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*Aleksandra V. Chirkova, Evgeny A. Khvalkov*

**THE VENETIAN LETTERE  
DUCALI FROM THE WESTERN  
EUROPEAN SECTION OF THE  
HISTORICAL ARCHIVE OF THE  
SAINT PETERSBURG INSTITUTE  
OF HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN  
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES,  
FOURTEENTH TO MID-  
SIXTEENTH CENTURIES (AN  
ARCHAEOGRAPHIC  
COMMENTARY)**

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**THE VENETIAN *LETTERE DUCALI* FROM THE WESTERN EUROPEAN SECTION OF THE HISTORICAL ARCHIVE OF THE SAINT PETERSBURG INSTITUTE OF HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, FOURTEENTH TO MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURIES (AN ARCHAEOGRAPHIC COMMENTARY)**

The present study is aimed at the research of the set of the Venetian *lettere ducali* of the fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries and the preparation of their full-text publication. Due to their diplomatic and paleographic characteristics, the *lettere ducali* stored in St. Petersburg are an example of a fairly well-developed chancery production, despite the chancery still being in the process of institutionalization at that point. At the same time, the *lettere ducali* are among the most widespread varieties of the documents issued by the Venetian Doges at that time. In this regard, the clarification of the criteria of authenticity and attributive features of these letters is the most urgent purpose of the project, given that the systematic publication and sequential study of the *lettere ducali* of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries are yet to be done in the future. As regards the medieval and early modern chancery activity in the Venetian Republic, only the period up to the thirteenth century has been studied well enough; as for the later times, only minor sets of the authentic *lettere ducali* have been published. The documents in question from the manuscript collection of N.P. Likhachev (1862-1936), Member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, have never been published, and went almost unnoticed in the scholarly discourse. The publication of these documents will allow the medievalists the study of the previously unknown sources. The extensive study of the diplomatic and paleographic peculiarities of the letters, their description and visualization, their attribution and the transcription of the notes of the scribes will provide the researchers of the given period with the tools of the historical criticism of this variety of documents. The preliminary outcomes of the research and the deep analysis of certain case studies found in the manuscripts are to be presented as scholarly articles in double-blind peer-reviewed journals, as well as in conference proceedings.

Key words: History of Italy, 14th – 16th centuries, Venetian Republic, Terraferma, Mediterranean Sea, Treviso, Ferrara, Doges of Venice, chancery, diplomatic, Latin paleography, international relations, trade, diplomacy.

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<sup>1</sup> Saint Petersburg Institute of History of the RAS. Senior Research Fellow; E-mail: reineke.patrick@gmail.com

<sup>3</sup> National Research University Higher School of Economics (Saint Petersburg). Department of History. Associate Professor; E-mail: ekhvalkov@hse.ru

## Introduction

The present study is devoted to the research into a set of the Venetian *lettere ducali* of the fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries collected by Nikolay Petrovich Likhachev (1862-1936), Member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, stored in the Western European section of the Saint Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the preparation of their full-text critical publication. The *lettere ducali* are an excellent source to study the *Serenissima* and its continental and overseas domains. No doubt, they belong to the most important types of the documents produced by the chancery of the Venetian Doges. The source material of the Venetian *lettere ducali* have long and not without reason been considered and actively investigated by researchers as one of the most important sources on the economic, social, political, legal, environmental, cultural, and ethnic history of Venice. The ducal chancery was among the most productive ones in Europe throughout the Middle Ages and Early Modern history. The history of Venice cannot be adequately studied without taking into account the factual material contained in these documents. In addition, Venetian sources often provide researchers with important material on the history of other states of the Italian Peninsula. This explains the exceptional importance of studying *lettere ducali* as the most important source on the history of the Western European Middle Ages and early modern times. *Lettere ducali* were studied by specialists in political and economic history, mainly based on the registers of the letters preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia. As for the study of the authentic originals of the *lettere ducali*, there are only a few examples of the critical publication of these documents and, accordingly, their diplomatic research.

Moreover, specialists in diplomatic were mainly interested in the letters of the earlier period of the early and mid-XIII centuries. Nonetheless, for the period of the XIV – XV centuries there are only single publications.

The period in question is the time of the most active territorial expansion of the Venetian Republic and its increasing role in the international relations; thus, this publication will be in demand in the scholarly community, despite the materials found in St. Petersburg being quite fragmented. Due to their diplomatic and paleographic characteristics, the *lettere ducali* stored in St. Petersburg are an example of a fairly well-developed chancery production, even though the chancery still was in the process of institutionalization at that point. At the same time, the *lettere ducali* are among the most widespread varieties of the documents issued under the name of the Venetian Doges at that time. In this regard, the clarification of the criteria of authenticity and attributive features of these letters is the most urgent purpose of the project, given that the

systematic publication and sequential study of the *lettere ducali* of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries are yet to be done in the future.

As regards the medieval and early modern chancery activity in the Venetian Republic, only the period up to the thirteenth century has been studied well enough; as for the later times, only minor sets of the authentic *lettere ducali* have been published. The documents in question from the manuscript collection of N.P. Likhachev, have never been published, and went almost unnoticed in the scholarly discourse. The publication of these documents will allow the medievalists the study of the previously unknown sources. The extensive study of the diplomatic and paleographic peculiarities of the letters, their description and visualization, their attribution and the transcription of the notes of the scribes will provide the researchers of the given period with the tools of the historical criticism of this variety of documents.

The fact that such studies are associated with the preparation for publication and introduction of new sources into scientific circulation also greatly enhances the relevance of the topic. The novelty of our work is justified by the fact that it implies critical publication of previously unpublished archival sources. As it comes to its practical significance, it provides us with several digital database and indices (including the *index nominum*, *index locorum*, and *index rerum*), which can be used in further studies and can be applied within various research projects.

### **Shaping the collection by N.P. Likhachev**

The idea of shaping a collection of medieval documents for the future Museum of Paleography, which became in 1925 part of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, emerged as a result of the educational work of N.P. Likhachev.<sup>5</sup> The Archeological Institute of Saint Petersburg, which was founded in 1877, offered a two-year postgraduate program in Archeology and Archival Science. N.P. Likhachev was elected to the Chair of Diplomatic (first in Russia ever) and lectured in 1894 – 1925 in Diplomatic and Sphragistics. As he admitted himself, it was exactly in the process of preparation of the lectures that he realized the necessity of studying Russian diplomatic in comparison with the Byzantine and, especially, Western European documents, which were best researched by that time in respect of methodology.<sup>6</sup> The idea of providing Russian scholars with a notion of methods of the auxiliary sciences of history based on

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<sup>5</sup> See: Simmons J. S. G. Nikolai Petrovich Likhachev (1862—1936) scholar and pioneer Russian codicologist and student of Watermarks // Likhachev's Watermarks: An English-Language Version. Amsterdam, 1994. P. XLVII; Oxford, 1994. P. XLII.

<sup>6</sup> "Звучат лишь письменна..." = "In written words alone...": к 150-летию со дня рождения академика Н. П. Лихачева: каталог выставки [20 апреля-22 июля 2012 г.] / Гос. Эрмитаж ; [науч. ред. кат.: А. О. Большаков, Е. В. Степанова]. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа, 2012. СС. 20 – 21.

the authentic documents led him to the foundation of first the Cabinet of Paleography and later on – of the Museum of Paleography.<sup>7</sup>

This educational work of N.P. Likhachev is reflected in the project of critical publication of the documents of the archive of the Cremona Cathedral. This project started in early 1920s within a seminar under the supervision of O.A. Dobias-Roždestvenska (1874 – 1939). Many students (sometimes dozens of them) were involved in the process of transcribing, and among them there were some future prominent Soviet medievalists such as Vsevolod Vladimirovitch Bakhtin (1901 – 1951), Sergey Aleksandrovitch Ushakov (1904 – 1938), Aleksandra Dmitrievna Lublinskaya (1902 – 1980) and Vladimir Sergeevitch Lublinskiy (1903 – 1968). Some of the draft students' transcriptions are still attached to the original documents. Since the draft transcriptions done by the students were far from being perfect, S.A. Anninskiy (1891 – 1942/1943) had to read through the documents once again in order to double-check the transcriptions.<sup>8</sup>

Paradoxically, the most adequate idea of our archival set can be drawn from a working and rather chaotic list compiled by N.P. Likhachev. For the collector himself, the material that he had collected was particularly important: Venetian diplomatic and sphragistics were crucial in the context of his ideas about the relations of the East and the West and their mutual influence.<sup>9</sup> On March 9 and 16, 1923, he gave a paper about bullae and autographs of the Venetian doges at the State Academy of the History of Material Culture (GAIMK), using materials from his own collection, both seals and documents. However, this paper was published only sixty years later by Lev Grigorievitch Klimanov (1941 – 2015) based on the author's draft and the protocol recording of the paper.<sup>10</sup> L.G. Klimanov identified letters based on these records and added modern archival ciphers to the Likhachev's descriptions.<sup>11</sup> In a certain sense, these preliminary notes can be considered as an attributive list with justification of the dates and a very brief indication of the content of the document, as well as the scholar's general impressions about the size of the seal and the way in which it is attached.

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<sup>7</sup> О коллекции см. подробнее: "Звучат лишь письма..." = "In written words alone...": к 150-летию со дня рождения академика Н. П. Лихачева: каталог выставки [20 апреля-22 июля 2012 г.] / Гос. Эрмитаж ; [науч. ред. кат.: А. О. Большаков, Е. В. Степанова]. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа, 2012.

<sup>8</sup> The edition: Акты Кремоны X–XIII вв. в собрании Академии наук СССР. М.; Л., 1937. Part of the thirteenth century documents studied by the group was published only as late as in 1961. See also: Аннинский С. А. Введение // Акты Кремоны X–XIII веков в собрании Академии наук СССР / Подг. к изд. С. А. Аннинского, под ред. О. А. Добиаш-Рождественской. М.; Л., 1937. С. 25-26.

<sup>9</sup> A letter to V.V. Rosanov: Н.П. Лихачев - В.В. Розанову. Москва, 13/26 августа 1918 г. ЦГАЛИ, ф. 419 (В.В. Розанова), оп. 1, д. 523, л. 12. Цит. по: Большаков А.О., Залеская В.Н., Пятницкий Ю.А. и др. Из коллекции академика Н.П.Лихачева. Каталог выставки. СПб: Седа-С, 1993. С. 23.

<sup>10</sup> *Климанов Л.Г.* Н. П. Лихачев о венецианской сфрагистике и дипломатике // *Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины*. Т. 23. Л., 1991. С. 280-295 (частично); *Климанов Л.Г.* Византийские отражения в сфрагистике. Коллекция металлических печатей VII-XX веков Н.П.Лихачева в Западноевропейской секции Архива СПбФИРИ РАН. СПб., 1999. Приложение 1. Неопубликованные работы Н.П.Лихачева о сфрагистике. С. 286-313. The Likhachev's paper was based on: Historical Archive, Saint-Petersburg Institute of History, Western European Section (hereafter – HA SPbIH, WES) HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, №№ 1, 3, 10, 12, 13, 15, 20, 22, 32; Box 187, №№ 1, 2, 14, 16, 22.

<sup>11</sup> Климанов, 1999. С. 299-303.

The foundation of the archival collection by N.P. Likhachev implied from the very beginning the necessity of the research and study projects similar to ours, which would reveal the content of the archive and at the same time would serve the educational needs of the professional formation of the future young historians.

The Research and Study Group 'Bishops, Doges and Merchants: Texts of Medieval Italian Cities of XIII-XV Centuries' was created recently following the experience of the 1920s. Its research is based on the archival collection of N.P. Likhachev and is carried out by the students of the Bachelor's Program 'History' of the National Research University Higher School of Economics in St. Petersburg under the supervision of E.A. Khvalkov (Higher School of Economics) and A.V. Chirkova (St. Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences). In 2018, the project team detected a small but rather heterogeneous and unified set of documents and decided to prepare in for critical publication.

## Goals of the project

In the beginning of our project, we set ourselves the following goals. On the one hand, the purpose of the study was to read and transcribe the set of letters and to prepare for the critical publication. However, this goal obviously implied necessity of a study into the consequent work of the ducal chancery, as well as the relations of the doges with their correspondents. Thus, the work on preparing the source for publication implied embedding the data of this source in a specific context.

Therefore, at the first stage of the work we set the following goals:

- the indication of the *lettere ducali* stored in the Western European section of the Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences;
- the reading and full transcription of the texts of the indicated *lettere ducali* both in Latin and in vernacular;<sup>12</sup>
- dating of the *lettere ducali*; charters are sometimes dated either based on the year of the indiction, or have no indication of year of sending whatsoever; since the content of the letters was related to urgent issues, their relevance was limited to the near future, and did not involve long-term storage; modern style dating should take into account the style used in the Venetian office, see;<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Niermeyer J.F. *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*. Leiden, 1976; Sela P. *Glossario latino italiano*. Stato della Chiesa, Veneto, Abruzzi. Città del Vaticano, 1944; Boerio G. *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*. Venezia, 1856 (<http://www.linguaveneta.net/strumenti/dizionari>).

<sup>13</sup> Pozza M. *Gli usi cronologici nei più antichi documenti veneziani (sec. IX-XI) // Studi in memoria di Giorgio Costamagna / A cura di D. Puncuh*. Genova, 2003 (Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, n.s. 43, 1). P. 801-848; Cappelli A. *Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo: dal principio dell'Era Cristiana ai giorni nostri*. Milano, 1930.

- a general description of the sources, including a description of their appearance and preservation, provenance, paleographic and linguistic features of the letters;
- a comprehensive study of these documents, based on an analysis of both the formal side of the letters and their content;
- defining the potential and the limitation of the sources;
- drawing up *regestae* and databases;
- reconstruction some aspects of the international relations of the doges;
- composing several indices, namely the prosopographic one, the geographic one, and *index rerum*.

The geographical limits of our study are ambivalent. On the one hand, all documents come from the Venetian ducal chancery. On the other hand, the addressees of the letters dwelled in various locations of the Venetian Dogato, as well as outside of it – like Marquis d’Este (see below).

The chronological limits of our study comprise the letters drawn from the earliest period (the oldest one in the collection dates back to 1354 and the infamous rule of Marino Faliero) to 1547. The justification for the upper limit is the following:

- the period we study is the époque of the immense Venetian expansion on the Terraferma,
- this period comprises the whole rules of the doges Andrea Gritti (1523.V.20-1538.XII.28) and Francesco Donato (1545.XI.24-1553.V.23),
- the letters of the later period are too fragmented and pertain to very particular matters,
- the period showcases chronological compactness.

Notably, the authors of the comprehensive database ‘The Rulers of Venice, 1332-1524: Interpretations, Methods, Database’<sup>14</sup> chose a similar approach and time frame, although they limit themselves to Andrea Gritti, while we also study two documents of Francesco Donato.

The material available to us is not as massive as one would probably like it to be; moreover, it is quite fragmented for the reasons of the logic of the formation of the collection and its very nature (see below). This kept us away from broad generalizations and limited us to case studies. A case can be sometimes absolutely atypical, but a case study can provide rich information about different layers of culture, about the “possible and impossible”, etc. Moreover, individual peculiarities can be understood and disclosed only in the context of all other documents. The very nature of the sources provokes a microhistorical study with the use of the methods and approaches of the cultural anthropology.

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<sup>14</sup> <http://rulersofvenice.org/>

In order to reveal the potential of the documents, we conducted a number of separate studies in order to contextualize the cases found in the letters. This aim derived directly from the goal of attribution of the anthroponyms, toponyms, and other realities found in the letters. At the same time, the present study was aimed at determining the uniqueness of the information contained in letters stored in St. Petersburg, and thus at assessing the measure of rarity and uniqueness of the *lettere*. In order to clarify the criteria of authenticity and identify the attribution tools for the *lettere ducali* of the fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries we studied paleographic and diplomatic features of the letters, changes in the form, ways of fastening the seal, features of the graphic design, structure and content of the chancery notes.

The major aim of the project is therefore to provide academic community with an access to these previously unattended sources. At the same time, there is another (and no less important) goal, namely to develop a methodology for the adequate presentation of paleographic and diplomatic information, which, on the one hand, can be used as a source on the history of the functioning of chancery of the Venetian doges in the fourteenth – mid-sixteenth centuries.

## General presentation

Our research team picked up forty eight acts of the same type dating from mid-fourteenth to mid-sixteenth century. These are the oldest Venetian letters in N.P. Likhachev's collection drawn by the sixteen doges of the Republic of Venice, the so called *lettere ducali*, or *ducali minori*, the most widespread type of documentation issued by the supreme rulers of the Republic of Venice at that time.

### **Description of the indicated *lettere ducali* (for a more detailed database see Appendix 1, table in Excel)**

The research team indicated 48 letters of the 16 Venetian doges of the fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries stored in the Western European section of the Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences:

Marino Faliero (1354.IX.16-1355.IV.16) – 1 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 1)

Giovanni Gradenigo (1355.IV.21-1356.VIII.8) – 2 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, №№ 2, 3)

Giovanni Delfino (1356.VIII.13-1361.VII.12) – 1 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4)

Lorenzo Celsi (1361.VII.13-1365.VII.18) – 1 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 5)

Marco Cornaro (1365.VII.21-1368.I.13) – 1 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 6)

Andrea Contarini (1368.I.20-1382.VI.5) – 6 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, №№ 7-10, 12, 13)

Antonio Venier (1382.X.21-1400.XI.23) – 4 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 14, 15, 17, 19)

Michele Steno (1400.XII.1-1413.XII.26) – 3 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 20-22)

Francesco Foscari (1423.IV.15-1457.X.25) – 12 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 25-32; box 187, №№ 1, 2, 4, 5)

Nicolò Marcello (1473.VIII.13-1474.XII.1) – 2 (WES, coll. 6, box 187, №№ 7, 8)

Pietro Mocenigo (1474.XII.14-1476.II.23) – 1 (WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 9)

Giovanni Mocenigo (1478.V.18-1485.IX.14) – 2 (WES, coll. 6, box 187, №№ 11, 12)

Agostin Barbarigo (1486.VIII.30-1501.IX.20) – 5 (WES, coll. 6, box 187, №№ 13-17)

Leonardo Loredan (1501.X.2-1521.VI.21) – 3 (WES, coll. 6, box 187, №№ 18-20)

Andrea Gritti (1523.V.20-1538.XII.28) – 3 (WES, coll. 6, box 187, №№ 22, 22a, 24)

Francesco Donato (1545.XI.24-1553.V.23) – 1 (WES, coll. 6, box 188, №№ 1)

Forty-six out of forty-eight documents are the originals (fourteen *litterae patentes* and thirty *litterae clausae*). Two other documents are the copies of *litterae clausae* contemporary to their originals. Moreover, there is one more original document, namely a *vidimus* of another letter of doge issues thirteen years before and completely conveying its content.<sup>15</sup> Thus, all in all we have at our disposal forty-nine documents. Eleven original documents bear hanging lead seals.<sup>16</sup> Two documents are illuminated.<sup>17</sup> A certain antiquarian attached to one of the document an alien wax and mastic seal with a coat of arms in a metal ark, apparently in order to increase the price.<sup>18</sup> The seal is yet to be identified. Most of the documents are in satisfactory condition, several letters were once damaged by a fungus, which in some cases led to some text losses. Two copies of the *litterae clausae* suffered slightly: in case of the paper copy of *littera clausa* its edge is cut off with a loss of part of the text; in case of the parchment copy part of the text is washed away from the parchment due to moisture and storage in the form of a scroll, this text and moved to the other side of the sheet. Four documents are drawn in the vernacular,<sup>19</sup> whereas all the others are in Latin.

Our research team did preliminary working transcriptions of all the 48 documents. Further, we did a preliminary archeographical description and identified the most significant toponyms. In some cases, we carried out the recovery of the lost fragments of the text; however, much still needs to be restored based on research of similar sources and secondary literature. Thanks to the surviving old covers, in five cases we managed to indicate the provenance of letters, namely trading houses Pio Luzziatti, Gabriel Charavay, and Gilhofer und Ranschburg. Finally, our

<sup>15</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 4.

<sup>16</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 9, 22, 32; box 187, № 1, 2, 7, 14, 15, 16, 18, 22

<sup>17</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 14; box 188, № 1.

<sup>18</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 22 (doge Andrea Gritti, *datum* 1524.VIII.21). Also mentioned in: Лихачев Н. П. Буллы // Климанов Л. Г. Византийские отражения в сфрагистике. СПб., 1999. С. 299-303; Карпов С. П. Документы по истории Венецианской Романии из Архива Санкт-Петербургского филиала Института истории Российской Академии наук // *Bulgaria Pontica medii aevi*, IV-V, 2. София, 2006. С. 74, прим. 8.

<sup>19</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 32; box 187, № 19; box 188, № 1.

research team has partially deciphered the archival records of the XVI-XVIII centuries and partly attributed chancery notes. The overall volume of the text of the transcribed documents equals 88.286 symbols without the annotations.

Moreover, our research team indicated 11 copies of *lettere ducali* of the same period. These letters were sent to the captains and podestà of Padua, Verona and Treviso: Francesco Foscari (4 letters); Cristoforo Moro (1462.V.12-1471.XI.9) (1 letter); Niccolò Tron (1471.XI.25-1473.VII.28) (1 letter); Niccolo Marcello (1 letter); Agostino Barbarigo (1 letter); Leonardo Loredan (2 letters); Francesco Donato (1545.XI.24-1553.V.23) (1 letter). The texts of the letters were translated to vernacular, including the formulas of the protocol and the eschatocol, which are equally translated to vernacular, although the Venetian chancery conventionally used Latin for the protocol and the eschatocol. The translations of the letters were rewritten in chronological order along with other documents of the same period in a paper codex,<sup>20</sup> which was once stored in the Archivio di Stato di Ferrara. This paper notebook still has the old archive cover with the archival cipher of the XVIII century, similar to those preserved alongside the documents of Ferrara. We still have to figure out the purpose of this collection, as well as the purpose of its translation to the vernacular. The text of these documents can be published separately from the set of the original documents as an appendix. At the moment our research team defined the set of the *lettere ducali* to be published. We plan to go through some other parts of the archive just in order to indicate some separate documents, which were not sufficiently attributed and cataloged by S.A. Anninskiy during the systematization of the N.P. Likhachev's manuscript collection in the 1930s and later on.

## Addressees

Some documents are addressed to the podestas, captains and other officers of the Venetian Terraferma and the overseas possessions of Venice. The addresses are the following cities and other locations: Treviso (10) and two locations situated near Treviso, namely Asolo (1) and Castello di Zumelle (*civitas Zumellarum*, between Feltre and Belluno) (2), Verona (1), Vicenza (1), Padua (1), and Brescello containing a litigation with the Bishop of Parma (1); outside of Italy: Dalmatian and Istrian coasts, *rectoribus in partibus Sclavonie* (1), Albanian Shkodër, *comiti et capitaneo Scutari ceterisque rectoribus nostris partium Albanie* (1), Cyprus (1), and Crete (1). Mainly the documents are administrative orders regarding the money payment and the satisfaction of petitions submitted to the office of the doge. In two cases, the letters conceal tragic stories: the abduction of a married woman, who was taken into custody with her captor, and the search for a fugitive female slave.

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<sup>20</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 199, № 14.

Thirteen *litterae clausae* are addressed to the Marquis of Ferrara: five to Niccolò II d'Este (1361 – 1388)<sup>21</sup> and eight to Niccolò III d'Este (1393 – 1441).<sup>22</sup> Here we deal with the local frontier conflicts involving the sending of a special commission from Andrea Contarini to clarify the boundaries and various kinds of violations, such as fishing in foreign waters and the detention of merchants in connection with smuggling charges. The letters mention the trade in malvasia, eggs, cheese, salted meat, grains, and olive oil. Six documents issued by Andrea Contarini and Francesco Foscari deal with the Venetian possessions in the delta of the river Po in the locations Papozze (*villa Papociarum*) and Comacchio (*Comaclum*). One letter is addressed to Amadeus VI ‘the Green Count’, Count of Savoy (1343-1383), this letter contains credentials of the Venetian ambassador.

Nine *litterae patentes* are confirmations of the documents previously issued by the Venetian notaries.

## Provenance

The manuscripts of the collection of N.P. Likhachev were purchased directly from private collectors or through antiquarian trading companies, mainly either by correspondence or during his trips abroad in the period between 1892 and 1914. Regarding the bulk of the documents that make up the current collection of 6 “Venice and her possessions”, we have at our disposal the letter of the collector. N.P. Likhachev wrote in a letter to a professor of the University of Saint Petersburg Ivan Vasilievitch Pomyalovsky (1845 – 1906) dated November 11, 1895: “In Venice, I saw a broken and unattended set of the archival documents dating back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and I bought it all for fifty lira. It contains several hundred documents on parchment, and I don’t know yet whether the local Academy would allow me to export them. I had to risk, and I trusted one local antiquarian so as he would send it to St. Petersburg. In order to avoid shipping costs, I sent a package to the University library. Please talk with the librarian and pay the shipping costs.”<sup>23</sup> Judging from these words, this is a collection of notarial deeds from the Venetian province of Vicenza. It is difficult to say whether it included some of these letters of doges, since now these documents are stored separately from each other.

The provenance of five letters is detected by the scraps from printed catalogs, which are preserved on the antiquarian covers of the documents, or by the N.P. Likhachev's own notes. Mainly they come from the auction houses “Pio Luzziatti” (Rome),<sup>24</sup> “Gabriel Charavay”

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<sup>21</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 10, 12, 13, and 15.

<sup>22</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 20, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, and 31.

<sup>23</sup> ОР РНБ. Ф.608. Д. 957. Л. 21; Климанов Л.Г. Н.П.Лихачев «в поисках желанных звеньев великой дипломатической выставки» // Звучат лишь письма. 2012. С. 43-44.

<sup>24</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, №№ 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 20. Alongside with № 8, Likhachev purchased from Luzziatti in one lot three other documents (HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, №№ 8, 10, 12, 13), all of them letters from Contarini to d’Este.

(Paris),<sup>25</sup> “Gilhofer und Ranschburg” (Vienna),<sup>26</sup> which sold private collections of autographs, manuscripts and old books. For three more documents,<sup>27</sup> provenance is not detected; however, such covers with the hand-written Italian annotations are found on many documents of the N.P. Likhachev’s collection, including the documents of Cremona.

Another source of N.P. Likhachev’s acquisitions was a private collection of the Venetian notary and the custodian of the notarial archive Gabriele Fantoni (1833 – 1913), who proposed in 1901 to buy his collection of Venetian documents on the history of Venice to N.P. Likhachev, who was already very well known among the Italian collectors for his academic approach.<sup>28</sup> The letters of Fantoni published by L.G. Klimanov demonstrate that N.P. Likhachev was able both to maintain the seller’s interest and at the same time to bring down the price of the proposed rarities.

One can find a *littera patens*,<sup>29</sup> namely a certification of a notarial deeds, with a paper cover with the annotation of the eighteenth century and an archival cipher, similar to those in which N.P. Likhachev acquired the documents from Ferrara; the Archivio di Stato di Modena still uses such paper covers and archival ciphers for the documents of Archivio privato Fiaschi.<sup>30</sup> Taking into account the fact that a significant part of the letters is addressed to the Marquis of Ferrara, it is possible to assume that these acts originate from one private collection.

One document from the archival set under consideration became widely known to Russian researchers because it was published on the reverse side of the cover of the monograph by S.M. Kashtanov (though without any indication of the place of storage and without any attributing inscription). The letter of Agostino Barbarigo of 1481, certifying the act of sale, was additionally decorated with a colored initial with tinned gold (at the expense of the recipient).<sup>31</sup> Most likely, the entire image was taken from the pages of the Exhibition Catalog of the exhibition held in 1991 in the Russian Museum;<sup>32</sup> the idea was to show kind of a “typical” West European document. This would be in line with N.P. Likhachev’s ideas and plans.

Another document, the diploma of Francesco Donato issued in 1547,<sup>33</sup> also recently was exposed in an exhibition as an example of the museum part of the collection of N.P. Likhachev,

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<sup>25</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 22.

<sup>26</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 1.

<sup>27</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 29; box 187, №№ 8, 14.

<sup>28</sup> *Климанов Л.Г.* О происхождении некоторых венецианских документов Западноевропейской секции Архива СПбИИ РАН // *Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины.* Т. 28. СПб., 2002. С. 235-270. Documents: НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 1. Box 187, № 4, 17, 22.

<sup>29</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 18.

<sup>30</sup> *Срединская Н.Б.* Феррара XIV века в отражении актов родового архива Сакрати. М., 2017. С. 18, илл.2.

<sup>31</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 14.

<sup>32</sup> Из коллекций Н. П. Лихачева: Каталог выставки в Государственном Русском музее. СПб., 1993. С. 203-204, № 493.

<sup>33</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 188, № 1.

again thanks to the illumination and the preserved hanging seal.<sup>34</sup> Actually the document was acquired by N.P. Likhachev for display in a glass display case as part of the exhibitions.

One can add two publications more. Firstly, there is a brief mention of the *littera clausa* issued by Andrea Gritti and dated 1524<sup>35</sup> in the article by S.P. Karpov. The *locum tenens* and the councilors of Cyprus are informed that according to the decision Council of Ten they must to release the Bishop of Naples Paolo Borghese from paying tithes of 130 ducats a year in favor of the *camera* of Cyprus.<sup>36</sup>

Secondly, L.G. Klimanov published the text of the *littera clausa* of Antonio Venier dated 1385.<sup>37</sup> It deals with the complaint of a Venetian citizen and explains the status of the Venetian citizenship, regardless of whether this status is acquired by origin or by privilege. Unfortunately, L.G. Klimanov transcribed the text with the errors and corrected them only after the publication of the volume.<sup>38</sup> He also did not take into account the chancery notes. Therefore, this full-text publication cannot be considered as full-fledged.

The *lettere ducali* from the N.P. Likhachev's collection were generally unattended by the Western European scholars in the period of the formation of auxiliary historical disciplines and the development of methods of source publication in the second half of the XIX and early XX centuries, having been stored first in the private collections, and later on having been exported to Russia. There are very few publications of the authentic *lettere ducali* from the XIV-XVI centuries, whereas so far scholarly literature generally disregarded these documents, and there are no handbooks for working with the Venetian letters similar to the manuals for working with documentation of the papal chancery,<sup>39</sup> examining the most significant attributive mechanisms for different types of documents of different times and providing methodological instructions on reading and transcribing the clerical notes. Therefore, we hope that our project will contribute into the developing methodology of working with the medieval documents.

## History of study of Venetian chancery

Identification, study and publication of the documents produced by the chanceries is one of the most important directions in medieval diplomatic and paleography. The founder of

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<sup>34</sup> Из коллекций Н. П. Лихачева: Каталог выставки в Государственном Русском музее. СПб., 1993. С. 203-204, № 493.

<sup>35</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 22.

<sup>36</sup> See: *Карпов С. П.* Документы по истории Венецианской Романии из Архива Санкт-Петербургского филиала Института истории Российской Академии наук // *Bulgaria Pontica medii aevi, IV-V, 2.* София, 2006. С. 71–74, прим. 8: «небольшой документ венецианского Кипра».

<sup>37</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 15.

<sup>38</sup> *Климанов Л.Г.* *Cor nostri status: историческое место канцелярии в венецианском государстве // Политические структуры эпохи феодализма в Западной Европе (VI-XVII вв.) / Под. ред. В.И.Рутенбурга и И.П.Медведева.* Л., 1990. С. 80-105.

<sup>39</sup> *Schedario Baumgarten: Descrizione diplomatica di bolle e brevi originali da Innocenzo III a Pio IX / Riproduzione anastatica con introduzione e indici a cura di G. Battelli.* Città del Vaticano, 1965–1966. Т. I: 1198–1254. Т. II: 1254–1304; *Rabikauskas P.* *Diplomatica pontificia (Praelectionum lineamenta).* Romae, 1964. Editio sexta: Romae, 1998; *Frenz Th.* *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit.* Stuttgart, 1986. 2. Aufl.: Stuttgart, 2000.

diplomatic and paleography, J. Mabillon,<sup>40</sup> clearly demonstrated that the main way to determine the criteria for the authenticity of the documents implies a study and comparison of as many originals as possible, the documents being united by a historical period, as well as by the type and method of the clerical work. Since the publication of Mabillon's work, which laid down the principles of a verified examination of ancient documents, this basic provision was supplemented in the nineteenth century by the idea that systematic publication of documents is one of the most important tools of this examination.

There are numerous examples of this kind of systematic publication of the documents of big chanceries: the 'Diplomata' series within the «Monumenta Germaniae Historica» started in 1824 (),<sup>41</sup> the research project founded by J. F. Böhmer in 1829 and focused on the documents of the Holy Roman Empire, publishing the «Regesta Imperii» for the period between 751 and 1519,<sup>42</sup> the project «Pius Stiftung» founded in 1896 and dealing with the papal charters prior to 1198, and also the series «Italia Pontificia», «Gallia Pontificia», «Oriens Pontificus» etc.<sup>43</sup> For the thirteenth to early fifteenth century one finds the catalogues of the series «Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V electum»,<sup>44</sup> where the documents are grouped based on the principle of their current storage geographical location. The experience of studying the functioning of chanceries accumulated by the academic community during about two centuries in case of the chanceries of the German emperors and a half century in case of the chanceries of the Roman popes offers a different perspective of the role of the clerical office-work for the state and legal institutions. That is why the work of the chanceries is actively studied at the moment, and there are several international collections entirely devoted to the issues of clerical office work, publishing their proceedings.<sup>45</sup>

The letters of the doges, or *lettere ducali*, become the main type of documents issued in the doges' chancery in the late XIII century; they are equally referred to as *ducali* or *documenti in forma lettera*, previously also called *ducali minori* as opposed to the *ducali maggiori*, i.e. solemnly issued regulations and privileges of Venetian doges, which made up the main part of office documents in previous centuries. The study of the paperwork of the papal curia, which

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<sup>40</sup> De re diplomatica libri VI, in quibus quidquid ad veterum instrumentorum antiquitatem, materiam, scripturam et stilum ... pertinet, explicatur et illustratur. Opera et studio Domni Johannis Mabillon. Luteciae Parisiorum, 1681.

<sup>41</sup> <http://www.mgh.de/publikationen/diplomata/>

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.regesta-imperii.de/unternehmen.html>

<sup>43</sup> <https://adw-goe.de/forschung/forschungsprojekte-akademienprogramm/papsturkunden-des-fruehen-und-hohen-mittelalters/pius-stiftung-fuer-papsturkundenforschung/>

<sup>44</sup> TT. I-VII. Città del Vaticano, 1975-2003

<sup>45</sup> De part et d'autre des Alpes. Vol. II: Chancelleries et chanceliers des princes à la fin du Moyen Âge. Actes de la table ronde de Chambéry, 5-6 octobre 2006/ Sous la dir. de G. Castelnuovo et O. Mattéoni. Chambéry, 2011; La corrispondenza epistolare in Italia / Les correspondances en Italie. Vol. II: Forme, stili e funzioni della scrittura epistolare nelle cancellerie italiane (secoli V-XV) / Formes, styles et fonctions de l'écriture épistolaire dans les chancelleries italiennes (V<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle). Atti del Convegno di studio (Roma, 20-21 giugno 2011) / A cura di S. Giovanni, P. Cammarosano. Trieste, 2013 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 475); Manu propria. Vom eigenhändigen Schreiben der Mächtigen (13.-15. Jahrhundert) / Hrsg. von C. Feller und Ch. Lackner. Wien, 2016 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 67).

lasted more than a century and a half, demonstrated the letters, particularly the *litterae clausae*, normally dealt with the current political events, which were not linked to the confirmation of legal rights. Therefore, the letters of the older period prior to the XII-XIII centuries are extremely rare in the medieval archives. In case of the Venetian chancery, only three *litterae patentes* of 1166, 1174 and 1177 are known for the entire XII century; for the early XIII century only two *litterae patentes* of 1209 and 1226 dating back to the rule of the doge Pietro Ziani (1205-1229) are extant.<sup>46</sup>

The oldest of the surviving *lettere ducali* are *litterae patentes*, and since the open form of the letters obviously derives from the closed one, this means that the vast majority of the oldest documents of this type have been lost. Researchers indicate the first division of the *lettere ducali* into *lettere aperte* or *patenti* and *lettere chiuse* or *secrete* respectively for the time of the rule of doge Jacopo Tiepolo (1229 – 1249). The characteristic features of the *lettere chiuse* or *secrete* are the following.

1) Absence of *plica* (a fold along the bottom edge of the sheet with a hanging seal attached to the open charters, including *litterae patentes*);

2) The address is written on the outer side of the envelop, which was formed when the parchment sheet is folded;

3) A special way of attaching the hanging lead seal, where the hemp cord was stitching an envelope along the edges, so that when it was unfolded by its addressee, the seal would be torn apart, unless the edge of the document is cut.

There are four original *litterae clausae* drawn in the thirteen-year rule of Jacopo Tiepolo, two more survived in the copies.<sup>47</sup>

The analysis of the form of the oldest letters demonstrates that in the early XIII century the formulas of the protocol and eschatocol were not yet stable. According to preliminary estimates, the documents stored in St. Petersburg and coming from the XIV – XV centuries showcase attempts to stabilize the form of the documents, offering several varieties of the protocol and eschatocol. Following research and comparison with similar documents, these varieties can serve as a dating and attributive factor, one of the authenticity criteria required in case of identification of fragments, incomplete copies or medieval fakes.

Consistent and systematic publication of the letters of the XIV-XVI centuries, as well as the study of the norms of the chancery of the Republic of Venice based on the archival documents is still a matter of the future.

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<sup>46</sup> Gli atti originali della cancelleria veneziana / A cura di M. Pozza. Vol. II: 1205-1227. Venezia, 1996. P. 18

<sup>47</sup> Lazzarini V. Lettere ducali veneziane del secolo XIII. 'Litterae clausae' // Scritti di Paleografia e Diplomatica in onore di Vincenzo Federici / A cura di R. Morghen. Firenze, 1944. P. 225-239

In this regard, the study of the St. Petersburg set of *lettere ducali* and its preparation for publication are of particular relevance as one of the components of the initial stage of preparation to this publication; moreover, it provides an opportunity to make a number of intermediate conclusions, which can later be confirmed or supplemented by researchers who study the Venetian chancery.

Taking into account the experience of systematic research (almost two-centuries of studies) of the documents of the largest medieval chanceries, those of the Roman popes and German emperors, the first and longest stage in such a study should be the identification and registration of all surviving documents issued on behalf of a particular doge. The compilation of lists of identified documents arranged by repositories or particular regions stimulates further searches along with the publication of particular documents. Then there comes a time for publication of the *regestae*, brief annotations, including all the historical information that can be extracted from the document. The publication of the *regestae* should take into account the revealed handwritten tradition and previous publications. Then research moves to the stage of preparing a critical publication, when one can draw conclusions about the specifics of clerical workflow during this period, clarify its periodization, note changes in the form, make observations about the tenure of clerical staff, etc.

As far as the Venetian documents of the XIV – XVI centuries are concerned, the researchers face an unpredictably large amount of work. The office work of the Venetian chanceries was unusually abundant. Because of the large land acquisitions of the richest Mediterranean republic and the diversity of its international relations, the *lettere ducali* spread widely and nowadays are found in many archives and collections of ancient documents. Therefore, the historians who study Venetian diplomacy as well as the socio-political and economic history of this period refer to the extensive materials of the Venetian archive for the reason of the lack of systematic publication of the documents. All the major medieval chanceries had registers, the books of the copies containing the texts of outgoing documents. In Venice, the first series of registers appear at the very end of the 1260s, in order to record the decisions of the Council of Forty and the temporary Council of Twenty.<sup>48</sup> The registers of *lettere ducali* first appeared only in the early XIV century. In 1308, the scribes were obliged to rewrite the text of the document in a special volume before composing the final document and giving the charter to the doge in order to read it and then to put on it a hanging lead seal.<sup>49</sup> The oldest surviving register of *lettere ducali* is dated 1308 – 1310 and is preserved in the section of Collegio / Minor consiglio as the original document and as a copy of the XVII century.

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<sup>48</sup> Pozza M. La cancelleria // Storia di Venezia. Vol. III: La formazione dello stato patrizio / A cura di G. Arnaldi, G. Gracco, A. Tenenti. Roma, 1997. P. 366.

<sup>49</sup> Pozza, 1997. P. 368; Cecchetti B., Toderini T. Il R. Archivio generale di Venezia. Venezia, 1873. P. 33.

Besides the main doge chancery (*Cancellaria ducale*), the so-called *Cancellaria inferiore* was established in the late XIII century. It was located inside the palace and was both the personal chancery of the doges and the archive of the Venetian notaries<sup>50</sup> (both active in Venice and overseas). In 1402, the Consiglio maggiore decided to create a new office called *Cancellaria secreta* so as it would deal mainly with the political issues, primarily international relations, but also domestic policy issues. Whether a matter was dealt with by the *Cancellaria inferiore* or the *Cancellaria secreta* was defined only by the level of secrecy of a particular case, not taking into account the peculiarities of clerical work or the origins of the document from a certain government agency.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, each agency had its own archives storing volumes of registers, preserved from previous centuries.<sup>52</sup> Three additional notaries were hired in 1458 in the *Cancellaria secreta*, which originally was not doing with the compilation of registers.<sup>53</sup>

Due to the large number of rewritten documents and the opportunity to reconstruct their chronological sequence, Venetian registers attracted the interest of researchers since long time ago. However, according to the guidebook on the State Archives of Venice,<sup>54</sup> the *lettere ducali* of the XIV – XVI centuries survived only partly, with large chronological lacunae about several decades. Thus, *Cancellaria inferiore, Doge*, series *Lettere ducali ai rettori* has only 51 volume of registers for the 1364 – 1376, 1458 – 1472 and 1478 – 1598;<sup>55</sup> *Collegio*, series *Secreti (con vario titolo, parti, commisioni, lettere)* has 8 volumes of registers for 1354 – 1366, 1382 – 1385, 1436 – 1438, 1484 – 1485, 1490 – 1494, 1500 and a filing for 1487 – 1490; series *Lettere segrete, missive* has 61 filings for the 1486 – 1489 and 1513 – 1666; *Collegio, Serenissima signoria*, series *Lettere sottoscritte, missive* has 163 filings for 1488, 1492, 1521, 1533 – 1541, 1546 and 1548 – 1797 (Terra), and 4 volumes of registers for 1492, 1502 – 1541, 1550 – 1669 and 1674 – 1675, and, finally 20 filings for 1554 – 1556 and 1576 – 1585 (Mar).<sup>56</sup> The Venetian Archive was severely damaged at least three times during the fires of 1479, 1483 and 1577. Moreover, the world experience of studying the documents of the papal chancery showed that not all outgoing documents were recorded in medieval registers. The very logic of the distribution of documents in the medieval archives and the principles of compiling registration books differed from the modern logic; that is why identifying documents on a particular topic becomes a daunting task. Therefore, any publication of documents based on their originals preserved in the archives will necessarily be in high demand in the academic community.

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<sup>50</sup> Pozza, 1997. P. 367.

<sup>51</sup> Pozza, 1997. P. 370

<sup>52</sup> Cecchetti, Toderini, 1873. P. 44-45.

<sup>53</sup> Cecchetti, Toderini, 1873. P. 33.

<sup>54</sup> Archivio di Stato di Venezia // Guida generale degli Archivi di Stato italiani. Vol. IV: S-Z. Roma, 1994. P. 857-1148.

<sup>55</sup> Archivio di Stato di Venezia. P. 885.

<sup>56</sup> Archivio di Stato di Venezia. P. 890.

The digital copies of some series of registers of the XIV – XV centuries are available on the website of the Venetian archive.<sup>57</sup> They showcase that the copies rewritten in registers do not contain the information that can be obtained as a result of the analysis of the original documents (the protocol and eschatocol formulas are abbreviated or omitted, there are no chancery notes; it is impossible to distinguish between letters drawn as *litterae patentes* and *litterae clausae*). Moreover, a detailed study of particular documents demonstrates that it is possible to identify examples of fraud in the office registers, which undermines unconditional trust in this type of sources.<sup>58</sup>

Medieval maps were the books containing copies of the incoming documents, in contrast to the registers; however, sometimes they demonstrate the same shortcomings of the handwritten tradition. See Gordoni on the impossibility of attributing the document based on the medieval copy books, as well as on the impossibility of fully-fledged analysis of the form.<sup>59</sup> The world experience of studying the imperial, papal, and some royal and episcopal chanceries showed that only the study of original documents allows full-fledged research on the staff of the offices, the distribution of functions and stages of office work. The study of original documents also allows in some cases to clarify the specific criteria for the authenticity of documents, based on the norms of the clerical office work.

## State of art

The collection of N. P. Likhachev attracted both Russian and foreign researchers of diplomatic from the very foundation of the Paleographic Cabinet at the Archeological Institute in 1918 (since 1923 as part of the Petrograd University) and the subsequent establishment on its basis of the Museum of Paleography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in 1925. Even if we confine ourselves only to the publication of documents related to the history of Venice, the list of works still turns out to be impressive.

The first publication of the Venetian documents stored in the Western European section of the Saint-Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences is a description of the deed of selling a Tatar female slave dated 1385.<sup>60</sup> Further studies of the Venetian documents start in the 1980s, partly due to the fall of the Iron Curtain, the resumption of academic

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<sup>57</sup> <http://www.archiviodistatovenezia.it/divenire/collezioni.htm>

<sup>58</sup> Santoro C. Di alcune falsificazioni in un registro delle "Lettere ducali" dell'Archivio Storico Civico // Archivio storico lombardo. Vol. 51. 1924. P. 340-366.

<sup>59</sup> Gardoni G. Una lettera del doge veneziano Iacopo Tiepolo al Comune di Mantova (1244) // *Honos alit artes*. Studi per il settantesimo compleanno di Mario Ascheri. Vol. II: Gli universi particolari / A cura di P. Maffei, G.M. Varanini. Firenze University Press, 2014 (Reti Medievali e-book, 19). P. 485-491.

<sup>60</sup> НА СПбІН, WES, coll. 6, box 194, № 18. Studies: *Хоментовская А. И.* Лукка времен купеческой династии Гвиниджи // *Средневековый быт*. Л., 1925. С. 98, прим. 1. See also on slavery and slave trade in Venice: Verlinden, Ch. L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Vol. 2: Italie. Colonie italiennes du Levant latin. Empire Byzantin. Gent: Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, 1977. Idem. "Le recrutement des esclaves à Venise aux XIVE et XVE siècles." *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 39, No. 33,58 (1968).

connections with the Western researchers and the acquisitions of up-to-date scholarly literature. The materials of the 6th collection “Venice and its possessions (1188 – 1785)” of the Western European Section of the Archive of the Saint-Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences formed the basis for the thesis of L.G. Klimanov, one of the custodians of the Western European Section, titled “Documents of the Venetian diplomatic usage of the XIII – XVI centuries and technique of diplomacy” (defended in 1987). With the involvement of additional materials from the Italian archives, the results of the study were subsequently published in the form of several articles.<sup>61</sup> Ninety notarial deeds from carton 205 of the same collection 6 were published by a team of St. Petersburg Institute of Russian Academy of Sciences (at that time – LOII USSR Academy of Sciences of the USSR).<sup>62</sup> While of preparing the publication, they wrote a review of this small collection.<sup>63</sup> Several documents related to the Venetian possessions in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Northern Black Sea region,<sup>64</sup> were published by researchers from Moscow.<sup>65</sup>

Because of their design, the instructions were demonstrated in numerous exhibitions, namely the instructions (*commissioni ducali*) of Giovanni Mocenigo drawn in 1478-1485 and

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<sup>61</sup> *Климанов Л.Г.* Венецианские «секретари». О политической культуре итальянского города // Городская культура. Средневековье и начало Нового времени: Сб. статей / Под ред. В.И. Рутенбурга. Л., 1986. С. 98-126; *Климанов Л.Г.* Об особенностях номенклатуры документов венецианского дипломатического обихода // Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины. Т. 18. Л., 1987. С. 279-288; *Климанов Л.Г.* *Cor nostri* status: историческое место канцелярии в венецианском государстве // Политические структуры эпохи феодализма в Западной Европе (VI-XVII вв.) / Под. ред. В.И. Рутенбурга и И.П. Медведева. Л., 1990. С. 80-105; *Климанов Л.Г.* *Quod sunt cives nostri*: статус венецианского гражданства // Культура и общество Италии накануне нового времени. М., 1993. С. 28-38; *Климанов Л.Г.* Обретение Венецией моря: право, политика, символы // Причерноморье в Средние века. Вып. 3. СПб., 1998. С. 145-163; Из венецианского опыта общественной жизни: трентакии (*trentacie*), праздник «Марий» (*festa di matrimoni*), молодецкие забавы на Кулачном мосту (*rustomachia veneta*) // Античная древность и средние века. Екатеринбург, 2002. Вып. 33. С. 157-168; *Климанов Л.Г.* О происхождении некоторых венецианских документов Западноевропейской секции Архива СПбИИ РАН // Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины. Т. 28. СПб., 2002. С. 235-270; *Климанов Л.Г.* *Romei et peregrini* в Венеции: попечение о паломниках, направляющихся в Рим и другие святые места, XIII—XIV вв. // Античная древность и средние века. Екатеринбург, 2003. Вып. 34. С. 30-35; *Климанов Л.Г.* Венеция: социально-пространственная структура островного города и его опорные (базовые) магистратуры // Античная древность и Средние века. Екатеринбург. 2008. Выпуск 38. С. 196 – 217; *Климанов Л.Г.* Капитуларии (должностные наказания) венецианских городских магистратур: глав округов блюстителей ночного порядка, глав контрад (Венеция: Гос. Архив и Музей Коррер; Санкт-Петербург: СПб институт истории РАН) // Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины. Т. 31. СПб., 2010. С. 183-208; *Климанов Л. Г.* Основы взаимодействия венецианского государства и общества (конец XII – начало XVI в.) // Античная древность и средние века. Екатеринбург, 2013. Вып. 41. С. 309-322.

<sup>62</sup> Акты Падуи конца XIII–XIV в. в собрании Академии наук СССР / Сост. Е. Ч. Скржинская, А. М. Кононенко, В. И. Мажуга. Л., 1987.

<sup>63</sup> *Кононенко А. М.* Акты Падуи XII–XIV вв. // Рукописные источники по истории Западной Европы в архиве Ленинградского отделения Института Истории СССР. Л., 1982. С. 26–36.

<sup>64</sup> НА SPbIN, WES, coll. 6, box 193, № 38; box 194, №№ 16, 18; box 195, №№ 6, 18.

<sup>65</sup> *Близнюк С. В.* Неизвестный венецианский документ 1346 г. по истории кипро-венецианских отношений. Вступительная статья и публикация // Средние века. 1990. Вып. 53. С. 191–203; *Karpov S.P.* Trade and crime in Venetian Crete (According to an unknown document of 1382) // Η Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο. Αθήνα, 1989. Σ.311-323; *Karpov C. П.* Документы по истории венецианской фактории Тана во второй половине XIV в. // Причерноморье в средние века. М., 1991 С. 191–216 (Испр. переиздание в: *Karpov C.П.* Средневековый Понт. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2001 (Российские исследования по мировой истории и культуре, 15). С. 397-426); *Karpov S. P.* From Syria to Modon and Venice: a difficult voyage of 1443 described in an unknown document // Η Ελκιογονία στο Βυζάντιο. Αθήνα, 1993. Σ.543-549; *Karpov C. П.* Дело об убийстве на Крите в 1382 г. // Феномены истории. К 70-летию В. Л. Керова. М., 1996. С.90–96; *Karpov C. П.* Венецианский документ XV в. о торговой навигации в Восточном Средиземноморье // Византийский временник. Т. 52 (77).1991. С. 255–260; *Karpov C. П.* Документы по истории Венецианской Романии из Архива Санкт-Петербургского филиала Института истории Российской Академии наук // Bulgaria Pontica medii aevi, IV-V, 2. София, 2006. С. 71–74.

those of Girolamo Priuli drawn in 1562, which are illuminated codices.<sup>66</sup> Finally, they were studied more in depth by Y.Y. Zolotova.<sup>67</sup> Same is true for a treatise with recommendations to ambassadors illuminated with color initials.<sup>68</sup> This document of the XV century has been featured in several catalogues without mentioning Venice<sup>69</sup> and it is only recently that it was fully published with a commentary and full reproduction.<sup>70</sup>

The Catalogue published in 1993 contains brief descriptions of other Venetian documents prepared by L.G. Klimanov: a deed of selling a Tatar female slave dated 1385, a document from the archive of the Augustinian cloister of San Stefano dated 1480, an encrypted letter from the commander of the Venetian fleet to the Council of Ten dated 1538 and the decision of the Council of Ten dated 1577 "against those who, under the guise of marriage, deceive women".<sup>71</sup> A *littera patens* of Agostino Barbarigo decorated with illumination and dated 1481,<sup>72</sup> also reproduced in the Catalogue of 1993,<sup>73</sup> became widely known to Russian researchers due to reproduction (although without a signature and indication of storage location) on the back side of the monograph.<sup>74</sup> Two Venetian documents, the illuminated letter of the doge Francesco Donato, a *littera patens* with hanging lead seal dated 1547 and a deed of selling a Tatar female slave dated 1385<sup>75</sup> were presented at the exhibition dedicated to the Museum of Paleography "Only the letters sound..." (descriptions prepared by N. B. Sredinskaya) to the 150th anniversary of the birthday of N.P. Likhachev.<sup>76</sup>

Without taking into account two publications related to the illumination of the charters, the bibliography of the *lettere ducali* of the XIV – XVI centuries from the collection of N.P. Likhachev is extremely scarce. Moreover, even these two publications in the exhibition catalogues of 1993 and 2012 are merely reproduction of documents with their brief description.

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<sup>66</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 10; Coll.41. Box 566, № 5. Из коллекций Н. П. Лихачева: Каталог выставки в Государственном Русском музее. СПб., 1993. С. 217-218, №№557, 560; Гинев В.Н., Климанов Л. Г., Пробедимова Г.А. Российская и зарубежная история в документах архива Санкт-Петербургского института истории РАН // Сокровища академических собраний Санкт-Петербурга. М., 2003. С. 437.

<sup>67</sup> Золотова Е. Ю. Мастер «Поручений» венецианского дожа Джироламо Приули. Штрихи к портрету // Собрание. № 1. М., 2013. С. 8–15; Zolotova E. Il Maestro delle "Commissioni" del doge Girolamo Priuli. Cenni della personalità artistica // Bollettino dei musei civici veneziani. Ser. III, n. 8. Venezia, 2013. P. 87–92.

<sup>68</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 46, box 607, № 7.

<sup>69</sup> От Данте до Тассо: Каталог писем и сочинений итальянских гуманистов в собраниях ЛОИИ СССР / Сост. Л. Г. Кагушкина. Л., 1972. № 245; Kristeller P. O. Iter Italicum. Accedunt Alia Itinera: A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other Libraries. Vol. V (Alia itinera III and Italy III): Sweden to Yugoslavia, Utopia, Supplement to Italy A–F. London; Leiden, 1990. P. 172; Из коллекций Н. П. Лихачева, 1993. С. 217, № 559).

<sup>70</sup> Pistoresi M. Tracce quattrocentesche di Ars Arengandi tra Venezia e Ragusa: il Tratado per ambasciatori della collezione Likhachev di S. Pietroburgo // Atti di Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arti. T. 164. Fasc. 3. Venezia, 2006. S. 439—479 (с неверным шифром).

<sup>71</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 194, № 18; Box 196, № 31; Box 202, № 2; Coll.48. Box 585, № 29; Из коллекций Н. П. Лихачева, 1993. С. 214, 223, 229, №№ 541, 545, 584, 652.

<sup>72</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 14

<sup>73</sup> С. 203-204, № 493.

<sup>74</sup> Каутанов С. М. Актовая археография. М.: «Наука», 1998.

<sup>75</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 188, № 1; box 194, № 18.

<sup>76</sup> Каталог выставки С.-Петербург, Государственный Эрмитаж, 2012. С. 266, 279, №№ 173, 187.

One letter<sup>77</sup> was published with typos in the appendix to the article by L.G.Klimanov with a brief retelling of its content.<sup>78</sup> Another letter, a *littera clausa* of Andrea Gritti dated 1524,<sup>79</sup> was only noted in a footnote indicating the year and the cipher as "a small document from the Venetian Cyprus".<sup>80</sup> L.G. Klimanov found four documents more,<sup>81</sup> following by short and amateur rather than scholarly descriptions made by G. Fantoni; their dates were borrowed from G. Fantoni's letters to N.P. Likhachev in 1901 and were incorrect.<sup>82</sup> The only serious study of the set of the *lettere ducali* of the XIV – XVI centuries (or, to be more precise, a preliminary outline of such study) is the paper by N.P. Likhachev given in 1923. The draft of the paper by N.P.Likhachev on the Venetian bulls lists among 17 documents of the XIV-XVIII centuries 14 letters (3 *litterae patentes* and 11 *litterae clausae*) of the XIV – mid-XVI centuries. The documents are cited as an example of a variety of letters with a hanging lead seal.<sup>83</sup> In a certain sense, these records can be considered as an attributive list with justification of dating and a brief (in two or three words) indication of the content of the document with general comments about the size of the seal and the way how it is attached. L. G. Klimanov identified letters according to these records and added modern archive ciphers to Likhachev's descriptions.<sup>84</sup>

With these few exceptions, the Venetian *lettere ducali* of the XIV – mid-XVI centuries from the St. Petersburg collection were not published and did not become the object of a special diplomatic and paleographic study.

The systematic publication of the Venetian archival documents is carried out under the auspices of the "Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie"<sup>85</sup> founded in 1873. It publishes the periodical "Archivio Veneto" continuously since 1871; besides that, it publishes the sources in "Collezione Monumenti" since 1876<sup>86</sup> and the monographic studies in the history of Venice in a series «Biblioteca Archivio Veneto» since 1960s; one more series, "Collezione Miscellanea," combines special studies with source publications.<sup>87</sup> Another institution that consolidates the work of the researchers of the sources is the Committee on the Publication of Historical Sources on the History of Venice, founded in 1947 by private individuals. Series «Fonti per la storia di Venezia» is divided into five collections (I. Archivi pubblici, II. Archivi ecclesiastici, III.

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<sup>77</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 15.

<sup>78</sup> Климанов, 1993. С. 28, 37-38.

<sup>79</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 22.

<sup>80</sup> Карпов, 2006. С. 74, прим. 8.

<sup>81</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 1; box 187, №№ 4, 17, 22.

<sup>82</sup> Климанов. О происхождении. 2002. С. 252, 258.

<sup>83</sup> НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 186, №№ 1, 3, 10, 12, 13, 15, 20, 22, 32; Box 187, №№ 1, 2, 16, 22.

<sup>84</sup> Климанов, 1999. С. 299-303.

<sup>85</sup> <http://www.veneziastoria.it>

<sup>86</sup> [http://www.veneziastoria.it/pub\\_col\\_mo/col\\_mo.htm](http://www.veneziastoria.it/pub_col_mo/col_mo.htm)

<sup>87</sup> [http://www.veneziastoria.it/pub\\_col\\_mi/col\\_mi.htm](http://www.veneziastoria.it/pub_col_mi/col_mi.htm)

Archivi notarili. IV. Archivi privati, V. Fondi vari) and by now has 60 volumes (<https://www.viella.it/fonti-per-la-storia-di-veneziah-volumi-arretrati>).<sup>88</sup>

One should mention another significant initiative of the total publication of the oldest documents (up to the 1199) by L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, F. Gaeta, E. Malipiero Ucropina, M. Rosada, and F. Scarmoncin within the series «Fonti per la storia di Venezia». These are mainly the documents from the archives of the ecclesiastic institutions, i.e. the documents from the archive of the Chapter of Vicenza (1083 – 1259) and the documents drawn in favor of the churches S. Lorenzo di Ammiana (1125-1199), S. Giovanni Evangelista di Torcello (1024-1199), Ss. Secondo ed Erasmo (1089-1199), S. Giorgio di Fossone (1074-1199), S. Lorenzo (853-1199), S. Giorgio Maggiore (982-1199), S. Maria Formosa (1060-1195), SS. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo (800-1229), Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e s. Gregorio (819-1199), Benedettini in S. Daniele (1046-1198). Remarkably, thanks to the well-established relations with Russian specialists, the Venetian researcher B. Lanfranchi-Strina took into account in her publications<sup>89</sup> the document from the collection of N.P. Likhachov, namely the great privilege of Pope Alexander III drawn in 1172,<sup>90</sup> whereas in the earlier edition the great privilege of Pope Adrian IV drawn in 1156,<sup>91</sup> which is preserved in the collection of the Russian academician in the original, remained unknown to publishers and was marked following the inventory of the 17th century as lost.<sup>92</sup> The researchers also took into account the oldest of the Venetian documents of the St. Petersburg collection, namely a commercial agreement of *commenda* drawn in 1188 and indicating the share of each shareholder in the equipment of a merchant ship.<sup>93</sup>

The publication of the books of *imbreviaturae* written by the Venetian notaries is another important direction of studies, since it provides access to a mass serial source on the history of socio-economic and legal relations, as well as on the history of everyday life of the XIII – XV centuries. Remarkably, preference is given to the notaries acting in the overseas colonies of Venice, mainly in Crete. Their *minutae* have already been published.<sup>94</sup> One can add to these publications some general studies on the history of the Venetian notary should.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> <https://www.viella.it/catalogo/collana/9>

<sup>89</sup> Lanfranchi-Strina B. Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo. T. II: Documenti 800–1199. Venezia, 1981. P. 295sq., n. 166 (с ошибочным шифром).

<sup>90</sup> Its notarial copy dated 1302: HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 501, № 3.

<sup>91</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 501, № 2a.

<sup>92</sup> Lanfranchi L., Strina B. Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio. Venezia, 1965. Appendice, n. XLVIII.

<sup>93</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 193, № 1): Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Codice diplomatico veneziano, secoli XI-XIII: trascrizione / A cura di L.Lanfranchi. 1940-1984 [машинопись: <http://www.archiviodistatovenetia.it/siasve/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?Tipo=fondo&Chiave=14539>]. Anno 1188, p. 90. n. 3879.

<sup>94</sup> Benvenuto de Brixano, notaio in Candia (1301-1302) / A cura di R. Morozzo della Rocca. Venezia, 1950; Leonardo Marcello, notaio in Candia (1278-1281) / A cura di M. Chiaudano e A. Lombarda. Venezia, 1960; Moretto Bon, notaio in Venezia, Trebisonda e Tana (1403-1408) / A cura di S. De'Colli. Venezia, 1963; Zaccaria de Fredo, notaio in Candia (1352-1358) / A cura di A. Lombardo. Venezia, 1967; Domenico prete di S. Maurizio, notaio in Venezia (1309-1316) / A cura di M. F. Tiepolo. Venezia, 1970; Nicola de Boateriis, notaio in Famagosta e Venezia (1355-1365) / A cura di A. Lombardo. Venezia, 1973; Felice de Merlis, prete e notaio in Venezia ed Ayas (1315-1348) / A cura di A. Bondi Sebellico. Vol. I-II. Venezia, 1973-1978; Bernardo de Rodulfis, notaio in Venezia (1392-1399) / A cura di G. Tamba. Venezia, 1974; Notaio di Venezia del sec. XIII

For a researcher of the Venetian chancery, the publications of registers with records of resolutions of the Senate, the Grand Council, and the Council of Ten are among the most important ones.<sup>96</sup> Separate excerpts from the resolutions of the government assemblies of Venice related to the Venetian Romania were also published alongside with the *regestae* in French.<sup>97</sup>

The systematic publication of registers of resolutions of the Senate was continued in the XXI century thanks to the initiative of the Venice Institute of Arts and Sciences (Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti) with the support of French institutions, namely Centre d'études historiques, École des Hautes études en sciences sociales and Maison des sciences de l'homme.<sup>98</sup> Seventeen volumes have now been published and the publication is still continuing.<sup>99</sup> Among the most recent publications of the heritage of the Venetian offices, one should mention the publication of the formularies of the instruction of the doges.<sup>100</sup>

With regard to the documents similar to the ones stored in the St. Petersburg collection of *lettere ducali*, the oldest register of letters of the Small Council was published at the beginning of the 20th century, in the form of a *regestae*, and not as a full-text edition.<sup>101</sup> However, the full-text publications and studies of documents, which make possible to study the norms of the release of *lettere ducali*, currently exist only for the period of the XII and XIII centuries.<sup>102</sup> Finally, we can

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(1290-1292) / A cura di M. Baroni. Venezia, 1977; Pietro Pizolo, notaio in Candia (1300) / A cura di S. Carbone. Vol. I-II. Venezia, 1978-1985; Servodio Peccator, notaio in Venezia e Alessandria d'Egitto / A cura di F. Rossi. Venezia, 1983; Quaderno di bordo di Giovanni Manzini, prete-notaio e cancelliere (1471-1484) / A cura di L. Greco. Venezia, 1997; Susinello Marino, notaio in Chioggia Minore (1348-1364) / A cura di S. Perini. Venezia, 2001; Stefano Bono, notaio in Candia (1303-1304) / A cura di G. Pettenello e S. Rauch. Venezia, 2011; I documenti di Liazaro, notaio vescovile di Feltre e Belluno (1386-1422) / A cura di G. M. Varanini e C. Zoldan. Venezia, 2011.

<sup>95</sup> *Bartoli Langeli A.* Notai: Scrivere documenti nell'Italia medievale. Venezia, 2006; *Pozza M.* Scrittura, diplomatica, notariato a Venezia // L'heritage byzantin en Italie (VIII<sup>e</sup> - XII<sup>e</sup> siècle). Vol. 1: La fabrique documentaire [Actes de la table ronde tenue à Rome ... les 12 et 13 juin 2008] / Sous la dir. de J.-M. Martin, A. Peters-Custot et V. Prigent. Roma, 2011 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 449). P. 151-168. *Parcianello F.* Documentazione e notariato a Venezia nell'età ducale / Premessa di A. *Bartoli Langeli*. Padova, 2012; Il notariato veneziano tra X e XV secolo. Atti del convegno di studi storici (Venezia 19-20 marzo 2010) / A cura della Commissione Studi Storici del Consiglio Nazionale del Notariato. Bologna, 2013.

<sup>96</sup> *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia* / A cura di R. Cessi. Vol. I-III. Bologna, 1931-1950; *Le deliberazioni del Consiglio dei rogati (Senato) serie "Mixtorum"*. Vol. I: Libri I-XIV / A cura di R. Cessi e P. Sambin. Venezia, 1960. Vol. II: Libri XV-XVI / A cura di R. Cessi e M. Brunetti. Venezia, 1961 (в ит. переводе); *Consiglio dei dieci. Deliberazioni miste: Registri I-II (1310-1325)* / A cura di F. Zago. Venezia, 1962. *Registri III-IV (1325-1335)* / A cura di F. Zago. Venezia, 1967; *Registro V* / A cura di F. Zago. Venezia, 1993.

<sup>97</sup> *Délibérations des Assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Romanie* / Sous la dir. de F. Thiriet. Vol. I: 1160-1363; Vol. II: 1364-1463. Paris, 1966-1971.

<sup>98</sup> См. рец. на тома 2004-2006 г.: Карпов С.П. // Средние века. Вып. 68 (4). 2007. С. 208-211

<sup>99</sup> *Venezia-Senato. Deliberazioni miste. Registre XV (1332-1333)* / Par *F.-X.Leduc*. Venise, 2017; *Registre XVI (1333-1335)* / Par *F.-X.Leduc*. Venise, 2013; *Registre XVII (1335-1339)* / Par *F.-X.Leduc*. Venise, 2007; *Registre XVIII (1339-1340)* / Par *F.-X.Leduc*. Venise, 2005; *Registre XIX (1340-1341)* / Par *F.-X.Leduc*. Venise, 2004; *Registro XX (1341-1342)* / A cura di *F. Girardi*. Venezia, 2004; *Registro XXI (1342-1344)* / A cura di *C. Azzara e L. Levantino*. Venezia, 2006; *Registro XXII (1344-1345)* / A cura di *E.Demo*. Venezia, 2007; *Registro XXIII (1345-1347)* / A cura di *F. Girardi*. Venezia, 2004; *Registro XXIV (1347-1349)* / A cura di *E.Orlando*. Venezia, 2007; *Registro XXV (1349-1350)* / A cura di *F. Girardi*. Venezia, 2006; *Registro XXVI (1350-1354)* / A cura di *F. Girardi*. Venezia, 2008; *Registro XXVIII (1357-1359)* / A cura di *E.Orlando*. Venezia, 2009; *Registro XXIX (1359-1361)* / A cura di *L. Levantino*. Venezia, 2012; *Registro XXXI (1363-1366)* / A cura di *L. Levantino*. Venezia, 2016; *Registro XXXIII (1368-1372)* / A cura di *A.Mozzato*. Venezia, 2010; *Registro XXXIV (1372-1375)* / A cura di *E.Orlando*. Venezia, 2015.

<sup>100</sup> *Le commissioni ducali ai rettori d'Istria e Dalmazia (1289-1361)* / A cura di A. Rizzi. Roma, 2015; *Le commissioni ducali ai rettori d'Istria (1382-1547)* / a cura di A. Rizzi. Roma, 2017.

<sup>101</sup> *Giomo G.* Lettere di collegio, rectius minor consilio, 1308-1310. Venezia, 1910.

<sup>102</sup> *Gli atti originali della cancelleria veneziana* / A cura di M. Pozza. Vol. I: 1090-1198. Venezia, 1994; Vol. II: 1205-1227. Venezia, 1996; *Lazzarini V.* Lettere ducali veneziane del secolo XIII. 'Litterae clausae' // *Scritti di Paleografia e Diplomatica in onore di Vincenzo Federici* / A cura di R. Morghen. Firenze, 1944. P. 225-239 (2 ed. in: *Lazzarini V.* *Scritti di paleografia e*

add publications and studies of single letters of the XIII – XV centuries or their small complexes found in other Italian archives.<sup>103</sup>

One should add to that the essays on the history of the Venetian chancery of the older period up to the mid-to-late 13th century are based primarily on the study of the original documents. This is primarily due to the fact that for this early period, on a number of issues, the documents themselves are often the only remaining source of our information about clerical paperwork.<sup>104</sup> For the subsequent period of the XIV – XVII centuries, in addition to the documents issued in the chancery appear other sources like the decisions regulating the clerical work, documents of personal origin, etc. Therefore, the study into the history of Venetian office-work is built mainly based on the history of institutions or through the study of individual biographies in a general socio-cultural context.<sup>105</sup> However, there are some special studies

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diplomatica. Padova, 1969. P. 183-194); *Hagemann W.* Lettere originali dei dogi Ranieri Zeno (1253-1268) e Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268-1275) conservate nell'Archivio Diplomatico di Fermo // *Studia Picena*. Vol. 25. 1957. P. 87-112 (2 ed. in: *Hagemann W.* Studi e documenti per la storia del Fermano nell'età degli Svevi. Fermo, 2011. pp. 333-357).

<sup>103</sup> *Avarucci G.* Cinque lettere dogali della seconda metà del quattrocento, indirizzate a Montesanto (Potenza Picena) // *Studia Picena*. Nuov. ser. Vol. 41, fasc.1-2. Fano, 1974. P. 12-19; *Avarucci G.* Lettere dogali del secolo XV nell'archivio storico comunale di Recanati // Atti del XIII Convegno di Studi Maceratesi (Mogliano, 12-13 novembre 1977). Macerata, 1979 (Studi maceratesi, 13). P. 156-175; *Avarucci G., Paciaroni R.* Lettere dogali in archivi marchigiani // La fascia costiera della Marca: atti del XVI Convegno di Studi Maceratesi (Civitanova Marche, 29-30 Novembre 1980). Macerata, 1982 (Studi maceratesi, 16). P. 121-174; *Borri G.* Ventiquattro lettere dogali conservate in alcuni archivi marchigiani // *Studia Picena*. Vol. 61. 1996. P. 79-140; *Gardoni G.* Una lettera del doge veneziano Iacopo Tiepolo al Comune di Mantova (1244) // *Honos alit artes*. Studi per il settantesimo compleanno di Mario Ascheri. Vol. II: Gli universi particolari / A cura di P. Maffei, G.M. Varanini. Firenze University Press, 2014 (Reti Medievali e-book, 19). P. 485-491.

<sup>104</sup> *Lazzarini V.* Originali antichissimi della cancelleria veneziana: osservazioni diplomatiche e paleografiche // *Nuovo archivio veneto*. N. s., vol. 8. 1904. P. 199-229 (2 ed., in: *V. Lazzarini V.* Scritti di paleografia e diplomatica. Padova, 1969. P. 168-182); *Lazzarini V.* I titoli dei dogi di Venezia // *Nuovo archivio veneto*. N. s., vol. 5. 1903. P. 271-313 (2 ed., in: *Lazzarini V.* Scritti di paleografia e diplomatica. Padova, 1969. P. 195-226); *Lazzarini V.* Un maestro di scrittura nella cancelleria veneziana // *Archivio veneto*. Ser. 5. Vol. 7. 1930. P. 118-125 (2 ed., in: *Lazzarini V.* Scritti di paleografia e diplomatica. Padova, 1969. P. 64-70); *Bascapè G. C.* Sigilli della Repubblica di Venezia. Le bolle dei dogi. I sigilli di uffici e di magistrature // *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*. Vol. I: Antichità e Alto Medioevo. Milano, 1962. P. 91-103; *Bartoli Langeli A.* La documentazione ducale dei secoli XI e XII. Primi appunti // *Studi veneti offerti a Gaetano Cozzi*. Venezia, 1992. P. 31-41; *Gallo D.* Appunti per uno studio delle cancellerie signorili venete del Trecento // *Il Veneto nel medioevo. Le signorie trecentesche* / A cura di A. Castagnetti, G. M. Varanini. Verona, 1995. P. 125-161; *Pozza M.* La cancelleria // *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*. Vol. II: L'età del comune / A cura di G. Gracco, G. Ortalli. Roma, 1995. P. 349-369; *Pozza M.* La cancelleria // *Storia di Venezia*. Vol. III: La formazione dello stato patrizio / A cura di G. Arnaldi, G. Gracco, A. Tenenti. Roma, 1997. P. 365-387; *Pozza M.* Lettere pubbliche e servizio postale di stato a Venezia nei secoli XII-XIV // *Venezia. Itinerari per la storia della città* / A cura di S. Gaparri, G. Levi, P. Moro. Bologna, 1997. P. 113-130; *Fees I.* Die Unterschriften der Dogen von Venedig im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert // *Manu propria. Vom eigenhändigen Schreiben der Mächtigen (13.-15. Jahrhundert)* / Hrsg. von C. Feller und Ch. Lackner. Wien, 2016. S. 149-170.

<sup>105</sup> *Baschet A.* Les archives de Venise. Histoire de la chancellerie secrète. Paris, 1870; *Marini F.* Luigi Marini segretario della serenissima Repubblica di Venezia nel secolo XV e XVI. Saggio di storia critica documentaria sulla genesi e sulla fine dell'ordine dei segretari. Treviso, 1910; *Trebbi G.* La cancelleria veneta nei secoli XVI e XVII // *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*. Vol. 14. 1980. P. 65-125; *Neff M.* Chancellery Secretaries in Venetian Politics and Society, 1480-1533. Ph.D. Thesis, University of California. Los Angeles, 1985; *Trebbi G.* Il segretario veneziano // *Archivio Storico Italiano*. Vol. 144/1. 1986. P. 35-74; *Casini M.* Realtà e simboli del Cancellier grande veneziano in età moderna (secc. XVI-XVII) // *Studi Veneziani*. N.s., vol. 22. 1991. P. 195-251; *Zannini A.* Burocrazia e burocrati a Venezia in età moderna: I cittadini originari (sec. XVI-XVIII). Venezia, 1993; *Arnaldi G.* La cancelleria ducale fra culto della "legalitas" e nuova cultura umanistica // *Storia di Venezia*. Vol. III: La formazione dello stato patrizio / A cura di G. Arnaldi, G. Gracco, A. Tenenti. Roma, 1997. P. 865-887; *Piccinini L.* La Cancelleria ducale di Venezia. Un'introduzione alla complessa elaborazione della documentazione pubblica della "Serenissima" // *Venezia. I luoghi della scrittura e della posta. The places of writing and of mail (from the XII to the XVIII century)*. Ediz. bilingue. di F. Rigo, L. Piccinini, A. Fusati. Padova: *Elzeviro Editrice*, 2008. S. 57-108; *Tiepolo M. F.* I Greci nella Cancelleria veneziana: Giovanni Dario // *I Greci a Venezia: Atti del convegno internazionale di studio (Venezia, 5-7 novembre 1998)*. Venezia, 2002. P. 257-314; *Galtarossa M.* La preparazione burocratica dei segretari e notai ducali a Venezia (sec. XVI-XVIII). Venezia, 2006 (Biblioteca Archivio Veneto, XII); *Galtarossa M.* Le politiche culturali per la Cancelleria ducale // *Formazione alla politica, politica della formazione a Venezia in Età moderna* / A cura di A. Caracausi e A. Conzato. Roma, 2013 (Interadria. Culture dell'Adriatico, 17). P. 73-100; *O'Connell M.* Legitimizing Venetian Expansion: Patricians and Secretaries in the Fifteenth

devoted to specific aspects of clerical office work of the XV – XVIII centuries, e.g. the decoration of official documents.<sup>106</sup>

Even in the presence of publications of papal registers and systematic publication of documents regulating the activities of the office the experience of studying mass chancery production of the Apostolic chancery of the late XII – early XV shows already at the stage of identifying and archaeographic description of the preserved original documents with the publication of the relevant catalogues in the framework of the initiative Censimento Bartoloni (publisher of the series «Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V electum». I-VII. Città del Vaticano, 1975-2003), we can draw conclusions regarding the chancery staff, office management and criteria of the authenticity of documents that would otherwise have been impossible. Thus, the study and publication of the original *lettere ducali* of the XIV – XVI centuries is an important contribution to the further study of the state institutions of the Republic of Venice.

### **The form of the *lettere ducali***

In the XIV – XVI centuries, the Republic Venice boasted a high degree of orderliness in the chancery management at all levels, from the notarial deeds or even lesser documents up to the documents produced by the chancery of the doge (including the *lettere ducali*) and the documents of the governmental institutions. The letter had to be written following certain rules. We should distinguish the legal form and the content of the documents. The content of the document is manifested through its form, i.e. the overall structure of the document, consisting of a certain set of formulas, which are more or less standardized.<sup>107</sup> The *lettere ducali* reflect the communication acts that took place between the doges and other political actors (either the subjects of the Republic of Venice or the foreign powers). A formal study of documents is one of the first steps in working with the *lettere ducali*. The form of the letter is important as an element that makes possible to classify and identify them.<sup>108</sup>

The *lettere ducali* start with the personal name and family name of the sending doge, a standard title ‘Dei gratia Venecie, Dalmacie atque Crohacie dux et dominus quarte partis et

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Century // Venice and the Veneto during the Renaissance: the Legacy of Benjamin Kohl / Ed. by M. Knapton, J.E. Law, A. Smith. Firenze University Press, 2014. P. 71-85.

<sup>106</sup> *Mariani Canova G.* La decorazione dei documenti ufficiali in Venezia dal 1460 al 1530 // Atti. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arti. Vol. 126. 1968. P. 319-334; *Szépe H. K.* Painters and Patrons in the Venetian Documents // Bollettino dei musei civici veneziani. Ser. III, n. 8. Venezia, 2013. P. 25-40. Или языку официальных документов: *Frasson P.* Tra volgare e latino: Aspetti della ricerca di una propria identità da parte di magistrature e cancelleria a Venezia (secc. 15.-16.) // Stato società e giustizia nella repubblica veneta (secc. 15.-18.) / A cura di G. Cozzi. Roma, 1980. P. 579-615; *Tomasin L.* Il volgare nella cancelleria veneziana fra Tre e Quattrocento // Medioevo letterario d'Italia. Vol. 4. 2007. P. 69-90.

<sup>107</sup> To some extent this juxtaposition of form and content is arbitrary, because the form, being an expression of content rather than a self-sufficient element, changes depending on the specific circumstances, which can reflect changes in the social and political realities.

<sup>108</sup> Here again we must remember that the form is determined by the content to a certain extent.

dimidie totius imperii Romanie' is characteristic of the three earliest documents dated 1355 (two) and 1356 (one) respectively;<sup>109</sup> starting from the document dated 1360<sup>110</sup> onward, the abbreviated formula of the title 'Dei gratia dux Venetiarum et cetera' is used.

Then in case the letter is addressed to the Venetians follows the addressee (an individual, a group or 'universis et singulis...') a salutation 'salutem et sincere<sup>111</sup> dilectionis affectum'.

This is followed by the dispositive part of the text.

Finally, the *datum* is commonly written out completely in a format: 'datum in nostro ducali palatio,' day – month – indiction – year. This practice of writing down the full year *anno Domini* was introduced quite quickly: the year is still absent in 1408,<sup>112</sup> but it appears from 1410 thereafter.<sup>113</sup>

To indicate year, month, day, and indiction, the scribes sometimes use the words; sometimes they use Roman or Arabic numerals. We still have to figure it out whether there is any preference in use.

When we reconstruct the chronology of documents, we should remember that the year in Venice began on March 1; accordingly, "February 14, 1439" in the document means that the document was drawn up on February 14, 1440 in our calculation. The place of writing documents is almost always mentioned.

## Handwriting and external characteristics of the letters

A few words should be said about the external features of documents. The object of our study, *lettere ducali* issued by the doges' chancery in the 1355 – 1537 and stored in the Western European section of the Archive of the Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, are preserved satisfactory, however, their preservation is very far from ideal. In some places, there is dampness, moisture and mold, which makes reading somewhat difficult,<sup>114</sup> the parchment is torn<sup>115</sup> or cut,<sup>116</sup> the text in some places was smeared due to incomprehensible ink marks,<sup>117</sup> ink is washed off with water,<sup>118</sup> there are holes made by rodents,<sup>119</sup> there is biological damage (bookworm),<sup>120</sup> stains,<sup>121</sup> and rusty metal clips or punctures with rust marks on the edges.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 1 (1355), 2 (1355), 3 (1356).

<sup>110</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4 (1360).

<sup>111</sup> Or 'syncere', see below.

<sup>112</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 21.

<sup>113</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 22.

<sup>114</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 6, 10, 12, 13, 20, 32; box 187, № 22.

<sup>115</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 3.

<sup>116</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 13, 20, 29; box 187, № 9.

<sup>117</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4.

<sup>118</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 7.

<sup>119</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 1, 12, 15.

<sup>120</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 7, 16.

We cannot answer with full certainty whether a letter is an *littera patens* or a *littera clausa* in the case of the copies of letters that are preserved only in the chancery registers, that is the books of records of outgoing documentation; the Venetian chancery began making them starting from the 1260s, but only as late as the first years of the of the fourteenth century they started to register the letters. However, the Venetian registers of letters contain the notes confirming the receipt of an answer to the letter.

Since the documents are obviously written by different hands, besides the features typical of the Venetian chancery we can trace individual handwriting features. On the *plica* of the *litterae patentes* on the right and on the *litterae clausae* – on the reverse side there are barely readable initials of signatures of the scribes or notaries, who composed this document, and their attribution is a separate research goal. In most *lettere ducali*, the lines go horizontally, the fields are average, and the distances between the lines are normally equals about the size of the line of writing, in some cases increasing up to one and a half, two, and, in rare cases even two and a half lines. In many letters there is no tendency to save material – the fields are wide, and the distance between the lines is relatively large. Most of the documents are written using the notarial cursive of the XIV – XVI centuries, when the features of the Gothic handwriting are gradually replaced by the elements of the Humanist minuscule, followed by a complete rejection of the Gothic writing. The appearance of e-caudata, digraphs, -ti instead of -ci in nouns ending in nominative by on -tio indicate the spread of humanistic written culture, typography and distribution in the university teaching of the ancient classical texts. However, in our documents some scribes have features of late Gothic writing in its Italian version, including chiefly the initial letter of the doges' and addressees names,<sup>123</sup> some toponyms,<sup>124</sup> as well as some other capital letters («E» in «et, est, esset, episcopi, eorum»,<sup>125</sup> «D» in «data, dux, donec»,<sup>126</sup> «C» in «cum, comiti / comites»,<sup>127</sup> «Q» in «quare, quibus»,<sup>128</sup> «S» in «sed, successoribus»,<sup>129</sup> Gothic wavy «I» in various positions,<sup>130</sup> etc.). The handwriting is accurate, regularized, in some words there is a tendency to isolate the first letter of a word, but sometimes one word is divided into two contrary to the rules of the Latin spelling. In some of the *lettere ducali*, the handwriting is larger; in other cases the letters are more elongated.

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<sup>121</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 16.

<sup>122</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 1, 22. Box 187, № 19.

<sup>123</sup> As well as some epithets like 'Magnifico', 'Potenti', 'Illustri', 'Nobili', 'Reverendi' etc.

<sup>124</sup> E.g. 'Tarvisii' in HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 17, 19.

<sup>125</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 15, 19, 20, 22, 26, 30, 31, 32; box 187, № 1, 4.

<sup>126</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 1, 5, 9.

<sup>127</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 4.

<sup>128</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 15.

<sup>129</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 26, 27, 30; box 187, № 4.

<sup>130</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 26, 28, 30, 31; box 187, № 1, 4 etc.

The abbreviations, suspensions and contractions are quite abundant in the *lettere ducali*. The curial scribes of the Venetian doges use standard contractions; they often reduce the syllables with “n” and “r”, case endings, etc. However, some scribes have more contractions than others; in addition, they are less clear and less regular, and at times not quite traditional. Capital letters are used in a manner different from the contemporary one and are not always used when writing personal names. Sometimes, although very rarely, there are cases of language interference. The first letter of the document (the initial of the personal name of the doge) is bigger than others. The remote parts of the letters "l", "b", and "v" are usually quite long.

The *lettere ducali* are well-edited, there are only few corrections, strikethroughs, inserts between the lines and parts written on blurred. Handwriting in some documents is somewhat better than in the others. There are examples of correction made most likely by the scribes themselves: the missing words are inscribed between the lines, the extra words are crossed out, there are corrections when the words are written over the erased ones. The individual characteristics of the scribes may indicate the difference in their characters,<sup>131</sup> or the difference in experience.

The difference between the *litterae patentes* and *litterae clausae* is connected, first of all, with the method of attaching the hanging seal. In the first case, the seal was fastened in the middle of the bottom edge of the parchment sheet bent upwards (such a fold is called a *plica*). This method of attaching the hanging seal dates back to the time when official documents were drawn up on papyrus (the only surviving example is the letter of Pope John XIII dated 968). There was no other way to fasten a lead bull on the cord. There are no extant examples of the *litterae clausae* on papyrus. The oldest of the remaining *litterae clausae* on parchment and paper were sealed with parchment ribbon. The chancery of the doges of Venice followed the traditions of the apostolic chancery. A *littera clausa* was folded into an envelope, just like an *littera patens*, but the hemp cord was stitching the edges of the envelope so that it was impossible to unfold the parchment without cutting off the seal. In order not to break the seal, one could cut with the scissors the edges of the parchment towards the direction of the holes, so that the seal hung from one of the sides.

On the *litterae patentes*, the monogram of the scribe was placed on a *plica* (fold) on the right or on the left side, and here we also see the imitation of the papal chancery. In case of *litterae clausae*, the monogram was placed on the external side of the envelope. The address was also written there. Accordingly, when we deal with the copies, we can distinguish a *littera clausa*

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<sup>131</sup> Obviously, a more absent-minded scribe tends to make more mistakes and inaccuracies, and then return and correct them. Another scribe can be more experienced and self-confident and tends to write the documents more carelessly and indistinctly; at the same time, he almost never makes formal mistakes or, at least, does not consider it necessary to correct them. This can indicate a long-term habit of such work, along with a certain negligence and fluent handwriting.

from a *littera patens* only based on the mention of the address on the back, seeing the indication *a tergo*, i.e. "on the back."

## **Language of the *lettere ducali***

The language of the *lettere ducali* has typical stylistic features characteristic of the chancery work. Most letters are written in Latin with some degree of language interference (namely, the elements of Venetian vernacular). The strong influence of Italian vernaculars on Latin becomes a common feature characteristic of the language of all Italian scribes since the middle of the fourteenth century. The language of the professional activity of the scribes of the doges' chancery, however, was not so strongly influenced by the vernacular. However, their Latin is far from irreproachable, so we see the language interference, i.e. the influence of the spoken language on the clerical one.

The spelling of the *lettere* is relatively ordered and regularized. Although one sometimes encounters completely atypical errors, one can still say that some errors and irregularities in Latin of the scribes are quite standard and predictable; moreover, they can be simply characteristic of the tradition and practice of the chancery and were not considered 'errors' by the scribes themselves. The letter combination "ch" instead of "c" appears in the words 'Checham',<sup>132</sup> 'Iudaicha',<sup>133</sup> 'barcham',<sup>134</sup> 'viceduchæ'.<sup>135</sup> The Latin of the scribes often has 'ci' instead of classical 'ti' in the words like 'tocius', 'servicia', 'amicicia', 'terciis'. Sometimes, however, the use varies. Thus, we find 'iustici-' in Box 186, № 30 and Box 187, № 12; however, we find 'iustiti-' in Box 186, № 17. Interestingly, 'palatio' (35 times) and 'palacio' (7 times) are used interchangeably up to 1410 and there is no regular alternation of "-tio-" and "-cio-" in this case; however, starting from this year only 'palatio' can be found. In some cases, 'i' is written in such a manner that it is almost impossible to distinguish it from 'z'.<sup>136</sup> Notably, here the scribes kept in mind not only the considerations related to the calligraphy: apparently, in the Venetian idiom of that time 'i' and 'z' were not distinguishable phonetically and stood for one and the same affricate in the beginning of the word before the vowel ('iulii'). In some positions of the letters 'o' and 'u' in it impossible to distinguish between them, so we restore them following the rules of classical Latin. The search for a graphic expression for sounds that are present in Italian but absent in Latin, typical of many scribes of the time, is hardly found. Once, a scribe writes 'uius' instead of 'huius' in an Italian manner.<sup>137</sup> In another document a scribe uses Italianized

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<sup>132</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4.

<sup>133</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4.

<sup>134</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 10.

<sup>135</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 16.

<sup>136</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 22.

<sup>137</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4.

‘ritenta’ instead of Latin ‘retenta’.<sup>138</sup> Two cases of gemination, that is introduction of double consonants not provided for by the rules of Latin spelling, were found, namely ‘tollerabile’ instead of ‘tolerabile’,<sup>139</sup> and ‘neccessariis’ instead of ‘necessariis’.<sup>140</sup> in 186/8 and similarly 187/2. There are no traces of the opposite process characteristic of vulgar medieval Latin, namely simplification of the geminates, i.e. loss of double consonants. No epenthesis (appearance of extra letters) is found. “S” is commonly outplaced by “x” in the intervocal position: ‘requixitionem’ instead of ‘requisitionem’,<sup>141</sup> ‘ambaxiator’ instead of ‘ambassador’ or ‘ambasiator’.<sup>142</sup> One scribe consistently uses the digraph ‘æ’ in the words ‘viceduchæ’ and ‘Cretæ’;<sup>143</sup> moreover, besides the correct use of ‘æ’ and e-caudata we sometimes face hypercorrection: ‘syncereꝝ dilectionis affectum’,<sup>144</sup> ‘ceterisque rectoribus et officialibus nostris’.<sup>145</sup> The use of numeral *unus* in the role of an indefinite article was not found. ‘Y’ and ‘i’ are sometimes used interchangeably. Remarkably, ‘sincere’ (17 times) and ‘syncere’ (5 times)<sup>146</sup> are used interchangeably, but it seems like there is a regularity of use of ‘i’ in the earlier documents and of ‘y’ in the later ones. ‘Y’ is correctly used in the given names (*Hieronimus*,<sup>147</sup> *Aloysius*,<sup>148</sup> *Ypolitus*<sup>149</sup>) but is several times incorrectly introduced: ‘ymmo (bis)’<sup>150</sup> and ‘ymo’<sup>151</sup> instead of ‘immo’, ‘ydonea, -os’ instead of ‘idonea, -os’<sup>152</sup> (the latter can be an example of the false Hellenization).

Sometimes one can find minor inconsistencies in prepositions and cases and mixture of declensions. The influence of the Venetian vernacular can be traced to the fact that the family name is often given in an unchangeable form (although the personal name is declined almost always); this includes the names of the doges. In names or nicknames, diminutive suffixes are common (*Francischinus Vido de Iudaicha*,<sup>153</sup> *Franceschinus de la Turre*<sup>154</sup>). In general, compared to many other types of documents, the scribes of the chancery clearly distinguished in their professional activities Latin and vernacular and the borders were pretty obvious; however, some degree of language interference is present.

<sup>138</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 3.

<sup>139</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 30.

<sup>140</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 8; box 187, № 2.

<sup>141</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4.

<sup>142</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 9.

<sup>143</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 16.

<sup>144</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 15.

<sup>145</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 19.

<sup>146</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 7, 8, 11, 15.

<sup>147</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 7, 12.

<sup>148</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 7, 20.

<sup>149</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 8.

<sup>150</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 25.

<sup>151</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 28.

<sup>152</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 12.

<sup>153</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4.

<sup>154</sup> HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 5.

The transcription of both the texts of the documents and the chancery notes on them is a difficult matter. One should distinguish between the chancery notes and the archival ones, despite the fact that the brevity of such notes does not always allow dating by paleographic methods. Another problem is that we cannot be sure that the abbreviations are adequately disclosed due to the same brevity. The study of the chancery notes on the documents of the papal office showed that the same abbreviation in the form of a crossed out letter “R” can denote different meanings of notes depending on the location on the document (“registrum”, “recipe”). In the case of the *lettere ducali*, we still have to decide in which cases such a note with a subsequent number of the indiction should be interpreted as a note about sending a response (“replicata”), and in which cases the same note may indicate that the document has been recorded in the register (“registrata” or “rubricata”). In order to solve this problem as well as other similar ones, we have to study based on the secondary literature the stages of formation of the chancery works in the Republic of Venice and to make a comparison of the notes on the original letters with similar notes on registration copies of the letters.

Since the publication of the text of medieval documents involves the adaptation of medieval graphics to the modern graphics of the Latin alphabet, the editors have to provide a commentary reflecting the specific characteristics of individual documents and writing patterns characteristic of different times within the period covered by the study and for individual scribes,<sup>155</sup> which can be used as an attributive factor. The analysis of the forms of letters and features of their writing is necessary for the correct reading of *lettere ducali* and disclosure of abbreviations using reference books,<sup>156</sup> as well as for developing rules for writing transcriptions: highlighting those graphic forms of letters that will be saved (for example, “æ”, “ę”, “ç”), and those that will be aligned with the modern graphics of the Latin alphabet, which will be specified in the appropriate comment (for example, replacing “u” with “v” in the case of a consonant sound; replacing the final “j” with “i” etc.).

In the course of studying the diplomatic features of the documents, our group is developing methods for the most adequate representation of the chancery notes for the publication of the documents, based on the experience of studying chancery notes on the documents of the Apostolic chancery of the late 12th – early 14th centuries.<sup>157</sup> The experience of publication of the

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<sup>155</sup> For example, and *e-caudata* (æ, ę) to designate the digraph “ae”, which was returned to the practice of Latin writing thanks to philological researches of humanists and early printed publications of classical authors.

<sup>156</sup> Cappelli A. *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*. 7 edizione: Milano, 1987.

<sup>157</sup> Barbiche B. *Les actes pontificaux originaux des Archives Nationales: Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V electum*, I–III. Città del Vaticano, 1975–1982. T. I: 1198–1261. T. II: 1261–1304. T. III: 1304–1415; Sayers J. E. *Original Papal Documents in England and Wales from the Accession of Pope Innocent III to the Death of Pope Benedict XI (1198–1304)*. Oxford, 1999; Zutshi P.N.R. *Original Papal Letters in England 1305–1415: Index actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V electum*, V. Città del Vaticano, 1990; Hilger W. *Verzeichnis der Originale spätmittelalterlicher Papsturkunden in Österreich 1198–1304: Ein Beitrag zum Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V electum*. Wien, 1991; Schwarz B. *Die Originale von Papsturkunden in Niedersachsen 1199–1417: Index actorum Romanorum*

documents of Cremona was taken into account here.<sup>158</sup> Further, the indices that we composed (*index nominum*, *index locorum*, and *index rerum*) are themselves a separate source of information on the staff of the chancery and a starting point for a further prosopographic study.

Transcribing the documents, we retained all the features of the spelling of *lettere ducali*, including errors and various spellings of words. Words and letters were reconstructed according to the context are given either in square brackets or in italics; same was done for disclosing traditional abbreviations in the text. Ellipses in square brackets indicate places that cannot be read due to poor preservation of documents or features of the writing of the scribe. Numbering completely follows the archival one and no additional numbering was used. The footnotes reflect the fragments which are crossed out, blurred, and / or inserted. All names in the *regestae* are given in the Italian transcription insofar as the authors managed to restore it.

## Conclusion

The preparation of this set of archival documents for critical publication is especially relevant not only because it was poorly studied so far. The letters of the doges of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries demonstrate a fairly developed chancery work, comparable in a number of parameters with the level of office work of the papal curia of the first half of the thirteenth century. However, a preliminary study of the bibliography showed us that the tradition of studying of the standards of issue of the documents in the chanceries of the Republic of Venice is still at a very basic level. In this regard, the study and publication of the St. Petersburg set of the *lettere ducali* goes hand by hand with a problem of the identification of the attributive characteristics associated with the evolution of the handwriting and the form of the document, the arrangement of the elements of the form on a sheet of parchment, the features of the attachment of a seal and a study into the chancery notes.

The main expected result and at the same time the goal of the project is the introduction of new historical sources into the scientific community. This study revealed historical material on the history specific cities and regions of Italy (Venice, Treviso, Ferrara, Verona, Padua, the Po Delta), as well as the Venetian colonies in the Mediterranean (Crete, Cyprus) and the Adriatic (Shkodra, Dalmatian Coast), history of international relations, history of economic relations, history of everyday life, history of state institutions and international law, history of a medieval

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Pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V electum, IV. Città del Vaticano, 1988; *Schmidt T.* Die Originale der Papsturkunden in Baden-Württemberg 1198–1417: Index actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V electum, VI. Città del Vaticano, 1993; *Schmidt T.* Die Originale der Papsturkunden in Norddeutschland (Bremen, Hamburg, Meklenburg-Vorpommern, Schleswig-Holstein) 1199–1415: Index actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V electum, VII. Città del Vaticano, 2003/

<sup>158</sup> Акты Кремоны X–XIII веков в собрании Академии наук СССР / Подг. к изд. С. А. Аннинского, под ред. О. А. Добиаш-Рождественской. М.; Л., 1937. С. 325–336; Акты Кремоны XIII–XVI веков в собрании Академии наук СССР / Под ред. В. И. Рутенбурга и Е. Ч. Скржинской. М.; Л., 1961. С. 217–231).

document, history of Latin writing. Moreover, the project and the planned publication will be useful for linguists, specialists in Medieval Latin and Romance languages.

Besides its research significance, the publication of *lettere ducali* can have educational value. A publication of the medieval documentary set can become a guideline for future researchers of handwritten material. Digital publication of selected documents with their reproduction in good resolution can be used as an album on the paleography of medieval manuscripts, i.e. it will allow novice researchers to practice reading and transcribing skills, which will contribute to the further training of specialists. When new research materials from other documentary sets and manuscript fragments from the N.P. Likhachev's collection are attached to this digital collection, this publication may form in the future the basis of an online workshop on medieval diplomacy and Latin paleography, similar to the online course of the French School of Charters (<http://theleme.enc.sorbonne.fr/dossiers/>).

Our team plans to publish the outcomes of this study as a series of articles in peer-reviewed journals: "Studi Veneziani" (Pisa, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Istituto di Storia della Società del Veneziano, Istituto "Venezia e l'Oriente"), Nuova Rivista Storica (Milan, Rome), "Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины" (St. Petersburg, SPbII RAN), "Петербургский исторический журнал" (S. Petersburg, SPbII RAN), "Средние века" (Moscow, IVI RAN).

## **Contact details and disclaimer:**

Evgeny A. Khvalkov

National Research University Higher School of Economics (Saint Petersburg, Russia).

Department of History, Associate Professor;

E-mail: ekhvalkov@hse.ru

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