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**TANA, A VENETIAN AND GENOESE BLACK SEA TRADING
STATION IN THE 1430s:
A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

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and Economic History**

by

Ievgen Alexandrovitch Khvalkov

(Ukraine)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, **Ievgen Alexandrovitch Khvalkov**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 17 May 2011

Signature

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADSV – Античная древность и средние века [Antiquity and the Middle Ages]
ASG. AS – Archivio di Stato di Genova, Archivio Segreto
ASLSP – Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria
ASV. AvCom – Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Avogaria di Comun
ASV. CI – Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Cancelleria Inferior
ASV. NT – Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Notarili Testamenti
BBulg – *Byzantino-Bulgarica*
BS – *Byzantinoslavica*
BZ – *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
DOP – *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
IRAIK – Известия Русского Археологического института в Константинополе [Reports of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople]
ITUAK – Известия Таврической ученой архивной комиссии [Reports of the Tauric Scholarly Archival Commission]
MAIET – Материалы по истории, археологии и этнографии Таврики [Materials on the History, Archaeology, and Ethnography of Tauria]
MIA – Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР (The Materials and researches on the archaeology of the USSR)
NAV – Nuovo Archivio Veneto
PSRL – Полное собрание русских летописей [Full Collection of the Russian Chronicles]
PSV – Причерноморье в Средние века [The Black Sea region in the Middle Ages]
RH – *Revue Historique*
RIS – *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*
SA – Советская археология [Soviet Archaeology]
SV – Средние века [The Middle Ages]
VI – Вопросы истории [The Problems of History]
VID – Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины [Auxiliary Historical Disciplines]
VV – Византийский Временник [Byzantine Chronicle]
ZOIOD – Записки Одесского общества истории и древностей [Notes of the Society of History and Antiquities of Odessa]

TABLE OF MEASURES

I provide here Venetian measures, if not specified in brackets otherwise.

- 1 cantaro grosso = 150 libre grosse = 52.286 kg
- 1 libra grossa = 348.5 g
- 1 cantaro sottile = 150 libre sottile = 47.513 / 45.158 kg
- 1 libra sottile = 316.75 g
- 1 libra (Genoese) = circa 317 g
- 1 cantaro (Genoese) = 47.55 kg
- 1 balla (Genoese) = 250 libre = 79.25 kg
- 1 modium of grain (Genoese, Caffa) = 281.51 kg
- 1 botta = circa 751 litr. (a minimum of 600 kg weight)
- 1 botta (Genoese) = 482 litr.

INTRODUCTION

In the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries the economy of Europe made a breakthrough in its commercial expansion. Venice and Genoa became the most important centers of international trade.¹ Their long-distance trade relied on a network of trading stations. These colonies were situated all around the Black Sea coast, and on the coast of Azov Sea as well, connecting Western Europe, the Aegean Sea, and the Eastern Mediterranean with Eastern Europe, Middle and Eastern Asia by trade routes. Located where the Don River flows into the Sea of Azov, Tana was one of the major stations on the northern Black Sea coast.² Studies of various aspects of the history of the Venetian and Genoese trading stations in Tana, the life and customs of its inhabitants, the social structure and commerce make possible the reconstruction of the history of political, economic, and cultural relations of the region of the Black Sea with Russia, Western Europe, the Byzantine Empire, Golden Horde, and Middle East, as well as the ethnic and social structure of the trading stations.

In this study, I will analyze, as a starting point, the notarial deeds of two fifteenth-century Venetian notaries at Tana and the social practices³ of their clients. Comparing these data with other sources I will reconstruct some important aspects of the the social history of the trading station. Based on a critical reading of the notarial deeds and preparing them for a critical edition,⁴ I will analyze the available factual and prosopographic data with regard to the following specific objectives:

¹ Fernand Braudel, *The Dynamics of Capitalism*. [Динамика капитализма]. (Smolensk: Polygrams, 1993), 46.

² Hereafter, in saying “Northern Black Sea coast” or “Black Sea region,” I imply the coast of Azov Sea as well. In addition, one should mention that the division of the Italian Tana and the nomadic Golden Horde city of Azak (broadly called “Tana” by Western European writers) is quite arbitrary. However, following the established tradition in historiography, I use the name “Tana” to refer to the Italian settlement.

³ Here and below I mean by this term all the variety of forms of activity of each particular individual or social group within a given society.

⁴ I set the following objectives: complete transcription of the texts, a general description of the sources, including a description of their appearance, palaeographic and some linguistic features (without a detailed linguistic analysis), analysis of the form of documents, examining the possibility of using these documents as a

- Reconstructing the fate of notaries and their activities in Tana against the background of the political history and international relations in the region;
- Revealing the data on the region's economy and Tana's role in it, including a study on the slave trade and slavery in the region;⁵
- Examining the ethnic and the confessional structure of the society of Tana;
- Reconstructing the social structure of Tana, the aggregation of different social groups according to the characteristics of these groups, including relationships within and outside of them.



source of economic and social history for the Venetian trading stations in Tana, drafting of the registries, tables, and databases. See the section “Review of the sources.”

⁵ Including the question of whether there was some regionalization of trade in the Black Sea or not.

Figure 1. A map of the Black Sea region (Sprunger, Map of the Black Sea and Adjacent Regions, 1865).⁶

The territorial boundaries of my research are blurred; in some cases I will focus on events and processes that went far beyond Tana, though being associated with it. The chronological frame seems to be more precise, namely, the period 1430 to 1440 is regarded as a certain unit.⁷ The scholarly novelty of my work is justified by the fact that it includes introducing unpublished sources to scholarship and builds up a picture of the social and economic life based on these sources. About its practical significance one can say that it involves the creation of a prosopographical database which can be used in further research.

I. Review of the Sources

The main source for my study is a set of notarial deeds produced in Tana by the Venetian notaries Nicolo de Varsis and Benedetto Smeritis. These sources have not been published previously and have never been the subject of intensive study.

⁶ Taken from

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f1/1865_Spruner_Map_of_the_Black_Sea_and_Adjacent_Regions_-_Geographicus_-_PontusEuxinus-spruner-1865.jpg

⁷ On the one hand, a decade is long enough to come to some generalizations. On the other hand, it is not so long that it cannot be regarded as a unity. Moreover, the sources in question actually form a certain integrity (late 1428 to late 1439). The fact that this period coincides with the stay of Josaphat Barbaro in Tana, the author of “A Voyage to Tana,” adds interest to the study of this period. Hence, I have a unique ability to compare the details of notarial acts with a narrative source. Moreover, since I intend to publish this material as soon as possible after the completion of this thesis, I should note that there are two principles in preparing notarial documents for publication. The first is the publication of all of the deeds from the collections of one or more notaries. The second is the publication of deeds produced in a certain place over a limited period of time, even though perhaps composed by different people. It turns out that here these two principles coincide to some extent. On the one hand, no other Venetian documents originating from Tana are known for the interval between 1428 and 1440. Chronologically, the documents of Smeritis and Varsis were preceded by the deeds of other notaries in the 1420s, namely, Leonardo Volpe (1424), Lorenzo Mikel (1424), and Ambroggio di San Vitale (1426-1427); I have at my disposal now only the deeds of Leonardo Volpe. In the period following the 1430s, there are deeds by Angelo Nigro (1441 – 1444) and Pietro Pellakan (1446 – 1452). Thus, the acts of Varsis and Smeritis are apparently the only extant notarial documents of Venetian origin from Tana in the 1430s. Almost all of these documents were drawn up in Tana. Varsis only drew up several documents in Constantinople, on the way to Tana, and in Rialto, but they also are relevant for the history of Tana. Smeritis drew up several deeds in Constantinople and Alexandria, but they reflect some details of the life of the people on the Black Sea coast. Thus, I am researching three sets of deeds as a whole, including documents drawn up in Constantinople, in Rialto, and on ships going to Alexandria.

Researchers have long regarded Venetian notarial acts as one of the most important sources of the economic, social, political, ethnic, and legal history of the Italian trading stations. The documents drawn up by the Italian notaries in the Levant, in the trading stations of the Eastern Mediterranean, and on the Black Sea coast⁸ have attracted the attention of the scholars from different fields,⁹ being a relevant source for reconstructing the history of the Italian republics, Eastern Europe, and the region at the edge of the Caucasus.



Figure 2. An image of a notary (ASV. NT. 733; *notaio Iacobus quondam Guglielmi de Veneciis, capellanus ecclesie Sancti Simeoni*).

Italian notarial documents are quite numerous because the trading stations' commerce and political relations with the Byzantine Empire, Russian principalities, the Golden Horde, and the states of the East were intensive and this produced plenty of documentary material.

⁸ Here and henceforth, the term "Black Sea coast" is used to refer to the Black and Azov Seas.

⁹ See the chapter on secondary literature.

Undoubtedly, a large part of the archives of the trading stations perished during the Ottoman conquest. Nevertheless, the republics retained copies of many original documents and books of accounts, which they sent to the metropolis and attached to the reports of officers. According to the legislation of the republic of Venice, notarial deeds passed from one notary to his successor¹⁰ and then came to the archives. Currently, 1194 Venetian deeds are extant, drawn up in Tana by some thirty-four well-known notaries.¹¹ Later acts, in contrast to earlier, survived, as a rule, not as *instrumentae* (original papers), but as *imbreviaturae* (copies left by the notaries).¹²

a. A general description of the major archival sources

The notaries Nicolo de Varsis and Benedetto de Smeritis drew up *imbreviaturae* of deeds in Tana between 1430 and 1440 (with some exceptions). They are stored in the State Archives in Venice¹³ (*Notarili Testamenti* and *Cancelleria Inferior*, *Notai* collections). They are divided into three sets:

1) *Busta* 917, comprising one cartulary of Benedetto Smeritis (*imbreviaturae*, wills drawn up in Tana from July 22, 1432 to April 6, 1436, followed by wills drawn up in Constantinople and Alexandria).¹⁴

2) *Busta* 231, comprising one mixed cartulary of Nicolo de Varsis containing *imbreviaturae* of various documents written by him in Tana (May 2, 1436 to October 9,

¹⁰ This can be seen in the deeds in question.

¹¹ [S. P. Karpov] С. П. Карпов, “Венецианская Тана по актам канцлера Бенедетто Бьянко (1359 – 1360 гг.)” [Venetian Tana in the acts of the Chancellor Benedetto Bianco (1359-60)]. *PSV* 5 (2001): 10.

¹² [S. P. Karpov] С. П. Карпов, “Документы по истории венецианской фактории Тана во второй половине XIV в.,” [Documents on the history of Venetian trading stations in Tana in the second half of the 14th century], *PSV* 1 (1991): 192.

¹³ Archivio di Stato di Venezia, hereafter: ASV.

¹⁴ Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Notarili Testamenti*, Cart. 917 (Benedictus Smeritis). Hereafter: ASV. NT. Cart. 917. The practice of allocating wills in a separate cartulary was common in Venice (see [A. A. Talyzina] A. A. Талызина, “Завещания нотариуса Кристофоро Риццо, составленные в Тане (1411 – 1413),” [Wills by Cristoforo Rizzo, drafted in Tana (1411-1413)], *PSV* 5 (2001): 27.

1436), as well as an *imbreviatura* of one document drawn up earlier in Constantinople (March 25, 1435) and also a parchment *instrumentum* (dated August 17, 1445).¹⁵

3) *Busta* 750,¹⁶ comprising testaments drawn up by Nicolo de Varsis (not in chronological order), nominally includes four cartularies, but since they are united in the Venetian archives under one number and the boundaries of cartularies do not coincide with the chronological boundaries, I shall consider this set as a unit.¹⁷ The documents date back to different times (from August 19, 1428 to October 7, 1439).

b. The external characteristics of the documents

The documents by Nicolo de Varsis are *imbreviaturae*, all on paper except for one parchment *instrumentum* in b. 231, arranged in two folders (ASV. *Cancellaria Inferior*, *busta* 231; ASV. *Notarili Testamenti*, *busta* 750). Another cartulary belongs to Smeritis (ASV. *Notarili Testamenti*, *busta* 917), six sheets with wills; some of the pages may have been lost. The state of the deeds of Nicolo de Varsis is satisfactory, but far from ideal. At the end of b. № 750, there is considerable damage from moisture, which makes reading difficult. The acts of Benedetto de Smeritis were preserved much better; the problems of reading are connected rather with his handwriting. In the documents of Varsis, lines go horizontally, the fields are

¹⁵ Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Cancellaria Inferior, Cart. 231 (Nicolaus de Varsis). Hereafter: ASV. CI. Cart. 231.

¹⁶ Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Notarili Testamenti, Cart. 750 (Nicolaus de Varsis). Hereafter: ASV. NT. Cart. 750.

¹⁷ I do not divide them here and consider these documents as a single unit for the following reasons: Firstly, they form a qualitative unit – this complex comprises testaments only. Secondly, they are stored compactly in a single folder, and were perhaps combined by the notary. Thirdly, the sheets in the folder have consecutive numbers from 1 to 45. To conclude, I will point out the boundaries of the actual cartularies. The first cartulary covers sheets from one with no number to 9v and 18r up to 21v; the second cartulary – from 22r to 26r, the third cartulary – from 26r to 31v; the fifth cartulary – from 44r to 45r. In addition, in Cart. 750 there are some *imbreviaturae* made as early as August 19, 1428, before Varsis first arrived in Tana (ASV. NT. Cart. 750. № 297, 9r).

average, the distance between the rows is about one and a half the width of the line; for Smeritis the distance is about one line width or less.¹⁸

The deeds are written in the cursive notarial italics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Nevertheless, Nicolo de Varsis' hand has some features of Late Italian Gothic handwriting.¹⁹ His handwriting is neat and regular; in some words there is a tendency to isolate the first letter of the word, but sometimes one word is split into two (contrary to the rules of Latin spelling). Varsis invested two acts, written by another hand, into b. 750. In both cases, the letters are more elongated and the handwriting is much worse than that of the notary.²⁰ The cartulary of Benedetto de Smeritis is written by one hand; his handwriting is much worse, sloppy, and difficult to read, but not very individualized.

Both notaries used different spellings of words on the same sheets in a deed, which means that this is the main text with later annotations made by the same person. The *Imbreviaturae* are full of contractions. Both notaries use standard contractions; they always cut the syllables with "n" and the "r", case endings, and other features. However, Smeritis uses significantly more contractions than Varsis; in addition, his contractions are less regular and sometimes not quite traditional. Both notaries used capital letters quite spontaneously and often not in personal names. Sometimes, though rarely, both notaries fused words in the writing. The first letter of the deed (like *In* in the initial invocation) is apart and larger than others. The superscript parts of "I", "b", "v" are usually quite long.

¹⁸ In the parchment *instrumentum*, Varsis, contrary to expectations, does not follow the basic trend of saving the parchment – the fields are wider and the distance between the rows is larger than in the paper *imbreviaturae*.

¹⁹ These features include well-drawn initial characters (E" in "Ego", "P" in "Preterea", "I" in "In" and, most clearly, a closed Gothic "C" at the beginning of the formula *Cum vite sue terminum...*) and the appearance of several other capitals. Other usages are a double "t" in the word *testes*, the Gothic "s" at the end of certain words (*ad presens* – the contraction is *ad pns*, *ut supra* – the contraction is *uts*), the gothic wavy "i" at the beginning of the word, and in the middle (sometimes it becomes almost indistinguishable from the "z"). It should be remembered that in the case of the Gothic "i" notaries were guided not only by calligraphic considerations; "i" and "z" in some cases were phonetically indistinguishable; e.g., before a vowel they signified the same affricates.

²⁰ On the boats, clerks (*scribae*) often served as assistant notaries and sometimes had a notary education, but Varsis apparently used their services rarely, or (if one assumes that all his acts are not written by his hand) he used the services of only one clerk.

The date and place are present in all documents and they are written at the beginning of each deed. On documents of lesser importance (commissions, etc.) Varsis replaced the date by *eodem die*. In b. 231 the *imbreviaturae* are inscribed in chronological order (except that the dates on some of them are not very clear). In b. 750 the chronological sequence is not respected (see above).²¹ Cartularies 231 and 917 are more integrated and one can trace the chronology. In b. 917 they are arranged one after another, and even fully in chronological order (the temporal distance between them equals a year or even more). One can infer that the absence of chronological order in b. 750 is because the notary left room for future deeds.²²

Since one can only analyze the intensity of composing the deeds quantitatively, neither b. 917 nor b. 231 allows analysis, the first because of the scarcity of the material and large time variation and the second by virtue of its heterogeneity. The number of deeds composed over the years and months can be calculated only for a relatively broad and uniform array of typical documents (namely, wills), that is, for b. 750.²³ Thus, sources indicate that the peak activity of notaries in drafting wills was in May to June and the autumn months.

²¹ Here is the sequence of the sheets in the ASV. NT, b. 750: June 14, 1436 (in the vernacular); June 19, 1436; June 10, 1436; November 9, 1430; June 8, 1436; August 14, 1430; August 8, 1430; March 6, 1437; August 19, 1428; October 28, 1438; January 23, 1435; April 24, 1436; f. 19r (3) - f. 19v (4). April 29, 1436; f. 19v (4) - f. 20r. May 22, 1436; f. 20r - f. 20v. May 28, 1436; f. 21r. June 1, 1436; f. 21r - f. 21v. May 4, 1436; f. 21v - f. 22r. June 14, 1436; f. 22r. July 1, 1436; f. 22r. July 17, 1436; f. 22v. May 29, 1436; f. 23r. June 1, 1436; f. 23v - f. 24r. September 21, 1436; f. 24r - f. 24v. July 28, 1437; f. 24v. August 20, 1437; f. 25r. September 1438; f. 25r. December 17, 1437; f. 26r. January 1, 1438; f. 26r. October 7, 1439; f. 26r (incipit 3 cartularium). August 1, 1430; f. 26r (incipit 3 cartularium) - 26v. September 1430; f. 26v. September 19, 1430; f. 27r. November 5, 1430; f. 27r - f. 27v. November 2, 1430; f. 27v - 28r. January 11, 1430 (= 1431); f. 28r - f. 28v. January 3, 1430 (= 1431); f. 28v. Postscript July 15, 1443; f. 28v. January 16, 1430 (= 1431); f. 28v. January 23, 1430 (= 1431); f. 29r. February 4, 1430 (= 1431); f. 29r. April 12, 1431; f. 29v. July 8, 1431; f. 29v. August 4, 1431; f. 30r. September 17, 1431; f. 30r - f. 30v. September 9, 1431; f. 30v. October 2, 1431; f. 30v - f. 31r. October 19, 1431; f. 31r. October 7, 1432; f. 31v. February 4, 1434 Rialto; f. 44r (not. n n). May 7, 1454; f. 44r (not. n n) - f. 44v. May 15, 1454; f. 44v - f. 45r. January 4, 1436 (= 1437); f. 45r. October 14, 1454.

²² Varsis was probably guided by the principle of keeping the documents in chronological order. That is why there are a number of blank sheets and others are only partially used.

²³ In the cases where the number of wills is presented in parentheses as “x + y”, the first value equals the number of wills for a month given in b. 750 and the second value equals the same month in b. 231, which also comprises several testaments from the same period. 1428: August (1); 1430: August (3) September (2) November (3); 1431: January (4) February (1) April (1) July (1) August (1) September (2) October (2); 1432: October (1). 1435: January (1). 1436: April (2), May (4 + 1), June (7 + 2), July (2) September (1). 1437: January (1) March (1) July (1) August (1). 1438: September (1) October (1) December (1). 1439: January (1) October (1). 1454: May (2) October (1).

The entries of Varsis are not well edited; there are numerous examples of negligence, corrections, strikethroughs, inserts between the lines and complete phrases in the fields; notaries could not afford such negligence in an *instrumentum*.²⁴ As a rule, the long acts are more carefully designed than the brief notes. The wills of Smeritis are all long and are written in the same illegible way. Specific features of individual notaries may testify either to the difference of their characters or differences in experience and seniority. The handwriting in the acts of Varsis is slightly better than that of Smeritis. Varsis tends to make many mistakes and errors and then return to fix them. Smeritis seems to be a more experienced, senior and confident notary, who reserves his right to write carelessly. At the same time, he almost never admits formal errors, or at least does not consider it necessary to correct them, which along with a certain carelessness and the shorthand character of the handwriting, attests a long-term habit of such work.

The individual notarial sign of Varsis is a vertically elongated diamond divided into four parts, with the letters “n” and “d” in the left and right sections, respectively, the whole topped with a cross. It is affixed to the *instrumentum*, to the four largest and most important items in the content of the *imbreviaturae* in b. 231, and appears in many places in b. 750. The individual notarial sign of Smeritis, reminiscent of the halberd in the shape of a triangle connected by four laps on its sides, stands on all his deeds. At the end of a document notaries often duplicated the signatures of witnesses as well as adding their own names.²⁵

²⁴ The only *instrumentum* available is an example of far more diligent work.

²⁵ The exceptions are testaments dated November 2, 1430 (ASV. NT. b. 750. 27r-27v) and October 19, 1431 (ASV. NT. b. 750. 30v-31r). In the second one the signature of a witness (Giacomo Tome) was clearly not made by the same hand in which he put his signatures in other places. Moreover, both signatures on this testament are clearly inscribed with one hand, which leads to the inference that they belong to the notary or his scribe; otherwise, one would have to claim that Giacomo’s handwriting changed every year. Sometimes notaries wrote down the names of three witnesses although the document bears the signatures of only two of them (ASV. NT. Cart. 750. f. 24v, f. 29r, *et passim*).

c. The language of the documents

The language of the documents has the characteristic stylistic features common to similar documents: repetition and constant reference to “above” or “below”. Without giving a detailed linguistic analysis, I can note that the deeds of Varsis and Smeritis are written in bureaucratic language in Latin with some vernacular words (except for a few *imbreviaturae* written entirely in the Venetian vernacular). The strong influence of Italian vernaculars on Latin became a common feature of the writing of Italian notaries after the middle of the fourteenth century.²⁶ The language of Varsis and Smeritis does not seem to show a strong influence of the vernacular. Nevertheless, the Latin of Varsis is far from perfect, and that is why one can speak about language interference – the influence of the vernacular on the official Latin. There are frequent errors: inconsistencies in the case forms, using one case instead of another (often notaries mix the accusative with the ablative in the singular), mismanagement of prepositions, and poor spelling.

Although sometimes there are some completely atypical errors, one can still say that some errors and mistakes that both Latin notaries made are rather standard and predictable. The emergence of the letter combination “ch” instead of “c” due to the loss of the phonetic equivalent to the letter “h” in the Italian dialects is apparent.²⁷ In the gerund sometimes “-nd-” is replaced by “-nt-” as in the third Latin declension. Both notaries often mix “ti” and “ci” (*probacionem* and *probationem*, *sententias* and *sentencias*), as well as “c” and “z” (*Marci* – *Marzi*) and dentals (*quitquid* instead of *quidquid*). In some positions one cannot distinguish “o” from “u.”²⁸

²⁶ [A. A. Talyzina] A. A. Тальзина, “Венецианский нотариус в Тане Кристофоро Риццо (1411-1413),” [A Venetian notary in Tana, Cristoforo Rizzo (1411 – 1413)], *PSV* 4 (2000): 22.

²⁷ In the same word (a proper noun or a common noun), a notary can use either the classical and distorted variant (e.g., *diaconus* and *diachonus*, *Constantinus* and *Chonstantinus*, *Caterina* and *Katerina*, *Chaterina*).

²⁸ In my transcription I solved this problem by restoring them artificially according to the rules of Classical Latin.

Different spellings of the same name in the same document are rather the norm than the exception. The notaries strived to find graphic expression for sounds that existed in Italian but not in Latin (*nautilicare* – *nautilizare*;²⁹ *cancelarius* – *chanzelarius*). The loss of double consonants (simplification of the geminates: *tollendi* – *tolendi*, *appellandi* – *appelandi*) and their abuse (wrong geminates: *reddigendum* instead of *redigendum*, *reccipiendi* instead of *recipiendi*, *trigessimo* instead of *trigesimo*) does not fit the rules of Latin spelling. Epenthesis occurs in the texts of both notaries, namely, the appearance of extra letters (*solempnitas* instead of *sollemnitas*, *legiptimus* instead of *legitimus*); sometimes “s” replaces “x” in the intervocalic position (*Baxilius* instead of *Basilius*, *Trivixanus* instead of *Trivisanus*). However, I have not found other common mistakes like either hypercorrection or the use of the numeral *unus* as the indefinite article. Sometimes the prepositions are incompatible with the case (*ad presens* instead of *ad presentem*). Sometimes a mixture of declensions were used (usually the 2nd with the 4th). Case forms are often discrepant (see above, *ad presens existens*; also *dare ... per suum maritare*).

Both notaries constantly confuse conjugations (*destringare*). Varsis uses the absolute participial (*presentibus testibus*) and infinitives (*fuit contentus habuisse et recepisse*); he also uses infinitives as objects (*pro suo maritare*). The influence of the Venetian vernacular changes the stems of some words irregularly (*abere*, *avere*, *havere*). The family name is often given in an uninflected form (in contrast to the individual names of those of Italian descent). The names or nicknames can have diminutive suffixes (*Nicoloxius*, *Agnexina*). The most striking example of language interference is that when Varsis needs to specify the number “19”, he uses the vernacular word *decemnovem* in a Latin document instead of the Latin *undeviginti*.³⁰ Nevertheless, he writes it according to the rules of Latin spelling and the Latin declension paradigm instead of *diciannove*, as it would have been in Italian. In general, one

²⁹ Though this particular case with an open vowel “a” seems really quite strange.

³⁰ ASV. NT. Cart. 750. 23v - 24r.

can infer that although the Venetian notaries composed their deeds in the fifteenth century either in Latin or in the vernacular, the distinction between their mother tongue and the language they used in professional activities was sometimes blurred.³¹

d. The legal form of the documents

Notarial deeds were private documents, the content of which was a transaction between persons or entities mediated by notaries, that is the persons vested with public authority.³² To give legal force to a notarial document it had to be composed according to certain rules. The form of a notarial deed is the overall structure of the document, which imposes a certain set of more or less standard formulas that reveal the contents of the transaction. The juxtaposition of the formula and content is to some extent relative because the formula is not a self-standing element and the expression of the content is not constant, independent of the notary; it varies depending on the particular circumstances fixed by act of transaction. A notarial document reflected economic and social life – it shows an agreement which took place between people.³³ In addition, it was a product of legal life, fixing the transaction according to certain rules that arose from the law; this makes it possible to use notarial documents for studies in history of law. Therefore, one of the first steps in working with the notarial acts is to describe them formally.³⁴

³¹ [Н. Д. Прокофьева] H. D. Prokofieva, “Акты” [Acts]. *PSV* 4 (2000): 41.

³² [А. А. Талызина] A. А. Талызина, “Типология и эволюция формуляра документов по истории навигации «галей линии» в Венеции,” [Typology and evolution of the form of documents on the history of navigation of the “galley line” in Venice]. *PSV* 3 (1998): 165.

³³ Talyzina, “Типология и эволюция формуляра,” [Typology and evolution of the form]: 165.

³⁴ The form of the notarial deed is important in two respects: 1. as an element that determines the classification of the document; 2. as a reflection of the level and nature of the development of the law in a particular period. Analysis of the formula includes defining the components of the notarial form, the identification of recorded events and their relations to the types of transactions, analysis of the legal formulas that identify the originator and the subjects of the transactions.

Formulas are traditionally divided into meaningful and ritual.³⁵ My analysis suggests that one should not take the variability of different forms of wills (as well as other notarial acts) as significant. Likewise, if a notary uses, e.g., a more compressed or expanded formula in the commission it does not mean any extension or restriction of the powers being transferred. I have also attempted to identify a typology of formulas and construct a hypothesis about why some clients of the notaries were much more loquacious than others, but there was no social typology of the formulas. The talkativeness or reticence of a document is mainly determined by its importance; e.g., wills are more extensive than emancipations, etc.³⁶

The deeds begin with the standard invocation (*In nomine Dei Eterni; In nomine Domini; In nomine Domini nostri Yhesu Chrtisti; In Eiusdem nomine; Yhesus*).³⁷ The date is given completely in the format year – month – day – indiction, sometimes only in words, sometimes in Roman or Arabic numerals, which reveal no system of preferences in use.³⁸ The place of issue of a documents is usually mentioned.³⁹ The *prologus* (explanation of the reason) is most fully represented in the will and always precedes the *intitulatio* (e.g., *cum vita et mors ... ego, Iacobus ...*). In the *intitulatio* of the wills, an indication of sanity (in an

³⁵ Meaningful formulas reflect the type of content of the transaction and the type of act and therefore they are more flexible for transformation. Ritual formulas do not carry much meaning and are a tribute to tradition, used to strengthen the significance of the document (there are many ritual formulas in acts of the emancipation of slaves, however, many of the formulas of wills can also be viewed as ritual). It is a common belief that the Venetian document was quite formalized, so sometimes subtle changes in the wording may be a reflection of the content, and the slightest modification of the form of documents could reflect both procedural innovations and serious changes in the overall situation. A cursory glance at the documents studied here (especially the wills and commissions) does not reveal, however, any clear links between the use of a legal formula and a significant change in content.

³⁶ The only substantive conclusion which I have inferred from the analysis of the exterior of the acts and variations in the form of the document is the difference between either the characters of the two notaries or their degree of proficiency and experience (discussed above). The personalities of the notaries undoubtedly affected the shape of the document – the forms of wills and other documents vary, but there are several specific schemes and for some reason a notary preferred one of them. The wills of Smeritis have a high degree of uniformity (except for the first testament) and were composed following a single sample. The acts of Varsis are much more diverse in form. This means that Smeritis (apparently a more experienced notary) somehow had a more “standardized” practice.

³⁷ Except for brief commissions, which begin with the words *committens committo*.

³⁸ Restoring the chronology of the deeds, one should remember that a year in Venice began on March 1, so that “14 February 1439” in the title of a deed indicates that the document was drawn up 14 February 1440 in the modern calendar.

³⁹ In most cases it is Tana, see above.

expanded or condensed formula) usually appears in a different form, which is unlikely to be significant and point to a different degree of psychological adequacy. The main part of the deeds (*completio*) uses legal formulas specific for a particular type of document. Most often they are expanded, although sometimes Varsis and Smeritis reduced the formula (e.g., *Residuum etc.*, *Preterea etc.*, *Si igitur etc.*); several times they even abbreviate their own names.⁴⁰ In some places in b. 231,⁴¹ there is *sanctio*. The *Corroboratio* (signatures of witnesses and the individual sign of the notary) immediately follows the main part, followed by a mention of the witnesses again at the very end of the document.

A number of wills in b. 750 contain additions and postscripts, because sometimes *fideicomissari* refused to carry out their duties. They told the authorities of the trading stations and notarized the issue of a waiver.⁴² Sometimes wills also indirectly reflect litigation and various transactions associated with real estate.⁴³ A testament only had legal force if it was written in the presence of two witnesses.⁴⁴ Witnesses are everywhere in the deeds in b. 231, but in other transactions their presence was optional. As a rule, the Venetian *imbreiaturae* differ from the *instrumenta*, lacking the original signatures of the witnesses and notaries.⁴⁵ At the same time, many documents I have researched have both the original signatures of the witnesses and notaries and the individual sign of the notary. These

⁴⁰ ASV. CI. Cart. 231. 6r.

⁴¹ ASV. CI. Cart. 231. 2r, 2v, 3r *et passim*.

⁴² However, here, as in the case of the wills, an exception was allowed: a *fideicomissar* could demur in the presence of two witnesses and afterwards notarize his refusal (ASV. NT. Cart. 750. f. 19r (3) - f. 19v (4)). E.g., a nobleman, Hermolao Pisani, refused to perform the duties of *fideicomissar* in the presence of Benedetto Nigro and Bartolomeo Rosso, and reiterated his refusal at the notary's only 4 days later (ASV. NT. Cart. 750. f. 27v - 28r).

⁴³ ASV. NT. Cart. 917, 1; ASV. NT. Cart. 750. f. 30r. E.g., the documents mention that Antonio Crescono, son of the deceased Musculus from Naples, kept in pledge from Saracen Kasim Safir 4,080 livres worth of land with workshops and warehouses (ASV. NT. Cart. 917, 1).

⁴⁴ In extreme cases, a notary could make a will without them, but the documents drawn up in such a manner and in violation of the established order had no legal force and could not be authenticated. There are a number of such documents in b. 750, which consists entirely of wills. Some of the wills in b. 750 were composed not by notaries, but by the testator in the presence of witnesses and then authenticated. Notaries could copy these documents into their cartularies in Latin or in the vernacular. They are interesting as a source of the testator's education, legal literacy, and knowledge of the form.

⁴⁵ The practice of signing under each *imbreiatura* was more typical for notaries in Tuscany.

imbreiaturae were similar in form and substance to the *instrumenta* and had, in fact, the same legal force.

The subjects of the transactions and other persons mentioned in the deeds are identified by a standard personal name, family name, the expression “son of X (deceased) from parish Y, etc.,” although the notaries did not necessarily identify each person in a standardized way. It was much more important to use an identification which would have been understandable and sufficient for the society within which a notary worked and for the authorities to which his clients would refer.⁴⁶ Typically, documents are made on behalf of a client, e.g., the testator. Nevertheless, some wills (most often speaking of deceased testators) were made by the notary and the testator is referred to in the third person.⁴⁷

e. Classification of notarial documents and the problem of the representativeness of the sources

Classifications of notarial acts are traditionally based on the types of transactions that are recorded by these acts.⁴⁸ The task of the researcher is often to make connections between abstract situations (which must fit the legal formula) and real transactions. In the cartularies

⁴⁶ This identification could be rare or unique in any given trading station (consul, verger), “nationality” or characteristic nickname. As mentioned above, there is an additional challenge because of the expressive diminutive suffixes (Nicolaus, and Nicoloxo, Nicoloxio). The same person could appear under different names.

⁴⁷ E.g., ASV. CI. Cart. 231. f. 2r *et passim*. Can one determine how many people drafted wills when close to death? It seems simple. Notaries apparently brought *imbreiaturae* to their cartularies after the document had been completed, which means that, roughly speaking, the testator had some time to leave this world. Consequently, the number of *imbreiaturae* which refer to the testator as a dead man is less than or equal to the number of wills drafted in great danger and often accompanied by the death of the testator. In b. 750, 9 out of 50 wills refer to the testator as already dead; i.e., 18% of the total number of wills (ASV. NT. Cart. 750. f. 22r, f. 23v - f. 24r, f. 24v, f. 25r, f. 27r - f. 27v, f. 31v, f. 44r, f. 44r - f. 44v, f. 44v - f. 45r). However, the word *quondam* standing before the name of the testator is deceptive. Sometimes it means only that he died at the time of the writing down of the *imbreiatura* into the cartulary. In the will drawn up on Jan. 4, 1436 (= 1437), Bartolomeo Rosso is referred to as *quondam* (ASV. NT. Cart. 750. f. 24v) but in the years 1437 to 1438 he participated in the expedition of Barbaro. Perhaps this case is not completely indicative, since this *imbreiatura* is essentially a copy of the will pre-compiled by the testator’s *scheda* in the vernacular. However, it seems that many of the common *imbreiaturae* were made after the death of the notaries’ clients.

⁴⁸ [A. M. Kononenko] A. M. Кононенко, “Проблемы классификации западноевропейского частного акта” [Problems of Classifying the Western European Private Act], in *Проблемы источниковедения западноевропейского средневековья* [The Problems of Sources of the Western European Middle Ages] (Leningrad: Nauka Publishers, 1979), 123.

like the mixed one (b. 231),⁴⁹ there is a considerable number of different types of documents.⁵⁰ Oddly enough, even in b. 231 the set of types of instruments is quite limited: 6 general commissions, 9 commissions to receive salary, 3 wills, 2 liberations of slaves, an act of the sale of a slave, and a document that contains a proof of debt with a commission to receive a salary. The absence of other types of documents (*cambium*, etc.) is surprising.⁵¹ The typology of these documents leads me to several conclusions. These data confirm that private accounts and letters within a company⁵² gradually replaced notarial documents linked to everyday commercial life.⁵³ However, notarial documents retained their value, mainly in civil cases (wills, donations, dowries, etc.). For this reason, the notarial acts studied here seem to be insufficient for broad generalizations on economic history while at the same time being a valuable source for social history.

However, how representative are these sources? How typical are these documents and do they reflect fully the activities of the notaries in Tana? How do the remaining items correlate with the former real set? Finally, in what ways are the sources representative, and in what ways are they not? It is clear that this is not complete sets of the documents of Varsis and Smeritis, but rather a limited part (wills and refutations – bb. 917, 750).⁵⁴ This raises a

⁴⁹ These consist entirely of wills.

⁵⁰ Namely, trade documents, buying and selling goods, other contracts of sale, sale of real estate with a transfer of rights, the sale and liberation of slaves (this is often hidden redemption; in addition, slaves were obliged to remain domestic servants for a certain period), the sale of shares, trading commissions (*comissiones*, *missio*), trade agreements and contracts (*societas*, *commenda*), gifts of real estate with certain conditions, *procuraciones*, testimonies, bonds, receipts of debt, sales of ships, loans, *cambium*, the repayment of debt, marriage contracts, receipts for dowries, wills, employment contracts for service, promises, agreements to provide services, renting of dwellings, ships, and servants, arbitration agreements, inventories of property, etc. I will speak below about commissions to receive salary (*ballistarii* received it irregularly; in addition, the Venetian government was trying to shift this responsibility to the *bailo* of Trebizond).

⁵¹ Sets of the documents of the previous notaries in Tana investigated earlier by A. A. Talyzina and N. D. Prokofieva demonstrate a great variety of types.

⁵² A number of transactions in the fifteenth century no longer required the participation of notaries, whose services could be replaced by drafting documents for internal use.

⁵³ It seems that one cannot infer the decline of the trade based on the lack of notarized transactions. This can be explained not so much by a decline in trade and the economic role of Tana, as by the fact that in the fifteenth century notarial deeds were ousted from the field of commerce by internal private accounts within the company, restricting their value to civil cases: the compilation of wills, making donations, dowries, etc.

⁵⁴ What kind of factors contributed to the loss of some documents? First, some deeds could be lost due to objective reasons: fire, water, and rodents were always the enemies of any documents. In addition, the notaries

question: What was the possible number of the acts that a notary could make? It is hardly possible to calculate the ratio of surviving notarial material to the hypothetical number of total acts, but it is hard to dispute the fact that one should measure the hypothetical number of documents of a notary in tens and hundreds of units per year.⁵⁵

What can be said for sure is that Varsis perceived cartulary b. 231 as mixed; therefore he put the *imbreviaturae* there randomly, not as in the case of the cartulary with wills, and that is why it is slightly more representative than the other sets. This means that one can judge if not the hypothetical number of his acts in general, then at least the hypothetical percentage of different types of documents (see above). In addition, one can say that since the practice of allocating wills in a separate cartulary was common for Venetian notaries, the b. 750 set of wills probably contains almost all of the wills composed by Varsis (with the three exceptions). What can be inferred is that these sources are too poor to build up a broad generalization based on a quantitative approach, but enough to reconstruct some aspects of the social life of the society.

f. Other sources

Although this material is quite extensive, one cannot make a proper reconstruction of the society of Tana without additional sources. Reliance on one source (however rich and important it may appear to be) cannot but cause objections of potential bias. Researchers in social history long ago began trying to build a comprehensive analysis of a variety of sources to create a “thick description” of the social networks of the individuals in any community. In addition, notarial acts cannot cover some important aspects of the social life; e.g., there are

and their scribes perceived documents as a burden which occupied space. The Ottoman conquest also had an impact, so only those documents that were sent to the metropolis survived.

⁵⁵ E.g., the acts of the notary Lamberto de Sambucetto, who worked at Caffa for a relatively short period and left many more acts. See: Michele Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-Mer. Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1289 – 1290* (Paris: Mouton, 1973).

scarce data on the political situation in the region, on trade statistics and the dynamics of commerce, etc. Hence, there is a need to expand the source base and to include non-documentary sources as well.

The deeds of the Venetian notaries in Tana for an earlier period have been partly published. For the fifteenth century, there are three sets of acts of Venetian notaries: Moretto Bon (1403 – 1408),⁵⁶ Cristoforo Rizzo (1411 – 1413),⁵⁷ and Donato a Mano (1413 – 1417),⁵⁸ whose records are in the Venetian archives.⁵⁹ For the subsequent period, the documents of the notary Pietro Pellakan, former chancellor in Tana shortly before its fall, in the years 1446 to 1452, are known.⁶⁰ Other collections in the Venetian archive are relevant sources, namely, *Senato, Misti*, and *Senato, Mar*.⁶¹ These resolutions of the Senate in different years shed light on the political situation in the Tana region and trace the fate of the persons mentioned in the sample analyzed here. I have also used documents of some Genoese *officiones* related to Tana.⁶² Moreover, the Statute of Caffa (1449)⁶³ contains data relating to the administration of the Genovese trading stations, among them Tana.⁶⁴

⁵⁶ Moretto Bon, *notaio in Venezia, Trebisonda e Tana (1403 - 1408)*, ed. S. de'Colli (Venice: Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1950).

⁵⁷ ASV. CI. b. 174. Cristoforo Rizzo, cart. 1. Publication: [A. A. Talyzina] А. А. Талызина, “Венецианский нотариус в Тане Кристофоро Риццо (1411 – 1413),” [A Venetian notary in Tana, Cristoforo Rizzo (1411-1413)], *PSV* 4 (2000): 19-35.

⁵⁸ ASV. CI. b. 121. Donato a Mano, cart. 2. Publication: [H. D. Prokofieva] Н. Д. Прокофьева, “Акты венецианского нотариуса в Тане Донато а Мано (1413 – 1419),” [Acts of Venetian notaries in Tana Donato and Mano (1413-1419)], *PSV* 4 (2000): 36-174.

⁵⁹ In this case, I have a number of reasons to use the sources of different periods. They are necessary for me to compare them to the main data to determine horizontal and vertical social dynamics, the ratio of residents in Tana in general and, in particular, the various parameters (ethnicity, age, etc.) affecting slaves, the dynamics of prices, etc.

⁶⁰ Karpov published these documents only partly, see [S. P. Karpov] С. П. Карпов, “Греки и латиняне в венецианской Тане (середина XIV – середина XV вв.),” [Greeks and Latins in Venetian Tana (mid-fourteenth – mid-fifteenth century)], *PSV* 7 (2009): 164-173. Some data is presented in the article; only one of the documents was available to me directly.

⁶¹ ASV. Senato, Mar, reg. 4, 6, 7. ASV. Senato, Misti, reg. 58, 59, 60 (1430 – 1440). Also partly ASV. Senato, Secreta, reg. 20. Digital copies of these collections are available online: <http://www.archiviodistatovenezia.it>. Regesta of the resolutions of the Senate are published in: *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie. T. 3, 1431–1463*, ed. F. Thiriet (Paris-The Hague, Mouton & Co, 1961).

⁶² [S. P. Карпов] С. П. Карпов, “Регесты документов фонда *Diversorum, Filze* секретного архива Генуи, относящиеся к истории Причерноморья” (Regests of the documents of *Diversorum, Filze* of the Secret Archive of Genoa, relating to the history of the Black Sea) in *PSV* 3: 9-81.

The books of accounts are another important source; they record the daily activities of a merchant in a given period, providing various and detailed information about business circles, as well as the range of products of Venetian-Byzantine trade.⁶⁵ The most famous of them is the book of accounts of a Venetian merchant, Giacomo Badoer,⁶⁶ who traded in Constantinople from 1436 to 1439. It reflects transactions for more than 450,000 *yperpera* or 140,000 ducats over 3.5 years.⁶⁷ In addition, there are some Greek trading books, among them a book of accounts composed in one of the cities of Paphlagonia in the mid-fourteenth century,⁶⁸ but also containing information relevant to a later period. The author of the book was probably a Venetian national of Greek origin who lived and traded in the Venetian quarter of Constantinople.⁶⁹ What is most urgent for my work is that by using books of accounts one can trace the dynamics of the society and the fate of persons known from other sources.⁷⁰ Another group of sources is the manuals of commercial activity and trade guidance.⁷¹ The main one to mention here is the work of Francesco Balducci Pegolotti.⁷²

⁶³ “Устав для генуэзских колоний в Черном море, изданный в Генуе в 1449 г. / Латинский текст с переводом и примечаниями,” [The Statute for the Genoa colonies in the Black Sea, published in Genoa in 1449. Latin text with translation and notes] ed. V. N. Yurjevich, *ZOOID* 5 (1863): 629-837.

⁶⁴ This data is relevant for the 1430s and even earlier periods, so the charter can be viewed as a relevant source.

⁶⁵ [S. P. Karpov] С. П. Карпов, “От Таны в Ургенч – эти трудные дороги Средневековья” [From Tana to Urgench – these hard routes of the Middle Ages], *SV* 61(2000): 218.

⁶⁶ *Il Libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer*, ed. U. Dorini, T. Bartele (Rome: Istituto Poligraphico dello Stato, 1956).

⁶⁷ [M. M. Shitikov], М. М. Шитиков, “Константинополь и венецианская торговля в первой половине XV в. по данным книги счетов Джакомо Бадозера,” [Constantinople and Venetian trade in the first half of the fifteenth century according to the book of accounts of Giacomo Badoer], *VV* 30(1969): 50.

⁶⁸ Peter Schreiner, “*Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana*” (Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1991).

⁶⁹ David Jacoby, “Caviar Trading in Byzantium,” in *Mare e littora*, ed. R. M. Shukurov (Moscow: Indrik, 2009), 355. I take here the version of Schreiner, *pace* S. P. Karpov.

⁷⁰ [M. M. Shitikov] М. М. Шитиков, “Константинополь и венецианская торговля” [Constantinople and Venetian]: 48 - 49.

⁷¹ Such a manual is a reference guide which provided advice to merchants in their trading activities.

⁷² Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy, 1936). One should remember that Pegolotti gives some outdated information. This has led scholars of the twentieth century to the misrepresentation of data and then to accusations of forgery (see J. Bischoff, “Pegolotti: An Honest Merchant?” *Journal of European Economic History* 6 (1977): 103-108, although in reality some parts are correct, but for an earlier period. Pegolotti is still reliable even in the subsequent period, as found by S. Karpov while researching the “Instructions on the trip to Tana” of the merchant Giacomo Bragad addressed to his nephew, Andriolo Malipiero ([S. P. Karpov] С. П. Карпов, “Из Таны в Ургенч” [From Tana to Urgench], *SV* 61 (2000): 223). This demonstrates the relevance of Pegolotti’s data at least throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Surely there was a continuity in the functioning of the economy, so in some cases one may use the trading manuals of the fourteenth century *mutatis mutandis* as a source for the history of

Maps and *portalani* are closely linked to the manuals. Summary tables from various medieval *portalani* have become available thanks to Igor Fomenko.⁷³

I will also use some narrative sources of Russian⁷⁴ and Eastern⁷⁵ origin in order to create a political context, including the conduct of the slave trade. Another important group of narrative sources comprises the descriptions and diaries of travelers (like those of Schiltberger,⁷⁶ etc.). The most relevant is that of Pero Tafur,⁷⁷ who visited Tana in January 1438. The main source for me in this group is the book *A Journey to Tana* by Josaphat Barbaro,⁷⁸ which is useful for reconstructing prosopography, ethnic, and religious history. Here the data of notarial acts sometimes verifies the data of Barbaro, and the data of the narrative, in turn, enriches the reconstruction based on notarial documents.

There are also some sources of minor importance that I rather used to contextualize the data of my main source corpus. The lapidary monuments of Latin epigraphy of the

the fifteenth century, providing exceptionally useful information about the prices, comparative tables of coins, weights and measures, etc.

⁷³ [I. K. Fomenko] И. К. Фоменко, “Образ мира на старинных портоланах. Причерноморье. Конец XIII – XVII в.” [The image of the world on ancient portolani. Black Sea region thirteenth to seventeenth century] (Moscow: Indrik, 2007).

⁷⁴ Полное собрание русских летописей [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles], Vol. 1-43 (Moscow: 1962).

⁷⁵ Из «Истории» Хайдера Рази. Сборник материалов, относящихся к истории Золотой Орды. Том II. Извлечения из персидских сочинений, собранные В. Г. Тизенгаузен. [From the “History” of the Haider Razi; Collection of materials relating to the history of the Golden Horde, volume 2. Excerpts from Persian writings collected by V. G. Tizengauzen]. Moscow, 1941. 213 – 215; from the “Places of the rise of two lucky stars, and of the confluence of two seas” by Abd al-Razzak Samarkandi Ibid., 190 – 201; from “The List of the Organizer of the world” by Ghaffari. Ibid., 210 – 212.

⁷⁶ Iohann Schiltberger, *Traveling through Europe, Asia and Africa since 1394 to 1427* (Baku: Elm., 1984).

⁷⁷ Pero Tafur, *Wanderings and travels*, Translation and comments by L. C. Maciel Sanchez. (Moscow: Indrik, 2006).

⁷⁸ *I viaggi in Persia degli ambasciatori veneti Barbaro e Contarini*, ed. L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M. F. Tiepolo (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1973). Barbaro began his journey to Tana in 1436 as ambassador of the Republic of Venice. “Journey to Tana” contains reminiscences of a man engaged in trade in Tana who visited the local areas of the Azov Sea and Black Sea. This description of the steppes and their inhabitants, the Tatars as well as geographic and ethnographic observations provide a reflection of the policy of Turks and Tartars, especially in the later years of the existence of Italian trading stations on the Black Sea (Fr. Adelung, *Kritisch-literärische Uebersicht der Reisenden in Russland bis 1700* [St. Petersburg: Eggers, 1846], 139). Barbaro was the son-in-law of Arsenio Duodo. The Duodo were traditionally engaged in trade with the East, and it is not surprising that when Arsenio was appointed the consul of Tana, Barbaro went with him to the Black Sea. Barbaro traveled in the region for sixteen years (1436 – 1452) and observed the nomads living there, the life and customs, which he described afterwards. In early 1450s, he returned to his homeland and then carried out some diplomatic missions for his government. In 1471, he was an ambassador to Uzun Hasan (shah of Persia), in whose court Barbaro remained for 9 years. In 1479, he returned to Venice and here, 8 years later, in 1487, he described the two trips – in Tana and Persia. E. Ch. Skrzhinskaya believes that Barbaro could have written this essay about December 1487. Barbaro died in extreme old age in 1494.

medieval Genoese settlements in the Crimea are a source for the history of the development of the Black Sea in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as well as for the reconstruction of political and social history.⁷⁹ However, these sources can provide only indirect information about Tana, because, unlike the abundant archaeological material (as well as monuments and epigraphy) from the Genoese trading posts in the Crimea, in medieval Tana only a few material traces of its past are known. In addition, the Italian Tana (the Tatars' Azak) is now the modern city of Azov, which precludes systematic excavation. Most of the lapidary monuments in question are located in the Crimea, and their data, although circumstantial, is still important⁸⁰.

Numismatics of the Golden Horde and the Italian trading stations has been studied long and fruitfully,⁸¹ but I do not aim to collect data for the study of numismatics and economic history of monetary circulation here. Although cross-researching the written

⁷⁹ [L. G. Klimanov] Л. Г. Климанов, "Крымские памятники средневековой генуэзской лапидарной эпиграфики: возможности источника" [Crimean monuments of medieval Genoese lapidary epigraphy: a possible source] *Sugdea Collection* 2 (2005): 454. [V. Yurjevich] В. Юревич, "Genoese inscriptions in the Crimea," *ZOOID* 5 (1863): 157 - 177. The importance of these medieval inscriptions is reduced by the fact that they were created in a world filled with written sources. Therefore, in the Middle Ages, there are almost no inscriptions; medieval inscriptions (apart from those of individuals, which include tombs) *par excellence* are the inscriptions on architectural monuments. Nevertheless, perhaps precisely for these reasons, there have been almost no attempts to falsify the European epigraphic monuments from the Middle Ages (as contrasted to those from antiquity).

⁸⁰ E. Ch. Skrzhinskaya, "Inscriptiones latines des colonies génoises en Crimée: Theodosie, Soudak, Balaklava." *Atti della società Ligure di storia patria* 56 (1926). See: L. G. Klimanov, "Крымские памятники" (*Crimean monuments*), *Sugdea Collection* 2 (2005): 456. See also: E. A. Yarovaia, "Геральдика на закладных плитах из генуэзских колоний XIV – XV вв." [Heraldry of the plates of the Genoese colony in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries], in *Problems of the History and Culture of Medieval Society*, ed. G. E. Lebedev (St. Petersburg: State University History Department, 2000): 79-80; eadem, "Генеалогия и геральдика генуэзских официалов Крыма (по материалам лапидарного наследия Каффы, Солдайи и Чембалы XIV – XV вв.)" [Genealogy and heraldry of the Genoese officials of the Crimea (materials of the lapidary heritage of Kaffa, Soldaya and Cembalo, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries)]. *PSV* 6 (2005): 139-170. Eadem, "Загадка "portalo dei genovesi." О символике врат на генуэзских монетах XII – XVII вв., [The enigma of "portalo dei genovesi." On the symbolism of gates on Genoese coins, twelfth to the seventeenth century]. The Seventh National Numismatic Conference (Yaroslavl, 19 – 23 April 1999) (Moscow, 1999), 97-100.

⁸¹ See V. Grigoriev, "Монеты Джучидов, генуэзцев и Гиреев, битые на Таврическом полуострове и принадлежащие Обществу," [Juchidic, Genoese and Giray coins struck on the Taurida peninsula], *ZOOID* 1 (1844): 301 – 314, 654; G. A. Kozubovsky, "К вопросу о генуэзско-татарских монетах с литовскими контрамарками," [On Genoese-Tatar coins with Lithuanian marks], *Sugdea Collection* 1 (2004); Idem, "О времени появления каффинских надчеканок на джучидских монетах" (On the time of occurrence of overstriking of Kaffa on Mongol coins) *Sugdea Collection* 2 (2005): 156; O. F. Retovsky, "Генуэзско-татарские монеты города Каффы" [Genoese-Tatar coins of Kaffa], *ITUAK* 27 (1897): 49 – 104; N. M. Fomichev, "Джучидские монеты из Азова" [Mongol coins from the Azov], *SA* 1 (1981): 225, 239; V. Yurjevich, "О монетах Генуэзских, находимых в России" [About Genoese coins found in Russia], *ZOOID* 8 (1872): 147 – 166.

sources and the numismatic material (especially urgent for the Golden Horde) presents certain difficulties, the numismatic data illustrate some of the realities of the political history of the region. In recent years, the numismatic material has also been actively used for reconstructing the economy of the region.⁸² The same is true for archeology. Scholars research the Golden Horde based almost exclusively on the archaeological sources (since the written ones are lacking). However, at this stage, I am not directly engaged in the study of archaeological data, neither am I familiar with the latest publications of archaeological finds in the Azov and Don region. The comparison of archaeological data and written sources is based on summary monographs, articles, and dissertation abstracts, reporting *inter alia* on archaeological finds in the region over the period in question.⁸³ I have also used some other sources that have minor importance for my topic (see bibliography).

These sources seem to be enough to provide some reconstruction and generalization on the history of Tana in the 1430s. I will research my main sources and contextualize them with the help of the complementary sources, for it would be impossible to generalize relying

⁸² A.L. Ponomarev, “Денежный рынок Трапезундской империи в XIII – XV вв.” [The money market of the Empire of Trebizond from the thirteenth to fifteenth century], *PSV* 3 (1998): 201 – 239; idem, “Эволюция денежных систем Причерноморья и Балкан в XIII – XV вв.” [The evolution of the monetary systems of the Black Sea and the Balkans in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries]. Doctoral diss. (Moscow: , 2010).

⁸³ See: I. Volkov, “Керамика Азова XIV – XVIII вв. (Классификация и датировка)” [Pottery of Azov from the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries. (Classification and dating)]. (Moscow: 1992); M. B. Gorelik, N. M. Fomichev, “Рыцарские доспехи XIV века из Азова ” [Armor of the fourteenth century from the Azov]. In *Северное Причерноморье и Поволжье во взаимоотношениях Востока и Запада в XII – XIV веках* [The Northern Black Sea Coast and the Volga Region in the Relationship between East and West in the Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries]. (Rostov-na-Donu: 1989); E. E. Ivanov, “Херсонес Таврический. Историко-археологический очерк” [Tauric Chersonese. Historical and Archaeological Sketch], *ИТУАК* 46 (1911): 149; M. G. Kramarovskiy, V. D. Gookin, “Венецианские винные кубки конца XIII – 1-й трети XIV в. из Восточного Крыма (археологический контекст и атрибуция)” [Venetian wine goblets from the end of the thirteenth to the first third of the fourteenth century from the eastern Crimea (archaeological context and attribution)], in *Mare e littora*, ed. R. M. Shukurov (Moscow: 2009), 575-594; A. N. Maslowski, “О сельской округе Азака” [The Rural District of Aza]. In *Диалог городской и степной культур на евразийском пространстве* [Dialogue of the City and the Steppe Cultures of Eurasian Space], (Azov: 2009), 336; [N. M. Fomichev] H. M. Фомичев, “Некоторые данные о культовых сооружениях и религиозной жизни средневекового города Азака-Таны в XIV – XV вв.” [Some data on the places of worship and religious life of the medieval city Azak-Tana in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries], in *Очерки по истории Азова* [Essays on the History of Azov] 2 (1994): 13; V. Yurgevich, “Об археологических разысканиях и открытиях в Южной России, предшествовавших учреждению Одесского Общества истории и древностей” [On finds and archaeological discoveries in southern Russia that preceded the establishment of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities], *ZOOID* 14 (1888): 27-51.

only on the material of notarial acts. The range of material does not seem to be very broad, but I believe that this material can address many of my research questions.

II. Historiography

Interest in the history of the Italian trading stations has a long tradition,⁸⁴ but the basis for scholarly research arose only with the emergence of economic and social history as a branch of historical scholarship and the beginning of the critical study of sources in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. It began with the publication of the Venetian⁸⁵ and Genoese⁸⁶ sources. One of the first studies that examined the issues of the Venetian trade in the Black Sea was a monograph by Daru.⁸⁷ A major achievement was the work by W. Heyd, *History of medieval Levantine Trade*, published in German⁸⁸ and French.⁸⁹ Long before this book was published Heyd produced another work on the trading posts of Italians in the East,⁹⁰ which was highly appreciated by his Italian colleagues.⁹¹

In Russia research into the sources began due to the activity of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities, established in 1839 (e.g., studies of the materials on management of

⁸⁴ Its beginnings can be traced as early as the sixteenth century.

⁸⁵ *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante om 9. bis zum Ausgang des 15. Jahrh.*, ed. G. L. Fr. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, (Vienna: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1856-57); *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum, sive Acta et Diplomata res venetas atque levantis illustrantia*. Pars I, ed. G. M. Thomas (Venice, 1880); Pars II, ed. R. Predelli (Venice: Deputazione veneta di storia patria, 1899).

⁸⁶ A. Vigna, *Codice diplomatico delle colonie tauro-liguri durante la signoria dell'Ufficio di San Giorgio* (1453 – 1475) ASLSP 5, 6, 7 (Genoa, 1868 – 1879).

⁸⁷ P. Daru, *Histoire de la Republique de Venise*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1-8 (Paris: Didot, 1821).

⁸⁸ Wilhelm Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1879).

⁸⁹ Idem, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1885).

⁹⁰ Idem, *Le colonie commerciali degli Italiani in Oriente nel medio evo* (Venice: Antonelli e Basadonna, 1866 – 1868).

⁹¹ Heyd was one of the founders of the scholarly study of Mediterranean trade in the Middle Ages, and his writings served as the basis for further research on this subject and are recognized up to this day as unmatched for breadth and quality of factual material. Having used sources in his *History* available and published at that time, Heyd was the first to feature the Black Sea factories. Publishing his history of medieval Levantine trade, Heyd did not try to present himself as an absolute pioneer, although he had almost no one to refer to. All the authors whom he mentions and thanks in his work were engaged chiefly in the publication of the sources. I must say that so far the research into the history of trade in the Mediterranean and Black Seas in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries still often begins with an investigation of new original sources. Often an author refers to a considerable number of studies of a general nature, but then the references to secondary literature disappear, and sometimes through entire chapters one writes based solely on sources not researched before.

the Crimean realms by the Bank of St. George⁹²). Much has been written on the history of Italian politics and colonization in the Black Sea by F. K. Brun, M. Volkov, M. M. Kovalevsky, V. N. Yurgevich, L. P. Kolley.⁹³ In the Russian scholarly literature there is a long tradition of studies of cartography⁹⁴ and epigraphy⁹⁵ of the Black Sea; the latter is particularly important for dating the consulates and the time of construction of facilities in the factories, which may not always be restored on the basis of written sources. Numismatics has also been thoroughly investigated.⁹⁶ Coins from Caffa and Golden Horde attracted special attention among Russian researchers.⁹⁷ Numismatic material has been analyzed both in terms of the information on political history, and, subsequently, from the standpoint of the history of economic and monetary circulation in the region during the Middle Ages.⁹⁸ The beginning of the twentieth century was a time of an intensive work on the editions of new sources. Maxim Kovalevsky published two essays about Tana, which served as preparatory material for his three-volume major work *Economic Growth in Europe before the Emergence of the Capitalist Economy*. He was also the author of *On the Russian and other Orthodox Slaves in Spain*. Based on a large number of sources, he convincingly showed that Orthodox servants came into Spain through Europe from the Black Sea coast.⁹⁹ In addition, the generalizing works of A. K. Dzhivelegov¹⁰⁰ and J. H. Kulisher¹⁰¹ were affected by problems of medieval commerce.

⁹² N. Murzakevich, “Донесение об осмотре архива Банка Св. Георгия” [Report on the inspection of St George Bank’s archives]. *ZOOID* 5 (1863): 982 – 985.

⁹³ See bibliography.

⁹⁴ A. Berthier-Delagarde, “К вопросу о местонахождении Маврокастро́на; записки готского топарха.” [On the problem of the whereabouts of Mavrokastron; the Notes of the toparch of Gothia], *ZOOID* 33 (1916): 1 - 20.

⁹⁵ For Yurgevich, Kochubinsky, Retovsky – see the bibliography.

⁹⁶ For Murzakevich, Yurgevich, Opimakh – see the bibliography.

⁹⁷ For Retovsky, Grigoriev – see the bibliography.

⁹⁸ G. Fedorov-Davydov – see the bibliography. A. L. Ponomarev, “Денежный рынок,” [The money market] *PSV* 3 (1998): 201 - 239. Idem, “Эволюция” [Evolution] doctoral dissertation (Moscow: 2010).

⁹⁹ Maxim Kovalevsky – see bibliography.

¹⁰⁰ A. K. Dzhivelegov, *Средневековые города в Западной Европе* [Medieval cities in Western Europe]. (Moscow: Knizhnaya nakhodka, 2002).

¹⁰¹ I. N. Kulisher, *Эволюция прибыли с капитала в связи с развитием промышленности и торговли в Западной Европе* [The evolution of the profit on capital in connection with the development of industry and commerce in Western Europe], Vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1906).

The first steps in studying the Black Sea expansion of Venice were made on the basis of the materials of Venetian archives by N. Iorga.¹⁰² His successor, G. Brătianu, also discovered many new fields in the study of political and economic history of the areas under the influence of Venice.¹⁰³ In the postwar period G. Luzzatto's work appeared¹⁰⁴ on the history of Italian economy, as well as research into the sources of Italian trade by F. Melis.¹⁰⁵ One should also note the work of the Institute of Medieval Studies established at the University of Genoa in 1963 and led until recently by the Italian scholar Geo Pistarini. Pistarini and his students have mainly addressed economic problems. A particular necessity for a scholar studying commerce in the Levant implies collective work and an especially close relationship with other specialists from different countries.

Major programs of research on the Italian colonization have been carried out by the French scholars F. Thiriet¹⁰⁶ and M. Balard.¹⁰⁷ The fields of the economy and trade of Venice in the Middle Ages, navigation, monetary circulation, and the market issues were extensively covered by F. Lane¹⁰⁸ and R. Müller,¹⁰⁹ and issues of slavery and the slave trade by Ch. Verlinden.¹¹⁰ There have been several works on the history of Venetian trading posts in

¹⁰² Nicolas Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XVe siècle*. Series I. (Paris: publisher, 1899) ; Idem, "Un viaggio da Venezia alla Tana," *NAV* 11 (1896) : 5-13.

¹⁰³ George Brătianu, *Recherches sur le commerce Génois dans la Mer Noire au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: 1929); Idem, *La Mer Noire. Des origines à la conquête ottomane* (Munich: Societatea academică română, 1969); Idem, "Les Vénitiens dans la Mer Noire au XIVe siècle après la deuxième guerre de Détroits," *EO* 174 (1934): 148-162; Idem, *Les Vénitiens dans la Mer Noire au XIVe siècle. La politique du Sénat en 1332-33 et la notion de Latinité* (Bucharest: publisher, 1939).

¹⁰⁴ G. Luzzatto, *Экономическая история Италии* [An Economic History of Italy. Antiquity and Middle Ages] (Moscow: Nauka Publishers, 1954).

¹⁰⁵ Federigo Melis, *Documenti per la storia economica dei secoli XIII – XVI* (Florence: Olschki, 1972).

¹⁰⁶ Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne au moyen âge* (Paris: Boccard, 1959).

¹⁰⁷ Michele Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIe – début du XVe siècle)*. (Rome, Genoa: École française de Rome, 1978). Vol. 1-2; Idem, "The Greeks of Crimea under Genoese Rule in the XIVth and XVth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 23-32; Idem, "Les Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 11 (1987): 223-238.

¹⁰⁸ F. Lane, R. Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1985), Vol.1; Lane, *Le Navi di Venezia*. (Torino: 1983); Idem, *Venice and History*. (Baltimore: 1966). Idem, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

¹⁰⁹ R. Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market; Banks, Panics and the Public Debt, 1200–1500* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1997); Lane and Mueller, *Money and Banking*.

¹¹⁰ Charles Verlinden, "La colonie vénitienne de Tana, centre de la traite des esclaves au XIVe et au début du XVe siècle," in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto* (Milan, 1950), vol. 2, 1-25; Idem, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, Vol. 2: Italie, *Colonie italiennes du Levant latin. Empire Byzantin* (Gent, 1977); Idem, "Esclaves et

Tana.¹¹¹ A number of researchers developed the problems of economic history of the region.¹¹² M. Nistazopulu-Pelikidis wrote a brief summary, mainly dealing with the problems of Venetian navigation.¹¹³ The publication of a set of new sources by H. Maltesou¹¹⁴ contributed much to the understanding of the Venetian administrative system. M. Martin wrote about the penetration of the Venetians into the Black Sea.¹¹⁵ In his synthetic work Donald Nicol gave a detailed description of Venetian-Byzantine relations.¹¹⁶

In Russian historiography, the studies of the Venetian and Genoese trading stations in the Black Sea were developed at Lomonosov University. Some monographs and articles covered various aspects of the history of the Black Sea region. One should mention the works of S. P. Karpov, A. L. Ponomarev, A. A. Talyzina, N. D. Prokofieva, published in several editions of the anthology *The Black Sea in the Middle Ages* and other periodicals.¹¹⁷ A monograph by S. P. Karpov, *The Italian Maritime Republics and the Southern Black Sea Coast in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth centuries: The Problems of Trade*,¹¹⁸ is a fundamental summary work.¹¹⁹ The issues of Venetian navigation on the Black Sea are covered in another

etnographie sur les bords de la Mer Noire (XIIIe et XIVe siècles),” in *Miscellanea historica in honorem L. van der Essen* (Brussels – Paris, 1947); Idem, “Le commerce en Mer Noire,” in *XIII Congrès International des sciences historiques* (Moscow, 1970), 17 - 21.

¹¹¹ M. Berindei and G. Veinstein, “La Tana-Azaq de la présence italienne à l’emprise ottomane (fin XIIIe – milieu XVIe siècle),” *Turcica* 8 (1976): 110-201; Bernard Doumerc, “Les Venetiens à la Tana,” *Le Moyen Age* 94, No. 3-4 (1988): 363-379; Idem, “La Tana au XVe siècle,” in *Etat et colonisation au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance* (Lyon: 1989): 251-266.

¹¹² Angeliki Laiou-Thomadakis, “The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System, Thirteenth – Fifteenth Centuries,” *DOP* 34, 35 (1980 – 1981): 177 – 222; Kate Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: the Merchants of Genova and Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹¹³ See also: Maria Nystazopoulou-Pelekides, “Venise et la Mer Noire du XIe au XVe siècle,” *Thesaurismata* 7 (1970): 15 – 51.

¹¹⁴ Christou Maltezou. *Ο θεσμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βενετού βαϊλου (1268 – 1453)*. (Athens, 1970).

¹¹⁵ C. Martin, “Venetian Tana,” in *Byzantinische Forschungen* 11 (1980): 375-379.

¹¹⁶ Donald Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). In this book there is often no in-depth analysis of socio-economic causes of certain processes, but it is highly informative and pays careful attention to the history of international relations in the Middle Ages.

¹¹⁷ See bibliography.

¹¹⁸ S. P. Karpov, *Итальянские морские республики и Южное Причерноморье в XIII – XV вв.: проблемы торговли* [The Italian maritime republics and the Southern Black Sea coast in thirteenth to fifteenth centuries: The problems of trade] (Moscow: Moscow State University Press, 1990).

¹¹⁹ The author’s theoretical conclusions greatly contributed into the development of the methodological approaches.

book by Karpov.¹²⁰ Another monograph by S. P. Karpov, *The History of the Trebizond Empire*,¹²¹ is dedicated to the political and economic relations in the eastern Mediterranean.

As is evident from the state of historiography, now there is no lack of generalizing works both on the economic history of the period and on the history of the region. On the contrary, very few cover Tana in particular (and what exists covers mostly the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries). In addition, most researchers have studied the resolution of the Senate, narratives of Barbaro (often semi-legendary), and paid little or no attention at all to the materials of notarial deeds and books of accounts. A general work on Tana based on the precise data of the whole set of possible sources is still a matter of the future, and this requires research into exactly these types of sources, a significant part of which has never been published. What has been partially published (by de'Colli, Karpov, Talyzina and Prokofieva¹²²) is, first, related to the early fifteenth century, and, second, is not yet analyzed comprehensively. In the existing works, the emphasis is still placed on the period preceding the one I am dealing with – largely because the sources for 1430s were neither edited nor researched. Thus, there is enough room left for current research, and analysis and comprehensive study of unpublished documentary sources are needed to build a holistic picture of life in the factory town during this period.

III. Methodology of the research

As for the methodology of my work, I am going to use the following methods: genetic,¹²³ comparative,¹²⁴ typological,¹²⁵ systematic,¹²⁶ and retrospective.¹²⁷ It would be an

¹²⁰ S. P. Karpov *La Navigazione Veneziana nel Mar Nero XIII - XV sec.* (Ravenna, 2000). The author raised the following problems: the types of ships and navigation conditions, Black Sea piracy, navigation routes, and crews. The monograph has tables and graphs with all the basic parameters of the navigation which are an accurate indicator of trade relations in the region.

¹²¹ Idem, *История Трапезундской империи* [The history of the Trebizond Empire] (St. Petersburg: 2007).

¹²² The documents of the notaries Moretto Bon, Donato a Mano, and Christoforo Rizzo – see bibliography.

¹²³ The investigation of historical phenomena in the process of their development and continuity.

¹²⁴ The comparison of the different historical phenomena and the identification of the similarities and differences among them.

exaggeration to say that I widely use quantitative methods;¹²⁸ still, my study will include quantitative analysis and use serial and mass sources, but on a limited scale.¹²⁹ Ultimately, for my research it is not so important to what extent a particular model (including the social model) can be confirmed quantitatively.¹³⁰ The more important issue is how this model or its components react under “extreme” conditions, that is, crisis or deformation. Hence, the diachronic aspect must be less important for me than the synchronic aspect. This implies focused attention on particular incidents or cases, rather than to building quantitative patterns and revealing some typical features.

A case or a particular incident may be completely atypical, but it can provide rich information about the different layers of culture, about the “possible and impossible,” about the peculiarities of legal procedure and social life, etc. Therefore, in a somewhat greater degree my work will be focused on events and specific situations¹³¹ or small portions of data within the available system; these particular issues can happen to be even more important than a system itself as a whole. I will build charts and graphs to display certain quantities,¹³² but people's behavior will be in the focus of the research. Wills (as well as other notarial acts), are perfect sources in this sense; they contain typical serial content, but retain the individuality of each person and of each individual incident.¹³³

¹²⁵ The identification of the common features in groups of historical events and phenomena.

¹²⁶ The analysis of the social systems and the revealing of the internal mechanisms of their functioning.

¹²⁷ The gradual penetration into the past in order to find the reason for some event or phenomenon.

¹²⁸ It is noteworthy that A. L. Ponomarev successfully applied his method for the extrapolation of the notarial data to the society as a whole. See: A. L. Ponomarev, “Кого нет, того не сосчитать? Или сколько в Византии было знати и купцов.” [Can we count those who are absent? How many merchants and noblemen were there in Byzantium?] In *The Statistical Models of Historical Processes* (Moscow, 1996): 236–244.

¹²⁹ The notarial material available to me is not as massive as I would like it to be; I am still working with a part rather than with the full collection of documents, and this will keep me from broad generalizations. In addition, I had to put the data from the period of 10 years or even more into one table and consider as a single coordinate system (primarily – prosopographic information).

¹³⁰ Statistics, for the most part, will be anyway incomplete because of the fragmentation of data.

¹³¹ The event here is a specific situation in which a particular person or group of individuals acts.

¹³² Though keeping in mind that my sample is not absolutely representative.

¹³³ The subjects of the transaction (or testators) were personal. Making the act was, at least, two-way creative work of a client and of a notary. The subjects could express some intimate and unique features of their personality. Moreover, individual features can be understood only in the context of all other acts. However, some generalizations run through this uniqueness.

Compiling a list of personalities for the reconstruction of society of Tana is a more particular and specific methodological problem. It should be understood that among the personalities were: 1. The notaries' clients,¹³⁴ as well as those directly involved in the drafting and implementing of the document (e.g., witnesses), 2. Those referred to as located in Tana (e.g., *fideicommissari*), 3. Those referred to as individuals in general. I put individuals of all three groups in a table. Since I am interested in the social history of Tana, I will mainly deal with the first two groups, i.e., the entire population, which is known or can be associated with Tana with a high degree of probability. Naturally, given the changeability of the population of the trading station and the small number of permanent inhabitants, it would be unwise to include in this list only those persons who are mentioned as being in Tana at any one time. In this case, I would have to limit the range of personalities by the notary, his clients, witnesses and a few other individuals who are known to have been permanent residents in Tana. On the other hand, it is impossible to include in the analysis all the persons mentioned in the sources (who probably went to Tana). Thus, between a small number of whom the source says plainly that they resided in Tana and all the names mentioned in the documents there is a large number of people who may be considered as belonging to the society of Tana with a greater or lesser degree of probability. In other words, it is clear that one must eliminate from one's field of view a son or a daughter of a notary's client, residing in Italy, and sometimes even in the womb, and that the client and witnesses should be included in the list. However, what about, for example, a merchant, sailing on a ship, say, from Trebizond to Constantinople, or vice versa, mentioned in the will as a *fideicommissar*? Does not this suggest a high probability that he would appear in Tana and trade there, and maybe not for the first year (although the source is silent on this subject)? It would deplete the sample too much if I exclude this merchant and the ones like him;

¹³⁴ For example, the testator or counterparties of the transaction.

moreover, that would be too arbitrary. That is why I presume that they were associated with Tana. I decided to exclude from the list only those persons who are mentioned as living permanently in other cities (say, a mother or a sister of a Venetian mercenary in Tana, residing in Naples) and are not directly related to the trading community. In the case when, say, the source mentions the merchant or official of whom it is possible to presume with a substantial degree of probability that he is in some way associated with Tana, I put him into my database. If there is no credible reason for confidence that a person has been associated with Tana directly, this person is not included in the figures and calculations.

Thus, the main sources on the basis of which I will explore the society of Tana are notarial deeds. These acts can be compared among themselves on various parameters, answering many research questions, giving an objective picture, independent of the subjective intentions of the notary and the parties to the transaction. However, the important thing is that these acts are abundant. For a period of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries only one notarial office in Pisa produced more documentary sources than the whole Russia in the same period.¹³⁵ In the twentieth century, historians appreciate this type of document and each new generation of researchers discovers new facets from these truly inexhaustible sources.

The advantages of notarial data for writing social history are well known. On the one hand, a notary's way of describing the realities is profoundly different from the way of the narrative sources' author. On the other hand, the notary sought to formalize the diversity of individual cases, which greatly facilitates work with the data. At the same time, he strived to give definitions to the reality, assigning to the specific individuals some common nouns, more social names, calling someone *nobilis*, someone *mercator*, someone *vir prudens*. A notary was forced to do it by the very logic of the document, which required the identification

¹³⁵ See: P. Uvarov, *Французское общество XVI века: Опыты реконструкции по нотариальным актам* [French society in the sixteenth century: An attempt at historical reconstruction based on notarial deeds] (Moscow: 2004).

of the individuals and, therefore, indicates their social status. In other words, the deeds reflect the social structure, social values, and rights of the individuals. The incidents reflected in the deeds are important as data that may clarify both the usually hidden sides of social practice, and the life experiences of individuals. Incidents can provide the basis for a specific description of society as a whole. The identification of people based on different documents and the reconstruction of their biographies make it possible to learn more about the society as a whole, and this is one of the most widely used methods in such studies.¹³⁶ Do different documents or actions of these individuals show a certain stylistic unity? Can one see some features of a personality reflected in it beyond the form of the act? What kind of biography can be reconstructed for each of them? Each researcher of social history probably asks these questions.

I am fortunate to work mainly with the wills. Any kind of the notarial deeds can hardly ever give a greater understanding of man and his social position than his testament. In the following chapters I will trace how these deeds (along with the other relevant sources) reflect the political situation in the region and the administration of the trading stations, the trade and the economy (including the slave trade), the ethnic and the confessional structure of the population of Tana and the social structure of the trading station.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

CHAPTER 1. TRADE DYNAMICS IN TANA IN THE 1430s

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were the epoch of increasing trade connections between Europe and the East. Profit resulted from the difference of production expenses in the various regions.¹³⁷ The Italian merchants felt comfortable in the Black Sea region largely because of the awareness of the khans about the possibility of profiting from tolls; at the same time, the main concern of the policy of the Italian maritime republics in the East was providing the most favorable terms of trade and taxation for their subjects. All trade at the Italian stations was strictly controlled by their administrations.

Tana was a terminal of Italian commerce and a crossroads of the routes of trade as early as the fourteenth century. The crisis following the Black Death seriously damaged the safety of long-distance trade because of the increasing danger on the routes of trade. Nevertheless, this decrease was paralleled by an increase in the importance of local goods and regional Black Sea trade items (grain, wax, fish, caviar, etc.). The fifteenth century began with the recovery from the crisis and the growth of trade dynamics.¹³⁸ The goods for mass consumption (e.g., grain from the Black Sea region) began to play a more important role than spices and luxury had before. In this period, Venetian trade reached its peak, connecting the space from Egypt and Black Sea to Flanders with its galleys.¹³⁹ The mechanisms of capitalism became dominant in Italy; in addition, the budget of Venice suffered less in the fourteenth century than those of most other European countries. Its income *per annum* was in first place in Europe by 1423.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Карпов, *Итальянские морские республики и Южное Причерноморье в XIII – XV вв. Проблемы торговли* [The Italian maritime republics and the southern Black Sea coast in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries: The problems of trade], (Moscow: Moscow State University Press, 1990), 210.

¹³⁸ This happened largely due to the recovery from crisis in Europe itself, the growth of local markets, the involvement of the countryside in exchange, and the intensification of contacts. Another important factor was the development of the banking sphere.

¹³⁹ The Venetian trade with Flanders is reflected in the deeds of 1430s. The expedition to Flanders is mentioned in: ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 23r.

¹⁴⁰ Braudel, *Материальная цивилизация* [Material civilization], (Moscow: Progress, 2007); the funds invested annually into commerce equaled 10 mil. ducats and gave 40% profit.

F. Melis claims that Tana was one of the seven main points of the international trade in this period.¹⁴¹ Both Venice and Genoa formed guarded naval expeditions with a final destination in Tana, while the continental route from Tana to China through Middle Asia took 284 days.¹⁴² While Genoa had a strong network of stations in the Black Sea region, the Venetians had only two points (Tana and Trebizond), but the importance of the region for them was immense. It can be estimated through the examination of the commodity circulation in Constantinople – roughly 1 million perpers *per annum*.¹⁴³ Even during wars and political tension, Venice took care to send expeditions to Tana at any cost.

One can trace the increase of trade based on the rates of auctions. From 1405 to 1450, the percentage of the rates of galleys of Tana in Levantine expeditions over all was 24%;¹⁴⁴ from 1436 to 1439, it equaled 38%,¹⁴⁵ which means favorable market conditions.¹⁴⁶ Beside long-distance trade, regional trade was not of the least importance. Tatar coins with the overstriking of Caffa can be regarded as evidence of the intensive trade exchanges between the Crimea and the Azov Sea region.¹⁴⁷ The 1430s were the peak of the Venetian trade in the Black Sea region.

None of the acts I examined represents a bargain in itself. However, the deeds often contain valuable data on economic history, which I will present in this chapter. Here I will

¹⁴¹ Federigo Melis, “La civiltà economica nelle sue explicazioni dalla Versilia alla Maremma (secoli X – XVII),” in *Atti del 60° Congresso internazionale della Dante Alighieri* 21, Livorno 13-17 settembre 1970 (Livorno, 1970), 21 - 53.

¹⁴² Карпов, “От Таны в Ургенч” [From Tana to Urgench] SV 61 (2000): 219 - 220.

¹⁴³ Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge*, (Leipzig: 1885), Vol. 2, 258-259. Nicolas Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIIIe – XVe siècles)* (Montreal: Institut d'Etudes Médiévales, 1979).

¹⁴⁴ Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge* (Paris: Boccard, 1959), 421-422.

¹⁴⁵ M. M. Shitikov, “Constantinople and the Venetian Trade in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century according to the Book of Accounts of Giacomo Badoer,” VV 30 (1969): 51. The increase in the quantity of galleys went along with an increase in the rates for each one at auction.

¹⁴⁶ One should take into account that these expeditions of galleys were concerned with the *sottili* goods (spices, silk, jewels, textiles); the amount of cheaper and heavier goods prevailing in that period (grain, salt, wine, oil, fish) transported on the private “round” vessels is hard to estimate.

¹⁴⁷ See Kozubovskii, “О времени появления.” [About the time of occurrence]. *Судейский сборник* [Sougdea collection] 2 (2005): 156. N. Fomichev, “Джучидские монеты из Азова,” [Mongol coins of Azov] SA 1 (1981): 229-238.

examine the position of Tana in the commodity circulation among Europe, the Black Sea region, and the East inasmuch as the complex analysis of relevant sources allows it.

1.1. Goods imported from Europe

Textiles:

Textiles were the main category of goods imported from the West and often served as currency.¹⁴⁸ This trade reflected the changes in the European economy of the High Middle Ages as a whole and the emergence of industrial textile production in particular. There was a demand for European textiles on the markets of the Black Sea, and these textiles were widely used by the Tatars.¹⁴⁹ At the same time, Westerners were attracted by the Eastern raw materials for their growing industry (cotton, dyes, alum).¹⁵⁰

After 1400, the prices of the products of European industry increased rapidly,¹⁵¹ which was connected with the general recovery of the European economy. In the deeds, one can often encounter different types of textiles and clothing. *Loesti* (cloth from Lowestoff, England¹⁵²) was the most popular.¹⁵³ Baldassare, son of the deceased Marco, mentions that Biagio Alberegno had to give him 10 *sommo* for 1 piece of linen of *loesti*; and also that in 1430 he and Bartolomeo Rosso sent 19 slaves to Venice and got in exchange 32 pieces of linen of *loesti*, and also that he got 10 pieces of linen of *loesti* for Andrea Contarini.¹⁵⁴ In 1431 Francesco Contarini offered to sell *loesti* at 10 *sommo* per piece.¹⁵⁵ Apparently, 10

¹⁴⁸ Карпов, *Итальянские морские республики* [The Italian maritime republics] (Moscow: Moscow State University Press, 1990), 156.

¹⁴⁹ L. P. Kolley, “Хаджи-Гирей хан и его политика (по генуэзским источникам). Взгляд на политические сношения Каффы с татарами в XV веке .” [Hajji Giray Khan and his policies according to the Genoese sources: A glance at the political relations with the Caffa Tatars in the fifteenth century], *ITUAK* 50 (1913): 108.

¹⁵⁰ A. Chursina, “Акты генуэзских нотариусов как источники для изучения средневековой торговли .” [Acts of the Genoese notaries as sources for the study of medieval trade], Труды Ярославского педагогического института [The Works of the Yaroslavl Pedagogical Institute] 76 (1970): 56-57.

¹⁵¹ Braudel, *Material Civilization*, 91 – 92.

¹⁵² Though they actually could be produced in other regions.

¹⁵³ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. (1) – (2) f. 18v.

¹⁵⁴ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 23r.

¹⁵⁵ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 28r – f. 28v.

sommo per piece was a stable price for a decade. Besides *loesti*, the deeds mention other textiles.¹⁵⁶ Sometimes one even encounters slaves (Stefan) who bought and sold textiles.¹⁵⁷

Latin Romagna was deeply involved in this trade. A German, Albert de Crunut, son of the deceased Dirck, mentions that he had to give Andrea Nigro 5 cubits of textiles in Negroponte.¹⁵⁸ Clothes are often mentioned (clearly they were mainly of European origin besides the ones made of fur); often the deeds specify the color and whether they had a lining or not. The clothes mentioned are *diplois*, *clamyda*, *toga*, *roba*, *vestes*;¹⁵⁹ often the deeds mention black berets and other types of hats and caps,¹⁶⁰ textiles for sacerdotal robes, etc. Once, antependia¹⁶¹ are mentioned. Besides the Italian textile production, that of Flanders and the British Isles are reflected in the deeds (the above-mentioned *loesti*; two new black caps from London are also mentioned – “*due birete nigre nove de Londres*,”¹⁶² and two robes from Scotland – “*robe echosse*”¹⁶³). Venice actively exploited the tandem routes of the galleys of Romagna and Flanders. The Venetians scheduled the time of the arrival and departure of galleys so the galleys of Tana left only after the arrival of galleys with textiles from Flanders.¹⁶⁴

Other products of European industry

Other goods were mostly imported to be used by the Italians themselves. Venetian glass has been discovered in Eastern Crimea. The glass trade became quite important by 1400,¹⁶⁵ and presumably Tana was involved. In 1439, Badoer registered a batch of Venetian

¹⁵⁶ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. (1) – (2) f. 18v, f. 19v (4) – f. 20r, 27r – 27v, 28v. ASV, NT. Cart. 917, 1.

¹⁵⁷ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 44r.

¹⁵⁸ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 19v (4) – f. 20r.

¹⁵⁹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 3 – 3v, 20r – 20v, 21r, 22r, 27r – 27v, 28v.

¹⁶⁰ ASV, NT. Cart. 917, 5-6, 7. ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 2.

¹⁶¹ ASV, NT. Cart. 917, 1. ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 30v – f. 31r.

¹⁶² ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 20r – f. 20v.

¹⁶³ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 22r.

¹⁶⁴ Régestes... doc. 2500, a. 1439, Iun. 30.

¹⁶⁵ Kramarovskii, Gookin, “Венецианские винные кубки ” [Venetian wine goblets], In *Mare e littora*, (Moscow: Indrik, 2009): 588.

glass in Constantinople; it was destined for retail trade and gifts.¹⁶⁶ The deeds also mention some utensils clearly originating from Europe: weapons,¹⁶⁷ including swords, longbows, crossbows, and arrows of individual ownership,¹⁶⁸ as well as 200 (or perhaps 12) shields from Valencia (presumably to be sold or otherwise traded for equipping the garrison),¹⁶⁹ golden rings with various jewels,¹⁷⁰ a silver belt,¹⁷¹ and a tin vessel.¹⁷² Sometimes the weight is specified; Michele de Mattheo de Suazio left his brother a silver belt of 13 ounces.¹⁷³ However, these goods were not that significant in the overall structure of trade;¹⁷⁴ they are more interesting as items of the material culture and everyday life.

1.2. Goods exported to Europe and goods destined for local consumption

Fish

Giovanni Liardo received through *cambium*¹⁷⁵ 20 ducats from Giovanni Basilio with a condition that had he wished to transfer *cambium* to Venice he should have done it with a deposit of 2 *botte* of sturgeons.¹⁷⁶ In his will Michele de Mattheo de Suazio mentions the gain from 25 *botte* of sturgeons sold.¹⁷⁷ Baldassare of deceased Marco mentions that he charged 500 bezants for 4 *botte* of sturgeons and another 1000 bezants for 7 *botte* of sturgeons.¹⁷⁸ Thus,, one can judge the prices: 10 ducats, 125 bezants, and 142.8 bezants per *botta* respectively. Earlier deeds also mention sturgeons,¹⁷⁹ as well as *peschiere* with a number of

¹⁶⁶ Gino Luzzato, *Storia economica di Venezia* (Venice: Centro internazionale delle arti e del costume, 1961), 19.

¹⁶⁷ One had to own arms to be admitted to a galea, notwithstanding his status.

¹⁶⁸ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 3 – 3v, 21v – 22r, 23r.

¹⁶⁹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 28v.

¹⁷⁰ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 8, 24r – 24v, 25r.

¹⁷¹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 8, 23r.

¹⁷² ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 19v (4) – f. 20r.

¹⁷³ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 23r.

¹⁷⁴ Moreover, some of them are not related to trade dynamics, but were brought by the Venetians from home.

¹⁷⁵ A commercial tool for money transactions.

¹⁷⁶ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 3 – 3v.

¹⁷⁷ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 23r.

¹⁷⁸ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 23r.

¹⁷⁹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 26v; 1430.

Venetian workmen,¹⁸⁰ often owned by officers, nobles, and merchants (Giosafato Barbaro, Giovanni da Valle¹⁸¹); they were situated far from the trading station (around 40 miles, according to Barbaro) and sometimes they were endangered by the Tatar threat.¹⁸² These *peschiere* retained their importance into the sixteenth century under the Turks.¹⁸³ Some scholars have even claimed that fish was the main issue of trade in Tana.¹⁸⁴ Balard wrote that it was exported to Constantinople, Trebizond, Caffa, Simisso, and Smirna;¹⁸⁵ however, none of my deeds implies selling them on spot or in Constantinople – only in Venice. Thus, as well as caviar, sturgeons were the objects of long-distance trade. Less expensive species of fish from Tana were the basis of the diet of the lower classes in Constantinople.¹⁸⁶ At least after 1427 the fish-trade was controlled by a special Venetian office *Ternaria Nuova*.¹⁸⁷

Caviar:

Byzantium had a long-lasting tradition of caviar trade¹⁸⁸ from Don River to Constantinople and Europe through Tana.¹⁸⁹ It retained its importance in the 1430s. Giovanni de Giorgio de Segna received six vessels with caviar measuring four *cantar* each (1 *cantar* equals 47.6 kilo), in total, 24 *cantars* of caviar,¹⁹⁰ which shows the large scale of the trade.¹⁹¹ Pero Tafur also mentions the caviar of the sturgeons from Tana.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁰ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 20r – 20v.

¹⁸¹ *I viaggi*, ed. L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M. F. Tiepolo (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1973), 77-78.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 77-78.

¹⁸³ Archives du Musée de Topkapi, K. 888, f. 305 r, 305 v., see M. Berindei and G. Veinstein, “La Tana-Azaq...” 11.

¹⁸⁴ Michele Balard, *La Romanie Génoise* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1978), Vol. 2, 706. Fishing was seasonal (July to August), and the Genoese Matrega was often a transit point for the Italian ships. Besides Tana, Lo Copa on the Kuban river was important (Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 706-707); however, Tana was a leader in fish export, and according to Pero Tafur it was exported to Europe as far as Castille and Flanders, see Pero Tafur, *Wanderings and Travels*, ed. L. C. Maciel Sanchez (Moscow: Indrik, 2006), 53 -54.

¹⁸⁵ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, Vol. 2, 625.

¹⁸⁶ David Jacoby, “Caviar Trading in Byzantium,” in *Mare e littora*, ed. R. Shukurov (Moscow: 2009): 355.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 357.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 348.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 351. Pegolotti Francesco Balducci, *La Pratica della mercatura* ed. A. Evans (Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936), 380; Jacoby, “Caviar Trading,” 352-353.

¹⁹⁰ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 29r.

¹⁹¹ Peter Schreiner, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican: 1991), 129, 132. The Greek books of accounts published by Schreiner witnesses

In 1433, the price of the caviar in Pera was fixed at 6.5 to 7 *perpers* for a Genoese *cantar* (47.65 kilo).¹⁹³ In 1438, Giacomo Badoer bought caviar from Tana (8 *cantars* = 380.8 kilos) at 6 *perpers* per *cantar*, and later, 7 and 11 *cantars* (333 and 523 kilo) for 6.8 and 5 *perpers*, respectively.¹⁹⁴ Barbaro reports a story of how the Tatars plundered thirty barrels of caviar from the hiding place of his fellow, Giovanni de Valle.¹⁹⁵ However, such losses were episodic, while the commercial interest was constant. Eventually, the Venetians and Genoese introduced the taste for the caviar into Europe.¹⁹⁶

Salt:

The Italians (mainly the Genoese¹⁹⁷) supplied Constantinople and Trebizond with the salt from Sivash.¹⁹⁸ Barbaro wrote that this salt was as largegrained as that from Ibiza (Gieviza),¹⁹⁹ one of the main places of salt mining in Europe.²⁰⁰ The places of salt mining on the shore of the Black and Azov Seas are marked as *saline* on old Italian maps.

Ceramics:

Excavations in Tana show that the ceramics in use were either of local production or originated from the Golden Horde.²⁰¹ At the same time, ceramics from Tana can be found elsewhere, and the finds of the ceramics from Volga region in Soldaja are finally persuasive

that once 9.5 cantars of caviar from Tana were sold (Ibid., 62, 117). Caviar is called *koupatikon* (Ibid., 42, 118), and allegedly it was from Lo Copa (Ibid., 62; Jacoby, "Caviar Trading..." 355), but most likely it simply meant that the caviar was in barrels (Latin *cupa*), *pace* Peter Schreiner.

¹⁹² Pero Tafur, *Wanderings and Travels*, 166.

¹⁹³ Luigi Belgrano, "Prima serie di documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera," *ASLSP* 13 (1877–1884): 202.

¹⁹⁴ *Il Libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, 1956), 416 (1-2), 417 (1-5). The price of caviar largely depended on its quality; Jacoby, "Caviar Trading," 361.

¹⁹⁵ *I viaggi in Persia*, ed. L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca and M. F. Tiepolo (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1973), 77-78.

¹⁹⁶ Jacoby, "Caviar Trading..." 364.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 359.

¹⁹⁸ Michele Ballard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIIe – début du XVe siècle)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1978), Vol. 2, 708.

¹⁹⁹ *I viaggi in Persia*, 78.

²⁰⁰ Pegolotti Francesco Balducci, *La Pratica della mercatura*. (Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936), 154, 224.

²⁰¹ I. Volkov, *Керамика Азова XIV – XVIII вв* [The pottery] (Moscow, 1992), 5-6. The amount of imported ceramics in Tana equaled around 30% of all ceramics in use. Some of it was of the "Trebizond" group, some of it originated from Trillia, Crete, Madjar, Saraj, Choresme, Crimea, and presumably Spain and China. The "Crimean" group is represented by vessels from Caffa, Soldaja, Solkhat, and southwestern Crimea.

that the ceramics trade through Tana was intensive.²⁰² The vessels depicted with the *graffito* are commonly regarded as the “Latino-Paleologian” group; they were produced in the Crimea and the region of the Azov Sea.²⁰³

Wine

Wine was permanently lacking in Tana;²⁰⁴ hence, it was one of the main imports. Baldassare, son of the late Marco, mentions that he charged around 74 ducats for the wine he sold,²⁰⁵ and another 80 bezants for another *botta* of wine.²⁰⁶ The wine was mainly imported to Tana from Trebizond,²⁰⁷ where the merchants had a privilege of duty-free wholesale wine trade.²⁰⁸ Based on the analysis of the ceramic containers, Volkov claimed that Trebizond was the only importer of wine to Tana.²⁰⁹ However, this claim is too bold. Volkov himself says that one of the main groups ceramics found at Tana was that from Eastern and Southern Crimea, a wine-producing region of Gothia.

Researching the data of a Genoese financial inspection of 1351, one finds that the wine from Gothia was brought to Caffa and taxed at 10 aspres per barrel.²¹⁰ This tax gave an income of 25000 aspres *per annum*, hence the amount of wine can be calculated at around 2600 barrels. Caffa supplied 50% (which should be less than 2600 barrels) of its wine needs from Gothia and imported the rest from the Aegean region. Where did the Genoese re-export the rest of the wine from Gothia? The only possible solution was that they sold it in Tana to both Italians and Tatars, who soon became addicted to wine (just to recall the episode from

²⁰² I. Baranov, “Комплекс третьей четверти XIV века в Судакской крепости,” [The complex of the third quarter of the fourteenth century in the Sudak fortress], *Судейский сборник* [Sougdea Collection] 1 (2004): 547-555.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 547.

²⁰⁴ Karpov, *Итальянские морские республики* [The Italian maritime republics] (Moscow: Moscow University Publishers, 1990), 127.

²⁰⁵ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 23r.

²⁰⁶ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 23r.

²⁰⁷ See: M. Berindei, G. Veinstein, “La Tana-Azaq de la presence italienne à l’emprise ottomane (fin XIIIe – milieu XVIe siècle),” *Turcica* 8 (1976): 110-201.

²⁰⁸ ASV, Senato, Misti, LX, f. 236r. *Régestes...* № 2532.

²⁰⁹ I. Volkov, *Керамика Азова XIV – XVIII вв.* [The Pottery of Azov] (Moscow, 1992), 8.

²¹⁰ Luigi Belgrano, “Cinque documenti genovesi-orientali,” *ASLSP* 17 (1885): 249.

Barbaro, when his guest Edelmugh got his fill of it²¹¹). Moreover, there was a transit wine trade from Crimea to Russia through Tana and the Don River; the Crimean wine vessels have been found in the regions of the Volga and Don as well as northwards up to Moscow.²¹² Presumably, the Russian word *виноград* (grapes) could have German (i.e., Gothic) origins (*Wingart*).²¹³ Apparently Balard was mistaken in claiming that the import of wine from Trebizond to Crimea and Tana was not important.²¹⁴ I would add that besides the import from Trebizond there was an import from Crimea. The abundance of imported wine vessels in a small settlement which was not a center of wine production is evidence of the well-developed wine trade as well as of its widespread consumption.

Timber:

Timber is mentioned in the deeds only once.²¹⁵ This issue of trade had an advantage of low freight rates. Relatively cheap timber from Russia was needed for the growing industry in Italy,²¹⁶ and this promoted the raw-materials trade, the scale of which was quite large.

Wax:

Tana was a transit point of the wax trade. Giovanni Petri mentions 12 cantars of wax in his will.²¹⁷ In his testament Antonio de Papia, son of the late Chinacsius, gave candles to the church of St. Mikel in Murano.²¹⁸ The candles could also be produced in the small factories of the churches of Tana. Wax was 28.4% of Badoer's exports from Constantinople

²¹¹ *I viaggi in Persia*, 78-79.

²¹² A. Veksler, A. Melnikova, *Московские клады* [Moscow treasures] (Moscow: Moscow Worker, 1973), 56.

²¹³ F. K. Brun, "Черноморские готы и следы долгого их пребывания в Южной России" [The Goths of the Black Sea and the traces of their long stay in Southern Russia] *Notes of the Imperial Academy of Sciences* (1874): 46-49.

²¹⁴ Michele Balard, *La Romanie Génoise* (Rome: École française de Rome 1978) Vol. 2, 884. Karpov, [Review of:] P. Schreiner, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana* (The Vatican: 1991), VV 56 (1996): 217.

²¹⁵ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. (1) – (2) f. 18v.

²¹⁶ A. Rolova, "Итальянский купец и его торгово-банковская деятельность в XIII – XV вв.," [The Italian merchant and his trade and banking activities in the thirteenth - fifteenth centuries]. SV 57 (1994): 62 - 74.

²¹⁷ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. (1) – (2) f. 18v.

²¹⁸ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 19v (4) – f. 20r.

to Venice.²¹⁹ Part of it probably came from Asia Minor, but most of it was clearly from the north, coming via the River Don. The Venetians determined special freight rates for the wax from Tana²²⁰ and in some years it was one of the main objects to be loaded on the galleys²²¹ (wax was regarded among the *sottili* issues²²²).

Fur:

Tana and Caffa were the main suppliers of the European markets with Russian fur.²²³ One can find numerous references to clothes made of fur in the deeds – fur coats (Russian borrowing *subbum* from *шуба*), caftans (again a borrowed word)²²⁴ and other types of clothing made from various kinds of fur from sable and fox to the modest sheepskin.²²⁵ Sable was especially popular.²²⁶ The first mentions of Russian merchants, perhaps linked with the fur trade, at Italian trading stations date to the fourteenth century.²²⁷ There were six routes linking Russia with the Black Sea: 1) the Dnepr; 2) the Don (through Tana); 3) from Smolensk and Slutzck to Moncastro; 4) through Caffa; 5) via the Volga up to Saraj, and then via the Don to Tana; 6) via the Volga to Astrakhan, then via the Caucasus to Trebizond and Constantinople.²²⁸ The second route took around 40 days,²²⁹ and its increasing importance and relative safety can be testified to by the fact that it was chosen by the Metropolitan Pimen on his way to Byzantium.

Leather

²¹⁹ М. Шитиков, “Константинополь и венецианская торговля,” [Constantinople and the Venetian trade], VV 30 (1969): 50.

²²⁰ ASV, Senato, Misti, XXXIII, f. 15v-16r.

²²¹ ASV, Senato, Misti, XLVII, f. 85r. Régestes... № 1237.

²²² Карпов, *Итальянские морские республики* [The Italian maritime republics], 117.

²²³ Ibid., 152.

²²⁴ Interestingly, the words for fur coat or homespun coat (*subbum*), and caftan (*cofanus*) used in the deeds are borrowings. Another borrowing from Russian is a name for a sleigh used by Barbaro (*zena*).

²²⁵ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 8, 20r – 20v, 22r, 27r – 27v, 28v, 31r.

²²⁶ Карпов, “Из Таны в Ургенч” [From Tana to Urgench] SV 61 (2000): 219.

²²⁷ М. Тихомиров, *Древняя Москва XII – XV вв.; Средневековая Россия на международных путях. XIV – XV вв.* [Ancient Moscow of the twelfth - fifteenth centuries. Medieval Russia on international routes, fourteenth - fifteenth centuries] (Moscow: Moscow Worker, 1992), 78.

²²⁸ Карпов, “Trebizond Empire and the Russian lands,” VV 38 (1977): 40.

²²⁹ М. Тихомиров, *Древняя Москва*. [Ancient Moscow] (Moscow: Moscow Worker, 1992), 77-79.

Leather (including high-quality cordobans) was exported through Tana to Trebizond.²³⁰ Cordobans (clearly meant to be sold) are mentioned in the will of Baldassare of late Marco from St. Peter de Castello.²³¹

Oil:

Like wine, oil was imported to Tana (presumably from Romagna). Antonio de Papia, son of the late Chinacsius, mentioned one botta of oil to be given to Baldassare Marzi.²³²

Cereals

Crops from the northern Black Sea coast were exported to Byzantium, Italy, Western Europe, and the Near East at least from 1268, and the demand was high. The Empire of Trebizond, as well as Constantinople, was especially dependant on this supply.²³³ It is known for certain that even the nomadic Tatars were involved in agriculture; Barbaro reported their immense harvests of millet (1 to 50, 1 to 100, though he apparently exaggerates).²³⁴ Whether Tatars' farming was close to Tana has been argued,²³⁵ but no evidence is known.

Animals:

Barbaro described the animal trade, the occupation of Tatars, exhaustively.²³⁶ It is hard to estimate the scale, but surely it was huge. Horses and bulls were the main items of this trade (through Walachia and Transylvania to Germany and Italy); other items were camels (the Tatars sold them to Persia), and sheep.²³⁷ The deeds do not give much evidence of it – only once do they mention a mule to be given to the consul.²³⁸

Silk:

²³⁰ *Il Libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, 1956), 307, 334.

²³¹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 23v – f. 24r.

²³² ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 19v (4) – f. 20r.

²³³ Karpov, "The grain trade in the Southern Black Sea, thirteenth - fifteenth centuries," *VV* 50 (1989): 26-35.

²³⁴ *I viaggi in Persia*, 86.

²³⁵ M. Berindei, G. Veinstein, "La Tana-Azaq de la presence italienne à l'emprise ottomane (fin XIIIe – milieu XVIe siècle)," *Turcica* 8 (1976): 137.

²³⁶ *I viaggi in Persia*, 85.

²³⁷ *I viaggi in Persia*, 84 – 86.

²³⁸ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 20r – f. 20v.

The silk sold through Tana was of lower quality and quantity than that sold through Trebizond.²³⁹ Badoer bought silk in Constantinople at 153 to 165 aspres of Trebizond per *libra*.²⁴⁰ However, silk is often mentioned in the deeds, sometimes in large amounts, and it is often specified that it be for sale; it can be pieces of cloth,²⁴¹ silk shirts,²⁴² shawls, etc., although I did not find any evidence of the prices.

Spices:

Spices, medicines, and other Eastern herbs equaled 21.4 % of Badoer's export from Constantinople to Venice.²⁴³ It is significant that after Djanibeck plundered Tana in 1343 and the trade with Italy was stopped, the prices of spices and silk doubled in Italy.²⁴⁴ Pegolotti also mentions Tana as an important transit point on the spice trade.²⁴⁵ However, in the fifteenth century spices were a bit less important. Barbaro describes that earlier some 6 or 7 large galleys came to Tana for the sake of Eastern spices, etc., while those goods were unavailable even in Syria!²⁴⁶

1.3. The dynamics of the slave trade: movements of people, slaves, goods, and money

It was due to the proximity to the main sources of slaves (Russia, the Golden Horde, and the Caucasus)²⁴⁷ that Tana became one of the main centers of the slave trade in the whole

²³⁹ Karpov, *Итальянские морские республики* [The Italian maritime republics], 116.

²⁴⁰ *Il Libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer.*, 15, 42, 166, 308, 309.

²⁴¹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 19r (3) – f. 19v (4), 23r, 25r.

²⁴² ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 8, f. 20r – f. 20v, f. 30v – f. 31r.

²⁴³ M. M. Shitikov, “Константинополь и венецианская торговля.” [Constantinople and the Venetian trade], *VV* 30 (1969): 50.

²⁴⁴ V. Syroechkovsky, *Гости-суроожане* [The Merchants of Surozh] (Moscow: (State socio-economic Press, 1935), 14.

²⁴⁵ Pegolotti Francesco Balducci, *La Pratica della mercatura*, 24; Michele Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIe – début du XVe siècle)*. Vol. 2, 720.

²⁴⁶ M. Berindei, G. Veinstein, “La Tana-Azaq de la presence italienne à l’emprise ottomane (fin XIIIe – milieu XVIe siècle),” *Turcica* 8 (1976): 127-128.

²⁴⁷ Charles Verlinden, “La colonie vénitienne de Tana, centre de la traite des esclaves au XIVe et au début du XVe siècle,” in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzato* (Milan: S.I., 1950), Vol. 2, 1-25; Idem, *L’esclavage dans l’Europe médiévale. T. 2: Italie. Colonie italiennes du Levant latin. Empire Byzantin* (Gent: De Tempel, 1977), 954-955. Local nobility and the Crimean Tatars were among the main sources of slave supply; one can add piracy, local wars, penalties, and slavery because of debt; often the heads of the poor families sold their children as well.

Levant after the Venetian authorities finally permitted their citizens to buy slaves officially in this station in 1366.²⁴⁸ Some of the slaves were kept in Tana, but most were exported to the markets of Italy, Constantinople, Asia Minor, the Near East, North Africa, and Spain. There were legal limits to the slave trade,²⁴⁹ but most likely the merchants were encouraged by the Italian authorities of Caffa and Tana, since the tolls brought income to the treasury of the consuls. Some scholars have even argued that the slave trade was the basis of the economy of Tana.²⁵⁰ Surely the deeds cannot fully reflect the scale and main directions of the slave trade.²⁵¹ A comparison of the material from deeds with that in taxation documents shows that only about 3 to 5% of the total slave trade is fixed in notarial acts.²⁵² Moreover, the manumissions and indirect mentions of slaves prevail over the deeds arranging a sale.²⁵³ Nevertheless, the set of documents I studied provide some valuable data.

²⁴⁸ Freddy Thiriet, *Deliberations des Assamblees venetiennes concernant la Romanie*, Vol. 2, 38. The main source areas for slaves in Europe were Caffa and Tana at that time. Moreover, the demand for slaves in Mameluck Egypt was high. By the late fourteenth century, more than 500 slaves lived permanently in Caffa and more than 4000 in Pera. The figures must have been high for Tana as well. See Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, Vol. 2, 1-25; Prokofieva, "Акты" [The Acts], 42-43.

²⁴⁹ Responding to the papal accusations, the Genoese government answered in 1434 that in order not to sell Christian slaves there were special restrictions on transporting slaves out of the Black Sea region; they could only come from Caffa, only on Genoese vessels, and under the control of a bishop and clergy. However, in Tana this was largely ignored and anyway it did not cover Venetians. Moreover, most of the slaves exported to Egypt were of nomadic Tatar origin (for they were better warriors). Finally, the restrictions were not made due to pious motivations – the Genoese simply intended to monopolize the slave trade, having it concentrated in Caffa, although they themselves often exported slaves from Tana directly to Sinop: see Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIIe – début du XVe siècle)*. Vol. 1, 132. As late as 1441, the Office of Gazaria enforced stronger restrictions on the export of slaves on galleys. The rules pertained to the export of slaves west to Chios; only one slave per merchant was allowed. The patrons of *naves* and *coccae* could transport 30 to 60 slaves, depending on their vessels, see Карпов, "Работорговля" [The slave trade], 142. These restrictions strengthened the Genoese monopoly of the Caffa slave trade (Ibid., 142).

²⁵⁰ Барбаро и Контарини о России. К истории итало-русских связей в XV в. [Barbaro and Contarini on Russia. On the history of Italo-Russian relations in the fifteenth century], ed. E. Ch. Skrzhinskaja (Leningrad: Nauka Publishers, 1971), 53-54.

²⁵¹ The deeds mention, in fact, only the cases when either a vendor or a purchaser was Italian (or another person belonging to "written" legal culture) who intended to formulate the transactions in the form of documents and was familiar with the notariate. I would suggest (though it could seem too bold) that the deeds were mostly made in cases when both individuals were of such a culture.

²⁵² Карпов, "Работорговля в Южном Причерноморье в первой половине XV в. (преимущественно по данным массарий Каффы)" [The slave trade in the Southern Black Sea coast in the first half of the fifteenth century, mainly according to the Massarias of Caffa], VV 46 (1986): 139.

²⁵³ Why are the transactions of slaves so scarce in my sets of deeds? Most likely, the *Italian* slave traders were not commonly domiciled in Tana. The masters of galleys and other Italians often bought slaves from the hands of mediators (Tatars, Russians, people from the Caucasus – in the last case especially children sold by their parents), and therefore they did not use the services of a notary. Tatars were always at their disposal – Barbaro mentioned that his *kunack* Edelmugh brought him eight Russian slaves as a gift, see: *I viaggi in Persia*, 82. The

In 1362, slaves were sold for 17.5 to 32.5 *perpers*²⁵⁴ and female slaves prevailed over the males (mostly aged 11 to 30 years,²⁵⁵ with a special preference for those aged 11 to 16 years²⁵⁶). Their origin was mainly Tatar, Slav, or Caucasian.²⁵⁷ In the 1370s, the export decreased,²⁵⁸ but after 1400 the situation changed.²⁵⁹ Slaves from the Black Sea region prevailed in Venice around 1400 to 1450 (136 deeds for the years 1401 to 1456 are known),²⁶⁰ especially those from the Caucasus.²⁶¹ Russian slaves are also present (36 deeds for 1406 to 1420, 141 deeds for 1420 to 1455²⁶²). In Tana in 1407 to 1408 the average age of slaves was 12 to 22 years, the average price was 289 bezants each, one quarter of slaves were males and three quarters were females. The ethnic distribution was roughly: Tatars 40%, Circassians 40%, Zikhs 10%, and Russians 10%.²⁶³ In the deeds of Tana from 1413 to 1419, half of the slaves are Russians (mainly women) and Circassians are also numerous.²⁶⁴

scale of this unregulated and undocumented trade was huge, but most often it was conducted without the participation of a notary.

²⁵⁴ 500 aspres of Tana (32.5 *perpers*), 10 ducats (17.5 p.), 400 (26.25 p.), 620 (41.25 p.), 600 (39 p.), 400 (26.25 p.), and 500 aspres of Tana (32.5 p.). See: *Les Italiens à Byzance* (Paris: 1987), 94, 101. These prices do not differ much from those in Constantinople; therefore, either the expenses of transportation were not high or (most likely) the supply on the markets of Constantinople was so high that it kept prices low. Interestingly, all 25 Genoese of Tana mentioned by notary Benedetto Bianco are vendors of slaves, and none of them a purchaser, see Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIe – début du XVe siècle)*. Vol. 1, 300. The deliberations of the Senate also show that the Genoese were quite active in this sphere, see M. Berindei, G. Veinstein, “La Tana-Azaq de la présence italienne à l’emprise ottomane :” 140. The source data of Barbaro and Badoer report the same.

²⁵⁵ Карпов, “Документы по истории венецианской фактории Тана во второй половине XIV в.” [Documents on the history of Venetian factories Tana in the second half of fourteenth century]. *PSV* 1 (1991): 193.

²⁵⁶ Idem, “Венецианская Тана” [Venetian Tana] *PSV* 5 (2001): 22.

²⁵⁷ Tatar female slaves were especially popular as household servants. One of them (in the fourteenth century), a Tatar, Karaza, received the name Nastasija in an Orthodox baptism. Perhaps this is evidence of the activity of Russian or Greek slave traders.

²⁵⁸ Карпов, “Документы к истории” [Documents on the history] 193.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 193, by 1400, around 80.7% of all slaves in Genoa originated from the Black Sea region; in this group Tatars comprised 79.3%, Circassians – 8.9, Abkhaz – 1.5, Alans – 0.3, Mingrels – 0.2, and Russians – 6.7%, see Karpov, *The Italian Maritime Republics*, 167. Slaves became more expensive in early fifteenth century after the export of Tatar slaves from the Black Sea region decreased somewhat: Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIe – début du XVe siècle)*. Vol. 2, 790 – 801, and table 54. However, I have used only the Genoese sources. According other accounts, from 1425 to 1449 this figure equaled 91%. The figures for Tatars decreased from 63% (1394 – 1398) to 20% (1425 – 1450), and for Circassians from 28% to 20%. The figures for Russian slaves increased from 20% (1400 – 1424) to 41.6% (1425 – 1449), and kept growing.

²⁶⁰ Charles Verlinden, *L’esclavage dans l’Europe médiévale*, Vol. 2, 566 – 603.

²⁶¹ For the period 1375 to 1469, Verlinden discovered 89 transactions of Circassian slaves, for 1423 to 1445, 13 transactions of Abkhaz, and for 1422 to 1456 only four mentions of Mingrel female slaves. In addition, most of them were exported from the shores of the Caucasus and not via Tana.

²⁶² Ibid., 603 – 642.

²⁶³ Moretto Bon, *notaio in Venezia, Trebisonda e Tana (1403 – 1408)*, ed. de’Colli (Venice: Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1950), 33 – 48. Prot. 2, doc. 21, 23, 24, 30-34, 36, 38-40.

²⁶⁴ Prokofieva, Акты [The Acts] 43.

The data about the prices of the 1430s is scarce. One can mention that Giovanni Nigro sold his female Russian slave, Maria, aged 22, to *ser* Luciano for 450 bezants of Tana.²⁶⁵ It is known for sure that the traders preferred to buy slaves aged around 12 to 16 years. Tatar female slaves brought higher prices; at least, only these girls are mentioned in wills objects of inheritance and not in connection with their manumission.²⁶⁶

Based on the deeds of the 1430s, the ethnic distribution of 18 slaves (including freedmen²⁶⁷) was: 4 Russians (22%), 4 Tatars (22%), 1 Zikh (5%), 1 Circassian (5%), 2 having names of Eastern origin (11%), 6 (33%) with Christian names, but nothing else can be stated for sure. 39% (7 persons) were males; 61% (11 persons) were females.²⁶⁸ Having compared this data with the data of the previous decades, one can infer that the number of Russian and Tatar slaves increased, while the number of the slaves from the Caucasus decreased.²⁶⁹ I daresay that it was a general tendency of the 1430s and maybe of the whole fifteenth century. The story narrated by Barbaro (killing and capturing of about 40 Circassians) does not change anything,²⁷⁰ and one is not sure that those captives were sold as slaves. Technically, slaves from Russia brought by the Tatars from their raids were more available and easier to get compared to the inhabitants of the Caucasus.

²⁶⁵ ASV, CI. Cart. 231. f. 3v.

²⁶⁶ Besides some cases, like the one of a Russian female slave. ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 28r – f. 28v.

²⁶⁷ Commonly, only the baptized slaves could be manumitted. Manumission was rarely done *pro remedio anime* and without special conditions. Commonly, a slave had to serve for some years more (2 to 6 in my deeds); sometimes there was a hidden buyout. Manumission often equaled gaining of Venetian citizenship. I have not traced a single case when a freedman received the *cognomen* of his master in the deeds of Varsis and Smeritis. Female slaves often received a dowry when they were freed.

²⁶⁸ Such a correlation derives from the fact that both in Tana (for internal consumption) and in Italy the demand for female slaves was higher – they were used as servants and concubines, while the males were mostly sold to Egypt for military purposes. This explains the difference between the correlations of genders on the spot where the slaves were bought and in the markets (European and Egyptian).

²⁶⁹ The Genoese often bought slaves from the Caucasus directly from their parents; local nobility also participated in the slave trade, see Y. Uzlov, “К вопросу об итальянской колонизации Северо-Западного Кавказа в XIII – XV вв.” [On the Italian colonization of northwest Caucasus in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries] *Black Sea, Crimea, Russia in History and Culture. Sudak Materials of the 2nd international conference (12 - 16 September 2004). Part II* (Kiev - Sudak: Academperiodika, 2004): 214.

²⁷⁰ *I viaggi in Persia*, 82.

Russian slaves were sold in the market of Tana from the fourteenth century.²⁷¹ The deeds of the 1430s mention several Russian slaves (Ivan, Martin, Stefan, Maria, Anna). However, what kind of Russians were they? They are always marked as *russii* and never as *rutheni* or *rubei*.²⁷² Is this connected with their ethnic or geographical origin? Most likely they originated from southern Russia, close to Tana. I have tried to research the Russian and Eastern chronicles²⁷³ to make up the data lacking; this showed that northeastern Russia suffered more from Tatar raids. At the same time, there were few large-scale raids into southern Russia mentioned in the sources (1429,²⁷⁴ 1430,²⁷⁵ 1438,²⁷⁶ 1445,²⁷⁷ and 1452²⁷⁸). Nevertheless, I am convinced that the *russii* of the deeds originated from southern and southwestern Russia. The reasons are as follows:

1) The chronicles mention only Edigej, Borack-khan, Mazovsha, and Kerimberdi, which means only large-scale raids. This means that there were many smaller-scale raidss.

²⁷¹ N. Bogdanova, "Херсон в X – XV вв. Проблемы истории византийского города," [Cherson in the Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries. Problems of the History of the Byzantine city] *PSV* 1 (1991): 61. A certain *Ugolin de Rossia* had a slave bazaar in Tana. He was probably an Italian (which does neither deny that there were Russian slave traders, nor that someone born Russian could have an Italian name); however, he operated in Russia, which was his source of procurement.

²⁷² The notaries distinguished these two ethnonyms; thus, a deed drafted by Pietro Pellacan 4.09.1450 mentions *Nicolaus butarius ruthenus* and *uxor Romani rutheni* (ASV, NT. b. 826, № 12); however, in the same document one finds several mentions of *russius*.

²⁷³ I studied Russian chronicles and the available Eastern sources for a bit broader period, namely, the years 6928 to 6963 (1420 to 1455).

²⁷⁴ "Хроника Литовская и Жмойтская" [Chronicle of Lithuania and Zhemoitia], *PSRL* 32 (1975), 125 - 127. The Tatars failed in their siege of the citadel, but plundered and burnt the city.

²⁷⁵ "Софийская вторая летопись" [Second "Sophian" Chronicle] *PSRL* 6 (1853): 144; "Вологодско-Пермская летопись" [Chronicle of Vologda and Perm'] *PSRL* 26 (1959) 186; "Львовская летопись" [Chronicle of L'vov] *PSRL* 20, No. 1) (1910): 234; "Никаноровская летопись" [Chronicle of Nikanor], *PSRL* 27 (1962): 102, "Летописный свод 1497 г." [Chronicle of 1497], *PSRL* 28 (1963): 98. According to other chronicles, Aidar did not reach Kiev, because the distance was not 15 miles, but rather 80 Russian *verst*s ("Ермолинская летопись" [Ermolinskaja Chronicle], *PSRL* 23 (1910): 147; "Устюжская летопись" [Chronicle of Ustjugh] *PSRL* 37 (1982): 41.

²⁷⁶ "Патриаршая, или Никоновская летопись" [Patriarchal Chronicle], *PSRL* 12 (1901): 25 – 26. The chronicler asserts that the Tatars left with many captives; it may have been right after this invasion that Edelmugh brought eight slaves to Barbaro.

²⁷⁷ "Слущкая летопись" [Chronicle of Slutsk], *PSRL* 35 (1980): 78. See also: "Ольшевский список. Wielkiego xięstwa Litewskiego i żmódzkiego kronika" [Chronicle of Olscha], *PSRL* 17 (1907): 466-467. The chronicler clearly made a mistake and ascribed the events of 1445 to the year 1452.

²⁷⁸ "Уваровский список (Летописец вел. князей Литовских)" [Chronicle of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania], *PSRL* 17 (1907): 401.

2) There is evidence that the Muscovites organized their defense more effectively. They resisted the raids and retook the captives far more often than the Lithuanians.²⁷⁹ The Tatars succeeded in all the raids mentioned to southwestern Russia, while they failed in half of their expeditions to northeastern Russia.

3) The *polon* of northeastern Russian chronicles (lit.: “captivity,” meaning the captive ones) does not seem to have been really a means of capture people for sale, but rather a sort of racketeering. I found direct evidence several times that a Tatar troop captured a number of people in the northeastern lands and then stopped nearby, expecting to get ransom.²⁸⁰ However, there is no evidence that the Tatars behaved in this way with the Lithuanians.

4) Transporting the captives from the northeastern lands was not an easy task. Moreover, even if Tatars captured Muscovites, they probably did not sell them in the Black Sea region (which would have been inconvenient). In one of the few cases when Muscovites failed either to liberate or to ransom captives, they were taken away on ships along the Volga,²⁸¹ and not along Don or across the steppe.

5) Surely Western Russian chronicles reflect only large-scale raids; there was also a huge number of minor bandit Tatar troops operating on the steppe. Clearly, it was mainly these small bands permanently plundering the countryside that brought the booty, especially slaves. The chroniclers either were not informed of their raids or regarded them as inconsiderable or just preferred to omit mentioning them.

6) As for the large-scale Tatar raids, they not only plundered but also permanently exploited the northeastern lands; devastating their tribute territories (including

²⁷⁹ Even though some chroniclers tend to report the victories of Russians rather than their defeats.

²⁸⁰ “Патриаршая, или Никоновская летопись” [Patriarchal Chronicle], *PSRL* 12 (1901): 61.

²⁸¹ “Софийская вторая летопись” [Second “Sophian” Chronicle], *PSRL* 6 (1853): 143; “Ермолинская летопись” [Ermolinskaja Chronicle], *PSRL* 23 (1910): 146; “Львовская летопись” [Chronicle of L’vov], *PSRL* 20, No. 1 (1910): 233. The “Патриаршая летопись” adds to the others: “They invaded Kostroma, Plesno, and Lukh” (Патриаршая, или Никоновская летопись. [Patriarchal Chronicle], *PSRL*, Vol. 12. (St. Petersburg: 1901), 8; Устюжская летопись. [Chronicle of Ustjugh], *PSRL*, Vol. 37 (Leningrad: 1982), 41.

the Muscovites) did not make much sense. Northeastern Russia supplied the Horde with handicraft products and paid tribute. Population numbers were low, so devastation would have led to a decrease in the incomes of the khans. At the same time, the southwestern lands, more populated and not subordinate to the Horde, were the most obvious choice for extracting a levy of slaves.²⁸² To conclude, most likely the large-scale Tatar invasions of the Muscovite principality (which became a commonplace in historiography) could have been aimed at capturing slaves only as late as the sixteenth century, while in the same period most Russian slaves were brought from southwestern Russian lands.

Coming back to the question of the intensity of the slave trade in Tana in the 1430s, one should say that the demand was high. A slave of Antonina, wife of Domenico Balotto, had to be sold in order to redeem pledged items,²⁸³ and Fabiano Desdiegna, asked to pay his debts, sold a slave on the spot.²⁸⁴ Hence, slaves were a liquid asset. At the same time, the Venetians preferred to send slaves to the Italian markets,²⁸⁵ where the prices were higher. Slaves were a break-even manpower, available even to craftsmen. Thus, Antonio de Marcuola (a modest *ballistarius*) asked to buy two Tatar boys aged 10 years each and to send them to Venice, one to the *caulker* Christoforo Stronzuolo, another to the *barber* Simone.²⁸⁶ Slaves were often bequeathed to people who were not the closest to the testator,²⁸⁷ which again stresses their availability on the market.

The manumission of slaves was a large-scale “pious” practice. In *CI*, Cart. 231, there are special acts of manumission; however, most often the legal basis was the mere will of a testator mentioned in his testament (though this manumission was almost never unconditional

²⁸² Provided that ones assume that those regions could have had demographic pressure, the levy could even have benefitted their economy.

²⁸³ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 8.

²⁸⁴ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 28r – f. 28v.

²⁸⁵ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 2.

²⁸⁶ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 27r. One can infer from this case that the Tatar male slaves were not always destined for the Egyptian markets as future Mameluck fighters, but often became house servants or artisans in the factories of Italy, Romagna, and Tana.

²⁸⁷ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 20r – f. 20v.

and the slaves had to serve some years to the heir of the testator). Thus, Antonio Crescono instructed to manumit his slave Anna, her son, Gregorio, and another slave, Agnetta.²⁸⁸ A Tatar slave, Achmelicha, was manumitted under the condition that she had to serve her masters for 3 years more.²⁸⁹ A slave, Tanigbird, was freed under the condition that he had to serve to his masters 4 years more.²⁹⁰ Francesco of late Unuano, *ballistarius* of Tana, instructed to send his slave, Catherina, to serve his brother, Andrea, in Venice, and was then liberated and given 8 ducats.²⁹¹ A Genoese, Barnabo de Boiasco, instructed to liberate his Russian slave, Martin.²⁹² A German, Genrikh Stangelin, son of the late Conrad, liberated his Russian slave, Stefan (20 years old!) under the condition that he served him 2 years more.²⁹³ A Russian, Mikhail, liberated his Russian slave, Ivan, (30 years old) under the same condition.²⁹⁴ Thus, the duration of this service was around 3 to 5 years; in one case a young Circassian slave was to be liberated after seven years, but apparently the master hoped to survive and enjoy her services in a different respect for a longer time.²⁹⁵

There could be other conditions of manumission. Giorgio de Damiano instructed to liberate his slave, Kaimet, provided she paid his debts [*sic*] and converted to Christianity.²⁹⁶ Fabiano Desdiegna's care for his slave, Margarita, is of particular interest, for he insisted that upon having been manumitted she should go to Venice instead of staying in dangerous Tana. Probably in this case however, it was not about her personal safety; Margarita was in pledge and had to pay her master's debts [*sic*] if his own funds did not suffice and this was a condition of her freedom.²⁹⁷ The deeds often mention freedmen and former slaves.²⁹⁸

²⁸⁸ ASV, NT. Cart. 917, 1.

²⁸⁹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 8.

²⁹⁰ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 8.

²⁹¹ ASV, NT. Cart. 917, 1.

²⁹² ASV, CI. Cart. 231. f. 2r, 2v, 3r.

²⁹³ ASV, CI. Cart. 231. f. 3r – f. 3v. This must have been a very particular case of a master's benevolence; commonly, slaves were liberated when they were old enough and no longer of any interest to the owner.

²⁹⁴ ASV, CI. Cart. 231. f. 5r – f. 5v.

²⁹⁵ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 21v – f. 22r.

²⁹⁶ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 30r – f. 30v.

²⁹⁷ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 28r – f. 28v.

Occasionally, slaves could become almost members of the family. Female slaves had often been wet-nurses for the testators²⁹⁹ and this may explain some goodwill and friendliness towards them. Most often slaves were not treated cruelly. Michele de Mattheo de Suazio bequeathed his Tatar slave to his nephew, Andrea Petenario, under the condition that he treated her well; otherwise, the *fideicommissai* would take her away from him.³⁰⁰

As said above, the liberated ones often received a dowry or a gift. Thus, a noble *ser* Christoforo de Colombo, son of the late Giorgio, a Genoese domiciled in the Genoese quarters of Tana, liberated his Zikh slave, Magdalena, with her (future, see below) children.³⁰¹ In the next deed (his will) he bequeathed to her the clothes and all her belongings and gave her a dowry. In case she died without legitimate heirs, her property was to be transmitted to the *fideicommissari*. Antonello Crescono gave his slave, Magdalena of late Basani, 12 bezants and some land as a dowry in addition to freedom.³⁰² In some cases, the slaves received considerable sums of money. Thus, Baldassare of late Marco gave 200 ducats to his liberated slave, Sirina, and 25 ducats to his liberated slave Spertus, and bequeathed all money stored at Maria Sarazena's house³⁰³ to his adolescent slave Pietro.³⁰⁴ His companion, Bartolomeo Rosso, liberated his slave, Giovanni, and gave him 100 ducats, clothes, a bed, and to his Russian slave Marina he gave a dowry of the same 100 ducats and license to retain her clothes besides freedom.³⁰⁵

Summarizing what was said above, one can say that the scale of the slave trade in Tana in the 1430s was large, the prices were moderate, and slaves were treated relatively humanely. The slaves were allowed to work for themselves, sometimes owned relatively

²⁹⁸ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 20r – 20v.

²⁹⁹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 26r – 26v.

³⁰⁰ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 23r.

³⁰¹ ASV, CI. Cart. 231. f. 5v – f. 6r. What is more interesting, a possible relative of the American pioneer drafted a special deed for that [*sic*], while others found it suitable just to mention the case of manumission in their wills. Christoforo even demanded that a notary gave him an *instrumentum* (original deed)!

³⁰² ASV, CI. Cart. 231. f. 8v, 9r, 9v.

³⁰³ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 23v – 24r.

³⁰⁴ Who lived in Venice and, apparently, was a house servant.

³⁰⁵ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 44v – f. 45r.

considerable property, and often gathered enough money even to pay their masters' debts in order to get freedom. Upon being liberated, they often received some money as a dowry or otherwise. The slave trade compensated for an imbalance in the labor distribution in different regions in the absence of modern high social mobility and was a way to Venetian citizenship and the rights of a full-fledged member of the Italian society, often unavailable to a foreign individual otherwise. I have dealt with the social standing of slaves in this chapter on economics and not the one dedicated to social structure because most often the masters did not manumit slaves because of issues of humanity and piety. They had a different motivation.

The societies of Venice, Genoa, and Tana were money-oriented, and the main concern of the slave owners was profit. The benefits that the slaves enjoyed were explicitly mentioned above: license to work for themselves elsewhere, license to own property, the perspective of freedom, dowry or other gift, and Venetian citizenship, modestly early liberation. However, the source evidence clearly shows that all these conditions of slavery were aimed at increasing labor productivity (when one is not deemed a slave for the whole of his life, he would most likely be a better worker). Slaves owning property could be profitable for a master (especially in case he had problems with his own funds). The age of most of the liberated slaves also shows that they received their freedom shortly before their masters would have lost interest in them and before they became a burden on the master.³⁰⁶ Venetian society was already too modern to be paternalistic in an old-style way, to maintain the old servants of the family. Finally, the hidden buyout is present in most cases. This means that slavery in this society was a market-oriented capitalistic use of manpower, entirely or almost, alien to patriarchal patterns and entirely subject to the theories of classical economy.

³⁰⁶ Not to forget the fact that in most cases slaves were only liberated after the testator's death according to his will; it is widely known that Venetians cared about testaments from a young age and regardless of the presence or absence of danger to their lives. Therefore, when a young person promised freedom to his slave, this meant that the slave would attain it only after the master's death plus a conditional term of posthumous service.

It was often claimed that the fifteenth century was a period of decline in long-distance trade and regionalization of the Black Sea commerce³⁰⁷ because of the permanent underloading of the *sottili* goods in Tana.³⁰⁸ The evidence for this could be the paramount role of the “round” vessels and other ships transporting the heavy goods of regional origin (rather than galleys, which were used for costly Eastern goods). In the deeds of the 1430s, one encounters *navis*,³⁰⁹ another *navis*,³¹⁰ *gripparion*,³¹¹ and some other private ship.³¹² However, in the 1430s, *mudae* of galleys of Romagna and the Black Sea were in better condition than those of Flanders.³¹³ My sources show clearly that the role of local goods (like fish and caviar) increased – but this does not necessarily mean the decline of long-distance trade (the same sturgeons and caviar were exported to Europe). Moreover, it does not seem that the silk trade was in decline; certainly the import of Western textiles was considerable as well. Thus, the deliberation of the Senate (March 28, 1434) about the galleys of Romania mentions spices, wax, silk, and dyes for textiles,³¹⁴ so one can infer that the connections with the Volga region and Middle Asia were still strong. Last, but not the least, the slave trade was mainly long-distance.

I do not have at my disposal precise data on the main directions of trade. Definitely, the routes of *mudae* (Venice – Romagna, including Negroponte – Trebizond – Tana) were among the main ones;³¹⁵ routes from Tana to Constantinople, Trebizond, and Caffa were in use as well. These three cities were the most stable commercial partners of Tana according to the deeds. Thus, Giovanni de Segnorio had to pay 500 *aspres* to Antonio de Benedetto

³⁰⁷ M. Berindei, G. Veinstein, “La Tana-Azaq de la presence italienne à l’emprise ottomane”: 143.

³⁰⁸ Карпов, *Путиями средневековых мореходов*. [Medieval naval routes], 58.

³⁰⁹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 5.

³¹⁰ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 23r.

³¹¹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 20r – f. 20v.

³¹² ASV, CI. Cart. 231. f. 2r, 2v, 3r.

³¹³ Карпов, *Путиями средневековых мореходов* [Medieval naval routes], 61.

³¹⁴ ASV, Senato, Misti, reg. 59, ff. 52r-53v.

³¹⁵ One can trace a seasonal character in the trade based on the documents of the Venetian Senate on the sending of galleys, as well as on the statistical distribution of the notarial deeds within the year. They are concentrated mostly in the period between April and July, while the winter was a “dead season” for navigation.

(residing in Caffa), and 800 aspres to the Office of Provisioning in Caffa.³¹⁶ A massarius of Caffa Battista de Cremona also visited Tana. Astrakhan, Samarqand, and Urgench are rarely mentioned in the sources of the 1430s, which means a shift of the trade interests from the trade with China to that with closer lands. Although in the fifteenth century the significance of land communications increased,³¹⁷ the land route to Tana through Hungary and the steppe was not widely used until 1453.³¹⁸

How the Italian trade influenced the economy and social structure of the local communities is not so clear.³¹⁹ Apparently, the increasing local trade did not lead to the rapid rise of local Armenians, Jews, and Greeks. Local merchants, however wealthy they were, anyway can only be regarded as subordinate partners of the Italians. At the same time, the statement of Balard about the monopolization of the trade by the Italians, who deprived locals from it entirely,³²⁰ was argued long ago.³²¹ The Italians did not eradicate local enterprise, but rather cooperated with them as junior collaborators (see the chapter about ethnic structure).³²²

In general, the data of the *incanti* auctions of the galleys of Tana show the increase of trade dynamics in the 1430s. This data, persuasive in itself, can be verified by comparing it with the materials of taxation. The Genoese commodity circulation in Tana, calculated based on these materials, equaled 20,853 and 56,000 ducats for the years 1423 and 1463, respectively,³²³ which means considerable growth; the Venetian commodity circulation must have had an even stronger tendency to increase. Hence, notwithstanding the Venetian-

³¹⁶ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 5.

³¹⁷ Rolova, "Итальянский купец," [The Italian merchant]: 64.

³¹⁸ Karpov, "Из Таны в Ургенч," [From Tana to Urgench]: 219.

³¹⁹ Idem, "Итальянская торговля в Трапезунде и ее воздействие на экономику поздневизантийского города," [Italian Trade in Trebizond and its impact on the economy of the Late Byzantine city] VV 44 (1983): 81.

³²⁰ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, Vol. 2, 338.

³²¹ Karpov, [Review of] Michele Balard. *La Romanie Génoise* VV 44 (1983): 215.

³²² Idem, "Итальянская торговля в Трапезунде" [Italian Trade in Trebizond], VV 44 (1983): 86.

³²³ Idem, "Кризис середины XIV в.: недооцененный поворот?" [The crisis of the mid-fourteenth century: An underestimated turn?], in *Византия между Востоком и Западом* [Byzantium between East and West], ed. G. G. Litavrin (St.Petersburg, 1999), 238.

Genoese struggle and previous crisis events, the recovery made the economic conditions favorable.

CHAPTER 2. ETHNICITY AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

The population of Tana was diverse in terms of ethnicity and religion and comprised groups of immigrants from various European and Asian countries and regions. Venetian and Genoese trading stations, Greek, Slavic, and Jewish settlements existed next to the “tent” town of nomadic Tatars and Zikhs. Different traditions coexisted and the representatives of different ethnicities and cultures met each other here.³²⁴ My objective is to calculate the numbers and the percentages of different ethnic groups as well as to clarify (in the context of the data known from other sources and the secondary literature) the features characteristic of each group based on the prosopographic tables composed on the material of notarial deeds. Thus, this chapter is dedicated to a study of the ethnic trading stations in Tana.

It is often problematic to aggregate persons known from notarial deeds by ethnic group. Ethnic identity as noted in the deeds is misleading in two respects. First, for instance, if two persons out of five indicated Venetian origins, it does not mean that the vast majority of other residents of Venetian settlements, for whom it is not specified, do not come from Venice.³²⁵ Secondly, the term ethnic often equals a religious identifier. Moreover, the option of ethnic origin is often plainly not specified. Did the notary always distinguish the person’s racial or ethnic origin and did he intend to indicate it? Probably not. Ethnic origin is indicated specifically almost exclusively for slaves or recent freedmen.³²⁶ The notary was not highly motivated to differentiate ethnic or other categories of the local population, because his main task was describing a certain person (inasmuch as he could) in order to inform the reader of the deed, who was the client.³²⁷ Thus, using all possible indicators was not a requirement –

³²⁴ Карпов, “Из Таны в Ургенч” [From Tana to Urgench] *SV* 61 (2000): 219.

³²⁵ It is difficult to build up any precise statistics based on citizenship. The obvious Genoese citizens are often not specified as such; the same is true for the Venetians, coming from other cities but Venice; one cannot identify their fatherland unless a notary, who only did it occasionally, explicitly mentions it. Therefore, only a minimal amount of people coming from a certain area can be counted, rather than an exact percentage.

³²⁶ A possible exception is the Russian Mikhail; however, although he himself is a slave owner it does not exclude the possibility that he was a freedman in the recent past.

³²⁷ Карпов, *Латинская Романия* [*Latin Romania*] (St. Petersburg: Aletheia, 2000), 187.

the notary used only the ones sufficient for such a description (it could be even a nickname, under which a certain person was known in that society).

When it is hard to find an ethnic identity, anthroponomy data can help the researcher. Of course, it is almost impossible to distinguish by the name a resident of Parma from a resident of Naples, but one can distinguish an Italian from an Armenian, Greek, or Russian. First, the name has a certain logic and frequency of use within a particular ethnic group. For example, Theodore is unlikely to be an Italian and Benedict to be a Greek. A woman named Achmelicha (Ak-Melek), even if she is a Catholic, is most likely to be of Tatar origin. In addition, notaries and clerks always helpfully delimited people with the names of the same origin, giving each of their names in its national form. Thus, the name Iohannes equals the Italian Giovanni, the name Iane means the Greek John (Janis); Michael is the Italian Michele, and Michalli is the Greek Michael or Mikael; Nicolaus is the Italian Nicholas and Nicolla the Greek Nicola; Manuelis is the Italian Emanuele and Manoli is the Greek Manuel. This, however, does not negate the fact that notaries often transcribed the name as they heard it, taking into account individual experience and a tradition of writing.³²⁸ Moreover, it is not always possible to avoid mistakes. For instance, how should one consider the person named Iohannes Grechus – as an Italian, Giovanni Greco, or as a Greek by origin, Janis? I use the first version, though a definite answer in this case is not obvious.

In addition, one should take into account that in any case one does not yet have a complete quantitative picture. Who knows, maybe 10% or even more of the “Latin”³²⁹ contingent (attributed to this group by virtue of the Latin spelling of their names) are in fact Greeks or Armenians. Had I based my work only on the deeds of Varsis and Smeritis, I would never have learned that Constantinus de la Chustizza (see below) is Greek. It was a source of minor importance for this research that showed how this man put his signature in

³²⁸ Surely, this does not pertain to most of the Western names familiar to a notary; however, even in such cases there was a difference between the Latin and the vernacular form (mostly, the first one was used in deeds).

³²⁹ I use the terms “Latin” and “Western” as mutually interchangeable.

Greek, and in the Greek form of his name. This is just one example. Perhaps people of non-Latin origin, having Latin names, are much more numerous. On the other hand, a name that seems non-European (e.g., Menechina) may in reality be reduced from a European name, in this case Dominichina, the female equivalent of “Domenico.”

One should add interethnic marriage to the other difficulties in establishing ethnic origin. Mixed marriages were frequent (at least as far as the notarial deeds show). For example, to which ethnic group does the wife of a Greek, Orthodox herself but Tartar by birth, belong? In the categories of that time, she may be listed as a Greek (as well as all Goths, see below). Am I eligible to do the same?

Another difficulty lies in the specificity of the documents; most of the documents I used are wills. In this case, it is clear that the specificity of the source does not allow it to reflect equally the Latins, and, say, the Greeks. This is especially evident when comparing this data with a source much more inclusive by nature – the account book of Badoer³³⁰ (see the ethnic composition of the business community in Constantinople in 1436 to 1439 and the table based on this source³³¹). Although the book was compiled in Constantinople, even a superficial comparison of his book and my deeds makes it clear that the wills drawn up by an Italian notary reflected the ethnic composition of society only inadequately. It is clear that the Italians tended to enter more frequently into trade deals with non-Italians than appoint them as *fideikomissari*³³² or call them as witnesses.

Calculations concerning non-Italians can be useful in establishing the ethnic distribution of slaves, solving the problems of estimating the permanent population of the trading stations and geographical mobility. It is also possible to trace the frequency of contacts among the representatives of various ethnic groups, despite the limited scale of the

³³⁰ Shitikov, “Константинополь и венецианская торговля,” [Constantinople and the Venetian trade], VV 30 (1969): 53.

³³¹ *Il Libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer*.

³³² Executors of the will.

evidence. In fact, such a thing as a testament implies considerable trust, which is why wills reflect the preferences of Italians for one or another ethnic group.

I have tried to classify about three hundred persons found in the notarial deeds of Nicolo de Varsis and Benedetto de Smeritis. The interrelation is as follows (see diagram in the appendix). In general, the sources (ASV. NT, bb. 750, 917; CI, b. 231) mention 303 people. Among them, there are 239 presumed Latins (78.87% of the total, including 13 Genoese, 2 natives of Naples, 2 natives of Parma, 1 native of Milan, 1 native of Verona, 2 residents of Crete, 1 resident of Modon, 1 resident of Corona, 1 resident of Samastro, 2 Germans, including one from Nuremberg), 15 Greeks (4.95%, including 2 from Trebizond, 1 from Thessalonica and 1 from Candia), 11 Tatars (3.63%), 5 Russians (1.65%), 1 Circassian (0,33%), 1 Zikh (0,33%), 1 undoubted Armenian (0.33%). Jews were not found. For 30 persons (9.9%) it is difficult to determine a particular ethnic group.³³³ In addition, some of my “presumed” Latins bearing Latin names might in fact be Greeks, Jews or Armenians; however, I decided to follow a formal criterion and identified them as Latins.³³⁴

2.1. Italians

First, one should say that it is a hopeless and ungrateful matter to calculate the number of Venetians among the Latins based on formal indicators. Only six of them are labeled as Venetians, and several other people with Italian names are Venetians as well, since they come from the Venetian parishes or bear specific Venetian social identifiers (e.g., the Venetian consul of Tana cannot be other than a citizen of Venice). A Venetian patrician family name

³³³ I omit in my calculations a certain Gonsalvus de Sybillia (ASV. NT. 917. 5-6), who could possibly be a Spaniard.

³³⁴ Moreover, I put the persons of Greek, Tatar, Armenian, or Caucasian origin, who converted into Roman Catholicism, into the “Latin” group. Thus, presbyter Lorenzo Chatapan (ASV. NT. Ch. 750. f. 26r) clearly had a family name of the Greek origin; however, he was an Italian, and even a Catholic priest. This means that he was most probably a descendant of the converts. Another example is a fisherman Ussufi Chatolizi (ASV, CI, Ch. 231-8v), who was obviously a more recent convert, and even retained his originally Muslim given name without changing its form.

can also be the evidence of Venetian origin. At the same time, it is impossible that only 6, or 20 to 30, or even 50 of the 303 are Venetians. Undoubtedly, the Venetians were the majority among the clients of the notaries, witnesses and *fideikomissari*; but they did not always consider it necessary to specify their Venetian citizenship, considering it taken for granted.

Geographical mobility in Venice (as well as in Genoa) was exceptionally high. Rialto, Levant, Gasaria, Western Europe, Terraferma – this is far from being a complete list of the places where an average Italian reflected in various deeds could reside or visit during his life. It is not surprising that many of the Venetians define themselves not by belonging to a Venetian parish, but, for example, by the place of their permanent residence at that moment (e.g., Trebizon, Coron, Modon). At the same time, people from other Italian cities often lived and worked in the Venetian trading stations as well. I do not venture to assert that all those who call themselves, say, Florentines or Neapolitans were indeed such. If someone is calling himself “Giacomo of Florence,” that, firstly, could have a wide range of meanings (the man could have been born in this city, or live there permanently, or have Florentine citizenship, but live elsewhere). Secondly, the fact that a person identified the place of his origin (e.g., “from Florence”) does not mean that there could not be large numbers of people who came from the same Florence or other cities that are not designated by their place of origin since there were more suitable identifiers.

By the fifteenth century, the Venetians numerically prevailed over the Genoese in Tana.³³⁵ In the 1430s, the Genoese often came into contact with the Venetians, and even regularly used the services of Venetian notaries. Moreover, documents (e.g., wills) were often drawn up in the Genoese quarter.³³⁶ Apparently, in the fifteenth century the Genoese and the Venetians were forced to show solidarity and mutual assistance against external threat in

³³⁵ Although Genoese retained their quarters acquired as early as fourteenth century; E. Ch. Skrzhinskaja, “Венецианский посол в Золотой Орде (по надгробию Якопо Корнаро, 1362 г.)” [Venetian Ambassador to the Golden Horde; the Gravestone of Jacopo Cornaro, 1362] VV 35 (1973): 103.

³³⁶ Especially in the house of the testator, see ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 5.

spite of economic competition.³³⁷ The line between partnership and hostility was often shaky.³³⁸ In addition, these rivals were also related to each other because the ways of transit trade of the Black and Azov seas converged on Caffa. Therefore, it is clear that the Venetians and Genoese were in close contact in Tana, as evidenced by the numerous references to Caffa in the deeds. The Venetians increasingly came into contact with the Genoese. Just to demonstrate it, in the deeds of Donato a Mano seven people are marked *ianuensis*,³³⁹ in the deeds of Nicolo de Varsis and Benedetto de Smeritis there are at least thirteen. This demonstrates the increasing intensity of their relations with the Venetians.

Based on notarial deeds, it is possible to identify (though only to a certain extent) the distribution of the inhabitants of Tana by origin from the other Italian cities. There are some residents of Naples, Parma, Milan, and Verona. A comparison with the deeds of Benedetto Bianco (in Tana in 1359 to 1360)³⁴⁰ give an impression that the number of such Italians was reduced by the fifteenth century.³⁴¹ Nevertheless, certainly, in the 1430s visitors to Tana from different cities in Italy were more numerous than reflected in the deeds, and at least no less numerous than in the years of Bianco. First, the material of Bianco is much more representative than that of Varsis and Smeritis, at least as far as the variety of types of documents is concerned. Secondly, the geographical mobility of Italians, rather strong during the hard period of the second half of the fourteenth century, could hardly have weakened in the years of the unquestioned rise of trade. One can see in the deeds of Varsis a *ballistarius*

³³⁷ Карпов, “Документы по истории венецианской фактории Тана во второй половине XIV в.” [Documents on the history of Venetian factories Tana in the second half of fourteenth century], *PSV* 1 (1991): 192.

³³⁸ See for instance: S. V. Bliznyuk, “Кошелек и жизнь генуэзцев в Константинополе и Адрианопле в середине XV в.” [The purse and the life of the Genoese in Constantinople and Adrianople in the middle of the fifteenth century], *PSV* 3 (1998): 130.

³³⁹ N. D. Prokofieva, Acts 162.

³⁴⁰ Only several persons are specified in the deeds of Varsis and Smeritis as the natives of other Italian cities, and the distribution does not vary much, while in the deeds of Bianco the distribution is much more diverse: Abruzzi (1), Lombardy (4), Marce (2), Piedmont (2), Tuscany (29), Trentino (1), Umbria (1), Emilia-Romagna (14). See: Karpov, “Venetian Tana according to the acts of the Chancellor Benedetto Bianco (1359 - 1360),” *PSV* 5 (2001): 19.

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Christoforo from Milan. If foreigners could be appointed to a position normally reserved for the Venetian nobility, the same must have been true for merchants and modest sailors.

Interestingly, the deeds show a high frequency of trade relations among the Venetians and the different Greek settlements on the northern Black Sea coast away from Tana. One can find in Cart. 750 a Venetian, Antonio from the parish of St. Severus, who identified himself “from Chersonese” (*de Chersso* should be read *de Cherssone*, for Varsis often contracts the name in such cases, cf. *Antonius de Lunardo Zerdo[ne]*).³⁴² The settlement on the territory of the ancient and medieval Tauric Chersonese repeatedly appears in the medieval portolans in different spellings: *Crexona*,³⁴³ *Zurzona*, *Zerzona*, *Cressona*, *Girisonda*, again *Zurzona*, *Gerezonda*, *Cherson*, *Jaburt flu*.³⁴⁴ However, maps can show towns that did not exist at the period when the maps were drawn; cartographers were conservative. However, the notarial deeds cannot deceive. They show that the settlement existed during the whole fourteenth century and at least in the first half of the fifteenth century (which has often been denied) and had some commercial importance for the Latins. This fact also shows that the routes of the Venetian merchants were not confined to Tana, and though the Genoese were masters in the Crimea, this did not preclude the presence of Venetian merchants there.

2.2. Germans

Another matter of interest is the presence of the Germans in Tana. Henry Stangelin from Nuremberg liberated his Russian slave in 1436, and conducted commerce with the Venetian merchant Bartolomeo Rosso in 1436 – 1437 (and probably before).³⁴⁵ Henry

³⁴² ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 28v.

³⁴³ In an anonymous atlas, the so-called *Tammar Luxoro* (early fourteenth century), see: Adolf E. Nordenskjöld, *Periplus. An Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing Directions* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt, 1897); Konrad Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Mittler, 1909).

³⁴⁴ I. Fomenko, *Образ мира на старинных портоланах. Причерноморье. Конец XIII – XVII в.* [The image of the world in the ancient portolans. Black Sea region. Late thirteenth – seventeenth century]. (Moscow: Indrik, 2007), 266, 280, 286, 292.

³⁴⁵ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 44v – f. 45r.

Stangelin was the son of Conrad Stangelin, mentioned in the Italian documents in 1413 as a member of two commercial expeditions.³⁴⁶ Constantine Soranzo (Constantinus Superantius) gave the brother of Conrad Stangelin a commission to conduct trade affairs in the Black Sea.³⁴⁷ In the lists of German testators in Venetian wills³⁴⁸ one finds other two Stangelins: Iohanes Stangelin (application, under number 1; his father - Robertus; his wife - Doratea; his origin - Alemania; his parish - S. Apostoli; mentioned by notary Bartolameo (de fu) Tomaso³⁴⁹) and Stangelin (number 128; his father - Zuan, his origin - Vienna, notary - Paolo Benedetto³⁵⁰). The surname Stangelin was not patrician; at least it has not been recognized as such,³⁵¹ most likely they were middling merchants. The merchants from Nuremberg lived in Trebizond; they were numerous and highly respected by Venetian merchants; it is sure that Stangelin enjoyed special trust in the office of Sorranzo. Moreover, W. von Stromer believes that, contrary to expectations, the people of Nuremberg were the senior rather than the junior partners of Donato Soranzo and his brothers.³⁵² This fact makes doubtful the thesis of F. Braudel that Germans were strictly supervised and regulated in the Venetian *Casa dei Tedeschi* in order to guard the long-distance trade, Venice's main source of wealth.³⁵³ Apparently, the Venetians allowed the Germans to conduct their own trade in the East, perhaps even on an equal footing. During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Nuremberg was one of the centers of the economic life of Europe³⁵⁴ and enjoyed strong trade

³⁴⁶ ASV, CI. Notai, Cart. 231. f. 3; Wolfgang von Stromer, "Landmacht gegen Seemacht," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 22, No. 2 (1995): 176; Idem, "Wassernot und Wasserkünste im Bergbau des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit Montanwirtschaft Mitteleuropas vom 12. bis 17. Jahrhundert," *Der Anschnitt, Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur im Bergbau*, Beiheft 2 (Bochum: von W. Kroker E. Westermann, 1984): 58, 71; B. Doumerc, "La Tana au XVe siècle: comptoir ou colonie?" In *Etat et colonisation au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*, ed. M. Balard (Lyon: La Manufacture, 1989): 257.

³⁴⁷ ASV, CI. busta 132, N 6, f. IV, doc. 4.

³⁴⁸ Cecilie Hollberg, *Deutsche in Venedig im späten Mittelalter: eine Untersuchung von Testamenten aus dem 15. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2005), 287 – 293.

³⁴⁹ ASV, NT. b. 1003; 7.05.1400.

³⁵⁰ ASV, NT. b. 1149, test. 175; 24.05.1457.

³⁵¹ Jacob Meyer, "Die Entstehung des Patriziats in Nürnberg," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 27 (1928): 1-96.

³⁵² Wolfgang von Stromer, "Landmacht gegen Seemacht," 176.

³⁵³ Braudel, *Material Civilization...* Vol. 3 (Moscow: 2007), 113.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 113.

connections with Venice, Lyon, Medina del Campo, Lisbon, Antwerp, Cracow, and Warsaw.³⁵⁵ Thus, although the Venetians made the route of their galleys circular (Venice – Levant and Venice – Flanders), it did not replace the overland trade between Venice and Antwerp, and trade was conducted through Nuremberg as well. The Germans in the East apparently preferred close contacts with their compatriots to anyone else. Henry Stangelin was appointed one of the *fideikomissari* in the will of the German Albert de Crunut, son of the deceased Dirkh (*testamentum Alberti teutonici*, drawn up in Tana, June 1, 1436).³⁵⁶ It should be noted that while Stangelin was labeled as “from Nuremberg,” Albert, also a German, was a permanent resident, or possibly even a citizen, of Venice in the parish of St. Apollinarius.³⁵⁷

2.3. Greeks

The sources confirm the presupposition that the Greeks not only visited Tana, but many of them lived there.³⁵⁸ The Greeks had long worked closely with the Latins in commercial matters in Tana.³⁵⁹ In the documents of Benedetto Bianco, at least 5.5% of the residents of the Venetian settlement were Greeks (27 people in 1359 –1360). It was the second largest ethnic group after the Italians.³⁶⁰ It was the same in both the fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries, *but only on paper*. In reality, perhaps, the Greeks were even more numerous than the Italians since all notarial deeds (even when they are more diverse in type than my sets of wills) do not reflect equally and similarly the Italians and non-Latin ethnic groups. In addition, it should be noted that Latin family names do not always belong only to

³⁵⁵ J. Müller, “Der Umfang und die Haupttrouten des nürnbergischen Handelsgebietes im Mittelalter,” *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1908): 1 - 38.

³⁵⁶ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 21v.

³⁵⁷ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 21r.

³⁵⁸ Карпов, “Из Таны в Ургенч” [From Tana to Urgench], *SV* 61 (2000): 221.

³⁵⁹ Idem, “Греки и латиняне в венецианской Тане (середина XIV – середина XV вв.)” [Greeks and Latins in Venetian Tana, mid-fourteenth to mid-fifteenth century] *PSV* 7 (2009): 167.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 166.

the Italians or even Latins (mixed marriages took place, not to mention the emancipation of slaves, who took the cognomens of their former masters after manumission). A striking example is Constantinus de la Chustizza, who in reality was a Greek (see below and in appendix). At the same time, the Greek family name, apparently always or almost always, is evidence of the fact that the individual belonged to the Greek ethnic group and was Orthodox.

Bianco refers to a separate *contrata Grecorum*,³⁶¹ a Greek settlement near the Venetian trading station. In the documents of Cristoforo Rizzo and Donato a Mano seven of the Greek inhabitants of Tana appear, 1 of Caffa, 8 of Candia, 4 of Rethymno on Crete, 3 of Coron, 5 of Modon, 2 of Negroponte, 1 of Kephallonia, 2 of Patras, 4 of Constantinople, 1 of Tenedos.³⁶² In my sources the Greek group is relatively small, but if one takes into account how limited the available selection of documents is, the following conclusion will be apparent: the number of Greek merchants in the Black Sea region in particular and the trade routes as a whole was significant. This is an additional argument in favor of the fact that a sufficiently large group of Greek traders persisted and continued to grow on Byzantine territory and in the cities in Latin Romagna in the fifteenth century.³⁶³ The Greeks made up for the lack of trade relations between East and West during the years of unrest and confrontation between Venice and Genoa, Venice and the Golden Horde, Venice and Byzantium.³⁶⁴ Greeks never appear as slaves in Tana, one of the main centers of the slave

³⁶¹ Charles Verlinden, "Le recrutement des esclaves à Venise aux XIVe et XVe siècles," *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 39, No. 33 (1968). N. Fomichev, "Некоторые данные о культовых сооружениях и религиозной жизни средневекового города Азака-Таны в XIV – XV вв." [Some data on the places of worship and religious life of the medieval city Azak-Tana in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries], *Essays on the History of Azov* 2 (1994): 13.

³⁶² Karpov, "Греки и латиняне в венецианской Тана (середина XIV – середина XV вв.)" [Greeks and Latins in the Venetian Tana, mid-fourteenth to mid-fifteenth century], *PSV* 7 (2009): 169. A. A. Talyzina, "Venetian notary in Tana, Cristoforo Rizzo (1411 – 1413)," *PSV* 4 (2000): 19 – 35; Prokofieva, "Акты" [The Acts]: 36 – 179.

³⁶³ Karpov, *Итальянские морские республики* (The Italian maritime republics and the Southern Black Sea coast in thirteenth to fifteenth centuries: The problems of trade (Moscow: Moscow State University Press, 1990), 277.

³⁶⁴ Idem, "Греки и латиняне" [Greeks and Latins], *PSV* 7 (2009): 164.

trade.³⁶⁵ The connections between the Greeks and the Italians and the frequency of their contacts were significant. One can also identify many cases of concubinage of the Venetians with their Greek maids and cases of so-called temporary marriage with Greek women “under contract,” a specific phenomenon in Latin Romagna.³⁶⁶ Trying to project the inter-ethnic relations of the Greeks and the Latins in Tana to the region as a whole, one can obtain new evidence of the intensity of contact and cultural influence in the absence of Latinization. Thus, in Soldaya, one finds Greek graffiti beside the Latin graffiti (which prevailed numerically).³⁶⁷ This means that close contacts took place and that there was no complete conscious separation in terms of religion, and, most likely, there was no Latinization of local Greeks. L. V. Firsov even argues that on the entire south coast of the Crimea (in contrast to Theodosia and Sudak), one cannot find any Latin epigraphic monuments, and that the presence of the Latins in general is not reflected in Crimean toponymy³⁶⁸ (meaning not the mere absence of the Latin names, but the fact that they did not become entrenched in the local community and did not become part of history after the Italians left). This idea is questionable; e.g., a placename Katsiveli (*chastello vecchio*) is Italian in origin, but this exception does not change the rule; although the contacts between the Italians and the Greeks were intensive, it seems that there was no Latinization of the local Orthodox population in the Crimea, and it was hardly significant on the Sea of Azov if it did take place,.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 170.

³⁶⁶ Karpov, “Mixed Marriages in a Polyethnic Society; Case Study of Tana, 14th – 15th Centuries,” in *Tolerance and Repression in the Middle Ages, In Memory of Lenos Mavrommatis International Symposium 10, Athens, Nov. 1998* (Athens: 2002): 207-214.

³⁶⁷ A. Emanov, “Граффити солдатского храма” [Graffiti in the church of Soldaya], In *Black Sea, Crimea, Russia in History and Culture. Sudak Materials of the 2nd international conference (12 - 16 September 2004)*. Part II (Kiev – Sudak: Academperiodika, 2004), 86.

³⁶⁸ L. Firsov, *Isar: Essays on the History of Medieval Castles of the Southern Coast of the Crimea* (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1990), 68.

The data relating to the Zikh Orthodox Diocese in the Azov is scarce. In Tana (in contrast to Caffa³⁶⁹), there were no Orthodox monasteries, nor are there any traces of any missionary activity. However, after the fourteenth century the sources mention a Greek *contrata* – a community and a church.³⁷⁰ The Greek sources (Acts of the Patriarchate of Constantinople) indicate that, in respect of canon law, the Greek parish in Tana was subject to the metropolitan of Alania (residing from the 1400s in Trebizond) at the latest since the 1340s.³⁷¹ In the first half of the fifteenth century there was a Greek church of St. Nicholas in Tana and a Greek cemetery.³⁷² The deeds of the 1430s do not mention this church, but they mention another Greek church of St. John in the Genoese quarter³⁷³ and a Greek priest Papa Tatuli.³⁷⁴ In 1451, Papa Tatuli was again mentioned as a priest who served in the parish of St. Nicholas.³⁷⁵ It should be noted that the schism between the East and the West did not prevent the Latins from giving money to the Greek parish; neither did it restrict the Greeks from donating some of their belongings to the Latin churches of Tana.³⁷⁶ Thus, in the will of the Greek Manoli di Candia (November 9, 1430) 4 Latin churches (probably located on Crete, none of them mentioned in connection with Tana) were to receive 1/2, 20, 1/2 and 1/2 ducats and the priest Nicholas de Varsis 2 ducats for his prayers.³⁷⁷ In the wills of both Greeks and Latins there are frequent donations to churches outside Tana (in Romagna, in Italy).³⁷⁸ The denominational barrier between the Greeks and the Latins was, apparently, quite insignificant

³⁶⁹ Archimandrite Antonin, [Review of]: “Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi; sacra et profana. Ed. F. Miclosicz. Vol. I. Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani. 1315 - 1372. Vol. II. 1379 – 1402. Vienna, 1862,” *ZOOID* 5 (1863): 965.

³⁷⁰ ASV, CI. Notai, busta 19, reg. I 92, 153.

³⁷¹ Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи* [The history of the Trebizond Empire] (St. Petersburg: Aletheia, 2007), 218-221.

³⁷² Idem, “Греки и латиняне” [Greeks and Latins], *PSV* 7 (2009): 170-171.

³⁷³ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 21r-21v.

³⁷⁴ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 21r-21v.

³⁷⁵ Карпов, *Латинская Романия* [Latin Romania] (St. Petersburg: Aletheia, 2000), 194.

³⁷⁶ And this happened before the Florentine union!

³⁷⁷ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 4.

³⁷⁸ E.g., to the monastery of St. Michael in Murano, see: ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 19v (4) – f. 20r.

for both parties. However, as I will show below, this was also true with respect to the Armenians.

Thus, formally the Greeks made up less than 4 per cent of those in the documents of Varsis and Smeritis. Nevertheless, this figure is likely misleading. Below I will show that, in contrast to the constantly renewing Italian population of the trading stations, the Greeks (and perhaps the Orthodox Tatars) were probably the *majority* of the population permanently resident in Tana. Their percentage in the structure of population which lived in Tana permanently for decades was much higher than their percentage in a synchronous sample over a short period. In addition, they were active, affluent, and involved in trade. For example, the deeds of Donato a Mano reported an Orthodox married couple – Yolmelikh and Mihali Mitrioti – purchasing land.³⁷⁹ More than 10 years later the same Yolmelikh, by then a widow, ordered the drawing up of her testament and, incidentally, mentions the Greek parish of St. John and Papa Tatuli.

The significance of the Greek community in Tana can be confirmed by the fact that, among all other ethnic groups the Latins preferred contact with the Greeks. Against this background, the fact that, say, a Tartar, Edelmug, became *kunak* of Josaphat Barbaro,³⁸⁰ looks more like an exception than the rule. Even if this was a frequent phenomenon, then it is poorly reflected in the wills. Apparently, the Greeks tended to enter mixed marriages with Latins more frequently than others did. Besides the above-mentioned Michali Mitrioti and Yolmelikh, one can find the example of Marnahaton and Giovanni,³⁸¹ and others. It is also interesting that Yolmelikh knew neither Latin nor Italian (although she most likely spoke both Tatar and Greek) and had to use the services of an interpreter of the curia of Tana, Boran Taiapetra, while drawing up her will. It is not surprising that the wife (or, rather, in the 1430s the widow) of a Greek merchant, Tatar herself, did not know European languages. It also

³⁷⁹ Prokofieva, “Акты” [The Acts], 54 – 55.

³⁸⁰ *I viaggi in Persia*, 78-79.

³⁸¹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 25r.

seems that it did not prevent her from being fully integrated into the social environment of Tana, including the Italians.³⁸² One can raise the following question: Was Greek rather than Italian the *lingua franca* of the inhabitants of Tana?

All this said above provides another reason for revising the old point of view about the passivity of the Byzantine merchants in the fifteenth century. Tana was one of the preferred areas of trade for Byzantine merchants; their cooperation with the Venetians was permanent and mutually beneficial.³⁸³ The notarial data confirms the thesis of S. P. Karpov that the Greek population of the Italian trading stations was always significant and relations between the authorities of Tana and the Latin population of the trading stations were strong and stable. Like elsewhere in Latin Romagna, the Greeks felt themselves in Tana as younger, maybe less wealthy, but important, partners of the Italians and their allies before the constant threat of Tatar and other attacks.

2.4. Jews

Despite repeated references to Giudecca (a Jewish quarter)³⁸⁴ in notarial acts of Varsis and Smeritis and in “Journey to Tana” by Barbaro, as well as despite the fact that Badoer registered 29 Jewish merchants (6% or even more of the total) in Constantinople, I failed to identify any of the people mentioned in the deeds as a Jew, while in the acts of notaries in the early fifteenth century Jews occur frequently. Why? It is apparent that in personal affairs Europeans preferred not to deal with the infidels. One can face this phenomenon as far as other non-Christian groups are concerned. I would call it moderate xenophobia. However,

³⁸² ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 21r – f. 21v.

³⁸³ Карпов, “Греки и латиняне” [Greeks and Latins], *PSV* 7 (2009): 171.

³⁸⁴ This, however, most likely means the respective *Giudecca* in Venice. At the same time, Tana had its own *Giudecca*, which was situated next to the Venetian quarters but separated from it by a ditch, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum, sive Acta et Diplomata res venetas atque levantis illustrantia*, ed. R. Predelli (Venice: 1899), Pars 2, 262.

there could be another reason. A Venetian, Giacomo Salono,³⁸⁵ as I will show further, was a successful usurer. Perhaps there was no room for Jews in this type of activity since he had occupied this niche?

2.5. Armenians

Only one undoubted Armenian is mentioned in the deeds³⁸⁶ (see the next chapter about presumably Italianized Armenians). However, some interesting data on interethnic and interfaith relations of the Greeks and Armenians in the earlier period are available. Benedetto Bianco mentions an Armenian judicial curia in Tana in 1359.³⁸⁷ From 1347/49 up to 1356 there was a lasting conflict of three Greek priests of Tana with their metropolitan. Protopresbyter Michael, and two presbyters, Nicholas and Theodore, submitted a petition about the infringement of their rights to the patriarch of Constantinople. The Tana clerics claimed that, having received a khan's *paydza*, Metropolitan Simeon pursued them, apparently trying to get extra money. When he failed to do so, the metropolitan imposed an interdict on the church of Tana and prohibited it from holding funerals and baptisms. Eventually, the excommunicated local Greeks, without any embarrassment, began to turn to the Armenian churches for this purpose.³⁸⁸ Mention of the Armenian *contrata* occurs in the notarial deeds of the earlier period.³⁸⁹ Usually the Armenians can be easily identified by their names, so, Hovhannes, in contrast to the Italian Giovanni, would have been Ivanixius, and not Iohanes, etc. As said above, in the deeds I researched, only one person bears the name Chazadori, which can be identified as Armenian "Khachatur." Yet, despite the situation that most Armenians lived in Caffa and the eastern Crimea, of course, they were also involved in

³⁸⁵ ASV, CI, Ch. 231-4r, 4v, 7v, 8r, 10r; 11v; ASV, NT, Ch. 750-2, testis 4r; 6, 20r, 21v, 22v; testis ASV, NT, Ch. 917, 4.

³⁸⁶ ASV, NT, Ch. 750-24v. Probably his wife was a Tatar.

³⁸⁷ ASV, CI, 19, 1 cart., after f. 12v.

³⁸⁸ Карпов, "Греки и латиняне" [Greeks and Latins], *PSV* 7 (2009): 170-171.

³⁸⁹ ASV, CI, Notai, busta 19, reg. I 209.

trade in Tana in the first half of the fifteenth century.³⁹⁰ I will speak about one interesting case of supposed Armenians in the next chapter.

2.6. Russians

The Russian population of Tana, of which little was known before, is well reflected in the notarial sources. Connections with the Russian lands were traditional in the Black Sea region.³⁹¹ In the middle of the thirteenth century, a permanent Russian population appeared there, fleeing from the cities near the Dnepr, probably under the threat of Tatar devastation.³⁹² The presence of a Slavic population in the Don region since the thirteenth century became a commonplace in historiography.³⁹³ According to Rubruk, Russian moneychangers were involved in the trade (silk and spices from the East) in Soldaya, selling in exchange their furs and other goods.³⁹⁴ At the same time, the chronicles report that the Italian merchants conducted trade in the Russian lands. The Italian merchants from the trading stations of the northern Black Sea (*fryagi, surozthane*) lived and operated as a corporation in Moscow in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³⁹⁵ Italian merchants and artisans often settled and remained there permanently. As early as the times of Dmitry Donskoy a certain Andrew Fryazin

³⁹⁰ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 284-285. N. Fomichev, "Некоторые данные о культовых сооружениях и религиозной жизни средневекового города Азака-Таны в XIV – XV вв." [Some data on the places of worship and religious life of the medieval city Azak-Tana in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries], *Essays on the History of Azov* 2 (1994): 13.

³⁹¹ Prokofieva, "Акты" [The Acts], 55 – 56.

³⁹² A. Jacobson, "К изучению позднесредневекового Херсона," [On the research into late mediaeval Cherson], *Херсонесский сборник* [Chersonese Collection] 5 (1959): 244.

³⁹³ For instance: V. Korolev, "К вопросу о славяно-русском населении на Дону в XIII – XVI вв.," [On the problem of the Slavo-Russian population on the Don in the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries], in *Северное Причерноморье и Северное Поволжье во взаимоотношениях Востока и Запада в XII – XVI веках* [The Northern Black Sea Coast and the Northern Volga Region in the Relationship between East and West in Twelfth to Sixteenth Century], (Rostov-na-Donu: 1989), 122-128.

³⁹⁴ F. K. Brun, *Материалы к истории Сугдеи* [Materials for the History of Sugdea]. (Odessa: 1871), 18.

³⁹⁵ V. Syroechkovsky, *Гости-сурожане* [Merchants of Surozh] (Moscow: State Socio-economic Press, 1935); Y. Uzlov, "К вопросу об итальянской колонизации Северо-Западного Кавказа в XIII – XV вв." (On the Italian colonization of the northwest Caucasus from the thirteenth to fifteenth century], In *Black Sea, Crimea, Russia in History and Culture. Sudak Materials of the 2nd international conference (12 - 16 September 2004)* (Kiev - Sudak: Academperiodika, 2004): Part 2: 217.

resided in Moscow permanently; he was granted a part of the Pechora region.³⁹⁶ I believe that since in the period in question there were no considerable political contacts between Moscow and Italian states (they were established only when Ivan III contacted the papal court and Venice; at the same time a long-lived Italian factory appeared in Moscow³⁹⁷), the stay of Italians in Russia was caused only by economic motives.

Naturally, there was also a reverse process. The Don connected the Moscow Rus with the Black Sea, and Russian merchants used it widely (mostly selling furs). Surely, the translator of Curia Boran Taiapetra knew Russian. In the deeds, there are four Russians (three of them slaves). One of these Russians (Michael) was a freeman, and even owned slaves himself (however he was probably a freedman). Russians not only from the southern regions, but also from the northern lands, visited Tana. Through Tana, a number of Russian hierarchs traveled to Constantinople (Metropolitan Pimen, and others).³⁹⁸ Russians (both merchants and freedmen) often intermarried with the Latins. S. P. Karpov has studied these mixed marriages (though for a later period, the mid-fifteenth century) in detail in the material of the Venetian notary and chancellor of Tana, Pietro Pellakan.³⁹⁹

One can add that the terminology (*russius*, *zichus*, *tartarus*) in documents was quite vague and did not always correlate with reality. The deeds of Donato a Mano mention a “Russian” female slave *Tovalat* [*sic*]⁴⁰⁰ and a “Russian” slave, *Khotulub*⁴⁰¹ [*sic*]. Had the Russians been converted into Islam in Tatar captivity,⁴⁰² would they have received names of Turkic origin? I would suggest that these alleged Russians were camouflaged Tatars, since the khans tried their best to ban selling their compatriots, while the demand for Tatar slaves

³⁹⁶ М. Тихомиров, *Древняя Москва XII – XV вв.; Средневековая Россия на международных путях. XIV – XV вв.* (Ancient Moscow of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. Medieval Russia on international routes, fourteenth to fifteenth centuries) (Moscow: Moscow Worker, 1992), 82 – 116.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 116.

³⁹⁸ Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи* [The history of the Trebizond Empire] (St. Petersburg: Aletheia, 2007), 421.

³⁹⁹ Idem, *Латинская Романия (Latin Romania)* (St. Petersburg: Aletheia, 2000), 191-193.

⁴⁰⁰ Prokofieva, “Акты” [The Acts]: 173.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁴⁰² Note that nomadic Tatars virtually remained pagan, see below.

on the Egyptian market was very high because of their military abilities. Traders always find loopholes when there are demand and supply.

2.7. Goths

In the deeds I have researched, no persons were designated as Goths. However, they probably constituted part of the population of the northern Black Sea region and could have lived in Tana. Barbaro describes meeting Goths who spoke German (*gothi parlano in todesco*);⁴⁰³ his German servant understood them, just as if a resident of Friuli heard the Florentine dialect.⁴⁰⁴ Other sources say that the Goths remained in the Black Sea for a long time (up to the seventeenth century) and retained their identity, language, and economy (connected with vineyards).⁴⁰⁵ Rubruck, speaking about “forty castles,” meant not Kirk-Or, but the castles on the southern coast of the Crimea and the plateau inhabited by the Goths;⁴⁰⁶ W. Heyd and others also noted the same situation.⁴⁰⁷ Moreover, the Goths not only preserved their identity, but also sometimes expanded and first settled partially and then completely devastated Greek cities. For example, Chersonese⁴⁰⁸ became part of Gothia, which can be seen from the papal bull in 1333 appointing a Dominican monk, Richard the Englishman, as bishop.⁴⁰⁹ This can mean that the Goths also inhabited the coast at that time, and some authors presumed that fishing became their main occupation.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰³ *I viaggi in Persia*, 96.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*,

⁴⁰⁵ A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1936).

⁴⁰⁶ F. K. Brun, *Материалы к истории Сугдеи [Materials for the History of Sugdea]* (Odessa, 1871), 15.

⁴⁰⁷ Oleg Dombrowski, “Средневековые поселения-«исары» Крымского Южного бережья” [Medieval settlements—the “Isars” of the Crimean southern coast] in *Феодальная Таврика [Feudal Tavrca]* (Kiev: 1974, 5-56); P. Keppen, *О древностях Южного берега Крыма и гор Таврических [On the antiquities of the southern coast of the Crimea and the Tauride mountains]* (St. Petersburg: 1837).

⁴⁰⁸ Ancient Tauric Chersonese.

⁴⁰⁹ F. K. Brun, *Материалы к истории Сугдеи [Materials for the History of Sugdea]*, 16.

⁴¹⁰ L. Firsov, *Исары: Очерки истории средневековых крепостей Южного берега Крыма [Isar: Essays on the history of medieval castles of the Southern coast of Crimea]* (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1990), 54.

2.8. Zikhs and Circassians

Slaves from the Caucasus (Zikhs and Circassians) were probably bought from poor families; the role of raiding, in my opinion, was negligible. In the higher social strata, Zikhs cannot be traced. They often operated as minor burglars and bandits. Thus, the Tatars and Zikhs robbed a Genoese, Oberoto Garrono, in Tana.⁴¹¹ Matrega was the cultural and religious center of Zikhia and a residence of the Greek metropolitan of the Zikhian diocese. Italian travelers in the fifteenth century who visited Zikhia noted that residents professed Orthodoxy and Islam was not known yet at all; attempts of the Catholic Church to convert the Zikhs were unsuccessful.⁴¹² The Circassians were in a similar position. Italian trade with the Circassians was carried on based on bartering due to the underdevelopment of market relations here. The Circassians lacked merchants and the Greeks and Armenians played this role; sometimes Circassians raided Tana.⁴¹³ Barbaro tells the story of one such occasion, but these raids were a kind of petty robbery: Circassians, although twice as numerous as the Tatars and the Italians (about one hundred equestrians against forty-five Italians and Tatars),⁴¹⁴ were easily defeated in that “battle” (*cercassi non sonno homini ma femine*⁴¹⁵). In the deeds, Circassians appear only as slaves or freedmen (for the most part they were probably bought from their parents, as above) and most often as Christians. Antonello of Parma, son of Simone de Chostula from Skurano, bequeathed 54 bezant to the daughter of a Circassian, Indzhibey,⁴¹⁶ and Christos (or Kostas) Catolizi.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹¹ ASG. AS 3024 Diversorum, Filze 4. № 342 (old), 163 (new). Publication of the sources: Карпов, “Регесты документов фонда Diversorum Filze секретного архива Генуи, относящиеся к истории Причерноморья” [Regests of the documents from the Secret Archive of Genoa (*Diversorum, Filze*), relating to the history of the Black Sea], *PSV* 3 (1998): 17.

⁴¹² Y. Uzlov, “К вопросу об итальянской колонизации Северо-Западного Кавказа в XIII – XV вв.” [On the Italian colonization of the northwest Caucasus from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries], In *Причерноморье, Крым, Русь в истории и культуре. Материалы II Судакской международной научной конференции (12 – 16 сентября 2004 г.)* [Black Sea, Crimea, Russia in History and Culture. Sudak Materials of the 2nd international conference (12 - 16 September 2004)] (Kiev - Sudak: Academperiodika, 2004): Part 2: 215 - 216.

⁴¹³ ASG. AS 3024 Diversorum, Filze 4. № 342 (old), 163 (new).

⁴¹⁴ *I viaggi in Persia*, 81-82.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁴¹⁶ Mentioned by Donato a Mano as Clara Zanelli (*alio nomine Enzibei*), N. D. Prokofieva, [The Acts]: 134.

2.9. Tatars

Tatars were the third largest group based on notarial deeds. The Cuman language was so prevalent in the steppe that it was in use throughout northern Asia up to the borders of the Gobi.⁴¹⁸ Most of the Tatars followed a nomadic lifestyle, sometimes pitching camp under the walls of Tana. At least eight Tatars are mentioned in the deeds of the 1430s; no doubt in reality there were significantly more, since a Tatar slave who converted to Latin Christianity got Latin names (often the adoption of Christianity was a condition of manumission). Giorgio de Damiano said in his will that if his slave, Khaymet, paid his debts and converted to Christianity she would be free.⁴¹⁹

Tatars who settled in the Black Sea region actively converted to Greek Orthodoxy from the thirteenth century, long before Islam arrived. This is evidenced in the Synaxarion of Sugdea, and it was not necessarily accompanied by a change of name (Christian and Turkic names were both in use).⁴²⁰ This means that the number of Christian Tatars was at least greater than the number of Tatars designated as Christians and/or bearing Christian names. I do not know of cases when a Tartar named Benedetto or Manoli professed Islam. At the same time, the number of Orthodox Tatars with ethnic names was huge. In other words, seeing a Tartar with a Christian name (e.g., Theodore and Michele) in the deeds I am sure that he was a Christian, while, seeing a Tartar with an ethnic name (for example, Culmelicha or Karauzuh), I can suggest that since he was no longer a nomad, most likely he had become a Christian as well. Probably the best example of the initial spread of Orthodox Christianity among the Tatars is the case of Yolmelikh a Candelis, the wife of a Greek, Mihali Mitrioti.

⁴¹⁷ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 20r – f. 20v.

⁴¹⁸ Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen âge* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1885), 241-242.

⁴¹⁹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 30r – f. 30v.

⁴²⁰ Archimandrite Antonin, “Заметки XII – XV века, относящиеся к Крымскому г. Сугдее (Судаку), приписанные на греческом Синаксаре” [Notes on the twelfth to fifteenth century relating to the Crimean city of Sugdea (Sudak), attributed to the Greek Synaxarion], *ZOOID* 5 (1863): 595 - 628.

This woman is known from the deeds of Donato a Mano, Nicolas de Varsis, Benedetto de Smeritis and Pietro Pellakana; hence, she lived in Tana for at least half a century. Her family name either indicates a long tradition of family engagement in trade, or is rooted in toponymy (*scandelium* – urban scales for heavy loads⁴²¹). In her will, she bequeathed money to several Greeks and fifty bezants to a Greek priest, Papa Tatuli, in the parish of St. John. Clearly, all of her relatives were also Orthodox Christians (her sister Natchaton or Marnatchaton and her husband Karauzukh: *in quibus manibus commendo animam meam*).⁴²²

The same is true for the majority of Tatars. A Tatar named Culmelicha had a daughter Lucia, and Culmelicha herself was the adopted daughter of Antonina, the wife of the Venetian Domenico Balloto;⁴²³ this family is likely to have been Catholic. A Tatar, Antonio, slave of Michele de Mateo,⁴²⁴ cannot but be a Christian. Yusuf Chatolizi⁴²⁵ had a cognomen or nickname, which explicitly defines him as a Christian, and was apparently not of the first generation of converts. Six Tatars mentioned in the deeds of the Tatars were certainly Christians, although nothing else is known about them. Most of the settled Tatars (traders, craftsmen) seem to have been Christians, and their cooperation and interethnic marriages with Greeks were considerable (see above). If one researches the deeds and comes across a person with a Turkic name, but not marked as *sarazenus* or *turcus*, it should be taken as a default that most likely this person was rather a Christian than a Muslim.⁴²⁶

On the other hand, the nomadic Tartars, despite the superficial adoption of Islam in the Golden Horde after the bloody coup of Nowruz (1360), probably in fact remained pagans. Barbaro wrote that the Tatars had been largely Muslim for more than a decade (*la fede de*

⁴²¹ A. L. Ponomarev, “Территория и население генуэзской Каффы по данным бухгалтерской книги – массарии казначейства за 1381 – 1382 гг.” [The area and population of Genoese Caffa according to account books – Massarias of the Treasury for the years 1381 to 1382]. *PSV* 4 (2000): 427.

⁴²² ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 21r v.

⁴²³ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 8.

⁴²⁴ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 23r.

⁴²⁵ ASV, CI. Cart. 231. 8v.

⁴²⁶ At least, most of the Tatars with ethnic names directly or indirectly demonstrate indicators of Christianity, either Greek Orthodox or Roman Catholic.

*Machometo principio ne i Tartari ordinariamente, mo 'sonno anni circa 110*⁴²⁷), but he also notes their latent paganism and ritual offerings to the gods (boiled millet covered with a wooden bowl⁴²⁸). Pagan Tatars (*idolatri*), and they were numerous, called it *hibuth peres* (translation unknown). The deeds are full of references to Latin, Greek, and Armenian churches, but the only mention of “the old mosque,” is in the book of Barbaro. Nevertheless, since it was where Khan Kichik Mehmed and his entourage⁴²⁹ was housed, one can assume that it was not active. No signs of Muslim Tatars’ religious activity can be traced based on the sources.

Moving slightly away from the topic of religion, the only certain Muslim was Kassym Safir; the word *sarazenus* designating him may be an indication of social status. He was very rich.⁴³⁰ The nomadic Tatars on the coast of the Azov Sea controlled the cattle trade with Europe and Persia, the magnitude of which, according to Barbaro, was enormous.

I have tried to calculate the degree of intensity of personal contacts among the ethnic groups. It turned out that the Latins tended to be in contact more frequently with other Christians (their compatriots, Greeks, Orthodox Tatars). As for the Venetians and Genoese, the hostility between the republics destroyed neither commercial nor personal relations (reflected in the wills).⁴³¹ The Westerners tended to be in contact with their compatriots or Greeks more intensively than with the others, different from the situation in the 1410s to 1420s. This can be explained by the fact that the deeds of the 1430s are mainly testaments, where personal trust is required more than in commercial affairs (although the case of Edelmugh, who became a kunack of Barbaro,⁴³² seems to be an exception). Thus, there was

⁴²⁷ *I viaggi in Persia*, 73.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 80-81.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, 74-75.

⁴³⁰ This person conducted his business with a formidable sum of 4080; though in fact it was under a pledge.

⁴³¹ Pace M. Shitikov, “Константинополь и венецианская торговля в первой половине XV в. по данным книги счетов Джакомо Бадозера,” [Constantinople and the Venetian trade in the first half of the fifteenth century according to the book of accounts of Giacomo Badoer], *VV* 30 (1969): 62.

⁴³² *I viaggi in Persia*, 78-79.

some cultural distance. Summarizing, one can state that the Italian and the Greek diasporas to the Tana trading stations constituted a money-oriented, prosperous society that was diverse in terms of ethnicity and tolerant in terms of religion.

CHAPTER 3. THE SOCIETY OF THE TRADING STATION

3.1. Social stratification

My objectives in this chapter are more modest than it can seem from the heading. First, I will estimate, based on the relevant parameters, the social differentiation and stratification of the society of Tana. Then I will try to answer the question whether the social stratification correlated with the distribution of wealth and property. Finally, I will concentrate on several other problems of social history, namely: geographical mobility, permanent and renewed population of the trading station, regional attachments and sympathies, and the behaviour of individuals within social structures and the legal framework as far as the relations of “parents and children” and the relations and order of inheritance are concerned.

Unfortunately, the deeds are not very informative in respect of the overall property of the testators, although they may contain relevant data about people themselves. However, here one faces another problem: the formal identifiers are not always relevant. First, social identifiers (*vir nobilis*, *civis*, *burgensis*, *habitor*, *ser*, *magister*, *mercator*, *discretus*, *egregius*, *honestus*, *magister*, *trucimanus*, *dragomanus*) are used in the deeds occasionally – a person may or may not have applied them and this was not mandatory. For instance, a *vir nobilis* did not always feel a necessity to mark his social standing. Maybe only the term *habitor Tane* could be of some use, meaning that a person using it was a permanent resident, but many permanent residents omitted it as well. The same is true for other identifiers; therefore, a formal identifier does not always reflect social position. Freedmen could hold “noble” family names. As for citizenship, it is apparent that only a few of the Venetian citizens felt a need to mark it in their deeds. A rich, but not related to the authorities, merchant could identify himself as *civis* or *burgensis*, while a modest officer of the curia (like *bastonier*) could omit this identifier and specify only the office he held.

Since one cannot rely on formal identifiers, the main parameters to be considered are the information value of mentioning of a person in particular deeds and the frequency of such mentions (at least more than once). Almost nothing else is known about the testators except that they existed, had names and family names, and drafted wills in Tana in a certain year. However, some wills are more informative than others, and there is more data about some persons than about others who are just mentioned once. This can be the basis for research into the social practice of these “known”⁴³³ people. The group of such people is not so numerous, but the source material shows that they were more socially active and prominent than others. This is especially true of those mentioned several times as witnesses and *fideicommissari* – they seem to have been comparatively wealthy and reliable people. To say even more, everyone identified as a patrician because of his noble family name and everyone bearing a marker of high social standing fell into this group.⁴³⁴ Most likely these people were connected by some quasi-corporate ties and constituted some kind of elite.

Nobles can be most often identified based on a social marker, a noble family name or a combination of both. To be appointed a consul, nobility was a requirement. The alleged “feudalisation” of the Venetian elite in the Levant in the late Middle Ages did not change its main engagement, that is, commerce.⁴³⁵ Seventy-four out of eighty-three Venetian merchants in Constantinople mentioned by Badoer were nobles,⁴³⁶ and most of the merchants who participated in Barbaro’s venture on treasure hunting.⁴³⁷ Besides, young siblings of the noble families often began their careers as crossbow-archers (*ballistarii*, also known as *nobili da pope*) on the galleys of Romagna and Tana, often later reaching the position of captain. They

⁴³³ Meaning known to a researcher to a larger extent than others.

⁴³⁴ No consuls, nobles, priests or merchants are mentioned only once.

⁴³⁵ L. G. Klimanov, “Обретение Венецией моря: право, политика, символы” [Venice acquiring the Sea: Law, politics, and symbols], *PSV* 3 (1998): 158.

⁴³⁶ M. M. Shitikov, “Константинополь и венецианская торговля в первой половине XV в. по данным книги счетов Джакомо Бадозера” [Constantinople and the Venetian trade in the first half of the fifteenth century according to the book of accounts of Giacomo Badoer], *VV* 30 (1969): 52.

⁴³⁷ Not to mention that those people were very rich – see above about their expenses for this venture.

often had to suffer many inconveniences, salaries were often delayed, but still the process of choosing candidates for the appointments of *ballistarii* was highly competitive, and good skills had to be demonstrated.

This period saw an increase in the number of *ballistarii* on the Venetian ships, which is evidence of increasing danger, but besides it is indirect evidence of increasing incomes, for otherwise the augmentation of expenses would have been senseless. In 1431, thirty additional *ballistarii* were sent to Tana and the salary was officially raised to four ducats;⁴³⁸ however, the deeds of Varsis show that in 1430 in reality it was already five ducats per month.⁴³⁹ *Ballistarius* Fabiano Desdiegna received his salary under the consuls Martino Pisani (30 ducats), Pietro Lando and Vice-consul Ermolao Pisani (56 ducats), that is, 86 in total.⁴⁴⁰ In the range between 4 and 6 there was no multiple value for this sum; therefore, during this period the salary was raised. In 1435, twenty-five *ballistarii* had to be sent to Tana urgently, and therefore the senate forbade all new expenses.⁴⁴¹ Almost half of the testators in Cart. 750, 917 either say that they are *stipendiarii*⁴⁴² or mention their salary as received or to be received. As noted above, the salaries were often delayed, and some men made a kind of hidden profit because of it (Giacomo Salono was especially effective as a creditor;⁴⁴³ he did not speak about either *usura* or *lucrum*, although others even found it suitable to mention it in deeds⁴⁴⁴).

The anxiety of the senate, the increasing salaries of the soldiers, the highly competitive recruitment procedure, permanent attempts to find new sources for funding the garrison, the

⁴³⁸ ASV, Senato, Misti, reg. 58, f. 65. 4 ducats per month meant 48 ducats per year. Braudel estimated an annual *per capite* in the Venetian republic as 50 – 100 ducats (F. Braudel, *Material Civilization*, 107) and doubted whether it could be real (the sum seemed too big to him). Considering the social stratification, the real income must have been much lower, so 48 ducats seems to have been a good salary.

⁴³⁹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 27r.

⁴⁴⁰ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 30r.

⁴⁴¹ ASV, Senato, Misti, reg. 59, f. 112.

⁴⁴² Though *salarisatus* or *stipendiarius* does not always mean that a person was a *ballistarius* or a nobleman; some soldiers could be recruited from among the commoners.

⁴⁴³ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 21v – f. 22r. ASV, CI. Cart. 231. 4r, 4v, 5r, 7v, 8r, 10r, 11v etc.

⁴⁴⁴ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 20r – 20v, 22v.

anxiety of the *ballistarii* and *stipendiarii*, who tended to draft wills more than other group (although they were young and healthy) lead me to the conclusion that the Venetians felt increasing danger, but the revenues of the trade also increased and therefore they could afford new expenses.

Returning to the question of the elite, the analysis of “known” people (that is, active in terms of notarial practice) and comparing this information to other parameters led me to the conclusion that the elite of the society of Tana constituted an entity and demonstrated a certain stability in the social hierarchy. I chose those persons who are mentioned in the deeds more than once, presuming that the frequency of mentions correlated the social importance of a person, whether he acted as a testator (and therefore had an average income or more⁴⁴⁵), as a witness or a *fideicommissar* (and therefore had a certain good reputation and enjoyed social trust). The circle of such people appeared to be relatively narrow (and beyond any doubt, there was differentiation within it). The “known” people are 77 persons out of 303, that is 23.5%.

Ten of these men are mentioned by Barbaro, mainly as merchants or officers (14%), six are mentioned by Badoer as merchants (8%), seven are mentioned in the documents of the senate (9%), mostly as merchants or Venetian officers. Nineteen have noble family names (26.76%), 48 have the prefix *ser* (62%), twenty-three (32 %) have a prestigious social identifier (*consul*, *vizeconsul*, *vir nobilis*, *vir discretus*, *vir prudens*, *vir spectabilis*, *magister*, *merchator*, *patronus*); besides that it is clear that a noble or other person of high standing did not introduce an identifier into a deed. Outside of this group, one barely finds anyone who had a prestigious social identifier. As for professional differentiation, most of the members of this group were, as said above, either officers of the curia, clerics or merchants⁴⁴⁶ (*ballistarii*

⁴⁴⁵ The figures of the price of drawing up a deed varied from 1 to 5 ducats.

⁴⁴⁶ To say just a bit about other professions – the deeds mention a tailor (ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 3 – 3v, 20r – 20v, 22v), two carpenters (ASV, CI. Cart. 231. 12r. ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 27r – f. 27v), and three coopers (*butarii*) in one will (ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 29r). The profession is specified as well for a herald of the curia, Giovanni

are a considerable part of the group, although not always the wealthiest). Social activity correlates somewhat with commercial activity and wealth – all the main proprietors whom I identified fell within this group of “known” men and mention more or less considerable sums of money and real estate in their wills (which again one barely finds outside this group) – land, buildings, factories.⁴⁴⁷ Moreover, within this group those who are mentioned two times are rare; most of them appear in the deeds 5 or 6 times. To say even more, this group was characterized by a strong internal cohesion. The members tended to contact other members of the group more often than outsiders (inviting each other to be witnesses, appointing each other as *fideicommissari*). Thus, there was a certain border between this group and the others, and the members of this group demonstrated more intensive social practice, which correlated with their social standing.

3.2 “Domiciled in Tana”

The deeds mention around 300 persons. Therefore, if one recalls the story about Gulbeddin’s treasure related by Barbaro, it seems more than strange that the author of this source and his companions gathered 120 workers paid at three ducats per month for their venture in treasure-hunting.⁴⁴⁸ Such a number of workers would not have been easy to gather at one time even in a modern town; such a salary for diggers’ work seems to be too high,⁴⁴⁹ and 360 ducats per month is a large expense,⁴⁵⁰ which means that either they were really sure

Greco, and an interpreter, Borano Taiapetra. One should mention barbers especially (ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 2, 19v (4) – 20r, 23v - 24r, 44r). In fact, almost all of them were within the “privileged” group – they acted as medical men and were a necessary part of the crew on galleys. In the Venetian case the barbers’ standing was not as low as elsewhere. Out of 10 *ballistarii* 2 had to be barbers. The Venetian senate refused to reduce this number to one (ASV, Senato, Misti, XLIV, f. 90v – 91r), and since the Venetian barbers did not want to be employed on the ships as common *ballistarii* [*sic*], with a salary of 6 ducats per month by that time [*sic*], the senate raised their salaries to 8 ducats (Ibid.). Thus, barbers were a group of well-paid professionals, and at least some were nobles.

⁴⁴⁷ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 8, 25r, 29v, 30v – 31r.

⁴⁴⁸ *I viaggi in Persia*, 70.

⁴⁴⁹ This equaled the salary of a *ballistarius* [*sic*] with a slight difference that the salary of the diggers, contrary to that of the *ballistarii*, was not delayed (see below).

⁴⁵⁰ Plus what was paid to another 150 diggers during the second attempt at treasure hunting.

that they would find the treasure or Barbaro simply exaggerated. However, this is not the main concern here. The source data of Barbaro (provided one believes it) shows that 120 (later 150) people were available in Tana to be detached from their everyday duties in the low season; people who ventured to dig frozen soil first in December 1437, and then in March 1438. If one believes Barbaro,⁴⁵¹ one should presume that the permanent population of Tana must have been several thousand people.

What was the percentage of the people permanently domiciled⁴⁵² in Tana among those mentioned in the deeds and how did it vary in terms of ethnicity? The first question can be answered provisionally by comparing the data from the 1430s with the sources of the previous and the next period. The second question implies analyzing this prosopographic data in respect of a particular parameter.

One finds a family of Fagni domiciled in Tana in the 1410s (Fagnus de Fagnis⁴⁵³) and in the 1430s (Clara Pelieta Fagni⁴⁵⁴ and Matheus de Fagnio⁴⁵⁵). Possibly one can add to the list a ship *patronus*, Giacomo de Girardino,⁴⁵⁶ who is mentioned as a barber in the 1430s.⁴⁵⁷ Michelino Zeno is mentioned in 1413 as owning a house in Tana,⁴⁵⁸ and again in the 1430s as a resident.⁴⁵⁹ Manoli de Mudazzo from Candia is mentioned in 1413⁴⁶⁰ and in the 1430s, when he drafted his will.⁴⁶¹ Although he seems to have been of Greek origin and called a

⁴⁵¹ It is possible, however, that Barbaro did not describe real events, but this question is well beyond the objectives of my work.

⁴⁵² Hereafter, this term is used rather to mean the permanent ties and residence of a person at the trading station rather than the period he spent there; although these two issues correlate to some extent I assume by default that if a person is mentioned several times as related to Tana on a long time scale he must have been either a permanent resident or a frequent visitor, which is technically the same in this case.

⁴⁵³ A. A. Talyzina, “Венецианский нотариус в Тане Кристофоро Риццо (1411 – 1413)” [Venetian notary in Tana Cristoforo Rizzo (1411 – 1413)]. *PSV* 4 (2000): 27 – 28.

⁴⁵⁴ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 24r.

⁴⁵⁵ ASV, CI. Cart. 231. 1v; NT. Cart. 750. 8.

⁴⁵⁶ Talyzina, “Венецианский нотариус” [Venetian notary] 28 – 29.

⁴⁵⁷ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 2, 3, 19v-4, 20v.

⁴⁵⁸ Talyzina, “Венецианский нотариус” [Venetian notary] 29 – 30.

⁴⁵⁹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 18v-1.

⁴⁶⁰ Talyzina, “Венецианский нотариус” [Venetian notary] 26 – 27.

⁴⁶¹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 4.

Greek man as a *fideicomissar*, he was of Venetian origin, and his brothers Nicolo (1449⁴⁶²) and Marco (1451⁴⁶³), sons of the late Pietro, were crossbow-archers on the galleys of Romagna (a post reserved for Venetian nobility). Pietro Loredan, a former consul of Tana, is mentioned in 1414,⁴⁶⁴ and again in the 1430s.⁴⁶⁵ Andrea Contarini, also a former consul of Tana, appears in the deeds of Donato a Mano⁴⁶⁶ and again in the deeds of the 1430s.⁴⁶⁷ Caterina, the wife of Giorgio Giustiniani, drafted her will in the 1410s,⁴⁶⁸ but still lived in Tana in 1436.⁴⁶⁹ Giovanni Pietro, who acted in Tana in September⁴⁷⁰ and October 1413,⁴⁷¹ appears again in 1436 in Constantinople (presumably on his way to Tana).⁴⁷² The same applies to Bartolomeo Lombardo, who appears in 1417 in Tana,⁴⁷³ and in 1435 in Constantinople with the consul of Tana, his notary, and Giosafato Barbaro.⁴⁷⁴ Domenico Bedolotto, *drugomanus*, was a witness to the purchase of a house by Iolmelich a Candelis,⁴⁷⁵ then he sold a cellar in Tana in 1414;⁴⁷⁶ he appears twice in 1417,⁴⁷⁷ and he still lived in Tana in 1436 – 1438.⁴⁷⁸

The deeds of the 1410s and 1430s mention an Orthodox married couple several times. Iolmelich a Candelis owned real estate, her husband Michalli Mitrioti was a *habitor* of Tana,⁴⁷⁹ and there was litigation between them.⁴⁸⁰ Iolmelich drafted her will as late as 1436,

⁴⁶² ASV. AvCom, Prove (2) 178, f. 250r.

⁴⁶³ ASV. AvCom, Prove (2) 178, f. 259r.

⁴⁶⁴ Prokofieva, "Акты" [The Acts], 57 – 58.

⁴⁶⁵ ASV, CI. Cart. 231. 11v.

⁴⁶⁶ Prokofieva, "Акты" [The Acts], 45 – 46, 55 and further.

⁴⁶⁷ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 23v.

⁴⁶⁸ Prokofieva, "Акты" [The Acts], 137.

⁴⁶⁹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 20v.

⁴⁷⁰ Prokofieva, "Акты" [The Acts], 45.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 51 – 52.

⁴⁷² ASV, CI. Cart. 231. 1r; NT. Cart. 750. 18v-1.

⁴⁷³ Prokofieva, "Акты" [The Acts], 112 – 113.

⁴⁷⁴ ASV, CI. Cart. 231. 1v; NT. Cart. 750. 3.

⁴⁷⁵ Prokofieva, "Акты" [The Acts], 54 – 55.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 58 – 59.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 112 – 113; 131 – 132, 150 – 151.

⁴⁷⁸ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 3v, 9v, 22r.

⁴⁷⁹ Prokofieva, "Акты" [The Acts], 54 – 55, 68 – 69, 92 – 93.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 67 – 68.

mentioning there mainly Greeks, Orthodox Tatars, a Greek metropolitan,⁴⁸¹ and a priest, Tatuli,⁴⁸² who had also resided in Tana in the 1430s, when he served in a different Orthodox parish – St. John).⁴⁸³

Borano Taiapetra, an interpreter (*turzmanus*) of the consul's curia, is an interesting case.⁴⁸⁴ His family lived in Tana as early as the early fifteenth century,⁴⁸⁵ and at least one of the family – Nicolo Taiapetra – was also an interpreter;⁴⁸⁶ both of the Taiapetra knew several languages (Russian among them).⁴⁸⁷ Another one, Francesco Taiapetra, is mentioned as being in Tana in 1415.⁴⁸⁸ Borano Taiapetra is first mentioned in relation to Tana around 1421 to 1423 in respect of litigation,⁴⁸⁹ and later in 1436, as an interpreter for the curia and a witness to the purchase of a slave.⁴⁹⁰ He had a daughter, Menechina, who lived with him.⁴⁹¹ Borano also appears in Barbaro's narrative in 1438,⁴⁹² when he went with Giosafato and *bastoniere* to the Tatars' camp with gifts and caused the Tatar prince to laugh, because he and two others out of the whole company of four were blind in one eye.

However, more can be said about Borano and this dynasty of interpreters. The lists of the taxpayers of Lvov mention a certain "Baranczuk Tolmacz" (*tolmacz* means "an interpreter") in the entries of April 19, 1405. At that time Baranczuk resided in the Galich suburbs of Lvov.⁴⁹³ The diminutive "-czuk"⁴⁹⁴ could be added to foreign names, so one can

⁴⁸¹ Clearly, the one of Alanias; the direct connections of Iolmelikh with a high Church official can say much about her own social standing.

⁴⁸² ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 21r.

⁴⁸³ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 21r-21v.

⁴⁸⁴ ASV, CI, Ch. 231-5r/5v; ASV, NT, Ch. 750-21r, 25r, 28v; ASV, NT, Ch. 917, 4.

⁴⁸⁵ *Moretto Bon, notaio in Venezia, Trebisonda e Tana (1403 – 1408)*, ed. de'Colli (Venice, 1950), prot. 2, doc. 22. 34.

⁴⁸⁶ ASV, CI, 121, Notaio Donato a Mano, f. 4, doc. 20.

⁴⁸⁷ Карпов, Латинская Романия [*Latin Romania*] (St.Petersburg: Aletheia, 2000), 188.

⁴⁸⁸ Prokofieva, "Акты" [The Acts], 92, 132 – 133, 140 – 141, 148 – 149, doc. 83.

⁴⁸⁹ ASV. AvCom, Raspe, 3647, an. 1417-1428, f. 38v-43v – 10.1.1424; also see: ASV. SM, LIV, f. f. 174 [173]r -10 I 1424.

⁴⁹⁰ ASV, CI. Cart. 231. 5r 5v; NT. Cart. 750. 21r.

⁴⁹¹ ASV, CI. Cart. 231. 8v; ASV, NT. Cart. 917, 4, 5-6.

⁴⁹² *I viaggi in Persia*, 75.

⁴⁹³ *Pomniki dziejów Lwowa z archiwum miasta. Vol. 2: Księga przychodów i rozchodów miasta. 1404 – 1414* [The Memorials on the History of Lvov from the Archive of the City], ed. A. Czołowski (Lvov: 1896), 15. The

assume that interpreter Baranczuk from Lvov and interpreter of the Venetian curia of Tana, Borano Taiapetra, were the same person. His ethnic origin (as well as origin of the “dynasty” as a whole) therefore becomes problematic. The family name is clearly Italian: the stem *tagliare* (“to cut”) combined with *petra* (“stone”) leads to the conclusion that his paternal ancestors lived in an Italian-speaking social environment for at least one generation, and some of them were stone-cutters; but they apparently had strong connections with Eastern Europe. It would be tempting to suggest that his given name derives from the name of the island in Venice (Burano), but asserting this seems too bold. The name well could be Tatar in origin – one of the chiefs (*bej*) of the four main Crimean Tatars’ kin groups was called Baryn. Nevertheless, there is one more option. Borano could have been an Armenian, and this looks the most plausible, since Armenians were the ones to maintain the trade connections between Lvov, the Black Sea coast (with both the Italian trading stations and nomadic Tatars), and Asia Minor. The fifteenth century is exactly the epoch of Armenian penetration and commercial expansion into Eastern Europe. Besides their high geographic mobility, Armenians were more often employed as translators than anyone else in these regions. The fact that the family of Taiapetra resided in Venetian Tana by the early fifteenth century (and actually acquired a Latin cognomen), while at the same time one of the members lived in Lvov does not seem confusing at all given the tremendous mobility of Armenians. Thus, positing an Armenian origin for an Italianized and Catholicized group whose family business was being interpreters and which enjoyed the advantages of the demand for multilingual subjects in a flexible and mobile society seems the most realistic explanation.⁴⁹⁵

author expresses kind thanks to Prof. Alexander Osipian for the reference and relevant suggestions about the origin of Taiapetra.

⁴⁹⁴ In modern times this became a conventional ending of many Ukrainian surnames.

⁴⁹⁵ One should add that provided this was really one person, and by 1405 he was clearly an adult and a practicing interpreter, Borano must have been old enough (no less than fifty-five years) by the time of the events reported by Barbaro and by the time when he appears in the deeds of the 1430s.

In the later deeds of Pietro Pellacan (1440s – 1450s) one also finds some persons who had been living in Tana already by 1430s. Constantine de La Chustiza⁴⁹⁶ was a *stipendiarius* in 1436. He was a Greek; among the deeds of Pellacan there is a unique deed drafted in Latin, but with a Greek signature of said Constantine (with its Latin duplicate): “Κωστατης ο δε λα Βοτζιστα” and “Constantinus de la Chustizza” (one can find similar cases in Crete or Cyprus, but not in the Black Sea region⁴⁹⁷). Francesco Cornaro, a nobleman and merchant, was involved in the treasure-hunting venture of Barbaro in the 1430s. Although Barbaro mentions him as “deceased” as early as 1438, he appeared in Tana in 1445 with his brother, Giacomo.⁴⁹⁸ Caterina, wife of Giorgio Giustiniani, is mentioned in the 1410s⁴⁹⁹ and in 1436;⁵⁰⁰ in 1451 she is reported living in the Venetian citadel of Tana and to own land nearby,⁵⁰¹ which she had sold to Tatuli, the Greek priest of St. Nicolas church (*ecclesia sancti Nicolai grecorum eiusdem loci Tane*).⁵⁰² Tatuli, mentioned in the 1430s, was absent because he 1451 left Tana for Trebizond, where the archbishop of Alania resided. Thus, Caterina was married and legally capable and wealthy between 1413 and 1419, and she lived at least until 1451, presenting an outstanding example of longevity and business activity in the Middle Ages.

Thus, first, at least 11 persons out of the sample resided in Tana from the 1410s to the 1430s; six from the 1430s to the 1450s, and two from the 1430s to the 1450s. Second (provided the sample is representative in reflecting the quantitative correlation of groups), one can compare the percentages of the ethnic and religious groups in each decade. Mostly, the deeds mention Latins. However, there is a discrepancy among the percentages of Latins

⁴⁹⁶ ASV, CI. Cart. 231. 12r; NT. Cart. 750. 20v.

⁴⁹⁷ Карпов, “Греки и латиняне в венецианской Тана (середина XIV – середина XV вв.)” [Greeks and Latins in Venetian Tana, mid fourteenth - mid fifteenth centuries], *PSV* 7 (2009): 167.

⁴⁹⁸ ASV, CI. Cart. 231. 01.

⁴⁹⁹ N. D. Prokofieva, “Акты” [The Acts], 137.

⁵⁰⁰ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 20v.

⁵⁰¹ Карпов, “Греки и латиняне” [Greeks and Latins], *PSV* 7 (2009): 170.

⁵⁰² Also in: ASV, CI. Notai, 148 2, № 31, 64-67.

and Greeks (including Orthodox Tatars) in the overall sample and this group of “old residents.” For the whole sample, Greeks are 4.95% (one can possibly add at least some of the Tatars, 3.63%, most of whom were Christians). In the group of “old residents,” 4 in total (24%), 2 from the 1410s to the 1430s (18%), and 2 from the 1430s to the 1450s (33%). The figures seem to be realistic, which means that among the permanent population the Latins⁵⁰³ were around three-quarters, and Greeks and Tatars – around one quarter. This is a strong contrast to the data of the overall sample (all the persons mentioned in the deeds). This demonstrates that the deeds reflect the group of Latins better than other groups, but this also shows that in reality the locals *within* the trading station were much more numerous than was thought before. On the one hand, surely the locals (especially Greeks) were more active, wealthy, and engaged in commerce than previous historians assumed. On the other hand, the locals were mostly merchants. Therefore, probably statements about a decline in the number of Greek merchants because of the activity of the Italians⁵⁰⁴ and the impoverishment of the Black Sea towns because of the Italians’ international trade⁵⁰⁵ deserve reconsideration.

3.3. Parish life

In the first half of the fifteenth century there were several Catholic churches in Tana. Seemingly, the church of St. Mark,⁵⁰⁶ which existed at the beginning of the fifteenth century or even earlier,⁵⁰⁷ was the only one located inside the Venetian trading post. The church of St. Mary and St. Anthony,⁵⁰⁸ which controlled the *scuola*, existed at the beginning of the

⁵⁰³ Just a reminder: neither a Latin personal name nor a Latin family name are absolute evidence of a Western origin.

⁵⁰⁴ Angeliki Laiou-Thomadakis, “The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System, Thirteenth – Fifteenth Centuries,” *DOP* 34, 35 (1980 – 1981): 211.

⁵⁰⁵ Карпов, “Итальянская торговля в Трапезунде и ее воздействие на экономику поздневизантийского города” [Italian Trade in Trebizond and its impact on the economy of the Late Byzantine city], *VV* 44 (1983): 85.

⁵⁰⁶ ASV, NT. Cart. 917, 5-6, 7. Cart. 750. 7, 21r-21v, 26r, 27r, 28r-28v, 29v, 30r-30v, 30v-31r.

⁵⁰⁷ Prokofieva, “Акты” [The Acts], no. 131, 133.

⁵⁰⁸ ASV, NT. Cart. 917, 2-3. CI. Cart. 231. 5r-5v. NT. Cart. 750 – 7, 8, 19v(4)-20r, 20r-20v, 22r, 24r-24v, 25r, 26r, 30r-30v, 30v-31r.

fifteenth century,⁵⁰⁹ as did the church of St. Francis, also located in the Genoese quarter.⁵¹⁰ Such “religiosity” among the Genoese leads me to certain reflections. There is some additional evidence that the Genoese quarters were more “religiously attractive” than the Venetian ones. Firstly, as mentioned above, most of the churches (at least two Latin, one Greek, and possibly one Armenian) were situated within the Genoese trading station. Secondly, Venetians hardly ever paid any attention to the church of St. Mark, while the mentions of the Genoese churches (offerings, requests for burial, requests for masses and prayers, etc.) are frequent. The church of Sts. Mary and Anthony was especially popular; also, good amounts of money were given “for the mass of St. Gregory.” A popular figure as a “religious expert” was Friar Antonio de Leonardo Zerdone, who lived in the Genoese quarter and had a house there⁵¹¹ (the fact that he, being a monk,⁵¹² had a wife in Venice,⁵¹³ did not seem to perplex anyone). Thirdly, and most surprisingly, in their wills many Venetians asked to be buried in the church in the Genoese quarter. One of them even specifically mentions his donation to be given to the Genoese friars.⁵¹⁴ One Venetian *stipendiarius* (a native of Parma) also asked to be buried in the church located in the Genoese quarter.⁵¹⁵ A Circassian, Sudon, son of the deceased Tokars, bequeathed 10 bezants to the Venetian church of St. Mark and 30 bezants to the Church of St. Francis in the Genoese quarter.⁵¹⁶ Antonellus from Parma asked in his will to be buried in the church of St. Mary in the Genoese quarter⁵¹⁷ (surely he had in

⁵⁰⁹ *Moretto Bon, notaio in Venezia, Trebisonda e Tana (1403 – 1408)*, prot. 2, doc. 37. 46; Prokofieva, “Акты” [The Acts], no. 133, 135, 141. ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 19v – 20r, 20r – 20v. ASV, NT. Cart. 917, 4. The churches of St. Mary and St. Anthony (and probably other churches) had factories; maybe for the production of candles.

⁵¹⁰ ASV, NT. Cart. 750 – 8, 22r, 24r-24v, 29v.

⁵¹¹ Fra Antonio de Lunardo Zerdone was for some unknown reason a highly respected person. Thus, a will of a Genoese Nicoloxio de Portu, son of Pietro Antonio (deceased) was drafted in the house of Fra Antonio, who is especially called *venerabilis* (ASV. NT. Cart. 750. 4). This honorific could have been used for any of the priests mentioned, but as one can see only Fra Antonio enjoyed this privilege.

⁵¹² ASV, CI. Cart. 231. 5v-6r.

⁵¹³ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 6-6v.

⁵¹⁴ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 19r (3) – f. 19v (4).

⁵¹⁵ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 20r – f. 20v.

⁵¹⁶ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 29v.

⁵¹⁷ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 20r – f. 20v.

mind the often-mentioned Genoese church of St. Mary and St. Anthony⁵¹⁸). However, the deterioration of relations between the citizens of these two trading republics were sometimes reflected in their religious life. A certain Giovanni asked to be buried inside the Genoese church choir, to which he offered a donation in his will. However, if the Genoese did not wish to bury him there, he wanted to be buried in the usual place for Venetians, and money bequeathed to the Venetian church of St. Mark in Tana.⁵¹⁹ Still, what was the cause of such unpatriotic behavior by the Venetians (often ignoring the church of St. Mark in their wills) and why were the Genoese churches and clergy so popular? This is a problem that I cannot solve based on the available sources.

Benedictine monasteries existed in Caffa and Tana, and both Franciscans (Antonio Pelizario⁵²⁰), and Dominicans (another Friar Antonio, *del'ordine dei Predicatori*⁵²¹) often appear in documents of the fifteenth century. The very fact of the presence of the Dominicans as well as a considerable number of churches and clergy are a clear evidence of active missionary work. However, evidence is lacking for their proselytizing activities and Latinization of the locals in this period (see below). This is another question that also remains open.

In addition to the donations to churches in Tana and other places, and private donations for masses, to the priests and the laity, there were frequent orders to spend some (often quite large) amounts of money on charity. It could be donations just for the poor (*dispensentur in pauperibus*),⁵²² for orphans (*in pauperibus orphanis*),⁵²³ on the charitable distribution of bread, wine, and meat to the poor (*helemosina de pane, vino et carnibus*

⁵¹⁸ ASV, CI. Cart. 231. f. 6v – f. 7r – f. 7v. ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 8.

⁵¹⁹ ASV, NT. Cart. 917, 4.

⁵²⁰ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 28r.

⁵²¹ Prokofieva, "Акты" [The Acts], 130, 131, 133, 146, 151, 152.

⁵²² ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 2.

⁵²³ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 3 – 3v.

pauperibus),⁵²⁴ on a pilgrimage on behalf of the soul of the testator (*mitatur ad sanctum Antonium in Viena pro anima mea; detur uni vel une qui vadet ad Sanctem Franciscum de Sisio; ad sanctum Iacobum in Galizia*),⁵²⁵ to needy ill patients (*in pauperibus infirmis*),⁵²⁶ for the poor of the hospice of St. Lazarus in Venice (*in pauperibus Sancti Lazari*),⁵²⁷ or to poor orphans and girls of marriageable age (*in pauperibus egenis orphanis et virginibus maritandis*).⁵²⁸ In addition, some of the testators did not restrict themselves to the conventional mass “to St. Mary and St. Gregory.” One of them commanded the celebration of five masses to different saints (the Holy Apostle James, John the Baptist, St. John Chrysostomos, Anna, and Susanna).⁵²⁹ Sometimes the donations of money, movable property, and real estate were made in compensation for evil things done (*pro male ablatis, per mal tolesto*)⁵³⁰ or just for prayers for the soul of the testator without any particular motivation.⁵³¹ In general, all the testators gave money for masses and the repose of their souls. Conversely, the decision not to give money for charity (despite the offer of the notary to do it) is specifically mentioned and attracts attention.⁵³² All of the testators clearly distinguish between the amount given to a notary for his work (and in such cases he is referred to in an impersonal way: *notarius suprascriptus*) and the amount given to him to

⁵²⁴ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 7, f. 30v – f. 31r, 31r bis.

⁵²⁵ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 7, 20r – 20v, 27r – 27v, 27v – 28r.

⁵²⁶ ASV, ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 19r (3) – f. 19v (4), f. 26r. NT. Cart. 750. 8.

⁵²⁷ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 19r (3) – f. 19v (4), f. 26r.

⁵²⁸ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 26r – 26v.

⁵²⁹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 22r.

⁵³⁰ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 23v – 24r, 27r – 27v, 28r – 28v, 44v – 45r.

⁵³¹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 19v (4) – f. 20r.

⁵³² ASV. NT. Cart. 750. f. 44r; cp. ASV. NT. Cart. 917, 8. However, in the text written in the vernacular the testator (Lorenzo de Giuliano) actually bequeathed *more* than other testators. He declined a particular notary’s proposal which was mentioned in the text. Even more interesting is that the testator demanded his will to be re-written from the draft written by him ahead of time in the vernacular – word by word. Did he want to save money in such a way (really, Varsis got only one ducat instead of the conventional 3 or 4), or did he want to make the document more understandable? Of particular interest is the fact that Lorenzo left money for masses to St. Gregory and Madonna, but insisted that they should be celebrated by a certain Messir Toma Lo Piova and not by Varsis. Did this mean that the moral standing of the notary was dubious, or simply that in 1454 Varsis did not hold the office of chaplain in Tana and was unable to do it for technical reasons? The following issue makes the question even more intricate: at the end of *imbreviatura* there is no mention of the place where the will was drafted, and on the manuscript the *datum* after the indiction is corrupted. To confuse things even more, Lorenzo de Giuliano reproduces the entire Latin notarial formula *Residuum vero* in the vernacular. Did this mean that he was legally educated to some extent, or at least aware of the notarial practice?

pray for the soul (in this case his notarial position remains unmentioned, but his priesthood and personal relationship with the testator are emphasized: *domino presbytero Nicolao, patrino meo, ut oret Deum pro anima mea*). It is interesting that 10 [sic] testators (consequently, residents or visitors to the trading station) mention Varsis as their godfather⁵³³ (two more called the Genoese monk Solomon Teremo godfather⁵³⁴). The cases when the two endowments were connected (in this case it is still stipulated that one amount is given for the compilation of the deed and another for the prayers and masses), probably represent visiting people. Interestingly, sometimes an oath is inserted in the notarial act. Baldassare, the son of the deceased Marco from the parish of St. Peter de Castello, vows: *Deus sit non tetegi unum asprum et pro dicta societate expendi multos denarios ut apparet aliquibus scripturis*.⁵³⁵

3.4. Gender, marriage, “parents and children,” inheritance

As for regional connections, I noticed that many testators showed a considerable attachment to some part of Italy or Romagna outside Tana, even though it is hard to trace this with any regularity (besides the obvious attachment of the Venetians to their parishes). Many notaries’ clients bequeathed funds to send some belongings or money to their fatherland to their relatives (to Venice or to the area of Italy from which they originated). For the majority, the ties with their home were much stronger and more important than the ties with Tana.⁵³⁶ A clear piece of evidence is that many (if not most) of the women mentioned in the deeds are non-Latins. This surely did not mean that this society was more “male” than any other; in fact, most often, the Venetians had concubines – either slaves, or “temporary” wives. Venetian deeds call such a temporary wife by the Russian word *kuma*. Such a woman was a concubine of an inhabitant of the factory; there was a special contract and legal framework

⁵³³ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 4, 18v-19r, 22v, 26r, 27r-27v, 29r, 29r bis, 30r-30v, 30v-31r, 31r.

⁵³⁴ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 6-6v, 24r-24v.

⁵³⁵ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 23v – f. 24r.

⁵³⁶ As was shown above, many of the permanent residents of Tana were non-Latins.

for these connections. The phenomenon of *kuma* was widespread in Latin Romagna.⁵³⁷ Most of the Venetians coming to the trading station as *ballistarii*, merchants or sailors were young single men: almost 50% of the total number of deeds include the formula *interogatus a notario infrascripto de postremis respondi non habere uxorem neque filios*. However, local women (Greek, Tatar, and those from the Caucasus) were always at the disposal of Westerners. Many inhabitants of the trading stations had illegitimate children either from their slaves or from their “temporary wives.” The deeds often mention adoptive children;⁵³⁸ most likely this was a loophole to make the illegitimate sons and daughters to full-fledged members of the society. The topic of mixed marriages is of particular interest as well,⁵³⁹ and here one finds nearly all kinds of combinations among the representatives of the different ethnic groups.

The deeds of Nicolo Varsis contain an interesting and quite eye-catching case on the problem of “fathers and children,” as well as on the problems connected with inheritance. A certain Bartolomeo Deserigo (whether his family name was somehow connected with the silk trade or not, I do not know) from the parish of St. Apostles ordered that his wife should be given her dowry back immediately after the death of her husband and that she should govern and manage all his property on behalf of her under-age son.⁵⁴⁰ Here the problem of relations across generations arises. Had not Bartolomeo felt doubt about the future good behaviour of his son, Fererico, he would have bequeathed him his property without any conditions, as all other testators did. He would not have insisted and twice stressed in the documents that if his son misbehaved or did not obey his mother he would be disinherited. The words of Federico’s will testify indirectly that his sibling had already shown his obstinate character.

⁵³⁷ Karpov, “Mixed Marriages in a Polyethnic Society: Case Study of Tana, 14th – 15th Centuries,” In *Tolerance and Repression in the Middle Ages. In Memory of Lenos Mavrommatis. Int. Symposium 10, Athens, Nov. 1998.* (Athens, 2002), 207 – 214.

⁵³⁸ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 44v.

⁵³⁹ Karpov, “Mixed Marriages,” 207 – 214.

⁵⁴⁰ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. f. 44v.

How could Venetian sons annoy their fathers? Based on the available material one can only ask this question, but not answer it.

The order of inheritance at the trading station generally followed the Venetian laws and customs, and one can generally reconstruct it based on the deeds. This order is quite uncomplicated. If a testator owned considerable property (including real estate), he bequeathed it distributing his funds among the closest relatives (wife, children, parents, brothers, sisters), companions, close friends, or otherwise partially gave it to the church or charitable institutions. The direct and indirect lines of inheritance are equally present, and the indirect line sometimes even seems to prevail; as was mentioned above, most of the visitors to the trading station were young single men, and if they did not have a concubine and illegitimate children in Tana they could not bequeath their belongings to their direct descendants. In the cases of more or less wealthy testators, their deeds seem to be more expanded and detailed.

In other cases, the testators do not seem to own much. If the property was not considerable (no real estate, small sums of money), or otherwise if the testator had one apparent heir and did not intend to divide or distribute his property, the scheme was as follows. The testator briefly mentioned all the money he had lent or borrowed, all debts to be paid, small sums of money to freedmen or gifts to a few friends, charitable endowments, etc. After that by the formula *Residuum vero* he bequeathed all other property (not specified, therefore one cannot estimate it) to the one main heir or (and this is a clear indication of a poor person) to his *fideicommissarius*.

Some personal belongings (clothes, weapons, household utensils) could be bequeathed personally to the notary, to the priests of the trading station, to friends. Testators often took care to secure that the heiresses received their dowries (*pro suo maritare*), but most often this is done under the condition that she would marry. Occasionally, a testator's wife received

some part of the inheritance under certain conditions as well – various obligations to the children or the parents of the testator. In the cases when the part of the inheritance was to be received under certain conditions, his *fideicommissarius* received the license to govern the property meanwhile. He could give it to the heirs (including the relatives of the testator) in parts after they fulfilled the requirements, refuse if they failed to, and so on.⁵⁴¹

Summarizing this chapter, one can say that although it is sometimes impossible to rely on the formal identifiers doing research in the field of social history, still it is possible to find indirect ways of researching the social structure. This social reality was objective; it was a money-oriented, stabile, corporate society serving the interests of commerce. There was room for social mobility, but those who were on the top surely had better chances.

⁵⁴¹ ASV, NT. Cart. 750. 8.

CONCLUSION

The notarial deeds that have been researched for the first time in this study gave me abundant source material which allowed to broaden the picture of the Italian presence in the Black Sea region in the Middle Ages, and to amend some points in the scholarship on the history of the Black Sea region. However, an attempt to reach my objectives probably opened more new problems than solved old ones. The set of sources I used was not sufficient for a total reconstruction of an entire holistic history of the society of Tana; nevertheless, some generalizations were made possible.

The thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries were the epoch of the emergence of capitalism and its economic tools in international trade. According to Braudel, Venice became the first world economy at exactly this time and all the tools that modern capitalism has at its disposal were formed by the Italian maritime republics.⁵⁴² In the 1430s, commodity circulation increased, following the recovery from earlier crisis. The *incanti* amounts of the 1430s became stable and demonstrate a tendency towards economic growth. Besides *incanti*, the frequency of visits of galleys to the port of Tana and the length of their stay at the trading station provide additional evidence of the recovery from crisis. This economic growth lasted up to 1453, when it was stopped rather by political than economic factors.

The Black Sea region provided an import-export service of vital importance for Europe. As I inferred above, commerce retained its long-distance character, which did not decline, though it was paralleled by the increasing importance of the regional goods. The role of Eastern goods was probably of less importance compared to the fourteenth century; however, the export of fish, caviar, furs, etc. and the import of European textiles, utensils, etc., were considerable.⁵⁴³ Moreover, silk was still mentioned repeatedly in the deeds, but the scale of

⁵⁴² Braudel, *Материальная цивилизация* [Material Civilization], Vol. 3, 78.

⁵⁴³ I discovered relevant data on the prices of certain goods; contextualization of this data and its comparison to the prices of the preceding and following periods could contribute to the economic history of the region as a whole.

import of European textiles show that the imported amount was above the needs of the Latin population of the trading station. Hence, it was meant for the local market. The model of European economic colonialism, “the products of industry in exchange for raw materials,” already existed in fifteenth-century Tana.

The slave trade was intensive; the prices were variable, and slaves were liquid, marketable, and self-repayable goods. The main destinations were the European markets (where the slaves could be used as home servants and workers in factories) and the Egyptian market (where they could become the soldiers of the Mameluk army). The prices in Tana and in Europe differed a great deal, so the Italians attempted to buy slaves on spot in order to cut expenses, notwithstanding the administrative control and the dangers and rigors of transportation.⁵⁴⁴

The ethnic structure of the money-oriented society of Tana was diverse, as was its composition of religious profession. The variety of ethnic groups remained as broad as it was in the fourteenth century. Notwithstanding the tension between Venice and Genoa, the relations between their citizens were far better than one would expect. Their contacts were fairly intensive; the Genoese often used the services of a Venetian notary, while Venetians were, surprisingly, interested in the Genoese churches and clergy, almost neglecting their own parish. For some unknown reason, the Genoese quarters seem to have been more “attractive” in the aspect of religion. The material of this study showed that Germans were present and involved in the Levantine trade much more than they were thought to be in the previous scholarship. The Greeks of Tana were numerous, prosperous, and socially active. A presumable Armenian, Borano Taiapetra, still needs further research and a separate case study, but provisionally I think that his case demonstrates the beginnings of the Armenian expansion into Eastern Europe. The presence of Russians not only as slaves, but as merchants

⁵⁴⁴ See the respective chapter for more particular conclusions on the ethnicity of slaves, prices, treatment, and the conditions and procedure for manumission.

and even slave traders led me to the conclusion that the commercial connections of the region with the North were quite intensive. The number of slaves changed, and Caucasians ceased to play a major role in favour of Russians and Tatars. Tatars, if domiciled in Tana and alien to the nomadic lifestyle, were largely Christians, while the nomadic Tatars, having formally embraced Islam, continued professing pagan cults. The society of trading station was quite tolerant in terms of religion, and the borders among Christian denominations (Orthodox, Catholic, Armenian) seem to have been somewhat vague.

Probably the number of local Greeks, Tatars, and Armenians in the permanent population of Tana was far greater than their presence in my sample. Having compared the data of the deeds to that of other decades, I infer that there is a large discrepancy between the percentages in my material and the percentages of non-Westerners in the deeds of the 1430s. Therefore, the locals must have been at least one quarter of the permanent population and most likely much more. Latins were temporary visitors, and do not demonstrate strong attachment to the trading station, ordering in their wills that most of their belongings be sent to Italy.⁵⁴⁵ They frequented the trading station more or less, while for many Greeks, Tatars, and Armenians Tana was home. Here, in fact, the sources confirm mere logic.

My attempt to aggregate social groups resulted in the definition of a relatively narrow circle of elite, the members of which tended to be the most socially active inhabitants of Tana, who were in contact each other more than with outsiders.

To summarize, I should say that the research into notarial deeds provided an opportunity to make a fresh investigation of many problems in the history of Tana, the Black Sea region, the Levant, and the Mediterranean as a whole. My research has created new scholarly problems, rather than giving answers to the old ones. However, I feel that further investigation of the history of this region based on the documents is more than promising.

⁵⁴⁵ Moreover, Latins who lived in Tana for a considerable period of time still tended to describe themselves most often not by the words *habitor Tane*, but with the words *nunc presens in Tana*.

This would require the involvement of a broader circle of sources of a more diverse nature and seems to be quite challenging. However, such research would make possible a generalizing work, largely reshaping the scholarship on the social and economic history of the Black Sea region.

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See the list of abbreviations in the front matter.

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APPENDIX (THE TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE NOTARIAL DOCUMENTS)

Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Cancelleria Inferior. Cart. 231. Nicolaus de Varsis.

Parchment, instrument (inserted). 17 August 1445.

General commission of the nobleman Francesco Cornario to his brother, the nobleman and merchant Giacomo Cornario and to Bartolomeo Rosso

In nomine Dei eterni amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo quinto die decimo septimo mensis augusti indictione septima in Tana. Commitens committo ego Franciscus Cornario quondam domini Donati ad presens existens in Tana merchator vobis viro nobili ser Iacobo Cornario quondam domini Donati de confinio sancte Fusce dilecto fratri meo et provido viro ser Bartholomeo Rosso quondam ser de confinio sancti Luce et cuilibet viro in solidum, ut pro me meoque nomine plenam virtutem et potestatem habeat coram dominis auditoribus novis et veteribus, si opus fuerit et in quocumque alio iudicio comparendi, placitandi, agendi, respondendi et defendendi, advocandi et advocatores tollendi, testes probationes et iura quelibet producendi et productis ex adverso opponendi intradicta et precepta, terminos dilaciones, terminationes ac sententias quaslibet fieri et executioni mandari tam realiter, quam personaliter faciendi, appellandi et appellationes causas proseguendi, expensas petendi et reccipiendi nec non in animam meam iurandi et omnia alia et singula generaliter faciendi, opperandi et exercendi, que egomet facere possem si personaliter inter essem; et si tallia forent, que mandatum exigeret, spetiale promitens firmum ratum et gratum tenere et atendere quitquid per vos seu per quemlibet vestrum factum fuerit et completam. Si igitur contra hanc commissionis cartam ire temptavero tunc emendare debeam cum meis heredibus et successoribus⁵⁴⁶ vobis heredibus et succesoribus vestris et heredum et succesorum vestrorum auri librorum quinque et nichilominus huius commissionis carta in sua permaneat firmitate. Signum antedicti ser Francisci Cornario qui hanc fieri rogavit.

Ego Silvester Vallerius testis subscripsi;

Ego Philipus Delay testis subscripsi;

Ego presbiter Nicolaus de Varsis Venetiarum notarius spectabilis et egregii viri domini Leonardi Venerio Tane consulis chancelarius complevi et roboravi.

f. 1r – f. 1v. 25 March 1435, Constantinople.

General commission of Giovanni Martini to Drovandino de Iustis from Motono

⁵⁴⁶ Crossed out: *meis*.

1435 die XXV mensis Marcii Constantinopoli indictione quartadecima. Ser Iohanes Martini ad presens existens Constantinopoli commissarius nominatus in testamento quondam Iohanis Petri de Veneciis, ut apparet sui ultimi testamenti carta completa et roborata manu presbiteri Nicolai de Varsis spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arsenii Duodo Tane consulis capelani⁵⁴⁷ in millesimo quadringentessimo trigessimo quinto mensis Ianuarii die XXIII indictione quartadecima Constantinopoli, sponte libere et ex certa scientia fecit, constituit et ordinavit providum virum ser Drovandinum de Iustis de Motono ibi presentem mandatum sponte suscipientem suum legitimum procuratorem, actorem, factorem negotiorum dicte commissare gestorem et certum nuntium specialem specialiter exprese ad petendum, exigendum, reccipiendum et recuperandum denarios, res et bona quelibet ac omne id totum et quicquid dictus constituens nomine quo supra habere et recipere debet et in futurum debebit a quibuscumque hominibus et personis comuni, colegio, societate et universitate qualibet rationibus et de causis quibuscumque ac ubicumque et apud quoscumque ea vel ex⁵⁴⁸ eis potuerunt requiri. Item ad recuperandum et recipiendum a domina Marieta relicta olim spectabilis viri ser Raphaelis Paniza ducatos triginta duos auri⁵⁴⁹ et ducatos circa X auri a spectabili viro ser Nicoloxo Loro et ducatos quatuor auri a ser Baptista [de *Cremona*] masario in Gaffa et de receptis finem, remisionem, quietationem, liberationem, absolucionem et securitatem tam generalem quam specialem faciendum, et si opus fuerit ubilibet in quocumque iudicio tam ecclesiastico quam seculari et coram quibuscumque iudicibus officialibus rectoribus, potestatibus, consulibus comparendum, placitandum, agendum, respondendum et deffendendum, libellos et petitiones dandum et reccipiendum, lites contestandum in animam dicti constituenti iurandum et cuiuslibet alterius generis sacramentum prestandum, scribendum libellis et petitionibus responderi faciendum et respondendum testes instrumenta probationes et iura quelibet producendum et productis ex adverso⁵⁵⁰ opponendum et in causas et causis concludendum et committendum sententias quaslibet fieri et execucioni mandari tam realiter, quam personaliter faciendum appellandum et appellaciones causas prosequendum et generaliter omnia et alia faciendum, operandum, procurandum, tractandum et exercendum que merita causarum et iudiciorum ac iuris ordo exigunt et requirunt. Etiam si talia forent que mandatum exigent speciale dans et concedens dictum constituens predicto suo procuratori, ut supra in predictis et contra predicta plenum liberum et generalem mandatum cum plena, libera et generale administratione et

⁵⁴⁷ In the margins: *et Venetiarum notarii*

⁵⁴⁸ In the margins: *Cum cartis et sine cartis, per curiam et extra curiam*

⁵⁴⁹ Crossed out: *quos dictus testator solvit pro ea*

⁵⁵⁰ Crossed out: *respondendum*

volens dictus constituens nomine quo supradictum suum procuratorem ab omni onere satisfacionis et alio quocumque onere sublevare promisit mihi notario infrascripto⁵⁵¹ ut publice persone stipulanti et recipienti // vice et nomine omnium et singulorum quorum interest et poterit quodlibet interesse et se firma rata et grata habere et tenere, atendere, observare quecumque per dictum suum procuratorem in predictis et circa predicta facta fuerint quoquumque gesta. Et de iudicio sisti et iudicato solvendo sub ypotecha et obligacione dicti constituenti bonorum omnium presentium et futurorum etc. Actum Constantinopoli in lobia Venetorum presentibus nobili viro Ioxaphat Barbaro, Iohane Baxilio et aliis quam pluribus ad hec specialiter vocatis et rogatis.

Ego Nicolaus de Varsis quondam Georgii civis Venetiarum publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius premissis omnibus interfui et rogatus scribere scripsi et publicavi signumque meum consuetum apposui.

f. 1v. 2 May 1436.

Commission of Giacomo de Guarnerio, salariatus of Tana, to Galeazzo de Dragano to receive money.

1436 die 2a Maii indictione quartadecima in Tana. Committens committo ego Iacobus de Guarnerio ad presens in Tana olim salariatus nominis⁵⁵² Venetorum in loco Tane balistarius sub regimine spectabilis et egregii viri domini Iusti Venerio consulis vobis Galeazio de Dragano de Venetiis ad presens in Tana ut amodo in antea pro me meoque nomine plenam virtutem et potestatem habeatis petendi, exigendi et recuperandi omnia mea bona etc. Et maxime ducati 19 solidis 56 quos habere et recipere debeo a camera comunis Venetiis ut apparet quemdam bulletino manu presbiteri Benedicti de Smeritis olim capelani Tane et de dictis denariis disponere possit ut ipsi Galeazio videbitur ad sui beneplacitum et si opportuerit pro predictis in iudicio comparendi et generaliter omnia allia et singula faciendi et in animam meam iurandi promitens etc. Si igitur etc. Testes: Angelus de Senis, Matheus de Fagno.

f. 2r – 3r. 21 May 1436.

Testament of the Genoese Barnabo de Boiascho (first sentence added posthumously).

Testamentum ser Barnabe de Boiascho Ianuensis mortui in Tana. In Christi nomine amen. Anno a nativitate Eiusdem Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MoCCCCoXXXVIo mensis maii die XXIo indictione 14a in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil

⁵⁵¹ Crossed out: *ub*

⁵⁵² Mistake, must be *communis*

cercius in hoc seculo habeatur, quam quod nullus⁵⁵³ possit mortis evitare discrimen recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter Barnabas de Boiascho Ianuensis ad presens in Tana existens infirmitate corporea pregravatus sanam tamen habens mentem integrumque consilium rogavit me Nicolaum de Varsis civem et habitatorem Venetiarum imperiali auctoritate notarium et spectabilis et generossi viri domini Arseni Duodo Tane consulis cancelarium ut suum ultimum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret et existentibus ibidem pluribus testibus infrascriptis et audientibus videlicet ser Angelo de Senis filio Blaxii, ser Marco de Solonichi quondam *Labcinero*, ser Iohanes de Suro quondam Pagani, ser Stefano de Marinis quondam Guilielmi, ser Nicoloxio de Nigro quondam Iovanesi, ser Francisco Champuzi filio Andree civis Ianue, ser Christodoro de Trapesonda quondam Ciron, ominibus ad presens existentibus in Tana etc. In quo quidem⁵⁵⁴ constituit et suos esse volluit fidei commissarios et executores sue ultime voluntatis virum prudentem ser Christoforum de Colompnis et ser Tomaxinum de Artali Ianuenses ut infra ordinabit fideliter adimplere procurent⁵⁵⁵ hic in Tana ad exigendum bona sua et mittere Trapesondam in manibus ser Dominci de Aliegro quid constituit suum solum commissarium et executorem sue voluntatis.

In primis vult quod detur ducatus unus auri pro missis sancti Gregorii hic in Tana domino fratri Antonio. Item vult et ordinat quod navigium suum cum omnibus suis chorediis detur Trapesonda ser Dominico de Aliegro cum hac condicione quod presens nauclerius patronizet dictum navigium usque Trapesondam et de parte tangente dicto Barnabe⁵⁵⁶ tam de navigio quam de peccuniis et bonis que sunt in societate⁵⁵⁷ de quando // chognitum fuerit pars dicti Bernabe per dictum ser Dominicum commissarium suum detur medietas matris sue et reliqua medietas detur neptis sue Lucine que ad presens moratur Constantinopoli cum ser Antonio Curazario. Item amisit puerum suum Martinum de genere rusiorum francum et liberum ab omni vinculo servitutis. Item amisit in manibus commissariorum suorum in numeratos ducatos thurces viginti et ducatos quatuor auri de Venetiis. In omnibus autem aliis suis bonis mobilibus et immobilibus presentibus et futuris in quibuscumque mundi partibus existentibus et ad dictum testatorem spectantibus et quomodolibet spectaturis constituit suum universalem heredem ser Dominicum suprascriptum cum hac condicione quod faciat partem dicte matris sue et pro anima sua ut ei melius videbitur et aparebit. Dans insuper predictis testatoris suis

⁵⁵³ Crossed out: *quisque*.

⁵⁵⁴ Crossed out: *voluit*.

⁵⁵⁵ Crossed out: *et maxime*.

⁵⁵⁶ Inserted over the line: *dicto Barnabe*.

⁵⁵⁷ Crossed out: *cum*.

commissariis plenissimam virtutem et potestatem et libertatem petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi et recipiendi denarios, merchaciones, res et bona quelibet a quibuslibet dicto testatori eiusque commissarie et hereditati nunc et in futurum dare debentibus rationibus et causis quibuscumque ac ubicumque et penes quoscumque ea vel ex eis poterunt quolibet⁵⁵⁸ reperiri et dicta legata persolvendi et utcumque solventi et satisfaciendi finem, quietacionem, liberacionem et absolucionem plenariam faciendi. Et si opus fuerit in iudicio comparendi, placitandi, tangendi, agendi, rendendi et deffendendi, libellos et petitiones dandi et reccipiendi libellisqui et petitionibus⁵⁵⁹, responderi faciendi et respondendi testes probaciones et instrumenta et iura quelibet producendi et productis ex adverso opponendi sententias quaslibet fieri et execucioni mandari tam realiter quam personaliter faciendi, appellandi et appellaciones causas proseguendi in animam⁵⁶⁰ dicti testatoris iurandi et sacramentum quolibet subeundi, cartas quoque instrumenta et scripturas quaslibet neccessarias et oportunas cum clausulis et cautelis et aliis solempnitatibus, usitatis et opportunis rogandi⁵⁶¹ et fieri pro agendi et omnia alia generaliter faciendi que quilibet verus et legitimus commissarius facere potest // et debet, et dictus testator volluit atque iussit hoc suum *fore* et esse velle ultimum testamentum suumque ultimam voluntatem *qui* et quam prevalere voluit atque vult aliis suis testamentis per eum temporibus preteriis ordinatis. Si quis ipsum infringere presumpserit, iram Dei omnipotentis se conoverit incurssurum et hec testamenti carta in sua permaneat firmitate. Actum, lectum et publicatum in navigio dicti testatoris ad ripam Tane a parte Ianuensium presentibus testibus suprascriptis et milessimo pro die et indictiotionis ut supra et aliis. Ego Nicolaus de Varsis filius quondam Georgii civis et habitator Veneciis in contrata sanctorum apostolorum imperiali auctoritate notarius publicus ac iudex ordinarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo consulis Tane cancelarius predictus omnibus interfui et rogatus scribere scripsi et publicavi et ad ipsorum omnium roboracionem me subscripsi et signum meum apposui consuetum.

f. 3r – v. 10 June 1436.

Manumission of the Russian slave Stepan drawn by his master Heinrick Stangelin from Nuremberg.

1436 die⁵⁶² X Iunii indictione 14a in Tana.

⁵⁵⁸ Inserted between the lines: *cum cartis et sine, per curiam et extra curiam.*

⁵⁵⁹ Crossed out: *respondendi*

⁵⁶⁰ Crossed out: *meam iurandi*

⁵⁶¹ Crossed out: *faciendi*

⁵⁶² Crossed out: *2a*

Henrichus Stangelino de Nunrinberch quondam Choradi ad presens moram trahens in Tana a parte Venetorum non metu et vinco actus, licet sponte libere et ex certa scientia pro salute et remedio anime sue manumisit, liberavit et franchavit a se et heredibus suis ab omni vinculo servitutis sclavum suum Stefanum natione russium etatis annorum XXti ibidem presentem et pro se et filiis suis masculis et feminis stipulantem et reccipientem⁵⁶³ ut supra confferans ipsi Stefano omnem puram et meram libertatem ac si ab⁵⁶⁴ ingenuys, parentibus ortus esset zoa et taliter quod de cetero sibi liceat absque ulla servitutis vinculo seu obstaculo contrahere *corporei* vendere, donare, pacisci in iudicio et extra stare testari que et generaliter omnia alia et singula facere, tractare et exercere que quilibet liber homo patris et matris familias romanus cives et sui iuris facere potest et de cetero pro libero et francho cum filiis suis masculis et feminis // ubilibet pertractetur hanc itamque manumissionem et omnia et singula suprascripta promisit dictus Henrichus Stangelino pro se et heredes suos perpetuo firma et rata habere et tenere et dictam manumissionem non revocare vel revocari⁵⁶⁵ petere aliqua in gratitudine vel offensa aut ulla alia ratione vel causa que dicere in excogitari posset sub penna et obligacione sui et omnium suorum heredum et bonorum presentium et futurorum. Rogans me notarium infrascriptum de predictis autenticum conscriptum instrumentum tociens in formam publicam reddigentum quociens fuerit rogatus. Actum in Tana a parte Venetorum in domo dicti Henrici Stangelino manumitentis presentibus magistro Antonio de Lunardo Zerdone, Ser Galeazio Dragano, ser Georgio de Lesio pistore et aliis ad hec vocatis et rogatis. Ego Nicolaus de Varsis filius quondam Georgii civis Venetiarum in contrata sanctorum apostolorum imperiali auctoritate notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arsenii Duodo Tane consulis cancelarius presentibus interfui et rogatus scribere scripsi et publicavi signumque meum consuetum apposui.

f. 3v. 29. 07 1436.

Confirmation of selling the Russian slave Maria by Giovanni Nigro to Luciano, son of the deceased Luca.

1436 die 29 mensis septembri indictione 15a in Tana. Ser Iohannes Nigro ad presens in Tana cum suis successoribus vendidit, tradidit atque trasactavit unam suam sclavam de genere russiorum etatis annorum viginti duorum vocatam Maria ser Luziano quondam Luci de Venetiis de confinio sancti Petri de Chastelo et suis successoribus sanam ex omnibus suis

⁵⁶³ Inserted between the lines: *a hac conditione quod dictus Stefanus servire debeat dicto Henricho domino suo annos duos incepturos m(ense) et die.*

⁵⁶⁴ Crossed out: *geniis*.

⁵⁶⁵ Crossed out: *facend-*.

membris oculis et manifestis et maxime a morbo chadicho pro bixanciis Tane quadringentos quinquaginta de quibus bixantiis et pretio dictus venditor confessus est se solum fuisse de dictis bixanciis a predicto emptore. Si igitur etc. Testes: ser Barnabas de Flore, ser Iacobus Boniffacio.

f. 4r. 12 June 1436.

Confirmation of the reception of 40 ducats by Daniele Civrano from the nobleman Giacomo Salono

In nomine Dei Eterni amen. Millessimo quadringentissimo trigessimo sexto mensis Iunii die 12a indictione 14 in Tana. Manifestum facio ego Daniel Civrano quondam domini Petri de Venenciis ad presens in Tana cum meis successoribus quod recepi et habui a nobili viro prudenti ser Iacobo Salono ad presens habitatore in Tana ducatos quadraginta auri de Venetiis iusti et boni ponderis in pluribus postis pro meis serviciis et necessitatibus ut apparet uno computo per vos ser Iacobo in presentia notarii et testatorum infrascriptorum mihi consignato prout est cum veritate quia habui et confessus sum in presentia notarii et testium infrascriptorum de quibus quidem ducatos quadraginti auri mihi datos vobis ser Iacobo Salono et vestris succesoribus do, traddo et consigno pro vestro debito⁵⁶⁶ unum meum buletinum manu presbiteri Benedicti de Smeritis capelani Tane pro quo recipere et habere debeo a camera comunis Venetiarum pro resto mei salarii ducatos 42 auri de quo buletino vobis seu succesoribus vestris dato seu consignato pro dictis ducatis 40 me pro omnia foris datio et in vestra potestate relinquo tamen cum hac auctoritate quod dictos⁵⁶⁷ denarios per vosmet ipsum seu vel per procuratorem vestrum⁵⁶⁸ quis aliquis alius vestro nomine posuit exigere, petere et recuperare dictos denarios tamquam vestros a camera nostri comunis sicut egomet facerem si personaliter presens essem et exigere possem promittens de dictis denariis⁵⁶⁹ ex nunc vobis seu succesoribus vestris ullomodo seu ingenio litem ullam inferere opponere vel venire seu in *finem* facere sub penam dupli, sed ipsos denarios defendere, guarentare, destringare a quibuscumque personis, comuni, colegio, societate et universitate vobis seu succesoribus vestris litem inferentibus de dictis denariis quovismodo. Si igitur contra hanc manifestaciones seu debiti cartam ire temptavero tunc emendare debeam cum meis succesoribus vobis et vestris succesoribus auri libri quinque et nichilominus hec

⁵⁶⁶ Crossed out: *pro*

⁵⁶⁷ Crossed out: *ducatos 40*

⁵⁶⁸ Inserted over the line: *vel per procuratorem vestrum*

⁵⁶⁹ Crossed out: *ducatos 40*

manifestacionis et debiti carta in sua permaneat firmitate. Si igitur etc. Testes: ser Marinus Trivixano, ser Galeacius Dragano.

f. 4v. 8 June 1436.

Commission of Daniele Civrano to Giacomo Salono to receive money

1436 Iunii die 8⁵⁷⁰ indicione 14 in Tana. Ser Daniel Civrano quondam domini Petri civis Venetus ad presens in Tana rogavit cartam commissionis prudenti viro ser Iacobo Salono ad presens in Tana existente ad petendum, exigendum et recuperandum omnia bona dicti ser Danielis Civrano et havere a quibuscumque⁵⁷¹ personis dare debentibus ipsi ser Danieli rationibus et de causis quibuscumque cum cartis et sine, per curiam et extra curiam⁵⁷². Item ad petendum, exigendum et recuperandum a camerariis nostri comunis Venetiarum ducatos 42 et solidos [...] quos habere et recipere debeat pro resto sui salarii in Tana ut apparet quodam buletino manu presbiteri Benedicti de Smeridis olim chapelani Tane et si oportuerit pro predictis ad comparendum coram serenissimam dominacionem Venetiarum seu quocumque alio officio vel iudicio et rectore agendum etc. et in animam dicti constituentis iurandum, item ad substituendum unum et plures procuratores semel et pluries et constitutos revocandum et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciendum etc.. Si igitur etc. Testes: ser Marinus Trivisano, ser Galeazius Dragano.

f. 4v – 5r. 10 June 1436.

Commission of Giacomo Salono to his father Salero a Fornacibus to receive money

die Xa Iunii⁵⁷³. Commitens committo ego Iacobus Salono ad presens in Tana virtute commissarie quam habeo a ser Daniele Civrano quondam domini Petri ut apparet commissionis carta completa et roborata manu presbiteri Nicolai de Varsis Venetus notarii et Tane chancelarii in MoCCCCoXXXVIo mensis Iunii die 8 indicione 14a in Tana vobis viro prudenti patri meo ser Salero a Fornacibus ut amodo in antea pro me meoque nomine plenam virtutem et potestatem habeatis petendi, exigendi et recuperandi denarios, merchantias⁵⁷⁴, res et bona mihi quomcumque spectantia et spectatura⁵⁷⁵ a quibuscumque michi nunc et in futurum dare debentibus rationibus et causis quibuscumque cum cartis et sine cartis per curiam et extra curiam et precipue petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi ducatos quadraginta

⁵⁷⁰ 8 inserted over the line, instead of the crossed XI.

⁵⁷¹ Crossed out: *ipsi*.

⁵⁷² Crossed out: *item ad comparendum in iudicio*.

⁵⁷³ Crossed out: *die dicto 14 Iunii*.

⁵⁷⁴ *Merchantias* – Inserted over the line.

⁵⁷⁵ Crossed out: *mercancias*.

duos a chamberariis nostri comunis Venetiarum ut apparet presenti uno boletino suprascripto Danielis Civrano hinc debere a dicto nostro comune de quibus⁵⁷⁶ ducatos⁵⁷⁷ quadraginta duobus hinc et recipere debeo pro dicto // Daniele ducatos 40 auri ipsi concessos⁵⁷⁸ ut apparet quandam manifestacionis carta completa et roborata manu presbiteri Nicolai de Varsis Venetus notarii et Tane cancellarii in⁵⁷⁹ MoCCCCoXXXVIo mensis Iunii die 2a indictione 14 in Tana et si opportuerit pro predictis coram serenissimam dominationem seu⁵⁸⁰ quocumque alio officio et iudicio comparendi, agendi, placitandi, defendendi, respondendi, advocandi etc., in animam meam iurandi et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciendi in premissis et ultra ut per meas recordaciones vobis notificabintur sicut egomet facere possim si personaliter interesset promittens firmam ratam habere, tenere et atendere, et observare⁵⁸¹ quidquid per vos factum fuerit et complectum. Si igitur.⁵⁸² Testes...

f. 5r –v. 16 June 1436.

Manumission of a Russian slave Ivan by his master Mikhail.

Die 16 mensis Iunii 1436 indictione 14 in Tana. Michali russuus ad presens moram trahens in Tana in loco Venetorum non metu et vim coactus, sed sponte libere et ex sua voluntate, amore sui Creatoris et pro remedio et salute anime sue manumisit, liberavit et francavit a se et heredibus suis ab omni vinculo servitutis sclavum suum etatis annorum 30 in circa natione russium vocatum Ivan ibidem presentem pro se et filiis suis⁵⁸³ masculis et feminis stipulantem et reccipientem hac condictione vero quod dictus Ivan servire et atendere debeat ipsi Michali domino suo annos duos incepturos die et mense ut supra, deinde transactis dictis annis duobus censset ipsi Ivan omnem puram et meram libertatem ac si ab ingeniis parentibus natus esset. Ita et taliter quod de cetero sibi liceat absque ullo servitutis vinculo seu ostaculo contra hec emere, vendere, donare pacisci in iudicio et extra stare, testarique et generaliter omnia alia et singula facere, tractare et exercere que quilibet liber homo pater et mater familias et sui iuris facere potest. Et de cetero pro libero et francho cum filiis suis masculis et feminis ubilibet pertractetur hanc itaque manumissionem et omnia et singula suprascripta promissit dictus Michali pro se et heredes suos perpetuo firma et rata hinc// tenere et atendere et dictam manumissionem non revocare vel revocari potere aliqua in

⁵⁷⁶ Crossed out: *habere*.

⁵⁷⁷ Crossed out: 42.

⁵⁷⁸ Crossed out: *pro suis necess-*.

⁵⁷⁹ Crossed out: e: g.

⁵⁸⁰ Crossed out: *quis aliqui*. Inserted over the line: *quocumque*.

⁵⁸¹ *et observare* – inserted over the line.

⁵⁸² Crossed out: *testis ser Marius*.

⁵⁸³ Crossed out: *matr*.

gratitudine ut offensa aut ulla alia ratione vel causa que dici ut excogitari posset sub pena et obligacione sui et omnium suorum heredum bonorum presentium et futurorum. Rogans me notarium infrascriptum de predictis auctenticum confici instrumentum tociens in formam publicam reddigendum quociens fuero requisitus. Actum in Tana a parte Venetorum in ecclesie sancte Marie et sancti Antonii presentibus viris discretis ser Iohanne de Vale, ser Galeazio Dragano, Borano Taiapetra et aliis ad hec vocatis et rogatis.

f. 5v – f. 6r. 25 June 1436.

Manumission of the Zikh slave Magdalena by her master, the Genoese nobleman Christoforo di Colombo.

In Christi nomine amen. Anno a nativitate eiusdem Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MCCCCoXXXVI mensis Iunii die 25 lune ora XXa indicione 14a in Tana. Nobilis vir ser Christoforus de Columpnis quondam domini Georgii civis Ianue ad presens in Tana a parte dominorum Ianuensium non astrictus nec videlicet coactus⁵⁸⁴ sed sponte libere et ex certa scientia sed Dei amore et pro remedio et salute anime sue manumisit, liberavit et franchavit a se et heredibusque suis ab omni vinculo servitutis sclavam et ancilam suam Magdalenam de genere zichorum etatis annorum⁵⁸⁵ triginta, ibidem presentem et pro se et filiis suis masculis et femines stipulantem et reccipientem, dans et insuper atque tribuens dicte Magdalene suisque filiis et filiabus presentibus et futuris puram et meram libertatem et generalem administracionem rerum et bonorum eaque et eorum itaque, quod sine obstaculo servitutis et manumisoris et suorum heredum et sucesorum et cuiuslibet alteriis condictionis posit dicta M[agdalenam] manumissa cum eis filiis et filiabus presentibus et futuris emere, vendere, donare⁵⁸⁶, contrahere ac pacisci in iudicio et extra stare et testamentum condere et omnia et singula facere et liberaliter exercere que quilibet ingenuis et civis romanus ac libera hoc pater

⁵⁸⁴ Crossed out: *sed nutu Dei et pro salute et remedio anime sue sed*

⁵⁸⁵ Crossed out: *so.*

⁵⁸⁵ Crossed out: *chancellarium.*

⁵⁸⁵ Crossed out: *fratris sui.*

⁵⁸⁵ Crossed out: *dict-*.

⁵⁸⁵ Crossed out: *word.*

⁵⁸⁵ Crossed out: *a parte.*

⁵⁸⁵ Crossed out: *word.*

⁵⁸⁵ Crossed out: *et in.*

⁵⁸⁵ Crossed out: *ad.*

⁵⁸⁵ Crossed out: *consulis.*

⁵⁸⁵ Crossed out: *qua-*.

⁵⁸⁵ Crossed out: *quomodolibet.*

⁵⁸⁵ Crossed out: *universalem.*

⁵⁸⁵ Crossed out: *de.* Crossed out: *26.*

⁵⁸⁶ Crossed out: *contrahere.*

et mater familias et sui iuris facere potest ac si ab ingenuis parentibus orta esset. Quam quidem manumissionem et omnia et singula // suprascripta promisit dictus ser Christoforus pro se et suos heredes suprascriptos Magdalene presenti et pro se et suis heredibus stipulanti et reccipienti perpetue firma et rata habere et tenere, attendere et observare et ipsam manumissionem neque predicta non revocare insuper contra eam vel ea non facere, ducere, temptare, opponere vel venire pro vel pro alium seu aliquis aliis racione vel causa que dici vel excogitari posset, nec dicte Magdalene seu heredibus suis litem ullam contraversiam vel molestiam alicuius servitutis causa movere vel inferere de iure consuetudine vel de facto. Et de cetero dicta Magdalena pro libera et francha cum suis filiis masculis et feminis ubilibet pertractetur, sub ypotecha et obligacione sui et suorum heredum et bonorum omnium presentium et futurorum, renunciando omni alii auxilio et beneficio quibus contra predicta vel coram aliquid posset quoslibet excipi, obiici vel opponi et de predictis omnibus dictus ser Christoforus rogavit me notarium infrascriptum quod auctenticum conficerem instrumentum tociens in formam publicam reddigendum quociens a dicta M[agdalena] suisque heredibus fuerit requisitus. Actum, lectum et publicatum in Tana a parte dominorum Ianuensium in domo dicti ser Christofori presentibus viro religioso domino fratri Antonio de Lu et ser Iohanes quondam Iohannis de Sienis et aliis ad hec vocatis et rogatis. Ego Nicolaus de Varsis civis Venetiis etc.

f. 6v – f. 7v. 25 June 1436.

Ttestament of the Genoese nobleman Christoforo di Colombo.

In Christi nomine amen. Anno a navitate eiusdem millessimo quadringentessimo trigessimio sexto mensis Iunii die vigessimio quinto indictione 14 in Tana. Divine inspirationis donum est et provido mentis arbitrium ut ante quam superveniat mortis casus unusquisque sua bona sollicitus sit providere ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua⁵⁸⁷ bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter nobilis vir ser Christoforus de Cholompnis filius quondam domini Georgii civis Ianue ad presens in Tana a parte dominorum Ianuensium sanus mente et intellectu licet sit aliquantulum infirmitate corporea pregravatus timens mortis eventum voluit hoc esse suum ultimum et immediatum testamentum manu Nicolai de Varsis quondam Georgii civis Venetiis imperiali auctoritate notarii infrascriptum et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo Tane consulis⁵⁸⁸ cancellarii. In quo quidem constituit et suos esse voluit fidei commissarios et executores sue ultime voluntatis nobilem virum ser

⁵⁸⁷ Crossed out: *so*.

⁵⁸⁸ Crossed out: *chancellarium*.

Matheum de Frischo qui ad presens moram trahit in Caffé et viros discretos ser Georgium Belono et Thomaximum de Artali Ianuenses ut sicut inferius ordinabit darique iusserit ipsi post eius mortem fideliter et diligenter adimplere procurent cum hac libertate, quod possint vendere ad contatos et ad tempus cum seccuritate, plezaria et baratare et baratari facere pro bono et utilitate dicte commissarie ut ipsis commissariis melius videbitur et apparebit. Et si oportuerit aliquid mittere de rebus testatoris Ianue seu Caffé mittere debeant per cambium et cum seccuritate ac etiam commisit dictus testator ipsis commissariis suis quod credere debeant suo libro et scripturis tam in dando quam in reccipiendo quoscumque. In primis vult et ordinat quod corpus suum sepeliatur in ecclesia sancte Marie et sancti Francisci a parte Ianuensium et quod expendant pro ipsius sepultura quidquid videbitur et apparebit suprascriptis // suis commissariis. Item voluit et ordinavit quod celebrentur misse sancti Gregorii per dominum fratrem Antonium et quod habere debent ducatos duos auri. Item vult et ordinat quod per uxorem suam dominam Theodoram que ad presens moram trahet Ianue dispensentur in pauperibus et piis helemosinis pro male ablatis libras centum Ianuinorum. Item dimittit Blanchine neptis sue filie⁵⁸⁹ quondam Bartholomei fratris sui libras ducentas Ianuinorum. Item dimittit Magdalenam sclavam suam francham et liberam ab omni vinculo servitutis et ei dimittit omnes res suas et vestes *a bisso* et quitquid cognoscet seu poterit cognosci esse de rebus suis et lectum unum fulcitum cum duabus parve lintheaminibus et bixancios ducentos pro suo maritare cum hac condicione quod sui commissarii eo mortuo faciant ipsam francham et ea decedente sine legitimo matrimonio totum perveniat in commissariam dicti testatoris. Item voluit et ordinavit quod per commissarios suos solvatur stagiis Ianue pro officio sui consulatus a duobus annis supra. In omnibus autem aliis suis bonis mobilibus et immobilibus presentibus et futuris in quibuscumque mundi partibus existentibus et ad dictum testatorem spectantibus et quoslibet spectaturis instituit suos universales heredes dilectos filios suos Bartholomeum, Leonem et Antonium et Ulianam eius filiam hac condictione vero, quod quousque non pervenerint ad etatem legitimam, videlicet annorum decem et octo, non possint percipere partem aliquam dicte hereditatis scilicet cum proventi fuerint ad dictam etatem unusquisque sit eius dominus et percipit partem sibi tangentem hac a dicta condictione quod etiam dicta Todora⁵⁹⁰ dilecta eius uxor et mater dictorum filiorum sit et esse debeat heres⁵⁹¹ // simul cum filiis suis in equali porcione dumodo stabit et permanebit in sua vidutate et totum sit in administracione eius, viduando una cum ser

⁵⁸⁹ Crossed out: *fratris sui*.

⁵⁹⁰ Crossed out: *dicti*.

⁵⁹¹ Crossed out: *word*.

Nicoloxio et ser Ciriacho fratribus dicti testatoris pretere. Actum, lectum et publicatum⁵⁹² in Tana a parte dominorum Ianuensium in domo dicti testatoris die lune XXVa Iunii hora XXa presentibus religioso viro domino fratri Antonio de Lu, ser Nicolao Paraschiva, ser Manoli Chalafatino, ser Petro Torexano, ser Rolandino Chartelo, ser Nicoloxio de Guarnerio de Samastro et ser Paulo Alano butario et aliis [...]etc⁵⁹³.

f. 7v – 8r. 26 August 1436.

Commission of Giacomo de Bernardo to Giacomo Salono to receive money.

1436 mensis Augusti die XXVIo indicione 14 in Tana. Commitens committo ego Iacobus de Bernardo butarius de Venetiis ad presens in Tana vobis prudenti viro ser Iacobo Salono ut amodo in antea pro me meoque nomine plenam virtutem et potestatem habeatis petendi, exigendi, reccipiendi et reccuperandi denarios, res et bona mihi quocumque spectantia et a quibuscumque mihi⁵⁹⁴ dare debentibus rationibus et causis quibuscumque et maxime⁵⁹⁵ petendi, exigendi et recuperandi a camera nostri comunis Venetiis ducatos quadraginta tres auri quos habere et recipere debeo pro resto mei salarii in Tana sub regimine spectabilis et egregii viri domini Iusti Venerio olim consulis prout aparet quodam buletino manu venerabilis viri domini presbiteri Benedicti de Smeridis olim⁵⁹⁶ capelani Tane et ipsis exactis de eis disponere possitis ut vobis videbitur et apparebit tamquam de re vostra et si opportuerit pro predictis coram serenissimo principe seu quovis alio officio comparendi, // petendi, placitandi, causandi, defendendi, advocandi, in animam meam iurandi et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciendi que egomet facerem si personaliter interesssem promitens firmum et stabile habere et tenere quitquid per vos factum fuerit et completum etc. Si igitur etc.

f. 8r. 26 August 1436.

Confirmation of the receipt of a commission letter by Galeazzo Dragano on the receipt of money from Giacomo Salono

Die dicto. Galeazius Dragano rogavit cartam commissionis suprascripto ser Iacobo Salono amodo in antea exigendi, petendi et recuperandi a camera comunis Venetorum pro resto sui salarii sub regimine nobilis viri domini Iusti Venerio olim consulis Tane ducatos

⁵⁹² Crossed out: *a parte*.

⁵⁹³ Crossed out: word.

⁵⁹⁴ Crossed out: *et in*.

⁵⁹⁵ Crossed out: *ad*.

⁵⁹⁶ Crossed out: *consulis*.

quadraginta⁵⁹⁷ duos cum dimidio ut apparet quodam buletino manu venerabilis viri domini presbiteri Benedicti de Smeridis olim capelani Tane et exactus dictus ser Iacobus de ipsis denariis disponere possit ad sui beneplacitum ut ei videbitur et apparebit et si opportuerit pro predictis in iudiciis comparendi etc.

f. 8r. 26 August 1436.

Commission of the salariatus Benedetto Costa to Giacomo Salono to receive money

die dicto. Benedictus Costa ad presens in Tana olim salariarius sub regimine spectabilis et egregii viri domini Iusti Venerio olim consulis Tane comisit viro prudenti ser Iacobo Salono posse exigere a camera comunis Venetiis ducatos quadraginta sex cum dimidio quos habere et reccipere debet pro resto sui salarii ut apparet quodam buletino manu venerabilis viri presbiteri Benedicti de Smeridis olim capelani Tane et habitatoris et exactus disponat dictus ser Iacobus Salono prout de eis ipsi videbitur et placebit. Testes: ser Baldasera Marci, ser Iacobus Tome.

f. 8v – 9v. 5 June 1436.

Testament of Antonello Crescono.

In Christi nomine amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem MoCCCCoXXXoVIo mensis Iunii die quinto indictione 14 in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil cercius in hoc seculo habeatur et quam quod nullus possit mortis evitare periculum recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ser Antonelus Crescono filius quondam Musculis de Neapolim ad presens moram trahens in Tana a parte dominorum Ianuensium gratia Creatoris sanus mente et corpore sanum habens consilium veramque dispositionem timens mortis causam et huius vite fragilitatem nolens bona sua inordinata et indisposita derelinquere, rogavit me Nicolaum de Varsis quondam Georgii civem Venetiarum imperiali auctoritate notarium et spectabilis et generosi viri domini Arsenii Duodo Tane consulis cancelarium ut hoc suum ultimum scriberem testamentum pariter et complerem quem prevalere voluit atque vult omnibus aliis suis testamentis temporibus preteritis per eum factis et ordinatis. In quo quidem constituit et esse voluit suum fidei commissarium et executorem sue ultime voluntatis prudentem virum ser Georgium Belono de Savona solum nemine sibi aliquo modo contradicente prout ipse ordinaverit darique iusserit ipse post mortem suam fideliter

⁵⁹⁷ Crossed out: *qua-*.

adimplere procuret. In primis voluit et ordinat, quod dentur Menechine filie Borani Taiapetri pro anima sua bixancios centum. Item dimittit filiabus Edilbei alano bixancios centum. Item dimittit uxori Iohanis Trivixano videlicet Lucie bixancios quinquaginta. Item dimittit Catarine Bianco bixancios vigintiquinque. Item dimittit uxori Ussufi Chatolizi bixancios viginti quinque. Item dimittit domino fratri Antonio de Lu pro una tonicha bixancios septuaginta quinque. Item dimisit Magdalene eius sclave filie quondam Bairani pro suo maritare bixancios ducentos et unum teritorium vacuum quod est in sbaro a parte ponente ac etiam dimittit ipsam francham ab omni vinculo servitutis. // Item dimisit pro misis sancti Gregorii et sancte Marie dari id quod est consuetum. Item dimittit Iohanni Campana bixancios centum. In omnibus autem aliis suis bonis mobilibus et immobilibus presentibus et futuris dicto testatori⁵⁹⁸ spectantibus et quomodolibet spectaturis in quibuscumque mundi partibus extitentibus instituit suum⁵⁹⁹ perpetuum et universalem heredem suprascriptum ser Georgium Belono hac condicione quod in casu quo aliquis de eorum attinentibus appareret unus vel plures usque ad annos quatuor venturos habere debeant⁶⁰⁰ seu debeat medietatem dicte institutionis seu hereditatis quando vero elapsis dictis quatuor annis aliquis non appareret tunc dicta hereditas sit et esse debeat predicti Georgii Belono libere, dans pretere a predictus testator suo commissario plenissimam virtutem et potestatem et libertatem petendi, exigendi, accipiendi et reccuperandi denarios, merchaciones, res et bona quelibet et a quibuslibet dicto testatori eiusque commissarie et hereditati nunc et in futurum dare debentibus rationibus et causis quibuscumque ac ubicumque et penes quoscumque ea ut ex eis poterunt quomodolibet reperiri cum cartis et sine cartis per curiam et extra et dicta legata persolvendi et unicumque solventi et satisfacendi finem, quietacionem, liberacionem et absolucionem plenariam faciendi. Et si opus fuerit in iudicio comparendi, petendi, placitandi, causandi, agendi, respondendi et defendendi libelos et petitiones dandi et reccipiendi, libellisque et petitionibus responderi faciendi et respondendi, testes probacionis et instrumenta et iura quelibet producendi et productis ex adverso opponendi et sentencias quaslibet fieri et executioni mandari tam realiter quam personaliter faciendi, appellandi et appellacionis causas proseguendi, in animam dicti // testatoris iurandi et sacramentum quodlibet subeundi, cartas quoque instrumenta et scripturas quaslibet neccessarias et opportunas cum clausulis et cautellis et aliis solempnitatibus, usitatis et opportunis rogandi et fieri peragendi et omnia alia et singula generaliter faciendi que quilibet verus et legitimus

⁵⁹⁸ Crossed out: *quomodolibet*.

⁵⁹⁹ Crossed out: *universalem*.

⁶⁰⁰ Crossed out: *de*.

commissarius facere potest et debet et dictus testator voluit atque iussit hoc suum fore et esse velle ultimum testamentum suamque ultimam voluntatem quod et quam prevalere voluit atque vult aliis suis testamentis per eum temporibus preteritis ordinatis. Si quis ipsam infringere presumpserit iram Dei omnipotentis se noverit incursum et hec testamenti carta in sua permaneat firmitate. Actum, lectum et publicatum⁶⁰¹ in Tana a parte dominorum Ianuensium in domo dicti testatoris millesimo mense et die quo supra, presentibus testibus infrascriptis videlicet ser Iuliano de Remexano, ser Nicolao Rosso, ser Nicolao de Briaticho, ser Manoli de Trappesondis de Palati, ser Iohanne del Segnor, ser Nicoloxio Guarnerio de Samastro, ser Aggopo Balzi et aliis quam pluribus ad hoc vocatis et rogatis. Ego Nicolaus de Varsis filius quondam Georgii civis Venetiarum imperiali auctoritate notarius et iudex ordinarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo consulis Tane [...]actorum cancelarius premissis omnibus interfui et rogatus scribere scripsi et publicavi, signumque meum consuetum apposui.

f. 10r. 28 September 1436.

General commission of the nobleman Catarino Contarini (fideicommissar of the deceased Alberto Badoer) to his sister, the noblewoman Clara

1436 die 28 mensis Septembris indictione 15 in Tana. [f.]⁶⁰². Commitens commito ego Chatarinus Contareno quondam domini Iohannis commissarius nominatus in testamento quondam domini Alberti Baduareo quondam domini Ieremie ut apparet sui ultimi testamenti carta a vobis nobilis domine⁶⁰³ Clare sorori mei⁶⁰⁴ *respectu* quondam suprascripti domini Alberti et commissarie dicti testatoris ut amodo in antea pro me meoque nomine et nomine predictae commissarie plenam virtutem et potestatem habeatis exercendi, operandi, administrandi pro⁶⁰⁵ bono dicte commissarie prout vobis melius videbitur et apparebit⁶⁰⁶ et si opportuerit⁶⁰⁷ pro predicta commissaria in iudicio comparandi et in animam meam iurandi et omnia alia et singula finaliter⁶⁰⁸ faciendi, exercendi et operandi⁶⁰⁹ pro predicta commissaria que quilibet verus et legitimus commissarius facere potesse et debet⁶¹⁰ ac si presens

⁶⁰¹ *in Tana* – Inserted over the line.

⁶⁰² In the margins: *f(ecit)*.

⁶⁰³ Crossed out: *Thi*.

⁶⁰⁴ In the margins: *sorori mee*.

⁶⁰⁵ Crossed out: *dicta commissaria*.

⁶⁰⁶ Crossed out:

⁶⁰⁷ Crossed out: *pro predicta*.

⁶⁰⁸ *Finaliter* – Inserted over the line.

⁶⁰⁹ *exercendi et operandi* – Inserted over the line.

⁶¹⁰ *ac si presens personaliter interessem* – Inserted over the line.

personaliter interessem ac do, tribuo et conffero vobis illam⁶¹¹ plenissimam libertatem quam dictus testator tribuit predictis omnibus commissariis administrandi et furniendi ut in dicto testamento plene patet tamen non revocando illos commissos alios pro me dimissos sed habeant illam libertatem petendi, exigendi et recuperandipromitens etc. sit in dicta commissione, promitens firmam et stabile etc. Si igitur, etc.⁶¹² Testes ser Iohanes de Nicuola armiratus maniffeste apparet promitens etc, ser Andreus Betanio. Si igitur, etc.

f. 10r. 28 September 1436.

Maestro Antonio de Lunardo Zerdone asks for a commission letter to receive money from Giacomo Salono.

1436 die 28 mensis Septembris. Magister Antonius de Lunardo Zerdo ad presens in Tana rogavit cartam commissionis pridenti viro ser Iacobo Salono ad presens in Tana ut amodo in antea pro se et suo nomine plenam virtutem et potestatem habeat petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi denarios, res et bona et havere a quibuscumque dare debentibus ipsi magistro Antonio rationibus quibuscumque et maxime⁶¹³ petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi ducatos quadraginta sex et soldos quinquaginta sex quos hinc debet a camera comunis Venetiarum pro⁶¹⁴ resto sui salarii ut apparet quodam buletino manu presbiteri Benedicti de Smeridis olim capelani Tane, et si oportuerit pro predicti in iudicio comparendi etc, et in anima dictis constituenti iurandi etc. et generaliter omnia alia et singula facendi etc. Promittens etc. Testes: ser Iohanis de Nicuola armiratus, ser Bartholomeus Rosso.

f. 10v – 11r. [...] September 1436.

The nobleman Catarino Contarini, having a commission from Zaccharia Contarini, transfers the commission to his brother Vittore Contarini.

In Christi nomine amen. Anno a nativitate eiusdem MoCCCCoXXXVI indictione quintadecima die [...] ⁶¹⁵ mensis Septembris in Tana. Nobilis vir ser Chatarinus Contareno quondam domini Iohanis de confinio sancti Casiani de Venetiis virtute commissarie quam habet a viro nobili ser Zacharia Contareno quondam domini Lodovici de contrata sancti Stefani Conffessoris, ut patet publici instrumentis carta completa et robborata manu Francisci de Gibilino in auctoritate notarii publici et iudicis ordinarii in MoCCCCoXXXVIo mensis

⁶¹¹ *illam* - Inserted over the line.

⁶¹² *promitens firmam et stabile etc. Si igitur, etc.* - Inserted over the line.

⁶¹³ Crossed out: *ad petendi*.

⁶¹⁴ Crossed out: *suo*.

⁶¹⁵ Date omitted.

Madii die nono indictione quartadecima Venetiis et cum sua recommendatione et cum bailia et potestate sibi⁶¹⁶ attributa ab ipso ser Zacharia Contareno posse substituere alios loco sui unum et pluries et revocare semel et pluries ut in dicto instrumento *laciens* continetur omni modo via, iure et forma quibus magis, melius et efficacius fieri potuit et potest, fecit constituit et ordinavis atque substituit nobilem virum ser Victorem Contareno fratrem suum quondam domini Iohannis de contrata sancti Casiani presentem et per dictum mandatum sponte scuscipientem suum certum et verum legitimum nuncium, procuratorem et quicquid aliud melius esse⁶¹⁷ dici vel fieri potest specialiter et expresse ad petendum, recipiendum exigendum et reccuperandum omne id totum et quicquid ipse constitutus qualitercumque et ex quacumque causa habere et recipere debet et in futurum debebit a quibuscumque personis comuni, collegio, societate et universitate et advocandum confitendum sibi bono solutum et satisfactum fore atque sic redditum tacitum et quietum et finem, remissionem, quietacionem, liberacionem et absolucionem faciendum liberando et absolvendo quoscumque per omnem modum liberatorium et absolutorium. Item etiam ad faciendum chanzelari, removeri et annulari unum sequestum factum in Constantinopoli⁶¹⁸ per spectabilem et generosum dominum baiulum Constantinopolitanum in certis et de certis denariis et bonis ipsius constituentem ut debitorem quondam nobilis viri domini Andree Zane in manibus nobilis viri domini Franguli Venerio et ipsum sequestum removeri petendum et eidem constituti et in manibus ipsius constituentem ipsum sequestum fieri faciendum et petendum et ipsum sequestum nomine ipsius constituentis acceptandum et recipiendum. Item etiam cum quibuscumque et de et super quibuscumque pacistendum, transigendum, // componendum, conveniendum et concordandum et quascumque pacciones et conventiones faciendum. Item etc. ad substituendum etc. Et si oportuerit pro premissis ad comparandum in quocumque iudicio et coram quibuscumque dominis rectoribus, iudicibus et officialibus et aliis quibuscumque ius reddentibus ad agendum, deffendendum, libellos petitiones dandum et reccipiendum, libellis petitionibus, posicionibus capitulis articulis respondendi, lites contestandum, sacramentum de cal[...]anti et de veritate dicenda et cuiuslibet alterius generis iuramentum, in animam et super animam dicti constituentis prestandi et scribendi, terminos et dilaciones petendi et reccipiendi et adverse parti dari et assignari faciendi et prohibendi, testes instrumenta et probaciones quaslibet qui ducendi et adverse partis produci et testes iurare videndi, eos reprobandi et eis et eorum dictis quibuscumque probacionibus

⁶¹⁶ Crossed out: *ab*.

⁶¹⁷ Crossed out: *vel dicti Pet[ri...]*.

⁶¹⁸ Crossed out: *incertis et de certis denariis*.

opponendum et iudices et notarios elligendi et reccusandi suspectos et confitendum, dandum, protestandum, denunciandum, alegandum *in causis* concludendum, sententias audiendum et eas execucionem mandari facere, anulandum appellandum et nulli faciendum et apelacionam causas prosequendum et generaliter omnia et singula alia faciendum in predictae et contra predicta que ipsemet constituere facere posset si presens esset, etiam si talia forent que mandatum exigent speciale dans et concedens ipsa constituens predicto suo procuratori et substitutori ab eo in predictis et circha predicta plenam libertatem et generalem mandatam cum plena libera et generali administratione, promitens ipse constituens firmum ratum et gratum habitudinem quitquid per ipsum suum procuratorem et per substitutorem ab eo factum fuerit in predictis et circa perdicta et relevans ipse constitum predictum suum procuratorem et substitutorem ab eo ab omni onere satisdacionis promisit mihi notario infrascripto ut publice persone reccipienti et stipulanti vice et nomine omnium et singulorum quorum interest vel interesse poterit de iudico festi et iudicato solvendo et in omnibus suis fideiubendo ex nunc pro predicto suo procuratore et pro substitutore ab eo in omnem litem eventum sub ippoteca et obligacione omnium suorum bonorum presentium et futurorum. Actum in Tana in castro domini consulis in domo mei notarii infrascripti presentibus. Ego Nicolaus de Varsis quondam Georgii civis Venetiarum imperiali auctoritate notarius publicus et iudex ordinarius spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arsenii Duodo consulis Tane cancelarius premissis omnibus intestatus et rogatus scripsi et publicavi.

f. 11v. 4 October 1436.

General commission of the salariatus Banabo del Fiore to his brother Mattheo del Fiore.

1436 mensis Octobris die 4o indictione XV in Tana. Commitens committo ego Barnabas de Flore de confinio sancti Hermachore ad presens moram trahens in Tana salariatus communis Venetiis vobis ser Mateo de Flore fratri meo de confinio predicto, ut amodo in antea pro me meoque nomine plenissimam virtutem et potestatem habeatis petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi denarios⁶¹⁹, merchancias, res et bona⁶²⁰ mihi quocumque spectantia et spectatura a quibuscumque michi nunc et in futurum dare debentibus rationibus et causis quibuscumque et maxime petendi, exigendi etc. ducatos duodecim a Conversino de Conversinis ut apparet quodam scripto maniffestacionis eius manu etc. Et si oportuerit pro predicto in iudicio comparendi etc. in animam meam iurandi et generaliter omnia alia etc., promitens etc. Si igitur, etc.

⁶¹⁹ Crossed out: *res*.

⁶²⁰ Crossed out: *et h*.

f. 11v. 4 October 1436.

Commission of Angelo Ravagnano to Giacomo Salono to receive money.

Die dicto. Angelus Ravagnano ad presens moram trahens in Tana olim salariatus communis Venetiis sub regimine viri nobilis domini Iusti Venerio rogavit cartam commissionis prudenti viro ser Iacobo Salono petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi⁶²¹ ducatos XXVI cum dimidio quos habere et recipere debeat a camera communis Venetiarum pro resto sui salarii, ut apparet quondam buletino manu capelani Tane et si opus fuerit coram serenissimo principe vel quocumque alio officio comparendi etc., in animam dicti Angeli iurandi et generaliter etc. Testes...

f. 11v – f. 12r. 6 October 1436.

General commission of Felipe, son of the deceased Delai to the noblemen and brothers Pietro and Domenico Loredan.

Die 6 mensis Octobris⁶²². Commitens committo ego Filipus quondam Delai de Venetiis ad presens moram trahens in Tana vobis nobiles viris dominis Petro et Domeneho Lauredano fratribus quondam domini Bartholomei et cuilibet vestrum in solidum, ut⁶²³ quod per unum vestrorum inceptum fuerit per alium possit⁶²⁴ prosequi, compleri et finiri // ut amodo in antea pro me meoque nomine plenam virtutem et potestatem habeatis petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi denarios ac merchancias, res et bona quelibet a quibuscumque mihi nunc et in futurum dare debentibus rationibus et causis quibuscumque et penis quoscumque poterunt quemlibet reperiri cum cartis et sine cartis, per curiam et extra curiam. Item et si oportuerit pro premissis in quocumque iudicio comparendi⁶²⁵ et maxime coram dominis auditoribus novis vel veteribus pro quandam sententiam et contra et adversos ser Franciscum de Lunaro butarium agendi, petendi etc., in animam meam iurandi et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciendi que egomet facere possem si personaliter interesse promit[...] etc. Testes: ser Paulus Spinaza, ser Guidus Acloldevis.

f. 12r. 6 October 1436.

Commission of Konstantinos de La Chustiza to the carpenter Giovanni to receive money.

⁶²¹ Crossed out: *s.*

⁶²² In the margins: *f.*

⁶²³ Crossed out: *quecumque.*

⁶²⁴ Crossed out: *finiri et compleri.*

⁶²⁵ Crossed out: *etc.....*

Die dicto. Committens⁶²⁶ committo ego Constantinus de La Chustiza quondam Nicolai ad presens moram trahens in Tana olim salariatus sub regimine viri nobilis ser Iusti Venerio vobis ser Iohanni quondam Benvenuti carpentarii domorum de confinio sancti Salvatoris ut amodo in antea pro me meoque nomine plenam virtutem et potestatem habeatis petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi omnes denarios quos habere et recipere debeo a camera communis Venetorum videlicet ducatos quadraginta sex cum dimidio pro resto mei salarii, ut apparet uno buletino manu capelani Tane et ipsis exacti exiveris emere et dispensare in illis rebus et merchanziis ut vobis per literis meis scritis avixatum et ipsas res captas caricare et mittere ut habebitis in mandatum. Et si oportuerit pro predictis coram serenissimo principe seu quovis alio iudicio vel officio comparendi etc. Testes: ser Iohanis de Nicuola armiratus, ser Nicolaus de Corono.

⁶²⁶ Crossed out: *et com.*

14 June 1436.

Testament of Paolo Spinaza.

A lo nome de misser Domino Dio e de la Soa mare Madona santa Maria de 1436 in la Tana ad 14 de Zugno fuzemi Polo Spinaza inprimamente laso chomasario ser Filippo de Lai e mastro Antonio da Leze de tute mie chose che se trovassi che luri debisi vender crascho der esi urdino si morosi perdeso cheso sotorado de lali de la intro la gia de misser San Francescho e si ordino a ser Filippo Cantonio che sia mandado un omo a misser San Iachomo per l'anema mia e laso a pre⁶²⁷ Micholo duchati 3 doro e VII duchato per tasamento e VII duchato per le mise de San Grigor de resto che sia date a la solde la de madona santa Maria e de misser San Antonio. Ani morir⁶²⁸[...] de ser Tomao perfito de chaxa⁶²⁹ 8

w/v

1436 mensis Iunii die 14 indictione 14 in Tana. Testamentum ser Pauli Spinaza sua manu scriptum rogatum per me presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium presentibus testibus videlicet ser Stefano Fino, ser Iohanne Nigro, ser Franco de Lunardo butario.

2. 19 June 1436.

Testament of the barber Giacomo de Girardo.

MCCCCoXXXVIo mensis Iunii die 26 indictione 14 in Tana. Divine inspiracionis donum est etc., quapropter ego Iacobus de Girardo barbitonsor de constata⁶³⁰ sancti Panthaleonis de Veneciis ad presens in Tana sanus mente et intellectu et infirmus corpore vollui hoc meum esse ultimum testamentum et ultimam voluntatem annotatum manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis etc. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios magistrum Constancium Donato barbitonsorem solum ut inferius ordinavero etc. Item dimitto biretum meum nigrum magnum domino fratri Antonio ut oret Deum pro anima mea. Item dimitto notario pro suo labore in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos duos auri. Item volo quod per commissarium meum magistrum Constancium mandentur due teste Veneciis una femina et unus masculus et bulletinum meum consanguineo meo Georgio de Chaxali et quod dictus Georgius vendat dictas duas testas et exigit denarios a nostro comuni pro meo salario et de

⁶²⁷ = padre.

⁶²⁸ -al- - Crossed out.

⁶²⁹ Bixancios – Crossed out.

⁶³⁰ Must be: *contrata*.

tractu volo quod dentur ducatos 5 domine Chatarine uxori olim tintoris qui moribatur in sancto Heustachio et si esset mortua distribuatur pro anima sua. Item de predictis vollo quod dentur ducatos XX fratri meo Iohanni et quod dispensentur in pauperibus pro anima mea ducatos X et in missis et dimitto dicto consanguineo meo ducatos X auri et quod super habundaverint de dictis duabus testibus et bulletino et de alia testa que misi Venetias medietas sit matris mee domine Chatarine et reliqua medietas sit sorori mee Peune. Residuum vero istorum bonorum que sunt in Tana dimitto suprascripto magistro Constancio quatenus fuerit sepultum corpus meum. Testes: ser Iacobus Salono, ser Iacobus de Dimitrii.

3 – 3v. 10 June 1436.

Testament of Giovanni Liardo.

MCCCCoXXXVIo mensis Iunii die X indictione 14 in Tana. Cum vox prophetica etc. quapropter ego Iohannes Liardo quondam Alberti de confinio sancti Moquii de Venetiis ad presens in Tana sanus mente et intellectu et infirmus corpore rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis etc. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios ser Iohannem Nigro hic in Tana solummodo ut reciperet omnes res meas et det ser Iacobo de Girardo qui est hic in Tana quem etiam dimitto meum commissarium hic et Veneciis quia habeo res quondam Antoneli de Parma de quo est commissarius dominus Iustus Venerio vollo si placet ipsi domino Iusto quod dictus ser Iacobus portet seu mandet res illas videlicet facistergia 30 diploide de sericho et togam ut ordinat dictus quondam Antonelus portari seu mandari patri et matri sue seu eorum successoribus et restum denariorum ut apparet meo computo. Item vollo quod per commissarium meum ser Iacobum exigantur ducati XII a domino Iusto Venerio Constantinopoli ut apparet [...] sua littera cambii eius manu et dentur commissario ser Marci Ognisbem Constantinopoli. Item quia teneor Iohanni Baxilio in ducatos 20 auri quos michi dedit ad cambium per Constantinopolim si sibi placet nam dirugare dictum cambium per Venetiis vollo quod sint [p]ublicate sibi due bute moronarum pro suo pignore quousque fiat debitum sin autem fiat aliud cambium per Venetiis et solvantur dicti ducati 20 ser Iohanni Baxilio et quicquid supererit de moronis venditis solvantur denarii quondam Antoneli qui mitti debent patri et matri sue Scurano. Item arcum unum novum cum aliquibus sagitis vollo quod detur ser Petro de Marsilio tintori. Item volo quod resta mea cum meas scripturis portetur ad domum mei cognati ser Iohannis Pignata et sibi detur. Item vollo quod ser Iacobus de Girardo habere debeat pro suo labore ducatos 6 de denariis extractis ex buletino meo et de moronis solvet ducatos 20 ser Iohanni Baxilio et denariis dimissis per Antonelum de Parma et eciam ducatos 4or ex illis vollo quod dispensentur in pauperibus orphanis. Item facistergia 14

et omnes denarii qui super habundaverint ex bonis meis et qui essent in manibus cognati mei dispensentur in duabus meis sororibus videlicet Chataruzie et Brane. Item dimitto notario infrascripto pro suo labore in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos 2 ½. Item dimitto domino fratri Antonio pro missas sancti Gregorii ducatum unum auri. Item dimitto Laurentio sartori vestem meam venderi⁶³¹ quam porto dictum. Item dimitto arcum meum veterem cum aliquibus sagitis Iohanni Nigro et aliquales spatas a scrinia. Item vollo quod vendatur buta una moronarum hic in Tana et quod solvantur debita et legata⁶³². Insuper interrogatus a notario de postremis respondi non habere uxorem. Residuum vero omnia⁶³³ bonorum meorum etc. dimitto vendi et dispensari pro anima mea ut dictis meis commissariis melius videbitur et apparebit. Preterea etc. Testes: ser Dominicus Bedoloto, ser Nicola de Briaticho, ser Marius Trivixano.

Testamentum Iohannis Liardo

D. Testamentum Manoli de Candida, 4. 9 November 1430.

Testament of Manoli de Chandida.

1430 ad 4 Novembris indictione 9a in Tana. Quapropter ego Manoli de Chandida ad presens in Tana sanus mente et intellectu et corpore infirmitate gravatus vollo meos esse commissarios ser Iohannem de Marino et Georgium de Candida [...] Paclici ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam debeant adimplere. Item habere debeo pro mea resspirasura in Tana ducatos 25. Item dare debeo quondam Iohanni de Larti unum. Item dimitto sancte Marie de Gruego ducatos ½. Item dimitto sancte Marie de Iarvixio ducatos 20. Item dimitto sancto Castanio de Mauirbio ducati ½. Item dimitto sancte Marie de Gracia ducati ½. Item dimitto pro anima mea pro missis celebrandis presbytero Nicolao patrino meo ducatos 2 auri. Item dimitto pro missis sancti Gregorii ducatum unum. Item⁶³⁴. Residuum vero quod super erit dimitto in discucione meorum commissariorum dare meis fratribus et sororibus viventibus quicquid eis placebit ac restam distributant pro anima mea ut eis melius videbitur et placebit in caritate anime eorum. Testis ser Angelus de Sienis.

5. 8 June 1436.

tTestament of the Genoese Pietro Antonio.

⁶³¹ Might be: *viridem*.

⁶³² *item dimitto* - Crossed out.

⁶³³ Mistake, must be: *omnium*.

⁶³⁴ *Dimito* Crossed out.

In Christi nomine amen. MCCCCoXXXVI mensis Iunii die VIIIo indictione 14 in Tana. Divine disposicionis est etc. quapropter Nicoloxius de Portu quondam Petri Antonii civis Ianue ad presens in Tana gratia sui Creatoris sanus mente et intellectu quamvis sit aliquantulum infirmitate pregravatus rogavit me Nicolaum de Varsis civem Venetiis imperiali auctoritate notarium et dominorum Venetorum Tane cancelarium ut suum scriberem testamentum etc. In quo quidem constituit et suos esse voluit fidei commissarios discretum virum ser Iohannem de Segnorio quondam Pagani hic in Tana solummodo ac etiam voluit quod dictus ser Iohannes commissarius suus patronizet navem de qua est patronus in parte sibi tangente quousque in Venetiis ser Choradium de Portu fratrem suum X⁶³⁵ Tane invento dictus commissarius redere debeat dictam commissariam ipsi Corado fratri suo quatenus dimittit ipsum solum Choradum fidei commissarium et executorem sue ultime voluntatis. In primis ordinat et vult quod corpus suum sepeliatur in ecclesia sancte Marie de Tana a parte Ianuensium et quod expendatur ducati sex pro sua sepultura. Item dimisit domino fratri Antonio pro missis celebrandis ducatos tres auri. Item recipere debet a Paris Spinona, fidei commissario quondam Tome Spinola in cerca aspros 1300. Item dare tenetur quondam Antonio Mazucho Ianuensi ducatos 25 thurces. Item dare tenetur Antonio de Benedicto qui ad presens est Caffé aspros 500. Item tenetur dare officio provixionis Caffé aspros 800. In omnibus autem aliis suis bonis mobilibus et immobilibus presentibus et futuris in quibuscumque mundi partibus existentibus instituit suos universales heredes matrem suam Susanam et fratrem suum Choradum de Portu in quibus manibus recommendat animam suam.

Actum, lectum et publicatum presens testamentum in domo domini fratris Antonii de Lu[nardo] a parte dominorum Ianuensium presentibus venerabili viro domino presbytero Antonio de Lu[nardo], prudente viro domino Iuliano de Remexino, ser Georgio Belono, ser Francisco Champali civi Ianuense, ser Nicoloxio de Guarnerio de Samastro, ser Antonio Tolecho, ser Iacobo Batifora, ser Nicoloxio de Loito et aliis.

6 – 6v. 14 August 1430.

Testament of Antonio de Lunardo Zerdone.

MoCCCCoXXXo die XIII mensis Augusti indictione VIII in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum etc. Quapropter ego Antonius de Leonardo Zerdo ad presens in Tana de confinio sancti Salvatoris sanus mente et intellectu licet corpore aliquantulum gravatus, timens etc. vocavi

⁶³⁵ In the margins: *X qua pars est pro meditate et reliqua medietas est Baptisti de Pagana.*

fueri ad me presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et spectabilis et egregii etc. In quo quidem constituo et esse vollo meos fidei commissarios ser Iohannem de Zane acalzar[...] et ser Iacobum Salono⁶³⁶ hic solum in Tane⁶³⁷. Et Venetiis uxorem meam Madalenam solam commissariam ut inferius ordinavero etc. In primis dimitto pro missis sancti Gregorii celebrandis ducatum 1 et pro missis sancte Marie ducatos 2⁶³⁸. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum etc. dimitto Magdalene uxori et commissarie mee et filiis meis et decedentibus filiis meis sit dicte Magdalene uxori mee semper cum hac condicione quod Magdalena filios habere debeat pro suo maritali letum quod fuit matri mee bonum funerarium et quod etiam sibi sit recommissum. Item dimitto presbytero Nicolao notario et patrino meo tamen pro suo labore quatenus pro anima mea ducatos tres auri. Testes: ser Franciscus Nigro in Tane et Zacharias Corteze.

Testamentum ser Antonio de Lunardo Zerdone

7. 8 August 1430.

Testament of Antonio Sata.

1430 die 8 mensis Augusti. Cum vite sue terminum etc. Quapropter ego Antonius Sata quondam Concelini de confinio sancte Marie Nove de Venetiis ad presens in Tana sanus mente et intellectu licet infirmus corpore rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et spectabilis etc. In quo quidem constituo et esse volo meos fidei commissarios dominam Agnoxinam dilectam matrem meam et ser Iacobum Rizo de confinio sancte Marci et ser Zaelam de Mario hic in Tana solummodo pro eo quo dimitam in Tana faciendum et Venetiis consignare computum meis commissariis. In primis dimitto quod per commissarios meos mitatur ad sanctum Antonium in Viena pro anima mea. Item dimitto ducatos XX pro anima mea pauperibus XX. Item volo quod fiat una helemosina de pane, vino et carnibus pauperibus XII. Item dimitto ecclesie sancti Marii de Tana ducatum 1 pro subuocione⁶³⁹ CCC. Item dimitto notario infrascripto tam pro suo labore quam pro rogando Deum pro anima mea ducatos 5 auri⁶⁴⁰. Insuper interrogatus a notario de postremis respondi non habere uxorem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium etc. dimitto domine

⁶³⁶ *ut inferius ordinavero* Crossed out.

⁶³⁷ Inserted over the main text of the deed : *ad exigendum denarios quos habere et solvere debita mea et si aliquid superhabundabit mittere uxori et commissarie mee Veneciis.*

⁶³⁸ *interrogatus de postremis* - Crossed out.

⁶³⁹ Must be: *subuocione*.

⁶⁴⁰ In the margins: *in presentia testium infrascriptorum fide[...] dignorum*

Agnoxine matri⁶⁴¹ et commissarie mee. Testes: ser Antonius de Marcuola balistarius et ser Georgius Reppe et magister Antonio de Lunardo.

8. 6 March 1439.

Testament of Antonina, wife of Domenico Bablotto.

MoCCCCoXXXVIII^o mensis Marcii die 6 indictione prima in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum etc. Quapropter ego Antonina uxor Dominici Babloto ad presens in Tana sana mente et intellectu licet sim corporea infirmitate gravata volui hoc esse meum ultimum testamentum meamque ultimam voluntatem, quod et quam prevalere vollo omnibus aliis testamentis autem per me factis. In quo quidem⁶⁴² meo ultimo testamento manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis Venetiarum notarii et Tane chapelani constituo et meum esse vollo fidei commissarium et executorem huius mee ultime voluntatis providum virum ser Bartholomeum Rosso ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsa post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procuret. Et in primis dimitto dispensarii per commissarium meum bixancia ducenta in pauperibus infirmis pro amore Dei ut videbitur commissario meo. Item dimitto subim unum de chamocha iisdem naranzatum⁶⁴³ suis perolis scole sancte Marie et sancti Antonii de Tana. Item dimitto ecclesie sancti Francisci bixancios centum pro anima mea. Item dimitto presbytero Nicolao de Varsis capelano Tane bixancios quinquaginta pro anima mea. Item dimitto domino fratri Theremo patrino meo ducatos duos auri pro anima mea. Item dimitto⁶⁴⁴ domine Magdalene uxori ser Antonii usufructat duos domos usque quo vivet videlicet illam in qua ad presens habitat et reliquam que est penes illam et post eius mortem perveniat in commissariam meam. Item item dimitto Aclize sarazene subbum unum de chamocha blancum sine aliquo pro anima mea. Item dimitto Marnechaton anulum unum de auri et unam bochza. Item dimitto Luzie filie Culmeliche filiozie mee anulum unum de auro. Item vollo quod sclava mea Achmelicha serviat annis tribus filie mee et deinde sit francha. Item vollo quod Tanigbird sclavus meus serviat annis quatuor continuos viro meo et filie mee, deinde sit franchus et liber etc. Item vollo quod vendatur sclava mea pro exigendo res pigneratas et quidquid melius apparebit commissario meo. Item dimitto subbum unam de dosiis sine subbo domine Luchine dicte Secher. Item dimitto domine Magdalene uxori Iohannis Greci subbum unum de chamocha viridem sine fudra aliqua. Item dimitto ser Bartholomeo Rosso commissario meo sifos tres de argento 4 cazias et zengulum unum de argento pro anima mea. Item dimitto Chaterine filie

⁶⁴¹ *Mee* - Crossed out.

⁶⁴² *constituo et meos* - Crossed out.

⁶⁴³ *sive* - Crossed out.

⁶⁴⁴ *domine Magdalene uxori Antonii qui stet in d[...]* - Crossed out.

Dominici viri mei chamisiam unam rechamatam de ciemisino et chabaga unam de sersti vergatam. Item dimitto Marine uxori Hermachoza chamisiam unam de tella de sorgati. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum etc. una cum fabricis meis et teritoriis dimitto filie mee Helene pro suo maritare et quod maritetur quando perveneat ad etatem annorum 14⁶⁴⁵ in casu quod dicta filia mea decederet ante etatem annorum quatuordecim quod non esset maritata tamen vollo quod fiant due partes ex bonis meis una quarum sit et esse vollo viri mei Dominici, altra dispensetur pro amore Dei per commissarium meum in illis piis helemosinis ut sibi videbitur et apparebit. Testes: ser Angelus de Senis, ser Matheus de Fagne.

№ 297. 9r. 19 August 1428.

Testament of Stamati de Corono.

Testamentum ser Stamati de Corono. Sanus mente licet corpore languens⁶⁴⁶, rogavit me presbyterum [...] [...] de presenti suo testamento manu aliena scripto et lecto de verbo ad verbum nomine ibi presente et hoc fuit in millessimo quadrigentesimo vigesimo octavo mensis Augusti die⁶⁴⁷ decimo septimo indictione sexta. Rogatus a notario de postremis respondit non haberet uxorem. Item si aliud volebit ordinare respondenti quod michi notario dimitebat ducatum I pro misis sancti Gregorii, et hoc in presencia testium infrascriptorum. Testes: presbyter Damianus de Subiarco Sancte Trinitatis. Dominus presbyter Andreus Zane beneficiatus Sancti Marti de Veneciis.

Bottom: In Christi nomine, amen. 1428, a di 16 auosto. Mi ser Stamati da Choron voio [...] miser.

9v. 28 October 1438.

Registration of a scheda of the testament of Giovanni a Valle.

1438 mensis Octobris die XXVIII. Testamentum ser Iohannis a Valle ex sua propria manu scriptum michi poraretum tamquam notario eodem mense et die ut intra indictione vero primam presentibus ser Dominico Bedoloto et ser Iohanne de Senis.

(1) – (2) f. 18v. 23 January 1435, Constantinople.

⁶⁴⁵ In the margins: *seu ante prout apparebit commissario meo in consiencia sua pro bono filie mee et si casu maritaretur puella vollo quod per commissarium meum detur Dominico viro meo ante maritacionem filie mee id quod apparebit predicto commissario meo in consiencia sua.*

⁶⁴⁶ Must be: *languens*.

⁶⁴⁷ Crossed out: 17.

Testament of Giovanni Petri.

Yhesus. Testamentum Iohannis Petri de confinio sancti Apolinaris de Venetiis. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentessimo trigessimo quinto mensis Ianuarii die vigesimo tertio indictione quartadecima, Constantinopoli. Cum vox prophetica intonuerit dicens "dispone domui tue quia morieris et non vives"⁶⁴⁸, quapropter ego Iohannes Petri de contrata sancti Apolinaris de Venetiis ad presens Constantinopoli Dei gratie mente et intellectu sanus quamquam sim corporea infirmitate pregravatus timens mortis eventum et nollens mea bona indisposita et inordinata derelinquere venire feci ad me presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo consulis Tane capelanum et Venetiarum notarium ad presens Constantinopoli quem rogavi ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis cum omnibus suis clausulis opportunis reservatis iuribus comunis nostri Venetiarum. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vello fidei commissarios discretos viros fratres meos ser Lucam et Michaellem Petri ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. Et hic Constantinopolim prudentes viros ser Michaellem Zono et Iohannem Martini executores mee ultime voluntatis, ut persolvant debita et legata inferius in presenti testamento denotata. In primis vello et ordino quod casu interveniente de me per suprascriptos meos commisarios videlicet ser Michaellem et Iohannem solvatur ser Nicolino Draperto ad galeas proximas venturas iperpera centum nonaginta una et charati sex. Item quod solvatur ser Michaeli Zono commissario meo iperpera centum septuaginta duo ad naves de Venetiis proximas venturas. Item ser Iohanni Martini iperpera quindecim pro pano habito ab eo. Item vello quod restituatur balla una panorum loestorum nobili viro ser Nicolao Bembo que est de ratione sua. Item dare teneo ser Thome Beniventi pro cantaria duodecim zere et rotolus 34 diffalcatis taris et salvo errore calculi circha iperpera trecenta quadraginta. Item abere debeo a domina Marieta uxor olim prudentis viri domini Raphaelis Paniza duchatos triginta duos, quos solvi pro ea et suo nomine nobili viro ser Paulo Superantio duchatos viginti auri et ducatos duodecim auri Lorzize filio suo. Item recipere debeo a ser Baptista de Cremona massario in Caffa duchatos quatuor auri. Item recipere debeo a spectabili viro ser Nicoloxio Loio habitatori Caffa ducatos decim auri. Item dimitto pro mea decima duchatos viginti auri. Item dimitto notario infrascripto⁶⁴⁹ pro suo labore in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos quinque auri et ut celebret missas Sancte Marie et Sancti Gregorii et detur ei quitquid videbitur dictis meis

⁶⁴⁸ Is. 38:1.

⁶⁴⁹ Crossed out: *in*.

commissariis videlicet ser Michaeli Zono et Iohanni Martini quibus commissariis dimitto pro uno quoque ducatos quinque auri. Item dimitto Alberto de Petri famulo meo ducatos quinquaginta auri qui post mortem meam sibi dentur sine aliquo intervallo. Item dimitto domine Piedre matri mee dilecte ducatos centum auri. Item dimitto Luce fratri meo ducatos centum auri. Item dimitto Michaeli fratri meo ducatos centum auri. Item dimitto Angele filie mee ducatos ducentos auri qui ponantur ad cameram inprestitorum pro suo maritare et ea decedente ante tempus maritandi medietas videlicet ducatos centum dispensentur pro anima mea et ducatos centum sint matris mee et meorum fratrum. Item dimitto donec Faliere sorori mee ducatos viginti quinque auri. Interrogatus a notario de postremis, respondi non habere uxorem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum et quod ad chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum posset michi et poterit quomodolibet spectare seu venire omni modo via iure et forma dimitto fratribus meis Luce et Michaeli Petri equanimiter inter eos. Preterea etc. // Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo et conferro suprascriptis meis commissariis post mei obbitum hanc meam commissariam administrandi et furniendi modo et ordine ut supra. Et insuper petendi, exigendi et recuperandi omnes et singulos denarios, res, bona et habere a cunctis michi et huic mee commissarie dare debentibus rationibus et causis quibuscumque et ubicumque et penes quoscumque ex ipsis poterunt reperiri cum cartis et sine cartis per curiam et extra curiam et alio quovismodo. Et insuper rogandi et fieri faciendi cartas securitates et omnes alias cartas et scripturas necesarias et opportunas. Et pro quacumque materia et huius mee commissarie lite et questione in quocumque iudicio comparendi, petendi, placitandi, interpelandi, respondendi, advocandi precepta et intradicta tollendi legem petendi, sententias audiendi et eas executioni tam realiter, quam personaliter mandari faciendi, et si opus fuerit in animam meam iurandi sicut facere possem si personaliter interesset appellandi et appellationes causas proseguendi, et generaliter omnia et singula alia faciendi et operandi pro hac mea commissaria que quilibet verus et legitimus commissarius facere potest et debet statuens firmum et stabile omne id totum et quitquid per ipsos meos commissarios actum et gestum fuerint quo quomodo et hoc meum ordino esse ultimum testamentum. Si quis igitur ipsum infringere temptaverit iram Dei Omnipotentis se noverit incursum. Et huius mei testamenti carta in sua permaneat firmitate. Signum suprascripti Iohannis Petri qui hoc fieri rogavit. Ego Marcus Moronzonus testis subscripsi. Ego Franciscus de Benafar testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis ecclesie Sanctorum Apostolorum de Veneciis diaconus et Venetiarum

notarius complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Marcus Moranzono, ser Franciscus de Benafar, Constantinopoli.

(2) f. 18v – f. 19r (3). 24 April 1436.

Testament of Toma Contarini.

Testamentum Tome Contareno sancti Felicis. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MoCCCCoXXXVI^o mensis Aprilis die vigesimo quarto indictione decima quarta in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil cercius in hoc seculo habeatur quam quod nullus possit mortis evitare discrimen, recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic⁶⁵⁰ sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Tomas Contareno filius quondam domini Marci de confinio Sancti Felicis de Venetiis ad presens in Tana sanus mente et intellectu quamvis aliquantulum infirmus corpore rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo consulis Tane capelanum patrinum meum ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis cum omnibus suis clausulis neccesariis et opportunis salvis iuribus comunis nostri Venetiarum. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios dominam Polisenam dilectam matrem meam et fratres meos Ieronimum, Petrum, Bartholomeum, Michaellem, Antonium, Alovixium et Marcum ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis dimitto quod per commissarios meos distribuantur ducati sex auri in pauperibus contrate mee. Item vollo quod hic in Tana ser Bartholomeus Rosso sit administrator // bonorum meorum et rerum ser Francisci Marcelo et me decedente per dictum ser Bartholomeum Rosso fiat me sepultura et residuum meorum bonorum mandet Venetiis commissariis meis. Item dimitto pro missis Sancti Gregorii ducatum unum presbytero Nicolao patrino meo. Insuper interrogatus a notario predicto de postremis respondi non habere uxorem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne chaducum inordinatum et quod ad chaducum inordinatum potest et poterit michi quomodolibet pervenire omni modo, iure, via et forma dimitto commissariis meis suprascriptis videlicet matris mee et fratribus meis. Preterea etc. Ego Marcho Moranzono testis subscripsi. Ego Iohannes Liardus testis subscripsi. Ego presbyterus Nicolaus de Varsis ecclesie sanctorum apostolorum diaconus,

⁶⁵⁰ Sic - Crossed out.

Venetiarum notarius et Tane cancelarius complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Marcus Moranzono in Tana, ser Iohannes Liardo.

f. 19r (3) – f. 19v (4). 29 April 1436.

Testament of Giorgio (Georgius?) de Modrusia.

Testamentum Georgii de Modrusia. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigessimo sexto mensis Aprilis die vigesimo nono indictione quartadecima in Tana. Cum vox prophetica intonuerit dicens "dispone domui tue quia morieris et non vives", quapropter ego Georgius de Modrusia ad presens in Tana familiaris nobilis viri domini Iusti Venerio olim consulis Tane mente et intellectu sanus quamvis sim aliquantulum corporea infirmitate gravatus venire feci ad me presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis, Venetiarum notarium et Tane capelanum quem rogavi ut hoc meum scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis⁶⁵¹. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vello fidei commissarios et executores mee ultime voluntatis nobilem virum dominum Iustum Venerio olim consulem Tane et venerabilem virum dominum presbyterum Benedictum de Smeritis Sancti Hermie olim eius capelanum ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis habere et recipere debeo pro meo salario a domino Iusto Venerio pro mensibus novem ad rationes librorum sex in mense de labore meo de quibus vello sepeliri et quicquid super abundaverit dispensetur pro missis hic in Tana inter presbyteros Benedictum, Nicolaum et fratrum Ianuensium ac etiam res mee vendantur et sint denarii extracti ex eis distributi ut supra in predictis. Item abere debeo a Laurentio Sartore circha ducatum unum auri. Item a ser Antonio de Leonardo bixancium unum cum dimidio. Item misi Venetiis in manibus ser Mathei Redolphi a siricho scinales ducentos quinque vello quod denarii exinde tracti una cum vestimentis meis missis Venetiis ad domum dicti domini Iusti Venerio dispensentur pro anima mea in illis piis elemosinis⁶⁵² ut ipsis meis commissariis melius videbitur et apparebit. // Item quia steti cum ser Iohanne Belando circha anos quatuor ad rationes ducatorum quatuordecim pro singulo ano et expensarum recepi a predicto pro meo vestire ducatos circha sexdecim restat michi dare ducatos circha triginta auri pro residuo mei salarii, si exigi post[...] distribuantur pro anima mea per predictos meos commissarios in pauperibus Sancti Lazari et in aliis piis hospitalibus et missis ut melius eis videbitur et apparebit. Et omne residuum quod michi contingeret abere suspensetur ut supra dictum est.

⁶⁵¹ *ut inferius patebit* - Crossed out.

⁶⁵² Classical form: *elemosynis*.

Preterea dans plenissimam virtutem et potestatem suprascriptis meis commissariis dictam meam commissariam post obbitum meum administrandi et furniendi modo et ordine ut supra et insuper petendi, exigendi et recuperandi omnes et singulos denarios, res et bona et havere a cunctis mihi et mee commissarie dare debentibus et tenentibus rationibus quibuscumque et ubicumque et penes quoscumque ex ipsis poterunt reperiri cum cartis et sine cartis per curiam et extra curiam et pro quacumque huius mee commissarie lite et questione in iudicio comparendi, petendi, inquirendi, interpellandi, respondendi, advocandi precepta terminos et advocatos tolendi legem et leges petendi sententias audiendi. Et si opus fuerit in animam meam iurandi et omnia alia et singula⁶⁵³ generaliter faciendi et operandi que quilibet verus et legitimus commissarius facere potest et debet statuens firmum et stabile omne id totum et quicquid per dictos meos commissarios actum et gestum fuerit quoquomodo. Si quis igitur dictum meum testamentum infringere presumpserit iram Dei Omnipotentis se commoverit incursum et huius mei testamenti carta in sua permaneat firmitate. Signum Georgii de Modrusia qui hoc fieri rogavit. Item habere debeo a magistro Antonio de Rechanatis ducatos tres auri. Ego Iohannes de Senis testis subscripsi. Ego Iacobus de Girardo testis subscripsi. Ego presbyterus Nicolaus de Varsis ecclesie Sanctorum Apostolorum diaconus, Venetiarum notarius et Tane capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Iohannes de Senis, ser Iacobus de Girardo in Tana⁶⁵⁴.

1436 die secunda Maii presentibus spectabile et egregio viro domino Arsenio Duodo consule Tane, Aldrovandino de Iustis et me notario infrascripto dominus presbyter Benedictus de Smeritis olim chapelanus Tane commissarius nominatus in testamento Georgii de Modrussia ut apparet in presenti testamento manu notarii ut supra reffutavit dictam commissariam nollens se in aliquo de dicta impedire quia michi inde remansit VII etc.

f. 19v (4) – f. 20r. 22 May 1436.

Testament of Antonio de Papia.

Testamentum ser Antonii de Papia vel de Chamurata. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo sexto mensis Maii die vigesimo secundo⁶⁵⁵ indictione 14 in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil certius in hoc seculo habeatur quam quod nullus potest mortis evitare periculum recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat

⁶⁵³ *Fac* - Crossed out.

⁶⁵⁴ The words *in Tana* are situated in such a way, that they can refer to both witnesses.

⁶⁵⁵ Inserted over the line: *mensis Maii die vigesimo secundo*.

et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Antonius de Chamurata quondam ser Chinacsii ad presens moram trahens in Tana Dei gratia mente et intellectu sanus quamvis sim aliquantulum corporea infirmitate gravatus timens mortis casum venire feci ad me presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo Tane consulis cancelarium ut hoc meum ultimum et finalem scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis cum omnibus suis clausulis et solemnitatibus opportuniis reservatis semper iuribus comunis nostri Venetiarum. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios et executores mee ultime voluntatis discretum virum ser Filipum Delai et ser Henricum de Bronzago barbitonsorem qui est Venetiis ut hic in Tana ser Filipus reccuperet bona michi spectancia et ut solvat debita et legata per me dimissa et quod per ipsum Filipum vendantur res mee videlicet masaricie et pani adorso et detracta dictarum rerum dentur ducati duo auri pro missis Sancti Gregorii presbytero Nicolao capelano Tane et sepulto corpore meo scribat omnia et reddat⁶⁵⁶ rationem Venetiis suprascripto magistro Henrico. Item dimitto scole Sancte Marie et Sancti Antonii de Tana ducatos duos auri. Item vollo quod omnes candeles que reperientur post mortem meam mandentur ecclesie Sancti Michaelis de Muriano. Item dimitto Magdalene uxori ser An---geli de Senis que michi servit et servivit bixancios viginti quinque et ultra hoc vollo quod per unum annum usufructet illam domum in qua ad presens moratur solus Balzi que affictatur in anno bixancios 48 seu quod exigit affictum et transacto anno devenerat ut infra ordinavero. Item vollo et ordino quod solvantur baptacinum unum olei ser Baldasore Marci prout petet. Item dimitto flascum meum de stagno conventui sancti Michaelis de Muriano. Item dimitto conventui Sancti Michaelis de Muriano medietatem territorii mei quod est in Tana positum positum penes territorium heredium quondam domini Bernardi Quirino videlicet partem illam que contigua est domui in qua ad presens habito hac conditione vero quod ser Filipus Delai commissarius meus usufructet ipsam domum in quo habitat per duos annos seu exigit factum ex ea et deinde sit Sancti Michaelis, aliam vero medietatem dimitto Marine filie mee pro suo maritare in vita sua tantum et suorum heredium hac condicione quo non possit aliquo modo vendi, alienari, pignerari, donari, transactari neque pro anima et corpora iudicari set post eius mortem et suorum heredium perveniat conventui Sancti Michaelis de Muriano. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum et quod ad chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum potest et poterit quomodolibet michi

⁶⁵⁶ Inserted over the line: *seu ostendat.*

pervenire positos ducatos quadraginta duobus auri qui sunt in manibus ser Filipi Delai commissarii mei et ducatos decem auri qui sunt in manibus Iacobi Salono quos sibi concessi quia sunt in totam ducatos quinquaginta duo auri dimitto Marine filie mee de quibus ad presens dentur ducati 12 conventui Sancti Michaelis de Muriano et si dicta filia mea esset mortua dicti ducati quadraginta sint dicti conventui Sancti Michaelis [...] solutis expensis factis dicte filie mee. Preterea etc. Ego Iohannes de Nicholaus testis subscripsi. Ego Barnabas de Floris testis subscripsi. Ego presbyterus Nicolaus de Varsis⁶⁵⁷ ecclesie Sanctorum Apostolorum de Venetiis diachonus et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo consulis Tane capellanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Iohannes de Nicuola armiratus Tane, ser Barnabas de Flora

f. 20r – f. 20v. 28 May 1436.

Testament of Antonello from Parma.

Testamentum Antoneli de Parma. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentissimo trigesimo sexto mensis Maii die vigesimo octavo indictione quartadecima in Tana. Cum vox prophetica intonuerit dicens "dispone domui tue quia morieris et non vives", quapropter ego Antonelus filius Simonis de Chostula de Scurano districtus Parme ad presens in Tana sanus mente et intellectu et quamvis sim corporea infirmitate gravatus, timens mortis casum volui hoc esse meum ultimum testamentum scriptum manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis Venetiarum notarii et Tane cancelarii. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios et executores mee ultime voluntatis nobilem virum dominum Iustum Venerio olim consulem Tane et ser Iohannem Liardo ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis vollo et ordino quod per commissarios meos investiantur ducati XXti qui sunt in capsula mea de bonis meis et quando eruant Venetiis lucrum ex eis seccutum sit dicto Iohanni Liardo hac conditione quod dictos ducatos XXti portet aut mandet pischerie barbano meo domino presbytero Tadeo seu propinquioribus atinentibus meis qui reperirentur circa VIII qui mittere debeant ipsos ducatos XXti patri et matri mee Scuriano seu eorum successoribus ac etiam diploidem unam de chamocho blanco novo et vestem unam sufultam de giris et faculetos XXXa contextos de siricho de quibus vollo quod distribuantur 15 in meis atinentibus et in ecclesiis videlicet quod detur unum Iohanni consanguineo meo et unum Beatrici uxori Stefani Bergamino habitatoris Pischore et unum

⁶⁵⁷ Venetiarum notarius - Crossed out.

Aldi et unum Isabele filiabus ser Petri patru mei. Et alia 15 facistergia diplois et vestis mittantur patri et matri mee Scuriano aut eorum successoribus. Item vollo quod exigantur per commissarios meos ducati 13 quos habere et reccipere debeo a comune Venetiarum pro residio mei salarii ut apparet dicto buletino et medietas ipsorum denariorum detur uni qui vadat ad Sanctem Antonium in Mena pro anima mea et alia medietas detur uni vel une qui vel qua vadet ad Sanctem Franciscum de Sisio pro anima mea. Item habere debeo a Pronasio de Bugareso patrono // patrono eiusdam greparie bixancios quinquaginta quatuor ut apparet quadam cedula eius manu et vollo quod ser Nicoloxius Barbo exigere possit ab eo et exactos per dictum Nicoloxium dentur pro anima mea filie Inzibee zerchasie uxoris Chosta Chatolici. Item facistergium unum magnum pichorum trium tode sorgati quod est in manibus Vinturine filie Fagni vollo quod expleatur et ultra illam setam quam habuit sibi dimitto ducatum unum auri ut cito expleat et per commissarios meos mitatur ad Sanctam Mariam de Gratia que est in territorio Mantuano. Item dimitto pro anima mea ducatum unum auri filie Chatarine Iustiniano. Item dimitto isti mulieri que michi servit ducatum unum auri. Item dimitto uxori Iohannis Greci sclavinam meam. Item dimitto biretum meum de pelibus agninis et diploidem unam albam tristem Iohanni Grecho. Item dimitto Laurentio Sartori partem unam linteamenam et unam sclavinam tristem et par unum chaligarum viridem et unam chamisiam. Item dimitto vendi torazeam meam cum suis voltis et denarii extracti sint scole sancte Marie et sancti Antonii. Item vollo quod vendatur ballistum unum a pedi et denarii extracti sint uxori Sabanzini olim sclavi ser Tome Cornario. Item vollo quod reddatur mulinelum domino consuli Ianuensium. Item vollo quod vendatur una spata et denarii ex ea extracti dentur presbytero Nicolao de Varsis pro missis sancti Gregorii. Item habere debeo a Constantino de la Chustizza pro expensis sibi factis pro affictu domus ducatos quinque de quibus sibi dimitto medietatem pro anima mea. Item habere debeo a Iohanne Marino ducatum unum auri sibi dimitto medietatem. Item dimitto duas chamisias et vestem unam de fuxono duobus filiis Chustizze⁶⁵⁸ qui stant a parte Ianuensium. Item dimitto notario dicti mei testamenti pro suo labore in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos tres auri. Item dimitto a [Con]stantino par unum chaligarum de chorio. Item vollo quod corpus meum sepeliatur in ecclesie Sancte Marie a parte Ianuensium et quod dentur domino fratri Antonio pro mea sepultura bixancios quinquaginta. Item habere debeo a domino presbytero Benedicto ducatum unum auri de quo volo quod oret Deum pro anima me. Item habere debeo a ser Antonelo de Napoli ducatum unum auri pro suo testamento. Item vollo quod due birete nigre nove de Londres et par

⁶⁵⁸ The meaning is not clear; the text says *Chse*; this could mean *Choste* or *Christe*.

duarum chaligarum unum de rosato et unum de paonazio et relique res que reperirentur esse mee per ser Iohannem Liardo solum vendantur, distribuantur et solvantur legata suprascripta et in casu quo non reperirentur 101 denarii quod satisfacerat predictos legatos vollo quod possint accipi ducatos quatuor ex illis duchatis XXti ut satisfetur predictos legatos et alii ducati sexdecim ut supra dixi investiantur ut melius videbitur dicto Iohanni Liardo et omnibus meis expensis portet dictos ducatos 16 et diploidem togam et facistergia pischiere affinibus meis videlicet affines mei mandet dictas res et denarios patri et matri mee vel eorum heredibus ut supra dixi. Interrogatus a notario de postremis respondi non habere uxorem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum potest et poterit mihi quomodolibet pervenire omni modo, via, iure et forma tam pro morte parentium meorum quam pro quoscumque alio modo dimitto atinentibus meis propinquioribus. Preterea etc. Ego Nichola de Briaticho testis subscripsi. Ego Iacobus de Girardo testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis ecclesie Sanctorum Apostolorum diaconus Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo Tane consulis cancelarius complevi et roboravi. Testes: Nicola de Briaticho bozonarius, Iacobus de Girardo barbitonsor.

f. 21r. 1 June 1436.

Testament of the German Albert de Crunut.

Testamentum Alberti teutonici. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo sexto mensis Iunii die prima indictione 14 in Tana. Divine inspiracionis donum est et provide mentis arbitrium ut ante quam superveniat mortis casus unusquisque sit sua bona sollicitus ordinare ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Albertus de Crunut quondam Dirch de confinio Sancti Apolinaris de Veneciis ad presens in Tana sanus intellectu et mente et infirmatus corpore venire feci ad me presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo Tane consulis capelanum quem rogavi ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post meum obbitum pariter et compleret. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios discretum virum ser Barnabam de Flore, Henricum Stangelino et Choradum familiarem domini Arseni Duodo ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero post mortem meam ipsi fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis dimitto Chorado commissario meo gonelfam meam de grixio

et clamidem⁶⁵⁹ meam et diploidem unam novam. Item vollo quod res mee vendantur et detracta earum dentur presbytero Nicolao tam pro testamento quam ut oret Deum pro anima mea duchatos quatuor auri. Item habere debeo a ser Stefano Mitta pro resto asprorum sibi concestorum Constantinopoli iperpera duodecim cum dimidio. Item habere debeo ab Andrea Nigro ducatum unum auri et ipse habere debet brachia quinque tella Nigroponti. Item habere debeo a Iohanne Marino ducatos duos auri et par unum stivalorum de quibus est plezius Choradus. Item interrogatus a notario de postremis respondi non habere uxorem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum dimitto Girardo fratri meo qui est Venetiis et quod ser Barnabas commissarius meus portet personaliter et si dictus frater meus mortuus esset vollo quod per ipsum ser Barnabam dispensetur in hospitale pietate ubi [...]ntur pueri malarum [...]ium. Preterea etc. Ego ser Iohannes de Niqolaus testis subscripsi. Ego ser Angelus de Senis testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis ecclesie Sanctorum Apostolorum de Venetiis diaconus, Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo Tane consulis capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Iohannes de Nicuola armiratus, ser Angelus de Senis.

f. 21r – f. 21v. 4 May 1436.

Testament of Iolmelikh, wife of Michali Mitrioti.

Testamentum Iolmeliche uxoris ser Michali Mitrioti. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi milesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo sexto, mensis Madii, die quatuor indictione quartadecima in Tana. Divine inspiracionis donum est et provide mentis arbitrium ut ante quam veniat mortis casus unusquisque se preparet ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Iolmelicha uxor quondam ser Michali Mitrioti moram trahens in Tana a parte Venetorum sana mente et intellectu et corpore pregravata venire feci ad me presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis ad presens cancelarium spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo consulis Tane ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum pariter et compleret semper reservatis iuribus comunis Venetiarum. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios sororem meam Natchaton uxorem Charauzuch et ipsum Charauzuch virum suum et cognatum meum hoc per interpretacionem⁶⁶⁰ ser Borani Taiapetra turzimani curie Tane et Nicolai Flabani ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam

⁶⁵⁹ Must be: *chlamydem*.

⁶⁶⁰ Mistake; must be *interpretationem*.

fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis dimitto ecclesie Sancti Marci de Tana bixantios quinquaginta. Item dimitto ecclesie Sancti Iohannis grecorum a parte Ianuensium bixantios quinquaginta. Item dimitto Sarandirino filio Agapi bixantios quinquaginta. Item dimitto presbytero pappe Tatuli grecho bixantios quinquaginta. Item dimitto Dimitrio Chatavlata nepoti quondam Michali Mitrioti viri mei bixantios centum. Item dimitto domino mitropolitae grecorum bixantios sexaginta. Rexidium vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum michi quorumcumque spectantium et venientium una cum territorio meo posito in Tana penes turizelam que est a parte Iudaice prout in suis confinibus continetur dimitto sorori mee Natchaton in quibus manibus commendo animam meam. Preterea etc. Ego Philipus Delaidy quondam Delaidy testis subscripsi. Ego Franzisschus de Leonardo testis subscripsi. Ego presbyterus Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo consulis Tane cancelarius complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Filipus Delai, ser Franciscus de Leonardo.

f. 21v – f. 22r. 14 June 1436.

Testament of Daniele Civrano.

Testamentum ser Danielis Civrano quondam domini Petri. In nomine Dei Eterni amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MCCCCoXXXVIo mensis Iunii die 14 Indictione 14a in Tana. Cum vox prophetica intonuerit dicens “dispone domui tue quia morieris et non vives”. Quapropter ego Daniel Civrano quondam domini Petri Civrano ad presens in Tana mente et intellectu sanus quamquam sim infirmitate corporea pregravatus timens mortis casum rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis, Venetiarum notarium et Tane capelanum ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum et daret meis commissariis cum omnibus suis clausulis et solempnitatibus opportunis reservatis iuribus comunis nostri Venetiis. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vello fidei commissarios ser Angelum Ravagnano et ser Andream Betanio et ser Bartholomeum Pasqualem ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis dimitto pro missis Sancti Gregorii presbytero Nicolao ducatos duos auri. Item dimitto done Magdalene uxori Angeli de Senis ducatos duos auri. Item dimitto spatam meam magnam Angelo Ravagnano. Item dimitto sclavam meam Chug zerchasiam sorori mee Marine que ad presens moratur in Verona cum hac conditione quod commissarii mei faciant ipsam francham cum hoc quod serviat ipsi sorori mee annos septem deinde sit francha. Item quia sum debitor ser Iacobi Salono de ducatos circa 40 auri ut apparet quadam manifestacionis carta manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis capelani Tane et predictus ser Iacobus habeat buletinum meum

manu presbyteri Benedicti de Smeritis olim capelani Tane ut apparet per ipsum me habere debere ducatos quadraginta duos vollo quod dictus ser Iacobus exigit ipsos denarios virtute ipsius carte debiti seu virtute presentis testamenti et solvat sibi quia mihi bene servivit. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum michi quomodocumque spectatum et venientium dimitto Salvazie uxori mee que ad presens moratur in Rouno et si dicta uxor mea mortua esset vollo quod totum sit sorori mee Marine suprascripte cum hoc quod denarii extracti ex rebus meis stent in capsula scole Sancte Marie et Sancti Antonii quousque fuerunt deportati uxori mee seu sorori mee etc. Preterea etc. Ego Marinus Trivixano testis subscripsi. Ego Galeazo Dr[ag]ano testis subscripsi. Ego presbyterus Nicolaus de Varsis ecclesie Sanctorum Apostolorum de Venetiis diachonus Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo consulis Tane capelanus complevi et roboravi. // Testes: ser Marinus Trivixano, ser Galeazius Dragano.

f. 22r. 1 July 1436.

Testament of Stefano Fino.

Testamentum quondam Stefani Fino. In nomine Dei Eterni amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Xristi MoCCCCoXXXVIo mensis Iulii die prima indictione 14 in Tana. Cum vox prophetica intonuerit dicens "dispone domui tue quia morieris et non vives", quapropter ego Stefanus Fino de confinio sancti Chasiani de Venetiis ad presens in Tana sanus mente et intellectu et infirmus corpore volui hoc meum esse testamentum et meam ultimam voluntatem ut apparet quadam cedula bonbizina manu mea scripta et presbytero Nicolao de Varsis cancelario Tane consignata presentibus testibus infrascriptis qui predictus notarius me posposit si aliquic aliud volem adi vel minui cui respondi non et quod hec erat mea ultima voluntas que sequitur et est talis: a di primo Luio in la Tana 1436 mi Stefano Fin de la contrada de san Chaxian al prexente in la Tana voio che questo sia el mio testamento e ultima volunta per laqual lasso me fidel commissarii ser Galeazo Dragan e Iachomim de le Eloldere, prima voio sia dado a la scuola bixancios 24 cazandisena ducatos 2 oro et perche chaxo io son debito a ser Iacomo Salon voio che sora la sua consienzia et anima che l'sia treto al suo libero escritare et in suo consientia de tuto quello el die aver da mi el se paga e lo resto che se trazesse di tute mie robe echosse si de debitori posanibsse scuoder chome apar per una zetola ho levada de mia mano sia mandade a mia moier e mie fioli a Veniexia e se altro rexiduo che me podesse aspetar ho vegnir lasso a mia moier e fioli et est finis. Preterea etc. Ego Dominicus Bedollotto testis subscripsi. Ego Angelus Ravagnano testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis ecclesie Sanctorum Apostolorum de Venetiis Venetiarum

notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo Tane consulis capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Dominicus Bedolotto, ser Angelus Ravagnano in Tana.

f. 22r. 17 July 1436.

Testament of Andrea Nigro.

Testamentum Andree Nigro ser Danielis de Sorovilio. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MCCCCoXXXVI mensis Iulii die 17 indictione 14. Cum vox propheticha intonuerit dicens "dispone domui tue quia morieris et non vivis", quapropter ego Andreas Nigro ser Danielis de Sorovillii ad presens salariatus in Tana sanus mente⁶⁶¹ et intellectu et infirmus corpore timens casum mortis volui hoc esse meum ultimum testamentum scriptum manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis Venetiarum notarii et Tane cancelarii per quod vero constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios discretos viros ser Barnabam de Flore et ser Stefanum Motta socios meos ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis dimitto ecclesie Sancte Marie et Sancti Antonii de Tana pro reparatione ducatos quatuor auri. Item dimitto ecclesie Sancti Francisci a parte Ianuensium ducatos tres auri. Item in domo nobilis viri ser Iacobi Donato qui moratur in contrata Sancti Pauli de Veneciis sunt aliquae res mee, videlicet vestes due, clamidas quatuor, duo chapucii biretum unum⁶⁶² magnum de morelo et aliquae alie res vollo quod mandentur ecclesie Sancti Danielis de Mereto districti Sorovillii ut orent Deum pro anima mea. Item dimitto illam domum quam habeo in Utine michi dimisam per quamdam domina Margaretam ser Danieli patri meo. Item dimitto notario pro suo labore presentibus testibus infrascriptis ducatos duos auri. Insuper interrogatus a dicto notario de postremis respondi non habere uxorem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum michi quomodocumque spectantium tam chaduchorum quam inordinatorum omni modo, via, iure et forma dimitto domine Chatarine da Chadecado olim nutrici mee cum hac conditione quod celebrare faciat missas quinque videlicet misam unam ad honorem Sancti Iacobi Apostoli, Sancti Iohannis Baptista, Sancti Iohannis Osauri, Sancte Anne et Sancte Susane pro anima mea. Preterea etc. Ego Iohannes de Valle testis subscripsi. Ego Andreas Betanio testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis ecclesie Sanctorum Apostolorum diaconus, Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo Tane consulis capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Iohannes de Valle, ser Andreas Betanio.

⁶⁶¹ Crossed out: *corpor-*

⁶⁶² Crossed out: *nigrum*.

f. 22v. 29 May 1436.

Testament of Valentino, son of the deceased Stefano.

Testamentum Valentini quondam Stefani de confinio Sancti Severi. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentessimo trigessimo sexto mensis Madii die vigesimo nono indictione quartadecima in Tana. Cum vox propheticha intonuerit dicens "dispone domui tue quia morieris tu et non vives", quapropter ego Valentinus quondam Stefani habitator in contrata Sancti Severi ad presens in Tana salariatus, mente et intellectu sanus gratia Creatoris quamvis sim aliquantulum infirmitate corporea pregravatus timens tamen casum mortis rogavi dominum presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo Tane consulis capelanum ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis cum omnibus suis clausulis et solempnitatibus opportunis reservatis tamen iuribus comunis nostri Venetiarum. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios et executores huius mee ultime voluntatis prudentem virum ser Iacobum Salono et ser Michaellem de Matheo de Suazio et ser Antonium de Leze sartorem ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam [...] et fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis vollo et ordino quod per commissarios meos restituantur ducati quinquaginta auri ser Bartholomeo Mapheo quos michi dedit ad dampnum et lucrum qui denarii extrahantur ex aliquibus merchanciis que reperientur in societate cum magistro Antonio sartore et me si extrahi poterunt. Item dimitto presbytero Nicolao patrino meo ducatum unum auri ut oret Deum pro anima mea in suis misis. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum quomodocumque michi spectandum et veniendum omni modo, via, iure et forma dimitto filio et filiabus meis et si aliquis illorum decederet pars decedencium deveniat insuper viventem et si omnes decederent in pupulari etate videlicet ante annos sexdecim tunc vollo quod perveniat in uxorem meam et sororem meam Annam que moram trahit Verone. Preterea etc. Ego Chostantinus Donato testis subscripsi. Ego Moixes Iancarelo testis subscripsi. Ego presbyterus Nicolaus de Varsis ecclesie Sanctorum Apostolorum diaconus, Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo Tane consulis capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: magister Constancius Donato barbitonsor et ser Moises Iancharelo.

f. 23r. 1 June 1436.

Testament of Michele de Mattheo de Suazio.

Testamentum Michaelis de Matheo de Suazio. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentessimo trigessimo sexto mensis Iunii die primo indictione quartadecima in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil cercius in hoc seculo habeatur quam quod nullus possit mortis evitare periculum⁶⁶³, recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego⁶⁶⁴ Michael de Matheo de Suatio habitator Venetiarum ad presens in Tana olim salariatus ibidem sub regimine nobilis viri domini Iusti Venerio Tane consulis sanus mente et intellectu et infirmus corpore volui hoc esse meum ultimum et immediatum testamentum manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis Venetiarum notarii et Tane capelani anotatum. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vello fidei commissarios ser Paulum Spinaza, ser Antonium de Leonardo, ser Andream Petenarionem nepotem meum qui est Venetiis, et Dominicum fratrem meum ut infra ordinaverō darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis dimitto dicto Andree Petenarionem nepoti et commissario meo Antonium sclavum meum tartarum quem misi Venetiis in suis manibus cum condicione quod tractet eum bene et si eum male tractaret quod possit per alios commissarios ausse⁶⁶⁵ a dicto Andree. Item dimitto predicto Andree letum meum et cultram meam novam et tapetos tres. Item detracta pro aliis bute de moronis et scinalium XXV quos misi Venetiis in manibus dicti Andree et ducatos quadraginta sex cum dimidio quos habere debeo a camera comunis Venetiarum ut apparet meo buletino manu capelani Tane vello quod fiant tres partes una quarum sit fratris et commissarii mei Dominici, alia sit Marie sororis mee olim uxoris quondam Iohannis Gamba et aliqua sit Mare sororis mee que est in [...]tivare. Item vello quod exigantur ducati triginta unum per commissarios meos a Panthaleone de Dulcigno quos sibi concessi ad viagium Flandrie et exacti dividantur per modum ut supra. Item dimitto Chatarine consanguinee mee ducatos duos auri de denariis qui sunt Venetiis. Item dimitto fratri meo zingulum meum de argento ponderis onziarum tredecim. Item tractum duarum taciaram de argento ponderis onziarum decem et septem et tractum unius cinguli et tractum unius bariloti dupli cum turchino subter et unius zornete de veluto nigro et tractum unius alii bariloti dimitto suprascriptis fratri et sororibus meis inteligento quod omnes suprascripte res sunt in domo Andree nepotis mei Venetiis. Item dimitto presbytero Nicolao ducatum unum pro missis celebrandis. Item vello quod vendantur arme mee et alie res mee hic in Tana pro mea sepultura et si aliquid super habundaverit

⁶⁶³ *Igitur* - Crossed out.

⁶⁶⁴ *Math-* - Crossed out.

⁶⁶⁵ Must be: *ausus*.

dispensetur pro anima mea. Insuper interrogatus a dicto notario de postremis respondi non habere uxorem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum quomodocumque spectantium et veniencium dimitto dicti fratri et sororibus meis. Preterea etc. Ego Marinus de Trivixano testis subscripsi. Ego Moixes Iancarelo testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis ecclesie Sanctorum Apostolorum diaconus, Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo consulis Tane capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Marinus Trivixano, ser Moixes Iancharelo.

f. 23v – f. 24r. 21 September 1436.

Testament of Baldassare, son of the deceased Marco.

Testamentum quondam Baldasere quondam Marci de contrata Sancti Petri de Castello. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MoCCCCoXXXVIo mensis Septembris die XXIo indictione 15a in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil cercius in hoc seculo habeatur quam quod nullus possit mortis evitare⁶⁶⁶ recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Baldasara quondam Marci de Veneciis in confinio Sancti Petri de Castello ad presens moram trahens in Tana Dei gratia mente et intellectu sanus et aliquantulum corporea infirmitate pregravatus timens eventum mortis et nolens ut mea bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquere⁶⁶⁷ venire feci ad me presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo consulis Tane capelanum quem rogavi ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum si contingerit post mei obbitum pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis cum omnibus suis clausulis et solemnitatibus opportunis tamen reservatis iuribus comunis nostri Venetiarum. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vello fidei commissarios et executores huius mee ultime voluntatis nobilem virum ser Iosafat Barbarum et viros prudentes ser Bartholomeum Rosso et ser Iohannem de Valle et dominam Mariam Sarazenam que moratur Venetiis in contrata Sancti Petri de Castelo ut michi ordinavero darique iussero ipsi commissarii mei post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis dimitto Sirine olim slave mee pro suo maritare inter denarios massaricias et res suas ducatos centum. Item dimitto Spertum slavum meum francum ab omni vinculo servitutis ac si a liberis parentibus ortus esset et ei dimitto ducatos viginti quinque auri. Item dimitto illi puero

⁶⁶⁶ Direct object omitted: *periculum* or *discrimen*.

⁶⁶⁷ Must be: *derelinquerem*.

qui est Venetiis qui vocatur Petrus et est in manibus domine Marie Sarazene omnes illas massaricias que sunt in manibus dicte domine Marie hac conditione quod isti mei commissarii de hinc non possint se impedire de puero illo Petro sed solum domina Maria. Item dimitto pro mea decima ducatos viginti quinque auri. Item dimitto pro male ablatiis ducatos viginti quinque auri. Item habere debeo a venerabili viro domino presbytero Benedicto de Smeridis olim capelano Tane ducatos circha septuaginta quatuor computata certa quantitate vini data Iohanni fratri suo de quibus dare debet dictus dominus presbyter Benedictus hic in Tana ducatos quadraginta et reliquos Venetiis. Item habere debeo a ser Blaxio Alberegno pro butis quatuor moronarum sibi datis bixancios quingentos et pro buta una vini bixancios octaginta et pro morovaxia sibi data bixancios sexaginta duos qui sunt in suma bixancios sexcenti quadraginta duo ut manifestum est suo scribano et dictus ser Blaxius habere debet pro uno panno loesto pro sommis decim. Item emimus de ratione mea et ser Bartholomei Rosso a viro nobili ser Petro Pixani al brunatas, de quibus empte fuerunt presentes teste que sunt in domo de sua ratione et mea. Item habere debeo a commissariam quondam Georgii Pasqual bixancios mille qui sunt pro butis septem moronarum datis⁶⁶⁸ quinque nobili viro ser Petro Pixani et Iohanni Nigro duas. Item de 1430 misimus in manibus viri nobilis ser Hermolai Pisani Venetiis testas decemnovem de quibus habuimus pannos loestos triginta duos qui sunt in manibus ser Bartholomei Rosso de ratione sua et mea. Item per navem patronus ser Blaxius Alberegno misi Venetiis testas undecim de quibus quatuor fuerunt vendate per ipsum ser Blaxium Alberegno et septem pervenirunt in manibus ser Alovixii Rosso qui scribit mittere tractum earum per galeas venturas que testes erant tote de mea ratione. Item de societate quam habeo cum ser Iohanne a Valle et ser Bartholomeo Rosso usque modo Deus sit non tetegi unum asprum et pro dicta societate expendi multos denarios ut apparet aliquibus scripturis. Item de 1430 feci quandam societatem Venetiis cum predicto ser Bartholomeo Rosso de qua usque modo nullam vidi rationem. Item recepi a ser Nicolao Taiapiera cordoanos et bochassiones de tractu duorum ballabanorum ut apparet quodam computo manu dictis ser Nicolai. Item per navem ser Petri Belveder recepi de ratione prudentis viri ser Nicolai Vereto balas duas de brunatis de quibus solvi per nabulo ducatos tres auri. Item recepi pannos decim loestos de ratione viri nobilis ser Andree Contareno et pezas octo de botanis. Item dimitto pro missis Sancti Gregorii et Sancte Marie ducatos quatuor presbytero Nicolao de Varsis. Item dimitto predicto presbytero Nicolao pro suo labore in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos quatuor auri. Item dimitto sclavam meam

⁶⁶⁸ Inserted above: *pro eo*.

propriam que vocatur Duizicha pro gubernatione filiorum meorum. Item vollo quod de bonis dicte commissarie ematur sclava una etatis annorum quatuordecim et mittatur done Marie Sarazene Venetiis que sit sua et nollo quod aliququaliter ipsa dona Maria se impediat de mea commissaria solvo de rebus que sunt in domo sua Venetiis. Item sunt in domo nobilis viri domini Iosafat Barbaro Venetiis cultra una et cortina una de sirico de grana cum armis meis et floronibus de auro et una alia cultra de dimitto et 1a cortina et par unum lintheaminum et vestis una de paonazio suffulta⁶⁶⁹ dosiis. Item interrogatus a notario de interrogandis et si aliquid plus ordinare vollo respondi hanc meam esse ultimam voluntatem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum et quod ad chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum potest et poterit michi quomodolibet pervenire tam de rebus Gasparini fratris mei quam quocumque alio modo omni modo via, iure et forma dimitto filiis meis⁶⁷⁰ Francischo et Flaurentio equaliter inter eos quando pervenerint ad etatem annorum sexdecim et quando perventi fuerint ad dictam etatem annorum sexdecim sint sui domini et sui iuris et possint habere quilibet partem suam inteligendo quod totum meum residuum ponatur ad cameram in prestitorem ut predicti filii mei possint vivere ex productis quousque pervenient ad suprascriptam etatem. Et si aliquis eorum decederet ante annos sexdecim pars decedentis diveniatur insuper viventem et si casus advenerit quod Deus advertat quod ambos decederent ante dictam etatem tunc vollo quod medietas sit Petri qui moretur Venetiis in domo done Marie Saracine et reliqua medietas dispensetur per commissarios meos in illis piis helemosinis ut ipsis melius videbitur et apparebit. Preterea etc. Ego Chostantinus Donato testis subscripsi. Ego Andreas Painos testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo Tane consulis capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Iacobus Salono, ser Constanzius Donato barbitonsor, ser Andreas Paino.

f. 24r – f. 24v. 28 July 1437.

Testament of Lucia Giustiniano.

Testamentum domine Lucie Iustiniano in Tana. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millessimo quadringentessimo trigessimo septimo mensis Iulii die vigessimo octavo indictione XV in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil cercius in hoc seculo habeatur quam quod nullus possit

⁶⁶⁹ Erased: -m.

⁶⁷⁰ Inserted above: *naturalibus*.

mortis evitare periculum, recte igitur unicuique imminet prechavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Luzia Iustiniano moram trahens in Tana a parte Venetorum cum sim sana mente et intellectu licet infirmata corpore volui hoc esse meum ultimum testamentum annotatum manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis Venetiarum notarii et curie Tane cancellarii, in quo ordino et meam esse vollo fidei commissariam donam Marnachaton filiam meam adeptivam solam ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsa fideliter et dilligenter post obbitum meum adimplere procuret. In primis dimitto ecclesie Sancte Marie et Sancti Antonii de Tana ducatos duos auri. Item dimitto presbytero Nicolao chapelano Tane ducatos duos auri pro misis Sancti Gregorii. Item dimitto pro presenti testamento predicto presbytero Nicolao chappelano ducatum unum auri in presentia testium infrascriptorum. Item dimmitto domino fratri Theremo patrino meo ducatos duos auri et ducatos duos pro missis Sancti Gregorii. Item vollo quod corpus meum seppeliatur in ecclesie Sancti Francisci a parte Ianuensium et dimitto pro theraticho ducatum unum auri. Et ultra hoc quod expendantur in mea sepultura ducati 6 auri. Item dimitto domine Foxe uxori ser Borani Taiapiera ducatum unum auri. Item dimitto domine Chatarine insigna ducatum unum auri. Item dimitto domine Sechor ducati dimidium et ducati dimidium Marcis filie quondam Antonii. Item dimitto Baptise filio Margarite ducatum unum auri. Item dimitto domine Clare Peliete⁶⁷¹ Fagni ducatum unum auri. Item dimitto Antonio Allano fratri meo ducatos octo auri. Item dimitto uxori predicti Antonii fratri mei fodiam unam de vulpe. Item dimitto filiis fratris mei videlicet Paulo et Alduci ducatum unum pro quolibet. Item dimitto ser Angelo Ravagnano qui ad presens moratur infrascripto anullum unum de auro. Item dimitto Helene uxori ser Iohannis de Romeo anulum unum d[e auro] [...] chorniola. Item dimitto ser Bartholomeo Rosso annullum unum de auro cum lapide viridi. Item dimitto Marnen Chaton commissarie mee ducatos duos auri quod dare debeat mee commissarie ducatum⁶⁷² unum. Item dimitto tabulam meam rotundam[...] et bochzam unum rechamatum [...] filie ser Iohannis de Romeo. Item dimitto Z[aelie] // filie Holdiley chopertorium a lacto. Item dimitto Chataruzie ducatos duos auri. Item dimitto Marine matri Culmeliche mamus et Chatarina Verzie ducatum unum inter eas. Item dimitto Chazadori Bianco anzichanto et uxori Busuch ducatum unum inter eas. Item dimitto Margarite uxori Iohannis greci ducatum unum auri. Item dimitto Bolat filiozio meo robam unam de panno. Item dimitto Bagarsyluzie tatu et matri Achmelich ducatum unum inter eas. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et stabilium presentium et futurorum quomodocumque mihi pertinencium omni

⁶⁷¹ May be as well: *relicte*.

⁶⁷² Crossed out: *ducatum*.

modo, via, iure et forma una cum fabricis meas quas fabrichavi et in prexentibus habito dimitto donec Marnachaton commissarie mee et filie adoptive cum hac condicione quod dicta Marnachaton det fratri meo Alano ducatos quattuor auri ultra illos quos sibi dimissi. Preterea etc. Ego Marinus Trivixano testis subscripsi. Ego Angelus Ravagnano testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et curie Tane cancellarius complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Marinus Trivixano, ser Angelus Ravagnano, in Tana.

f. 24v. 20 August 1437.

Testament of Francesco Nigro.

Testamentum quondam ser Francisci Nigro. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Ihesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigessimo septimo mensis augusti die vigesimo indictione XVa in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil certius in hoc seculo habeatur, quam quod nullus possit mortis evitare periculum recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Franciscus Nigro de Venetiis de confinio Sancti Mauricii sum ad presens in Tana sanus mente et intellectu quamquam sim corporea infirmitate gravatus, timens mortis eventum vollui hoc esse meum ultimum testamentum scriptum et annotatum manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis Venetiarum notarii et curie Tane cancellarii, quem rogavi ut post mei obitum dictum testamentum conficiat et in publicam formam reducat et dare debeat meis commissariis cum omnibus suis clausulis secundum consuetudinem comunis Venetiarum. In quo constituo et meum esse vollo fidei commissarium nobilem virum dominum Paulum de Molino compatrem meum solum. Et hic in Tana discretos viros ser Benedictum Nigro et ser Theodorum Drimalli compatrem meum hac condicione quod me decedente predicti ser Benedictus et Theodorus fieri faciant unum aventarium per notarium curie Tane de omnibus rebus que reperient hic in Tana et mittere debeant predicto domino Paulo de Molino Venetiis quia sua sunt omnia alia mea bona que sunt hic dimitto dicto domino Paulo de Molino compatri meo ut videat rationes que sunt inter me et ipsum et visis rationibus si michi aliquid spectabit rogo quod det filiis masculis meis in constentiam anime sue. Item dimitto presbytero Nicolao de Varsis ducatos duos auri pro missis Sancti Gregorii. Residuum vero omnium aliorum bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omnem chaducham inordinatam et omne id totum et quicquid modo quocumque⁶⁷³ poterit evenire modo via, iure et forma dimitto predicto domino

⁶⁷³ *Modo* - Crossed out.

Paulo de Molino cui recomendo animam meam et filios meos. Preterea etc. Ego Chostantinus Donato testis subscripsi. Ego Franzisscus de Leonardo testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et curie Tane chanzelarius complevi et roboravi. Testes: magister Constantius Donato barbitonsor, ser Franciscus de Leonardo butarius, ser Paulus Spinaza.

f. 25r. September 1438.

Testament of Angelo Ravagnano.

Testamentum quondam Angeli Ravagnani de Venetiis ad presens [...] In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MoCCCCoXXXVIIIo mensis septembris die [...] indictione prima in Tana. Divine inspiracionis donum est et provide mentis arbitrium ut ante quam superveniat mortis casus unusquisque sollicitus sit sua bona ordinare ne incautus subcumat et sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Angelus Ravagnano de Veneciis ad presens moram trahens in Tana, sanus mente et intellectu licet sim corporea infirmitate pregravatus, timens mortis eventum vollui hoc esse meum ultimum testamentum manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis Venetiarum notarii et curie Tane chancelarii. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios et executores huius mee ultime voluntatis ser Iohannem de Senis, ser Barnabam de Flore et ser Iacobum Boniffacio ut inferius ordinavero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis dimitto scolle sancte Marie et sancti Antonii de Tana ducatos quatuor auri pro anima mea et facistergium unum de [...] siricho laboratum. Item dimitto ecclesie sancti Francisci ducatos duos auri [...] unum laboratam de siricho. Item dimitto presbytero Nicolao de Varsis chapelano Tane pro anima mea ducatum unum auri. Item dimitto Chatarine que michi servit ducatum unum auri. Item dimitto [...]xigi illos annulos qui sunt in pignore in manibus ser Thodori Drimali pro ducatis quinque et dari Marie [de Finetis]. Et e[ziam] vollo quod illa fabricha quam emi a Vaseli chonato sit Marie de Finetis quia [...] puellam meam et quod dicta michi solvat [...]. Insuper interrogatus a notario de postremis respondi non habere uxorem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne chaduchum inordinatum et pro non scriptum et quod ad caduchum inordinatum et pro non scriptum potest et poterit michi quomodolibet pervenire omni modo, via, iure et forma dimitto distribui et dispensari pro anima mea in illis piis hellemosinis ut melius videbitur et apparebit meis commissariis. Preterea dans idem testator plenissimam etc. Ego Marinus Trivixano testis subscripsi. Ego Andreas Betanius testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni

Duodo honorabilis consulis Tane chancelarius complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Marinus Trivixano, ser Andreas Betanio.

f. 25r. 17 December 1437.

Testament of Marnakhaton.

Testamentum domine Marnachaton in Tana. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentisimo trigesimo septimo mensis Decembris die decimo septimo indictione prima in Tana. Divine inspiracionis donum est et provide mentis arbitrium ut ante quam superveniat mortis casus unusquisque sollicitus et vigilans sit ne incautus subcumat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Marnachaton quondam Iohannis de [...]chano moram trahens in Tana, mente et intellectu sana licet corpore infirma rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et curie Tane chapellanum ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post mee obbitum pariter et compleret etc. In quo quidem constituo et meum vello esse fidei commissarium et executorem mee ultime voluntatis Iohannem virum meum dilectum ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipse post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procuret. In primis dimitto subum unum de chamocha blancum ecclesie sancte Marie [...] de Tana pro una chasula facienda seu planeta. Item dimitto presbytero Nicolao chapelano Tane ducatos duos auri ut oret Deum pro anima mea. Item dimitto done Iacome uxori ser Borani Taiapetra subbum unum [...]orum sine panno aliquo. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum pertinentium et spectancium una cum tota fabrica quam fabricavi dimitto⁶⁷⁴ predicto Iohanni viro meo. Preterea etc. Ego Gasparinus [...]xareno testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo honorabilis consulis Tane chapellanus [...] testis in presenti suprascripti rogati[...] alter[...] sit de licencia suprascripti domini consulis [...] cum suprascripto [...] complevi et roboravi. [...] Gasparinus [...]xerino.

f. 26r. 19 January 1438.

Testament of Niccolo, son of the deceased Paraschivo.

In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentisimo trigesimo octavo mensis Ianuarii die decimo nono indictione prima in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil cercius in hoc seculo habeatur

⁶⁷⁴ *Dimitto* Inserted over the line.

quam quod nullus possit mortis evitare periculum recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Nicolaus quondam Paraschivi de Venetiis in contrata sancti Felicis ad presens moram trahens in Tana a parte dominorum Ianuensium, sanus mente et intellectu licet sim corporea infirmitate pregravatus, timens mortis casum [...] feci ad me dominum presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et curie Tane cancellarium quem rogavi ut hoc meum ultimum testamentum scriberet pariter et compleret post [...] esse et daret meis commissariis cum suis clausulis secundum morem comunis nostre. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vello fidei commissarios discretos viros ser Constancium Donato barbitonsorem [...] coppo Nicolox[...] ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procuret. In primis dimitto[...] Ianuensium in qua humabitur corpus meum ducatos duos auri. Item dimitto pro remedio anime mee [...] liberam et francham ab omni vinculo servitutis ac si ab ingeniis parentibus orta esset [...] nso. Item vello quod corpus meum onoretur. Item dimitto pro missis sancti Gregorii ducatum unum. Item dimitto notario pro suo labore in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatum unum auri. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum quod ad chaduchum inordinatum et pro non scriptum potest et poterit michi quomodolibet evenire omni modo, via, iure et forma in quibuscumque mundi partibus existentibus dimitto filio meo et si casu mortuus esset vello quod totum sit Menechine uxoris mee. Preterea etc. Ego frater [Theramo] Solomon testis subscripsi. Ego Vincencius de Matho testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arseni Duodo consulis Tane chapellanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: dominus frater Therem Salomon, ser Vincencius de Matheo de Caffa.

f. 26r. 7 October 1439.

Testament of Marco, son of the deceased Francesco Bonaquesto.

Testamentum ser Marci quondam ser Francisci Bonaquesto de contrata sancte Marine. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentessimo trigessimono die septimo mensis Octobris indictione tertia [...] Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil cercius in hoc seculo habeatur quam quod nullus possit mortis evitare periculum recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Marcus filius quondam ser Francisci Bonaquesto de confinio sancte Marine sanus mente et

intellectu quamque sim corporea infirmitate pregravatus [...] metuens casum et periculum mortis vollui hoc esse meum ultimum et immediatum testamentum manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis Venetiarum notarii et ecclesie sanctorum apostolorum diachoni. In quo quidem constituo et meos ordino esse fidei commissarios et executores huius mee ultime voluntatis providos viros ser Alovixium Demerlines et ser Stefanum Trivixano Asiricho dilectos chognatos meos ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis dimitto pauperibus incarceratis ducatos quinque pro anima auri. Item dimitto pauperibus sancti Lazari pro anima mea ducatos quinque auri. Item dimitto domino plebano et chapitule ecclesie sancte Marine ducatos sex auri ut orent pro anima mea. Item dimitto pro mea decima ducatos decem auri. Item dimitto notario presentis testamenti pro suo labore in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos quatuor auri. Item dimitto sancte Marie de Nazareth ducatos tres auri. Insuper interrogatus a notario predicto de postremis respondi non habuisse unquam uxorem neque filios. Residuum vero omnium⁶⁷⁵ aliorum bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et⁶⁷⁶ futurorum et omne chaduchum inordinatum et quod ad chaduchum inordinatum et pro non scriptum potest et poterit michi quomodolibet pervenire omni modo, iure, via et forma dimitto et ordino dividi in partes duas quarum una partium sit et esse debeat domine Isabele matris mee dilecte uxoris ser Francisci quondam patris mei. Et reliqua medietas sit et esse debeat sororum mearum Thadee et Lazarine equaliter inter eas. Preterea etc. Ego Laurencius Chatapan plebanus sancte Marine testis subscripsi. Ego Egidius quondam Egidii testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, sanctorum apostolorum diachonus, Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi. Testes: venerabilis vir dominus presbyter Laurencius Chatapan ecclesie Sancte Marine plebanus, ser Zilius de Zilio sancte Marine.

f. 26r (incipit 3 cartularium). 1 August 1430.

Testament of Giorgio from Crete.

Testamentum Georgii de Chandida. MoCCCCoXXXo die primo mensis Augusti indictione VIII in Tana. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millessimo quadringentesimo trigesimo mensis Augusti die primo indictione octava in Tana. Cum vox prophetica intonuerit dicens "dispone domui tue quia morieris et non vives", quapropter ego Georgius de Candida filius Dominici ad presens in Tana mente et intellectu sanus licet corporea infirmitate pregravatus rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis

⁶⁷⁵ *Bonorum* - Crossed out.

⁶⁷⁶ In the margins: *pro non scriptum*.

Venetiarum notarium et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Petri Lando pro serenissime Venetiarum ducali dominio honorabilis consulis Tane chapelanum ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret post mei obbitum et daret meis commissariis cum omnibus suis clausulis dictionibus et solempnitatibus opportunis. In quo quidem constituo et esse vollo meum fidelem commissarium ser Antonium Salono [...] ser Iacobi Salono solum ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipse fideliter adimplere procuret[...] patrum[...] Dimitrio ducati decem auri. Item dimitto ducatum unum pro missis sancti Gregorii[...] scole sancti Antonii de Tana pro fabricatione ecclesie ducatum unum auri. Item dimitto domino presbytero Nicolao patrino meo pro missis celebrandis ducat[...] auri. Item dimitto scrib[...] quam [...] Interrogatus insuper a notario de postremis respondi non habere uxorem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum quod ad chaduchum inordinatum et pro non scriptum potest et poterit quomodolibet michi pervenire dimitto per commissarium meum dispensari in illis piis helemosinis in caritate sue cons[...] ser[...] ser[...] Dans preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem ser[...] commissari[...] dictum commissarium meum[...] administrandi, furniendi modo et ordine suprascripto in quo[...] cumque poterunt reperiri exigendi, petendi [...] et omnia alia et singula generaliter faciendi qua quilibet verus et legitimus commissarius facere potest et debet. Et hoc meum testamentum firmum et stabilem stet. Si quis igitur ipsum interrompere seu violare presumpserit iram Dei omnipotentis se moverit incurssurum, et huius mei testamenti carta in sua permaneat firmitate. Signum suprascripti Georgii de Chandida qui hec fieri rogavit. Ego [...] testis subscripsi. Ego [...] testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini [...] honorabilis Tane consulis chapellanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: [...]

f. 26r (incipit 3 cartularium) – 26v. September 1430.

Testament of [...].

In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millessimo quadingentesimo trigessimo mensis Septembris indictione nona in Tana. Cum vox prophetica intonuerit dicens "dispone domui tue quia morieris tu et non vives", quapropter ego [...] in Tana Dei gratia mente, corpore et intellectu sanus[...] mea bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquere[...] presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Petri Lando[...] Venetiis[...] Tane[...] chapelanum ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum [...] post mei obbitum cum omnibus suis clausulis,

addictionibus et solempnitatibus [...] rationes comunis nostri Venetiarum. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios discretos viros ser Benedictum Nigro, ser Iacobum Salono, ser Bo[...] meam ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam adimplere fideliter debunt. In primis dimitto // [...]oesi nutricem meam et sclavam meam francham ab omni vinculo servitutis. Item dimitto Mariam sclavam meam francham cum hoc quod ipsa serviat uxori mee et filio seu filiis meis uno vel pluribus annos quatro et deinde sit francha. Item dimitto sclavam meam puelam tartaram uxori mee. Item Chomanzi sclavum meum masculum quod serviat annos sex uxori et filiis meis uno seu pluribus [...] haberem et postmodum sit franchus benefaciendo. Item dimitto ecclesie sancti Marzi et sancte Marie et sancti Antonii de Tana ducatos decem auri. Item dimitto dispensari per uxorem meam et commissariam meam Antoniam in pauperibus egenis orphanis et virginibus maritandis bixancios dicentos. Item dimitto per sepultura mea illi presbytero qui se reperet ad corpus meum bixancios quinquaginta. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum et quod ad chaduchum inordinatum et pro non scriptum potest et poterit quomodolibet mihi pervenire dimitto uxori mee Anthonie et filiis meis tam natis quam [...] masculis et feminis equaliter inter eos et in casu quo dictus seu dicti filii mei mar[...] decederet decederent ante annos quatuordecim pars decentis seu decedentium perveniat insuper viventem et si omnes decederent ante illam etatem annorum 14 tam masculis quam feminis [...] sit dicte Antonie uxori mee, reliqua medietas sit ecclesie sancti Marci et sancte Marie et sancti Antonii in Tana. [...]ut supra. Testis [...] testis [...] Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Petri Lando pro serenissimo Venetiarum ducale dominio honorabilis consulis Tane chapellanus complevi et roboravi. Testes [...] nobilis de Leonardo armiratus et ser Constancius Donato barbitonsor.

f. 26v. 19 September 1430.

Testament of Simone de Marino.

Testamentum Simonis de Marino de Venetiis. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentessimo trigessimo die decimo nono mensis Septembris indictione nona in Tana. Divine inspiracionis donum est et provide mentis arbitrium ut ante quam superveniat mortis casus unusquisque sit sollicitus sua bona ordinare ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Simon de Marino ad presens existens in Tana, sanus mente et intellectu licet sim corporea infirmitate multum gravatus rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis

Venetiarum notarium et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Petri Lando pro serenissimo Venetiarum ducali dominio honorabilis consulis Tane et tocius imperii Gazarie premat[...] capellanum ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum si contine[...] post mei mortem pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis cum illis modis et solemnitatibus opportunis secundum morem patrie mee salvis semper in omnibus iuribus comunis nostri Venetiis. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vello fidei commissarios ser [...] Lando et ser Iohannem de Marino dilectum fratrem meum ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis habere et recipere debeo pro mea [...] pro balistario in Tana sub domino Petro Lando [...] quatuor in mense ducatos triginta quatuor [...] Item habere debeo a Michali Pelazia ducatos duos auri. Item ab Antonio de Iudecha bixancios [...] Item a ser [...] Pascual butario Spinalis 64 de sansares [...] habere debet butam unam de moronis [...] debeo ser Iohani Zilio ducatos 50 auri et ducatos quinquaginta auri ser Petro Tarabo quos michi concessi[...]cho Tane ad dampnum et prode de quibus [...]manifestum [...] multum pro [...] quod habeant de dampno solum ducatos octo. Item solvare debeo afflictum domui in qua ad presens habito de uno anno ducatos octo quia [...] patronus. Item solvare debeo medietatem afflictum unius magazeni ubi saliti fuerunt. [...] Item dimitto pro missis sancti Gregorii ducatum unum auri. Interrogatus insuper a notario de postremis respondi non habere uxorem. Item vello et dimitto quod omnia mea bona mobilia et immobilia presentia et futura inordinata [...] quas dimisi Venetias in domo ser Iohanis Ziliolo vendantur de tractu eorum solvantur [...] suprascriptis ser Iohanni Ziliolo et ser Petro Tarabo pro sue parte dampni [...] et solutis debitis et legatis residuum quod super habundaverit dimitto fidei commissario meo [Iohanni de Ma]rino quod in caritate anime sue [...]der debeat ad Sanctum Antonium in Viena pro anima mea [...]. Testes [...] Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Petri Lando pro serenissimo Venetiarum ducale dominio honorabilis consulis Tane chapelanus⁶⁷⁷ complevi et roboravi. Testes ser Antonius de Marcuola barbitonsor, ser Gregorius Regno.

f. 27r. 5 November 1430.

Testament of a ballistarius Antonio de Marcuola.

Testamentum Antonii de Marcuola balistarii de Venetiis. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millessimo quadringentesimo trigesimo die quinto mensis Novembris indictione nona in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque

⁶⁷⁷ Unclear words inserted: [...] presenti testamento due testas [...] et unius illorum [...].

prorsus ignoret et nil cercius in hoc seculo abeatur quam quod nullus possit mortis evitare discrimen recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Antonius de Marcuola balistarius ad presens in Tana sanus mente et intellectu licet sim corporea infirmitate gravatus, rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et spectabilis et egregii domini Petri Lando pro serenissimo Venetiarum ducale dominio honorabilis consulis Tane et tocius imperii Gazarie p[...]⁶⁷⁸tis capelanum ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis cum omnibus suis solempnitatibus opportunis reservatis iuribus usitatis comunis Venetiarum. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios discretos viros ser Benedictum Nigro et magistrum Benedictum Trivisano barbitonsorem ad presens existentes in Tana ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis habere debeo pro mea reffusura mensium octo ad rationem ducatos quinque in mense ducatos quadraginta auri pro magistro a balistis sub regimine suprascripti domini Petri Lando consulis in Tana. Item solvare debeo ad afflictum presentis domus in qua ad presens habito et pro uno magazeno quod est superius pro uno anno qui complebat die 18 presentis mensis bixancios centum quadraginta de quibus ser Franciscus Baxilio olim armiratus in Tana recepit pro parte ducatos quatuor auri. Item dimitto notario infrascripto pro suo labore presentibus testibus infrascriptis ducatos tres auri. Item dimitto ecclesie sancti Marzi de Tana pro subventionem fabrizem ducatos quatuor auri. Item dimitto Georgio Regno qui michi servivit in infirmitate mea ducatos tres auri. Insuper interrogatus a notario de postremis respondi non habuisse neque habere uxorem. Item rogo meos commissarios quod vendere debeant omnes res meas et facere denarios et de dictis denariis recuperare duos pueros tartaros etate annorum X pro uno, quorum unum mittere debeant Christoforo Stronzuola calafato Venetiis et alium in manibus ser Simonis barbitonsoris cognati mei. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne caducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum et quod ad caduchum inordinatum et pro non scriptum potest et poterit quomodolibet michi pervenire prius solutis meis debitis et legatis dimitto dari matri mee Venetiis ut etiam puellam meam sclavam tartaram si poterunt eam [...]eri. Preterea etc. Ego... Ego...⁶⁷⁸ Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et spectabilis et egregii domini Petri Lando honorabilis consulis Tane capellanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Andreas Lando, ser Lucas Nigro, ser Georgius Regno, Angelus de Senis.

⁶⁷⁸ No signatures of the witnesses.

f. 27r – f. 27v. 2 November 1430.

Testament of Pietro, son of the deceased Giorgio.

Testamentum quondam Petri quondam Georgii in Tana. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millessimo quadringentesimo trigesimo die secundo Novembris indictione nona in Tana. Divine inspiracionis donum est et provide mentis arbitrium ut ante quam superveniat mortis casus unusquisque sit sua bona sollicitus ordinare ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Petrus quondam Georgii de Stegna de confinio sancti Pauli de Venetiis ad presens in Tana, sanus mente et intellectu et corporea infirmitate gravatus, rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et capelanum egregii et nobilis viri domini Hermolai Pisani videlicet consulis Tane ut hoc meum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret et post mei obbitum daret meis commissariis. In quo vero constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios Nicolaum fratrem meum et Marcum carpentarium compatrem meum ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter debeant adimplere. In primis vollo quod omnes res que sunt in domo fratris [...] mee id est lectum unum fulcitum cum suis permoliis⁶⁷⁹ noum duo ungula de argento, toga una dupla de viride turchina, clamidem unam de scarlatino, biretum unum nigrum // amulure de stachato, chofani duo et paria duo chaligarum et de aliis massariciis minutis a familia vollo quod vendantur per commissarios meos et quod mittatur unus qui vadat Romam pro anima mea et si frater Paris ire volet haberet quicquid aparebit dictis meis commissariis in consientia sua. Et etiam vollo quod capelanus Tane et meus patrinus notarius dicti mei testamenti habeat ducatos quinquā ut oret Deum pro anima mea in presentia testium infrascriptorum. Item etiam vollo quod dentur domino Hermolao Pisani domino meo quos michi concessit ducatos quinque auri. Interrogatus de postremis respondi non habere uxorem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum michi quomodocumque spectancium et venientium dimitto suprascripto Nicolao fratri et commissario meo quod ipse debeat dare ducatum unum pro male ablatis preterea ut in primo. Ego Iohannes de Valle testis subscripsi. Ego Iacobus Tome armiratus testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et egregii et nobilis viri domini Hermolai Pisani vizeconsulis Tane capellanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Iacobus de Tomado armiratus, ser Iohannes de Valle.

⁶⁷⁹ Place completely unclear.

f. 27v – 28r. 11 January 1430 (= 1431)

Testament the nobleman Pietro Lando, former consul of Tana.

Testamentum nobilis viri quondam domini Petri Lando de confinio sancte Trinitatis olim consulis Tane. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentessimo trigesimo die undecimo mensis Ianuarii die indictione nona in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil cercius in hoc seculo habeatur quam quod nullus potest mortis evitare periculum recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Petrus Lando de confinio sancte Trinitatis de Venetiis ad presens consul in Tana gratia Dei omnipotentis mente et intellectu sanus licet sim corporea infirmitate gravatus, rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis capelanum meum et Venetiarum notarium ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis cum illis modis et condicionibus et solempnitatibus opportunis reservatis semper iuribus⁶⁸⁰ rationibus comunis nostri Venetiarum ut est de more patrie nostre. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios dominam Poluciam dilectam uxorem meam precipue[...] commissariam et administratricem omnium bonorum meorum nomine aliorum commissariorum infrascriptorum ser Conradinum Lu et viros nobiles ser Marcum et Franciscum Lando fratres meos et virum nobilem ser Marcum Con[...] fidelem ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. Item dimitto Tine que michi servivit hic in Tane bixancios ducentos ultra illa que sibi dedi. Item vollo quod per uxorem meam commissariam meam mitat unus qui vadat ad sanctum Iacobum in Galizia pro anima mea uti iam voveram et quia multam distribui ac vollo quod mittat unus alius qui sunt duo in totum et dentur eis quitquid apparebit dicte uxori et commissarie mee. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne caducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum et quod posset venire ad caduchum inordinatum pro non scriptum quocumque modo et forma dimitto suprascripte domine Poluzie uxori et commissarie mee in vita sua tamen et post eius mortem dimitto filiis et filiabus meis quos et quas dimitto in regimine fratrum meorum videlicet Marzi et Francisci Lando cui uxori mee recommitto matrem suam sibi ut habeat ipsam in reverende amore mei. Et hic in Tana instituo et esse vollo meos commissarios et executores presentis mei testamenti nobilem virum ser Hermolaum Pisani et Andream Lando fratrem meam ad reddendum Venetiis bonum compatrem meum de dicte administracione commissariis meis. Preterea

⁶⁸⁰ Crossed out: *sal-*.

plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo et confarro predictis commissariis meis post obbitum meum predictam meam commissariam intromitendi, administrandi, furniendi modo et ordine suprascriptis inquirendi, interpelandi, ortandi, placitandi, respondendi, advocandi intradicta et precepta tolendi, legem petendi, sentencias audiendi et eas consequendi, et si opus fuerit in animam meam iurandi, omnia mea bona exigendi ubicumque et apud quoscumque poterunt reperiri cum cartis et sine cartis, per curiam et extra curiam et unus sum meum habere excuciendi [...] dictis mihi dare debentibus et quitquid exinde opus fuerit faciendi sicut egomet facere possem s[...]are et quod quilibet verus et legitimus commissarius facere potest et debet. Et hoc meum ultimum testamentum firmum et stabile. Si quis igitur frangere vel corrumpere presumpserit iram Dei omnipotentis se noverit incurssurum, commissariis [...] auri libr[...] quinque[...] et hec mei testamenti carta in sua permaneat firmitate. Signum suprascripti Petri Lando olim consulis Tane qui hoc fieri rogavit. Ego Andreas Ziemchi testis subscripsi. Ego Baldasare de Marco testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et suprascripti quondam domini Petri Lando pro serenissimo Venetiarum ducali dominio olim honorabilis consulis Tane capellanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Anreas Zanchi, ser Baldasere de Marco, Bartholomeus Rosso, ser Benedictus Nigro.

Added: die suprascripto nobilis vir ser Hermolaus Pisani reffutavit dictam commissariam nollens se de ea impedire presentibus ser Benedicto Nigro, Bartholomeo Rosso et aliis.

MoCCCCoXXXo mensis Ianuarii die 15 indictione nona in Tana, presentibus ser Benedicto Nigro, Bartholomeo Rosso et me notario suprascripto et aliis quam pluribus nobilis vir ser Hermolao Pisani reffutavit suprascriptam commissariam et eius administracionem ipsam dimittendo in manus ser Andree Lando nolens se in aliquo de dicta administracione impedire presentibus testibus suprascriptis.

f. 28r – f. 28v. 3 January 1430 (= 1431)

Testament of the nobleman Francesco Contarini.

Testamentum nobilis viri quondam ser Francisci Contareno de confinio sancti Stefani Confesoris de Venetiis. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo mensis Ianuarii die tercio indictione nona in Tana. Divine inspiracionis donum est et provide mentis arbitrium ut ante quam superveniat mortis casus unusquisque studeat se ordinare ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Franciscus Contareno quondam domini Lodovici de confinio sancti Stefani Confessoris de Venetiis ad presens in Tana, sanus

mente et intellectu licet sim corporea infirmitate pregravatus, timens mortis eventum rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis capelanum Tane spectabilis et egregii viri domini Petri Lando ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post meum mortem pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis cum suis clausulis et solemnitatibus opportuniis reservatis tamen iuribus comunis nostri Venetiarum. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios videlicet hic in Tana prudentem virum ser Benedictum Nigro et executorem huius mee ultime voluntatis et Venetiis viros nobiles ser Zachariam, Petrum, Andream, Iohannem, Laurentium et Nicolaum Contareno fratres meos dilectos ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter debeant adimplere. In primis dimitto ecclesie sancti Marci de Tana, sancte Marie et sancti Antonii ducatos decem auri pro subventionem dicte fabrice seu ecclesie. Item dimitto notario presentis mei testamenti pro suo labore in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos sex auri. Item dimitto domino presbytero plebano sancti Stefani Confessoris de Venetiis ducatos tres auri. Item ut oret Deum pro me. Et presbyteris dicte ecclesie ducatum unum. Inter eos et aliis clericis ducatum unum inter eos. Item dimitto rectam decimam de omnibus bonis meis mobilibus et stabilibus. Item dimitto pro male ablatis ducatos quinquaginta auri. Item dimitto domino fratri Antonio Pelizario ordinis fratrum minorum ducatos quinque auri ut roget Deum pro anima mea. Item dimitto Chata [...] sclave domus ducatos quinque ut oret Deum pro anima mea. Item dimitto Nastasi sclave domus Luzie ducatos tres pro omnia. Item dimitto sclavum meum vocatum Puocho Azento francum et liberum ab omni vinculo servitutis. Item interrogatus a notario de postremis respondi non habere uxorem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum quod ad chaduchum inordinatum et pro non scriptum [...] michi esse iam et eventio omne modo via iure et forma dimitto suprascriptis commissariis et fratribus meis equanimiter inter eos. Preterea etc. Item vollo quod detur panis et loestis Georgio Regno ad solvandum Venetiis meis commissariis ad simos X pro panno. Ego Iachobus Tome almiratus in Tana testis subscripsi. Ego Iachobus Salono testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et capelanus egregii viri nobili domini Hermolai Pisani Tane vizeconsulis complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Iacobus Salono, Iohannes de Valle, Iacobus de Tome, armiratus.

f. 28v. Added 15 July 1443.

Testamentum suprascriptum quondam viri nobilis ser Francisci Contareno prelevatum fuit aprestati pro Chocello de mandato et licentia Serenisimi principis [...]. [...] Constantinopoli dum uno esse die 15 Iulii 1443 indictione sexto ut apparet in [...]ographo in chanzelaria.

f. 28v. 16 January 1430 (=1431)

Refutation of Benedetto Nigro to implement the office of a fideicommissar.

1430 die sexto decimo mensis Ianuarii indictione 9 in Tana. Coram egregio et nobili viro domino Hermolao⁶⁸¹ vizeconsule in Tana, ser Benedictus Nigro constitutus in commissariam administratorem bonorum quondam nobilis viri domini Francisci Contareno ut in presenti testamento patet reffutavit dictam commissariam et administrationem tamen nolens se de aliquo impedire eadem die per prefectum dominum consulem et per eius determinationes ut apparet in libris curie et [...] dicta bona quondam domini Francisci non pereant constituit disactum virum ser Baldasarem Marzi administratorem ipsorum bonorum loco dicti ser Benedicti Nigro cum illa auctoritate que habebat prefectus ser dictus ut apparet per determinationem in libris curie annotatum manibus officialibus curie videlicet me presbytero Nicolao de Varsis capelano Tane, Iohanne Grecho preconone et Borano Taiapetra truzimano et aliis.

f. 28v. 23 January 1430 (=1431)

Testament of Antonio from Cherson.

Testamentum Antonii de Cerso de confinio sancti Severi. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MCCCCXXX mensis Ianuarii die XXIII indictione nona in Tana. Cum vox prophetica intonuerit dicens "dispone domui tue quia morieris tu et non vives", quapropter ego Antonius de Chersso de confinio sancti Severi de Venetiis ad presens in Tana mente et intellectu sanus quamquam corporea infirmitate pregravatus, volui hoc meum esse ultimum testamentum quod scribi iussi manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis Venetiarum notarii et Tane capelani. In quo quidem constituo et meum esse vollo fidei commissarium solum ser Marcum de Modrusia compatrem meum et executorem mee ultime voluntatis. Interrogatus a notario de postremis respondi non habere uxorem. Residuarium omnia bonorum meorum videlicet rerum que remanserunt in signorie Venetiis in domo Federici Scaletarii in contrata sancti Severi pro ducatos quatuor [...] 32. Et primo una toga de morelo suffulta de rubeo, et clamis una de morelo, dupla de morela et gonela 1 de

⁶⁸¹ In the margins: *Pisani*.

viride suffulta, panno albo et capuzium unum blancum et chalige solate de charexea albe ac diploidem unam de panno rubeo et diploidem unam de charexea album et facistergium unum cum cartibus de siricho et ducenam unam scutelarum de Valentia et alique litere aliquorum meorum debitorum que suprascripte res sunt in manibus dicti Federizi ut apparet quadam zedula manu venerabilis viri domini presbyteri Felicis sancti Iohannis Novi et omnium aliorum bonorum michi quorumcumque spectantium omni modo, via, iure et forma dimitto predictum Marcum de Modrusia compatrem et commissarium meum cum hac condicione quod de denariis quos habere debeo a dictis meis debitoribus dimittere debeat terciam partem illorum pro anima mea et quod dicto compatri et commissario meo anima mea sibi sir recommendata. Preterea etc. Ego Iacobus Tome almiratus testis subscripsi. Ego Lucas Nigro testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et egregii viri nobilis domini Hermolai Pisano Tane vizeconsulis capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Iacobus Thome armiratus in Tana, ser Luchas Nigro balistarius.

f. 29r. 4 February 1430 (=1431)

Testament of Marco de Modrusa.

Testamentum Marci de Modrusa. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MCCCCXXX mensis Februarii die 4o indictione nona in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil cercius in hoc seculo habeatur quam quod nullus potest mortis evitare periculum recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Marcus de Modrusa ad presens camalus in Tana sanus mente et intellectu et infirmus corpore, rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis, capelanum Tane, Venetiarum notarium ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum pariter et compleret. In quo constituo et meum esse vollo fidei commissarium ser Charulum Fabro compatrem meum ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipse post mortem meam fideliter debeat adimplere. In primis dimitto omnes res meas et bona que sunt Venetiis uxori mee et filie mee et res que sunt hic in Tana vendantur per commissarium meum et una cum commissaria mea quam habere debeo solvantur solvantur debita mea hic in Tana. Item dimitto omnia illa bona michi dimissa per Antonium de Cerso compatrem meum ut apparet suo ultimo testamento manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis Venetiarum notarii et Tane capelani suprascripto Charulo Fabro compatre meo cum illa condicione sicut ipse Antonius michi dimissit 63 ex illis denariis qui extrahentur ex panis qui sunt in manibus Federici Scaletarii vollo quod dentur qucatos quinque auri presbytero Nicolao patrino meo et de residuo fiat per commissarium meum ut

sibi melius videbitur et apparebit in caritatum anime sue. Preterea etc. Ego Chostantius Donato testis supscripsi. Ego Dominichus Bonichardi testis supscripsi. Ego presbyterus Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et egregii et nobilis viri domini Hermolai Pisani vizeconsulis Tane capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: magister Constanzius Donato barbitonsor, ser Dominicus Bonicardi.

f. 29r. 12 April 1431.

Testament of Giovanni de Giorgio de Segna.

Testamentum Iohannis de Georgio de Segna. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MCCCCXXXI mensis Aprilis die duodecimo indictione nona in Tana. Cum vox prophetica intonuerit dicens "dispone domui tue quia morieris tu et non vives", quapropter ego Iohannes de Georgio de Segna⁶⁸² sanus mente et intellectu licet sim corporea infirmitate pregravatus, timens mortis eventum rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis, Venetiarum notarium, egregii viri nobilis domini Hermolai Pisani vizeconsulis Tane capelanum et patrinum meum ut hoc meum scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis ut moris est. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios ser Georgium Pasqual butarium et fratrem meum Valente ut ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter debeant adimplere. In primis habere debeo a dicto ser Georgio Pascual bixancios quadraginta tres. Item a magistro Francisco butario bixancios decem et none et charatellos 6 a chaviaro a quatuor chantariis pro una. Item a Vinzentio Chatalano butario bixacios viginti tres et afflictum domus. Item a Charulo Fabro bixancios duodecim. Item dare debeo Iohanni de Marino pro una diploide ducatos [...] et dimidium. Item dimitto presbytero Nicolao patrino meo pro anima mea ducatum unum auri et quod corpus meum sepeliatur per commissarium meum secundum meam possibilitatem etc. Et omne aliud residuum quod super habundaverit vollo quod sit fratrum meorum. Preterea etc. Ego Angelus de Senis testis subscripsi. Ego Andreas Lando testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et egregii viri domini⁶⁸³ Hermolai Pisani vizeconsulis Tane capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Andreas Lando, ser Nicolaus Sancham[...], ser Angelus de Senis.

f. 29v. 8 июля 1431 г.

Testament of the Chircassian Sudon, son of the deceased Tokhar.

⁶⁸² In the margins: *ad presens in Tana.*

⁶⁸³ *Petri Lando* - Crossed out.

Testamentum Sudonis quondam Tocharii zerchasii de Tana. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MCCCCXXXI mensis Iulii die octavo indictione nona in Tana. Divine inspiracionis donum est et provide mentis arbitrium ut ante quam superveniat mortis casus unusquisque studeat ordinare ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Sudonius quondam Tocharii zerchasius habitator in Tana mente sanus et corpore languens volui hanc esse meam ultimam voluntatem quam scribi feci per presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et egregii et nobilis viri domini Hermolai Pisani vizeconsulis Tane capelanum. In quo quidem constituo et meam esse vollo fidei commissariam dominam Luchinam uxorem meam solam ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsa fideliter post mortem meam adimplere procuret. Item dimitto ecclesie sancti Marci in Tana bixancios decem. Item dimitto ecclesie sancti Francisci a parte Ianuensium bixancios triginta. Item dimitto doplerie quatuor pro mea sepultura. Interrogatus vero a notario de postremis dixi habere solum uxorem et non filios. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum chaduchorum et inordinatorum quomodocumque michi spectantium et venientium dimitto suprascripte Luchine uxori et commissarie mee et domum meum simul cum teritoria in qua ad presens habito et [...]tra medietator unius pouce que penes domum pro induisse cum domina Chatarina Iustiniano et⁶⁸⁴ cum hac condicione quod affictum medietatis illius pouce cum affictum fabrice que est super dictam poucam videlicet affictum meum [...] dispensetur per uxorem et commissariam meam in illis piis helemosinis ut sibi melius videbitur et placebit. Preterea plenissimam virtutem etc. Ego Iacobus Finetus testis subscripsi. Ego Dominichus Bonichardi testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et egregii et nobilis viri domini Hermolai Pisani honorabilis vizeconsulis Tane capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Iacobus Fineti, Dominicus Bonicardi.

f. 29v. 4 August 1431.

Testament of Vittore Boldi.

Testamentum Victoris Boldi de Tana. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MCCCCXXXI mensis Augusti die quarto indictione nona in Tana. Divine inspiracionis donum est et provide mentis arbitrium ut ante quam superveniat mortis casus unusquisque sua bona sollicitus sit ordinare ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Victor Boldi quondam ser

⁶⁸⁴ Crossed out: *medietator fab-*.

Iohannis civis Venetiarum ad presens habitator in Tana, sanus mente et intellectu et corporea infirmitate pregravatus, rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et egregii viri nobilis domini Hermolai Pisani honorabilis vizeconsulis Tane capelanum ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis cum omnibus suis clausulis et solempnitatibus consuetis secundum morem patrie nostre salvis semper in omnibus iuribus et rationibus comunis nostri Venetiis. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios post mei obbitum prudentes viros ser Nicolaum Dedo et Constantium Donato barbitonsorem ad presens in Tana existentes ut infra ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis dimitto presbytero Nicolao capelano Tane et notario mei testamenti ducatos duos auri pro anima mea. Item dimitto scolle sancte Marie et sancti Antonii de Tana bixancios centum. Item dimitto domino fratri Theremo ducatum unum cum dimidio pro anima mea. Item dimitto dispensari per commissarios meos hic in Tana in pauperibus egenis Christi picolis bixancios triginta. Item dimitto Safar que ad presens mecum habitat pariendo masculum vel feminam et cum nutriendo inter christanos bixantios quinquaginta et omnes suos panos adorso. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum et quod ad chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum potest et poterit quomodolibet michi pervenire omni modo, iure, via et forma dimitto filii vel filie mee nascituro vel nasciture de dicta Sofar que mecum stat et pro suorum vivere et in casu quo dictus filius vel filia decederet in pupulari etate Tane vollo quod per commissarios meos dispensetur dictum residuum in illis piis helemosinis ut ipsis melius videbitur et apparebit. Preterea etc. [...] ser Francisci Contareno. Ego Iorgi Pascuali testis subscripsi. Ego Benedictus Trivizanus testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et egregii et nobilis viri domini Hermolai Pisani honorabilis vizeconsulis Tane capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: magister Benedictus Trivisano, Georgius Pascual.

f. 30r. 17 September 1431.

Testament of Fabiano Desdiegna.

Testamentum Fabiani Desdiegna habitatoris Tane. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MCCCCXXI mensis Septembris die decimo septimo indictione decima in Tana. Divine inspiracionis donum est et provide mentis arbitrium ut ante quam superveniat mortis casus unusquisque sua bona sit sollicitus ordinare ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego

Fabianus Desdiegna quondam Pauli habitator in Tana mente et intellectu sanus quamquam sim corporea infirmitate pregravatus, rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et egregii et viri nobilis domini Hermolai Pisani vizeconsulis Tane capelanum ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum pariter et compleret cum suis clausulis addictis solempnitatibus opportuniis reservatis iuribus comunis nostri Venetiarum et daret meis commissariis ut moris esse. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios ser Angelum de Senis habitatorem in Tana et Stefanum Curazario de Dominico Curazario ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam debeant fideliter adimplere. In primis dimitto quod de denariis quos habere debeo a comune Venetiarum pro meo salario in Tana fiat per commissarios meos unum paramentum ducatos quindecim presbytero falcitum plareta, camisso, stolla et manipulo scole sancte Marie, sancti Antonii et sancti Marci de Tana. Item dimitto notario infrascripto in presentiam testium infrascriptorum ducatos tres tam pro anima mea quam pro suo labore. Item dimitto domino fratri Teremo ducatum unum pro anima mea. Item vollo quod ex omnibus bonis meis solvantur debita mea vendendo sclavum meum et quod Margarita sclava mea sit francha non remanendo hic in Tana scilicet eundo Venetias. Et in casu que debite mee non possent integre solvi quod in caricum commissarii mei Stefani debeat dictam Margaretam sclavam meam conducere fare secum Venetias et ipsam affectare quousque mea debita sint solvata deinde volo quod sit francha. Item abere debeo a ser Nicolao Pesse ducatos quadraginta ut apparet quandam sententiam contra eum lata. Item abere debeo a nostro comuni quia servivi in Tana pro balistario sub regimine domini Marini Pisani consulis Tane ducatos triginta pro mea reffusura, et sub regimine domini Petri Lando consulis Tane et Hermolai Pisani vizeconsulis ducatos quinquaginta sexto. Insuper interrogatus de postremis a notario infrascripto respondi non habere uxorem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et in quomodocumque spectantium et venientium [...] tam chaducorum quam inordinatorum solutis debitis meis legalis vollo quod disponsetur per commissariis meis⁶⁸⁵ ut ipsis melius videbitur et apparebit in caritatem animarum suarum. Preterea etc. Ego Iachobus Tomo armiratus testis subscripsi. Ego Iacobus de Fineti testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et egregii et nobilis viri domini Hermolai Pisani vizeconsulis Tane capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Iacobus Tome armiratus in Tana, ser Iacobus Fineti.

⁶⁸⁵ In the margins: *in illis piis helemosinis*.

Testament of Giorgio de Damiano.

Testamentum Georgii de Damiano sancte Marie Nove de Venetiis. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Ihesu Christi MCCCCXXXI mensis Septembris die nono indictione decima in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil cercius in hoc seculo abeat quam quod nullus possit mortis evitare discrimen recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Georgius de Damiano [...]rarius de contrata sancte Marie Nove de Venetiis ad presens in Tana sanus mente et intellectu licet sim corporea infirmitate gravatus, rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et egregii et nobilis viri domini Hermolai Pisani vizeconsulis Tane capelanum ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis cum suis solemnitatibus opportuniis reservatis in omnibus iuribus comunis nostri Venetiarum. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vello fidei commissarios discretos viros ser Franciscum Nigro et ser Paulum Spinaza socium meum ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis dare debeo dicto ser Francisci Nigro commissario meo bixancios circa trecentos. Item dare debeo ser Theodori Drimali ducatos tres auri et ipse abeat pro [...] unam meam clamidem de musto Valerio et [par] unum chaligarum. Item vello quod ista sclava que est [...] que vocatur Chaimeth [...] est media mea vendantur ut omnes [...] per commissarios meos [...]. Et in casu quo ipsa Chaimeth gravida esset vello quod affictetur pro tot annis quod possint solvi debita mea et deinde sit facta christiana et remaneret francha. Item dimitto presbytero Nicolao patrino meo et notario mei testamenti ducatos quinque auri pro anima mea et pro suo labore in presentia testium infrascriptorum. Item dimitto scole sancte Marie et sancti Antonii de Tana ducatos duos auri cum dimidio et totidem ecclesie sancti Marci de Tana pro subventionem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum que sint in Tana vello quod dispensetur pro anima mea per meos commissarios ut ipsis videbitur et apparebit. Et bona que sunt Venetiis in domo mea una cum commissaria que michi esset hic in Tana mensium duodecim videlicet ducatos octuaginta octo auri sint uxori mee pro sua repromissa et quod roget Deum pro anima mea. Preterea etc. Ego Iachobus Tome armiratus testis subscripsi. Ego Angelus de Senis testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et egregii viri domini Hermolai Pisani vizeconsulis Tane capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Iacobus Tome armiratus Tane, ser Iacobus Fineti, ser Angelus de Senis.

f. 30v. 2 October 1431.

Refutation of Paolo Spinaza to implement the office of a fideicommissar.

1431 die secundo mensis Octobris indictione X in Tana. Ser Paulus Spinaza commissarius nominatus in testamento suprascripti quondam Georgii de Damiano ut plene patet reffutavit dictam commissariam ser Francisco Nigro alteri commissario nolens sic de aliquo impedire de dicta commissaria ut patet manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis Venetiarum notarii presentibus ser Benedicto Nigro et ser Baldasere Marci et aliis.

f. 30v – f. 31r. 19 October 1431.

Testament of Bona, wife of Antonio Nigro.

Testamentum domine Bone uxoris Antonii Nigro de Tana. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MoCCCCoXXXIo die decimonono mensis Octobris indictione Xa in Tana. Divine inspiracionis donum est et provide mentis arbitrium ut ante quam superveniat mortis casus unusquisque sua bona sit sollicitus ordinare ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Bona uxor Antonii Nigro habitatrix in Tana Dei gratia mente et intellectu sana quamquam sim corporea infirmitate pregravata, rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetiarum notarium et capelanum Tane ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum post mei obbitum pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis ordinibus a suetis. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios ser Tomam Cornario et ser Iacobum Fineti habitatores in Tana ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter debeant adimplere. In primis dimitto presbytero Nicolao de Varsis patrino meo pro missis sancti Gregorii celebrandis ducatos duos auri. Item dimitto ser Tome Cornario commissario meo bixancios quinquaginta pro anima mea. Item dimitto ser Iacobo Fineti bixancios quinquaginta pro anima mea. Item dimitto filie Gasparini truzimani Ianuensium bixancios XX et robam unam de bochassino virido. Item dimitto uxori dicti Gasparini robam unam de bochasino blanco quam habeo in domo. Item dimitto Gasparino biretum unum de pano virido cum vulpe pro anima mea. Item dimitto filie Chatarine Iustiniano tr[...]tam unam et lactum unum meliorem et batimanum unum de panizio pro anima mea. Item dimitto Luzie matri de Collostorlo unum borchesium blanum pro anima mea. Item dimitto ecclesie sancti Marci pro territorio ubi humabitur corpus meum bixancios XXII et quod fiat honor corpori meo. Item dimitto scolle sancte Marie et sancti Antonii de Tana teritorium meum quod est in Iudaicha penes murum cum suis pertinentiis. Item dimitto dicto presbytero Nicolao unam velatam novam. Item

dimitto Luzie Iustiniano camisam meam pro anima mea. Item dimitto uxori Iohannis Grecho capsam unam pro anima mea. Insuper interrogata a notario de postremis respondi non habere virum. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum simul cum sclava mea Lucia vollo quod vendatur et quod solvantur suprascripta legata salvo quod de presenti fiat mee sepultura et solvantur misse santi Gregorii. Et quitquid super ut de residuo et sclava polutris legatis superioribus vollo quod fiat una charitas de pane, vino et carnibus pro anima mea et reliquam dispensatur pro anima mea ut meis commissariis melius videbitur et apparebit. Preterea etc. Ego Iacobus Tome armiratus Tane testis subscripsi. Ego Iohannes de Valle testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et Tane capelanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: Iacobus Tome armiratus in Tana, Iohannes de Valle.

f. 31r. 7 October 1432.

Testament of Benedetto Pasello.

Testamentum Benedicti Paxelo mortui in Tana. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo secundo mensis Octobris die septimo indictione XIa in Tana. Divine inspiracionis donum est et provide mentis arbitrium ut ante quam superveniat mortis casus unusquisque sua bona sit sollicitus ordinare ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Benedictus Paxelo habitator Venetiarum in contrata sancti Heustachii ad presens in Tana balistarius sub regimine spectabilis et egregii viri domini Sinerii Quirino consulis Tane, timens mortis casum rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis quondam egregii et nobilis viri domini Petri Lando olim consulis Tane capelanum ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis post mei obbitum cum suis clausulis opportuniis. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios prudentem virum ser Iohannem Sandelli ad presens moram trahens Venetiis in contrata sancti Heustachii et discretos viros ser Iacobum Tome armiratus in Tana et Franciscum Nigro ad presens ibidem ut infra ordinavero darique iussero ipsi pariter adimplere procuret, et quod hic in Tana solvantur debita et legata per me dimissa in Tana. In primis dimitto ecclesie sancte Marie et sancti Antonii de Tana per reparacione eiusdem ducatos duos auri. Item dimitto domino presbytero Marco Maripetri capelano Tane pro missis sancti Gregorii ducatum unum auri. Item dimitto fieri unam caritatem de pane, vino et carnibus pauperibus sancti Lazari de Venetiis ducatorum quatuor. Item dimitto conventui sancte Catarine de Mavirbio ut orent pro anima mea ducatos quatuor. Item vollo quod fiat Venetiis una dispensacio ducatorum tamen manualiter in pauperibus egenis. Item dimitto notario infrascripto domino presbytero Nicolao

de Varsis et patrino meo in presentia testium infrascriptorum pro suo labore ducatos tres auri et ducatum unum auri ut oret pro anima mea. Item dimitto Marie que ad presens mecum est in domo sclave nobilis viri domini Hermolai Pisani ducatum unum auri et meum subbum de pellizia. Item dimitto ser Antonio a Iudecha compatri meo ducatum unum pro anima mea. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum michi quomodocumque spectantium et venientium dimitto Michaeli filio meo nato Tane quem recommitto suprascripto domino Iohanni Sandeli commissario meo Venetiis et decedente dicto Michaeli in pupulari etate tunc vollo quod sit in libertate dicti domini Iohannis Sandeli solli dispensare pro anima mea meum residuum una cum illis rebus que remanserunt in domo sua in illis piis helemosinis prout ipsi melius videbitur et apparebit. Dans. Preterea etc. Ego Iachobus Salono testis subscripsi. Ego Zacharias Chortese testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius et quondam nobilis viri domini Petri Lando olim consulis Tane cappellanus complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Iacobus Salono, ser Zacharias Cortese, ser Georgius Regno in Tana.

f. 31v. 4 February 1434. Rialto

Testament of Antonio Pachagnella.

Testamentum quondam ser Antonii Pachagnela de confinio sanctorum apostolorum. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo quarto mensis Februarii die quarto indictione XIIa, Rivoalti. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil cercius in hoc seculo abeat quam quod nullus possit mortis evitare periculum recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Antonius filius quondam ser Petri Pachagnela de confinio sanctorum apostolorum Dei gratia sanus mente et intellectu quamvis sim corporea infirmitate pregravatus, volui hoc meum esse ultimum testamentum anotatum manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis Venetiarum notarii de mea voluntate. In quo quidem constituo et meam esse vollo fidei commissariam dominam Magdaluziam uxorem ser Petri Pachagnela dilectam matrem meam ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsa post mortem meam diligenter adimplere procurent⁶⁸⁶. Item dimitto fabrizie ecclesie sanctorum apostolorum ducatos decem auri. Residuum vero omnium aliorum bonorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum et quod ad chaduchum inordinatum et pro non scriptum potest et poterit

⁶⁸⁶ Must be: *procuret*.

quomodolibet michi pervenire omni modo, via, iure et forma dimitto suprascripte dilecte domine Magdaluzie matre et commissarie mee in cuius⁶⁸⁷ manibus recomendo animam meam. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo et confiero predictae commissarie mee post obbitum meum [...] meam commissariam intromitendi, administrandi, et furniendi modo et ordine quos inquirendi, interpellandi, [...]endi, placitandi, respondendi, advocandi introdicta et precepta tollendi, legem petendi, sentencias audiendi, appellationes quas proseguendi. Et si opus fuerit in animam meam iurandi et omnia mea bona exigendi ubicumque et apud quoscumque poterunt reperiri cum cartis et sine cartis, per curiam et extra curiam et universum meum havere excu... ..etis ... dicte mee commissarie dare debentibus et quitquid exinde opus fuerit faciendi sicut condicione ... si personaliter inter essem seu si quis ... et legitimus commissarius facere potest et debet. Et hoc vollo ultimum testamentum firmum et stabilem iudico esse ... Si quis igitur ipsum interrompere seu violare vel erumpere presumpserit iram Dei omnipotentis se noscat incurssurum, et huius mei testamenti carta in sua remaneat firmitate. Signum domini Antonii qui hec fieri rogavit. Ego presbyter ... testis subscripsi. Ego Iohannes de Sandelis testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi. Testes: ...

Chart. 5. f. 44r (not. n/n). 7 May 1454.

Testament of Lorenzo de Giuliano a Mollinelis.

Testamentum quondam Laurentii de Iuliano a Mollinelis sancte Sophie. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentisimo quiquagesimo quarto mensis Maii die septimo indictione secunda. [...] Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil certius in hoc seculo habeatur quam quod nullus possit mortis evitare periculum recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Laurentius de Iuliano a Mollinelliis de confinio sancte Sophie sanus mente et intellectu sed infirmus corpore accerfieri feci ad me presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis sanctorum apostolorum et Venetiarum notarium, cui porexi quandam pollitiam bombicinam aliena manu scriptam et vulgari sermone quam cum michi pelli. Idem notarius de verbo ad verbum secrete legeret et interrogaret si hec erat mea voluntas ut in dicta pollitia continebatur; respondi sic. Item interrogatus de aliquibus interrogandis et precipue de dimittendi hospitalibus sancte Marie de Nazareth et pietatis respondi non velle aliquid dimittere. Item si velem aliquid addere vel

⁶⁸⁷ Crossed out: *animam*.

minuere respondi non. Item interrogatus de filiis seu filliabus respondi non habere. Et quod hec erat mea ultima voluntas cuius quidem cedula bombicine per omnia sequitur et est talis: 1454 ad 7 Mazo in Venexia. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Io Lorenzo de Zuliano dai Mollinelli de la contrada de sancta Sophia per la Dio gratia san de la mente et intellecto avegna che infermo del corpo ordino questo mio testamento nel qual voio sia mie fedei commessarii Gratiosa mia dilecta dona et miser padre Thomio Piovam de sancta Sophia. In prima voio et ordeno che el mio corpo sia sepolto a Madona sancta Maria de la mina et chel sia dato a chadaveri dei fradelli mie sesporera et vigorera a levar el corpo mio grosseto uno per chadaum per anima mia. Item lasso ai poveri de miser San Lazaro duchati cinque per anima mia. Item lasso per cellebratio de le messe de sancto Gregorio et de la Madonna duchati tre oro lequal sia cellebradi per el ditto miser Lo Piovam mio commessario per anima mia. Item lasso al capitollo de sancta Sophia per mia sepultura duchati quatro oro per anima mia. Item lasso a Isabett so fiolla de san Grandi Strazaruol duchati dedexe oro pro anima mia. Item lasso per far el corio in la glexia de sancta Sophia duchati vinticinque oro per anima mia. El residio de tuti i mie boni mobelli et stabelli presenti et futuri caduchi et desordenadi et che per chadaum muodo me podesse aspetar et pervegnire lasso a la dicta dona Gratiosa mia dilecta dona a laqual recomendo l'anema mia. Item lasso in discriptione de la ditta mia dona a pagar el mio decimo chomo a la sua constriencia parera. Item lasso al noder che pregera questo mio testamento duchato d'oro per sua fadiga. Et sic est finis predictae cedulle. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo et confiero predictis commissariis meis hanc meam commissariam administrandi, furniendi et pertractandi dictam meam commissariam post obbitum meum et prout administrare oportuerit petendi, exigendi, reccipiendi et reccuperandi omnia bona mea a quibuscumque michi dare debentibus et tolentibus rationibus et de causis quibuscumque et penes quoscumque poterunt quodlibet reperiri cum cartis et sine cartis, per curiam et extra curiam et omne alio quocumque modo et in quocumque iuditio tam ecclesiastico quam seculari comparendi, placitandi, inquirendi, petendi, advocandi, respondendi, advocatos et precepta tollendi, legem petendi, sentencias audiendi et eas executioni tam realiter quam personaliter mandari fatiendi et de receptis finem et remissionem et securitatem plenariam faciendi, appellandi et appellationes causas proseguendi, in animam meam iurandi et omnia alia et singula generaliter faciendi, exercendi, operandi et complendi que quilibet verus et legitimus commissarius facere potest et debet statuens firmum et stabile omne id totum et quicquid per ipsos commissarios meos factum fuerit et complectum. Et hoc vollo et ordino, iudeo et iussero meum esse ultimum testamentum. Si quis igitur ipsum infringere presumpseret iram Dei omnipotentis se moverit

incurssurum, et hec mei testamenti carta in sua permaneat firmitate. Signum suprascripti quondam Laurentii de Iuliano a Mollinelis sancte Sophie qui hec fieri rogavit. Ego Petrus quondam Iohannis barbitonsor testis subscripsi. Ego Iohannes quondam Iacobi Filatoro testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis, sanctorum apostolorum et Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Petrus quondam Iohannis barbitonsor sancte Sophie, ser Iohannes quondam Iacobi Filatoro.

6 chart. f. 44r (not. n/n) – f. 44v. 15 May 1454.

Testament of Bartolomeo Desserigo.

Testamentum quondam ser Bartholomei Desserigo sanctorum apostolorum. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentisimo quinquagesimo quarto die quintodecimo mensis Madii indictione secunda. [...] Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil cercius in hoc seculo habeatur quam quod nullus possit mortis evitare periculum recte igitur unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Bartholomeus Desserigo de confinio sanctorum apostolorum Dei gratia mente sanus et intellectu sed corpore infirmus rogavi presbyterum Nicolaum de Varsis sanctorum apostolorum et Venetiarum notarium ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum prexente uxore mea que presens stetit de voluntate mea pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis post mortem meam cum suis solemnitatibus opportunis secundum morem patrie nostre. In quo constituo et meos esse vello fidei commissarios et executores huius mee ultime voluntatis dominam Margaritam uxorem meam dilectam, providum virum ser Paulum Falier generum meum et filium meum Federicum dummodo ipse Federicus filius meus hoberiens sit et oret matri sue nel disciependo ab eius voluntate et stabile faceret quod esset contra mentem matris sue tunc vello quod sit privatus beniffitio commissarie. In primis dimitto et ordino quod uxor mea Margarita percipere et habere debeat dotem suam que dos fiat in totum libras viginti quinque grossorum ad aurum videlicet duchatos ducentos quinquaginta. Et ultra hoc vello quod habeat de bonis meis duchatos quinquaginta qui sunt in totum duchati trecenti auri. Item dimitto Lucretie filie mee adoptive per suum maritare duchatos viginti quinque auri et lectum unum fulcitum cum duobus chappizalibus duobus cussinibus, cultra et par unum lintheaminum. Item dimitto monasterio sancte Marie de Nazareth duchatos quinque auri. Item vello et ordino quod quando Martinus sclavus meus compleverit tempus quo michi servire debet tunc vello quod permaneat in libertate sua et quod habere

debeat duchatos sex auri et omes⁶⁸⁸ suos pannos adesso de lana et lino. Item dimitto pro missis sancti Gregorii et sancte Marie duchatos tres auri celebrandis per presbyteros sanctorum apostolorum. Item dimitto notario presentis mei testamenti pro suo labore presentibus testibus infrascriptis duchatos duos auri. Residuum vero omnium aliorum bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum et quod ad chaducum inordinatum et pro non scriptum potest et poterit michi quomodolibet pervenire omni modo, via, iure et forma dimitto uxori mee Margarite et filio meo Federico equaliter hac conductione vero quod idem filius meus bene se regat et hoberiens sit preceptis matris sue. Et si aliter faceret quod esset contra preceptum et mentem matris sue quod sit privatus omnibus bonis meis et semper sit in libertate matris sue facere quicquid sibi videbitur et apparebit dummodo bene se regat et vitam suam ducat honestam. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo et confesso suprascriptis meis commissariis hanc meam commissariam administrandi, furniendi et pertractandi post obbitum prout ministrare oportuerit petendi, exigendi, reccipiendi et recuperandi omnia et singula mea bona a quibuscumque michi et huic mei commissarie dare debentibus et tenentibus rationibus et de causis quibuscumque et penes quoscumque poterunt quamlibet reperiri cum cartis et sine cartis, per curiam et extra curiam et omni quocumque alio modo et in quocumque iuditio tam ecclesiastico quam seculari comparendi, placitandi, inquirendi, petendi, advocandi, respondendi, advocatos et precepta tollendi, legem petendi, sententias audiendi et eas esecutioni tam realiter quam personaliter mandari fatiendi, appellandi et apellationes causas prosequendi, in animam meam iurandi et omnia alia et singula generaliter fatiendi, opperandi et exercendi que quilibet verus et legitimus commissarius facere potest et debet prout egomet facere possem si essem in umanis statuens firmum et stabile omne id totum et quicquid per ipsos commissarios meos factum fuerit et complectum. Et hoc vollo et iudico meum esse ultimum testamentum meamque ultimam voluntatem. Si quis igitur ipsum interrompere seu violare persumpserit iram Dei omnipotentis se moverit incurssurum, et hec mei testamenti carta in sua permaneat firmitate. Signum predicti quondam Bartholomei Deserigo sanctorum apostolorum qui hec fieri rogavit. Ego Bartholomeus quondam Antonii testis subscripsi. Ego Ambrosius Bono testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis sanctorum apostolorum et Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Ambrosius

⁶⁸⁸ Надо: *omnes*.

Bono aromatarius sanctorum apostolorum⁶⁸⁹, ser Bartholomeus quondam Antonii a Credentiis.

f. 44v – f. 45r. 4 January 1436 (= 1437)

Testament of Bartolomeo Rosso (the word “quondam” is deceiving; he was still active in 1438).

Testamentum quondam ser Bartholomei Rosso de contrata sancte Iustine. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentisimo trigesimo sexto die quarto mensis Ianuarii in Tana. Cum vox prophetica intonuerit dicens dispone domui tue quia morieris tu et non vives, id circo ego Bartholomeus Rosso quondam ser Francesci cum sim sanus corpore, mente et intellectu porexi quamdam pollitiam bombicinam manu mea scriptam presbytero Nicolao de Varsis capelano Tane vulgari sermone quod volui hanc esse meam ultimam voluntatem presentibus testibus videlicet ser Iohannem de Nicuola armirato et Iacobo Boniffatio cuis quidem cedula tenor talis est. + Ihesus. MCCCCoXXXVI in la Tana ad 2 Zener. In nomine Christi. Io Bortolamio Rosso fio de ser Francesco de la contrata de santa Ustina al prexente san del corpo e de la mente per ogni bona chaxon e respeto perche ognino e mortal. E perche el mio non remagna de sordena volglio questa sia mia ultima volunta fazando dio altro de mi asso viazo de chaxal otorazi. Prima lasso mie fedel commessarii in Venexia mia madre e mio fradello ser Alovixe Rosso igual tuti do faza e meta sim ogni mia volunta. E prima laso per mio diexemo ducati 100. Item laso al monestre de la Pieta ducati 50 per sovenzione de quei puti. Item laso a mio fio Zuane natural che al prexente e qui in la Tana ducati 100 e mezo el terem X e qui in la Tana compri de compagnia con ser Baldissera de Marco che rente Rigo Stangelim. Item laso ai fioli quondam ser Baldissera de Marco ducati 100 tra l'ordo. Item laso Zuane mio schiavo francho e ducati 100 i sia dadi e ogni cavo de massaria e letto forindo e tute le cosse el se truova sia soe zoe per so vestir. Item laso Marina rossa francha e libera e ducati 100 per suo maridar e tute lo veste et cosse io fatto per so uxo. Item laso Ana roxa francha in chavo de anni 3 la serva mia madre ed io non el volglia mia madre fosse morta volglio sia libera franca e dabia ducati 50 per suo maridar o bixogno non sse posando maridar e ogni cavo de massaria volglio abia Marina e Ana. Veramento ogni mio residio che in ogni luogo se trovera e pora aspetarme de tuo mie boni mobeli e stabelli veglio se faza 2 parte, una a mia madre, l'altra a mio fradelo con questo che la parte tochera a mia madre sia mesa a la chamera dimprestedi e

⁶⁸⁹ The words *sanctorum apostolorum* are placed in such a way that they can refer to both witnesses.

abia el rendedo over in altro luogo a lor commessarii parese seguri. E da por la morte de mia madre vegna in mio fradelo ser Alovixe Rosso perche non voglio la ipossa ordenar ne lasar cha mio fradelo chome son zerto la fara salvo cha ducati 50 pro l'anema soa. Item laso per mal tolesto sia da per dio ducati 60 per anema mia a Luogi Bexognoxi. Item volglio che qui insto luogo tute mie cosse sia governa per el mio fante Zuane con conseio de miser lo consolo quel loi conferera. E al ditto mio fante oda contadi ducati 400 d'oro con tute le marchandatie e in sta mia caxa che son mie proprie. Item laso a miser pre⁶⁹⁰ Nicolo per mese de san Griguore e per levar sto testamento ducati duxe d'oro. Et est finis predictae cedulle. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo et confiero prenominationis commissariis meis hanc meam commissariam administrandi, furniendi et pertractandi post obbitum meum prout administrare oportuerit petendi, exigendi, reccipiendi et reccuperandi omnia et singula mea bona ab omnibus et singulis mihi et huic mee commissarie dare debentibus et tenentibus rationibus et de causis quibuscumque et penes quoscumque poterunt quodlibet reperiri cum cartis et sine cartis, per curiam et extra curiam et omni et quocumque alio modo neccessario et opportuno et in quocumque iudicio comparendi, placitandi, inquirendi, petendi, advocandi, respondendi, advocatos et precepta tollendi, legem petendi, sentencias audiendi et eas executionem tam realiter quam personaliter mandari fatiendi, appellandi et appellationes causas proseguendi, in animam meam iurandi et omnia alia et singula generaliter faciendi, opperandi et exercendi, que quilibet verus et legitimus commissarius facere potest et debet et prout ego viverem et personaliter interessem statuens firmum et stabile omne id totum et quicquid per ipsos commissarios meos factum fuerit et complectum. Et hoc vollo et iudico meum esse ultimum testamentum. Si quis igitur ipsum interrompere seu violare presumpserit iram Dei omnipotentis se noscat incurssurum, et hec mei testamenti carta in sua permaneat firmitate. Signum predicti quondam quondam Bartholomei Rosso de contrata sancte Iustine qui hec fieri rogavit.

f. 45r. 14 October 1454.

Testament of Mattheo Rosso.

Testamentum Mathei Rosso de Florentia sancti Cantiani. In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quarto die quartodecimo mensis Octobris indictione tertia [...]. Divine inspiracionis donum est et provide mentis arbitrium ut ante quam superveniat mortis casus unusquisque sua bona

⁶⁹⁰ = *padre*.

solicitus sit ordinare ne incautus subcumbat et sic sua bona inordinata et indisposita derelinquat. Quapropter ego Matheus Rosso de Florentia ad presens in contrata sancti Cantiani de Venetiis, infirmus corpore, mente et intellectu sanus, timidus propter gravissimam infirmitatem quam patior vollo hoc meum esse meum ultimum testamentum manu presbyteri Nicolai de Varsis sanctorum apostolorum et Venetiarum notarii. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vollo fidei commissarios et executores huius mee ultime voluntatis venerabilem virum dominum presbyterum Iacobum Belli plebanum sancti Canciani et Annam servitricem meam ut inferius ordinave[ro] darique iussero ipsi mei commissarii post mortem meam fideliter adimplere procurent. In primis dimitto domino presbytero Iacobo Belli plebano sancti Canciani commissario meo duchatos duos auri pro anima mea ut oret Deum pro me in suis missis. Item dimitto Sperto Spineli gonam unam fulcitam pelibus. Interrogatus a notario de postremis respondi non habere uxorem neque⁶⁹¹ filios. Residuum vero omnium aliorum bonorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum dimitto Anne servitrici mee et commissarie mee que ad presens mecum moratur et michi usque modo servivit. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo et conffero predictis meis commissariis hanc meam commissariam administrandi et furniendi prout opportuerit ministrare petendi, exigendi, reccuperandi bona mea ubicumque et penes quoscum[que] ex ea vel ex eis poterunt reperiri cum cartis et sine, per curiam et extra et quocumque omni alio modo neccessario et opportuno et in quocumque iudicio comparendi, placitandi, inquirendi, petendi, advocandi, respondendi, legem petendi, sentencias audiendi, in animam meam iurandi et omnia alia et singula generaliter faciendi, exercendi et opperandi que quilibet verus et legitimus commissarius facere potest et debet et sicut ego vivens facere possem et personaliter interessem statuens firmum et stabile quicquid per meos commissarios factum fuerit et complectum. Et hoc vollo et iudico meum esse ultimum testamentum. Si quis igitur ipsum infringere presumpserit iram Dei omnipotentis se moverit incurssorum, et hec mei testamenti carta in sua permaneat firmitate. Signum suprascripti Mathei Rosso de Florentia qui hec fieri rogavit. Ego Lodovichus quondam ser Francisci Filatoro testis subscripsi. Ego Dominicus quondam Pauli Filatoro testis subscripsi. Ego presbyter Nicolaus de Varsis sanctorum apostolorum et Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi. Testes: ser Alovixius quondam ser Francisci Filatoro sancti Canciani, ser Dominicus quondam Pauli Filatoro sancti Canciani.

Separate sheet. 9 September 1438.

⁶⁹¹ Crossed out: *fiil*-.

Testament of Vittore a Valle.

MoCCCCoXXXVIIIo mensis Septembris die 9a indictionis 1a in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum etc. Quapropter ego Victor a Valle quondam Nicolai de Venetiis de confinio Sancti Chassiani ad presens in Tana, timens etc. rogavi presbiterum Nicolaum de Varsis Venetum notarium et spectabilis et egregii viri domini Arsenii Duodo consulis Tane cancellarium quam [...] meum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret et daret meis commissariis etc. In quo quidem constituo et meos esse vello fideicommissarios et executores huius mee ultime voluntatis providos viros ser Iohanem Malti barbanum meum ad presens in Tana existens et Matheam Rizo [fa]mulum meum quod ad presens moretur Venetiis in contrata sancti Chassiani ut inferius ordinavero darique iussero ipsi post mortem meam fideliter [...] habere procurent. Item in primis dimitto presbitero domino Nicolao de Varsis chapelano Tane pro anima mea ducatum unum auri. Item vello quod dispensentur Venetiis in piis helemosinis per commissarios meos duchati octo auri in predicta contrata sancti Chassiani. Item dimitto sorori Pollone sorori mee que in monasterio⁶⁹² Corporis Christi [...]dio offer[...] domine [...]. Item dimitto ser Iohani a Valle barbano meo et meo commissario anchonem meam circa tribus figures deaureta. Item interrogatus a notario suprascripto de postremis, respondi non habere uxorem. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum etc. prius solutis debitis et legat[is] per me factis dimitto fratri meo Georgio a Valle in cuius manibus recomendo animam meam. Testes: providus vir ser Bartholomeus Rosso, magister Constancius Donato.

On the *verso*: Testamentum ser Victoris a Valle quondam ser Nicolai.

⁶⁹² Crossed out: *sancti*.

Notarili Testamenti, 917.

1. 22 July 1432, Tana.

Testament of Magdalena, wife of Giovanni from Ferrara.

In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo secundo mensis Iunii die vigesimo secundo indictione decima [...] Cum vita et mors sit in manu Dei [...] illud [...] ad inferos et reducis nec manum tue potentie quisque [...] effugere id circo domum Dei est et provide mentis prelucens arbitrium ut unusquisque omne quam preveniat mortis iudicium que taliter ab ipso precaveat ne sua bona inordinata et indisposita pariter derelinquat. Nam melius est metu mortis vivere quam spe vivendi subitanea prevenire. Qua propter ego Magdalena uxor Iohannis de Ferara de confinio sancti [...] valida corporis egritudine pregravata sanum tamen per divinam gratiam habens sensum integrumque consilium mentis in archano considerans et revolvens de die mortis mee cupiens quod premissum est evitare discrimen a me vocari feci presbiterum Benedictum de Smeritis de Iudecha Venetum notarium ipsumque vocari qui post mei obitum meum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret secundum et prout duco inferius ordinandum. In primis namque recomendans animam meam altissimo Creatori constituo ordino et esse volo meum solum fidei commissarium Iohannem de Ferara peramabilem virum meum ut secundum quod hic ordinavero darique iussero sic ipse post mei obitum executioni mandet. Et primo dimitto domino presbitero Matio, honorabili presbitero ecclesie sancti Gervasii ducatos duos auri ut ipse celebrare debeat missas sancte Marie pro anima mea. Item dimitto sacristie dicte ecclesie sancti Gervasii unam de meis tobaliis et unum facistergium pro anima mea. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum caducorum et pro non scriptorum michi quocumque modo, via et forma spectantium et pertinentium dimitto suprascripto ser Iohanni commissario et dilecto viro meo, cui meos filios ac animam meam recomitto. Et post [...] obitum totum dictum meum residuum volo qui devenire debeat in Ysabetham et Marinam filios meos equaliter inter eos dividendum. Et si unus obiret ante etatem legiptimam tunc per decedentem devenire debeat insuper viventes. Et si omnes dictos filios meos contingeret mori ante etatem legiptimam quod avertatas tunc volo et ordino quod dictum meum residuum per dictum ser Iohannem solum commissarium et virum meum non possit aliter ordinari nec de ipso disponi que id totum dimittere sine ordinare ad pias causas distribuendum pro anima mea atque sua. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo, conffero penitus et concedo dicto Iohanni solo commissarium modo commissariam meam intromittendi, administrandi et furniendi et omnia executioni mandari prout duco superius ordinandum. Et propria petendi,

exigendi et reccuperandi omne id totum quotquod michi et seu commissarie mee spectat et pertinet rationibus et de causis quibuscumque. Et si opus fuerit in quocumque iudicio comparendi, placitandi, agendi, rendendi et defendendi, advocandi et advocatos tollendi, terminos petendi et obtinendi, legem petendi, intradicta et precepta terminaciones et sententias quaslibet fieri et exsecutioni mandari tam realiter quam personaliter fatiendi, appellandi et appellationes prosequendi expensas petendi et recipiendi nec non et in animam meam iurandi cartas securitatis et omnia [...] fatiendi quelibet verus et legiptimus commissarius facere potest et debet. Et statuens firmum haberi atque ratum quicquid per dictum meum commissarium gestum fuerit atque factum. Hoc ordino et esse volo meum ultimum testamentum meamque ultimam voluntatem, quod et quam prevalere iubeo atque mando ceteris testamentis per me per tempora retracta factis. Si quis igitur contra hanc mei testamenti cartam ire temptaverit iram omnipotentis Dei se noverit incurssurum, et nichilominus hec mei testamenti carta in sua permaneat firmitate.

Antonius Nicolai, peregrinus sancti Iusti

Ego presbiter Benedictus de Smeritis de Iudecha Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi.

27 December 1433, Tana.

Testament of the ballistarius Leonardo Donato.

In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo tertio mensis Decembris die decimo septimo indictione[...] prima in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil cercius habeatur quam quod mortis non posset[...] evitare discrimen[...] unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus occumbat et sua bona inordinata derelinquat. Quapropter ego Leonardus Donato, filius ser Ant[...] balistarius salariarius Tane valida corporis e gravitudine pregravatus sanum tamen per divinam gratiam habens sensum intergumque consilium mentis in archano consciderans et revolvens de die mortis mee cupiens quod premissum est evitare discrimen a me vocari feci presbiterum Benedictum de Smeritis Venetiarum notarius ac [...] spectabilis et generosi viri domini Iusti Venerio honorabili consulis Tane ipsumque rogavi ut hoc post mei obitum meum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret pro prout duco inferius ordinandum. In primis namque recommendans animam meam altissimo Creatori constituo, ordino et esse volo meos fidei commissarios ser Daniele Civrano et ser Iohannem Quirino balistarios salariatos Tane [...] secundum quod hic inferius ordinavero darique iussero sic ipsi

post mei obitum exsecutionem mandent. Et primo vollo quod celebrentur missas sex sancti [...] pro anima mea pro quibus vollo dari ducatum unum auri. Item volo qui dentur ducatos quatuor auri suprascripto spectabli viri domino Iusto Venerio consuli Tane [...] ad ipso [...] atque [...] Item volo et ordino quod dentur omnes illi denarii Nicolao carpentario[...] Tane quos tenere [...]recepti. Item dimitto suprascripto presbitero Benedicto de Smeritis [...] huius mei testamenti in presentia testium infrascriptorum auri ducatos duos pro suo labore ut oret Deum pro anima mea[...] de residue omnium bonorum meorum in quocumque modo, via et forma spectaturam pertinentium quo habeo hic in Tana volo qui fiat per suprascriptos meos commissarios [...] et mittan[...] Venetie et dentur designari [...] suprascripto ser Antonio Donato [...] et omnia alia mea bona mobilia et immobilia, presentia et futura caduca [...] cum[...] Agnexina uxor mea et filie mee sint [...] recommisce. Cui etiam tamen [...] matrem meam[...] Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo, conffero penitus et concedo suprascriptis meis commissariis commissionem meam intromittendi, administrandi et fulciendi et omnia exsecutioni mandari prout duca supra ordinandum. Et propria petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi omne id totum quotquod michi et seu commissiam mee spectat et pertinet conibus de [...] quibuscumque. Et si opus fuerit in quocumque iudicio comparendi, placitandi, agendi et defendendi, advocandi et advocatos tollendi, terminos petendi et obtinendi, legem petendi, interdicta et precepta terminaciones sententias [...] quasque facere exsecutioni mandari tam realiter quam personaliter fatiendi, appellandi et appellationes prosequendi

2-3.

exp[...] petendi et recipere nec non et in animam meam iurandi cartas securitatis et omnia alia fatiendi que libet verus et legiptimus commissarius facere potest et debet. Et statuens firmum habere atque ratum quicquid per dominos meos commissarios gestum fuerit atque factum. Hoc ordino et esse volo meum ultimum testamentum meamque ultimam voluntatem, quod et quam prevalere iubeo atque mando[...] testamentis per me[...] per tempora preterita retracta[...] facies atque vocatus. Si quis igitur hec etc.

Testes Iohannes quondam Nicolai, Galezius Dragano balistarius

Ego presbiter Benedictus de Smeritis, Venetiarum notarius, cappellanus spectabilis et egregii viri domini Iusti Venerio pro serenissimo ducato [...] consulis Tane, complevi et roboravi.

14 October 1434, Tana.

Testament of Giorgio Faber, son of the deceased Giuliano.

In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Ihesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo quarto mensis Octobri die quartodecimo indictione XIII, Tane. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret et nil cercius in hoc seculo habeatur quam quod mortis non possumus evitare discrimen idcirco unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus occumbat et sua bona inordinata derelinquat. Quapropter ego Gregorius Faber quondam Iuliani de confinio sancti Ienumani de Venetiis ad presens balistarius salariatus Tane infirmus corpore sanam tamen habens mentem integrumque consilium gratia altissimi Creatoris volens omnium bonorum meorum dispositionem plenariam ordinare ne spiritu per me Deo reddito lis oriatum ulla ex eis, ad me vocari feci presbiterum Benedictum de Smeritis, capellandum spectabilis et egregii viri domini Iusti Venerio, honorabilis consulis Tane ipsumque rogavi quod post mei obitum meum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret secundum et prout duco inferius ordinandum. In primis namque recommendans animam meam altissimo Creatori constituo, ordino et esse vello meos fidei commissarios ser Iacobum quondam Bernardi, butarius, et Christoforum de Mediolano ambos balistarios salariatos Tane ut secundum quod habere ordinavero darique iussero sic ipsi post mei obitum executioni mandent. Et primo volo et ordino quod celebrentur misse sancti Gregorii et sancte Marie pro anima mea pro quibus videlicet pro illis sancti Gregorii dimitto ducatum unum pro illis missis sancte Marie dimitto ducatos duos. De residuo vero omnium meorum bonorum in quocumque modo, via et forma spectantium et pertinentium que bona hic habeo sive habere visus fuero in Tana volo qui per suprascriptos meos commissarios consitatur[...] inventarium de in vendantur illa que vendi poterunt ad publicum incantum quorum tractus cum reliquo quod vendi non potest portetur Venetiis et detruere ac designari debeat Iohanni fratri meo et Agnexine uxori mee quos Venetiis instituo et esse volo meos fidei commissarios, per quos volo et ordino quod soluta domina Agnexina de sua repromissa de residuo omnium meorum bonorum mobilium et immobilium in quocumque modo, via et forma spectantium et pertinentium caducum inordinatorum et pro non scriptorum fiant tres equales portiones, una quarum per ipsos meos commissarios distribuatur ad pias causas pauperibus Ihesu Christi pro anima mea secunda pars sit et esse debeat suprascripti Iohannis fratri et commissarii mei. Reliqua autem sit suprascripte Agnexine uxoris mee et commissarie. Quibus [...] meam [...] recomendo. Item dimitto suprascripto presbitero Benedicto de Smeritis notario huius mei testamenti ducatum unum pro suo labore. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo, confarro penitus et

concedo suprascriptis meis commissariis commissionem meam intromittendi, administrandi et fulciendi et omnia executioni mandari prout duca superius ordinandum. Et propria petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi omne id totum quotquod michi et seu commissiam mee spectat et pertinet rationibus et de causis quibuscumque. Et si opus fuerit in quocumque iuditio sive curia comparendi, placitandi, agendi et [...]ndi et defendendi, advocandi et advocatos tollendi, terminos petendi et obtinendi, legem petendi, interdicta et precepta et de terminationes et sententias quaslibet fieri executioni mandari tam realiter quam personaliter fatiendi, appellandi et appellationes proseguendi ex presens petendi et recipiendi nec non et in animam meam iurandi cartas securitatis et omnia [...] fatiendi que quilibet verus et legiptimus commissarius facere potest et debet. Et statuens firmum habere atque ratum quicquid per dominos meos commissarios gestum fuerit atque factum. Hoc ordino et esse volo meum ultimum testamentum meamque ultimam voluntatem, quod et quam prevalere iubeo atque mando ceteris testamentis per me per tempora preterita retacta facies atque vocatus. Si igitur etc.

Testes Iacobus Bonifatio, Georgius Trivixano. Ego presbiter Benedictus de Smeritis capellanus spectabilis et egregii viri domini Iusti Venerio pro serenissimo Veneto dominio honorabilis consulis Tane [...] et Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi.

23 July 1435, Tana.

Testament of Antonio Crescono.

In Christi nomine, amen. Anno a nativitate eiusdem MCCCCXXXV inditione XII die vero XXIII Iulii in Tana. Dum corpus sanitate, vigor et mos interior in semet ipsi colecta pleniori [...] ratione quia non cogitur quod debet ut tunc ultime voluntatis iud[...] in quo usus mentis [...]ne exigitur salubrius providetur quo [...] ego Antonius Cresconus quondam Mosculi [...] de Napoli sanus mente et corpore gratia altissimi Creatoris divinum in timens iudicium cum hora nescitur nolens ab intestato decedere ne mea bona inordinata remaneat et post mei obitum [...] non ovatur ulla de me [...] que meis bonis per presens nuncupatum testamentum sane scriptis infra ordino atque dispono in primis namque recommendans animam meam altissimo Creatori corpus meum iubeo sepeliri in ecclesie sancte Marie de Tana constructa super [...]ono [...] sepult[...] ubi [...]datum iacet corpus olim uxoris mee volens sepelire debere per [...] funeris seu sepeliris mee tantum [...] infrascriptis fidei commissariis meis videbitur et apparebit. Item ego [...] ordino quod celebretur misse sacte Marie et sancto ant Grigorii pro anima mea, pro quibus ordino dari ducatos tres. Item lego,

mando atque dimitto Annam sclavam meam et Georgium eius filium francos, liberos et absolvo ab omni vinculo servitutis post mei decessum et [...] Agnetem olim sclavam meam volo esse francam et liberam ab omni servitute et [...] Iutello [...] Iohannes Campana alios haberet et reciperet preces fran[...] eisdem Agnetis cui lego [...]centum et omnes [...] quo olim constructum erat unum magazenum [...] et situatum in Tana super teritorio [...] extra muros loci Iannue et apud murum spil[...] ecclesie fabrice sancti Andrei [...] Item lego [...] meum testamentum [...]

4.

positionem supradicto territorio apud muros [...] et apud [...] ser Augustini de Tana et Luciani Spineli vicario ecclesie prelibate sancte Marie [...] sue [...] per tempora cum omnibus suis longitudine, latitudine et pertinentis atque universis adiacentibus suis cum hoc quod qui ipse vicarius debeat et teneatur semel in edomada celebrare pro anima mea. Item lego atque dimitto aliud meum territorium vacuum super quo olim erant fabricati [...] positionem muros extra muros terre super dicto territorio spalti Magdalene et Francischine filiabus Dominici Mochsii compares mei ut et ipse roget Domino pro anima mea. Item lego, mando et ordino quod fabrica mea quam habeo cum sua forica et tariceno et duabus apothecis positis super via comuni de quo quidem terreno pro duabus terciis ego solvo libros XXIII in anno pro afflictu Ysabelle uxoris Sycha cognati ser Damiani de Guarnero vendi debeat per meos infrascriptos fideicommissarios de quorum tractu fieri debeat tres portiones equales, una quarum sit et esse debeat Pentille et altra Belardelle sororum meorum si fuerint in humanis. Tertia vero pars sit infrascripti Iohanni Maza nepotis et commissarii mei in casu vero quod infrascripte sorores mee diem clausissent extremum tunc earum partes devenire debeant in caza filios et heredes. Item lego territorium cum aliquibus apothecis supraposis et fabricis positis a parte posteriori quod ego habeo in pignore ab Azimo Safiro saraceno per libros 4080 restitui ac reddi debere suprascripto Azimo Safiro in quantum ipsi dare et reddere foret dispositus infrascriptos libros 4080 michi seu commissario mei. Si vero dictos denarios reddere recusaret volo et ordino quod per iudicium vendi debeat scriptum territorium cum dictis apothecis et fabricis supraposis de quorum tractu scripti libros 4080 dari debeant seu devenire ad manum infrascriptorum meorum commissariorum de quibus fieri debeant tres equales porciones dandas suprascriptis sororibus meis et Iohanni Maza nepoti meo prout superius dictum est. Item lego pro anima mea libros 200 per meos fideicommissarios distribuendos et dispensandos inter illos pauperes personas quibus melius videbitur eisdem et

apparebit pro male ablatis et acquisitis si forte acquisivissem seu pro anima mea illorum a quibus talia acquisivissem tempore vite mee. Item lego Dominichine filie Borani Taiapetri et uxori Marci Amai libros 100 pro anima mea. Item lego Lucie uxori quondam Iohanni Trivisano libros 50 pro anima mea. Item lego cognati mei uxoris Iesuf piscatoris libros 20 pro anima mea. Item lego Catherine Alle uxori Cazato libros 20 pro anima mea. Item lego ser Antonio de Papia libros 50 ut ipse roget Dominum pro anima mea. Reliquorum vero bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium, [...] et actionum descendendum undecumque et quorumcumque spectantium et pertinentium seu spectare et pertinere debentium michi heredem universalem instituo et esse vollo Iohannem Maza nepotem et infrascriptum fideicommissarium meum, fideicommissarios autem et executores presentis mei testamenti et ultime voluntatis constituo, fatio, ordino, relinquo et esse volo Iohannem Maza nepotem meum dilectum et Georgium Belono de Sa[...]na, inquantum tempore obitus mei se reperiret personaliter in Tana. Absente vero domino Georgio a Tana loco sui instituo et esse volo meum fideicommissarium ser Boranum Taiapetra trucimanum curie Venetorum in Tana, quibus quidem fideicommissariis et executoribus meis do atque concedo plenam et largam potestatem et bayliam super omnia et singula exercendi et executioni mandandi et quemcumque michi hec in iuditio et extra fatiendi que fuerint fatienda et occurrerint opportuna. Hec est enim mea voluntas ultima quam valere volo iure testamenti et si non valet seu non valeret iure testamenti saltem valeat iure codicillorum et cuiuslibet alterius ultime voluntatis quo quibus et qua melius valere potest [...] ricitans [...] annullans atque infringens quocumque testamenta codicillos seu ultimas voluntates per me hactenus et hinc retro condita, conditos et conditas scripta manu cuiusdem notarii scilicet qua vis verborum conceptione sint concepta quecumque abrogatoria et derogatoria sint hinc presenti meo testamento et ultime voluntatis rato et firmo seu rata et firma manente et plenum roborem obtinente. Et de precedentis ego Antonius Cresconus suprascriptus mando per te Benedictum de Smeritis notarium ut inde confitatur presens publicum instrumentum.

Actum Tane supra territorio Venetorum in domo ser Antonii de Papia presentibus providis et discretis viris Iacobo Salono, Petro de Vanelo, Daniele Civrano, Antonio de Papia, Angelo de Senis, Iohanne de Smeritis et Angelo Ravagnano testibus ad hec vocati et rogati et aliis.

Ego Benedictus de Smeritis capellanus spectabilis et egregii viri domini Iusti Venerio honorabilis consulis Tane et publicus imperiale auctoritate notarius et iudex ordinarius presentibus omnibus interfui et rogatus scripsi et publicavi et in eorum robore signum meum apposui consuetum.

14 February 1436, Tana.

Testament of Francesco, son of the deceased Unuano.

In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MCCCCXXXV mensis Februarii die XIII indictione XIII in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque penitus ignoret et nil cercius habeatur quam quod mortis non possumus evitare discrimen idcirco unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus occumbat et sua bona inordinata derelinquat. Quapropter ego Franciscus quondam Unuani de confinio sancti Raphaeli de Venetiis ad presens balistarius salariatus in Tana valida corporis egritudine pregravatus sanus tamen per divinam gratiam habens sensum integrumque consilium mentis in arcano considerans et revolvens de die mortis mee cupiens quod premissus [...] evitare discrimen ad me vocari feci presbiterum Benedictum de Smeritis Venetiarum notarium et capellanum spectabilis et egregii viri domini Iusti Venerio, honorabilis consulis Venetorum in Tana ipsumque rogavi quod post mei obitum meum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret secundum et prout duco inferius ordinandum. In primis namque recommendans animam meam altissimo Creatori constituo, ordino et esse volo meum solum fidei commissarium magistrum Antonium quondam Leonardi Zerdonem ut secundum quod habere ordinavero darique iussero sic ipse post mei obitum exsecutioni mandet. Et primo volo et ordino quod Catherina sclava mea quam habere [...] missi Venetiis per navem patrino ser Blaxio Alberego servire debeat Andree quondam Unuani fratri meo annis duabus et[...] pro recompensatione nabuli qui ye [...] ms solvit pro ea in capite vero [...] duorum annorum volo qui ipsa Catherina sit libera et francha et absoluta ab omni vinculo servitutis pro anima mea et meorum parentum cui tunc volo dari auri ducatos octo de commissione que michi spectat et habere debeo a comuni Veneti pro suo[...] in casu vero quod ipsa Catherina obiret ante complectus [...] duorum annorum tunc volo et ordino quod per meum commissarium [...] ducati [...] dispensentur pauperibus Yhesu Christi [...] pro anima mea. De reliquo vero [...] mee commissionis dimitto ducatos sex suprascripto magistro Antonio commissario meo ut ipse roget Deum pro anima mea. Reliquo vero ipsius comm[...] quondam dimissi Venetiis in domo suprascripti Andree in mei recessu dimitto ipsi Andree fratri meo cui animam [...] recommendo. Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum que habeo in Tana in quocumque modo, iure et forma spectantium et pertinentium volo quod vendi debeat per dominum meum commissarium et soluto affictu [...] dimitto suprascripto presbitero Benedicto de Smeritis notario huius mei testamenti in presentia testium infrascriptorum pro suo labore ac debitus si que hrem[...] dimitto fabrice ecclesie sancte Marie et sancti Antonio de Tana pro anima mea.

Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo, confesso, penitus et concedo suprascripto meo solo commissario commissionem meam intromittendi, administrandi et fulciendi et omnia executioni mandari prout duca superius ordinandum. Et propria petendi, exigendi et recuperandi

5-6.

omne id totum quotquod michi et seu commissiam mee spectat et pertinet rationibus et de causis quibuscumque. Et si opus fuerit in quocumque iuditio et in quacumque curia comparendi, placitandi, agendi et respondendi et defendendi, advocandi et advocatos tollendi, terminos petendi et obtinendi, legem petendi, interdicta et precepta et de terminationes et sententias [...] quaslibet fieri executionem mandari tam realiter quam personaliter fatiendi, appellandi et appellationes prosequendi expensas petendi et recipiendi nec non et in animam meam iurandi cartas securitatis et omnia fatiendi que quilibet verus et legiptimus commissarius facere potest et debet. Et statuens firmum habere atque ratum quicquid per dominos meos commissarios gestum fuerit atque factum. Hoc ordino et esse volo meum ultimum testamentum meamque ultimam voluntatem, quod et quam prevalere iubeo atque mando ceteris testamentis per me per tempora preterita retracta facies atque vocatus. Si quis igitur contra hanc mei testamenti cartam ire temptaverit, iram omnipotentis Dei se noverit incursum et nichilominus hec mei testamenti carta in sua permaneat firmitate.

Testes ser Iohannes Quirino, ser Angelus Ravagnano

Ego presbiter Benedictus de Smeritis capellanus suprascriptis domini consulis Tane et Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi.

4 April 1436, Tana.

Testament of Giovanni, son of the deceased Antonio Pelipario.

In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MCCCCXXXVI mensis Aprilis die quarto indictione XIII, Tane. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque penitus ignoret et nil cercius habeatur quam quod mortis non possumus evitare discrimen idcirco unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus occumbat et sua bona inordinata derelinquat. Quapropter ego Iohannes quondam Antonii Peliparii de Napoli infirmus corpore sanam tamen habens mentem integrumque consilium gratia altissimi Creatoris volens omnium bonorum meorum dispositionem plenariam ordinare ne spiritu pro me Deo reddito lis oriatur ulla ex eis ad me vocari feci presbiterum Benedictum de Smeritis capellatum spectabilis et egregii viri domini Iusti Venerio, honorabilis consulis Venetorum in

Tana et Venetiarum notarium ipsumque rogavi quod post mei obitum meum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret secundum et prout duco inferius ordinandum. In primis namque recommendans animam meam altissimo Creatori constituo, ordino et esse volo meum solum fidei commissarium ser Franciscum Pantaleo de Candida ut secundum quod habere ordinavero darique iussero sic ipse post mei obitum executioni mandet. Et primo volo corpus meum sepelli ad ecclesiam sancti Francisci a latere Iannue infra chorum dicte ecclesie pro qua mea sepultura dimitto fabrice ecclesie libros viginti. Si vero non vellent me sepelire ibidem tunc volo sepeliri in loco Venetorum et [...] libros 20 volo dari fabrice ecclesie sancti Marci de Tana. Item volo et ordino quod celebrentur misse sancti Gregorii per fratrem Iohannem pro anima mea pro quibus ei dari debeat ducatum unum. Et volo quod misse sancte Marie celebrentur per suprascriptum presbiterum Benedictum pro anima mea et ei dimitto ducatos duos. Item volo quod per dominum fratrem celebrentur misse 15 de spu[...] sco[...] et tot ad honore sancte Trinitatis pro quibus ei dimitto ducatum unum. Item volo qui celebrentur misse 30 ad honorem ser Blaxii, ser Christofori et ser Antonii pro anima mea, pro quibus dimitto ducatum unum. Item dimitto fabrice ecclesie sancti Marci de Tana auri ducatos octo de illis quos habere debeo a comuni Venetorum pro meo stipendio quo [...] balistarius in Tana quos volo dari in manibus offitialium scole sancte Marie et sancti Antonii de Tana in auxilium ecclesie quam fabricant pro anima mea. Item volo et ordino quod per dominum meum commissarium dispensentur auri ducatos duo pro male ablati pro anima mea pauperibus Yhesu Christi. Item dimitto presbitero Benedicto notario huius mei testamenti auri ducatos duos pro suo labore ut roget Deum pro anima mea. Item volo quod expendetur ducatum unum pro [...] mei funeris. Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum presentium et futurorum in quocumque modo, iure vel forma spectantium et pertinentium que habeo in Tana in manibus dicti ser Francisci Pantaleo commissarii mei et que habeo Candide dimitto Pissane filie Beti de Pissas uxori mee dilecte cui animam meam recomitto. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo, confiero penitus et concedo suprascripto meo commissario commissionem meam intromittendi, administrandi et fulciendi et omnia executioni mandari prout duca superius ordinandum. Et propria petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi omne id totum quotquod michi et seu commissiam mee spectat et pertinet rationibus et de causis quibuscumque. Et si opus fuerit in quocumque iudicio comparendi, placitandi, agendi, respondendi et defendendi, advocandi et advocatos tollendi, terminos petendi et obtinendi, legem petendi, interdicta et precepta terminationes et sententias quaslibet fieri executionem mandari tam realiter quam personaliter fatiendi, appellandi et appellationes proseguendi ex presens petendi et recipiendi nec non et in animam meam

iurandi cartas securitatis et omnia fatiendi que quilibet verus et legiptimus commissarius facere potest et debeat. Et statuens firmum habere atque ratum quicquid per dominos meos commissarios gestum fuerit atque factum. Hoc ordino et esse volo meum ultimum testamentum meamque ultimam voluntatem, quod et quam prevalere iubeo atque mando ceteris testamentis per me per tempora preterita retracta facies atque rogatus. Si quis igitur etc.

Testes: ser Daniel Civrano, ser Franciscus butarius.

Ego presbiter Benedictus de Smeritis capellanus suprascripti domini consulis Tane et Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi.

6 April 1436, Tana.

Testament of Marco Amai.

In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo sexto mensis Aprilis die nono indictione XIII in Tana. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque penitus ignoret et nil cercius habeatur quam quod mortis non possumus evitare discrimen idcirco unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus occumbat et sua bona inordinata derelinquat. Quapropter ego Marcus Amai de Tana sanus mente et intellectu gratia Yhesu Christi sed corpore [...] mentis in archano conciderans et revolvens de die mortis mee cupiens quod[...] premissus [...] evitare discrimen ad me vocari feci presbiterum Benedictum de Smeritis Venetiarum notarium et capellanium spectabilis et egregii viri domini Iusti Venerio, honorabilis consulis Venetorum in Tana ipsumque rogavi quod post mei obitum meum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret secundum et prout duco inferius ordinandum. In primis namque recommendans animam meam altissimo Creatori volo, instituo et ordino meos fideicommissarios Dominichinam uxorem meam dilectam et Dominicum Bedoloto de Tana ut secundum quod habere ordinavero darique iussero sic ipsi post mei obitum executionem mandent. Primo volo dari ecclesie sancti Marci de Tana unum [...] pro anima mea pro mea sepultura et quod celebrentur misse sancti Gregorii pro anima mea. Item dimitto suprascripto presbitero Benedicto de Smeritis notario huius mei testamenti auri ducatos duos pro suo labore. Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum presentium et futurorum in quocumque modo, iure vel forma spectantium et pertinentium dimitto suprascripte Dominichine uxori et commissarie mee cui animam meam recomitto. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo, conffero penitus et concedo suprascripto meo solo commissario commissionem meam intromittendi, administrandi et fulciendi et omnia executioni mandari prout duca superius ordinandum. Et

propria petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi omne id totum⁶⁹³ michi et seu commissiam mee spectat et pertinet rationibus et de causis quibuscumque. Et si opus fuerit in quacumque curia comparendi, placitandi, agendi et respondendi et defendendi, advocandi et advocatos tollendi, terminos petendi et obtinendi, legem petendi, interdicta et precepta et de terminationes et sententias quaslibet fieri executionem mandari tam realiter quam personaliter fatiendi, appellandi et appellationes prosequendi expensas petendi et recipiendi nec non et in animam meam iurandi cartas securitatis et omnia fatiendi que quilibet verus et legiptimus commissarius facere potest et debet. Et statuens firmum habere atque ratum quicquid per dominos meos commissarios gestum fuerit atque factum. Hoc ordino et esse volo meum ultimum testamentum meamque ultimam voluntatem, quod et quam prevalere iubeo atque mando ceteris testamentis per me per tempora preterita retracta facies atque vocatus. Si quis igitur etc.

Testes Antonelus de Parma, Gonsalvus de Sybilia.

Ego presbiter Benedictus de Smeritis capellanus spectabilis domini consulis et Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi.

7. 13 December 1436, Constantinople.

Testament of Niccolo Zeuloti.

In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo sexto mensis Decembri die XIII indictione XIII in Constantinopoli. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque penitus ignoret et nil cercius habeatur quam quod mortis non possumus evitare discrimen idcirco unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus occumbat et sua bona inordinata derelinquat. Quapropter ego Nicolaus Zeuloti filius quondam ser Labruzi de Lucha infirmus corpore sanam tamen habens mentem gratia altissimi Creatoris mtis in archano consciderans et revolvens de die mortis mee cupiens quod premissus [...] evitare discrimen ad me vocari feci presbiterum Benedictum de Smeritis cancellarius spectabilis et generosi viri domini Christofori Marcello, honorabilis baiuli Venetorum in Constantinopoli et Venetiarum notarius ipsumque rogavi quod post mei obitum meum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret secundum et prout duco inferius ordinandum. In primis namque recommendans animam meam altissimo Creatori constituo, ordino et esse volo meum fideicommissarium solum hic in Constantinopoli providum virum ser Aldrovandinum de Iustis de Motono, in Lucha vero instituo et esse volo meum solum

⁶⁹³ Crossed out: *et quoque habere debeo*.

fideicommissarium Franciscum Zevloti meum ut secundum quod habere ordinavero darique iussero sic ipsi post mei obitum exsecutionem mandent. Et primo volo et ordino quod omnes res que ad presens reperiuntur in manticha mea cum ipsa manticha vendi debeant per suprascriptum meum commissarium et tractus ipsorum rerum dispensetur in missis pro anima mea. Item dimitto meum gapanigrum et caputina meum [...] roxate Iohanni famulo meo pro anima mea. Item volo et ordino quod omnes res et bona qui reperiuntur in capsula mea et una vestis [...] sulia vulp[...] ac totum quicquid reperitur de meo [...] ndi debeat ad p[...] cum et solvatas expensas [...] mei residuum quod super[...] per dictum ser Aldrovandinum commissarius meus dari debeat consignum in [...] ser Iohannes Martori qui ser Iohannes dem residuum dare et consignare debeat in Lucha domine Clare matri mee suprascripto Francesco commissario meo et Catherine sorori mee equaliter inter eos dividere. Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum mobilium et immobilium caducum pro non scriptum in quocumque modo, iure vel forma spectantium et pertinentium que habeo seu habere debeo[...] in Lucha dimitto suprascriptis domine Clare matri mee [...] et Catherine equaliter quibus animam meam recomitto. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo, conffero, penitus et concedo suprascriptis meis commissariis commissionem intromittendi, administrandi et fulciendi et omnia exsecutioni mandari prout duca superius ordinandum. Et propria petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi omne id totum quotquod michi et seu commissiam mee spectat et pertinet rationibus et de causis quibuscumque. Et si opus fuerit in iudicio comparendi, placitandi, agendi et respondendi et defendendi, advocandi et advocatos tollendi, terminos petendi et obtinendi, legem petendi, interdicta et precepta et de terminationes et sententias quaslibet fieri executionem mandari tam realiter quam personaliter fatiendi, appellandi et appellationes prosequendi expensas petendi et recipiendi nec non et in animam meam iurandi cartas securitatis et omnia fatiendi que quilibet verus et legiptimus commissarius facere potest et debet. Et statuens firmum habere atque ratum quicquid per dominos meos commissarios gestum fuerit atque factum. Hoc ordino et esse volo meum ultimum testamentum et ultimam voluntatem, quod et quam prevalere iubeo atque mando ceteris testamentis per me per tempora redacta facies atque rogatus. Si quis[...]

Testes ser [...] mente Cimator, Nicolaus Zampani

Ego Benedictus de Smeritis cancelarius suprascripti domini baiuli Constantinopoli et Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi.

9 August 1437, Constantinople.

Testament of Leonardo Rosegno.

In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo septo mensis augusti die nono indictione XIII in Constantinopoli. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque penitus ignoret et nil cercius habeatur quam quod mortis non possumus evitare discrimen idcirco unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus occumbat et sua bona inordinata derelinquat. Quapropter ego Leonardus Rosegno de Venetiis ad presens moram trahens in Constantinopoli sanus mente et intellectu gratie Yhesu Christi licet corporis langore pregravatus cogitans quod [...] et nolens ab [...] stato decedere et mea bona inordinata derelinquere ad me vocari feci presbiterum Benedictum de Smeritis Venetiarum notarium et cancellarium curie baiulati venetorum in Constantinopoli ipsumque rogavi ut hoc meum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret secundum et prout duco inferius ordinandum. In quo quidem meo testamento instituo et esse volo meum solum fideicommissarium ser Iohannem Martini dilectum compatrem meum hic in Constantinopoli ut secundum quod habere ordinavero darique iussero sic ipse post mei obitum exsecutioni mandet. Et primis namque recommendans animam meam altissimo Creatori volo corpus meum sepeliri in nostra ecclesia sancti Marci et volo quod expendi[...] possit id quod suprascripto commissario meo videbitur et apropiabit iux[...] conditiones et qualitatem[...] Item dimitto sacristie[...] ecclesie sancti Dominici de Pera auri ducatos decem ut ipsi fratres rogent Dominum pro anima mea. Item dimitto ecclesie sancti Benedicti de Pera auri ducatos quinque ut ipsi fratres rogare debeant Dominum pro anima mea. Item dimitto ecclesie sancti Petri auri ducatos duos pro anima mea. Item volo et ordino quod solvi debeant omnia mea debita si qua apropiarent quibus forem obligatus et specialiter solvantur auri ducatos centum nobili viro ser Leon[...]ardo Capelo pro una [...] cambii. Et auri ducatos 50 in cca ser Iohanni de Naldo quos sum sibi dare obligatus. Item volo et ordino quod domum meam quam habeo in [...] ad affictandum in manu Cazi Iacob thurci vendatur et [...] protinus devenerat in meum residuum prout inferius ordinavero. Item volo et ordino quod [...] unum [...] que c[...] in manibus Theodori Polita de Synopi vendi debeat et tractum[...] simul cum lucro ex [...] meo tercio [...]quod tandit me [...] devenerat in meum residuum infrascriptum. Item volo et ordino quod exigantur auri ducatos quingenti [...] et Silvestro Bressano patrino[...] et omne id quod ipse exigat a Melchione Doria [...] avunculo et totum devenerat in [...] meum residuum. Item volo et ordino quod navis una que ad presens in manibus ser Iuliani de Remezano Iannue quo patronizabatur per q Lazarinum eius generum prout probari[...] per suprascriptum Cazi Iacob per dominum Synopi et per Alibei qui fuit venditor de navis et utile et prosicuum[...] in

executum a tribus annis intra[...] devenire debeat in meum residuum infrascriptum. Insuper volo et ordino quod petatur computum a domino ser Iuliano de Remizano de butos septem de carabina et tractum cazi de [...] devenire debeatur in residuum meum. Item volo et ordino quod exigantur auri ducatos ducenti quos habere debeo a ser Algo[...] Contarini quondam domini Marini pro [...] ser Ieronimi Contarini. Et [...] rubini qui st[...] in manibus ser Philippi Contarini de quibus michi in debito prout apropiaret quondam scripto eius mano. De residuo vero omnium et singularum rationum quas agere habeo cum domino ser Philipo Contarini usque in presentem diem volo quod inquietus ipse disponat et [...]lia [...] securitatem generaliter quietatem commissarie mee et per dem[...] meum rogavi debeat securitas generaliter et ppo debeat quietari. Inquietum vero ipse ser Philipus intendet et velet d[...]am meam commissi molestari aliquo lites[...] movere et seu moveri facere volo et ordino quod [...] possit et exigi totum et quicquid ab ipso habere debeo et recipere rationibus et [...] quibuscumque. Item dimitto Catherinam sclavam meam liberam et francham et ab omni vinculo servitutis absoluta ita quod [...] sui libertate stare [...] quacumque [...] dimitto [...] auri ducatos centum pro suo maritare et animam meam recomitto. Si vero ipsi [...] maritare tunc volo quod [...] ducati [...] deveniant in residuum meum. [...] dimitto [...] vestes a dorso lane et [...] et unum lectum [...] Item dimitto domine Lucie matri mee auri ducatos centum cui animam meam recomitto. Item volo et ordino quod Ordobi Seline serviat et servire debeat suprascripte matri mee in domo eius annis octo in capite vero dictorum octo annorum sit ipsa libera et francha ab omni vinculo servitutis [...] matri mee obiret infra dictorum [...] annorum octo volo quod ipsa Ordobi post obitum domine matris mee sit libera et francha ut dem. Item dimitto Sepertum sclavum meum liberum et franchum et ab omni vinculo servitutis absolutum cui dimitto auri ducatos decem pro anima mea. Interrogatus dominus ser Leonardus testator per notario infrascripto si habeat uxorem et de postremis respondit quod habeat quamdam suam sclavam que vocatur Anna que ad presens in Venetiis quam se gravida relinquat. Et propterea volo ego Leonardus et ordino quod Anna suprascripta sclava[...] si per[...]ciet et masculum progenuerit vel feminam debeat [...] annis duobus et ultra duos annos volo quod ipsa Anna servire debeat ser Guilielmo Biganor in domo ipsis annis tribus et hoc ordino et volo quod sit [...] domini Guilielmi [...] completis vero suprascriptis annis tribus sit ipsa Anna libera et absoluta ab omni vinculo servitutis. Item dimitto Manolio de Sermiso auri ducatos [...] quod pro suo labore quo mihi servivit et ut roget Dominum pro animam meam [...] et absolutus [...] quod michi [...] debent[...] ipse debeat et teneatur [...] in Symisso pro venditura mee domus. Item dimitto [...] de Triagnis auri ducatos [...] decem pro anima mea.

Item dimitto sancto Marco Sartriste mee ecclesie sancti arie auri ducatos [...] pro anima mea. Item dimitto presbitero Benedicto de Smeritis, notario huius mei testamenti in presentia testium infrascriptorum auri ducatos decem pro sup labore

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[...] celebrare debeat missas sancti Gregorii pro anima mea. Item dimitto magistro Iacobo barbitonsori auri ducatos decem pro suo labore. Item volo et ordino quod per suprascriptum commissarium vendantur ad [...] hreatum[...] omnes mee vestes et cetra suppellectilia mea et tractum [...] cum omnibus [...] que habere debeo et exigere secum deferre debeat Venetiis et [...] nobili viro domino Marino Barbo in meum residuum devenienda. Item volo et esse instituo meum fideicommissarium in Venetiis suprascriptum dominum Marinum Barbo per quem volo pro omnia mea bona que apud ipsum reperiuntur Venetiis vendi debeant, quorum medietatem dimitto Donate eius filie pro suo maritare, altera vero medietas dictorum meorum bonorum volo quod per imm[...] dispensari debeat pauperibus Yhesu Christi pro anima mea prout sim eius conscientiam [...] appropriabit[...] Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum mobilium et immobilium, presentium et futurum caducum et pro non scriptum in quocumque modo, iure et forma spectantium et pertinentium dimitto filio vel filie mee nascituro ex suprascripta Anna sclava mea. Si vero dictus filius meus vel filia obiret ante etatem tunc volo et ordino quod X deo mo[...] residuo fiant due partes, quarum una sit et esse debeat suprascripti domini Marini commissarii mei. Altera vero medietas per ipsum commissarium meum dispensari debeat ad pias eas[...] pro ut supra ibi melius videbitur et apparebit secundum eius conscientia. Et Marinus commissarius meus tenere debeat dictum filium meum vel filiam ut X nasciturus in domo sua ipsemque vel ipsam alere, nutrire et gubernare quousque [...] ad legiptimum etatem pervenitus quem vel quam s[...] recomitto. Preterea plenam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo, conffero, penitus et concedo dominis meis commissariis commissionem meam intromittendi, administrandi et fulciendi et omnia exsecutioni mandari prout duco superius ordinandum. Et propria petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi omne id totum quotquod hic michi et seu commissarie mee spectat et pertinet rationibus et de causis quibuscumque. Et si opus fuerit in quocumque iuditio et in quacumque curia comparendi, placitandi, agendi et respondendi et defendendi, advocandi et advocatos tollendi, terminos petendi et obtinendi, legem petendi, interdicta et precepta et de terminationes et sententias quaslibet fieri et executionem mandari tam realiter quam personaliter fatiendi, appellandi et appellationes prosequendi expensas petendi et recipiendi

nec non et in animam meam iurandi cartas securitatis et omnia alia faciendi que quilibet verus et legiptimus commissarius facere possit et debet. Et statuens firmum habere atque ratum quicquid per dominos meos commissarios gestum fuerit atque factum. Hoc ordino et esse volo meum ultimum testamentum meamque ultimam voluntatem, quod et quam prevalere iubeo atque mando ceteris testamentis per me per tempora preterita retracta condictis atque rogatis. Si quis igitur etc.

Testes ser Bartholomeus Maphei, ser Bartholomeus Niger Ianuensis

Ego Benedictus de Smeritis cancellarius domini baiuli venetorum in Constantinopoli et Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi.

10 January 1439, Constantinople.

Testament of Leonardo, son of the deceased Giovanni.

In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo octavo mensis Ianuarii die decimo indictione secunda. Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque penitus ignoret et nil cercius habeatur quam quod mortis non possumus evitare discrimen idcirco unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus occumbat et sua bona inordinata derelinquat. Quapropter ego Leonardus quondam Iohannis de confinio sancte Euphimie de Iudecha infirmus corpore sanum tamen habens mentem integrumque consilium gratie altissimi Creatoris volens omnium bonorum meorum dispositionem plenam ordinare ne me Deo reddito lis oriatur ulla ex eis, ad me vocari feci presbiterum Benedictum de Smeritis de Iudecha Venetiarum notarium ipsumque rogavi ut meum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret secundum continentiam et tenorem eiusdem cedula lombrane[...] per me sibi porecte atque [...] alienaque quippe manu scripte et annotate et inter me et ipsum solos per cum michi [...] Cum quidem cedula tenor per omnia et est MCCCCXXXVIII a di X de Zener io Lunardo de Ziovanni de la contrada de santa Euphemia de la Zudecha siande infermo del corpo mo p lix[...] de Dio sano de intelecto sim volundo machar de Consta vita desordenado voio si Dio sesse alcuna cossa de mi che Consto sia el mio ultimo testo sia tirado in [...] forma secondo l'ordene de Venexa. Prima voio sia mie fidel comessarii dona Agnexina mia moier et Yssabetha mia neza sia de pioco mio prima lasso a mia neza Ysabetha mia comessaria ducati duxento de boni danari per so maridar. Et si Dio la tolesse avanti el so maridar voio [...] de ser Aluvixe. Item lasso a Iacomella mea servicia pro so maridar ducati sexanta. Et si caxo occoresse che la detta Iacomella morisse avanti el so maridar voio chi detti ducati 60 vada in la detta Ysabetha mia neza et sia a la condition di

altri. Item lasso ducati do[...] per messe al capto de santa fomia per l'anima mia. Item lasso a ser Iacomo plovam de santa fomia ducato uno per l'anima mia. Item lasso a ser Aluvixo ducato uno. Tuto ogno mio residuo che io ho e che me aspectasse uno che sio de mia moier dona Agnexina e mia comessaria altra la so doto. Et sic est finis dicte cedulae. Interrogatus dictus rest[...] per me notarium infrascriptum [...] tenorem partis capte super [...] si quod velet dimittere monasterio et seu fabrice sancte Marie de Nazaret pro anima sua respondit quod non in presentia testium infrascriptorum. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo, confesso, penitus et concedo dominis meis commissariis commissionem meam post mei obitum intromittendi, administrandi et fulciendi et omnia executioni mandari prout duca superius ordinandum. Et propria petendi, exigendi et reccuperandi omne id totum quotquod michi et seu commissiam mee spectat et pertinet rationibus et de causis quibuscumque. Et si opus fuerit in quocumque iuditio et in quacumque curia comparendi, placitandi, agendi et respondendi et defendendi, advocandi et advocatos tollendi, terminos petendi et obtinendi, legem petendi, interdicta et precepta et de terminationes et sententias quaslibet fieri executionem mandari tam realiter quam personaliter fatiendi, appellandi et appellationes prosequendi expensas petendi et recipiendi nec non et in animam meam iurandi cartas securitatis et omnia generaliter fatiendi que quilibet verus et legiptimus commissarius facere potest et deberet. Et statuens firmum habere atque ratum quicquid per dominas meas commissarias gestum fuerit atque factum. Hoc ordino et esse volo meum ultimum testamentum meamque ultimam voluntatem, quod et quam prevalere iubeo atque mando ceteris testamentis per me per tempora preterita retracta facies atque vocatus. Si quis igitur contra hanc mei testamenti cartam ire temptaverit, iram omnipotentis Dei se noverit incursum et nichilominus hec mei testamenti carta in sua permaneat firmitate.

Testes: dominus presbiter Iacobus Poletto publicanus de Iudecha, Georgius Venedicus de Iudecha⁶⁹⁴. Ego presbiter Iachobus Poletto publicanus ecclesie sancte Euphimie supscripsi. Ego Gorgius testis supscripsi. Ego Benedictus de Smeritis de Iudecha Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi.

25 January 1440, on the galleys of Alexandria.

Testament of Baldassare from the parish of St. Sophia.

In nomine Dei Eterni, amen. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Yhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo nono mensis Ianuarii die vigesimo quinto indictione

⁶⁹⁴ Further deeds are written in a different handwriting and, presumably, by another hand.

[...] super galea Alexi[andrie] nobilis viri domini Iacobi Lauredano quondam domini Francisci, capitano spectabili viro domino Tario Fuscarenno de [...] Alex[andrie] Cum vite sue terminum unusquisque penitus ignoret et nil cercius habeatur quam quod mortis non possumus evitare discrimen idcirco unicuique imminet precavendum ne incautus occumbat et sua bona inordinata derelinquat. Quapropter ego Baldesar de vite de confinio sancte Sophie infirmus corpore sanum tamen habens mentem integrumque consilium gratie altissimi Creatoris volens omnium bonorum meorum dispositionem plenariam ordinare ne me Deo reddito lis oriatur ulla ex eis, ad me vocari feci presbiterum Benedictum de Smeritis capelanum spectabilis et generosi viri domini Georgii Superantio euntis honorabilis consulis dominorum venetorum in urbem Alexa[andriam] Egipti Venetumque notarium ipsumque rogavi ut meum scriberet testamentum pariter et compleret et prout duco inferius ordinandum. In primis namque recommendans animam meam altissimo Creatori instituo, ordino et esse volo meum fideicommissarium hic [...] quondam Petri de Pissis, Venetiis vero ordino et esse volo meos fideicommissarios Marchum quondam Viti fratrem meum et ser Petrum de Pissis patrinum meum dilectum ut secundum quod hic inferius ordinavero darique iussero sic ipsi post mei obitum exsecutionem mandent. Primo namque volo et ordino quod dominus Nicolaus commissarius meus dare debeat suprascripto presbitero Benedicto de Smeritis, huius mei testamenti notario et presbitero Andree de Pactis capellano Iontium[...] galleanum auri ducatos decem et quinque videlicet pro [...] et ipsi teneantur et debeant super eorum conscientis celebrare missas sancte Marie et sancti Gregorii pro anima mea[...]
