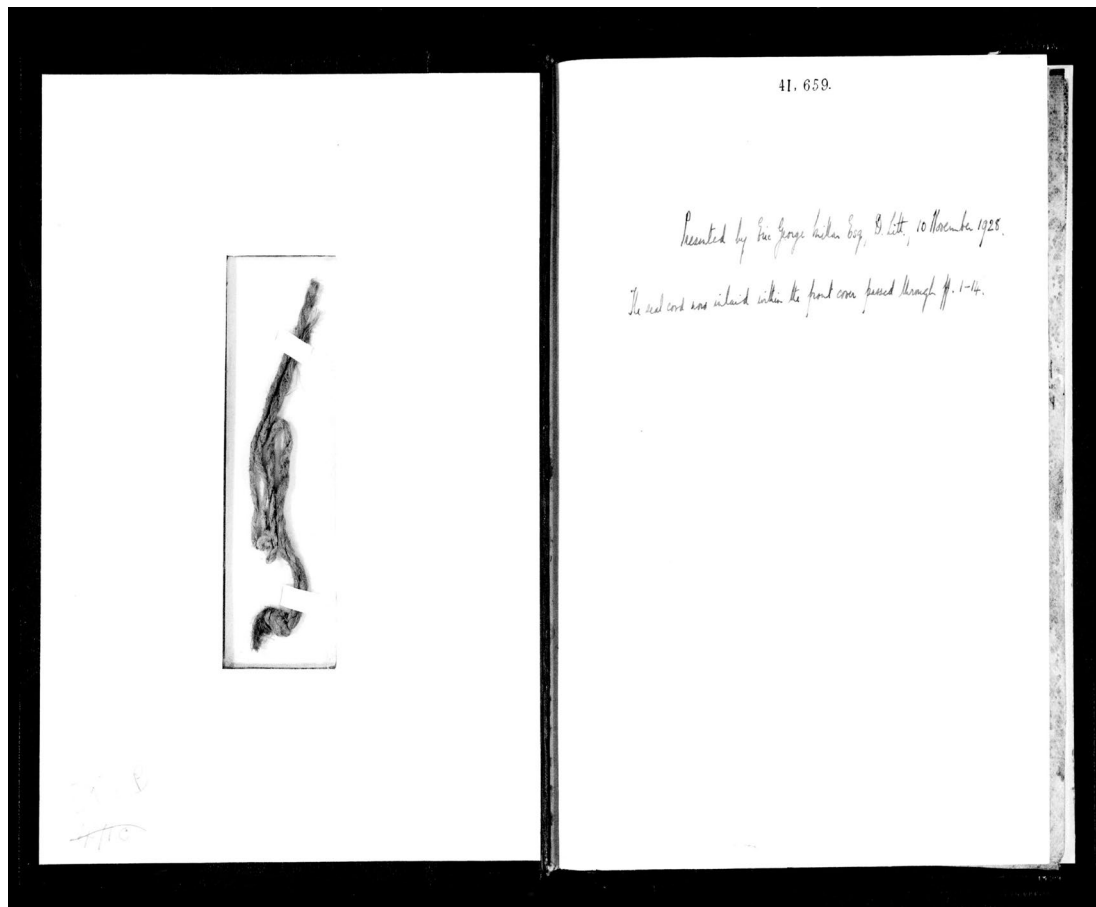
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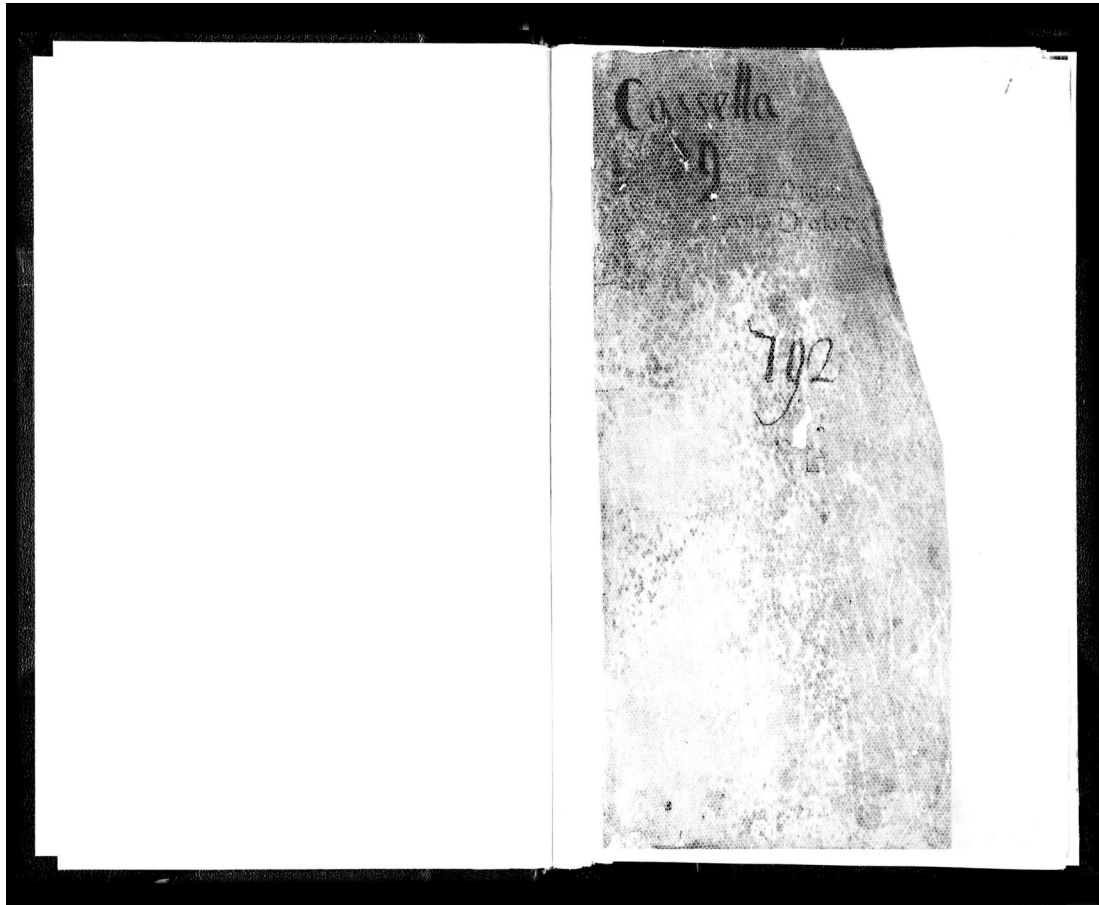
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# ILLUSTRATIONS

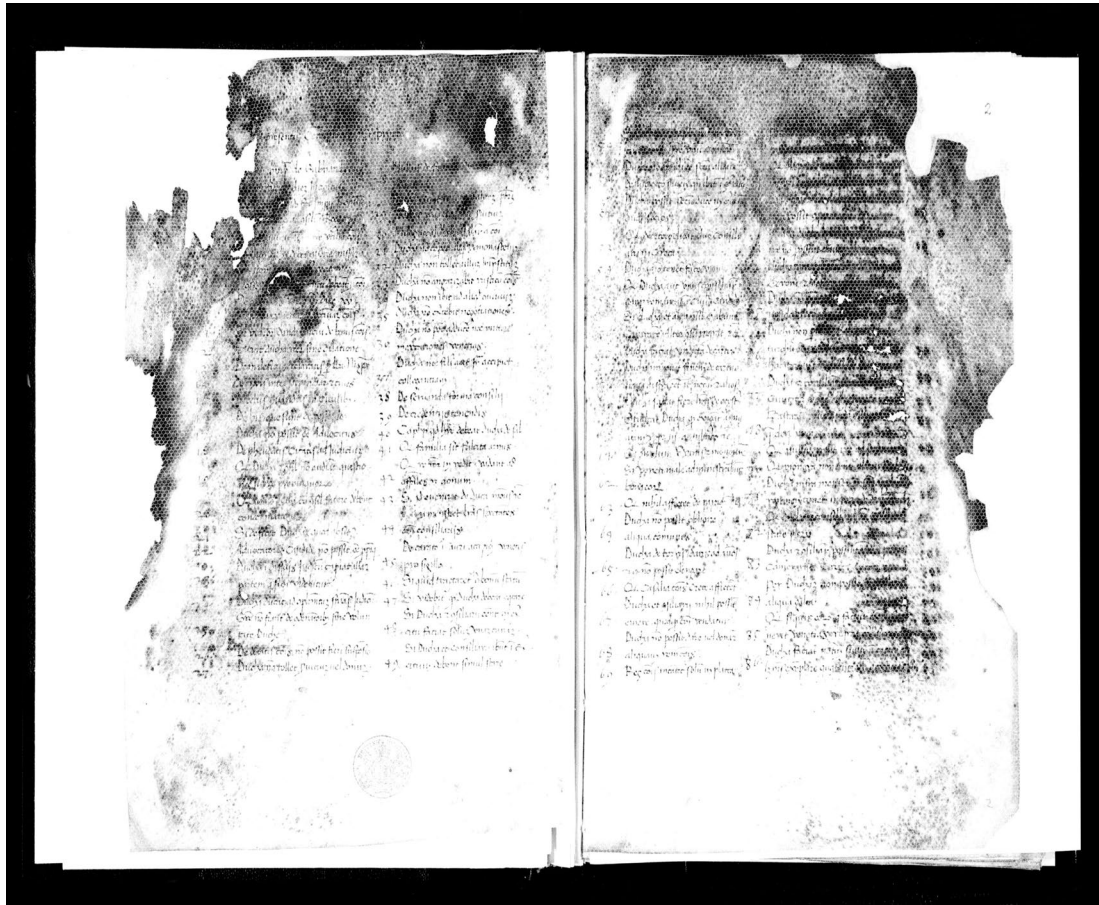


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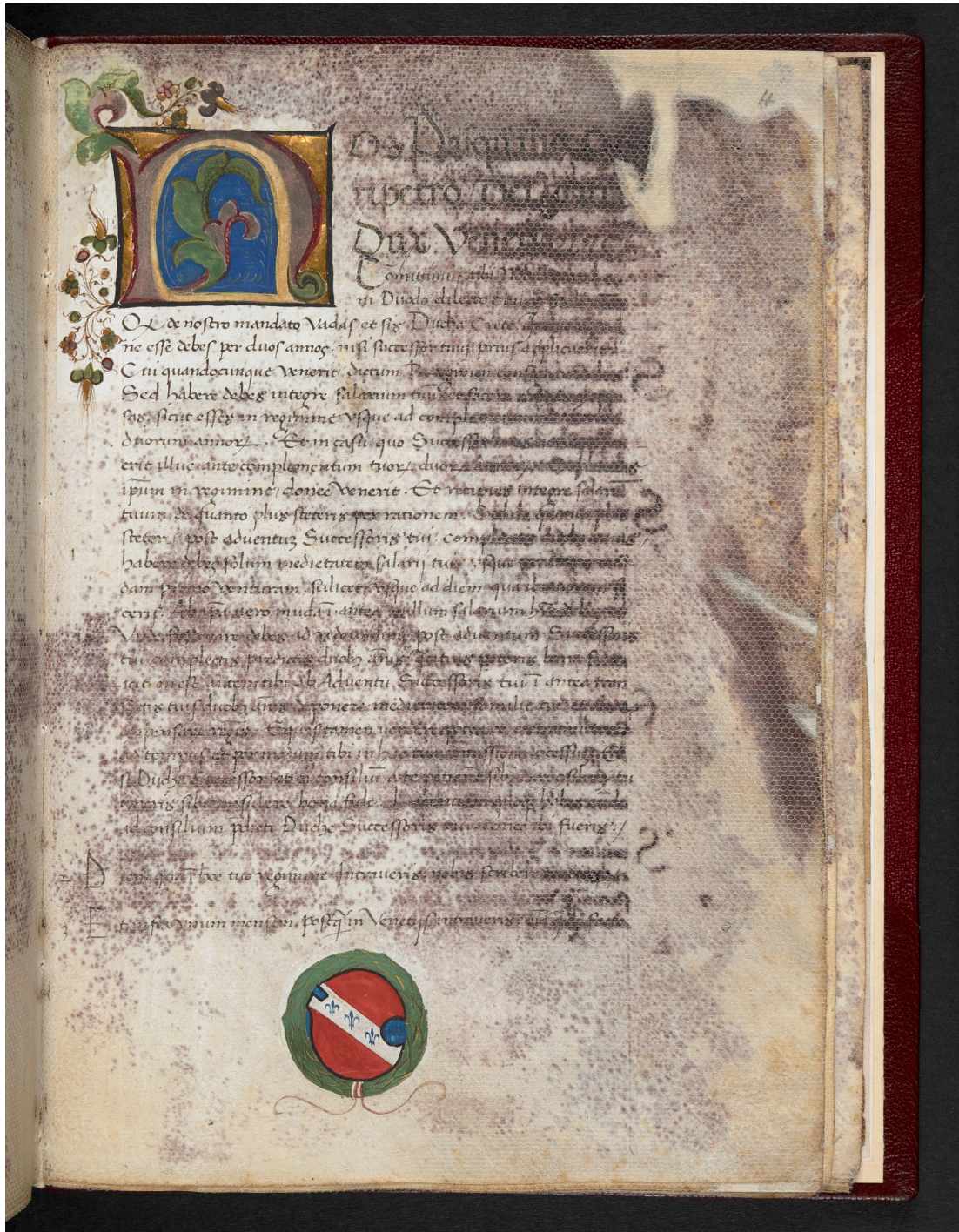


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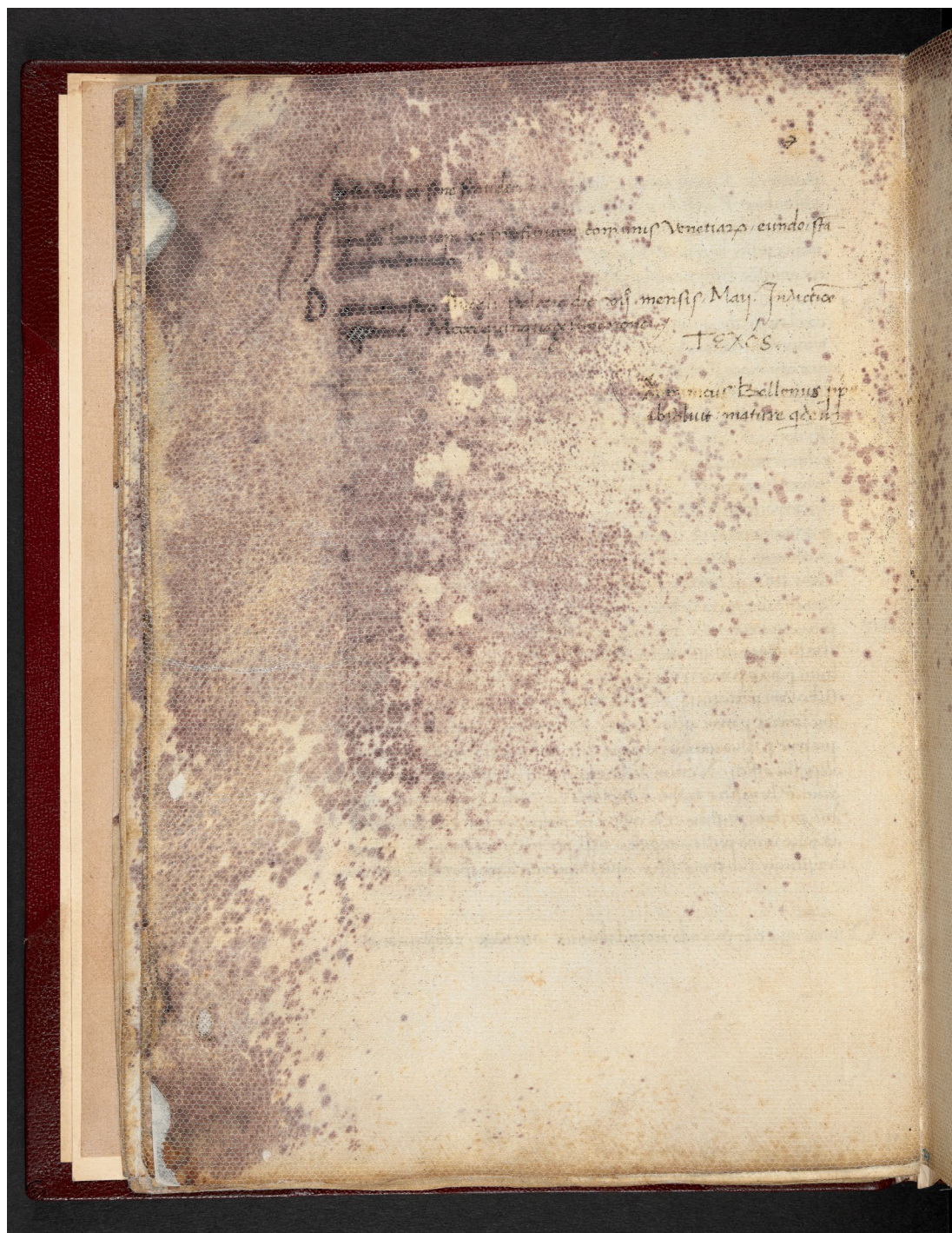




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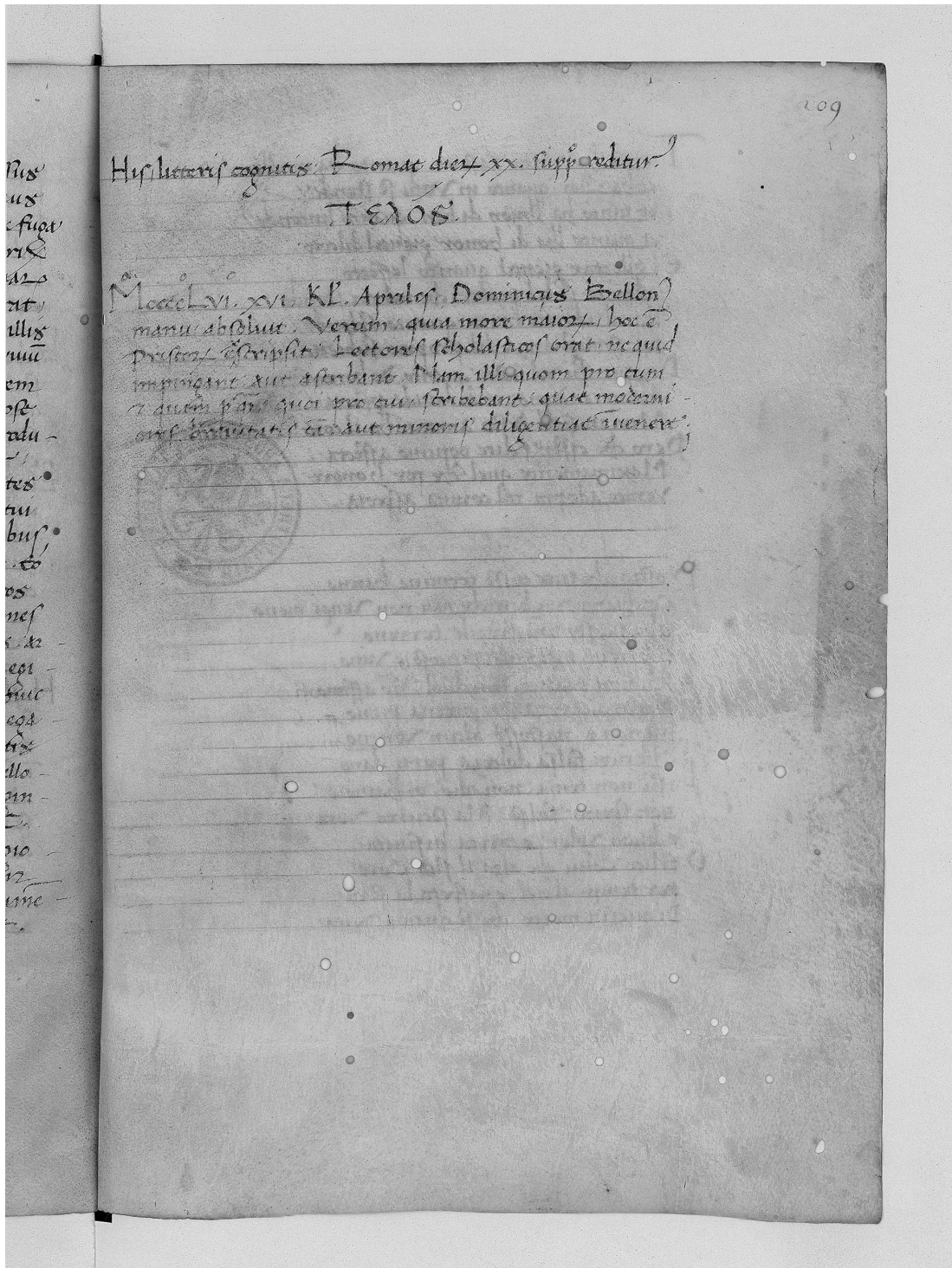
AEMILII PROBI DE CLARORVM IMPERATORVM VITA LIBER INCIPIT  
PRAEFATIO

**N**ON DUBITO fore plerosque Aethi-  
 qui hoc genus scripturae leue et non satis  
 dignum Summorum Virorum personis iudi-  
 cant: cum relatum legent quis musciam  
 docuerit Epaminundam aut in eius virtutibus commemo-  
 rari saltasse eum comae scienterque tibys canuisse. Sed y-  
 erunt ferè qui expertes litterarum graecarum nihil rectè nisi  
 qual ipsorum moribus conueniat putabunt. Hi si di-  
 dicerint non eadem omnibus esse honesta atque turpia: sed  
 omnia maiorum instituta iudicari: non admirabuntur neque in  
 Graiorum virtutibus exponendis mores eorum scarios. Ne-  
 que enim Cymoni fuit turpe Aetheniensium summo viro  
 sororem germanam habere in matrimonio quippe cum ciues  
 eius eadem viderent instituta. At id quidem nostris moribus  
 nefas habetur. Laudi in graecia dicitur adulescentibus quae  
 plurimum habere amatores. Nulla Lacedaemone tam est nobilis  
 Vidua quae non ad stertem eat mercede conducta. Magnis  
 in laudibus tota ferè fuit graecia Victorem olympicè dicitur:  
 in stertem uero prodire et populo esse spectaculo. Nemini in  
 eisdem gentibus fuit turpitudinis: quae omnia apud nos pro  
 infamia partim humilia atque ab honestate remota prouunt.  
 contra ea plerumque nostris moribus sunt decora: quae apud illos  
 turpia putantur. Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem  
 ducere in conuiuium: aut cuius non materfamilias pri-  
 mum locum tenet edium: atque in celebritate status  
 quod multo fit aliter in graecia. Nam neque in conuiuium

Cod. Vatic. 5262



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The English summaries of the Latin text have not been indexed. The following names and terms are not included in the index: commission, commune, Crete, doge, duke of Crete, Venice.

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THE EBOOK *HOW A COLONY SHOULD BE GOVERNED: THE COMMISSION OF DOGE PASQUALE MALIPIERO TO LEONE DUODO AS DUKE OF CRETE (1459)* EDITED AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY MARINA KOUMANOUDI PAGINATED AND WITH A COVER DESIGN BY CHRISTOS SIMATOS WAS PUBLISHED IN DECEMBER 2020 IN EPUB AND PDF FORMATS AND IS THE TENTH IN THE SERIES DIGITAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH



ISBN: 978-960-7905-91-8