Francesco Bianchi e Deborah Howard

*Life and Death in Damascus: the material culture of Venetians in the Syrian capital in the mid-fifteenth century*

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LIFE AND DEATH IN DAMASCUS: THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF VENETIANS IN THE SYRIAN CAPITAL IN THE MID-FIFTEENTH CENTURY*

1. Introduction

The records of the Venetian priest and notary Cristoforo del Fiore, preserved in the Cancelleria Inferiore of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, have received little attention despite his two periods of duty in Venetian overseas trading colonies under the Mamluks. In this capacity, Cristoforo served as the Venetian chaplain in Damascus. This article publishes a particularly interesting series of documents that have never before been discussed or studied in detail. The first group consists of the inventories of the belongings of three Venetians, Stefano Ravagnino, Stefano di Bossina and the Consul Marino da Molin, all of whom whom died in Damascus in 1455-1457, together with the list of the personal effects of a fourth, Nicolò de Ruzino, who unfortunately never reached his destination, but died aboard one of the Beirut galleys. By a lucky chance, the wills of the first three deceased have also come to light, and these are also transcribed below, together with the complete inventories, in Appendix 3. A fourth testament, that of Andrea da Raguxio, a Venetian galleot who died on one of the Alexandria galleys in 1453, has also been transcribed, together with the inventory of the possessions which he left on board ship at his death. This body of material aptly complements the evidence of the Venetian merchant letters sent from Damascus in the 1480s, recently analysed by Éric Vallet. Not only do the documents fill out the economic context of the individuals’ visits to Syria; they also offer a fascinating insight into the personal and social lives of Venetians in one of their principal overseas trading posts.

It is important to stress that the inventories published here were not probate valuations. Instead they simply provided descriptive records of all the items left by their

* Deborah Howard is the principal author of the article itself, apart from the section on the life of the notary Cristoforo del Fiore, which was written by Francesco Bianchi. The transcriptions of all the documents and the glossary have been prepared by Dr. Bianchi. The list of Venetians in Damascus in 1455-1457 was compiled collaboratively.

1. All the records that we have considered here come from the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter Asv): see Appendix 1 for archival details. Only Ashtor made extensive use of these documents in many studies relating to trading transactions (see later footnotes for these sources).

late owners, to ensure that these goods be correctly returned to Venice. Among the trading privileges granted by the Mamluks to Venetian merchants in Syria was a long-standing agreement that Moslems should not interfere with the estates of those unhappy Venetians who perished in Syria: «And if any Venetian should die, we command that no Moor may meddle with his belongings, but that his goods and possessions should be placed in the hands of the Consul». Accordingly, the documents describe the visual characteristics of the various belongings, such as colour, material, size or condition, specifically in order to allow them to be identified by the executors; monetary value is indicated only in the case of coins. In contrast to the 628 inventories compiled in Damascus around 1700 and analysed in a series of articles by Jean-Paul Pascual, these five inventories obviously cannot be subjected to statistical analysis. Nevertheless, the profusion of detail that they provide helps to illuminate a relatively little studied aspect of Venetian material culture, that of the oltremare.

2. Cristoforo del Fiore

According to long-established practice, every overseas Venetian trading colony was served by a chaplain, who performed a dual function as priest and notary, as it were, drawing up deeds with one hand and blessing with the other. This overlap of function is neatly illustrated by Cristoforo del Fiore’s deeds, drawn up in Damascus, where he officiated in his parallel duties as chaplain and notary to the Venetian colony. Nevertheless, Cristoforo is not an unusual character in medieval Venetian society, since the two professions of priest and notary were closely linked. Indeed, until the 15th century, ordinary notaries were recruited among the parish clergy, even if the employment of lay notaries from the terraferma in the ducal Cancelleria was already recorded in the 12th century, and it became common at the beginning of the 13th century. Not until 1514 did the Venetian government begin to secularize the office of public notary.

Venetian notaries were appointed by the doge, who kept this prerogative until the beginning of the 17th century. From the 15th century onwards, the conditions for ob-


5. See, for example, Jean-Paul Pascual, Aspects de la vie matérielle à Damas à la fin du xvi e siècle d’après les inventaires après décès, in Thomas Phillips (ed.), The Syrian Land in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century: The Common and Specific in the Historical Experience, Stuttgart, 1992, pp. 165-178; Colette Establet, Jean-Paul Pascual, Familles et fortunes à Damas: 430 foyers damascains en 1700, Damascus, 1994; Colette Establet, Jean-Paul Pascual, Ultim’e voyage pour la Mequre: les inventaires après décès de pèlerins morts à Damas vers 1700, Damascus, 1998. Thanks are due to Hégnar Watenpaugh for suggesting these sources.


7. Cristoforo defines himself as «capellanus et cancellarius» of the Venetian consul in Damascus: see Cancelleria Inferiore, Notai (hereafter cin), busta 81 (10), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. v, unnumbered folios, 27 Sept. 1460 and 25 Oct. 1461. He was son of Andrea: see cin, b. 83 (11), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. iv, f. 8v, 15 Mach 1447 («Instrumentum per Cristorum de Flore Andree de Flore notarius infrascriptum»).


taining this office were that the candidate should be at least 25 years old and 
Venetian by birth (or resident in Venice for at least fifteen years). This last condition 
was extended in 1419 to every notary or public registrar accompanying Venetian repre-
sentatives abroad, such as Cristoforo del Fiore. In the lagoon area and the over-
seas colonies, notaries appointed by the doge had to draw up their deeds according to 
Venetian practice (more veneto), but they could also receive an imperial investiture 
and use more imperii, with the possibility of working on the mainland too. It was not 
until 1612-1613 that the Venetian Senate finally forbade the use of more imperii in 
the city. 

Cristoforo del Fiore was an imperial notary as well as a Venetian one. He defines 
himself everywhere as «Venetiarum notarius», but he also writes: «Ego Cristoforus 
de Flore, publicus imperiali autorictate notarius, omnibus et singulis promissis in hoc 
protocollo contentis interfui eaque, rogatus, manu propria scripsi meum apponens 
signum consuetum».

Thus, his deeds alternate between more veneto and more imperii, not only with regard to the authority giving him publica fides, but also in the dating 
system. In Venice he preferred to style dates a nativitate (that is, with the year begin-
ning on 25th December), whereas in Damascus he generally used the ab incarnatione 
system (with the year beginning on 1st March), though not rigidly. His handwriting is 
rather brisk, rich in abbreviations, not always easy to read and to understand, charac-
terized by the typical Venetian conventions and by a very simple signum tabellionis 
(personal sign or logo). In all respects, his manner of proceeding appears well adjust-
ed to the busy and pragmatic Venetian community in Damascus.

Our notary was an itinerant professional man, who apparently preferred this peri-
patic lifestyle to permanent residence in Venice. In 1446-1453 he worked in Venice 
or on the terraferma; in January 1454 he was travelling with the Alexandria galleys. In 
March 1454 he was again at the Rialto, but by October 1454 he was in Damascus, 
where he stayed until 1457. In 1458-1460 he was probably in Venice, but in September 
1460 he was again in the Syrian capital. He returned to Venice, perhaps definitively, in 
1464 or 1465.

In Damascus Cristoforo appears to have occupied a room in the consulate, within 
the fondaco or trading post. Indeed, the consulate was the hub of the Venetian com-

10. Ibid., pp. 14, 21, 26, 47, 55.
11. Ibid., pp. 5-6. 10. Evidence of deeds drawn up in the more imperii in Venice dates back to the 13th century.
12. Cin., b. 83 (ii), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. iv, f. 16v. Similar wording was used in: Cin., b. 83 (ii), Cristoforo del 
Fiore, fasc. i (Processus presbiteri Nicolaus quandam Maphiei de Salvatoris capellani), unnumb. f., and ibid. (Processus domini 
Mossi de Bafforella contra Iacobum Antenium de Citadella, 1448 die 8 iunii), f. 16v. None of these examples refers to deeds 
drawn up in Damascus.
13. The Alexandria and Beirut galleys left Venice between August and September, and came back within 4-5 
months: see Doris Stöckly, Les système de l’incanto des galées du marché à Venise (fin 12me-milieu 15e siècle), Leiden, E.J. 
Brill, 1999, pp. 149-142, 150-151.
14. The first deed of Cristoforo’s that we know dates back to 10 Nov. 1446 (in Venice): see Cin., b. 83 (ii), Cristoforo 
del Fiore, reg. iv, f. 1; the last one is dated 22 July 1465 (in Venice): avv. Notarile, Testamenti (hereafter nt), b. 982, 
Cristoforo del Fiore, doc. no. 6.
15. See, for example, the deed drawn up on 31 Aug. 1456 in the «notarii camera in domo habitata spectabilis domini 
Marini de Molino pro illustissimo ducali dominio Venetiariam honorabilis consulis Damascus»: Cin., b. 83 (ii), Cristo-
foro del Fiore, reg. iv, unnumb. f.
16. Between 27 Oct. 1460 and 4 Jan. 1465, Cristoforo drew up five deeds «in cancelleria in domo spectabilis dominii 
consulis posti»: see Cin., b. 83 (ii), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. v, unnumb. ff., 27 Oct. 1460, 15 and 17 March 1461, 3 June 
1462 and 4 Jan. 1465. On 10th March 1461 and on 23rd July 1462, Cristoforo drew up deeds «in capella Venetorum in domo 
spectabilis et generosi dominii consulis posti»: see ibid., unnumb. ff.
1460–1462, the name of Giacomo Candi appears fourteen times in the deeds in different capacities, that is as executor, witness or arbitrator. He was the barber of the community, perhaps with the additional function of surgeon, and he too was a member of the consul’s *familia*, along with some servants. Sometimes Cristoforo also acted as notary in the private house of a merchant.

The inventories published in Appendix 4 were compiled in the residences of the deceased, the notary passing from room to room listing every article. The objects in each room appear to be recorded in a random fashion, except when certain items were found in a particular bag or chest. Nonetheless, one must assume that the notary worked his way systematically around the living space and storerooms. Merchandise is not distinguished from personal effects; similarly, old or broken everyday articles are listed alongside wares of considerable value.

The trading privileges granted by the Mamluk sultans in 1442, and still in force in the 1450s, stipulated that the notary had to be present at every commercial transaction and to keep a written record. As we shall see shortly, Cristoforo del Fiore had long experience of monitoring east-west trading transactions and was familiar with

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>PLACE OF WORK</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 Nov. 1446</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iv, f. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 May 1447</td>
<td>Torcello</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iv, f. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Dec. 1447</td>
<td>Villa Tribano (district of Padua)</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iv, f. 12v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 May 1453</td>
<td>Torcello</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. i, f. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Jan. 1454 (1453 mv)</td>
<td>aboard the galley Capetanea, moored in Modon</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. i, f. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 March 1454</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. i, f. 7v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 July 1454</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>NT, b. 982, f. 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Oct. 1454</td>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 July 1457</td>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unnumb. f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Oct. 1457</td>
<td>Beirut</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unnumb. f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Nov. 1457</td>
<td>aboard the Beirut galley</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unnumb. f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Dec. (1457?)</td>
<td>Lesina</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unnumb. f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 June 1460</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. i, f. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Sept. 1460</td>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. v, unnumb. f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Jan. 1461</td>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. v, unnumb. f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Feb. 1461 (1462 mv)</td>
<td>Aleppo</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. v, unnumb. f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 April 1461</td>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. v, unnumb. f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Oct. 1465</td>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. v, unnumb. f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Feb. 1464 (or 1465)</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. i, unnumb. f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 July 1465</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>NT, b. 982, doc. no. 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


18. On the consul’s *familia* see: MICHELE BALARD, Consoli d’Oltremare (sec. xii-nv), in GIOVANNA PETTI BALBI (ed.), *Comunità forestiere e “nazioni” nell’Europa dei secoli xii-xv*, Naples, Liguori Editore, 2002, p. 83. In the period 1455–1457, a fourth person appears to be a permanent resident in Damascus, that is the noble and merchant Luca Loredan: see Appendix 5.

19. On the difficulty of distinguishing locally purchased from imported goods, and merchandise from personal effects, see also VALLET, *Marchands*, pp. 85–86.

20. WANSBROUGH, *Venice and Florence*, p. 487: «Anchora have recherido che, sel achazerà algun marchado de ogni sorta de spetie da Saraini a Venitiani, chel sia scriti i pacti che occorrerà tra lor per scrivani noderi, per le spetie da puo facto el marchardo e recevudo el caparo, e maormente quando monta le spetie.».
daily life in Mamluk cities. Thus, when he specified that certain articles were of local manufacture, his testimony should be taken seriously. In the east he had direct contact with Moslems as well as western Europeans. The letters from the 1480s analysed by Vallet indicate that the Venetian chaplain in Aleppo at that time, Domenico, was a highly regarded and well-educated member of the overseas community, with recognised literary skills. He knew commerce from the inside, for he had to take an active part in negotiations to protect the interests of Venetian merchants – Domenico was himself involved in trade, both in his own right and on behalf of others. In short, the priest-notary was the necessary lubricant for the perfect running of the Venetian commercial operations. In the case of Cristoforo, we may suppose that he also played the role of linguistic intermediary, given his long experience abroad and his familiarity with foreign terms, testified by the infusion of words of Arabic origin in the inventories that he drew up. Indeed, Cristoforo displays an impressive capacity to distinguish different textile materials, as well as to describe their kaleidoscopic range of colours. Moreover, our notary even served non-Venetian merchants, thus confirming the superior organization and significance of the Venetian community in Damascus.

Finally, we should mention the sources of income of our notary. When Cristoforo drew up a will, the testator would usually pay him, not only for his duties as notary, but also for the masses he was to say as priest for the spiritual salvation of the deceased. For example, Stefano Ravagnino gave Cristoforo three ducats «For masses to the Virgin Mary and to Saint Gregory to be celebrated for the sake of my soul» and five ducats «for the labour of drawing up the will». However, Andrea de Raguxio paid him only as priest, while the consul Marino da Molin gave him twenty-five ducats «for love and charity and for services rendered». To sum up, payments to Cristoforo confirm the dual role of the priest-notary, as dispenser of both legal and religious services.

3. Damascus: the context

One of the oldest inhabited cities in the world, Damascus lies on the River Barada at the point where the main north-south route through Syria intersects with east-west caravan routes linking the Mediterranean coast to the Persian Gulf, the Silk Route and the Red Sea. Ever since the Umayyad conquest in AD 635, Damascus had

22. Ibid., pp. 201, 207.
23. For example, on 24 May 1461 he drew up a «promissio et obligatio facta per certos tres mercatores ser Perotio de Perutis [...] quondam ser Antonii de Florentia, ad presens mercator in hoc loco Damascus», that is: «ser Agapitus de Pagliarexis de Anchona, see Angelus quondam Titi de Perutis ac ser Bindazio quondam ser Bernardi de Florentia, etiam mercatores ut supra»: ibid., b. 85 (ii), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. v. unnumb. f. Similarly Servodio Peccator, priest-notary of the Venetian community in Alexandria in 1447-1449, drew up acts for foreign merchants, both European and Arab: see Rossi (ed.), Serrudio Peccator, p. xii.
25. NT, b. 982, Cristoforo del Fiore, f. 60, 15 Aug. 1455.
26. «Pro misis sancte Marie et illis sancti Gregorii per eum celebrandis pro anima mea», and «pro labore huius testamenti»: ibid., f. 69, 14 Jan. 1454.
27. «Pro amore et caritate ac suo bene servire»: ibid., f. 64, 2 May 1457.
been continuously under Islamic rule. The Great Mosque lies on the site of a Roman temple of Jupiter, which in turn became a Christian church dedicated to Saint John, before its transformation begun in AD 706 under the Umayyad caliph al' Walid.\textsuperscript{28}

Despite its importance in biblical times, Damascus never fell to the Crusaders, a fact that favoured the relatively peaceful co-existence of Christian and Jewish communities alongside the Islamic population. Significantly, continuous Moslem domination throughout the Middle Ages benefited the stability of trade with Venice, for, despite the commercial benefits offered by the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Crusades had often complicated Venetian interactions with their Moslem trading partners.

In the mid-15\textsuperscript{th} century, the city was the principal Mamluk provincial capital, ruled from Cairo.\textsuperscript{29} The incursions of Tamerlaine in 1401-1402 had badly damaged the city and disrupted local industries – indeed, several crafts such as glass, textiles and metalwork were devastated by the removal of their artisans to Samarkand.\textsuperscript{30} Nonetheless, the status of Damascus as a major international market (especially for silk) at the confluence of the principal trade routes of Eurasia quickly revived. Even the local industries recovered, at least partially, as the inventories under discussion here will show. Although the relative importance of Aleppo was beginning to grow, the more northerly city did not finally overtake Damascus as the main centre of Venetian trading activity in Syria until the 16\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{31}

Politically, relations with Damascus were not a major concern of the Venetian State in the mid-15\textsuperscript{th} century, in the tumultuous final years of the reign of Doge Francesco Foscari (1423-1457). On the terraferma, the Republic had been distracted by the long campaign of westward expansion, halted by the stout resistance of Francesco Sforza of Milan and concluded at the Peace of Lodi in 1454. In the eastern Mediterranean, meanwhile, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 had thrown the menace of Ottoman expansion into sharp focus. Indeed, the Mamluks and the Venetians were being drawn ever closer together by the common threat presented by the Ottoman Empire.\textsuperscript{32}

In the proceedings of the Senate, recorded in the Mar series, Damascus figured

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{DATE} & \textbf{EARNING} & \textbf{EARNING} & \textbf{TOTAL} & \textbf{SOURCE} \\
 & \textbf{AS NOTARY} & \textbf{AS PRIEST} & & \\
\hline
14 Jan. 1454 & 3 & 3 & 3 & nt, b. 982, f. 69 \\
15 Aug. 1455 & 5 & 3 & 8 & nt, b. 982, f. 61v \\
22 Aug. 1455 & 5 & 10 & 15 & nt, b. 982, ff. 62r-v \\
2 May 1457 & & & 25 & nt, b. 982, f. 64 \\
3 May 1461 & 3.5 & 2 & 5.5 & nt, b. 982, doc. no. 14 \\
26 March 1462 & & & 8 & nt, b. 982, doc. no. 15 \\
\hline
\textbf{13.5} & \textbf{18} & \textbf{64.5} & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Cristoforo del Fiore’s income in Venetian ducats.}
\end{table}


31. The letters analysed by Vallet indicate that Venetians were still much more numerous in Damascus than in Aleppo in the 1480s. See Vallet, Marchands, p. 106.
rarely in the mid 1450s. Only a few minor problems arose. For example, in 1455 a difficulty had arisen over the level of the tax or cottimo in Damascus. In response, the Senate requested the Consul to convene the Council of xi of the Venetian colony in Damascus, in order to appoint four noble to examine the matter. The Council of xi was the body elected by the local Venetian community in each overseas trading post to represent their own interests. In August 1455 the Senate imposed measures to tighten up the taxation of goods on the Beirut galleys. In 1456 the Senate agreed to allow Domenico de Pamalotis to receive for life the same salary previously enjoyed by his father Novacho, because of his usefulness to the Venetian merchants in the city – it is not clear what form these services took. In the same year the consul in Damascus was asked to investigate a claim of extortion in relation to a single cargo of pepper. In March 1457, it was claimed that many goods had not been loaded on to the returning Beirut galleys because of difficulties caused by Mamluk officials. It should be remembered that the Mamluk authorities caused irritation to the local Damascene community as well as to overseas traders. The distance from the authorities in Cairo may even have allowed Venetians to trade more freely in Damascus than in Alexandria in the Mamluk era. In the general spectrum of international relations in the period, these issues were only minor perturbations in the usual ebb and flow of Venetian trade with Syria.

Damascus was the main destination served by the official, state-protected Venetian galleys to Beirut. The documents discussed here reveal the presence of about seventy Venetians in Damascus in the mid 1450s (see Appendix 5). Many of these were living in the city on a year-round basis, although some were probably short-term summer visitors (see Appendix 5). As in other overseas trading bases, the colony included the consul, the priest-notary, a barber (who acted as surgeon), and a tailor. The prominence of Damascus in the gem trade encouraged the presence of a goldsmith and several jewellers. There is no mention of the physician, whose presence in a consulate was often required by the Venetian government, but he was probably little involved with the commercial activity that is illustrated in these documents. Physicians were among the most learned of the Venetian community as well as the best Arabic-speakers: two of the doctors who attended the colony in Damascus in the 15th century each translated Avicenna’s Canon into Italian directly from the Arabic.

33. xiv. Senato Mar (hereafter sm), reg. 5. f. 79, 28 June 1455. In future two nobles in Damascus would be elected each year to oversee the cottimo.
34. Little is known about how the Council functioned but as an organ it was probably very similar to the Council of xi that functioned aboard galleys and ships, on which see Ugo Tucci, Le consoli de douze sur les navires venitiens, in Le navire et l’économie maritime du Moyen Age au xve siècle, Paris, 1978, pp. 119-125; cf. also Lucia Greco, Sulle rotte delle galere veneziane: il cartulario di bordo del prete notaio Giovanni Manzini (1471-1486), «Archivio Veneto», s. v. (1991), vol. 137, pp. 5-37. pp. 24.
35. Ibid., f. 147, 20 April 1456.
36. Ibid., f. 167v, 5 Aug. 1456.
37. Ibid., f. 167v, 5 Aug. 1456.
38. Ibid., f. 5r and 6v. 26 March 1457.
40. On the galley routes to and from Syria, see Stöckl, Le système de l’incanto des galères, p. 2; Vallet, Marchands, pp. 17, 40-47.
41. The correspondence from the 1480s examined by Éric Vallet suggests that the Venetian colony then numbered around 40 residents. See Vallet, Marchands, pp. 103-104.
42. See ibid., p. 190; Howard, Venice & the East, pp. 33-34.
The social standing of the members of the Venetian colony in Damascus ranged from the consul’s slaves (of unknown geographical origin) to nobles. The Council of 11, elected by the local Venetian community, provided a degree of local autonomy, in effect, a microcosm of the Republic. A motion of the Senate in 1435 had tried to restrict the Council of 11 in Alexandria to members of the nobility, suggesting that this was not the case at the time. Moreover, the hierarchies borrowed from Venetian society at home are explicit in the documents, where noble status is always clearly indicated.44 Moreover, the patricians who were active as merchants in Damascus came from the elite families of the nobility, those in whom wealth and power was concentrated.45 For instance, in 1486 Donata Donà, widow of Luca Loredan, Ravagnino’s landlord in Damascus, had the substantial sum of 1,000 ducats to dispose of in her second will.46

One significant point to be noted is that, apart from the consul’s one female slave, women hardly figure in the documents. Even the long-term residents in Damascus retained their principal family home in Venice, and the female family members invariably remained at home. In the oltremare, the famuli, that is, the household staff other than the slaves, were male. If the female slaves served as concubines, our documents are silent on this point. In the sources published here, only one pair of ladies’ scissors and one woman’s jacket are specifically designated as feminine articles, although presumably much of the jewellery was intended to be worn by women. Yet, as recipients of bequests, women at home in Venice were important conduits for the channelling of eastern material culture into Venetian daily life. The wills transcribed below indicate the involvement of female relatives as commissarii, and reveal the testators’ affectionate feelings towards them. Specific bequests, such as the two coral paternosters that Stefano Ravagnino left to his sister, confirm that women were recipients of precious articles sent back from the east. In 1466 Luca Loredan, Ravagnino’s former landlord in Damascus, had in his household at S. Felice in Venice a certain «Catarina tartara», presumably a slave acquired in the eastern Mediterranean.47

4. Domestic life in Damascus

A beautiful, well-watered city surrounded by gardens on the edge of the desert with a backdrop of hills, Damascus had long been a favourite destination of Venetian merchants. Sauvaget’s picture of fifteenth century Damascus as a city in deep decline does not seem to be borne out by the evidence of European visitors. In 1432, Bertrand de la Broquiére enthused about the «large spacious town where there are most on pp. 190-191, 194-195. See also Nancy G. Siriasi, Avicenna in Renaissance Italy: The Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500, Princeton University Press, 1987.
44. AV: Senato Misti, reg. 59 (copia), f. 128v, 12 Sept. 1435.
45. See VALLET, Marchands, pp. 26, 108.
46. VALLET, Marchands, p. 114.
47. NT, Savina, b. 1236, nos. 242, 14 Jan. 1486 (1485 mv).
48. The tensions caused by this all-male society are evident from a letter of 1484 written by Paolo Cappello, a notable Venetian merchant resident in Damascus. The letter reports that he was at that time imprisoned in the Citadel because two Moorish women had been seen leaving his house. See VALLET, Marchands, p. 363, letter no. 38.
49. NT, Tommaso de Tomei, b. 1238, no. 203, 11 Dec. 1466.
50. For these negative comments, see SAUVAGET, Ésquisse, pp. 462, 467. For a reassessment of Sauvaget’s conclusions see Nikita Elisséeff, Dames à la lumière des théories de Jean Sauvaget, in A.H. Hourani, S.M. Stern (eds.), The Islamic City: A colloquium, Oxford, Bruno Cassirer and University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970, pp. 177-177.
beautiful gardens, the largest I have seen anywhere, and the best fruits and great abundance of water, for there are few houses without a fountain, so they say. A river runs around various places and there is a fine fortification, although the suburbs are larger than the part within the walls. In his Tariffa de Pexi e Mesure, published in Venice in 1503, Bartolomeo di Pagi doubted whether many of his readers would not already be familiar with «the customs of Damascus and the conditions there». Nevertheless, for the sake of those who had never been, he had to force himself («me sforzzerò») to publish a nine-page list, itemising all the commodities from Venice that would be marketable there.

In the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest, a Jewish traveller, Rabbi Bassola, who visited the city in 1521-1522, repeatedly compared Damascus with Venice, in terms of commercial and industrial activity, as well as the cost of living. Like Venice, Damascus was penetrated by a network of canals, 129 within the city and 19 outside. (Most of these were covered over in the early 20th century, like the rii ter of Venice in the Austrian period.) These canals distributed the water of the Barada river to all the neighbourhoods of the city, both inside and outside the walls.

Hellenistic and Roman urbanism had left their mark on the fabric of Damascus, its two main streets intersecting at the principal crossroads of the city. It was here that the Venetian Senate asked, in 1421, to have the Republic’s trading privileges inscribed on a stone tablet. The east-west artery is still known by its Latin name, the Via Recta, although the original positions of the Hellenistic agora and the Roman cardo and decumanus are the subject of debate. The north-eastern quadrant of the city was the Christian quarter, inhabited by largely Arabic-speaking Syrian sects such as Jacobites and Nestorians, while the Jewish quarter occupied the south-east quadrant. Although figures are not available for the mid-15th century, it has been estimated that at the end of the 16th century local Christians formed 11% of the population of some 50-55,000; they were about twice as numerous as the Jewish community. The main Moslem quarter lay in the western half of the city, which also contained the chief commercial area, dominated by the suq to the north of the Via Recta – the Suq al-Qaymariyya – running east from the Great Umayyad Mosque to the probable site of

51. Bertrand de la Broquière, Le Voyage d’Outremer, ed. by Charles Scheffer, Paris, 1892, p. 35: «C’est une grande ville et spacieuse où il y a de tres-beaulx jardins et les plus grans que je veys onques et les milleurs fruitz et gran fosson d’eaux, car il y a peu de maisons en la ville qui n’ait sa fontaine, comme on dit. Il y passé un riviere par plusieurs lieux et sy y a une belle murailled d’autant qu’elle contient, car lesdits forbouirs contiennent beaucoup plus.»

52. Bartolomeo Di Pasi, Tariffa de Pexi e Mesure, Venice, Albertin da Lisona Vercellese, 1503, f. 50: «Li costumi & le conditione de Damasco».

53. Di Pasi, Tariffa, ff. 52-54.


the ancient agora. This had been the principal market for luxury textiles since at least the time of Nur al-Din in the later 12th century; trade in other precious commodities such as jewellery and metalwork was concentrated to the south of the Great Mosque.61 Later, during the Ottoman period, the centre of gravity was to shift south-westwards, to the area just to the north of the Via Recta.62

Between the Roman arteries, the city had evolved into a network of labyrinthine residential neighbourhoods (hāra), a type of urban development that characterised Venice as well as other Islamic cities.63 As in Venetian parishes, each of these local neighbourhoods centred around a mosque (or, in the Christian quarter, a church) and included a range of social groups, from wealthy local notables to the poorest manual workers, bound together by strong local loyalties.64 Administrative and educational functions were concentrated to the south of the Great Mosque, around the Governor’s residence, on the site of the Umayyad rulers’ palace. During the Mamluk era, most of the administrators were members of the military elite sent from Cairo, whereas the ʿulama – lawyers, teachers of religion and scholars – were members of the local intelligentsia.65

In contrast to Alexandria, where visiting merchants were obliged to live in one of the Republic’s two fondaci, in Damascus Venetians were free to live outside the fondaco in rented housing, as the trading privileges of 1442 asserted: «And the said merchants may stay in a house and live wherever they like in the land, paying their own rents.»66 Indeed, it seems that Venetians could even acquire property on a permanent basis. In a legal document regarding his property, one Venetian resident, Ludovicus Ziola son of Benedictus, referred in January 1457 to his house («domus») and possessions to be sold, suggesting that he may have owned property in Damascus.67

5. The four deceased
5. 1. Stefano Ravagnino

Son of Apollonio, Stefano Ravagnino came from the parish of S. Giovanni Nuovo in Venice. In Damascus he occupied an apartment in the house of the nobleman Luca Loredan. In addition, he rented a warehouse belonging to a certain Ebenelara (presumably an Arabic name such as Ibn al-Ara) in the qāyṣāriyya, one of the specialised markets in the city. His will indicates that he and his late brother also owned goods in transit in Beirut. In Damascus he served as a fattore for several Venetians, who are named as the owners of merchandise or deeds in his possession at his death, namely, Paolo Davanzo (gems), Marco Santini (gems, cloth, spice-jars), Tommaso Zane (gems, jewellery, glass beads), Tommaso Zorzi (transaction with a local tailor), and Matteo Zusto (cloth). Marco Santini himself was to be in Damascus in 1457, when he addressed

61. Sack, *The historic fabric*, p. 188.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 188. The detailed description of Damascus in 1700 by Jean-Paul Pascal, *Damas*, pp. 11-17, gives much useful information, although the later date must be taken into account for present purposes. On pp. 78-85, he attempts to locate various types of economic activity.
67. CIn, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, unnumb. II., 20 Jan. 1457 (1456 mv).
68. Luca Loredan lived in the parish of S. Felice. Three wills of his wife Loredan Donata survive: nt, Tommaso de Tommei, b. 1238, no. 203, 17 Dec. 1466; Savina, b. 1236, no. 242, 14 Jan. 1486 (1485 mv); and Bossì, b. 51, no. 150, 19 Sept. 1504 (copy in Bossì, b. 50, no. 76).
a petition to Ravagnino’s executor, also published below (see Appendix 3). Both Zane and Zusto were executors (commissarii) of the estate; in his will Matteo Zusto is described as Ravagnino’s magistrum, or principal employer/patron in Venice.  

The abundance of luxury objects among the personal possessions in his private bedroom and study indicates that Ravagnino was extremely wealthy and successful. Although he traded in a wide range of goods, he seems to have specialised in jewellery and may even have worked as a jeweller himself, for he owned a number of tools such as touchstones, scales for weighing gems, files, a goldsmith’s polishing stone and a jeweller’s pear-wood block. His testament reveals that his wife had already died, leaving two children. His brother Ludovico was also dead, but he was survived by his sister, his mother Benedetta and his uncle Nicolò Bertolini.

5. 2. Stefano di Bossina

While the name suggests that his family may have been of Bosnian origin, Stefano di Bossina, son of Andrea, was a Venetian merchant from the parish of S. Giustina in Venice. Like that of Ravagnino, his inventory includes a wide range of merchandise as well as a rich array of valuable personal items. It is difficult to differentiate his own possessions from articles that he intended to sell, but the goods listed indicate a wide network of trading contacts. Their sources range from Germany to India – he even owned a German roasting spit operated by counter-weights. His landlords in Damascus were two Venetian nobles, Paolo Erizzo and Giovanni Lando, both of whom witnessed the inventory. His executors were the barber of the Venetian colony, Giacomo Candi, and a goldsmith named Filippo, son of Andrea. Like Ravagnino, di Bossina also owned goods in Beirut, in this case spices, which he wished to have dispatched back to Venice on the next galley to be captained by Antonio Loredan. One of his contacts was Nicolò di Giovanni, formerly a servant («famulo») of the Venetian nobleman Leon Contarini in Damascus. Di Bossina left six ducats to Nicolò to pray for his soul, as well as twenty-five ducats for the dowry of Nicolò’s daughter Luchina. By contrast, his own family does not figure in the will. He presumably died without direct heirs, for he asked for the residue of his estate to be given to charitable causes: to the poor, the sick and the incarcerated.

5. 3. Marino da Molin, consul to the Venetian colony in Damascus

Marino da Molin, son of Filippo, came from the branch of the family at S. Giovanni Nuovo in Venice, the parish where Ravagnino lived, but himself resided at S. Marina. He was elected consul in Damascus on 27th December 1453. Not long before, he

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69 On the relationship and distinction between fattore and maestro, see Vallet, Marchands, pp. 38-39, 94-95.
71 On the role of the famulo (or famejo), see Vallet, Marchands, pp. 203-204.
72 Marino da Molin’s genealogy:

**FILIPPO**

CRESO  |  BENEDETTO  |  BIASIO  |  BERNARDO  |  MAFTIMO  |  MARINO  |  FRANCESCO

CRESO  |  (in 1488 he married Agnesina, daughter of Castellani Michiel)

PIERO  |  CARLO  |  FRANCESCO  |  MOLINA

had served as Venetian consul in Tunis, elected to that office on 22\textsuperscript{nd} January 1447 (1446\textsuperscript{m}v).\textsuperscript{73} According to the Venetian-Mamluk trading treaties, the consul’s stipend was paid by the host country, that is by the local admiral or diwan.\textsuperscript{74} Like those of Ravagnino and di Bossina, da Molin’s inventory lists a variety of valuable possessions, impressive in both quantity and range, but the emphasis is very different. It must be remembered that the consul’s official duties involved a ceremonial diplomatic role requiring appropriate formal robes. In Mamluk society, as in Venice, the nuances of social and political interactions were carefully defined by formal conventions of dress.\textsuperscript{75} The celebrated painting from the Bellini circle illustrating \textit{The Reception of the Venetian Ambassador in Damascus}, now in the Louvre (Fig. 1), vividly illustrates the prominent role of dress in diplomatic exchanges. Molin’s inventory is therefore particularly notable for the large number of splendid gowns in various colours and materials, with carefully differentiated sleeves, often with fur linings. His well-equipped kitchen and the liquor barrels in his cellar suggest that his official duties also included entertaining. A century later – by which time the consulate had moved to Aleppo – weekly suppers were held for the Venetian community in Syria.\textsuperscript{76} Similar social occasions probably took place in mid-15\textsuperscript{th}-century Damascus. In theory at least, consuls were not allowed to engage in trade.\textsuperscript{77}

Marino da Molin’s will of 2\textsuperscript{nd} May 1457 reveals that the testator’s son Piero, named executor, was in Damascus at the time of his death. Another of the consul’s commissarii then in the city, Marco da Molin, son of Piero, came from a different branch of the family. However, since his mother was a sister of Marino’s own wife Agnesina Michiel, Marco was the testator’s nephew-by-marriage. Marino himself had four children in all: two boys and two girls. His elder son, Carlo, had predeceased, leaving him a young granddaughter Lucretia, for whom Marino asked his executors to provide a dowry when she reached marriageable age. His own two daughters, Franceschina and Molina, as well as his wife, were named as executors in Venice, together with Piero and his brother-in-law Jacopo da Molin. Provision was made only for Molina’s dowry, suggesting that Franceschina may have been already married.

5. 4. Nicolò de Ruzino da Feltre

We know relatively little of the owner of the goods listed in the fourth inventory, namely Nicolò de Ruzino, a non-noble, who perished on one of the Beirut galleys in 1457. If he was himself a merchant, he was certainly not accompanied by goods for sale, for his possessions consisted almost entirely of clothes and books, carefully differentiated (as today) between those to keep on deck and those in a chest in the hold. The only other items listed were a small amount of money, garlic, a sugar loaf, two pillows and some pilgrim’s articles – indeed, pilgrimage may have been one of the purposes of his journey.

Nicolò’s name suggests that his family originated from the town of Feltre, on the Venetian terraferma west of Belluno, but we do not know where he himself lived. He

\textsuperscript{73} See Appendix 5.
\textsuperscript{74} \textit{Wansbrough, ‘Venice and Florence’}, p. 514.
\textsuperscript{76} \textit{Ugo Tucci (ed.)}, \textit{Lettres d’un marchand vénitien: Andrea Berengo (1553-56)}, Paris, 1957, p. 177.
\textsuperscript{77} On restrictions on trade by consuls see \textit{Ashtor, Levant Trade}, p. 414. However, \textit{Vallet, Marchands}, pp. 198-199, observes that, despite this regulation, the Venetian consul in Damascus in 1483 was involved in trade.
was not related to the young Venetian nobleman, Giorgio Ruzzino, son of Francesco, who had died on one of the Alexandria galleys just four years earlier, in on 8th January 1454 (1453 mv), aged about 20, and whose possessions were likewise inventoried by Cristoforo del Fiore. Nicolò de Ruzino was a keen reader – his inventory reveals that he owned a number of books, both in his deck luggage and in the hold. For reading during the voyage, he had a copy of St. Jerome’s Lives of the Saints, together with Boccaccio’s Elegy of Madonna Fiammetta. Two more books in de Ruzino’s sea-chest offered the same combination of fourteenth-century secular reading and devotional literature, namely one book of stories of Griselda and Walter (the last novella of Boccaccio’s Decameron), and one office-book of Our Lady with other things.

5. Andrea da Raguxio

Andrea da Raguxio was a Venetian galleot from the parish of S. Simeon Profeta, who died at his bench («ad suum banchum») on one of the Alexandria galleys, the ship named Raimunda, in 1453. His inventory offers a useful measure of comparison with that of Nicolò da Ruzino, for his only possessions were small amounts of goods to sell (pepper, oil and wine), some money and a broken cutlass. In his testament he named as his executors: the captain of the galley, Francesco Loredan; his compatriot Alegretto, a furrier, who was a galleot on the galley Bernardo in the same convoy (the galley on which Giorgio da Ruzzini died); and a fellow galleot on his bench on the Raimunda, named Gregorio. His executors in Venice were to be his wife Helena and another furrier named Giorgio from his own parish. With touching loyalty, he left his two barrels of wine to his fellow galleots on the Raimunda, the rest of his estate passing to his children (if any) or to his wife.

6. Domestic space

Since the inventories published below are limited to movable goods, they offer only fragmentary evidence about the houses occupied by their owners in Damascus. It is noteworthy that their dwellings were each apparently arranged in the form of a typical Renaissance apartment, that is, a suite of rooms incorporating carefully defined gradations of privacy, passing from outer chamber to bedroom to study. This lay-

78. Giorgio Ruzzino’s genealogy is in Barbaro, Arbori de’ patrizi veneti, vol. vi, 32, p. 487. His inventory (8 Jan. 1454. 1453 mv) is well known to historians, for it was published by Molmenti a century ago: see Pompeo Molmenti, La storia di Venezia nella vita privata, 3 vols., Bergamo, 1905-1908, 1, pp. 446-447.


80. ‘il libro de istorie de Grixeldo e de Gualtiero’ (cin. b. 85 (ii), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. iii, unnumb f.; ‘un officieto de Nostra Dona e con altre choose suxo’: ibid., unnumb f.

81. Further testaments and inventories made on board ship by galleots, a crossbowman and others may be found in the register-book of another priest-notary active somewhat later on a Flanders galley: see Grazio, Quadrato di bordo di Giovanni Manzini.

out characterised the configuration of domestic space in elite circles across Europe. We know that Stefano Ravagnino’s dwelling within the house of Luca Loredan had at least three rooms, among them his private chamber, another bedroom also described as «sua camera», and a study. The furniture included beds, chests, lattice-work boxes, carpets and cushions. Stefano di Bossina’s lodgings in the house of Paolo Erizzo and Giovanni Lando were on at least two levels, for his bedroom was «in solario» (upstairs, like an English medieval “solar” chamber). Both these merchants had elegantly appointed studioli, not only equipped to serve as business offices, but also designed to give an impression of cosmopolitan sophistication. Their contents included articles such as pomanders, rose-water sprinklers, bells, gilded scissors, musk, seals and paternosters. In Syria as in Venice, the merchant’s dwelling was not only used for keeping accounts and records, but also for storing merchandise – supplemented by additional warehouse space when necessary, as in the case of Ravagnino’s goods stored in the qaysariyya. Consul da Molin’s house was certainly in the Venetian fondaco: this is confirmed by another document in Cristoforo del Fiore’s registro, drawn up «in domo spectabilis domini consulis venetorum in seraia».

The whereabouts of this fondaco in the fifteenth century is uncertain. The living quarters included a small room occupied by Piero, the consul’s son, containing a little devotional picture of the Dead Christ and a tapestry bed-hanging with figures. The consul himself had a large private bedroom, with a good feather bed and a small bed with a straw mattress, suggesting that a servant or slave also slept there (just as Ravagnino’s bedroom contained a new bed and an older cot). This is the only inventory to record the existence of a separate servant or slave also slept there (just as Ravagnino’s bedroom contained a new bed and an older cot). This is the only inventory to record the existence of a separate

We can only guess where the other houses occupied by our Venetian merchants were located. Since their occupants had little interaction with local Christians, these houses were unlikely to be in the Christian quarter. The fondaco was certainly a secure structure, locked at night, for it is called the seraia in our documents. The Genoese, Anselme Adorno, who visited Damascus in 1470-1471, remarked that «there are many Venetians, all living together in one place, who are shut up in their houses at night by the Moors». Vallet used this evidence to suggest that the entire community was housed in a single street or bazaar, closed overnight, but his conclusion goes against the evidence of the trading treaty cited earlier, that Venetians could «live wherever they liked in the land». Adorno may not have been aware of the more integrated semi-permanent residents elsewhere in the city, writing instead of the short-term visiting merchants who lodged in the fondaco. Some Venetians, such as Ravagnino’s landlord Luca Loredan, settled in Damascus for periods of years, perhaps inter-

84. On the use of the house for business and storage in Syria, see Vallet, Marchands, pp. 206, 209; in Venice see Howard, Venice & the East, pp. 115-117.
85. cin, b. 85 (1), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. 111, f. 16, 20 May 1496.
86. Vallet, Marchands, p. 208. Vallet uses the evidence of Anselme Adorno who was in Damascus in 1470-1471 to refute Ashtor’s claim (Levant Trade, p. 427) that there was no Venetian fondaco in Damascus. See also Ennio Conci, Fondaci: architettura, arte e mercatura tra Levante, Venezia e Alemagna, Venice, Marsilio, 1997, pp. 94-95.
87. Howard, Venice & the East, pp. 36-42. Vallet mentions only one instance of a Venetian house located in the Christian quarter, in that case in Aleppo (Vallet, Marchands, p. 208).
89. Vallet, Marchands, p. 209.
ruptured by visits home. The number of miscellaneous personal items owned by Ravagnino and di Bossina, including many objects acquired locally, suggests that both were long-term residents. The consul’s stay of four years in Damascus was an unusually long period of tenure. The normal term of office was two years, although one of his recent predecessors in Damascus, Leone da Molin (not a close relative), had served five years there, from 1446-1451.

A special privilege afforded to Venetian merchants in Mamluk regions was that of wearing local dress: «And the said merchants may dress in Arab-style clothing in this country for their own security, as they please». On his travels in Syria in 1432 the French pilgrim Bertrand de la Broquière had contacted Venetian merchants for the best possible advice on how to buy local clothing. Stefano di Bossina owned a «mudanda more-scha» (Moorish knee-length coats, and Ravagnino had ten new pairs which he may also have bought in Syria. A pair of long Mamluk striped drawers has survived in the Musée du Cinquantenaire in Brussels. In these two inventories the handkerchiefs, belts, buckles and skullcaps were mainly of local workmanship. The ziuponi that figure frequently may have been short tight-waisted jackets like those worn in Venice and known by that name. However, given the number of words with Arabic roots used in the documents, these could equally well be Moorish-style knee-length coats, known in Arabic by the term jubba. The letters from Damascus in the 1480s seem to confirm that these ziuponi were indeed long coats, often sent out from Venice. By contrast, the consul Marino da Molin had a Venetian-style wardrobe amply supplied with formal robes, including no fewer than five ceremonial purple gowns. This distinction seems to have lasted into the 18th century, when an English visitor to Aleppo, Alexander Russell, remarked that the consuls were dressed in European style, whereas many merchants wore local dress.

The inventories reveal that numerous everyday articles were acquired locally for domestic use, particularly knives, handkerchiefs, containers such as purses and boxes, inkwells and notebooks. The consul’s kitchen contained a «Moorish copper cooking pot», Even Ravagnino’s officieto (or mass-book) had a damascene binding, and he owned a two-stringed Moorish musical instrument. On the other hand, everyday articles also came from a range of European destinations: for example, Ravagnino owned French-style clogs and a Florentine inkwell, while di Bossina had several objects from Germany, including a leather purse, a compass, an old knife and the roasting spit already mentioned. The consul owned a box of twelve knives from Milan. These domestic interiors thus illustrate the cosmopolitan horizons of Venetian merchants at the time.

On the other hand, the touching humanity of their lives is also vividly conveyed. Many of the objects are intimate and often modest domestic possessions: for example, Ravagnino’s twelve «linen and muslin shirts, worn and old», his «hairbrush with black and white bone handle», his «old torn handkerchief with blue borders» or his «waxed cloth of crimson for the stomach». Even the consul had old socks and torn

90. Wansbrough, Venice and Florence, p. 497: «E possa i diti marchadanti vestir a la rabeerca per lo paixe per seguriza sa, comme i piazer». The same privileges state earlier that «per bene e seguriza di marchadanti Venetian che quando i chavala per lo paixe per trafegar che i possa vestir a la moretscha» (p. 495). See also Vallet, Marchands, p. 226.
91. De la Broquière, Le voyage, pp. 40-41, 77-78.
93. Vallet, Marchands, pp. 109, 281, 386. Vallet interprets the «ninzolo», likewise ordered from Venice, as another type of clothing, whereas the term in reality refers to sheets, as their length makes obvious (loc. cit.).
95. «Pignata de rame morescha »: CIN, b. 83 (11), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. iii, unnumb. f.
96. «Vergeta morescha da balotar con do chorde e con la coverta de pano negro»: ibid., f. 7.
97. «Chamixte de tella et de bochasin uzade e vegchie»: ibid., f. 37v; «choda da petene con el manego d’osos biancho e negro»: (f. 37v); «faxulo vechio e resto con i chavi azuri»: (f. 6); «zera de pano de grana per el stomegro»: (f. 6).
tablecloths. Ravagnino seems to have enjoyed fishing for he owned two «togene» (fishing lines with flies) in a small bag. Di Bossina left well-used underwear and torn shirts (one of them dirty), as well as two nightcaps and two pairs of old, monkish-style («frateschi») clogs. Both this type of clogs and the kind known as «zoccoli battanti» (either pattins or wooden soles attached to the foot with a strap) were sent out from Venice.

Of particular interest in the study of mercantile life is the profusion of everyday necessities for office work and for packaging goods. As well as the display items in the studiolo already mentioned, such as pomanders and rose-water sprinklers, many objects were intended for use, even if the inkstands were ornate objects of local workmanship. The possessions of Ravagnino and di Bossina included inkwells, letter pouches, writing tablets, silver styluses, scales, seals, rulers, scissors, string, rope sacks and padlocks. By comparison, although he owned an abacus, Consul da Molin seems to have done little desk-work himself, presumably because the notary was at hand.

7. Pilgrimage

Throughout the medieval world pilgrimage had been inextricably bound up with trade. Markets clustered around cathedrals, and trade fairs coincided with major festivals in the Christian calendar such as the Festa della Sensa in Venice. Damascus was an important point of departure for the Moslem hajj to Mecca, and the departure and return of the pilgrim “caravan” played a major role in stimulating local crafts and trade. For Christians as for Moslems, Damascus was a convenient setting-off point for pilgrimage to the Holy Land when in the city for commercial or diplomatic reasons. One of the Venetian merchants in Damascus, Barbon Morosini, who made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1514, left a manuscript account of his journey, now in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, a precious survival of a pilgrim narrative written by a Venetian.

In the documents under discussion here we notice the tight interweaving of commercial and religious interests. Consul da Molin’s decision to free his slave Zuanne in 1455 was taken “for the love of God, to make up for my sins, and for the health of my soul.” His own possessions included «a small bag with relics from Jerusalem inside, together with a cross and a “peace” (small devotional image in relief).» His successor, Stefano Malipiero, before taking up office, was to obtain permission from the Senate “to go to visit the Holy Sepulchre, leaving in his place a vice-consul.” Doubtless, after his predecessor’s death, Malipiero was only too aware of the dangers of dying in office, and wished to collect indulgences in the Holy Land. Among Stefano di Bossina’s possessions was a wooden chest containing articles of pilgrim’s luggage.

98. «Berete de tella da portar de note 2»: ibid, f. 81.
99. See Vallet, Marchands, pp. 109, 244. Vallet’s material refers to «zoccoli fratoni» rather than «frateschi». He interprets these tentatively as flat-soled mules. Giorgio Ruzzino’s luggage aboard ship also contained «unum par zoccolorum battantium» (see Molmenti, La storia di Venezia, 1, p. 477).
102. «Pro divino amore, remedio peccatorum meorum et salute anime mee»: cin, b. 83 (11), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. iii, f. 4, 14 Aug. 1455.
103. «Busteta con reliquie de Ierusalem entro e con 1 + et 1 paxe te»: ibid., unnumb. f.
104. SM, reg. 6, f. 34. 17 Aug. 1457: «ire ad visitatatem sepulcri Domini, dimettendo loco sui unnum viceconsulem».
105. Croce de Ierusalem con reliquie entro 2.

scharfes todescha de chuoero negro rechamada t
Crosses from Jerusalem with relics inside
German purse of black leather, tooled
Agnus Dei with a glass, with some relics from Jerusalem inside
Crimson belt inlaid with silver and worked in niello
Gilded candlesticks and big benedetti (candles) of 3 oz. each
Small candles of 1 oz.

He may even have dealt in pilgrim equipment, for he also left sixteen «small crosses of mother-of-pearl of various sorts», one «small cross of mother-of-pearl engraved with a Crucifixion», four «gilded lead images of Jesus from Jerusalem», six «ropes from Jerusalem for measuring the Holy Sepulchre», and eight «wooden rosaries from Jerusalem».  

Ravagnino owned a «cross from Jerusalem with relics inside».  

Nicolò de Ruzino’s sea chest contained pilgrim girdles and paternostri from Jerusalem. Both di Bossina and da Molin left money to the Franciscan monastery on Mount Sion. As custodians of the Holy Places in Jerusalem, the Franciscans of Mount Sion were experiencing severe financial difficulties following the collapse in 1453 of the Soranzo bank, where many of their funds were deposited. In 1456 the Guardian of the convent of Mount Sion appeared before to the Collegio to explain that «as for the needs of the convent, the friars might lack the means to live and to serve God in those infidel parts».

Devotional concerns are apparent in the reading matter of our four Venetians and in their works of art. Two of the deceased owned religious books – de Ruzino had Christian books both on deck and in the hold, as already mentioned. In addition to the affizieto with a Damascene cover noted earlier, Ravagnino also owned a «small book with the seven psalms on good paper». Di Bossina left «eleven scenes of the Passion painted on paper», while the consulate contained two small devotional pictures («sanconete»), one depicting the Crucifixion and the other a Dead Christ.

It is in the wills, however, that we find particularly interesting evidence of the concerns of the testators to ensure their salvation. One of the duties of Ravagnino’s commissarii, in both Venice and Damascus, was to check his account books for errors, in order to clear his conscience and assist his personal salvation. Consul da Molin was the only testator to lay aside money for his tomb («sepoltura»), presumably in Dam-
ascus. Ravagnino wished a pilgrim to travel to Rome and Assisi for the soul of his late brother Ludovico; similarly, Consul da Molin asked his executors to send a pilgrim to Santiago di Compostella to pray for his own soul. All three testators made charitable bequests and endowed masses for their own souls in their parish churches back in Venice. The Consul bequeathed an embroidered altar frontal to his parish church of S. Marina in Venice. The interest in Observant causes is particularly noticeable, perhaps stimulated by the recent death of (later St.) Bernardino of Siena. Since notaries were expected to remind testators to make bequests to the state hospitals, all three left small sums to the hospital of the Pietà and the Lazzaretto in Venice.

8. Commodities

The inventories published here are particularly valuable for their evidence of local crafts in a wide variety of media. Whereas the Bahri Mamluk Sultans had actively patronised Egyptian and Syrian manufactures, their successors, the Burji Mamluks (1382-1517), were less interested in commissioning luxury products from local artisans. The situation was exacerbated by the Timurid incursion of 1401, when numerous Syrian craftsmen were taken back to Samarkand by Tamerlane. As a result, industrial production in Damascus is often thought to have declined drastically in the 15th century. Indeed, few items of 15th-century Mamluk workmanship are displayed in Western museum collections. Our inventories suggest, however, that even without the elevated patronage enjoyed under the Bahri Mamluks, local crafts were flourishing.

At the same time, the role of Venice as an entrepôt is thrown into sharp relief. Items from a variety of European destinations are found alongside spices, textiles, furs and porcelain presumably imported to the markets of Damascus from further east. Apart from the Consul’s robes, very little seems to be of Venetian origin. The main exception is the jewellery set with glass beads of various colours and sizes in Ravagnino’s possession, contained in a «small pine box from Venice belonging to Tommaso Zane».

8. 1. Textiles and furs

In terms of bulk, textiles figure most prominently in the inventories. In the case of Consul da Molin and Nicolò de Ruzino, these were usually items of clothing, seemingly intended for their own use. The main exception is the consul’s ownership of one chavezo (six-foot length) each of dark-coloured «ormexi de chanza» and of heavy crimson velvet silk. In his own house Ravagnino’s textile articles, too, were limited to clothing, apart from one knapsack of white wool. In the warehouse of Ebenelara, however, he had stored a range of woollen fabrics belonging to two Venetian contacts, Marco Santini and Matteo Zusto. Santini’s merchandise consisted of «pani de 60» in light green, purple and red, whereas Zusto’s cloths are described as «pani quarantini acholoradi». These were woollen cloths probably made in the Veneto, the «quar-
antini» narrower and less costly than the «pani de 60». Santini’s goods in the gay-sariyya also included a «robe of heavy silk green velvet, used, old and undone in 6 pieces», suggesting that valuable textiles were recycled.

Di Bossina left textiles and skins of a dazzling variety and it is not always clear where they originated. He owned skeins of thread, canvas (both waxed and unwaxed), sailcloth, fustian, leather, a white goatskin, unspun linen, a bundle of wool, sackcloth, white lining material and woollen cloth. Only occasionally is their origin specified—for example, the thirteen rolls of «new linen from Rhodes, of narrow width». The Consul’s inventory illustrates the wide range of furs available to line the robes of the Venetian elite.

In conclusion, it is worth noting the rather surprising absence of the commodities most sought after by Venetian merchants in Damascus for their clients back in Venice: raw cotton and raw silk. Either our men did not invest in these raw materials or they used warehouses in Beirut, as emerges from Stefano Ravagnino’s testament. In that case, these commodities would not have been inventoried in Damascus.

8.2 Carpets

Since scarcely any 15th-century Mamluk carpets of Syrian workmanship survive today, the evidence regarding carpets in the inventories is particularly interesting. The «chaierim carpet with borders woven in the Moorish style» owned by Stefano di Bossina may have been acquired from the Karimi guild of merchants who dominated trade with India during the Mamluk period. Alternatively it may simply have been a killim, or even a Cairene carpet. He presumably purchased his two «new small carpets» in a local market although their origin is unknown—it is often assumed that carpets for sale in Syria were imported from Turkey, Egypt, or even further afield. Ravagnino owned two hessian (jute) mats, one described as «red and good», the other «small and sad». These were probably examples of the type of rugs known in Arabic as hanbals. The most intriguing testimony is to be found in Consul da Molin’s inventory, where the large private chamber contained no fewer than six carpets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Carpet</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large carpets for covering a bench, used, quite good</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium-sized thick-pile carpets, used</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small thick-pile carpets, old</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first two point to the existence of local carpet-weaving production. According to Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādi’s manual on the inspection of markets from the late fifteenth-centu-

117. The «pani de 60» were woven on a loom with two rows of 15 bobbins, while the «quarantini» were woollen cloth made using two rows of ten bobbins and 40 portraits. See Dominique Combon, La draperie au Moyen Âge: Essor d’une grande industrie européenne, Paris, CNRS, 1999, p. 366; Edoardo Demo, L’anima della città. L’industria tessile a Verona e Vicenza (1400-1550), Milan, Unicopli, 2001, p. 342.

118. «Vesta de zetani veludà verde vechia e desfata in pezi 60»: CIN, b. 83 (ii), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. iii, f. 7.

119. «Tella nuova da Rodi stretta pichi in 15»: ibid., f. 9v.


121. «Tapedo chaierim con i chavi tessado a la morescha»: ibid., b. 83 (ii), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. iii, f. 9v. The possibility of its acquisition from the Karimi merchants was kindly suggested to me by Jeremy Johns of the Oriental Institute in Oxford.

122. «Tapedi nuovi pizoli 2»: CIN, b. 83 (ii), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. iii, f. 9v. See Irwin, Egypt, Syria, pp. 74-75.

123. «Charpeta da stramazo rossa e bona 1» and «tapedo da stramazo picholo et tristo 1»: CIN, b. 83 (ii), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. iii, f. 6.

124. Irwin, Egypt, Syria, p. 75.

125. Tapedi grandi da mastabae usadi asa’ boni 2 tapedi mezani grossi uxdai 2 tapedi picoli grossi e vechi 2

(cin, b. 83 (ii), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. iii, unnumb. f.)
8. 3. Paper

Our documents display a keen interest in different types of paper. As we have seen, Ravagnino’s psalter and officio were both «on good paper», although we do not know its source. Unfortunately we have no details of the paper in his own ledger, or of his treasured merchant’s handbook with a silver cover.128 His «white Turkish book» is a little mysterious.129 Letters and papers were carefully stored: Ravagnino had 15 folders with letters, while di Bossina left a «sheepskin bag for paper and letters»130 and a «pouch of accounts and letters, of painted sailcloth».131 His «old book written in the vernacular, torn» had clearly been well used.132 It is difficult to ascertain the direction of the trade in paper at this time. Already in the 13th century the manufacture of rag paper was widespread all over the Islamic world, but by the 15th century it had begun to spread to northern Italy.133 In his seminal study of 1935, Sauvaget stressed the importance of paper manufacture in Mamluk Damascus, but Bloom suggests that the industry never recovered from Tamerlane’s incursions.134 Ravagnino’s books included two «small books from the bazaar», presumably bought outside the Great Umayyad Mosque in the paper market that still exists today.135 Whether they were blank notebooks or books with written content is unknown. Nonetheless, there is evidence that paper was already exported to Syria from Venice by the later 15th century.136 De Paxi lists «carta da scrivere» as a marketable commodity for Venetian merchants to take to Damascus.137

8. 4. Metalwork

Mamluk metalwork is celebrated especially for its copper articles inlaid with silver or tin, with or without gilding, a type of workmanship that later came to be imitated in Venice.138 The evidence of our inventories suggests that the industry continued to prosper in Syria in the 15th century, despite the view among some scholars that decline had set in.139 Consul da Molin left an «Arab-style copper cup, inlaid and tin-plat-

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126. IRWIN, EGYPT, SYRIA, p. 80.
127. MACK, BAZAAR TO PIAZZA, pp. 24-25.
128. «Libro grando de suo raxon»: CIN, b. 83 (11), CRISTOFORO DEL FIORE, REG. III, F. 7, and «tarifa de spexe de mar-
chandania con coverta morescha»: ibid., f. 6v.
129. «Libero turchescho biancho»: ibid., f. 6.
130. «Borsa da cartat et da lettere de carta pegorina»: ibid., f. 8v.
131. «Scharsela da letere de botana nuova con lettere suxo»: ibid., f. 6v.
132. «Libro vecho scripto per vulgar squarzado»: ibid., f. 8.
133. «In carta bambasina»: ibid., unnumb. f.
134. HOWARD, VENICE & THE EAST, pp. 54-59.
136. «Libretori de bazarra »: CIN, b. 83 (11), CRISTOFORO DEL FIORE, REG. III, F. 7.
137. IRWIN, EGYPT, SYRIA, p. 72; VALLET, MARCHANDI, p. 297.
138. DE PAXI, TARIFAS, F. 54.
139. For an introduction to this type of metalwork, see RACHEL WARD, ISLAMIC METALWORK, LONDON, THAMES AND HUDSON, 1993, PP. 95-96, 104-109, 115-117.
140. For Venetian imitations see SILVIA AULD, “MASTER MAHMOUTH”: OBJECTS FIT FOR A PRINCE, IN VENEZIA E L’ORIENTE VICINO, ERNEST J. GEBBE (ED.), ATTI DEL PRIMO CONGRESSO INTERNAZIONALE SULL’ARTE VENEZIANA E L’ARTE ISLAMICA, VENICE, ATENEO VENETO, 1989, PP. 185-201.
ed» and a «Moorish copper bucket, with tin-plated lids». Several items are described as made of silver alone, or of gilded and/or enameled silver. These include Ravagnino's gilded silver pomander, his plain silver rings and di Bossina's «silver cup, gilded and enamelled». A 15th-century spherical incense burner from Damascus, made of brass inlaid with gold and silver and now in the British Museum, is likely to resemble Ravagnino's pomander. Another in the Museo Correr still preserves its gimbal mechanism to prevent the incense or oil from spilling when the ball is rolled along the floor. The inventories also mention «small Moorish bells» owned by both Ravagnino and di Bossina. Although such items were valuable, they seem to have been in use for display, rather than acquired for sale. As Damascus was also a major centre for the production of watered steel, our Venetians had evidently seized the opportunity to purchase articles with steel blades such as Ravagnino's «scimitar with a sheath», his «Arab-style knives with white handles and sheath», and di Bossina's «Moorish-style knives with sheaths» remind us. On the other hand the silver items decorated with niello ornament («lavorato a un nello») without the designation «moresca» may have been of Italian origin.

Among the profusion of jewellery bequeathed by both Ravagnino and di Bossina, we find evidence of the flourishing trade in coral, especially in the form of paternostri, to which Bartolomeo de Paxi's Tarifja de Pexi e Mesure also testified. Ravagnino's landlord, Luca Loredan, was likewise involved in dealing in coral. Loose gems in Ravagnino's inventory include diamonds, pearls and rubies, many of these the property of two Venetian contacts, Paolo Davanzo and Tommaso Zane, as well as uncut chalcedony and «garnet jewels, Arab-style», said to be 370 in number. In a «silvered Moorish-style jewel-box», di Bossina had four gold rings with various gems mounted «a la francha», which he may have hoped to sell in Damascus, as well as one silver ring set with turquoise «a la morescha» and some unmounted gems. (His mother-of-pearl crosses have already been discussed above). Tommaso Zane's box of Venetian jewellery set with glass beads in Ravagnino's possession, noted earlier, is the only example of glassware apart from a glass phial containing a relic and one glass inkwell.

8. 5. Spices, dyes and aromatics

The inventories offer striking evidence of the Venetian trader's ability to buy precious, rare and exotic commodities whenever the opportunity arose and the price was right. Di Bossina's inventory suggests that he was active in the spice trade, for he left musk, balsam, nutmeg, ginger (both ground and potted), cloves, cinnabar, borax paste, cinnamon, mastic, pepper, cloves and mace, not to mention a small piece of...
the resinous pigment known as dragon’s blood (sangue de drago). The other three deceased, by contrast, had few such items apart from sugar products and garlic, presumably for their own use.

8. 6. Ceramics

Spices were kept in a variety of containers – jars, pots, bowls, bladders, phials, barrels and bags – but the inventories suggest that the trade in new spice-jars or albarelli was also flourishing. In the warehouse in the qaysariyya, on behalf of Marco Santon, Ravagnino had stored not only textiles but also a consignment of 280 «big spice-jars piled up, glazed in black and some white and red».

Di Bossina owned some maiolica ware, described as «between soup-bowls and saucers», which his landlord, Paolo Erizzo, evidently admired, for the inventory states that he wished to buy these items. The references to porcelain in the inventories are intriguing, for at this time true porcelain was only manufactured in China. The locally produced Syrian blue-and-white pasteware, made in imitation of Chinese porcelain, was coarse by comparison. Ravagnino left one porcelain bowl, while di Bossina owned one blue and white bowl (described as cracked), four small green bowls, and a large bowl containing ground ginger, all in porcelain. Consul da Molin’s possessions included as many as five «large porcelain vessels, that is, bowls». If Cristoforo del Fiore could distinguish the real product from Syrian imitations, then these were presumably of Chinese origin, imported via the Silk Route.

9. Conclusion

The documents presented here touch on many aspects of Venetian activity in Syria in the mid-fifteenth century. As vignettes of the lives of a few enterprising individuals they can be analysed as microstoria, but they also offer broader insights into Venetian colonial life – the respective roles of the consul, the chaplain and the visiting merchants – and into life on board the galleys. Evidence of contacts with Moslem traders and the presence of numerous local artefacts in the homes of the deceased confirms their experience of local culture on a day-to-day basis. Furthermore, the inventories offer valuable testimony of flourishing local crafts in Damascus under the Burji Mamluks. Finally, the belongings of the deceased highlight Venice’s far-reaching commercial network extending from northern Europe to India and China.

115. «Pezeto de sangue de drago mezan i»: ibid., f. 7v.
117. See MACK, Bazaar to Piazza, pp. 97-99.
118. «Alberoni in monte grossi negri e alcuni bianchi e rossi varnaze 280»: cin. b. 83 (ii), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. 111, f. 7.
119. «Lavori da maionica tra schudelle e piaddenete»: ibid., f. 10.
120. For examples of 15th-century Syrian underglaze blue and white ware, see ATIL, Renaissance of Islam, cat. nos. 74-76. Important information on Syrian 15th-century ceramics is contained in MARCO SPALLANZANI, Ceramiche orientali a Firenze nel Rinascimento, 2nd edn., Florence, 1979, pp. 42-51, 104.
121. «Porcelane grosse zoé schudelle pezi 50: cin. b. 83 (ii), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. 111, unnumb. f.
Appendix 1

Sources and Archival Details

All records we have studied are preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia.

The testaments come from: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Notarile, Testamenti, busta 982, Cristoforo del Fiore, here indicated as ASV: NT, b. 982, Cristoforo del Fiore. Two additional Venetian wills from Damascus in 1461-1462 have been included for the sake of completeness. These are not discussed in the text.

The inventories come from: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Cancelleria Inferiore, Notai, busta 83 (ii), Cristoforo del Fiore, here indicated as ASV: CIN, b. 83 (ii), Cristoforo del Fiore. This busta consists of 8 different fascicoli ascribed to as many notaries. In the fascicolo no. 8, headed «Cristoforo del Fiore», there are seven protocolli (registers), one rubrica and another fascicolo. Two out of these seven protocolli and the rubrica do not belong to Cristoforo, but to a certain notary named Francesco.159 We have marked these documents in the following way.

Cristoforo del Fiore’s Records

Paper register with parchment cover and inner rubrica (15 Oct. 1449-24 April 1465), entitled «Protocollum Cristofori de Flore de Millesimo 1449-1459»: reg. I

Paper register (3 Feb. 1449-2 July 1449), entitled «1449»: reg. II

Paper register (11 Oct. 1454-12 Nov. 1457), partially numbered, entitled «Cristophorus de Flore notarius 1454 cancellarius in Damasco»: reg. III

Paper register with parchment cover and inner rubrica (10 Nov. 1446-20 Dec. 1448), entitled «Protocollum Cristofori de Flore de millesimo a nativitate domini 1449 ecclesiasticorum»: reg. IV


Other Notaries’ Records

Paper register (25 May 1425-24 Sept. 1426; notary Francesco): reg. VI

Paper register (8 July 1426-23 June 1427; notary Francesco): reg. VII

Paper rubrica, entitled «1425» (anonymous notary): rubrica

159. The name of the notary Francesco appears only once in: cin, b. 83 (ii), reg. VII, f. 347, 7 May 1427; he was operating between Venice and Alexandria. Indeed, we are very doubtful if the rubrica belongs to Francesco, because it seems to be written by a third hand, surely it does not belong to Cristoforo. The documents of Francesco were incorrectly inventoried and placed in folders bearing the name of Cristoforo del Fiore, an error that was not detected by Ashtor, The Levant Trade, p. xv, nor by Howard, Venice and the East, pp. 39, 60, 123.
Appendix 2

Weights, Measures and Coins

Venetian Units of Weight Used for Precious Metals and Coins

- 1 marco = 8 oncia = 32 quarti = 192 denari = 1,152 carati = 4,608 grani = 238.49936 grams
- 1 oncia = 4 quarti = 24 denari = 144 carati = 572 grani = 29.8124 grams
- 1 quarto = 6 denari = 36 carati = 144 grani = 7.4531 grams
- 1 denaro = 6 carati = 24 grani = 1.2418 grams
- 1 carato = 4 grani = 0.20703 grams
- 1 grano = 0.05176 grams


Venetian Units of Weight for Spices, Sugar and Soap

- 1 carica or carico (for pepper) = 400 libbre sottili = 120.49188 kilograms
- 1 libbra sottile = 12 once = 0.3012297 kilograms
- 19 libbre sottili = 12 libbre grosse
- 1 Damascene rotolo = 5 Venetian libbre sottili, 11 once and 11 (or 12) denari


Others Measures of Length and Volume

- 1 picco of Cyprus = 0.6718 metres
- 1 Damascene picco = 0.6775 metres
- 1 Venetian braccio da lana = 0.683396 metres
- 1 Venetian braccio da seta = 0.638722 metres
- 1 Venetian barile = 6 secchie = 24 bozze = 64.3859 litres
- 1 Venetian secchia = 4 bozze = 10.730983 litres

Sources: Martini, Manuale di metrologia, pp. 190, 412, 817-818.

Venetian and Syrian Coins

- 1 Venetian ducat = 6 lire and 4 soldi (from 1456)160
- 1 lira = 20 soldi = 240 denari
- 1 soldo = 12 denari (or piccoli)
- 1 grosso = 48 denari (or piccoli)
- 1 Syrian serrafo (ashrafi)160 = 0.96 Venetian ducats (1455-1459)
- 1 Syrian serrafo = 50-55 deremi (dirhams)160 in the period 1450-1459, and 50-52 deremi from 1460.


160. Before 1456 see Lane, Mueller, Money and Banking, pp. 573-616.
161. In 1425 Sultan Barsbay made a second attempt to replace the Christian gold coin by a Moslem one, of the same weight and value. His reform was a great success and ever since the new gold coins, called ashrafi (serrafo) after his honorific title al-Malik al-Ashraf, was the currency used in the Near East, as well as the ducat=Ashtar, The Venetian Supremacy, p. 50.
Appendix 3

Testaments (ASV: NT, b. 982, Cristoforo del Fiore)


In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo quinqua-gesimo tertio, indictione secunda, die quartodecimo mensis ianuarii, Motoni ad statium Sapientiae in galea Raimunda.

Salutiferum est et honestum unicuique sic se et sua bona disponere, dum viget in hoc seculo quod futuris remediis perfriui valeat sempiterni, quampropter ego Andreas de Raguxio quondam Primi de con ... sanam tamen habens ... ab intestato decedere et sic mea bona inordinata derelinquere, vocari feci ad me presbiterum Christophorum de Flore Venetiarum notarium infrascriptum ipsumque rogavi in presentia testium infrascriptorum, ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum pariterque post mei obitum completer et darem cum clausulis et additionibus necessariis et opportunis, servatis semper legibus, statutis, consiliis et consuetudinibus Venetiарum.

In primis, namque comendans animam meam meo creatori, ordino et esse volo meos comissarios in galea tamen et extra Venetias pro gubernandis et conservandis omnibus meis bonis exsistentibus in galeis presentis viagii Alexandrie, capetaneo spectabili domino Francesco Lauredano, Alegerium Pelizarium compatrem meum, hominem a remo galee Bernarde, et Gregorium meum terzarolum, hominem a remo dicte galee Raimunde, qui gubernent, conservent et conducant usque Venetii omnia mea bona que sunt in galeis dicti viagii. Ittem volo et ordino esse meos comissarios Helenam dilectam uxorem meam, in quocumque gradu vixerit, et ser Georgium pelizarium de dicto con ... secundum quod hic inferius ordinavo, sic ipsi exequi et adimplever debent et teneantur.

Ittem dimitto in presentia testium infrascriptorum presbitero Christophoro de Flore notario infrascripto, pro missis sancte Marie et sancti Gregorii ab eo celebrandis pro anima mea... ducatos tres auri.

Ittem dimitto Francisco titulato ecclesie sancti Simeonis Prophete ducatos tres pro eisdem missis ad eo celebrandis pro anima... dua meas barilas... Quocumque modo, via, iure et forma michi, nunc et in futurum spectante et pertinente, dimitto uno... vel pluribus utriusque sexus... Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum mobilium et immobillium presentium et futuro-rum et omne caducum et inordinatum et quod ad caducum et inordinatum et per non scriptum devenire posset quocumque modo, via, iure et forma michi, nunc et in futurum spectante et pertinente, dimitto uno filio vel plunibus utriusque sexus michi... michi... dictum residuum deveniat in Helenam predictam uxorem et comissariam meam. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et cetera ut supra in aliis latius paret.
Ego Iachobus Parisinus testis subscripsi.
Ego Marinus quondam Nicolai de Agis testis subscripsi.

Testes ser Marinus quondam Nicolai de Agis de confinio sancti Leonis, ser Iacobus Parixoto marranonus dicte galee, qui mihi notario fidem fecerunt de persona testatoris.

Ego presbitero Christophoro de Flore Venetiarii notarius complevi et roboravi.


In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, inductione tertia, die quinto decimo mensis augusti, in Damasco.

Salutiferum est et honestum unicuique sic se et sua bona disponere, dum viget in hoc seculo quod futuris remediis perfrui valeat sempiternis, quapropter ego Stephanus Ravagnino quondam ser Apolonii de con(ni) sancti Ioannis Novi, licet corpore languens sanam tamen habens mentem et integrum consilium, timens ab intestato decedere et sic mea bona inordinata relinquere, vocari feci ad me presbiterum Christophorum de Flore Venetiarii notarium infrascriptum ipsumque rogavi in presentia testium infrascriptorum, ut hoc meum ultimum testamentum ultimamque voluntatem scriberet pariterque post mei obitum completet et daret cum clausulis et additionibus necessariis et opporttunis, servatis semper statutis, legibus et consuetudinibus Venetiarii.

In primis, namque animam meam meo creatori comendans, vollo et esse ordine huius mei testamenti meos de(i) comissarios, tam hic in Damasco quam Venetiis, viros nobiles ser Nicolaum Barbo, ser Thomam Zane domini Maphei, ser Lucam Lauredano domini Jacobi meum patrem, dominam Benedictam relictam dicti ser Apolonii Ravagnino matrem meam dilectam, egregios viros ser Nicolaum Bertolino meum avunculum et ser Matheum Iustum meum magistrum, ut ipsi qui reperirentur in Damasco tempore obiti mei pro rebus et legatis exequendis hic in Damasco, uti hic infierius ordinaverro darique iussero, sic ipsi vel maior pars ipsorum possint et valeant adimplere, similiter vero Venetiis per maiorem partem eorum.

Item vollo et ordino quod, in quantum per prefatos meos comissarios reperiretur in meis libris aliquis erro quo animam meam et conscientiam meam ab eis cognoscerebit agravari, prorsus ipsa anima mea ab eisdem exoneretur omni errore ab ipsis cognito.

Item dimitto loco mee decime ducatos quadraginta monasteriis viginti Observantiae in diocesi Venetiarii existentiisibus, videlicet ducatos duos pro singulo eorum in discretione meorum comissariorum predictorum.

Ittem dimitto hospitalibus infantium Piatitis et sancte Marie de Nazareth ducatos unum pro singulo ipsorum.

Ittem dimitto presbitero Christophoro de Flore notario infrascripto in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos tres pro missis sancte Marie et illis sancti Gregorii per eum celebrandis pro anima mea.

Ittem vollo et ordino quod mittatur una persona Romam et Asyias pro anima mea; etiam vollo aliuis partibus meae vestimenta et omnium mea bona et quondam dicti fratris mei, tam hic in Damasco quam in Baruto existenta, vendantur hic in Damasco per prefatos meos comissarios ad publicum incantum, exceptis mei locabibus.

179. in presentia testium infrascriptorum interlinear.
179a. there follows c crossed out.
179b. testium interlinear.
180. there follows dominarum interlinear.
181. there follows mis in crossed out.
182. there follows omne crossed out.
183. omnia corrected over omnes.
184. mea crossed over mea.
185. Vestimenta corrected over vestes.
Item vollo et ordino quod per prefatos meos comissarios, de voluntate dicte matris mee, despensentur pro anima quondam fratris mei Ludovici ducatoc decem et octo Venetiis inter pape- res Christi infirmos et in necessitate constitutos.

Item vollo quod omnes dimissorie sine legato ordinata per testamentum quondam uxoris mee non complete neque solute completantur et soluantur per prefatos meos comissarios.

Item vollo et ordino quod due\textsuperscript{186} corde\textsuperscript{187} paternostri de corallo quas habeo hic in Damasco dentor sorori mee dilecte pro decem ducatoc minus quam ab alis inveniri poterit.

Item dimitto prenominato presbitero Christophoro notario infrascripto pro labore huius testamenti ducatos quinque in presentia testium infrascriptorum.

Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum mobilium et immobiliun presentium et futurum et omne caducum et inordinatum et per non scriptum et omnium que ad inordinatum caducum et per non scriptum devenire possent et actionum quodcumque mihi spectante et qualibuscumque et\textsuperscript{188} pertinente et que mihi spectare et pertinere possent in futurum dimitto Dominico et Salvatori filius mei dilectissimis cum hac tamen condicione quod, decedente uno ipsorum, dictum meum residuum deveniat in supraviventem et, decedentis ambobus Dominico et Salvatori generaliter quocumque et qualibuscumque et que mihi dare debentibus ubicumque de eis vel ex eis inveniri poterit, cum cartis et sine cartis per curiam et extra curiam, et de receptis quietandum

dentur sorori mee dillecte pro decem ducatoc minus quam ab alis inveniri poterit.

Item vollo et ordino quod dicti filii mei gubernentur et teneantur per prenominatam matrem meam dilectam donec et quousque quilibet duplici ipsorum filiorum meorum pervenerit ad etatem perfectam et quod separari non possit alter ab altero\textsuperscript{189} infractam etatem. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem / / [f. 62 d] do, tribuo atque concedo post mei obitum predictis meis comis- saris, vel maiori parte eorum, suprascriptam meam comissariam intromittendi, administrandi et furniendi insuper autem intromittendi, exigendi omnia mea bona mobilia\textsuperscript{190} et immobilia a cunc- tis mihi dare debentibus ubicumque de eis vel ex eis inveniri poterit, cum cartis et sine cartis per curiam et extra curiam, et de receptis quietandum et omnia mea negotia, tam specula quam generalia, tractandi, faciendi, operandi et exercendi ac dimissoriarum persolvendi.\textsuperscript{191} Item in quocu- mque iudicio comparandi, causandi, agendi, petendi, placitandi, inquirendi, interpellandi, advoca- cendi et advocatos, tollendi, legendi, petendi, sententias audiendi et ipsas fieri et executioni mandari, tam realiter quam personaliter, faciendi, appellandi et appellationem sequendi, expensas petendi et recipiendi, cartas quoque securitatis et promissionis et qualibec atias cartas rogari faciendi et quicquid in predictis et singulis predictorum fuerit opportunum faciendi et in animam meam iurandi et generaliter omnium alia et singula faciendi, actuandi, operandi et exercendi que iudiciis quoilibet requiriantur et que quoilibet verus et legitimus comissarius, tam de iure quam de consuetudine, generaliter quocumque et qualitercumque facere et exercere potest et quod vi- vens facere possem, statuens firminus et ratum quoique predictos.\textsuperscript{192} Et hoc statuo et esse vollo quod due\textsuperscript{186} corde\textsuperscript{187} paternostri de corallo quas habeo hic in Damasco dentor sorori mee dilecte pro decem ducatoc minus quam ab alis inveniri poterit.

Item vollo et ordino quod quibus eorumdem deberetibus, qui, si quis contravenire vel venire presumiperit, componat se cum suis hereditibus et successoribus solutionem mee comissarie no-

\textsuperscript{186} there follows venturas Baruti crossed out.
\textsuperscript{187} bustetam interlinear.
\textsuperscript{188} there follows quam crossed out.
\textsuperscript{189} ipsam interlinear.
\textsuperscript{190} due corrected over duabus.
\textsuperscript{191} corde corrected over cordes.
\textsuperscript{192} et interlinear.
\textsuperscript{193} predictis interlinear.
\textsuperscript{194} there follows dummodo quibus eorumdem crossed out.
\textsuperscript{195} mobilia corrected over immobilia.
\textsuperscript{196} quietandum for quietandii.
\textsuperscript{197} there follows cartas quoque securitatis et promissionis et omnes alias cartas rogari faciendi and expunged.
\textsuperscript{198} statuens firminus et ratum quoique predictos interlinear.
\textsuperscript{199} there follows facta crossed out.
In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, indictione tertia, die vigesimo secundo mensis Augusti, in Damasco.

Salutiferum est et honestum unicuique sic se et sua bona disponere, dum viget in hoc seculo quod futuris remediis perfui valeat sempiternis, quapropter ego Stephanus quondam ser Andree de Bossina de confinio sancte Iustine de Venetiis, licet corpore languens sanus tamen mente et intelectu, timens ab intestato decedere et sic mea bona inordinata relinquere, vocavi feci ad me presbiterorum Christophorum de Flore Venetiarum notarium infrascriptum ipsumque rogavi in presence testium infrascriptorum, ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum ultimamque meam voluntatem pariterque post mei obitum completeret et daret cum clausulis et additionibus necessariis et opportunis, servatis semper statutis, legibus, consiliis et consuetudinibus Venetiarum.

In primis, namque animam meam meo creatori comendans, vollo et esse ordine meos fidei comissarios huius mei testamenti et voluntatis providos et discretos viros magistrum Philipum quondam Antonii aurifabrum et compatrem meum et magistrum Iacobum Candi barbitusrem qui, tam hic in Damasco quam Venetiis, possint et valerant post mei obitum, uti hic inferius ordinavero darique iussero, exequi et adimplere cum hac tamen conditione quod, there follows absente crossed out.

Item dimitto pro mea decima dictae mee contrate sancte Iustine ducatos viginti quinque pro anima mea.

Item dimitto hospitali infantium Pietatis ducatos decem pro anima mea.

Item dimitto hospitali sancte Marie de Nazareth ducatos decem pro anima mea.

Item dimitto hospitali sancte Marie de monte Artono ducatos decem pro anima mea.

Item dimitto hospitali sancte Ludovici de Venetiis ducatos quinque pro anima mea.

Item dimitto hospitali sancto sancti Francisci de deserto Torcelani diocesis, in quantum dicti fratres sint observantes, ducatos quinque pro anima mea.

Item dimitto Nicolao Ioannis de Seravalle, olim famulo viri nobilis ser Leonis Contareno hic in Damasco, ducatos sex ut oret pro anima mea.
Item dimitto Luchine fili\textsuperscript{209} dicti comissarii mei ducatos viginti quinque prob\textsuperscript{210} suo maritate, pro anima mea.

Item dimitto Nicolao Faxolo de Corphu ducatos sex ut oret pro anima mea et vollo quod eidem restituantur ducati quatuor quos mihi dedit ut pro eo e\textsuperscript{<c>} memoria Bochasini.

Item vollo et ordino quod omnes mee spezies quas habeo, tam hic in Damasco quam in Baruto, mittantur per dictos meos comissarios Venetis per galeas proximas, cum ordine quod dirigantur domino Antonio Erizzo pro mea ventura et quod iddem dominus Antonius Erizzo ipsas vendat et omne illud quod extrahet, tam de ipsis spezibus quam etiam de duobus cariciis piperis quos ad illum misi per galeas proxime preteritas, capetano domino Antonio Aureldano. Prefatus dominus Antonius consignare debeat Venetis prefatis comissariis meis una cum extrafo filatrum quod etiam sibi misi Venetias, ut de ipso extracto prenominati comissarii mei possint exequi voluntatem meam ultimam.

Item dimitto presbitero Christophoro de Flore notario infrascripto pro labore suo huius mei ultimi testamenti in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos quinque.

Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum mobilium et stabilium presentium et futurorum et quomodocumque et qualitercumque mihi spectante et pertinente nunc et in futurum et omne caducum et inordinatum per non scriptum et quod ad caducum et inordinatum et per non scriptum pervenire possent vollo despensari pro anima mea per meos comissarios superdictos et in omnibus animarum suarum super dictam meam comissariam intromittendi, administrandi et furniendi, inquirendi, interpellandi, placandni, respondendi, advocandi advocatos,\textsuperscript{211} precepta et interdicta tollendi, leges petendi, sententias audiendi et consequendi et executiones mandari faciendi, appellandi et appellaciones prosequendi, expensas petendi et recipiendi, petendi, exigendi et recipiendi omnia mea bona et havere a cunctis mihi dare debendibus, nunc et in futurum, ubicumque vel apud quoscumque ea vel ex eis poterunt qualibet reperiri, cum cartis et sine cartis, per curiam et extra curiam, cartas quoque securitatis de eo quod receperint et promissionis et omnes alias existentes, necessarias et opportunas faciendi et rogandi et si opus fuerit in anima meam iurandi et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciendi, actuandi, operandi et exercendi que in iudiciis quomodocumque et qualitercumque facere et exercere potet et debet et quod si viverem facere possem et deberem, statuens marcii\textsuperscript{212} et ratum quicquid per prefatos meos comissarios in promissis et qualibet promisso factum fuerit sive gestum. Et hoc meum vollo esse in perpetuum ultimum testamento meaqua consuetudinem, generaliter\textsuperscript{213} quomodocumque et qualitercumque facere et exercere potet et debet et quod si viverem facere possem et deberem, statuens firmum et ratum quicquid per prefatos meos comissarios in promissis et qualibet promisso factum fuerit sive gestum. Et hoc meum vollo esse in perpetuum ultimum testamento meaque consuetudinem, generaliter quomodocumque et qualitercumque facere et exercere potet et debet et quod si viverem facere possem et deberem, statuens firmum et ratum quicquid per prefatos meos comissarios in promissis et qualibet promisso factum fuerit sive gestum.

Ego Ludovicus Lando quondam domini Marini manu mea testis subscripsi.

Ego Stefanus Vallerio quondam domini Iacopo testis subscripsi.

Ego presbitero Christophoro de Flore notario infrascripto pro labore suo huius mei ultimi testamenti subscripsi et roboravi.

\textbf{Doc. no. 4. Receipt addressed by Marco Santini to Stefano Ravagnino’s executors: Damascus, 17 February 1457 (1456 more veneto). Fragment of parchment register, deed no. 2 bis, f. 63.}

Millesimo ccclvi, indictione quarta, die xvii mensis\textsuperscript{214} februearii, Damasci.

\textsuperscript{209} filie corrected over filis.

\textsuperscript{210} there follows anima me crossed out.

\textsuperscript{211} advocatos interlinear.

\textsuperscript{212} generaliter interlinear.

\textsuperscript{213} there follows facere crossed out.

\textsuperscript{214} suorum interlinear.

\textsuperscript{215} solutionem interlinear.

\textsuperscript{216} there follows marcii crossed out.
Plenam et irrevocablem securitatem facio ego Marcus Santini cum meis heredibus\textsuperscript{237}, tam nomine meo proprio quam etiam nomine ser Rasmni Santini et meorum fratrum\textsuperscript{238}, vobis viri nobili ser Nicolaor Barbo quondam domini Ioannis et ser Luce Laurendano domini Iacobi, uti comissariis quondam ser Stephani Ravagnino hic in Damasco defuncti ceterisque comissariis dicte comissarie ac etiam hereditibus dicti predefuncti, de seraphis quinquaginta auri quos recepi a vobis duobus suprascriptis comissariis, nomine dicti quondam ser Stephani et quondam ser Ludovici Ravagnino olim fratrum, pro parte unius computi michi nomine predicti ser Rasmni mei fratris for vos duos comissarii prefatos hic in Damasco assignati.

Item de ballassis duobus et perlis tribus.

Item de diamantis\textsuperscript{239} quinque.

Item de petiis quatuor pannorum finorum.

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebris.

Item de varnatiis centum quadraginta albertonum,

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebris.

Item de ballassiis duobus et perlis tribus.

Item de varnatiis centum quadraginta albertonum,

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebris.

Item de ballassiis duobus et perlis tribus.

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebris.

Item de varnatiis centum quadraginta albertonum,

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebris.

Item de ballassiis duobus et perlis tribus.

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebris.

Item de varnatiis centum quadraginta albertonum,

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebris.

Item de ballassiis duobus et perlis tribus.

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebris.

Item de varnatiis centum quadraginta albertonum,

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebris.

Item de ballassiis duobus et perlis tribus.

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebris.

Item de varnatiis centum quadraginta albertonum,

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebris.

Item de ballassiis duobus et perlis tribus.

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebris.

Item de varnatiis centum quadraginta albertonum,

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebris.

Item de ballassiis duobus et perlis tribus.

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebris.

Item de varnatiis centum quadraginta albertonum,
et quietos in perpetuum quod nichil inde remansit unde vos omnes et singulos suprascriptos pro suprascriptis denarios et rebus michi consignatis et per me receptis, ut premititur, molestari possit sive requiri per ullum ingenium sive modum. Preterea ego Marcus prenominatus cum meis heredibus me obligo ac promitto quod, in quantum per suprascriptos ser Rasminum et meos frateres sive aliquos ullos temporis aliquid impedimentum seu aliqua molestia vobis omnibus et singulis suprascriptis, quos et quae a vobis ut supra recepi, exbursare et vobis restituere usque ad integram satisfacionem vosque omnes et singulos suprascriptos conservare et guarentare indemnes ab omni damno et interesse que vobis omnibus et singulis prenominatis sequi possent pro talibus exbursationibus et consignationibus mihi per vos factis. Si igitur contra haec securitatis et obligationis cartam ire repertavero et cetera.

Testes ser Ioannes Zeno domini Antonii ser Dominicus de Priolis quondam domini Iacobi.


In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominicæ millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, indictione quinta, die vero secundo mensis maii, Damasci.

Salutiferum est et honestum unicuique sic se et sua bona disponere, dum viget in hoc seculo quod futuris remediis perficiat semper et alius. Preterea ego Marcus prenominatus cum meis heredibus me obligo ac promitto quod, in quantum per suprascriptos ser Rasminum et meos frateres sive aliquos ullos temporis aliquid impedimentum seu aliqua molestia vobis omnibus et singulis suprascriptis, quos et quae a vobis ut supra recepi, exbursare et vobis restituere usque ad integram satisfacionem vosque omnes et singulos suprascriptos conservare et guarentare indemnes ab omni damno et interesse que vobis omnibus et singulis prenominatis sequi possent pro talibus exbursationibus et consignationibus mihi per vos factis. Si igitur contra haec securitatis et obligationis cartam ire repertavero et cetera.

Testes ser Ioannes Zeno domini Antonii ser Dominicus de Priolis quondam domini Iacobi.


In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominicæ millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, indictione quinta, die vero secundo mensis maii, Damasci.

Salutiferum est et honestum unicuique sic se et sua bona disponere, dum viget in hoc seculo quod futuris remediis perficiat semper et alius. Preterea ego Marcus prenominatus cum meis heredibus me obligo ac promitto quod, in quantum per suprascriptos ser Rasminum et meos frateres sive aliquos ullos temporis aliquid impedimentum seu aliqua molestia vobis omnibus et singulis suprascriptis, quos et quae a vobis ut supra recepi, exbursare et vobis restituere usque ad integram satisfacionem vosque omnes et singulos suprascriptos conservare et guarentare indemnes ab omni damno et interesse que vobis omnibus et singulis prenominatis sequi possent pro talibus exbursationibus et consignationibus mihi per vos factis. Si igitur contra haec securitatis et obligationis cartam ire repertavero et cetera.

Testes ser Ioannes Zeno domini Antonii ser Dominicus de Priolis quondam domini Iacobi.


In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominicæ millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, indictione quinta, die vero secundo mensis maii, Damasci.

Salutiferum est et honestum unicuique sic se et sua bona disponere, dum viget in hoc seculo quod futuris remediis perficiat semper et alius. Preterea ego Marcus prenominatus cum meis heredibus me obligo ac promitto quod, in quantum per suprascriptos ser Rasminum et meos frateres sive aliquos ullos temporis aliquid impedimentum seu aliqua molestia vobis omnibus et singulis suprascriptis, quos et quae a vobis ut supra recepi, exbursare et vobis restituere usque ad integram satisfacionem vosque omnes et singulos suprascriptos conservare et guarentare indemnes ab omni damno et interesse que vobis omnibus et singulis prenominatis sequi possent pro talibus exbursationibus et consignationibus mihi per vos factis. Si igitur contra haec securitatis et obligationis cartam ire repertavero et cetera.

Testes ser Ioannes Zeno domini Antonii ser Dominicus de Priolis quondam domini Iacobi.


In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominicæ millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, indictione quinta, die vero secundo mensis maii, Damasci.

Salutiferum est et honestum unicuique sic se et sua bona disponere, dum viget in hoc seculo quod futuris remediis perficiat semper et alius. Preterea ego Marcus prenominatus cum meis heredibus me obligo ac promitto quod, in quantum per suprascriptos ser Rasminum et meos frateres sive aliquos ullos temporis aliquid impedimentum seu aliqua molestia vobis omnibus et singulis suprascriptis, quos et quae a vobis ut supra recepi, exbursare et vobis restituere usque ad integram satisfacionem vosque omnes et singulos suprascriptos conservare et guarentare indemnes ab omni damno et interesse que vobis omnibus et singulis prenominatis sequi possent pro talibus exbursationibus et consignationibus mihi per vos factis. Si igitur contra haec securitatis et obligationis cartam ire repertavero et cetera.

Testes ser Ioannes Zeno domini Antonii ser Dominicus de Priolis quondam domini Iacobi.


In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominicæ millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, indictione quinta, die vero secundo mensis maii, Damasci.

Salutiferum est et honestum unicuique sic se et sua bona disponere, dum viget in hoc seculo quod futuris remediis perficiat semper et alius. Preterea ego Marcus prenominatus cum meis heredibus me obligo ac promitto quod, in quantum per suprascriptos ser Rasminum et meos frateres sive aliquos ullos temporis aliquid impedimentum seu aliqua molestia vobis omnibus et singulis suprascriptis, quos et quae a vobis ut supra recepi, exbursare et vobis restituere usque ad integram satisfacionem vosque omnes et singulos suprascriptos conservare et guarentare indemnes ab omni damno et interesse que vobis omnibus et singulis prenominatis sequi possent pro talibus exbursationibus et consignationibus mihi per vos factis. Si igitur contra haec securitatis et obligationis cartam ire repertavero et cetera.
Item volo et esse ordino extra hanc Syriam meos fidei comissarios Agnesinam de Molino uxorrem meam dilectam, in quocumque gradu ipsa vixerit, viros nobiles ser Jacobum de Molino gene-
rum meum et Petrum filium et comissarium meum prefatum, Franceschinam de Molino et Mo-
linam filias meas dilectas, qui per maiorem partem ipsorum, prout hic inferioris ordinavero ad dari
iussero, sic valeant et possint exequi et adimplere, exente tamen dicta uxore et comissaria mea,
pro maiori parte prenominatorum comissariorum meorum in omnibus et per omnia.
Item dimitto ecclesie sancte Marine prefate pro mea decima ducatos quinquaginta.
Item dimitto monasterii fratrum montis Syon dansis Ierusalme ducatos sex pro anima mea.
Item vollo et ordino quod unus presbiterus secularis cotidie in perpetuum celebret unam mis-
sae in dicta ecclesia de meis prostantium pro suis
helemosina et portione ducati vigintiquinque auri omni anno et ad rationem anni per prefatos
meos comissarios et, in quantum plures ducati continenter et specificerunt in una bulla aposto-
lica michi concessa per felicem recordationem sanctissimi domini nostri domini Nicolai quinti,
volo quod tot ducat dicto presbitero celebretur et prefretur et quod in ipsa bulla specificer-
tur et nominatur et non pauciores, ita et taliter quod anima mea superinde omnino exoneretur
in omnibus ad que per dictam bullam sum obligatus. In caso vero quod Deus advertat quod pro
prenominatos comissarios meos non observaretur sive adimpleretur hec mea voluntas sive ordi-
natio de dicta missa, volo et ordino quod per capitulum et procuratores unum vel plures pre-
dice ecclesie sancte Marine occupentur, sequestrentur et intromittantur omnia mea bona mobi-
lia et immobilia, ita et taliter quod suprascripta mea voluntas sive intentio de dicta missa totaliter
ut prodestitur et sortiatur effectum.
Item dimitto plebano presenti dicte ecclesie ducatos quatuor in quantum ipse voluerit celebra-
re missas sancti Gregorii pro anima mea et, nollente ipso celebrare dictas missas, dimitto eidem
ducatos tres ut oret pro anima mea.
Item dimitto presbitero Matheo beneficiato in dicta ecclesie ducatos duos ut ipse celebret mis-
sae sancte Marie pro anima mea.
Item dimitto dicte ecclesie paramentum unum de bochassino albo fulcitum cum suis crucibus
et graminibus de cendato de grana.
Item volo et ordino quod omni et singulo anno in perpetuum in die festi sanctae Marine de meis
bonis dentur et largiante dicte ecclesie dopleri duo cerei librarum trium cum dimidia singulorum
ipsorum. // [F. 64]
Item volo et ordino quod primo anno tantum post mei obitum dispensentur ducatos decem
pro anima mea inter pauperes personas dicte meae contrare.
Item volo quod in primo festo sancti Bernardi tamen presententur et largiante de meis bonis
ecclesie sancti Bernardi de Muriano dopleri duo cerei librarum trium singulorum ipsorum et quod
eodem die in dicta ecclesia celebretur una missa pro anima mea.
Item volo et ordino quod ad expensionem mee comissarie mittatur unus peregrinus ad visitan-
dum loca et limina sancti Iacobi apostoli de Galizia pro anima mea.
Item dimitto hospitalibus de Nazareth et Pietatis ducatos tres pro singulo eorum pro anima
mea.
Item volo quod de bonis mee comissarie Agnesina prefata uxor et comissaria mea habeat in
vita sua victum et vestitum, in quocumque gradu ipsa vixerit. 256
Item volo quod Molina filia et comissaria mea predicta habeat pro suo maritare de meis bonis
tantum quantum superinde ego scripserim sue matri et nichil plus.
Item volo quod Lucretia quondam Charoli mei filii maritetur quando ipsa erit in etate perfecta
de bonis mee comissarie, cui detur pro suo maritare illa dos que videbitur seu placitur dicte mee
uxori et comissarie.
Item dimitto omnes meas domos et proprietates Petro filio et comissario meo prenominato,
cum hac tamen conditione quod ipse Petrus non possit ipsas sive aliquam dictarum meorum do-
morum et proprietatum per ullam ingenium sive modum vendere, alienare in pignus, designare
et in animam iudicare sive ordinare, nisi idem filius habuerit liberos unum vel plures sexus utriu-
sque et, decedente dicto Petro filio meo absque liberis uno vel pluribus utriusque sexus, volo et

256. there follows quod crossed out.
257. in quocumque gradu ipsa vixerit interlinear.
ordino quod supradicte mee domus et proprietates perveniant in Franceschinam et Molinam filias meas et comissarias suprascriptas habentes filios unum vel plures utrumque sexus et, decedente una ipsarum, deveniant in superviventem eorum habentem filios ut supra et, decedentibus ambabus filiabus meis prefatis, volo quod sepedicte mee domus et proprietates perveniant in liberos masculos viri nobilis ser Benedicti de Molino fratris mei et in eorum heredes, exceptuando tamen Chressi eius filium et dicti Chressi heredes a dicto legato ac etiam deveniant in liberos masculos viri nobilis ser Antonii de Molino quondam ser Henrichi et in eorum heredes, equaliter videlicet tam in liberos dicti ser Benedicti et eorum heredes ut prefert quam etiam in liberos dicti ser Antonii quondam ser Henrichi et eorum heredes, equaliter et sic perveniant de herede in herede omnium et singulorum suprascriptorum.

Item dimitto Martirium meum sclavum francum et liberum; item dimitto Catherinam meam sclavam francam et liberam, cum hac tamen conditione quod dictus Martinus et ipsa Catherina servire debeant predicto Petro filio et comissario meo annibus continuos et deinde ambo remaneant in sua libertate.

Item dimitto de bonis mee comissarie presbitero Christophoro de Flore meo capellano et notario infrascripto in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos xiiii aurei pro amore et caritate et suo bene servire.

Item volo quod pro exoneracione anime mee aliquo bono et cauto modo dentur sive largiantur ducatos Xxii aurei nepotibus sive heredibus aut propequinoribus quondam ser Georgii Barbado sancte Margarite.

Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum quomodo posse possent mihi spectante et pertinente, nunc et in futurum, et omne caducum et inordinatum et per non scriptum sive quod ad inordinatum et per non scriptum pervenire possent dimito sepedicte Petro filio et comissario meo et, decedente dicto Petro, volo quod de dicto residuo sepedicta uxor et comissaria mea faciat quodcumque sibi placuerit et videbitur.

Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo atque concedo predictis comissariis meis et maiori parti eorum suprascriptam mee comissariam post mei obitum intromittentem et cetera ut supra in alis testamentis latius apparet.

Ego Iacobus Candi testis subscripsi.
Ego Martinus quondam Ioannis testis subscripsi.
Ego presbiter Christophorus de Flore Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi.


MCCCCLXI, indiczione VIII, die vero tertio maii, Damasci, presentibus infrascriptis.

Intus scriptus Georgius de Iadra quondam Alegreti, licet corpore languens sanus tamen Dei gratia mente et cetera timens et cetera, rogavit hoc suum ulimum testamentum in manibus mei presbiteri Christophori de Flore Venetiarum notarii, secundum tenorem presentis ceteule, servatis semper statutis, legibus et cetera Venetiarum.

Testes Petrus quondam Urandi de Placentia
Franciscus quondam Viti de Venetiis
ambo famuli spectabilis domini consulis nostri. //

Salutiferum est et honestum est unicuique sic se et sua bona disponere, dum viget in hoc seculo quod futuris remediiis perfui valeat sempiternis, eapropere ego Georgius quondam Alegreti de Iadra, licet corpore languens sanus tum Dei gratia mente et inteectum, timens ab intestato decedere et sic mea bona inordinata derelinquere, vocari feci ad me presbiterum Christophorum de Flore Venetiarum notarium et presentialiter capellanum et cancellarium in Damasco ipsumque

258. timens et cetera interlinear.
259. there follows ho crossed out.
260. est unicuique interlinear.
rogavi, ut hoc meum ultimum testamentum ultimamque voluntatem scriberet pariterque post mei obitum completeret et daret cum clausesis necessariae et opportunae, servatis semper statutas, legibus, consuetudinibus et consilii Venetiarum.

In primis, namque animam meam creatori meo comendis, vollo et esse ordinos meos fidei comissarios magistros Jacobum Chandi barbitonsem et Antonium quondam Natalis sutorum, commorantes presentialiter in hoc loco qui, post mei obitum, secundum quod hic inferius ordinavero ac dari iussero, sic ipsi possint et valeant exequi et adimplere.

Item dimitto presbitero Christophoro notario infrascripto in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos 3 1/2 pro missis sancte Marie et sancti Gregorii et ducatos duos pro suo labore et mercede huius testamenti.

Item volo quod pro mea sepultura expendantur ducatos 1 1/2 in duobus dopleris et alis ceris seu candellis.

Item dimitto magistro Jacobo Candi prefato ducatos 2 pro suo labore et magistro Antonio comissario meo prenominato ducatum 1.

Item dimitto Georgio famulo qui mihi servivit in hac mea in W...
In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Die 3 maii.
Ego Georgius quondam Alecreti de Iadra, sanus mente licet corpore languens timens et cetera, vocari feci et cetera. Ordino esse meos comissarios magistrum Iacobum Candidi, magistrum Antonium quondam *** sutorem qui et cetera.

Item dimitto presbitero Christophoro notario infrascripto pro missis sancte Marie et sancti Gregorii ducatos 3 t/2 celebrandis pro anima mea.
Item dimitto meam vestem duplam Georgio qui michi servit pro suo bene servire; item dimitto meum tapetum, meam clamidem.

Item vollo quod pro sepultura mea in duobus dopleriis*** in chandellis expendatur et in alii*** cers ducatum 1 1/2.
Item dimitto magistro Iacobo ducatos 2 pro suo labore.
Item magistro Antonio ducatum 1.
Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum mobilium et cetera dimitto ut dentur et consignentur prefato domino episcopo et ei recommitto animam meam.

Item dimitto Nicolao famulo domini Dominici Trivisano ducatum 1.
Item hospitalibus Nazareth et Pietatis et sancte Marie de Gratia ducatos 1/2 pro singulo.

Item 1 vestem de pelle et panno Mathei.

Domini Antonii Zuchi de Chochania episcopi de Limiso insule Cipri.

Item petia 1 zambeloti uchola*** de pichis 20 de Cipro.
petia 1 chamocha biancha de Cipro <de pichis> 18
Item diploidem 1 de zendato
Item paria tria sotularum
Item biretum unum de grana*** simplex.

Item 1 malotam novam
Item 1 sexam
Item 1 bracham
Item 1 tapetum.

Item 1 vestem de pelle et panno Matheii***.

In Tripoli in manibus Iacobi*** famuli domini Francisci Contareno factori Tripolii.

5 chamixas
6 schudellas*** de petra et choncas de legno magnas et arcus dimitto Petro de Mediolano qui est in Cipri et pichos 5 atthelas et 1 caramalle quod constitit ducatum 1, diploidem 1 de chamoza.

Doc. no. 7. Testament of Gabriel Marino: Damascus, 26 March 1462. “Cedula bombacina”, deed no. mcccclxii, indictione x, die vero xxvi mensis martii, Damasci.

Intus scriptus ser Gabriel Marino domini Charoli, licet corpore languens sanus tamen et cetera, rogavit hoc suum ultimum testamentum secundum tenorem suis cedule.

Testes venerabili nobilis ser Marchus Bragadin domini Hieronimi et *** famulus dicti domini Marci. //
Salutiferum est et honestum est et cetera quapropter ego Gabriel Marino magistri domini Charoli, licet corpore languens sanus tamen et cetera, timens et cetera, vocari feci ad me presbiterum Christophorum de Flore Venetiarum notarium presentialiterque huius loci cancellarium notarium infrascriptum ipsumque rogavi et cetera, servatis semper statutis, legibus, consiliis et consuetudinibus Venetiarum.

In primis, namque animam comendas altissimo meo creatori, volo et esse ordine huius mei ultimi testamenti ac ultime mee voluntatis meum fidei comissarium venerabilis nobilis ser Petrum Marino meum germanum consanguineum qui, secundum quod hic inferius ordinavero darique iussero, sic ipsi post mei obitum adimplere debeat et execui.

Item volo quod omnia et singula tam denarii quam merces, qui mittentur michi et ad meum ordinem, pervenire debeant in dictum comissarium et consanguineum meum cum provisionibus omnibus solitis.

Item volo quod misse sancti Gregorii hic in Damascum celebrentur pro anima mea.

Item volo quod per dominam matrem meam dilectam dispensentur ducati 25 et plures et pauciores eis et sicut ipsi videbitur et placuerit in missis et aliis elemosinis sive ad alia pias causas pro anima mea.

Item dimitto monasterio fratrum montis Syon ducatos 2 pro denaris fors<it>am per me indebite ablatis et hoc ad cautelam et meum discaricum.

Item dimitto presbitero Christophoro notario infrascripto ducatos octo pro anima mea et pro labore suo huius testamenti in presentia testium infrascriptorum.

Item dimitto magistro Jacobo Chandi ducatos 8 pro suo labore.

Item Bartole qui me servivit et servit in hac mea infirmitate dimitto ducatos 8.

Item interrogatus a notario infrascripto et in presentia infrascriptorum testium si quod dimittere volebam hospitalibus Nazaret et Pietatis et monasterio sancte Marie de Gratia respondi de his nil alid velle ordinare neque legare, sed omnia velle esse in discretione dicte domine matris mee dilecte preterea et cetera.

295. there follows cancellaria crossed out.
296. in Damasco added on the margin.
297. dominam interlinear.
Appendix 4

Inventories (ASV: cin, b. 83 (ii), Cristoforo del Fiore, registers 1 and 11)

Doc. no. 1. Inventory of Andrea da Raguxio: Alexandria galley, Jan 1454 (1453 more veneto). Reg. i, f. 7.

In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadrigentesimo quinquagesimo tertio, indictione ***, die vero lune mensis ianuarii, in galea Raimonda surta in statio Sapientie apud Motonum.

Inventarium omnium rerum et bonorum Andree de Raguxio quondam Primi, in ***, que inventa fuerunt ad suum banchum in galea Raimunda ad viagium Alexandriae, capetaneo spectabile et generoso domino Francesco Lauredano, factum ad istantiam et requisitionem ser Alegreto Pelizarii, compatris dicti Andree, hominis a remo galee Bernardi, et Gregori Terzaroli dicte galee Raimunde, que omnia bona in scripta commissa et consignata fuerunt dictis duobus, videlicet Alegreto Pelizario et Gregorio Terzarolo, presentibus viro nobili domino Georgio Raimundo, patrono dicte galee, et ser Marino quondam Nicolai de Agis, balistario dicte galee.

In primis, in una capsa subtus suum banchum:

- una capsa de talpono plena piperis
- unus sacus super dictam capsam plenus piperis, quod asserunt fore unam sportam in totum
- una cultalessa fracta
- una barila a quinque sechis plena oleo
due barile plene vino a sechis quinque pro qualibet.

In dicta capsa:

- unum marsupium de corio albo veteri
ducati tres auri
ducati tres de moneta
- libre tres et soldi tresdecim, que libre tres date fuerunt magistro Alegreto medicos, quibus concoctionibus et medicinis pro dicto infirmo
- unus anulus aureus de bulla
- una polizia scripta quod marsupium cum dictis denariis et rebus remanisit apud dictum Alegreto Pelizarium
- una capseleta de anzipresso plena piperis
- una pellis vulpis
- una bandinela ziala pro panis
- unum par chaligarum grixi albi veterorum
- una chamixia
- unus sachus plenus naranzis
- unus gabenus albus vetus
- una mezarola
- una clamis blava vetera
dipeiros viridis vetera
- quatuor zenie a spetiebus.

Doc. no. 2. Inventory of Stefano Ravagnino: Damascus, 17 August 1455. Reg. iii, ff. 4v-7.

Ihesus mccclv

Die xvii augusti

In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadragintesimo quinquagesimo quinto, indictione tertia, die xvii mensis augusti, in Damasco. Inventarium omnium re-
rum et bonorum quondam ser Stephani Ravagnino, defuncti hic in Damasco in domo habitatio-

nis viri nobilis ser Luce Laureddano spectabilis domini Iacobi, repertorum in dicta domo et in

magazeno posito in capsaria antiqua Ebene elara, factum et annotatum per me presbiterum Chri-

stoforum de Flore Venetiarum notarium, ad instantiam viri nobilis ser Nicolai Barbo et ser Luce

Laureddano, comissariorum eiusdem predefuncti, presentibus inscriptis.

Item in la casseta da le scripture:

busteta de chuoro negro non compida, bollada de bolle 3, una de san Marco el picolo de

misser lo consolo, una del suo bolador et una con la suo arma bolada del suo anelo de

bolla con zoie de asai sorte entro, la qual busta el dito vivante ordenó non fosse aperta se

non presente suo madre.

De ratione viri nobili
ser Thome Zane

In una busta con ballassi entro, una carta scripta de sora quelli esser de sier Thomado Zane i ballassi infraescripti:

balassi foradi pezi 18 de pexo da Veniexia carati 76.

De ratione ser Marci
Santini

In una carta scripta de sopra de sier Marco Santini zoie infrascripte:

ballassi foradi pezi 2 de pexo da Veniexia carati 22 bon pexo

perle grosse pezi 3 de pexo da Veniexia carati 7 bon pexo.

De ratione ser Pauli

In una carta scripta de sopra de raxon de ser Pollo d’Avanzo chosse infrascripte:

diamanti pezi 38 de pexo da Veniexia carati 13 1/2.

De ratione ser Marci
Santini

In una carta scripta de sopra de raxon de sier Marco Santini diamanti infrascripti:

diamanti pezi 6 de pexo da Veniexia carati 3 grane 3.

De ratione dicti ser
Thome Zane

In una carta biancha scripta de sopra de ser Thomà Zane le zoie infrascripte:

rubini pezi 130 de pexo da Veniexia carati 20 bon pexo

diamanti pezi 6 de pexo da Veniexia carati 5 bon pexo

perla grossa pezi 1 de pexo da Veniexia carati 4 bon pexo

diamanti pezi 43 de pexo da Veniexia carati 14 grane 1

diamanti pezi 17 de pexo da Veniexia carati 14 grane 3

diamanti pezi 16 de pexo da Veniexia carati 5 grane 3.

In una busta: paternoster de corallo, oliveti in corde 2, zoè:

1 corda de più menudi numero 32

1 corda de più grossi numero 76.

In un borson de chamoza rossa, lavorado con seda cremixi, con

oro entro et con i seraï infrascripti de zecha pezi 500:

in uno sacheto seraï vechi pezi 171

in uno sacheto veneti ducati vechi pezi 54

in el dito sacheto seraï pezi 126

in uno sacheto seraï pezi 154

in nel dito sacheto aziali pezi 3

302. there follows ebene crossed out

303. Ebene (or Bene) is used to refer to the Arabic Ibn. This person would therefore have a name such as Ibn al’Ara.

304. there follows Christoforum repeated.

305. there follows que crossed out.

306. c corrected over s.
in 1 sacheto veneti ducati pezi 1
nel dito sacheto serafo pezo 1
in uno sacheto arzenti deremi 744 1/2
in una carta serafino et azial pezi 2
in un sacheto veneti ducati pezi 5
in nel dito sacheto grosseti veneti da soldi 4 pezi 31, soldini 3
anelo d’oro da bolla con la suo arma 1
zerzello d’oro morescho pezo 1
bolador d’avuolio con la suo bolla d’arzento 1
pompo d’oldano con la pasta entro d’arzento e dorado 1
tavolele da scrivere senza arzento per 1
aneli d’arzento rabeschi senza alguna chossa entro pezi 3
zentura d’arzento choverta de veludo negro senza arzen-to 1.

De ratione viri
nobilis ser Thome309
Georgio de ratione
dicti

Carta rabescha de debito de raxon de ser Thomado308 Zorzi
in la persona de Aias sartor, scripta de sopra de deremi
4233, 1
carta rabescha de raxon del dito in la persona de310 Abdelcherim,311 scripta de sopra de deremi 4180,312 1
carta de debito del dito Aias313 de deremi 1690, 1
fazoleti lavoradi a la damaschina con seda et de ixaro 5
fazoleto laborado a la damaschina con i chavi de filadelli 1
relogieto de laton de chognoser le hore al sol 1
tocha da oro et arzento pichola 1
vazina con el chospello d’arzento senza cortelli 1
piron d’arzento entro la dita vazina 1.

In la zestella forada con la suo arma con chiave do, 1:
charnaruol de aze a la florentina 1
entro el dito charnaruol arzento deremi 29
velada grossa biancha 1
sonairi moreschi pezi 2
verzi pezeto picholo 1
dozena de stringe nuove 1
+314 de Ierusalem con relique entro 1

307. there follows e stillo crossed out.
308. there follows Zore crossed out.
309. there follows Zane crossed out.
310. there follows Abduraman crossed out.
311. Abdelcherim is equivalent to Abd al-Karim, literally “the servant of the Noble [God]”.
312. 1 corrected over 6.
313. Aias is equivalent to the Arabic name Iyās.
314. + symbolizes “cross”.
zentura de chuoro d’alogar danari 1
tachie tonde de ixaro 2
zebelin pezo 1
tchia de tella 1
techiar de fustagno negro 1
scharpete de bianchete vechie pera 5
mudande nuove 10
chamixe de tella nuove 2
chamixe de tella et de bochasin uxade e vechie 12.

In sua chamera ad
refuxum res
infrascripte

Nenzuoli de tella nuovi con i chavi de
Y
ladi per
1
refuxum res nenzuoli de botana per 1
choda da petene con el manego d'osso biancho e negro 1
bereta negra dopia e bona 1
bereta biancha ugnola 1

/ / [f. 6] llhesus mcccclv

chalze da scharpe vechie per 1
chalze solade uxade per 1
seola granda 1
penaruol con el charanal 1
zentura de chuoro vechia 1
fazuol vechio e roto con i chavi azuri 1
lucheto grando da barcha 1
pelle de chuoro rossu da stivali pezi 3
valixe de chuoro da pani 1
zupon de pano paonazo de grana bon 1
simitara con la vazina 1.

In una sua capsa a panis de albedo res infrascripte inverte fuerunt:
vesta dopia negra voltada fodrada de pano beretin 1
vesta da contor[0] de pano malinori fodrada de volpe 1
mantello de pano meschio a la franzexe bon fodrado de biancha 1
libero turchescho biancho 1
volpe rota e vechia pezo 1
coltra de bochasin biancha e vechia 1
chusini pieni de piuma 2
entemele vechie 2
charpeta da stramazo rossa e bona 1
tapedo da stramazo picholo et tristo 1
gabanichio beretin over de grixo fodrado de biancha 1
vesta de pano verde schuro vechia fodrada de volpe trista 1
schufoni tristi de grixo biancho pera 2.

In una capsu de albedo cum sera et chavi erant res infrascripte:
cortelli rabeschi con i manegi bianchi con la vazina 2
zera de pano de grana per el stomego 1
mantelo de zambecheto chocholu fodrado de sarza paona-
za 1
zocholi batanti nuovi pera 2 e vechi per 1, suma pera 3
scharpe nuove per 1
sacheto uno con do togn e entro n° 2
udreto uno picholu con noxe muschade 1

315. word of uncertain meaning.
vesta de pano mostovalier fodrada de pelle de chastron
con le veste de fuine 1
mantelin de pano mostovalier con le fenestre bon 1
mantelin de pano chupo quasi nuovo con le fenestre 1
vesta morella dopia bona 1
zupon de pano meschio fodrado de biancheta bon 1

/// [f. 6v] Ihesus mccccclv

scharpela da letere de botana nova con letere suxo 1
zupon de zetani negro uxado 1
zupon de fostagno raxo negro 1
zupon de scharlato vechio 1.

De ratione viri nobilis ser Thome Zane:
campo d’oro da Chologna verde et apizolado peza 1
campo d’oro da Chologna verzi peza 1
bexaze de lana bianche per 1.

In sua camera
Leto nuovo de entema e de piuma 1
chavazal nuovo de entema 1
letexello vechio de piuma 1
nenzuoli vechi paro 1
galoze de legno a la fratischa paro 1.

In suo scriptorio
Spechio 1
charalam de vero 1
charalam de legno 1
lime pichole 2
piombo da letere 2
penaruel da pene con el charalam 1
temperarin 2
compassi de fereo 2
marco da pexa per oro et arzento 1
pena de fero 1
templet de fero da horexi 3
brunior da horexi 1
riga de fero 1
tazeta de laton schieta con la suo choverta 1
ponzoneti con letere 15
corda de paternosti de coralo e de chalzedonia tondi 25
porzeleta piccola da scriptor 1
tarfa de spexe de marchadanthia con coverta morescha 1
taoele da scriver con el stillo d’arzento per 1
bosseto da polvere con deremi de pexo, pezi 2, 1, deremi 4
offizieto in bona charta con chovetta damascina 1
chasseleta over busteta con balanze e pezi da zoie con le borsele
d’arzento e pezi da rame 1
bazinela stagnada da muchar candele 1
piera da guar con la vazina morescha 1
bosselet d’osso da zibeto con rasadure de diamanti 1
seoleta pichola da testa 1
chasseleta con balanze d’arzento da zoie con pezi de rame 1
chandelier de laton picholo e roto 1

/// [f. 7] Ihesus mccccclv
riga de legno con el rigado 1
libereto con i sete salmi in bona carta 1
vergeta morescha da balotar con do chorde e con la coverta de pano negro 1
libereti de bazaro 2
libro grando de suo raxon 1
chusin de chuoro vechio pien de goton 1
chatramis⁵⁷ con zucharo roxado 1
goto chrestalin con el choverchio 1
go de perer da zoelieri pezo 1
scharpete de biancheta nuove pera 5
scharpini da chalze negri pera 2
chalze solade nuove pera 2
fuine crude pezi 6
fiascheto da vin de legno 1.

Busteta d’albedo da Veniexia de raxon de sier Thomado Zane con le chosse infrascripte entro:
anelli d’arzento con veri verdi ligadi in deali n° 38
anelli d’arzento con veri biavi ligadi in deali n° 28
anelli d’arzento con veri rossi ligadi in deali n° 62
anelli d’arzento con veri turchini ligadi in deali n° 96
9 veri infiladi verdi con pomoleti d’arzento n° 12
6 veri biavi infiladi con pomoleti d’arzento n° 12
10 veri paonazi infiladi con pomoleti d’arzento n° 20
64 dopie rosse infilade con pomoleti d’arzento n° 63.

In una zestella pichola vechia chosse infrascripte 1:
peteni vechi de legno 2
busteta de chuoro nuova morescha 1
bolador d’avuolio nuovo senza arzento 1
filado sotil madassa 1
azal pezeto 1
pontaruol 1
forfede vechie per 1.

In un magazen in cha’ de Benelara de raxon de ser Marco Santin:
chanevaze rodoleto 1
pani⁵⁸ de 60 verde chiaro peza 1
paonazi peze 2
rosso peza 1
vesta de zetani veludà verde vechia e desfata in pezi 6
alberioni in monte grossi negri e alcuni bianchi e rossi var-naze 280.

De raxon de sier Mathio Zusto:
panni quarantini acholoradi balle 2 pezi 16.

Testes vir nobilis ser Cosmas Pasqualigo quondam domini ***
vir prudens ser Angelus de Corado quondam ser Iacobi.
In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominicis millesimo mcccclv, indictione tertia, die xxviii Augusti, Damasci. Inventarium omnium rerum et bonorum repertorum post obitum Stephani quondam Andree de Bossina, defuncti in domo habitacionis virorum nobilium ser Ioannis Lando et Pauli Erizo, factum per me presbiterum Christoforum de Flore Venetiarum notarium, de voluntate et ad instantiam magistri Jacobi Candi barbutensoris cotimi Damasci et commissarii dicti predefuncti, presentibus infrascriptis.

In una capseleta ascripte res infrascriptae:

in un sacheto de tella oro sera 67
in una scharsela de chuoro negro arzentada e morescha oro veneti ducati 9

in un sacheto de tella arzento deremi 203
chofineto arzentado a la morescha 1 in quo inventi fuerunt anuli et iocalia infrascrita:

anello d’oro con una turchexe e ligado a la francha 1
anello d’oro con 1 rubin ligado a la francha 1
anello arzento con 1 turchexe ligado a la morescha 1
anello d’oro con 1 perla tonda ligado a la morescha 1
perla arzentada a la morescha 1

rubinetto con rubino in terzo in una carta involto 1
chroxta de schorzo de perle con crucifixo intaiado 1
chroxta de schorzo de perle de piu sorte 16
chospeli d’arzento da vazina pizoli 2
algun carte depente con la passion zoe n° 11
borson biancho de chamozia lavorado con peroli grossi e con fraschetti 2 d’arzento 1
schudela porzelana biancha e azura sfessa 1
schudellini porzelana verde 4
bossoli de turiaga tra grandi e piccoli 16
pezeto de sangue de drago mezan 1
pezeto de sangue de drago mezan 1
pezeto de sangue de drago mezan 1
pezeto de sangue de drago mezan 1
taza d’arzento dorada et smaltada 1
oldano d’arzento 1
champanelle moresche 5
agì mazeti 2
tazeta morescha biancha 1
mediai de rame vechie e triste 14
chalzedonia tonda pezo 1
toxexi in uno scharnuzo n° 154
cordelle da entemelle lavorade d’oro e d’arzento pezi 2
stringe dozena 1
spago da lettere madasse 25
paternostri de legno de Jerusalem chorde 8
violetto scharmuzeto 1
Ihesus de piombo indorati de Jerusalem n° 4
manego de cortello arzentado 1
cortelli moreschi con le vazine 2
lima senza manego 1
piere da guar 2
forfete dorade per 1
peneli da segnar colli 7
una rocha da oro et arzento 1
fazoleti de ixaro lavorati a la damasca con seda 9
muschio pocho in vessiga 1
vesige da muschio vuode 2
cordele de Jerusalem per mexure del Santo Sepulcro 6
ampoline pichole con balsamo 1
petene de osso over spina 1
rigadori de piombo 2
oro batudo per deponenti pezi 20
chortelli arzentati et pontizati con uno piron d’arzento lavorato a nielo con la suo vazina per 1.

In chamera sua in solario posita invente fuerunt res infrascripte ad refusum:
anchoyeta 1
ampoline de balsamo 2
scharsela de chuxino todescha 1
cera nuova pezeti 6
zucheta con oio roxado 1
spechiot 1
seola mezana 1 et 1 pichola n° 2
petene 1
noxe de India 7
zinziber verde impignatado pignate 5
electuario de sugo de ruoxe alberelato 1
schudella de porzela grossa con gabladure de zinziber 1
zucharo roxado in uno albarello mezan 1
antofani e gabladure de garofolo scharnuzeto 1
dopier mezo bruxado
sedea porcho da far penelli mazi 2
libro vechio scripto per vulgar squarzado 1
chandelier de legno 1

// [f. 8v] Ihesus mcccclv

chortelli grossi de chuxina 3
zenabrio menudo scharnozeto 1
temperarin in una vazina d’oso bianco 1
chassetina da bater fuogo 1
chandelle bruxade mazo 1
charamalli de osso negro 2
chandelier de laton picholo 1
chofineto morescho con i ordegni da bater fuogo 1
feral 1
seola da pani 1
riga de legno 1
lucheto todesche 1
borsa da carta e lettere de carta messe pegorina 1
schatola de aze con aze entro e altre fusare 1
verigolette 2
barilli da amba vuodi 2
gona de pan negro fodrada de volpe trista 1
sachet de sella con algune straże de sella 1
mudande 2
fiasco de legno depento a la morescha 1
stivaletti rossi per 1
chalze solade bianche uxade pera 2
zorneda de fostagno negro vechia 1
tella inzerada pezeti 5
teller squarzade 2
entrevelle 2
schapini negri e bianchi pera 3
berete de sella da portar de note 2
chavo de zentura d’arzento lavorato a nielo 1
sachet de boraxo pasta 1
zuponi vechi 4
stivali da chossa per 1
mudanda morescha 1
scharpe dopie nuove per 1
botana pezeta 2
fazzol furlan 1
fostagno biancho nuovo pezo 1
sacho morescho con zinziber belledi pexo camerado rotoli 15 onze 7
sacho 1 con chanelle pexo chamerado rotoli 4 onze 6
sachet 1 con delio messe entro pexo chamerado rotoli 1 onze 1 1/3
sacho 1 con piper con el segno de ser Felipo di Garzoni camerado rotoli 14 onze 10

schatola 1 con lacha r° 2
sacheto con garbeladure de noxe 1
piper sharnuzeto 1
sacheto con garbeladure de zinziber 1
garofali pondo uno colmo pexo chamerado r° 45 onze 9
garofali in uno sacho quasi per uno terzo pexo chamerado r° 19 onze -
sacheto 1 con noxe entro pexo chamerado r° 6 onze 10
sacheto 1 con mazis entro pexo chamerado r° 2 onze 1
martello 1
tenaia 1
verigola grossa 1
verigolette mezane 3
seradura granda con chiave de fornida 1
scharpello da taiapiera 1
maio da bater goton 1
scharsela da conti e letere de botana depenta 1
invoie de sella zalla 2

324. there follows b crossed out.
325. word of uncertain meaning.
In una caps a pannis de talpono invente fuerunt res infrascripte:

croxe de Jerusalem con reliquie entro 2
scharsela todescha de chouro negro rechamada 1
Agnus Dei con el vero con algune reliquie de Jerusalem entro 1
zentura de cremexi arzentada e lavoriada a nielo 1
chandelotì doradi e benedeti grandi de onze 3 l’uno 3
chandelotì picholi de onza i 5
charamal morescho 1
tagì da sachi in una chana n° 17
fazuoli lavorati de seda cremexina a la morescha 8
fazuol lavorato de seda biancha con vuovre large moresche 1
fazuol de ixaro streto con i chavi de seda cremexa 1
fazuol de bochasin schieto uxado 1

// [f. 9v] Ihesus mcccclv

lima con el manego d’osso biancho 1
lima rota senza manego 1
forfexe da dona per 1
cortello da tàiar in taola con le vere d’arzento 1
chortello todescho con la vazina vechio 1
compasso todescho 1
forfexe da penaruol triste per 1
fazoletì vechi schieti 2
bereta paonaza ugnola e vechia 1
fazuol de seda verde e de più colori lavorato a la morescha 1
tapedo chaierim con i chavi tessudo a la morescha 1
tapedi nuovi pizoli 2
bexaze de lana de più colori fodrade de chanevaza paro 1
oneizì rabesco de pano rosso e biavo a binde fodrà de botana e
nuovo 1
mantelin tondo de pano chupo nuovo 1
mantelin de pano mostovalier schuro nuovo 1
zorneda de pano negro fodrada tella 1
gona de pano biavo fodrada de albertoni vechia 1
zupon de fostagno beretin 1
chapello de bivaro con cordon de seda cremexina 1
pezeto de pano chupo 1
pezeto de mostovalier schuro 1
pezeto de pano verde 1

326. word of uncertain meaning.
327. word of uncertain meaning.
biancheta nuova pichi 5
fostagno bianchizado pichi 4
tella nuova da Rodi streta pichi 13
botana pichi 3
nenzuol de botana de telle 3, 1
nenzuol de tella de telle 3, 1
chamixe de tella bone 4
mudande bone 4
evellada vechia 1
choda da petene 1
chavezeto de pano verde da invoia pichi 3
chavezeto de pano biavo da invoia pichi 2 2/3
maiouli de zera biancha 18
fazuol con chandi entro zercha r° 1
sacheto 1 de tella con maalef entro zercha r° - onze 6

\[ / / [f. 10] \text{Ihesus mcccclv} \]

pironi d’arzento in una vazina 1
zucharo de do chote pan 1
mazeto de lin non trato 1
chavazal de entema 1
chusini 2
chebre\[328\] biancho 1
entemella 1
vardachuor rosso 1
bereta dopia negra uxdada 1
chamixa sporcha vechia 1
entemella 1
lavori da maioricha tra schudelle e piadenete et zestella de venchi
da taola\[329\] 1
spedo todescho che lavora con contrapexo 1
manaruola 1
semoza 1
nota che diti lavori da maioricha fin qui tute quelle chosete havé
ser Polio Erizo per ducati 2 d’oro et deremi 40
zenie zorpia 19
zenia ugnola 1
anello da bolla d’arzento con uno Jesus schulpido 1.

Testes vir nobilis ser Joannes Lando quondam domini Marini
vir nobilis ser Paulus Erizo domini Antonii.

Doc. no. 4. Inventory of the consul Marino da Molin: Damascus, 4 May 1457. Reg. iii, unnumbered ff.

\[ / / [f. 10] \text{Ihesus mcccclvii} \]

In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, indicatione v, die quarto mensis maii, Damasci, presentibus inascriptis. Inventarium presentis omnium rerum et bonorum repertorum in domo habitatio

\[328\] word of uncertain meaning.
\[329\] there follows uno crossed out.
\[330\] presents interlinear.
\[331\] there follows consul crossed out.
strissimo ducali dominio Venetiarum — consulis in Damasco defuncti, scriptum et anotatum post eius obitum per me presbiterum Christoforum de Flore Venetiarum notarium, hic in Damasci, hic in Damasco defuncti, scriptum et anotatum post eius obitum per me presbiterum Christoforum de Flore Venetiarum notarium, ad instantiam et requisitionem virorum nobilium ser Antonii Laureddano, Iheronimi Gabriellis, Iusti Mauraceno, Iheronimis et Marci de Molino, domini Pauli commissariorum quondam dicti domini Marini predefuncti.

Et primo.

In una cassa de talpon da panni nova con le teste de nogera le chosse infrascripte:

vesta de pano chamelin fodrada de volpe da contor
vesta paonaza de zambeloto con manege a comedo curta
vesta de panno morelo fodrada de lovi cervieri vechia con manege a comedo curta e frusta
vesta de panno paonazo frusta con manege a comedo fodrada de colli de martori
vesta de zambeloto de grana con manege averte longa fina in terra fodrada de martori le manege el busto
vesta de panno cupo ugnola frusta con manege a comedo mantello de panno cupo longo e frusto
zupon de zetani negro vechio
zupon de ornexi chanza color bon con manegeti de pano negro
zupon de veludo creamxi pian vechio e roto
zupon de panno mostovalier bon
chavezo de ornexi chanza cholor schuro pichi
zexendelo morescho grando fornido de laton vechio
chusin de chuoro azuro longo
martori conzi e tarmadi pezi 4
zupon de fostagno negro fodrado de voltor uxdado
fuine chrude pezi 5.

In una cassa da panni simele a la predita le chosse infrascripte:

vesta longa de pano paonazo de grana con manege a comedo longa fodrada de fuina
vesta de panno paonazo con manege averte fodrada de dossi longa
vesta de panno morelo fodrada de varo con manege averte longa.
In una cassa de talpon da pani vechia, numero 3, le chosse infra-scrbite:

vesta de zambeloto chocolo longa con manege a comedo fodrà de volpe 1
vesta de panno rosso curta vechia fodrada de albertoni e
do\'si manege a comedo 1
vesta de zambeloto panazoz longa fodrada de zendado de
grana con manege a comedo 1
vesta de panno negro frusta con manege a comedo fodrà de\nvaro 1
vesta de zambeloto biavo curta fodrà de dosi rossi e girì
c con manege a comedo 1
busteta con reliquie de Jerusalem entro e con 1 + 36 et 1
paxe 1
planelle nuove par 1
chanapiera nuova con colti 3, 1

348. there follows p crossed out.
349. below follows banchali vechi pezi 7 crossed out.
350. there follows da crossed out.
351. there follows de crossed out.
352. + symbolizes "cross".
mantello de zambeloto biavo vechio fodrado de panno negro curto 1
balanzuole da pexar ducati de chuoro moresche par 1
zalon con figure da leto 1
fodra de pelle de chavre de Chandia longa 1.

In la suo borsa, oro:
prima veneti ducati 4
ongaro pezo 1
serrafo falso pezo 1

// Ihesus MCCCCLVII

deremi vechi da deremi 2 el pezo pezi 11
grosso venezian pezo 1
soldo furlan pezo 1
deremi nuovi da deremo uno el pezo pezi 42.

In una chassa picola de albedo, numero 4, le chosse infrascripte:
porzelane grosse zoè schudelle pezi 5
nenzuoli paro 2
mantilli vechi tra grandi e picoli 7
mantilli de tarluxe da credenziera 3
tovaie de lin over de stopa 5
tovaie de tarlixe 2
tovaiole vechi e roti 12
fazuol con i chavi deffiladi biancho e roto 1
fazuol furlan 1
entemelle 5
tachie de tella da bereta 3
chamixe 3
mudande 2
mezaruola da navegar 1
gaban de grixo longo ugnolo e vechio 1.

In chamera granda a refuxo le chosse infrascripte e prima:
tapedi grandi da mastabe uxadi asa’ boni 2
tapedi mezani grossi uxadi 2
tapedi picoli grossi e vechi 253
leto de entema con piuma bon 1
chavazar simele bon 1
legetxelo da stramazo simele 1
chussini simeli 4
moscheto moresco da bochasin schieto 1
coltra de bochasin biancho uxada mezana 1
coltra de bochasin sanguinea uxada picola 1
carpeta da leto vergada vechia 1
mirabolani pegnata 1
segjelo de rame moresco con el coverchio stagnado 1
forfexe vechie mezane par 1
arco con el suo tabarro e freze 1
schiavina vechia 1
tavola da l’abacho 1
anchoneta con Cristo in crosse e Nostra Dona e san Zuane 1

// Ihesus MCCCCLVII

353. 2 corrected over 3.
In chamera pichola, fo de miser Piero quondam dito miser consolo, le cosse infrascripte:
  anconeta con Cristo passo
  cortinazo de sarza rossa over rassa rechamado con figure.

In chuxina, le chosse infrascripte:
  schudele de peltre
  schudelini de peltre
  piadene grande de peltre
  piadene pichole chome schudelle da l’or largo de peltre
  taieri de peltre
  barilli
  ramini
  morter de bronzo con la suo maza
  entiani de rame
  lume da oio
  chaldiera mezana
  pignata de rame con el suo choverchio da galia
  pignata de rame morescha
  fersora longa da tegnir soto el rosto
  fersora de rame da frizer
  gradella
  chaze de fero forade
  gratchaxo
  spedo grando
  spedo picolo
  chandeleri picoli de laton da taola
  pestaruole
  follo da chuxina
  taieri de legno grandi
  taieri de legno picoli
  chaze de legno
  cesto grando da pan
  cestella da pan rota
  piatello de peltre mezan
  piter de aqua.

In chaneva le chosse infrascripte:
  taieri nuovi grandi
  barillo da soma con romania e malvaxia in summa rotoli
  barille de quarta vuode
  charatello de sechi

Doc. no. 5. Inventory of Nicolò de Ruzino da Feltre: Beirut galley, 12 November 1457. Reg. iii, unnumbered ff. Messy preparatory draft on loose sheet.

mecccclvii, die xii mensis novembris, in galea patrono viri nobilis domini Fantini Lauredano via-gii de Barutho.

Inventarium rerum et bonorum quondam Nicolai de Ruzino de Feltre, defuncti in galea patrono viri nobilis domini Fantini Lauredano viaggi de Barutho, repertarum in dicta galea post mortem
dicti predefuncti, presentibus viro nobili ser Donato Contareno, spectabile domino Nicolai, nec non provido viro ser Georgio quondam Benedicti.loculatoris et alis restantis, ad hoc vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

1 borsa al suo zupton apichada con oro veneti ducati 2
1 sacheto con horo veneti ducati 20

// Ihesus mcccclvii

1 par de bolze vuode
1 gaban dopio de pano persegin
1 gona dopia de pano mostovalier
1 mantel dopio con el suo schapuzin
1 vesta de mostovalier fodrà de volpe
1 libro de santi pari compostò per san Iheronimo in carta bambaxina
1 libro dito Fiameta.

In una chapsa erant et invente fuerunt res infrascripte, videlicet:
1 charsela de chuoro con le cosse infrascripte, zoè:
3 mazi over peze de agi
alguane scripture
1 entemela
1 zupon de fostagno
1 bereta dopia negra
1 bereta ugnola negra
1 chamixa
1 mudanda
1 entemela
2 berete ugnole beretine
2 tachie de tella
1 fazuol
1 fazoleto
1 per de schufoni,
1 pan de zucharo
1 bereta de pele agnelina
1 per de scharpe nuove;
in uno sacculo parvo erant res infrascripte, videlicet:
2 chamixe
1 mudanda
alguane centure de Ierusalem
alguane corde de paternosti de Ierusalem de piui sorte
1 libro de istorie de Grixeldò e de Gualtier
1 mazo de chandele
1 bereta biancha con pendoli
1 zorneda biava fodorada de tella

//

1 mantelo de pano chupó
1 schapuzin todescho de pano verde
1 vesta dopia meschìa
1 per de nenzoleti
1 per de chalze solade
1 centura de tessudo vermeio con chavo e fiba e passeti 7
d'arzento

358. there follows vuoda crossed out.
359. Interlinear.
I zupon de chamoza fodrado de pelle
I per de guanti de chamoza
I libereto de charta bambaxina nuovo
I dozena de stringe
I officieto de Nostra Dona e con altre chosse suxo.

Testes vir nobilis ser Donatus Contareno spectabilis domini Nicolai
vir providus ser Georgius quondam Benedicti loculator.
The lists of Venetian people operating in Damascus between 1455 and 1457 have been created by going through the records we studied. We have pointed out any cases of doubt about the real presence of someone in Damascus during this period, and also about people not clearly defined as Venetians. Moreover, we have considered as Venetian nobles only those people explicitly indicated with this title or strongly suspected of being patrician. It has not been always possible to shed light upon the family relationships of Venetians sharing the same surname and/or patronymic. In the footnotes there are references to patricians or popolani whose wills and genealogies are to be found in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia: obviously, the recurrent possibility of homonyms could not be resolved in most cases.

1455

Filippo quodam Antonio, goldsmith, executor of Andrea di Bossina  
NT, b. 982, f. 62, 22 Aug. 1455  
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 11v, 27 Nov. 1455  
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 12, 30 Nov. 1455

Giovanni slave of consul  
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 4, 15 Aug. 1455

Barbo, Nicolò q. Giovanni, noble, executor of Ravagnino  
NT, b. 982, f. 61v, 14 Aug. 1455

Bertolino, Nicolò uncle and executor of Ravagnino, perhaps not in Damascus  
NT, b. 982, f. 61v, 14 Aug. 1455

di Bossina, Stefano q. Andrea, merchant, testator,  
NT, b. 982, ff. 62-62v, 22 Aug. 1455  
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, ff. 7v-10, 29 Aug. 1455

Candi, Giacomo barber, witnessed Ravagnino’s will  
NT, b. 982, f. 62, 14 Aug. 1455  
CIN, b. 83 (ii), f. 7v, 8 Aug. 1455  
CIN, b. 83 (ii), f. 12, 30 Nov. 1455  
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 11v, 27 Nov. 1455  
executor of Andrea di Bossina  
NT, b. 982, f. 62, 22 Aug. 1455

Contarini, Leone noble, perhaps no longer in Damascus  
NT, b. 982, f. 62v, 22 Aug. 1455

di Corrado, Angelo q. Giacomo, witnessed inventory of Ravagnino  
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 7, 17 Aug. 1455

Erizzo, Antonio  
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 11v, 24 Aug. 1455

361. He may be Leone Contarini son of Carlo, from the parish of S. Agostino and dead in 1464: see Barbaro, Arbori de’ patriarch veneti, vol. ii, 10, p. 483.  
362. We are uncertain whether he is the father of Paolo and Girolamo Erizzo; he does not enjoy the title of noble.
Erizzo, Paolo  
son of Antonio, probably brother of Girolamo, noble, merchant and landlord of Bossina with Giovanni Lando  
cin, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 4, 24 April 1455  
witnessed Bossina’s inventory, bought his maiolica  
cin, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, ff. 7v and 10, 29 Aug. 1455

del Fiore, Cristoforo  
priest and notary

de Garzoni, Antonio  
q. Natale, merchant  
cin, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 10, 20 Nov. 1455

Giusto, Matteo  
magistrum and executor of Ravagnino, perhaps not in Damascus  
nt, b. 982, f. 61v, 14 Aug. 1455

Lando, Giovanni  
q. Marino, brother of Ludovico, noble, landlord of Bossina with Paolo Erizzo  
cin, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 7v and 10, 29 Aug. 1455  
cin, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 10v, 20 Nov. 1455

Lando, Ludovico²⁶³  
q. Marino, brother of Giovanni, noble, witnessed testament of Bossina  
nt, b. 982, f. 62v, 22 Aug. 1455

Longo, Francesco²⁶⁴  
q. Marco, brother of Girolamo, noble  
cin, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 12, 30 Nov. 1455

Loredan, Luca²⁶⁵  
q. Giacomo, noble, merchant, landlord and executor of Ravagnino  
nt, b. 982, f. 61v, 14 Aug. 1455  
cin, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 4v, 22 Aug. 1455

Loredan, Marco²⁶⁶  
q. Paolo, noble  
cin, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 11, 20 Nov. 1455

da Molin, Marco  
q. Paolo, noble, merchant, brother of Girolamo and consul’s executor  
cin, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 4, 24 April 1455

da Molin, Marino²⁶⁷  
q. Filippo, noble, consul of Damascus  
cin, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 4, 15 Aug. 1455

da Molin, Piero²⁶⁸  
q. Girolamo  
cin, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 11, 20 Nov. 1455

da Molin, Piero  
q. Marino, son of consul, noble,  
cin, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 11v, 28 Nov. 1455

³⁶³. For the genealogy of Giovanni and Ludovico Lando see Barbaro, Arbri de’ patrizi veneti, vol. iv, 18, p. 223.
³⁶⁴. Francesco Longo died in 1478: see Barbaro, Arbri de’ patrizi veneti, vol. iv, 18, p. 301. For his will see nt, b. 1186, Domenico Groppi, no. 6, f. 4v (26 April 1474); it is a copy in forma publica of a previous will drawn up by Vittore Rosati in 1472.
³⁶⁵. For the genealogy of Luca Loredan see Barbaro, Arbri de’ patrizi veneti, vol. iv, 19, p. 339.
³⁶⁶. For the genealogy of Marco Loredan, from the parish of Santa Maria Formosa and dead in 1490, see: Barbaro, Arbri de’ patrizi veneti, vol. iv, 19, p. 333. For his will see asv: Cancelleria Inferiore, Miscellanea Testamenti, b. 28, Francesco Belletto, no. 2278 (23 May 1488).
³⁶⁷. For the genealogy of Marino da Molin and his son Piero see Barbaro, Arbri de’ patrizi veneti, vol. v, 23, p. 211. Piero died in 1484.
³⁶⁸. For the genealogy of Piero da Molin q. Girolamo see Barbaro, Arbri de’ patrizi veneti, vol. v, 23, p. 221.
Pasqualigo, Cosma

noble, witnessed inventory of Stefano Ravagnino

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 7-17 Aug. 1455

Ravagnino, Stefano

q. Apollonio, merchant, testator

NT, b. 982, ff. 61v-62, 14 Aug. 1455

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 4v, 22 Aug. 1455

Refaganelli, Simeone

merchant

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 11, 29 Nov. 1455

da Serravalle, Nicolò

son of Giovanni, formerly servant in the household of Leone Contarini in Damascus

NT, b. 982, f. 62v, 22 Aug. 1455

Trevisan, Piero

q. Giovanni, noble, merchant

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 11, 20 Nov. 1455

Valerio, Stefano

q. Antonio, witnessed Bossina’s will

NT, b. 982, f. 62v, 22 Aug. 1455

Volzamonte, Stefano

q. Cristoforo, witnessed Ravagnino’s will

NT, b. 982, f. 62, 14 Aug. 1455

Zane, Tommaso

q. Maffeo, noble, merchant, executor of Ravagnino

NT, b. 982, f. 61v, 14 Aug. 1455

Zanon, Giovanni

q. Andrea

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 11v, 28 Nov. 1455

1456

Antonio

q. Natale, tailor

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 16, 20 May 1456

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 16v, 26 May 1456

Martino

q. Giovanni, jeweller

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 31 May 1456

Piero

q. Giovanni, barber, perhaps non-Venetian

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 16, 26 May 1456

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 16 Aug. 1456

Bembo, Girolamo

q. Giorgio, noble

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 31 May 1456

Candi, Giacomo

barber

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 14, 1 April 1456

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 16v, 29 May 1456

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 31 May 1456

Contarini, Urbano

q. Carlo, noble

CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, ff. 13-13v, 31 Mar 1456

369 He may be Cosma Pasqualigo son of Paolo: see Barbaro, Arbori de’ patrizii veneti, vol. vi, p. 21. He died in 1505.

370 For the genealogy of Piero Trevisan see Barbaro, Arbori de’ patrizii veneti, vol. vii, 12, p. 105.

371 The genealogy of Tommaso Zane is in Barbaro, Arbori de’ patrizii veneti, vol. vii, 34, p. 323. For his will see NT, b. 14, Bartolomeo Almerici, nos. 12 and 45 (25 June 1481); currently these documents cannot be consulted.

372 For the genealogy of Girolamo Bembo see Barbaro, Arbori de’ patrizii veneti, vol. i, 4, p. 321.
Dolfin, Dolfino\textsuperscript{373} q. Giacomo, noble
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, ff. 13v-15v, 1 April 1456

Dolfin, Vittore q. Giorgio, noble
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 31 Aug. 1456

del Fiore, Cristoforo priest and notary

Giustinian, Girolamo\textsuperscript{374} q. Marino, noble
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f., 1 April 1456

de Guarsico, Giovanni merchant, perhaps non-Venetian
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 16 Aug. 1456

Loredan, Luca q. Giacomo, noble, merchant, landlord and executor of Ravagnino
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, ff. 13v-13v, 31 March 1456

Michiel, Ludovico\textsuperscript{375} q. Pietro (procurator of S. Marco), noble
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, ff. 14v-15v, 1 April 1456

da Molin, Marino q. Filippo, noble, consul of Damascus
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f., 1 April 1456

Trevisan, Domenico\textsuperscript{376} q. Stefano, noble
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 13v, 1 April 1456

Zane, Tommaso q. Maffeo, noble, merchant
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, f. 13v, 1 April 1456

Zorzi, Domenico son of Giovanni (described as «young»)
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 31 Aug. 1456

1457

Caterina and Martino slaves of consul
NT, b. 982, f. 64, 2 May 1457

Giorgio q. Benedetto, jeweller
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 3 Jan. 1457 (1456 mv)
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 22 July 1457

Marino q. Bartolomeo, jeweller and merchant
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 3 Jan. 1457 (1456 mv)
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 11 April 1457
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 12 April 1457
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 1 July 1457

Martino\textsuperscript{377} q. Giovanni, witnessed consul’s will
NT, b. 982, f. 64, 2 May 1457

\textsuperscript{373} For the genealogy of Dolfino Dolfin see Barbaro, Arbori de’ patrizi veneti, vol. iii, 1, p. 291.

\textsuperscript{374} For the genealogy of Girolamo Giustinian, from the parish of S. Maria Zobenigo, see Barbaro, Arbori de’ patrizi veneti, vol. vii, 35, p. 452. For his will see NT, b. 1149, Paolo Benedetto, f. 100v (4 Feb. 1462, 1461 mv).

\textsuperscript{375} For the genealogy of Ludovico Michiel see Barbaro, Arbori de’ patrizi veneti, vol. v, 22, p. 128.

\textsuperscript{376} For the genealogy of Domenico Trevisan, from the parish of San Baseggio, see Barbaro, Arbori de’ patrizi veneti, vol. vii, 32, p. 115.

\textsuperscript{377} Martino q. Giovanni is probably the same person as the jeweller of 1456 (see above).
Nicolò son of Giovanni q. Giacomo
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 1st July 1457

Balbi, Bartolomeo<sup>378</sup> q. Bernardo, noble, brother of Paolo
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 11 Jan. 1457 (1456 mv)

Balbi, Paolo q. Bernardo, noble, brother of Bartolomeo
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 11 Jan. 1457 (1456 mv)
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 12 April 1457

Barbo, Nicolò q. Giovanni, noble, executor of Ravagnino
NT, b. 982, f. 63, 17 Feb. 1457 (1456 mv)

Balbi, Paolo q. Bernardo, noble, brother of Bartolomeo
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 11 Jan. 1457 (1456 mv)
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 12 April 1457

Becino, Antonio q. Ludovico
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 3 Jan. 1457 (1456 mv)

Bon, Francesco q. Ludovico, merchant
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 20 Jan. 1457 (1456 mv)

Candi, Giacomo barber, witnessed consul’s will
NT, b. 982, f. 64, 2 May 1457

Cappello, Cristoforo<sup>379</sup> q. Francesco, noble
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 10 Jan. 1457 (1456 mv)

Duodo, Piero q. Luca
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 22 July 1457

Erizzo, Girolamo son of Antonio, probably brother of Paolo, noble
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 22 June 1457

Falter, Francesco<sup>380</sup> q. Piero, noble, merchant
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 22 June 1457

del Fiore, Cristoforo priest and notary

Gabriel, Andrea CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 19 May 1457

Gabriel, Girolamo<sup>381</sup> q. Benedetto, noble, executor of consul
NT, b. 982, f. 63v, 2 May 1457
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 11 Jan. 1457 (1456 mv)
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 4 May 1457
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 19 May 1457

Longo, Girolamo<sup>382</sup> q. Marco, brother of Francesco, noble, merchant
CIN, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 22 July 1457

Loredan, Antonio<sup>383</sup> q. Giacomo, brother of Luca, noble, merchant

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<sup>378</sup> For the will of Bartolomeo Balbi, from the parish of Sant’Agnese, see NT, b. 986, Francesco Rogeri, nos. 216 (11 Oct. 1455).
<sup>379</sup> For the genealogy of Cristoforo Cappello see Barbaro, Arbori de’ patrizii veneti, vol. ii, 4 p. 1394. He died in 1504.
<sup>380</sup> For the genealogy of Francesco Falier see Barbaro, Arbori de’ patrizii veneti, vol. iii, 4 p. 444. He died in 1504.
<sup>381</sup> For the genealogy of Girolamo Gabriel see Barbaro, Arbori de’ patrizii veneti, vol. ii, 4 p. 185.
<sup>382</sup> For the genealogy of Girolamo Longo see Barbaro, Arbori de’ patrizii veneti, vol. iv, 4 p. 301.
<sup>383</sup> For the will of Antonio Loredan, from the parish of S. Maria Formosa, see NT, b. 1157, Benedetto Croci, prot. 11, f. 136v (19 July 1446).
Loredan, Luca\textsuperscript{384} q. Giacomo, brother of Antonio, noble, merchant, landlord and executor of Ravagnino

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{CIN}, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 11 Jan. 1457 (1456 \textit{mv})
  \item \textit{NT}, b. 982, f. 63v, 2 May 1457
  \item \textit{CIN}, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 19 May 1457
\end{itemize}

da Molin, Girolamo\textsuperscript{385} q. Paolo, noble, brother of Marco, executor of consul

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{NT}, b. 982, f. 63v, 2 May 1457
  \item \textit{CIN}, b. 83 (ii), unn. f., 4 May 1457
\end{itemize}

da Molin, Marco q. Paolo, noble, brother of Girolamo, executor of consul

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{NT}, b. 982, f. 63v, 2 May 1457
  \item \textit{CIN}, b. 83 (ii), unn. f., 4 May 1457
\end{itemize}

da Molin, Marino q. Filippo, noble, consul of Damascus

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{NT}, b. 982, f. 63v-64, 2 May 1457
  \item \textit{CIN}, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 4 May 1457
\end{itemize}

Morosini, Giusto\textsuperscript{386} q. Benedetto, noble, merchant, executor of consul

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{CIN}, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 10 Jan. 1457 (1456 \textit{mv})
  \item \textit{NT}, b. 982, f. 63v, 2 May 1457
  \item \textit{CIN}, b. 83 (ii), unn. f., 4 May 1457
\end{itemize}

Morosini, Nicolò q. Carlo

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{CIN}, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 12 Apr. 1457
\end{itemize}

Priuli, Domenico q. Giacomo, witnessed receipt of Marco Santini

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{NT}, b. 982, f. 63, 17 Feb. 1457 (1456 \textit{mv})
\end{itemize}

Santini, Marco\textsuperscript{387} merchant

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{NT}, b. 982, f. 63, 17 Feb. 1457 (1456 \textit{mv})
\end{itemize}

Trevisan, Domenico q. Stefano, noble

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{CIN}, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 10 Jan. 1457 (1456 \textit{mv})
\end{itemize}

de Zane, Ludovico q. Simone

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{CIN}, b. 83 (ii), reg. iii, unn. f., 12 April 1457
\end{itemize}

Zen, Giovanni q. Antonio, witnessed receipt of Marco Santini

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{NT}, b. 982, f. 63, 17 Feb. 1457 (1456 \textit{mv})
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{384} For the genealogy of Antonio and Luca Loredan see \textit{Barbaro}, \textit{Arbori de' patrizii veneti}, vol. iv, 19, p. 329.

\textsuperscript{385} For the genealogy of Girolamo and Marco da Molin see \textit{Barbaro}, \textit{Arbori de' patrizii veneti}, vol. v, 23, p. 232.

\textsuperscript{386} For the genealogy of Giusto Morosini, from the parish of S. Maria Formosa, see \textit{Barbaro}, \textit{Arbori de' patrizii veneti}, vol. v, 24, p. 380.

\textsuperscript{387} The will of Marco Santini is to be found in \textit{NT}, b. 1234, Francesco de Soris, no. 499, 2 May 1485.
**Table 3. Venetian Community in Damascus, 1455-1457.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Job</th>
<th>1455</th>
<th>1456</th>
<th>1457</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antonio q. Natale</td>
<td>slave</td>
<td>tailor</td>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caterina</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filippo q. Antonio</td>
<td>slave</td>
<td>goldsmith</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giorgio q. Benedetto</td>
<td>jeweller</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marino q. Bartolomeo</td>
<td>slave</td>
<td>jeweller and merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martino</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martino q. Giovanni</td>
<td>slave</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolò son of Giovanni</td>
<td>slave</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piero q. Giovanni*</td>
<td>barber</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartolomeo Balbi q. Bernardo</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paolo Balbi q. Bernardo</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolò Barbo q. Giovanni</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Becino q. Ludovico</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girolamo Bembo q. Giorgio</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolò Bertolino</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francesco Bon q. Ludovico</td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stefano di Bossina q. Andrea</td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giacomo Candi</td>
<td>barber</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cristoforo Cappello q. Francesco</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leone Contarini</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbano Contarini q. Carlo</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelo di Corrado q. Giacomo</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolfino Dolfino q. Giacomo</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vittore Dolfino q. Giorgio</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piero Duodo q. Luca</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Erizzo</td>
<td></td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girolamo Erizzo son of Antonio</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paolo Erizzo son of Antonio</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francesco Falier q. Piero</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cristoforo del Fiore</td>
<td>religious</td>
<td>priest and notary</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrea Gabriel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girolamo Gabriel q. Benedetto</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio de Garzoni q. Natale</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girolamo Giustinian q. Marino</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matteo Giusto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni de Guarisco*</td>
<td></td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludovico Lando q. Marino</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Lando q. Marino</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francesco Longo q. Marco</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girolamo Longo q. Marco</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Loredan q. Giocomo</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luca Loredan q. Giacomo</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td>merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marco Loredan q. Paolo</td>
<td>noble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to E. Ashtor, the Venetian fattori (merchants often trading as agents on behalf of others) in Damascus were 24 in 1455, 14 in 1456 and 34 in 1457.

Our documents display similar figures. Nevertheless, sometimes we cannot ascertain the real occupation of Venetians in Damascus, even if we might suppose that they were nearly all merchants, except for a few people (the priest-notary, the servants, the barbers and perhaps the tailor). In all we count 68 (5 uncertain) Venetians in the Syrian capital during the period 1455-1457, and this community was composed by of 31 people in 1455 (3 uncertain), 17 (2 uncertain) in 1456 and 34 in 1457.

Table 4. Venetian Presence in Damascus, 1455-1457.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1455</th>
<th>1456</th>
<th>1457</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nobles</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\*1 uncertain if present in Damascus.
\*2 uncertain if present in Damascus.
\*3 uncertain if Venetian.

Sources: nt, b. 982, Cristoforo del Fiore; c1n, b. 83 (11), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. iii.

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388. ELYIYAHU ASHTOR, Il commercio levantino di Ancona nel basso Medioevo, in l., Studies on the Levantine, viii, p. 226; see also l., The Volume of Levantine Trade in the Later Middle Ages (1370-1498), in l., Studies on the Levantine Trade, x, p. 596.
### Table 5. Elections of Venetian Consuls in Damascus, 1439-1453.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Candidate Elected</th>
<th>Guarantor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 May 1439</td>
<td>Luca Donato q.</td>
<td>Francesco di Marco Tiepolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leone Consiliarius</td>
<td>Paolo di Marco Querini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 May 1439</td>
<td>Marino Zane</td>
<td>Fantino di Giovanni Corner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 May 1441</td>
<td>Nicolò Soranzo</td>
<td>Marco Valier q. Biagio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maior (S. Samuele)</td>
<td>Paolo di Lorenzo Zane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 May 1444</td>
<td>Luca da Lezze q.</td>
<td>Vitale Paradiso maior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Donato</td>
<td>Lodovico (Alvise) da Lezze q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 May 1446</td>
<td>Leone da Molin q.</td>
<td>Fantino Procurator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nicolò</td>
<td>Giacomo Polani q. Lodovico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 March 1451</td>
<td>Stefano Trevisan q.</td>
<td>Giacomo Polani q. Lodovico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Michele</td>
<td>q. Antonio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 April 1451</td>
<td>Giacomo Dandolo q.</td>
<td>Antonio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Antonio^</td>
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| 11 April 1451| Maffeo Michiel q.  | Ineligible because «erat in contumacia» having just been Podestà and Capitano of Capodistria.
|              | Fantino Procurator |                                     |
| 27 Dec. 1453 | Marino da Molin q. | Ineligible because «erat in contumacia» having just been Podestà and Capitano of Capodistria.
|              | Filippo^           |                                     |

^ Ineligible because «erat in contumacia» having just been Podestà and Capitano of Capodistria.

\(^{1}\) Marino da Molin q. Filippo had been elected Consul of Tunis on 23rd January 1446 (1446 rv), with Antonio Bellegno minor as his guarantor (f. 85).

Sources: ASV: Segretario alle voci, misti, reg. 4, f. 84r.

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389. This list has been kindly transmitted by Reinhold C. Mueller. An incomplete list of Venetian consuls in Damascus between 1370 and 1900 is to be found in Ashtor, Levant Trade, pp. 535-537.
Appendix 6

Glossary

This glossary offers explanations of terms appearing in the inventories, even if we cannot hope to clarify everything. Indeed, words of Arabic origin, in particular, are not always easy to interpret and some of their meanings remain unsolved.

All words are given in the singular form. The studies we have found most useful in compiling this glossary are listed below.

Boerio: Giuseppe Boerio, Dizionario del dialetto veneziano, Venice, 1856.
Cange: Charles du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis, 1883.

A

Agio: garlic (Boerio, p. 25)
Agnus Dei: small medallion or container for holy unguent (Boerio, 25)
Albedo: pine (Boerio, 27)
Alberioni: large albarelli, that is spice jars (Battaglia, 1, 287)
Albertone: “albert” cloth (high-lustre twill, usually dark coloured, used for linings)
Alberelato: stored in a spice jar
Anconeta (or anchoneta): small altarpiece (Sella, 20)
Anguri: probably “of Angora”
Antofano: clove (Cange, i, 304)
Anzipresso: cypress (Sella, 20)
Avuolio: ivory (Boerio, 52)
Aza: thread of linen and hemp (Sella, 46)
Azial or azal: steel (Boerio, 52)
Azolador: eraser (Boerio, 52 and 553)

B

Ballasso: balascio, that is balas-ruby (Reynolds, 79)
Bambasino: cotton (Sella, 51)
Banchale: rug (Cange, i, 544)
Bandinela: cloth for covering or wrapping bread (Boerio, 61)
Beretin: woollen cloth dyed grey (Demo, 339)
Bexaza: wallett or knapsack (Sella, 66)
Binda: band (Boerio, 86)
Bossoio: small jar of wood or tin (Boerio, 93)
Biancheta: white wool cloth of low quality (Demo, 339)
Bivaro: beaver (Sella, 70)
Bochasìn: cotton cloth (Sella, 73)
Bolador: seal (Boerio, 88)
Bolza: suitcase (Boerio, 88)
Boraxo: borax (Boerio, 91)
Botana: cheesecloth or fine cotton (Boerio, 94)
Brunior: polishing stone (Boerio, 326)
Camerado (or chamerado): packed into a case (Sella, 106)
Capsaria: = qaysariyya, in Arabic a roofed market place with storerooms, often for specialised goods
Capselata: small chest (Sella, 122)
Carpeta: rug (Sella, 128)
Chaierim: type of carpet
Chaliga: footwear (Sella, 102)
Chandi: candied (Boerio, 127)
Chamoza: silk cloth (Sella, 108)
Chanevaza: sackcloth (Sella, 113)
Charamal: inkwell (Boerio, 136)
Charatello: small cask (Reynolds, 133)
Charnaulo: game-bag (Sella, 127)
Chavazzal (or chavazar): cushion or pillow (Sella, 141)
Chavo: border (Battaglia, ii, 933)
Chaza: ladle (Boerio, 155)
Chorniola: cornelian (Battaglia, iii, 788)
Chospelo: chape for sheaths (Boerio, 202)
Chuslier: spoon (Boerio, 637)
Clamis: coat (Sella, 156)
Cluetelesa: cutlass (Sella, 193)

Deale: probably a ring of metal wire (Battaglia, iv, 842)
Diplois: jacket, coat (Sella, 209)
Dosso: back, fur from an animal's back (Sella, 215)

Ellectuario: electuary, a medicinal syrup (Battaglia, v, 93)
Entemella: flax pillow-case (Sella, 221)

Feral: lantern (Boerio, 265)
Persora: cooking pan (Boerio, 266)
Follo da cuxina: felle, kitchen bellows (Reynolds, 306)
Forfede (or forfete or forfexe): scissors (Boerio, 281)
Fracheto: little flask (Sella, 250)
Fuina: beechmarten (Boerio, 290)
Fusara: spindle (Boerio, 292)

Gaban: coat with sleeves (Boerio, 294)
Galoza: clog or galosh (Boerio, 297)
Garbeladure: grated substance (Sella, 262)
Garofalo: clove (Boerio, 300)
Goto: large glass (Boerio, 312)
Grana: cochineal, a red dye obtained from insects (Demo, 341)

Horexe: goldsmith (Boerio, 455)
I

Invoia: wrapping or sack (Boerio, 353)
Ixaro: white cotton or in Arabic al-isar (sometimes referred to in Italian as lisaro)\textsuperscript{392}

L

Laton: brass (Boerio, 362)
Lavorado a nielo: worked by incising ornament with another metal or alloy (Battaglia, xi, 432)
Lovo cervier: lynx (Boerio, 376)

M

Maalef: perfumed cherry seeds\textsuperscript{393}
Maiuolo: rod (Sella, 341)
Malmori: probably “of Malines”
Manarula: axe (Sella, 342)
Manega a comedo: long, loose sleeves that widen towards the bottom (Vitali, 151)\textsuperscript{394}
Marti: marten (Sella, 353)
Mastaba: in Arabic, a bench or platform
Mazis: mace (Sella, 338)
Meschio: mixed (Sella, 363)
Mezarola: small phial (Sella, 353)
Mirabolani: small plums or mirabelles used in tanning (Battaglia, x, 512)\textsuperscript{395}
Mochar: to sniff (Boerio, 419)
Morter: mortar (Boerio, 428)
Mostovalier: wool cloth produced in Montivilliers (Normandy)\textsuperscript{396}

N

Naranza: orange (Boerio, 436)
Nenzuolo: sheet (Sella, 383)
Nogera: walnut wood (Boerio, 442)

O

Oldano: a highly perfumed resinous substance used in pomanders. Pomanders are spherical perforated metal balls that were rolled along the floor to perfume the room (sometimes also used as incense burners or handwarmers).
Oliveto: olive-shaped bead (Battaglia, xi, 886)
Ormexe: ermine (Boerio, 455); also thin silk from Ormuz in the Persian Gulf (Reynolds, 524)

P

Paternoster: round rosary beads
Pelre: pewter (Boerio, 487)
Perer: pear-tree (Boerio, 492)
Peresgin: Persian
Pestaruola: pestle (Sella, 430)
Piadena: saucer (Boerio, 501)
Piera da guar: sharpening stone (Boerio, 320)

\textsuperscript{392} Lisaro is mentioned as a cloth to be bought in Damascus by Di Pahi, Tarifia, i. 1499. For al-isar see Carl John Lamm, \textit{Cotton in Medieval Textiles of the Near East}, Paris, 1937, p. 243.
\textsuperscript{393} Since the double “a” may well hide a guttural, and the Arabs often interchange “f” and “b”, this is likely to be the Arabic “mahaleb” (English: perfumed cherry), scientific name Prunus mahaleb. The seeds are small, elliptical and used as a condiment for biscuits and in medicine to treat stomach aches and internal maladies. (Personal communication from Professor Stefan Reif, Cambridge.)
\textsuperscript{394} See also Stella Newton, \textit{The Dress of the Venetians 1495-1525}, Aldershot (England), 1988, pp. 9-13 and 153 (where these sleeves are said to be gathered tight at the wrist).
\textsuperscript{395} See also Raffaele Ciasca, \textit{L’arte dei medici e speziali nella storia e nel commercio fiorentino dal secolo xii al secolo xv}, Firenze, L.S. Olschki, 1927, p. 407.
Pignolato: cloth of linen and jute (Sella, 408 and 434)
Piper: pepper
Piron: fork
Piter: pitcher (Boerio, 514)
Pontarul: small pointed metal instrument for making or enlarging holes (Boerio, 521)
Porzoneto: pot (Sella, 453)
Porzeleta da lissar: perhaps a porcelain brush
Relogieto: small watch or clock
Rocheleto: bobbin (Boerio, 580)
Sangue de drago: resinous red substance used as a pigment or for medicinal purposes (Sella, 502)
Sarza: ordinary woollen cloth (Boerio, 602)
Schapino: boot (Sella, 510)
Scharnuzo: bag (Sella, 511)
Scharsela: bag attached to a garment (Boerio, 621)
Schiavina: cape of coarse wool cloth, used by seamen and pilgrims (Reynolds, 709; Vitali, 345)
Schorzo de perla: mother-of-pearl (Sella, 518)
Schufone: woollen gaiters (Battaglia, xviii, 107)
Semoza: particular kind of hammer (Boerio, 662)
Seola: brush (Sella, 526)
Tachia: skull cap
Talpono: poplar (Sella, 569)
Tarlixe: terliso, mixed cloth of hemp, cotton and linen, generally of south German manufacture (Demo, 344)
Tocha: touchstone (Sella, 584)
Togna: fishing line with bait (Boerio, 753)
Turiaga: possibly tortoise-shell
Udretto: small leather X ask (Sella, 601)
Vardachuor: waistcoat (Boerio, 778)
Varo: squirrel (Sella, 609)
Vellada: dress-coat (Vitali, 395)
Vertigola: gimlet (Boerio, 788)
Voltor: vulture (Boerio, 801)
Zuovra: probably “embroidery” or “ornament”
Zalon: bedspread (Sella, 632)
Zambeloto: light cloth of various materials, originally cloth of silk and camel’s hair (Vitali, 109-111)
Zebelin: sable (Boerio, 811)
Zenabrio: cinnabar (Sella, 636)
Zendado: satin cloth (Vitali, 428-432)
Zenia: gondola mat (Boerio, 809)
Zerzello: earring (Sella, 147)
Zestella de venchi: wicker basket (Boerio, 784)

397. See Spallanzani, Ceramiche orientali, p. 39.
398. See also Ciasca, L’arte dei medici e speziali, p. 368.
399. For taqiyya see Establet, Pascual, Ultime voyage pour la Mecque, pp. 113, 193.
Zetano: satin-weave cloth (Sella, 635)
Zexendelo: cesendello, hanging lantern (Sella, 149)
Zibeto: musk-rat (Boerio, 811)
Zinziber: ginger
Zorneda: cloak (Sella, 638)
Zucheta: gourd or small container (Sella, 638)
Zupon: men’s jacket (Boerio, 812)
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