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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)**

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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)

This study presents research on a set of Venetian *lettere ducali* of the 14th to mid-16th centuries and the preparation of their full-text publication. Due to their diplomatic and palaeographic characteristics, the *lettere ducali* stored in St. Petersburg are an example of well-developed chancery production, despite the chancery still being institutionalized at that point. 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 authenticity criteria and the attributive features of these letters is the most urgent purpose of the project, given that there is yet to be a systematic publication and sequential study of the *lettere ducali* of the 14–16th centuries. As regards the medieval and early modern chancery activity in the Venetian Republic, only the period up to the 13th century has been studied well enough; only minor sets of the authentic later *lettere ducali* have been published. The documents in question are from the manuscript collection of Likhachev (1862-1936), a Member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, have never been published, and have gone almost unnoticed in the scholarly discourse. The publication of these documents will allow medievalists to study previously unknown sources. The extensive study of the diplomatic and palaeographic peculiarities of the letters, their description and visualization, their attribution and the transcription of the notes of the scribes will provide researchers with the tools for the historical criticism of this variety of documents. The preliminary outcomes of the research and a deep analysis of certain case studies found in the manuscripts are to be presented as scholarly articles in double-blind peer-reviewed journals and in conference proceedings.

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

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Introduction

This study is devoted to the research and the preparation of the full-text critical publication of a set of the Venetian *lettere ducali* of the 14th to mid-16th centuries collected by Nikolay Petrovich Likhachev (1862–1936), a Member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The *lettere ducali* were stored in the Western European section of the Saint Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences (The Archive). They 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 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 period. 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 for the history of the Western European Middle Ages and Early Modern period. *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. There are only a few examples of the critical publication of the originals of the *lettere ducali* and their diplomatic research.

The period in question marked the most active territorial expansion of the Venetian Republic and its increasing role in 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 palaeographic characteristics, these *lettere ducali* are an example of well-developed chancery production, even though the chancery was still being institutionalized at that point. The *lettere ducali* are among the most widespread varieties of such documents issued under the name of the Venetian doges at that time. In this regard, the clarification of authenticity criteria and the attributive features of these letters is the most urgent purpose of the project, given that there is yet to be a systematic publication and sequential study of the *lettere ducali* of the 14–16th centuries.

The activity of medieval and early modern chancery in the Venetian Republic has only been well studied up to the 13th century; only minor sets of authentic later *lettere ducali* have been published. The documents in question from the manuscript collection of Likhachev have never been published, and have gone almost unnoticed in the scholarly discourse. The

publication of these documents will allow medievalists to study previously unknown sources. The extensive study of the diplomatic and palaeographic peculiarities of the letters, their description and visualization, their attribution and the transcription of the notes of the scribes will provide researchers with the tools for the historical criticism of this variety of documents.

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

Shaping the collection by Likhachev

The idea of shaping a collection of medieval documents for the future Museum of Palaeography, which in 1925 became part of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, emerged as a result of the educational work of Likhachev.⁵ The Archaeological Institute of Saint Petersburg, which was founded in 1877, offered a two-year postgraduate program in Archaeology and Archival Science. Likhachev was elected to the Chair of Diplomatic (the first in Russia) and lectured in Diplomatic and Sphragistics, 1894–1925. As he himself admitted, it was exactly in the process of the preparation of the lectures that he realized the necessity of studying Russian diplomatic in comparison with Byzantine and, especially, Western European documents, which were the best researched at that time in respect of methodology.⁶ The idea of providing Russian scholars with the methods of the auxiliary sciences of history based on authentic documents led him to the foundation of first the Office of Palaeography and, later, the Museum of Palaeography.⁷

This educational work of Likhachev is reflected in the critical publication of the documents of the archive of the Cremona Cathedral. This project started in the early 1920s within a seminar under the supervision of Dobias-Roždestvenska (1874–1939). Many students (sometimes dozens) were involved in transcription, and among them there were some future prominent Soviet medievalists such as Vsevolod Vladimirovitch Bakhtin (1901–1951), Sergey

⁵ 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.

⁶ См. письмо Н. П. Лихачева Н. Г. Лихачевой, б.д.: СПбФ АРАН. Ф. 246. Оп. 3. Д. 13. Л. 43; опубли.: Степанова Е.В. «Он был ученым «с головы до ног» и никем другим не желал и не был...» (По материалам личного архива Н.П.Лихачева) // "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. С. 20 – 22.

⁷ 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.

Aleksandrovitch Ushakov (1904–1938), Aleksandra Dmitrievna Lublinskaya (1902–1980) and Vladimir Sergeevitch Lublinskiy (1903–1968). Some of the students' draft transcriptions are still attached to the original documents. Since the draft transcriptions done by the students were far from perfect, Anninskiy (1891–1942/1943) had to re-read the documents in order to double-check the transcriptions.⁸

Paradoxically, the best idea of our archival set can be drawn from a working, and rather chaotic, list compiled by 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 between the East and the West and their mutual influence.⁹ On 9th and 16th March 1923, he gave a paper about the bullae and autographs of the Venetian doges at the State Academy of the History of Material Culture, 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 Likhachev's draft and the protocol recording of the paper.¹⁰ Klimanov identified letters based on these records and added modern archival ciphers to Likhachev's descriptions.¹¹ In a certain sense, these preliminary notes can be considered as an attributive list with a justification of the dates and a very brief indication of the content of the documents, as well as the scholar's general impressions about the size of the seal and the way in which it was attached.

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

The Research and Study Group 'Bishops, Doges and Merchants: Texts of Medieval Italian Cities of the 9-15th Centuries' was created recently following the experience of the 1920s. Its research is based on the archival collection of Likhachev and is carried out by 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

⁸ 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-Рожественской*. М.; Л., 1937. С. 25-26.

⁹ See 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; частично опубл.: Климанов Л.Г. Николай Петрович Лихачев – коллекционер «сказочного размаха» // *Большаков А.О., Залесская В.Н., Пятницкий Ю.А. и др. Из коллекции академика Н.П.Лихачева. Каталог выставки*. СПб: Седа-С, 1993. С. 23.

¹⁰ *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 – НА СПбИИ, WES) НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 186, №№ 1, 3, 10, 12, 13, 15, 20, 22, 32; Box 187, №№ 1, 2, 14, 16, 22.

¹¹ Климанов, 1999. С. 299-303.

2018, the project team detected a small but rather heterogeneous and unified set of documents and decided to prepare it for critical publication.

Goals of the project

At the beginning of our project, we set ourselves the following goal: to read and transcribe the set of letters and to prepare them for critical publication. However, this goal implies a study into the consequent work of the ducal chancery, as well as the relationships between the doges and their correspondents. Thus, the work on preparing the source for publication requires the embedding of data of this source in a specific context.

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

- the identification of the *lettere ducali* stored in The Archive;
- the reading and full transcription of the texts of these *lettere ducali* both in Latin and in the vernacular;¹²

- dating the *lettere ducali*; charters are sometimes dated either by the year of the indiction, or have no indication of the year of sending; 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; the modern style of dating should take into account the style used in the Venetian office;¹³

- a general description of the sources, including a description of their appearance and preservation, provenance, the palaeographic and linguistic features of the letters;

- a comprehensive study of these documents, based on an analysis of both the formal aspect of the letters and their content;

- defining the potential and the limitation of the sources;

- drawing up *registrae* and databases;

- reconstructing some aspects of the international relations of the doges;

- composing indices: the *index nominum*, *index locorum*, and *index rerum*.

The geographical limits of our study are not clear cut. All the documents come from the Venetian ducal chancery, however, the addressees of the letters dwelled in various locations of the Venetian Dogato, as well as outside of it – such as the Marquis d'Este (see below).

The chronological limits of our study comprise the letters drawn from 1354 (and the infamous rule of Marino Faliero) to 1547. The justification for the later limit is the following:

- the period we study is the époque of the immense Venetian expansion on the Terraferma;

¹² 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>).

¹³ 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.

- this period comprises the whole rules of the doges Andrea Gritti (1523.5.20-1538.7.28) and Francesco Donato (1545.11.24-1553.5.23);
- 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’¹⁴ 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 fragmented due to 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 study can sometimes be atypical but can also be a rich source of 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 micro-historical study using the methods and approaches of cultural anthropology.

In order to reveal the potential of the documents, we conducted a number of separate studies to contextualize the cases found in the letters. This aim derived directly from the goal of the attribution of the anthroponyms, toponyms, and other realities found in the letters. The present study determined the uniqueness of the information contained in letters stored in St. Petersburg, and thus assessed the rarity and uniqueness of the *lettere*. In order to clarify the authenticity criteria and identify the attribution tools for the *lettere ducali* of the 14th to mid-16th centuries we studied the palaeographic and diplomatic features of the letters, changes in the form, the ways of fastening the seal, the features of the graphic design, and the structure and content of the chancery notes.

The major aim of the project is therefore to provide the academic community with access to these previously unstudied sources. The other (no less important) goal is to develop a methodology for the presentation of palaeographic and diplomatic information, which can be used as a source on the history of the functioning of the chancery of the Venetian doges in this period.

General presentation

Our research team picked up forty-eight documents of the same type dating from mid-14th to mid-16th century. These are the oldest Venetian letters in Likhachev’s collection, written by

¹⁴ <http://rulersofvenice.org/>

the sixteen doges of the Republic of Venice. *Lettere ducali*, or *ducali minori*, are 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)

The research team identified 48 letters from 16 Venetian doges of the period, stored in The Archive:

Marino Faliero (1354.9.16-1355.4.16) – 1 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 1)

Giovanni Gradenigo (1355.4.21-1356.8.8) – 2 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, №№ 2, 3)

Giovanni Delfino (1356.8.13-1361.7.12) – 1 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4)

Lorenzo Celsi (1361.7.13-1365.7.18) – 1 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 5)

Marco Cornaro (1365.7.21-1368.1.13) – 1 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 6)

Andrea Contarini (1368.1.20-1382.6.5) – 6 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, №№ 7-10, 12, 13)

Antonio Venier (1382.10.21-1400.11.23) – 4 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 14, 15, 17, 19)

Michele Steno (1400.12.1-1413.12.26) – 3 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 20-22)

Francesco Foscari (1423.4.15-1457.10.25) – 12 (WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 25-32; box 187, №№ 1, 2, 4, 5)

Nicolò Marcello (1473.8.13-1474.12.1) – 2 (WES, coll. 6, box 187, №№ 7, 8)

Pietro Mocenigo (1474.12.14-1476.2.23) – 1 (WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 9)

Giovanni Mocenigo (1478.5.18-1485.9.14) – 2 (WES, coll. 6, box 187, №№ 11, 12)

Agostin Barbarigo (1486.8.30-1501.9.20) – 5 (WES, coll. 6, box 187, №№ 13-17)

Leonardo Loredan (1501.10.2-1521.6.21) – 3 (WES, coll. 6, box 187, №№ 18-20)

Andrea Gritti (1523.5.20-1538.12.28) – 3 (WES, coll. 6, box 187, №№ 22, 22a, 24)

Francesco Donato (1545.11.24-1553.5.23) – 1 (WES, coll. 6, box 188, №№ 1)

46 out of 48 documents are originals (14 *litterae patentes* and 30 *litterae clausae*). The 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 issued 13 years before and completely conveying its content.¹⁵ Thus, we have at our disposal 49 documents. 11 original documents bear hanging lead seals.¹⁶ 2 documents are illuminated.¹⁷ An antiquarian attached to one of the document an alien wax and mastic seal with a coat of arms in a metal ark,

¹⁵ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 4.

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

¹⁷ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 14; box 188, № 1.

apparently in order to increase its value.¹⁸ The seal is yet to be identified. Most of the documents are in satisfactory condition, several letters were damaged by a fungus, which in some cases led to some text loss. 2 copies of the *litterae clausae* suffered slightly: in the paper copy its edge is cut off with a loss of part of the text; in the parchment copy, part of the text is washed away from the parchment due to moisture and storage in the form of a scroll, the ink of this text has been printed to the other side of the sheet. 4 documents are written in the vernacular,¹⁹ the others are in Latin.

Our research team made preliminary working transcriptions of all the 48 documents. We also did a preliminary archaeological description and identified the most significant toponyms. In some cases, we recovered the lost fragments of the text; however, much still needs to be restored based on research of similar sources and the secondary literature. Thanks to the surviving covers, in 8 cases we managed to indicate the provenance of the letters, namely trading houses Pio Luzziatti, Gabriel Charavay, and Gilhofer und Ranschburg. Finally, our research team partially deciphered the archival records of the 16-18th centuries and partly attributed chancery notes. The overall volume of the text of the transcribed documents is 88,286 symbols without annotations.

Our research team identified 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 (1462.5.12-1471.11.9) (1 letter); Niccolò Tron (1471.11.25-1473.7.28) (1 letter); Niccolo Marcello (1 letter); Agostino Barbarigo (1 letter); Leonardo Loredan (2 letters); Francesco Donato (1545.11.24-1553.5.23) (1 letter). The texts of the letters were translated into the vernacular, including the formulas of protocol and eschatocol, which are also translated into the vernacular, although the Venetian chancery conventionally used Latin for protocol and eschatocol. The translations of the letters were rewritten in chronological order along with other documents of the same period in a paper codex,²⁰ 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 18th century, similar to those preserved alongside the documents of Ferrara. We still have to figure out the purpose of this collection and the purpose of its translation into 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 has defined the set of the *lettere ducali* to be published. We plan to go through some other parts of the archive in order to identify

¹⁸ НА СПбИИ, 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.

¹⁹ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 32; box 187, № 19; box 188, № 1.

²⁰ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 199, № 14.

some separate documents which were not sufficiently attributed and catalogued by Anninskiy during the systematization of Likhachev's manuscript collection in the 1930s and later.

Addressees

Some documents are addressed to podestas, captains and other officers of the Venetian Terraferma and the overseas possessions of Venice. The addresses are in: Treviso (10) and 2 locations situated near Treviso, 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 Italy: the 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). The documents are mainly administrative orders regarding payment and the satisfaction of petitions submitted to the office of the doge. In two cases, the letters reveal tragic stories: the abduction of a married woman, who was taken into custody with her captor, and the search for a fugitive female slave.

11 *litterae clausae* are addressed to the Marquis of Ferrara: 4 to Niccolò II d'Este (1361–1388)²¹ and 7 to Niccolò III d'Este (1393–1441).²² Here we deal with 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. The letters mention the trade in malvasia wine, eggs, cheese, salted meat, grains, and olive oil. 6 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 the credentials of the Venetian ambassador.

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

Provenance

The manuscripts of the collection of Likhachev were purchased directly from private collectors or through antiquarian trading companies, mainly either by correspondence or during his trips abroad 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 a letter Likhachev wrote to a professor of the University of Saint Petersburg, Ivan Vasilievitch Pomyalovsky (1845–1906), dated 11 November 1895. "In Venice, I saw a broken and unattended set of the

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

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

archival documents dating back to the 15th and 16th centuries and I bought it all for 50 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 it, and I trusted one local antiquarian so he would send it to St. Petersburg. In order to avoid shipping costs, I sent the package to the University library. Please talk with the librarian and pay the shipping costs.”²³ 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.

The provenance of 8 letters is detected by scraps from printed catalogues which are preserved on the antiquarian covers of the documents, or by Likhachev's own notes. Mainly they come from the auction houses “Pio Luzzietti” (Rome),²⁴ “Gabriel Charavay” (Paris),²⁵ “Gilhofer und Ranschburg” (Vienna)²⁶ which sold private collections of autographs, manuscripts and old books. For three more documents,²⁷ provenance has not been detected; however, such covers with hand-written Italian annotations are found on many documents of Likhachev's collection, including the documents of Cremona.

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

One can find a *litterae patentes*,²⁹ namely a certification of a notarial deeds, with a paper cover with the annotation of the 18th century and an archival cipher, similar to those in which 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.³⁰ Taking into account the fact that a significant part of the letters are addressed to the Marquis of Ferrara, it is possible to assume that these acts originate from one private collection.

²³ 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.

²⁴ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 186, №№ 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 20. Alongside with № 8, Likhachev purchased from Luzzietti in one lot three other documents (НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 186, №№ 8, 10, 12, 13), all of them letters from Contarini to d'Este.

²⁵ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 22.

²⁶ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 1.

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

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 18.

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

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 a monograph by 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 coloured initial with gold (at the expense of the recipient).³¹ Most likely, the entire image was taken from the pages of the Exhibition Catalogue of the exhibition held in 1991 at the Russian Museum;³² the idea was to show a kind of “typical” West European document. This would be in line with Likhachev’s ideas and plans.

Another document, the diploma of Francesco Donato issued in 1547,³³ was also recently revealed in an exhibition as an example of the museum collection of Likhachev, again thanks to the illumination and the preserved hanging seal.³⁴ This document was actually acquired by Likhachev for display in a glass case as part of the exhibitions.

One can add two more publications. Firstly, there is a brief mention of the *litterae clausae* issued by Andrea Gritti and dated 1524³⁵ in an article by Karpov. The *locum tenens* and the councillors of Cyprus are informed that according to the decision Council of Ten they must release the Bishop of Naples, Paolo Borghese, from paying tithes of 130 ducats a year in favour of the *camera* of Cyprus.³⁶

Secondly, Klimanov published the text of the *litterae clausae* of Antonio Venier dated 1385.³⁷ This deals with a complaint by a Venetian citizen and explains the status of Venetian citizenship, regardless of whether this status is acquired by origin or by privilege. Unfortunately, Klimanov transcribed the text with the errors and corrected them only after the publication of the volume.³⁸ He also did not take into account the chancery notes. Therefore, this full-text publication cannot be considered fully-fledged.

The *lettere ducali* from Likhachev’s collection were generally unstudied by 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 19th and early 20th centuries, having been stored first in private collections, and later exported to Russia. There are very few publications of authentic *lettere ducali* from the 14–16th centuries examining the most

³¹ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 14.

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

³³ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 188, № 1.

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

³⁵ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 22.

³⁶ 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».

³⁷ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 15.

³⁸ *Климанов Л.Г.* *Cor nostrī 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.

significant attributive mechanisms for different types of documents of different times and providing methodological instructions on reading and transcribing clerical notes. So far, the scholarly literature has generally disregarded these documents, and there are no handbooks for working with Venetian letters unlike the manuals for working with documentation from the papal chancery.³⁹ Therefore, we hope that our project will contribute to the developing methodology of working with such medieval documents.

The history of the study of Venetian chanceries

The identification, study and publication of the documents produced by the chanceries is one of the most important directions in medieval diplomatic and palaeography. The founder of diplomatics and palaeography, Mabillon,⁴⁰ clearly demonstrated that the criteria for the authenticity of documents is the study and comparison of as many originals as possible, the documents being united by their historical period, and 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 19th century by the idea that the 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 1824,⁴¹ the research project founded by Böhmer in 1829 and focused on the documents of the Holy Roman Empire, publishing the "Regesta Imperii" for the period between 751 and 1519,⁴² 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.⁴³ For the 13th to early 15th century there are catalogues of the series "Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V electum",⁴⁴ 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 two centuries for the chanceries of the German emperors and half a century for the chanceries of the Roman popes offers a different perspective of the role of clerical work for state and legal institutions.

³⁹ 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. T. I: 1198–1254. T. II: 1254–1304; *Rabikauskas P.* Diplomatica pontificia (Praelationum lineamenta). Romae, 1964. Editio sexta: Romae, 1998; *Frenz Th.* Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit. Stuttgart, 1986. 2. Aufl.: Stuttgart, 2000.

⁴⁰ 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.

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

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

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

⁴⁴ TT. I-VII. Città del Vaticano, 1975-2003

Therefore the work of the chanceries is being actively studied, and there are several international collections entirely devoted to the issues of clerical work and publishing their proceedings.⁴⁵

The letters of the doges, or *lettere ducali*, were the main type of documents issued by the doges' chancery in the late 13th 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 the Venetian doges, which made up the main part of the office documents in earlier centuries. The study of the paperwork of the papal curia, which has lasted more than a century and a half, demonstrated the letters, particularly the *litterae clausae*, normally dealt with current political events, which were not linked to the confirmation of legal rights. Therefore, the letters of the older period prior to the 12–13th centuries are extremely rare in the medieval archives. In the case of the Venetian chancery, only three *litterae patentes* of 1166, 1174 and 1177 are known for the entire 12th century; for the early 13th century only two *litterae patentes* of 1209 and 1226, dating back to the rule of the doge Pietro Ziani (1205–1229), are extant.⁴⁶

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) the 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 written on the outer side of the envelope, formed when the parchment sheet was folded;
- 3) a special way of attaching the hanging lead seal, where the hemp cord was stitched into the 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 was cut.

There are four original *litterae clausae* written in the 13-year rule of Jacopo Tiepolo, two more survived in copies.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ 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^e-XVI^e 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).

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

⁴⁷ 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

The analysis of the form of the oldest letters demonstrates that in the early 13th 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 14–15th centuries showcase attempts to stabilize the form of the documents, offering several varieties of protocol and eschatocol. Following research and comparisons with similar documents, these varieties can serve as dating and attributive factors, one of the authenticity criteria required for the identification of fragments, incomplete copies or medieval fakes.

The consistent and systematic publication of the letters of the 14–16th centuries and the study of the norms of the chancery of the Republic of Venice based on archival documents is still a matter for the future. In this regard, the study of the St. Petersburg set of *lettere ducali* and their preparation for publication are of particular relevance; 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 almost two centuries of systematic research 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 and the publication of particular documents. Then comes the time for publication of the *regestae*, brief annotations, including all the historical information that can be extracted from the documents. The publication of the *regestae* should take into account handwriting traditions and previous publications. Then the research moves preparing critical publications, when one can draw conclusions about the specifics of clerical workflows during this period, clarify their periodization, note changes in forms, make observations about the tenure of clerical staff, etc.

Researchers face an unpredictably large amount of work on the Venetian documents of the 14–16th centuries. The 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* are spread widely and are found in many archives and collections of ancient documents. Therefore, historians who study Venetian diplomatics and the socio-political and economic history of this period refer to the extensive materials of the Venetian archive as the reason for the lack of systematic publication of documents. All the major medieval chanceries had registers, books of 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.⁴⁸ The registers of *lettere ducali* first appeared only in the early 14th century. In 1308, 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 attach a hanging lead seal.⁴⁹ 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 17th century.

Besides the main doge chancery (*Cancelleria ducale*), the so-called *Cancelleria inferiore* was established in the late 13th century. It was located inside the palace and was both the personal chancery of the doges and the archive of the Venetian notaries⁵⁰ (both active in Venice and overseas). In 1402, the Consiglio maggiore decided to create a new office called *Cancelleria secreta* to deal with mainly political issues, primarily international relations, but also domestic policy issues. Whether a matter was dealt with by the *Cancelleria inferiore* or the *Cancelleria 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 particular government agency.⁵¹ Moreover, each agency had its own archives, storing volumes of registers preserved from previous centuries.⁵² Three additional notaries were hired in 1458 for the *Cancelleria secreta*, which did not originally deal with the compilation of registers.⁵³

Due to the large number of rewritten documents and the opportunity to reconstruct their chronological sequence, Venetian registers have long attracted the interest of researchers. However, according to the guidebook on the State Archives of Venice,⁵⁴ the *lettere ducali* of the 14–16th survived only in part, with chronological lacunae of several decades. Thus, *Cancelleria inferiore, Doge*, series *Lettere ducali ai rettori* has only 51 volume of registers for 1364–1376, 1458–1472 and 1478–1598;⁵⁵ *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 secrete, 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).⁵⁶ The Venetian Archive was severely damaged at least three times

⁴⁸ 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.

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

⁵⁰ Pozza, 1997. P. 367.

⁵¹ Pozza, 1997. P. 370

⁵² Cecchetti, Toderini, 1873. P. 44-45.

⁵³ Cecchetti, Toderini, 1873. P. 33.

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

⁵⁵ Archivio di Stato di Venezia. P. 885.

⁵⁶ Archivio di Stato di Venezia. P. 890.

during the fires of 1479, 1483 and 1577. Moreover, experience of studying the documents of the papal chancery shows that not all outgoing documents were recorded in the medieval registers. The very logic of the distribution of documents in the medieval archives and the principles of compiling registration books differed from modern logic; which 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 important for the academic community.

Digital copies of some registers of the 14–15th centuries are available on the website of the Venetian archive.⁵⁷ They show that the copies rewritten in the registers do not contain information which 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 written 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 source.⁵⁸

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 a document based on medieval copy books and on the impossibility of a fully-fledged analysis of the form.⁵⁹ Experience of studying imperial, papal, and some royal and episcopal chanceries shows that only the study of original documents allows full research on the staff, the distribution of functions and the stages of their work. The study of original documents in some cases allows the clarification of specific criteria for the authenticity of documents, based on the norms of clerical work.

The state of the art

The collection of Likhachev has attracted both Russian and foreign researchers of diplomatics from the very foundation of the Palaeographic Office at the Archaeological Institute in 1918 (in 1923 it became part of Petrograd University) and the subsequent establishment the Museum of Palaeography 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 is still impressive.

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

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

⁵⁹ Gordoni 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.

The first publication of Venetian documents stored in The Archive is a description of a deed of sale of a female Tatar slave dated 1385.⁶⁰ Further studies of the Venetian documents started in the 1980s, partly due to the fall of the Iron Curtain, the resumption of academic connections with 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 Archive formed the basis for the thesis of Klimanov, one of the custodians of the Western European Section, titled “Documents of the Venetian diplomatic usage of the 13–16th centuries and techniques 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.⁶¹ 90 notarial deeds from carton 205 of the same collection 6 were published by a team from St. Petersburg Institute of Russian Academy of Sciences (at the time, the LOII of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR).⁶² While preparing the publication, they wrote a review of this small collection.⁶³ Several documents related to the Venetian possessions in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Northern Black Sea region,⁶⁴ were published by researchers from Moscow.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ НА СПбИИ, 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).

⁶¹ *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 (*rucotomachia 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 e 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.

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

⁶³ *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.

⁶⁴ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 193, № 38; box 194, №№ 16, 18; box 195, №№ 6, 18.

⁶⁵ *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) // *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*. Αθήνα, 1989. Σ.311-323; *Καρпов С. П.* Документы по истории венецианской фактории Тана во второй половине XIV в. // Причерноморье в средние века. М., 1991. С. 191–216 (Испр. переиздание в: *Καρпов С.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 // *Ἡ Ἐπικοινωνία στό Βυζάντιο*. Αθήνα, 1993. Σ.543-549; *Καρпов С. П.* Дело об убийстве на Крите в 1382 г. // Феномены истории. К 70-летию В. Л. Керова. М., 1996. С.90–96; *Καρпов С. П.* Венецианский документ XV в. о торговой навигации в Восточном Средиземноморье // Византийский временник. Т.

Because of their design, the instructions were demonstrated in numerous exhibitions, namely the instructions (*commissioni ducali*) of Giovanni Mocenigo written 1478–1485 and those of Girolamo Priuli written in 1562, which are illuminated codices.⁶⁶ Finally, they were studied more in depth by Zolotova.⁶⁷ The same is true for a treatise with recommendations to ambassadors illuminated with colour initials.⁶⁸ This document from the 15th century featured in several catalogues without mentioning Venice⁶⁹ and only recently that a full reproduction was published with a commentary.⁷⁰

The Catalogue published in 1993 contains brief descriptions of other Venetian documents prepared by Klimanov: the deed of sale of a female Tatar slave mentioned above, 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".⁷¹ An illuminated *litterae patentes* of Agostino Barbarigo, dated 1481,⁷² also reproduced in the Catalogue of 1993,⁷³ became widely known to Russian researchers due to a reproduction (although without a signature or indication of its storage location) on the back side of the monograph.⁷⁴ Two Venetian documents, an illuminated letter of the doge Francesco Donato, a *litterae patentes* with hanging lead seal dated 1547 and the deed of sale of a female Tatar slave⁷⁵ were presented at the exhibition dedicated to the Museum of Palaeography "In written words alone..." (descriptions prepared by Sredinskaya) of the 150th anniversary of the birthday of Likhachev.⁷⁶

Without taking into account two publications related to the illumination of the charters, the bibliography of the *lettere ducali* of the 14–16th centuries from the collection of Likhachev is

52 (77).1991. С. 255–260; *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.

⁶⁶ 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.

⁶⁷ *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.

⁶⁸ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 46, box 607, № 7.

⁶⁹ От Данте до Тассо: Каталог писем и сочинений итальянских гуманистов в собрании ЛОИИ СССР / Сост. Л. Г. Катускина. 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).

⁷⁰ *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).

⁷¹ 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.

⁷² НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 14

⁷³ С. 203–204, № 493.

⁷⁴ *Кауцанов С. М.* Актовая археография. М.: «Наука», 1998.

⁷⁵ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 188, № 1; box 194, № 18.

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

extremely scarce. Moreover, even these two publications in the exhibition catalogues of 1993 and 2012 are merely the reproduction of documents with a brief description. One letter⁷⁷ was published with typos in the appendix to the article by Klimanov with a brief retelling of its content.⁷⁸ Another letter, a *litterae clausae* of Andrea Gritti dated 1524,⁷⁹ was only noted in a footnote indicating the year and the cipher as "a small document from the Venetian Cyprus".⁸⁰ Klimanov published four more documents⁸¹ with a short and amateur, rather than scholarly, descriptions made by Fantoni; their dates were borrowed from Fantoni's letters to Likhachev in 1901 and were incorrect.⁸² The only serious study of the set of the *lettere ducali* of the 14–16th centuries (or, to be more precise, a preliminary outline of such study) is the paper by Likhachev given in 1923. The draft of this paper on the Venetian bulls lists among 17 documents of the 14–18th centuries 14 letters (3 *litterae patentes* and 11 *litterae clausae*) of the 14–mid-16th centuries. The documents are cited as an example of the variety of letters with hanging lead seals.⁸³ In a certain sense, these records can be considered as an attributive list with a justification of their dating and a very brief (two or three words) indication of the content of the document with general comments about the size of the seal and how it is attached. Klimanov identified letters according to these records and added modern archive ciphers to Likhachev's descriptions.⁸⁴

With these few exceptions, the Venetian *lettere ducali* of the 14–mid-16th centuries from The Archive have not been not published and have not become objects of special diplomatic and palaeographic study.

The systematic publication of the Venetian archival documents is carried out under the auspices of the "Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie"⁸⁵ founded in 1873. It has published the periodical "Archivio Veneto" continuously since 1871; it has published the sources in "Collezione Monumenti" since 1876⁸⁶ 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.⁸⁷ Another institution that consolidates research on the sources is the Committee on the Publication of Historical Sources on the History of Venice, founded in 1947 by private individuals. The series "Fonti per la storia di Venezia" is divided into five collections (I. Archivi pubblici, II. Archivi ecclesiastici, III. Archivi notarili.

⁷⁷ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 15.

⁷⁸ Климанов, 1993. С. 28, 37-38.

⁷⁹ НА СПбИИ, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 22.

⁸⁰ Карпов, 2006. С. 74, прим. 8.

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

⁸² Климанов. О происхождении. 2002. С. 252, 258.

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

⁸⁴ Климанов, 1999. С. 299-303.

⁸⁵ <http://www.veneziastoria.it>

⁸⁶ http://www.veneziastoria.it/pub_col_mo/col_mo.htm

⁸⁷ http://www.veneziastoria.it/pub_col_mi/col_mi.htm

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

Another significant initiative for the publication of the oldest documents (up to 1199) was the one by Lanfranchi, Strina, Gaeta, Malipiero Ucropina, Rosada, and Scarmoncin within the series “Fonti per la storia di Venezia”. These are mainly documents from the archives of ecclesiastic institutions, i.e. the documents from the archive of the Chapter of Vicenza (1083–1259) and the documents written in favour 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 well-established relations with Russian specialists, the Venetian researcher Lanfranchi-Strina took into account in her publications⁸⁹ the document from the collection of Likhachev, namely the great privilege of Pope Alexander III written in 1172,⁹⁰ whereas in the earlier edition the great privilege of Pope Adrian IV written in 1156,⁹¹ 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.⁹² The researchers also took into account the oldest of the Venetian documents of the St. Petersburg collection, namely a commercial agreement of *commenda* written in 1188 and indicating the share of each shareholder in the equipment of a merchant ship.⁹³

The publication of the books of *imbreviaturae* written by Venetian notaries is another important direction of study, 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 13–15th centuries. Remarkably, preference is given to the notaries acting in the overseas colonies of Venice, mainly in Crete. Their *minutae* have already been published.⁹⁴ One can add to these publications some general studies on the history of the Venetian notaries.⁹⁵

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

⁸⁹ 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).

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

⁹¹ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 501, № 2a.

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

⁹³ 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.

⁹⁴ 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.⁹⁶ Separate excerpts from the resolutions of the government assemblies of Venice related to Venetian Romania were also published along with the *regestae* in French.⁹⁷

The systematic publication of the registers of the resolutions of the Senate has continued in the 21st 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.⁹⁸ 17 volumes have now been published and publication is continuing.⁹⁹ Among the most recent publications of the heritage of the Venetian offices, the publication of the formularies of the instructions of the doges should be mentioned.¹⁰⁰

With regard to documents similar to the ones stored in The Archive, 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.¹⁰¹ However, full-text publications and the studies of documents, which make it possible to study the norms of the release of *lettere ducali*, currently exist only for the period of the 12th and 13th centuries.¹⁰² Finally, we can add publications and

(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.

⁹⁵ *Bartoli Langeli A.* Notai: Scrivere documenti nell'Italia medievale. Venezia, 2006; *Pozza M.* Scrittura, diplomatica, notariato a Venezia // L'heritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e - XII^e 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.

⁹⁶ *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.

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

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

⁹⁹ *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.

¹⁰⁰ *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.

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

¹⁰² *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*

studies of single letters of the 13th–15th centuries or their small sets found in other Italian archives.¹⁰³

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 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 sources of information about clerical paperwork.¹⁰⁴ For the subsequent period of the 14–17th centuries, in addition to the documents issued in the chancery, there are other sources such as the decisions regulating clerical work and documents of personal origin. Therefore, the study of the history of Venetian office-work is based mainly on the history of institutions or through the study of individual biographies in a general socio-cultural context.¹⁰⁵

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).

¹⁰³ *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.

¹⁰⁴ *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); *Bascapé 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.

¹⁰⁵ *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 segretarii. 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 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.

There are, however, some special studies devoted to specific aspects of clerical work of the 15–18th centuries, e.g. the decoration of official documents.¹⁰⁶

Even with publications of papal registers and the systematic publication of documents regulating the activities of the office, the experience of studying mass chancery production of the Apostolic chancery of the late 12th to the early 15th centuries is clearly at the stage of identifying archaeographic descriptions of the preserved original documents with the publication of the relevant catalogues in the framework of the initiative of Censimento Bartoloni (see 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 for the authenticity of documents that would otherwise have been impossible. Thus, the study and publication of the original *lettere ducali* of the 14–16th 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 14–16th centuries, the Republic of Venice boasted a high degree of orderliness in the chancery management at all levels, from 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 governmental institutions. A letter had to be written following certain rules. We 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.¹⁰⁷ The *lettere ducali* reflect the communication that took place between the doges and other political actors (either subjects of the Republic of Venice or 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.¹⁰⁸

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 dimidie totius imperii Romanie’ is characteristic of the three earliest documents dated 1355 (two)

¹⁰⁶ *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.

¹⁰⁷ 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.

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

and 1356 (one);¹⁰⁹ starting from the documents dated 1360¹¹⁰ onward, the abbreviated formula of the title ‘*Dei gratia dux Venetiarum et cetera*’ is used.

If the letter is addressed to the Venetians a salutation ‘*salutem et sincere*¹¹¹ *dilectionis affectum*’ follows the addressee (an individual, a group or ‘*universis et singulis...*’).

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 1408,¹¹² but it appears from 1410.¹¹³

To indicate the year, month, day, and indiction, the scribes sometimes use the words; sometimes they use Roman or Arabic numerals. We still have to figure 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.

The handwriting and external characteristics of the letters

A few words should be said about the external features of documents. The objects of our study, *lettere ducali* issued by the doges’ chancery 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 satisfactorily, however, their preservation is very far from ideal. In some places, there is dampness, moisture and mould, which makes reading somewhat difficult,¹¹⁴ the parchment is torn¹¹⁵ or cut,¹¹⁶ the text in some places was smeared with incomprehensible ink marks,¹¹⁷ the ink has been washed off with water,¹¹⁸ there are holes made by rodents,¹¹⁹ there is biological damage (bookworm),¹²⁰ stains,¹²¹ and rusty metal clips or punctures with rust marks on the edges.¹²²

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

¹¹⁰ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4 (1360).

¹¹¹ Or ‘*syncere*’, see below.

¹¹² HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 21.

¹¹³ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 22.

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

¹¹⁵ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 3.

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

¹¹⁷ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4.

¹¹⁸ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 7.

¹¹⁹ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 1, 12, 15.

¹²⁰ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 7, 16.

¹²¹ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 16.

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

We cannot answer with full certainty whether a letter is an *litterae patentes* or a *litterae clausae* for copies of letters that are preserved only in the chancery registers, which are the books of records of outgoing documentation; the Venetian chancery began making them from the 1260s, but only as late as the first years of the of the 14th century did they start to register the letters. However, the Venetian registers of letters contain 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 margins are average, and the distances between the lines is normally 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 14–16th centuries, when the features of Gothic handwriting are gradually replaced by elements of the Humanist minuscule, followed by a complete rejection of Gothic writing. The appearance of *e-caudata*, digraphs, -ti instead of -ci in nouns ending in nominative with -tio indicate the spread of humanistic written culture, typography and the distribution in university teaching of the ancient classical texts. However, in our documents some scribes still have features of late Gothic writing in its Italian version, including chiefly the initial letter of the doges' and addressees' names,¹²³ some toponyms,¹²⁴ as well as some other capital letters (“E” in “et, est, esset, episcopi, eorum”,¹²⁵ “D” in “data, dux, donec”,¹²⁶ “C” in “cum, comiti / comites”,¹²⁷ “Q” in “quare, quibus”,¹²⁸ “S” in “sed, successoribus”,¹²⁹ The Gothic wavy “T” in various positions,¹³⁰ 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.

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

¹²³ As well as some epithets like ‘Magnifico’, ‘Potenti’, ‘Illustri’, ‘Nobili’, ‘Reverendi’ etc.

¹²⁴ E.g. ‘Tarvisii’ in HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 17, 19.

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

¹²⁶ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 1, 5, 9.

¹²⁷ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 4.

¹²⁸ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 15.

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

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

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 contemporary usage 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 few corrections, strikethroughs, inserts between the lines and parts blurrily written. Handwriting in some documents is somewhat better than in the others. There are examples of corrections, made most likely by the scribes themselves: 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,¹³¹ or 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 (*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 a letter from Pope John XIII dated 968). There was no other way to fasten a lead bull on a 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 *litterae clausae* was folded into an envelope, just like a *litterae patentes*, but the hemp cord was stitched into 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 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 the *plica* on the right or on the left side, and here we also see the imitation of the papal chancery. For *litterae clausae*, the monogram was placed on the external side of the envelope. The address was also written there. Accordingly, when we deal with copies, we can distinguish a *litterae clausae* from a *litterae patentes* only based on the mention of the address on the back, seeing the indication *a tergo*, i.e. "on the back."

¹³¹ 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.

The language of the *lettere ducali*

The language of the *lettere ducali* has stylistic features characteristic of chancery work. Most letters are written in Latin with some degree of language interference (namely, elements of the Venetian vernacular). The influence of Italian vernaculars on Latin becomes a common feature characteristic of the language of all Italian scribes from the middle of the 14th 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 language interference, i.e. the influence of the spoken language on the clerical form.

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 the 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',¹³² 'Iudaicha',¹³³ 'barcham',¹³⁴ 'viceduchæ'.¹³⁵ 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 1410, 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'.¹³⁶ Notably, here the scribes kept in mind not only 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' it is impossible to distinguish between them, so we restore them following the rules of classical Latin. The search for the graphic expression of 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.¹³⁷ In another document the scribe uses the Italianized 'ritenta' instead of Latin 'retenta'.¹³⁸ Two cases of gemination, which is the introduction of double consonants, not provided for by the rules of Latin spelling, were found, namely

¹³² HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4.

¹³³ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4.

¹³⁴ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 10.

¹³⁵ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 16.

¹³⁶ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 22.

¹³⁷ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4.

¹³⁸ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 3.

‘tollerabile’ instead of ‘tolerabile’,¹³⁹ and ‘necessariis’ instead of ‘necessariis’,¹⁴⁰ in 186/8 and similarly in 187/2. There are no traces of the opposite process characteristic of vulgar medieval Latin, namely the simplification of the geminates, i.e. loss of double consonants. No epenthesis (the appearance of extra letters) is found. “S” is commonly replaced by “x” in the intervocal position: ‘requixitionem’ instead of ‘requisitionem’,¹⁴¹ ‘ambaxiator’ instead of ‘ambassador’ or ‘ambasiator’.¹⁴² One scribe consistently uses the digraph ‘æ’ in the words ‘viceduchæ’ and ‘Cretæ’;¹⁴³ moreover, besides the correct use of ‘æ’ and *e-caudata* we sometimes face hypercorrection: ‘syncereꝝ dilectionis affectum’,¹⁴⁴ ‘ceterisque rectoribus et officialibus nostris’.¹⁴⁵ The use of the 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)¹⁴⁶ are used interchangeably, but it seems like there is a regularity in the use of ‘i’ in the earlier documents and of ‘y’ in the later ones. ‘Y’ is correctly used in the given names (*Hieronimus*,¹⁴⁷ *Aloysius*,¹⁴⁸ *Ypolitus*¹⁴⁹) but is several times incorrectly introduced: ‘ymmo (bis)’¹⁵⁰ and ‘ymo’¹⁵¹ instead of ‘immo’, ‘ydonea, -os’ instead of ‘idonea, -os’¹⁵² (the latter can be an example of the false Hellenization).

Sometimes there are minor inconsistencies in prepositions and cases and a 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 almost always declined); this includes the names of the doges. In names or nicknames, diminutive suffixes are common (*Francischinus Vido de Iudaicha*,¹⁵³ *Franceschinus de la Turre*¹⁵⁴). In general, compared to many other types of documents, the scribes of the chancery distinguished in their professional activities Latin and the vernacular and the borders were clear; however, some degree of language interference is present.

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 palaeographic

¹³⁹ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 30.

¹⁴⁰ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 8; box 187, № 2.

¹⁴¹ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4.

¹⁴² HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 9.

¹⁴³ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 16.

¹⁴⁴ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 15.

¹⁴⁵ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 19.

¹⁴⁶ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 7, 8, 11, 15.

¹⁴⁷ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 7, 12.

¹⁴⁸ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 7, 20.

¹⁴⁹ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 187, № 8.

¹⁵⁰ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 25.

¹⁵¹ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 28.

¹⁵² HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 12.

¹⁵³ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 4.

¹⁵⁴ HA SPbIH, WES, coll. 6, box 186, № 5.

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 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 and similar ones, we have to study the stages of the formation of chancery work 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 based on the secondary literature.

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,¹⁵⁵ which can be used as an attributive factor. The analysis of the forms of letters and the features of their writing is necessary for the correct reading of *lettere ducali* and the disclosure of abbreviations using reference books,¹⁵⁶ and 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 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 to early 14th centuries.¹⁵⁷ The experience of the publication of the documents of

¹⁵⁵ 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.

¹⁵⁶ Cappelli A. Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane. 7 edizione: Milano, 1987.

¹⁵⁷ 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 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, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Schleswig-Holstein) 1199–1415: Index actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V electum, VII. Città del Vaticano, 2003/

Cremona was taken into account here.¹⁵⁸ 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 alternative spellings of words. Words and letters reconstructed according to the context are given either in square brackets or in italics; the same was done for disclosing traditional abbreviations in the text. Ellipses in square brackets indicate places that cannot be read due to poor preservation or handwriting features. The numbering 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 the documents have been poorly studied. The letters of the doges of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries demonstrate a developed chancery work, comparable in a number of parameters with the level of work of the papal curia of the first half of the 13th century. However, a preliminary study of the bibliography showed us that the tradition of studying of the standards 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 the 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 on a sheet of parchment, the attachment of a seal and the study of the chancery notes.

The main expected result and the goal of the project is the introduction of new historical sources to the scientific community. This study revealed historical material on the history specific of cities and regions of Italy (Venice, Treviso, Ferrara, Verona, Padua, the Po Delta), and the Venetian colonies in the Mediterranean (Crete, Cyprus) and the Adriatic (Shkodra, the Dalmatian Coast), the history of international relations, the history of economic relations, the history of everyday life, the history of state institutions and international law, the history of medieval documents, the 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. The publication of the medieval documentary set can become a guideline for future

¹⁵⁸ 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).

researchers of handwritten material. The digital publication of selected documents with their high-resolution reproduction can be used as an album on the palaeography of medieval manuscripts, in other words, it will allow novice researchers to practice reading and transcribing, which will contribute to the further training of specialists. When new research materials from other documentary sets and manuscript fragments from the Likhachev's collection are attached to this digital collection, this publication may form the basis of an online workshop on medieval diplomatics and Latin palaeography, 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).

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